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Grammaire du Nalögo, langue océanienne de l'île Santa Cruz (Archipel des îles Salomon)

Valentina Alfarano

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Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales

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Valentina ALFARANO

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A GRAMMAR OF NALÖGO, AN OCEANIC LANGUAGE OF SANTA CRUZ ISLAND

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“La science, l’art, la littérature, la philosophie qui sont seulement des formes d’épanouissement de la personne, constituent un domaine où s’accomplissent des réussites éclatantes, glorieuses, qui font vivre des noms pendant des milliers d’années. Mais au-dessus de ce domaine, loin au-dessus, séparé de lui par un abîme, en est un autre où sont situées les choses de tout premier ordre. Celles-là sont essentiellement anonymes. [...] La vérité et la beauté habitent ce domaine des choses impersonnelles et anonymes. C’est lui qui est sacré.”

(S. Weil)

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GLOSSES AND ABBREVIATIONS

GLOSSES

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | first person | LOC | locative |
| 2 | second person | MIDD | middle |
| 1+2 | first & second person | MED | medial |
| 3 | third person | MIN | minimal |
| ADD | additive | MRK | marker |
| APPL | applicative | N- | non- |
| ASS | associative | NEG | negation (general) |
| AUG | augmented | NEG ₁ | first negator in standard negation |
| BEN | benefactive | NEG ₂ | second negator in standard negation |
| CAUS | causative | NMLZ | nominalizer |
| CLF | classifier | OBJ | object |
| COMP | complementizer | OBL | oblique pro-form |
| COMPL | completive | PASS | passive |
| CONT ₁ | continuous | PFV | perfective |
| CONT ₂ | continuative | PL | plural |
| COORD | coordinator | POSS | possessive |
| COP | copula | PRAG | pragmatic |
| COS | change-of-state | PREP | preposition |
| DEIC | deictic | PROX | proximal |
| DEM | demonstrative (speaker-oriented) | PST | past |
| DEM.L | demonstrative (listener-oriented) | QNT | quantifier |
| DEONT | deontic | QUOT | quotative |
| DESID | desiderative | RECP | reciprocal |
| DIR | directional | REV | reversive |
| DISP | dispersive | SUBR | subordinator |
| DIST | distal | SBJ | subject |
| FUT | future | SEQ | sequential |
| EPIST | epistemic | SIMIL | similative |
| EXIST | existential | TAG | tag marker |
| INTJ | interjection | TR | transitive |
| INTS | intensifier | | |
| IPFV | imperfective | | |
| IRR | irrealis | | |
| JUSS | jussive | | |
| LNK | linker | | |

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| CVC | Coverbal construction |
| NP | Noun phrase |
| POc | Proto-oceanic |
| PMP | Proto-Malayo-Polynesian |
| PP | Prepositional phrase |
| RC | Relative clause |
| RSC | Reefs-Santa Cruz languages |
| SC | Santa Cruz |
| SVC | Serial verb construction |
| UV | Utupua-Vanikoro languages |
| VC | Verb Complex |
| VP | Verb phrase |

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a first grammatical description of Nalögo [nlz], a virtually undescribed Oceanic language spoken on Santa Cruz Island in Temotu Province (also known as Santa Cruz Islands), the easternmost province of Solomon Islands. The language, which includes five main varieties found in the villages of Nea, Nemboi, Noole, Nonia and Bibö, is spoken by approximately 1620 speakers (Lewis et al. 2009). This description is based on primary data collected on the Nalögo varieties spoken in the villages of Nea and Nemboi.

Section §1.1 describes the geographic setting of Solomon Islands with a focus on Temotu province; while section §1.2 deals with the administrative divisions of the country, especially of Santa Cruz Island, and the population distribution.

In §1.3, I provide some information on the speakers, including social and political organisation (§1.3.1), daily life and economy (§1.3.2), religion and traditional beliefs (§1.3.3), education (§1.3.4) and the loss of cultural traditions (§1.3.5).

Section §1.4 is devoted to the language and the linguistic situation. It includes firstly a description of the linguistic situation in Solomon Islands and Temotu Province (§1.4.1), followed by the name of the language and its speakers (§1.4.2), the sociolinguistic context where the language is spoken (§1.4.3), its genetic affiliation (§1.4.4) and some considerations on language vitality (§1.4.5).

In §1.5, I give an overview of the previous literature and ongoing research on RSC languages, focusing on two domains of research: the debate around its external and internal classification (§1.5.1) and specific studies and ongoing research on RSC languages (§1.5.2).

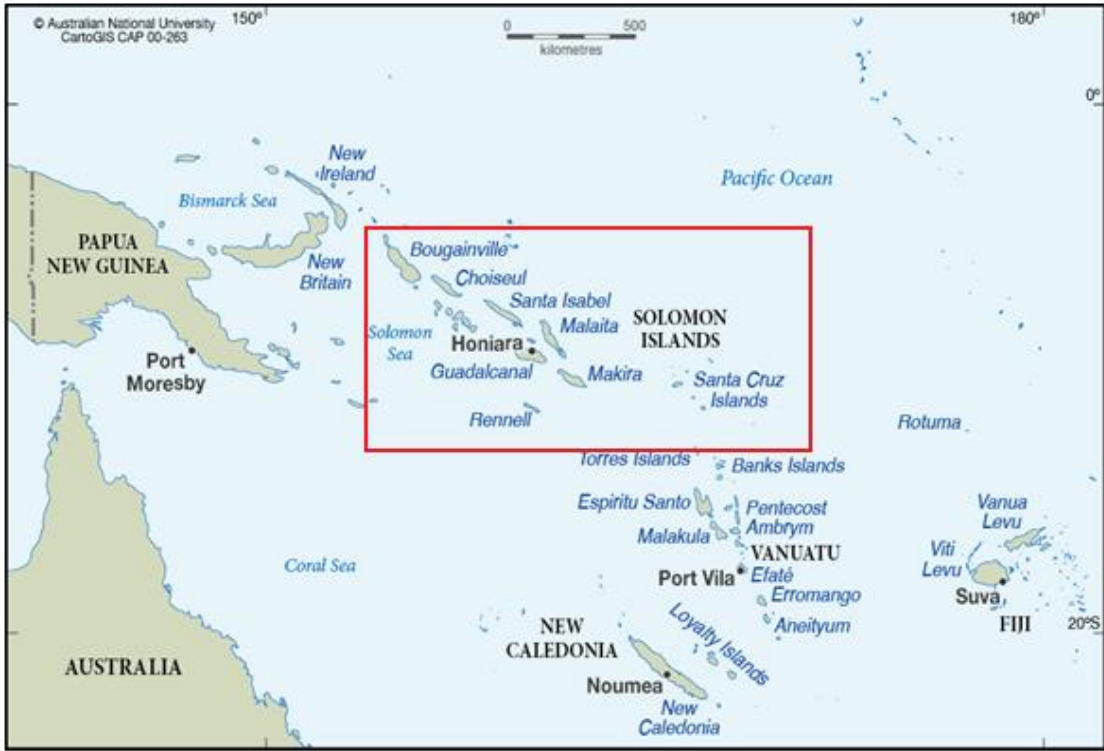
In §1.6, I describe the fieldwork activity, including community access (§1.6.1), field trips and data collection, processing and archiving (§1.6.2).

Sections §1.7 and §1.8 focus on the goal of the thesis, and its framework and organisation, respectively.

Finally, in §1.9, I provide a very basic summary of the main characteristics of the most canonical Oceanic languages, by comparing them with those attested in Nalögo.

1.1 Geographic setting

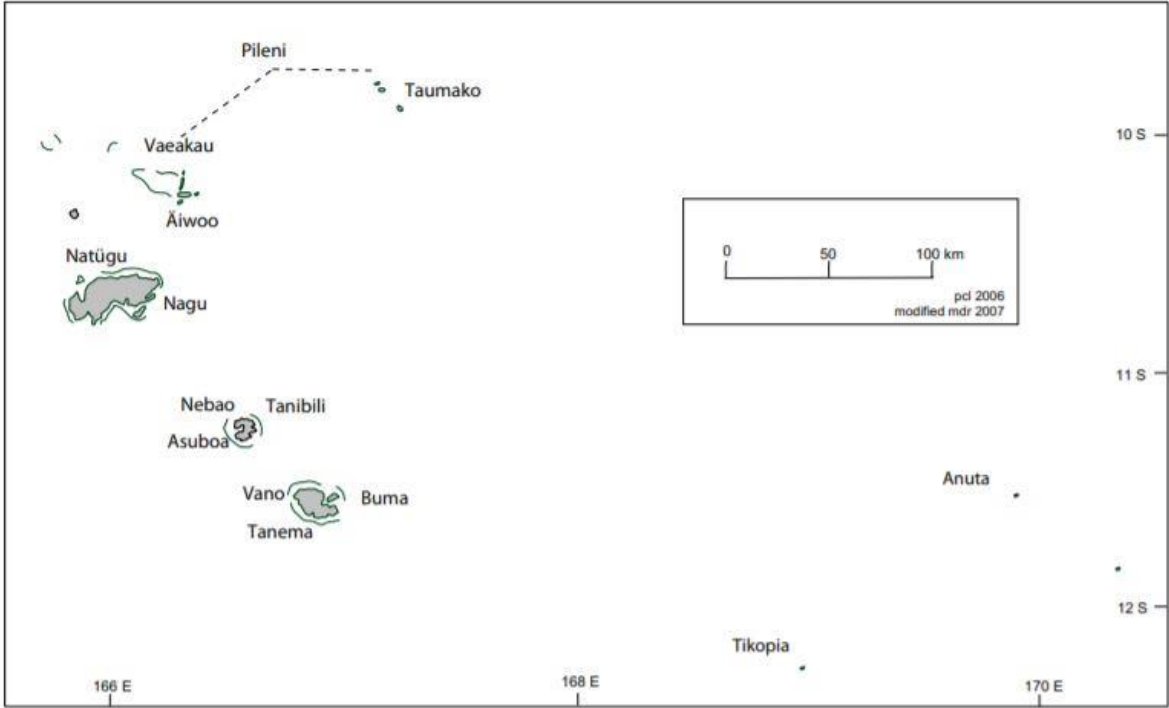
Solomon Islands, a sovereign state, is a former British Protectorate which became independent in 1978. The country, which is located in the southwestern part of the Pacific Ocean, to the east of Papua New Guinea (PNG) and to the northwest of Vanuatu, is made up of a double chain of volcanic islands, constituting a part of the volcanic arc extended from New Ireland in PNG to Vanuatu. Most of the Solomon chain belongs to the country, except for the islands of Buka and Bougainville, which constitute an autonomous region of PNG. Solomon Islands, which covers a total area of more than 28 000 km², includes more than 900 islands of different sizes, the six major ones being the main island of New Georgia, Guadalcanal, Makira, Malaita, Santa Isabel and Choiseul (Map 1-1). The country is divided into nine provinces, including Central Province, Choiseul Province, Guadalcanal Province, Isabel Province, Makira-Ulawa Province, Malaita Province, Rennell and Bellona Province, Temotu Province and Western Province. Honiara, the capital, is located on the island of Guadalcanal in the Guadalcanal Province.



Map 1-1. Location of Solomon Islands in the Pacific (adaptation from Map © Australian National University CartoGIS CAP 00-263)

Temotu province, formerly known as Eastern Outer Islands, is the most remote province of the country, located about 300 km from Makira, which is the nearest island in the main Solomon Islands. The largest island of the archipelago is Santa Cruz or Nedö (also known as Ndeni, Nitendi, Ndende) which is about 40 km long and 22 km wide, covering a land area of approximately 505 km². Nalögo is spoken in the southwestern part of Nedö, at least the varieties of Nea, Nemboi, Noole and Nonia.

About 70 km to the north-east of Nedö lie the Reef Islands and 95 km further east are the Duff Islands. The islands of Utupua and Vanikoro are located approximately 66 km and 118 km to the south-east of Nedö and further east are the two small islands of Tikopia and Anuta. Finally, the country of Vanuatu is located about 250 km south of the Santa Cruz archipelago. Map 1-2 shows the islands of Temotu Province.



Map 1-2. Temotu Province (or Santa Cruz Islands). Map © Ross and Næss (2007)

Climatically, Santa Cruz Islands are extremely warm and wet, even wetter than the central Solomon Islands and more subject to cyclone activity (Mueller-Dombois & Fosberg 1998: 66; 89). They belong to the Vanuatu rain forests ecoregion, along with the islands of Vanuatu. When not converted to garden plots for subsistence agriculture, the prevailing vegetation type is the lowland rain forests. In this respect, they differ phytogeographically from Vanuatu, since they lack well-developed montane rain forests. However, Nedö island seems to combine characteristics of both lowland and montane rain forest. The highest peak of Nedö is about 549 m above sea level. A number of tree species that in Santa Cruz are found at low elevation appear only in the mountainous areas of the central Solomon Islands. The most important phytogeographic element distinguishing Santa Cruz and Vanikoro from the rest of the places in the country is the presence of the kauri tree, also found in Vanuatu and New Caledonia, among other areas.

Geologically, Santa Cruz Islands are composed of Pliocene-Pleistocene volcanic material and uplifted corals. The south-western lowland of Nedö contains uplifted Pleistocene limestone and volcanic ash soil over uplifted limestone terraces (Mueller-Dombois & Fosberg 1998: 89-93). Geologically, Santa Cruz Islands are quite recent, dating about 5000 million years. Earthquakes are common due to their position along the Pacific Ring of Fire. In 2013, a 0.8 magnitude earthquake struck off the coast of Nedö, causing a tsunami which damaged significantly the western part of the island, including the villages of Nea and Nemboi.



Photograph 1-1. Rainforest, Nemya Bay, Nedö. Image © Valentina Alfarano



Photograph 1-2. Rainforest, Nea-Nemboi area, Nedö. Image © Valentina Alfarano

1.2 Administrative divisions and population

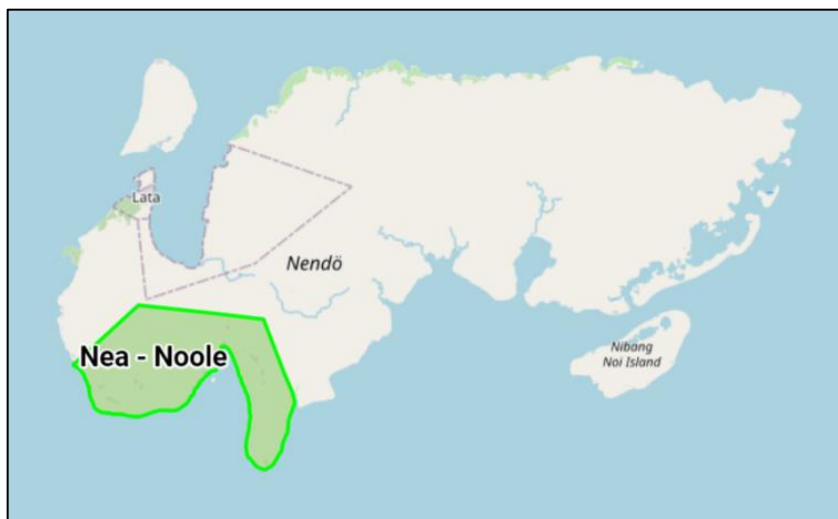
Solomon Islands is divided into nine provinces, which are significantly autonomous in matters of self-government. Each provincial government has its own provincial assembly and a number of wards, which are established based on population size. The provincial assembly includes a

head, the premier, plus other members which are elected locally by villagers living in the ward that they represent. Currently, Temotu province has seventeen wards, seven of which are located in Nedö: Graciosa Bay, North East Santa Cruz, Nanggu/Lord Howe, Nea/Noole, Nevenema, Luva Station, and Neo. The provincial capital is Lata, a small town, in Graciosa Bay in the northern part of Nedö. Lata is home of Temotu administration and the place where various government and education buildings are located. There are also several small stores with basic goods, a post office, a police station, a hospital, the local market, a small air strip with flights to Makira and Honiara, and a wharf.

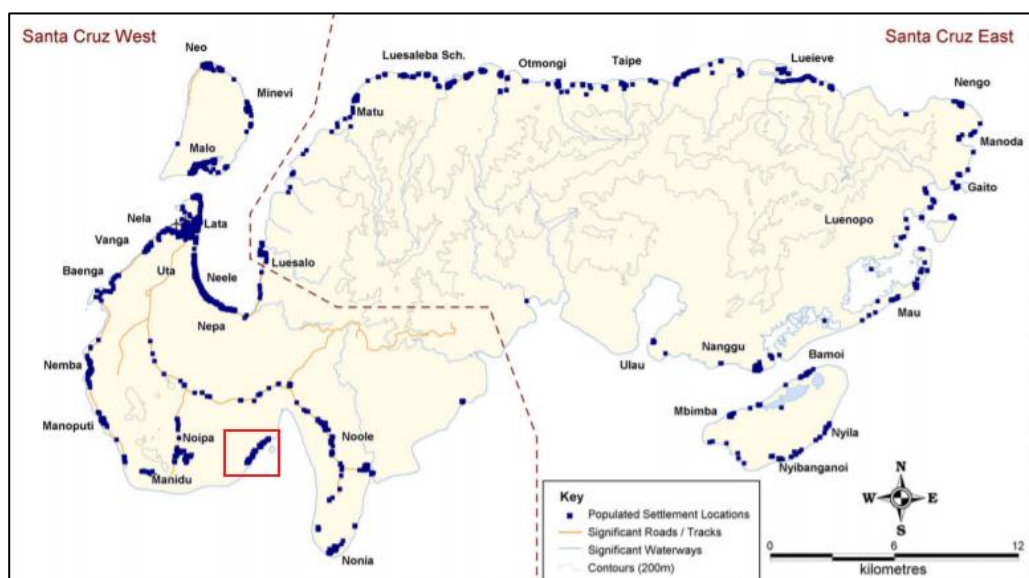


Photograph 1-3. Wharf in Lata. Image © Valentina Alfarano

The villages of Nea and Nemboi forms a single ward with those of Noole and Nonia as shown in Map 1-33. The ward is 100% rural, covering an area of 63.63 km² with a population of 1770. The population in Nea and Nemboi, although it is not known with precision, might be around 200 individuals. Administratively, Nea and Nemboi villages form a single community which is referred to as Nea-Nemboi Community (NNC). In terms of ethnicity, the population is Melanesian and only 1% is Polynesian. Map 1-44 shows the location of the populated settlements in Santa Cruz Island. The red square shows the location of the populated settlements of Nea and Nemboi.



Map 1-3. Nea-Nemboi (Ward, Solomon Islands). Map © Thomas Brinkhoff, https://www.citypopulation.de/en/solomon/admin/temotu/0910_nea_noole/



Map 1-4. Populated settlements in Santa Cruz Island (adaptation from Map © Santa Cruz, Temotu Province, Solomon Islands Population Distribution, in Modern geographical reconnaissance of target populations in malaria elimination zones (https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Santa-Cruz-Temotu-Province-Solomon-Islands-Population-Distribution-Map_fig4_47509163))

1.3 Village daily life and culture

1.3.1 Social and political organisation

In terms of social organisation, members of the Nea and Nemboi villages are divided into five clans. As in other parts of Melanesia, the system of land inheritance is patrilinear, which means that children inherit land (sea included) through the father's line. Each clan is associated with an "origin myth explaining how and where it began and the food avoidance its affiliates must observe" (Davenport 1964a: 76).

The most important social nucleus in the villages is the household where each family lives. Generally, the family nucleus is constituted by parents with their biological and adopted children. Children are central to the village life: it is rare to find households with no children at all. The high frequency of adoption is explained by Davenport (1964a: 68) in terms of bride-price contribution; in this respect, he writes: "the privilege of adopting a child follows from having contributed to his father's bride-price. Since bride-price contributors are always kinsmen of the father, adoptive parents are likewise close kin." Some families are made up of a nucleus, i.e. parents and children, plus extended family members which can live with them and take part in domestic activities. In this respect, Davenport (1964a: 70-71) writes that extended families can vary in terms of size, degree of cohesion, and number of generations. However, there is an underlying pattern determining how extended families are formed: "[...] the extended family must cohere around a living male who is either a lineal (i.e., father, father's father) or a brother of a lineal (i.e., father's brother, father's father's brother). The extended family, then, consists of the households of males who are lineal descendants of a male sibblingship of which one member still lives".

Both men and women contribute to the subsistence of family members, by working in the garden plots and going to the market in Lata to sell the produce. The man is regarded as the head of the family, but in many families, decisions are taken jointly with the woman. In the past and still today, as Davenport (1964a: 68) writes, a household is "inalterably associated with a woman". Households of a man or a group of men do not exist. If a man is alone because maybe he is a widower who failed to remarry, he "automatically becomes part of some other household [...]", but if a woman is a widow, she can have a household by herself if she does not want to remarry. Even though the cooperation between men and women in the household has increased over time, certain activities are still influenced by gender. For instance, child-rearing, cooking, washing clothes and dishes are conceived as women's activities. The gender division is less

strong today, but in the past, following the old custom, was more marked. An example of this division was represented by the existence of the men's house, called *namwe* in Nalögo. In early adolescence, young boys were obliged to sleep in the men's house, away from the parental house. The women of the parental house had to provide the boy with meals and look after all his other domestic needs (Davenport 1964a: 68). In the past, Nea and Nemboi villages used to have men's houses, but today, they no longer exist and the gender separation has been gradually decreasing.

Marriages are important events in the community and take lots of preparation, because they are celebrated twice. The first one taking place is the traditional marriage, associated with bride price contributions and a traditional ceremony. After the traditional marriage, an additional marriage in the church is organised. After the marriage, the woman leaves her family of origin to join the family of her husband. If the husband belongs to another village, the woman is expected to move to his new family. According to some locals, one of the problems associated with marriages today is the high cost of the bride price, which is becoming less and less affordable for rural people.

In terms of political organisation. The most important leader who is above the hierarchy is referred to as 'chairman' or 'big man'. Under the chairman, there are four big men, two belonging to Nea and two to Nemboi. The role of the big man is hereditary, but also based on certain qualities, such as knowledge about local customs, oratory skills and the ability to solve disputes among individuals. Under the four big men, there is a committee of leaders including older men and women. The composition of the committee is established by the four big men in collaboration with its potential members who are also selected based on their commitment to the community, oratory skills, and the reputation they have. Some leaders are also part of local churches. The role of the big men and the leaders of the committee is to manage issues related to the wellbeing of women and children, health, land controversies and relationships with the surrounding communities.



Photograph 1-4. Nemboi village. Image © Valentina Alfarano

1.3.2 Village life and economy

The village of Nea is viewed as the most prestigious one in the south-west part of Santa Cruz probably due to its larger size (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012). Village life is mostly organised around church-related activities. Church activities include regular services, prayers and trips to the surrounding villages for preaching purposes. Additional village events include marriages and funerals. Sometimes, events for the younger generations are organised, such as local soccer competitions and events involving various recreational activities. In Nea and Nemboi, people live a lifestyle of subsistence and cash-based economy. Most people grow crops for their own consumption and to sell them. In general, this is in line with the economy of people living in Temotu province, where according to the census in 2009, 68% of the households grow crops for subsistence and sale, only the 29% grow them only for their own consumption, and a very low percentage of population produces crops only for sale. Most households grow vegetables and food crops, including *lëkö* ‘taro’, *lëikü* ‘yam’, *potna* ‘pana’, *butete* ‘sweet potato’ and cassava. Plantation of various types, including bananas, pineapples, and papayas, are also common. Some people also grow kava, cocoa, coconut/copra, betel nut and tobacco, and raise livestock, especially pigs and chickens, to sell them. Fishing and hunting activities are also common among men. Each week people take the truck to Lata to sell their products at the main market. There are no markets in Nea and Nemboi, except for a very small market where a few

people sell some vegetables, fruits or cooked foods to the students of primary and secondary school during the academic year.



Photograph 1-5. Local Market in Lata. Image © Valentina Alfarano

1.3.3 Religion and traditional beliefs

In Nea and Nemboi as in the rest of Temotu Province, nearly everyone is Christian, belonging to the Anglican Church of Melanesia, and most activities organised in the village are church-related. Services are carried out in Solomon Islands Pijin, the English-lexifier creole which serves as a lingua franca across Solomon Islands, to allow people who do not speak local languages, but live in the community, to participate. Since the diffusion of Christianity, traditional beliefs associated with pre-Christian deities, which were represented by carved wooden sculptures in the whole island (Davenport 2005: 2), have started to disappear. Pre-Christian deities involve mainly supernatural beings including Gods, ancestral spirits and nature spirits. Gods and ancestral spirits were at the centre of supernatural practice (Davenport 2005: 35-94). These beings have the power [...] to control human events for good and bad”, although not all of them had the same power and influence on human events. They could also cause misfortune and sometimes even death. Men, villages and whole communities had their patron deities which protected them and their welfare. The craft skills of a man, e.g. the production of feather money which was essential in social transactions, were also believed to be a gift from the supernatural tutelary to which he was offering his prayers and food. When missionaries came to Nedö, they started to repress the local culture and forbid traditional beliefs and crafts,

including the wooden figurines mentioned above. Even though today most traditional beliefs have disappeared in Nea and Nemboi, some still hold.

1.3.4 Education

The Nea/Nemboi area is known especially for the presence of a secondary school which attract students coming from other places inside and outside Santa Cruz. Along with the secondary school, there are also a kindergarten and a primary school. Schools are located in a protected area which is accessible only to students and teachers, but not to village members. Pijin and English are the only languages used for education purposes, especially the former, due to the presence of people whose native language is not Nalögo. There are no vernacular materials in the language and people have no vernacular literacy skills. Among RSC languages, Natügu is probably the only one with vernacular literacy lessons taught in several of the primary schools (Boerger et al. 2012). However, teaching classes in vernacular literacy is not official educational policy at provincial and national level. Due to this reason, a general lack of interest and time constraints, although a set of flash cards and an alphabet booklet were produced as additional outcomes of this documentation project, they had not yet been distributed in the community at the time of writing.

1.3.5 Cultural loss

As in other parts of Santa Cruz, in the Nalögo-speaking area, some cultural traditions and activities, such as performing dances and songs or crafting, have disappeared over time due to a general process of globalization and cultural breakdown. For instance, traditional dances are no longer practiced. Based on my experience in the community and according to the opinions of some elders, younger generations find it difficult to comprehend the importance of their cultural heritage. This is most likely due to the constant pressure people feel to adapt to the western culture and models. The cultural change seems to have caused a loss of identity in younger generations. This is pointed out by Boerger et al. (2012) for the Natügu-speaking areas, especially in relation to young men. In this respect, she argues that “younger, single men—who formerly would have been involved in warfare and enterprise—seem to have no precise role in the society, and their disorientation takes the form of drunken and destructive behavior”. In the Nea/Nemboi community, some initiatives have been proposed by community leaders to empower young people to participate more actively in the community and raise cultural awareness about local traditions.

In this section, I provide some information on two local traditions typical of Santa Cruz Island: the *nelâ* dance and the production of local currency rolls called *töwa* ‘traditional money’ in Nalögo.

All SC languages shared a cultural form called *nelâ* dance, which was associated with music and lyrics (Boerger et al. 2012). Nowadays, as in most places in Nedö, traditional dances are no longer practiced in Nea and Nemboi. According to some Nalögo speakers from Bibö village, dances are performed more regularly in the southeast part of the island. The word *nelâ*, which the dance is named after, refers to a specific type of pearl shell, also known as ‘black lip’, which was traditionally used to produce pearl shell nose pendants, the most important ornament worn during the dances. Today, there are just few people around Santa Cruz producing *nelâ* pendants, but mainly for commercial purposes. In Nalögo, the traditional cloths used for dancing are called *lëpkalo*. The *nelâ* dance in Nedö involved singing and stomping with a stick, the *tuku*, on the floor of a walled ring which Nea and Nemboi speakers refer to as *nöwë* ‘dancing circle’. Since dances involved stomping, the most important part of the ring was the earth floor which had to be built in a certain way to produce a good sound (Davenport 2005: 45). A good sounding floor could create lots of excitement among the dance participants. Even though today dances are no longer performed, old dance rings can still be found among the dwelling sites of the villages. In this respect, Davenport (2005: 45) writes: “The old *nue* remains as a commemorative marker of the dance series that was once celebrated in it”.



Photograph 1-6. Remains of an old dancing ring in Nemboi. Image © Valentina Alfarano

Along with dances, crafting has also been affected by cultural loss. Traditional money, referred to with the indigenous word *töwa*, was constituted by large coiled bands which could measure up to thirty feet in length. These currency rolls were made up by many red feathers of the honey eater bird, the *Myzomela cardinalis*, which were glued onto a woven substrate. Men with the craft skill of making red-feather money were thought to have been inspired by a supernatural being that in custom narratives, is often called *dükna* ‘devil’. Culturally, the *töwa* were important exchange items in Nedö; they were especially used for bride payments. The currency rolls are no longer made in Nedö, as they were replaced by Solomon Islands dollars in the 80s. Nowadays, only very few people around Santa Cruz know how to make them, but just for commercial reasons.



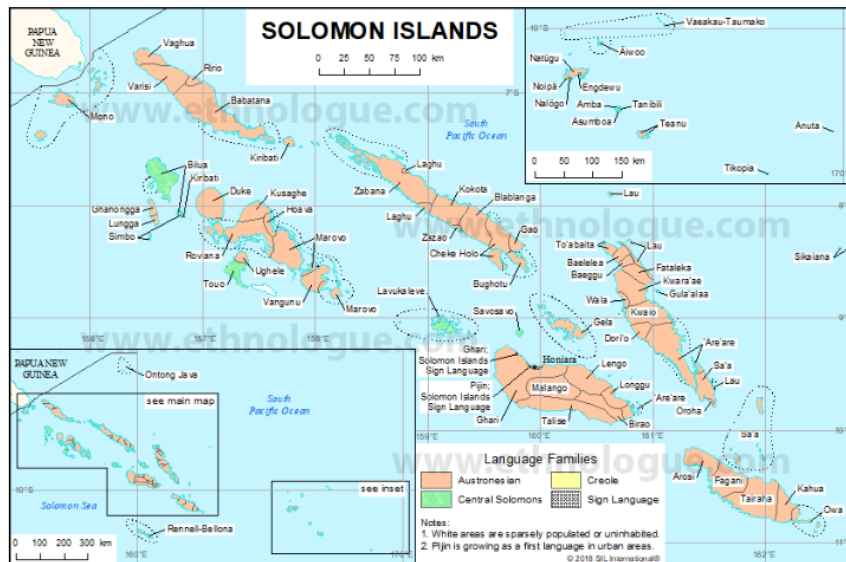
Photograph 1-7. Small traditional currency roll made by Thomas Mendealua in Nemboi. Image © Valentina Alfarano

1.4 Language and linguistic situation

1.4.1 Linguistic situation in Solomon Islands and Temotu province

Given that Solomon Islands is a former British Protectorate, the official language is English, but Pijin is used as the language for wider communication (Boerger et al. 2012). Typically, English and SI Pijin show different contexts of use: English is the official language for reading and writing purposes, while SI Pijin is used for public communication in religious, governmental and education contexts. The variety of Pijin spoken in Honiara is different from those spoken in the provinces, because in the city, better educated Solomon Islanders have more occasions to meet native speakers of English. This variety, characterised by many English

borrowings, is referred to by people from rural areas as ‘Pijin English’. Along with English and Pijin, about seventy indigenous languages are spoken in Solomon Islands as shown in Map 1-5. Most languages spoken in Solomon Islands have an Austronesian origin, but there are also four non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages belonging to the Central Solomon group (Bilua, Touo, Lavukaleve and Savosavo).

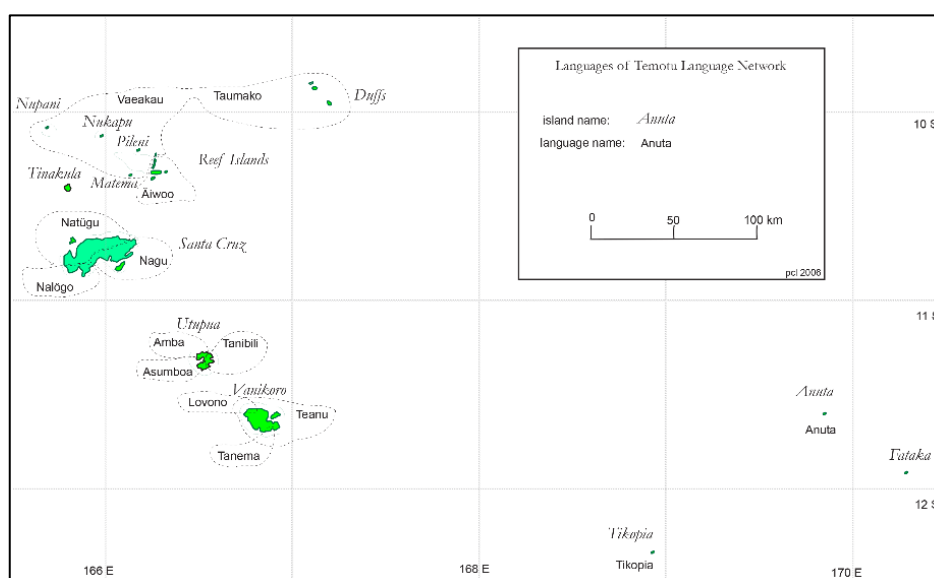


Map 1-5. Languages of Solomon Islands. Image © Ethnologue SIL

As previously mentioned, Temotu is the remotest province of the country which before and after the independence, remained isolated for a long time due to its geographic distance and infrequent shipping services (Boerger et al. 2012). Nowadays, shipping and airline flights have become more regular over time, allowing Temotu people, especially students of secondary school, to move to other provinces. In Temotu province, SI Pijin is the language of communication, together with local languages; while English is confined to reading and writing. The indigenous languages spoken in Temotu are of Austronesian origin: either they belong to the Temotu subgroup or they are Polynesian, i.e. quite distantly related to the Temotu languages¹. According to the current classification, there are four languages spoken on Santa Cruz Island: Natügu is spoken in Graciosa Bay, in the north, where the provincial capital Lata is located; Nalögo and Noipä are spoken in the west/south west; and finally, Engdewu is spoken in the south east. The Reef Islands, to the north of Santa Cruz, is the place where the Äiwoo language is spoken. These five languages belong to the Reefs-Santa Cruz group (RSC). In the

¹ While Temotu is a first-order subgroup of Oceanic, cf. §1.4.4, the Polynesian languages belong to the Central Pacific subgroup of Oceanic.

islands of Utupua and Vanikoro, to the south east of Santa Cruz, six languages are spoken: Aba, Tanibili, Asumboa on Utupua, and Tanema, Lovono and Teanu on Vanikoro. On each of these islands, a single language, Aba on Utupua and Teanu on Vanikoro, dominates the others, which are severely endangered (Naess & Boerger 2008). The languages of Utupua and Vanikoro belong to the Utupua-Vanikoro group (UV), which together with RSC forms the Temotu subgroup of Oceanic (*cf.* §1.4.4). Finally, Temotu province is home of three Polynesian Outliers: Vaeakau-Taumako (Pileni), spoken in the outer Reef Islands and in the Duff Islands; Tikopia and Anuta, spoken on the two small islands to the southeastern margins of the region which take the same names. Map 1-6 shows where Temotu languages are located².



Map 1-6. Languages of Temotu Province (except for Noipä)
(https://www.sil.org/sites/default/files/graciosa_bay_houses_cropped_b.png)

While having always been isolated from the rest of Solomon Islands, historically, Temotu languages have always been in contact among themselves, as described by Davenport (1964b), leading to a considerably amount of multilingualism. The contact was mostly based on their shared trade network. Polynesian speakers, who started to move into the region within the last 700-1000 years (Kirch 2000: 144), were expert navigators and linked all the islands in a complex trade network through their commercial voyages (Davenport 1968). Unlike Polynesian speakers, the arrival of speakers of Temotu languages dates back to over 3000 years ago,

² The Noipä language spoken in the west of the island is not indicated in the map, since it was in the process of being classified as an independent language at the time that the map was produced. Its location is shown in Map 1-5.

according to the archaeological findings in the Lapita sites of the Reef Islands and Santa Cruz (Spriggs 1995). The strong contact between Polynesians and Melanesians in Temotu is also supported by linguistic evidence, in that, lexical and structural borrowings among Polynesian and RSC languages are attested (Næss & Jenny 2011).

1.4.2 Language and people name

The language name Nalögo meaning ‘our language’ is viewed as a cover term which encompasses the varieties spoken in the villages of Nea, Nemboi, Noole, Nonia and Bibö. Boerger and Zimmerman (2012) write that when Boerger coined the term in parallel with Natügu, it may have been already in use in the aforementioned communities. This term has replaced over time those based on the village names, ‘Nea language’ and ‘Nemboi language’.

During my field trips to Nea and Nemboi, speakers referred to the varieties spoken in their villages as Natügo, while Nalögo was used for those spoken in Noole, Nonia and Bibö. The indigenous word *Natügo* ‘our language’ is formed by the noun *natü* ‘language’ and the 1+2AUG³ possessive enclitic =*go*. The other languages of the family, namely, Natügu, Noipä and Engdewu, are referred to by speakers as Natügu, Natügö and Nagu, respectively.

As auto-denomination, people from Nea and Nemboi refer to themselves as *Lea* ‘People from Nea’ and *Leboi* ‘People from Nemboi’. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this meaning is encoded through the replacement of the consonant /n/ with /l/. People of Santa Cruz can be referred to as *lö-Nedö*⁴ ‘people from Nedö’, whereby *Nedö* is the indigenous word for Santa Cruz Island. White people (or more generally, people with lighter skin) are called *Lomtangi*, a Polynesian borrowing, or they are indicated by means of a description like *Leplë kä ipöki* ‘people that are white’. Nowadays, unlike the past, the attitude towards white people is neutral or positive. While the islands of Utupua, Vanikoro, Tikopia and Anuta are referred to as such, the Reefs and Duff Islands are referred to as *Növlë* and *Taumako*, respectively.

1.4.3 Linguistic situation in Santa Cruz and in Nea/Nemboi community

In Santa Cruz Island, there is a dialect continuum encompassing most varieties from the north of the island to the south west (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012), the two opposite poles being Natügu on the one hand, and Nalögo on the other. As discussed in §1.5.1.2, the presence of this

³ This gloss refers to ‘We (You and I, plus other people).’ (Chapter 3).

⁴ The form *lö-* is a bound noun encoding the collective meaning ‘people’ (Chapter 4).

dialect continuum has complicated the internal classification of SC languages, leading scholars to disagree with one another on the number of languages spoken in the island. The Nalögo varieties of Nea and Nemboi are surrounded by other varieties/languages, including the Nalögo varieties of Noole and Nonia, and the other three SC languages, Noipä, Natügu and Engdewu. In the community, language contact is great and generally due to intermarriage and work-related reasons. Nea and Nemboi people have good relationships with people living in the surrounding area, thus, intermarriage between people speaking different languages (e.g. Nalögo variety of Noole, Natügu, Noipä and Äiwoo) is common. People tend to speak only one language fluently, but have a passive (sometimes active) knowledge of more than one variety or language. People who grew up with family members speaking different languages often do some code-switching between varieties without even realising it⁵. While some people have some familiarity with Natügu, Noipä and the other Nalögo varieties, this is not the case of Engdewu, which is regarded as a very different language that hardly anyone can understand.

In terms of gender, apparently, men are familiar with more languages than women, as they have more chances to travel and have interpersonal contact with people speaking other languages and/or varieties. Men also tend to be more educated and leave the island for education purposes. Even though traditionally, women are educated to remain in the village and look after the family, the number of young women getting better education is increasing over time.

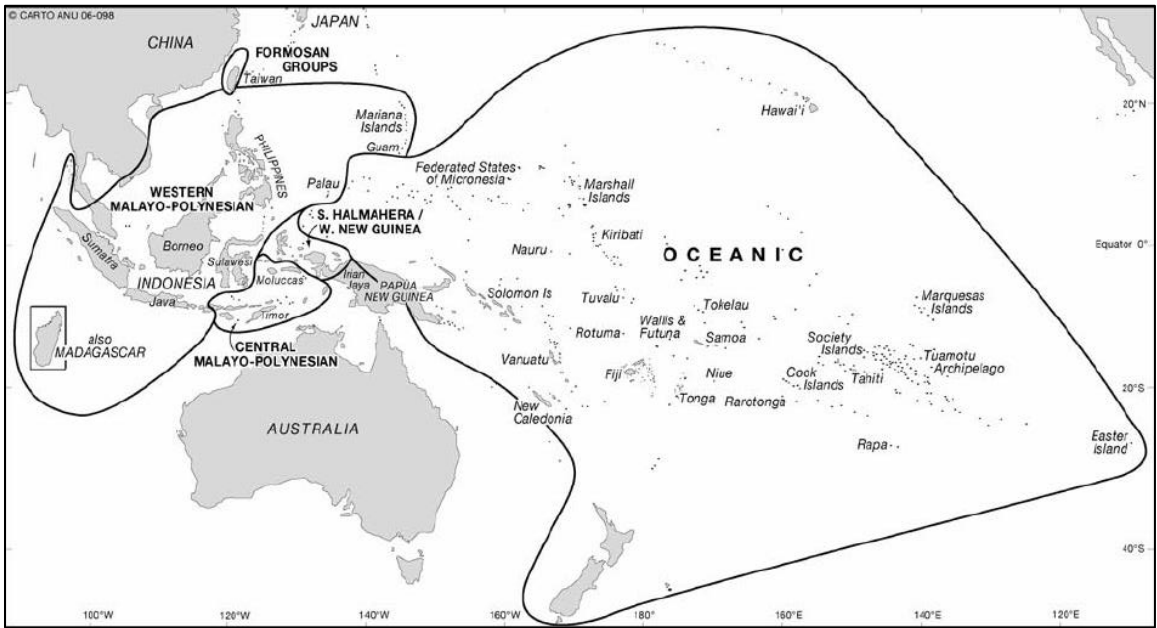
Finally, along with indigenous languages, Pijin is very widespread among people belonging to all generations, especially younger people, but even people in their sixties can code-switch extensively. However, there are also some people in their seventies or eighties who never left the village whose level of Pijin is very low or non-existent. English is never spoken in the village. If people have some knowledge of it, it tends to be quite superficial, except for those younger people who get a better education and have some degree of competence in the official language.

1.4.4 Genetic affiliation

As previously mentioned, Nalögo is an Oceanic language belonging to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian family is one of the largest families in the world, with approximately 1200 member languages. The area covered by the languages of this family is

⁵ During one elicitation session, one speaker was asked to give some sentences with some bound subject forms. Even though he grew up in Nea and said to be a native speaker of Nalögo, I found out at a later stage that some of the subject forms I elicited during that elicitation session belonged to Noipä, the language of his mother.

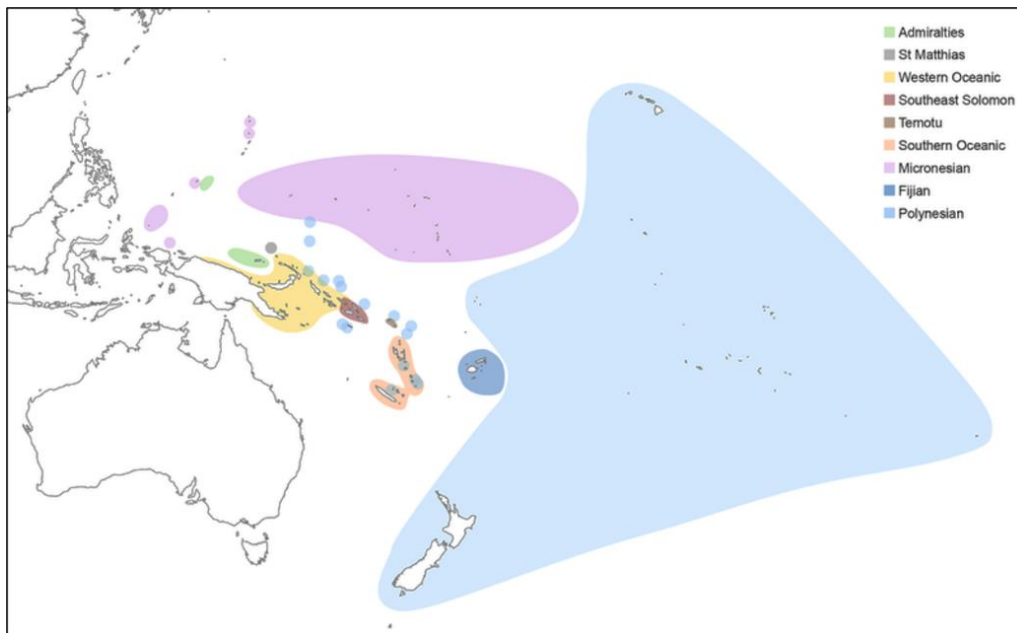
very vast, from the island of Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from Taiwan and Hawai'i in the north to New Zealand in the south (Lynch et al. 2002: 1). Even though there are some ongoing debates on some internal subgroupings, the major language groups within the family have been established. The distribution of Austronesian languages and their major language groups is shown in Map 1-7 below.



Map 1-7. Austronesian family and major Austronesian language subgroups- Image © CARTO ANU 06-098

The Austronesian family is made up of at least ten primary subgroups, nine of which are located in Taiwan (Blust 2013: 30). All the Austronesian languages outside Taiwan belong to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, which include approximately twenty-five members which are typologically very rich and diverse. The high-order Austronesian branches include: Austronesian > Malayo-Polynesian > Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian > Eastern Malayo-Polynesian > Oceanic (Ross, Pawley & Osmond 2016: 99). The Oceanic family includes languages belonging to the culturally defined regions of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. The Oceanic family is currently divided into nine primary subgroups as shown in Map 1-8. The Reefs-Santa Cruz group, together with the UV group which includes the languages of Utupua and Vanikoro, forms the Temotu group, a proposed primary subgroup within the Oceanic

family (Ross & Næss 2007). However, the genetic affiliation of RSC has been a matter of debate over many years (§1.5.1.1).



Map 1-8. Primary subgroups within the Oceanic family (<https://www.shh.mpg.de/1286491/cool>)

1.4.5 Language vitality

As previously mentioned, Nalögo is virtually undescribed. The last census in 2009 reports around 1620 speakers of Nalögo (Lewis et al. 2009); as such, the language may appear not to be in immediate danger of extinction. Nalögo is classified as 6a (Vigorous) on the EGIDS (Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) scale for language endangerment (Boerger et al. 2012). This definition implies that the language is used orally by all generations and is being learnt by children as their first language. Based on the opinion of some elders and my limited experience in the community, the situation appears to be quite different, in that, there is an increasing language loss, especially in younger generations. In general, even people in their thirties, forties and fifties can code-switch extensively, as there is an increasing lack of competence in the local varieties. In this respect, some elders refer to the variety spoken by younger people as ‘Pijin langwis’, to stress the strong influence that Pijin has on the variety of the local language spoken by the youngest. Younger people are often aware of their lack of competence compared to the elders, so when working with them, they often referred me to older people who are more proficient. However, the level of proficiency in the local varieties depend on each individual. Language loss is accounted for by a number of factors such as population growth and increased mobility in Temotu Province which have resulted in frequent

intermarriage between people speaking different languages. In families where parents speak different languages, Pijin is the language of choice. However, the spread of Pijin as a lingua franca remains the primary cause of the linguistic and cultural loss in Santa Cruz Island and, more generally, in the Solomons (Boerger et al. 2012). An additional factor strengthening language loss is the perception that some people have of local languages, in particular, they appear to be discouraged by the fact that their languages have the reputation of being very complex, even for other people in Solomon Islands. During my stay in Honiara, I often heard people commenting on this point, stating that Santa Cruz languages are impossible to learn. However, there are some older people who see the complexity of RSC languages as synonym of cultural richness. The reputation of Pijin, sometimes referred to as ‘broken English’, can be also quite negative, especially when compared to English, the language of power.

1.5 Previous and ongoing research on RSC languages

This section provides a summary of the most important studies carried out on RSC languages over the last fifty years. Section §1.5.1 is a summary of the debate related to the genetic classification of RSC languages, both external and internal; while section §1.5.2 present the most important studies and ongoing research on various aspects of RSC languages, from their grammatical features to their sociolinguistic context.

1.5.1 Studies on the genetic classification

The debate on the genetic classification of RSC languages has been of interest for Oceanic studies for many years both in terms of internal and external classification.

In terms of external classification, the genetic affiliation of RSC languages has been a matter of debate over thirty years. Although RSC languages were first classified as non-Austronesian (Wurm 1969, 1970, 1978), more recent studies have proposed to assign them to a previously unidentified first-order subgroup within the Oceanic family (Ross & Næss 2007). The most important literature related to this topic is discussed in §1.5.1.1.

In terms of internal classification, a number of scholars proposed different classifications of RSC languages, especially of SC languages. The most important findings related to this topic, which is treated in detail in Boerger and Zimmerman (2012), are summarized in §1.5.1.2.

1.5.1.1 External classification

In Oceanic studies, RSC languages have always been referred to as ‘aberrant’. In his work on the languages of Melanesia, Codrington (1885: 16) regarded the language spoken on Santa Cruz as ‘exceptional’⁶ when compared with the rest of the Melanesian languages. In terms of external classification, the ‘aberrant’ characteristics of RSC languages have raised doubts about their origins for more than thirty years. In this respect, the linguist Stephen Wurm, who collaborated with indigenous people and wrote several papers on RSC languages, especially on Äiwoo, wrote: “The languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands in the extreme south-eastern part of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate [...] have for almost a century, constituted an enigma amongst the languages of Melanesia” (Wurm 1969: 47). In this summary, I mainly focus on the two opposing views on the origins of RSC languages, Lincoln (1978) and Wurm (1978), which were the outcomes of two papers read at the Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics in January 1978.

Wurm (1969, 1970, 1978) claim that RSC languages have a ‘Papuan’ origin, but have undergone extensive contact-induced change. In this respect, Wurm (1978: 971) writes that RSC descend from “non-Austronesian language or languages and that they have incompletely taken over an Austronesian language.” As summarised in Ross and Næss (2007), Wurm’s hypothesis is supported by two main arguments: (i) although RSC languages show a large vocabulary of Austronesian origin⁷, regular sound correspondences with the other Oceanic languages cannot be established. As a consequence, Oceanic lexemes must be loans; and (ii) RSC languages display some morphosyntactic features which are similar to those attested in East Papuan languages, such as the presence of noun class systems and complex agglutinative verbal structures.

Lincoln (1978) shows a complete opposing view than Wurm (1978), supporting the hypothesis that RSC languages are Austronesian Oceanic languages “free from the influence of other language families in the Pacific” (Lincoln 1978: 929). Lincoln’s view was based on La Fontinelle (1974) who noticed some similarities between the Neo dialect of Santa Cruz, of

⁶ In his survey on Melanesian languages, Codrington (1885: 16) mentioned two languages spoken on Santa Cruz Islands, ‘Nifilole’ spoken in the Reef Islands (Äiwoo) and ‘Santa Cruz’ spoken in Nedö. With the language name ‘Santa Cruz’ language, Codrington referred to a single language (probably Natügu) showing just dialectal differentiation.

⁷ Wurm (1978) notes that almost half of the lexicon, as well as many morphological elements, have most likely an Austronesian origin.

which she was providing a primary phonological and morphological account, and languages of Vanuatu and New Caledonia. In this respect, she wrote: "...et, en conclusion de cette première étude du Néo, nous optons, au contraire, pour le rattachement de ce dialecte au groupe des langues mélanésiennes."⁸ Based on data from the Reefs (Äiwoo) and on Lödäi (Natügu and Nalögo), Lincoln (1978) noticed similarities between some morphemes attested in RSC languages and those reconstructed for POc. In this respect, he wrote: "There seems to be nearly a one-to-one match between the sample of RSC morphemes and the sample of Proto-Oceanic morphemes. Stated in yet another way, I did not find very many RSC morphemes that simply could not be accounted for with some phonologically quite liberal comparisons with Proto-Oceanic." (Lincoln 1978: 961). However, it was impossible to reach a definite conclusion on the origin of these languages due to the lack of regular sound correspondences.

The most important works which shed light on the origins of these languages leading to their classification as Austronesian are Næss (2006), Ross and Næss (2007), and Næss and Boerger (2008). Næss (2006) analyses one of the features taken by Wurm (1981) as representative of the "Papuan origin" of RSC languages, namely, the presence of "noun class systems" in Äiwoo. In her paper, Næss (2006) re-examines Wurm (1981)'s claim based on fieldwork material, arguing that the putative systems of 'noun classes' in Äiwoo "bear no obvious resemblance to the Papuan-style gender systems to which they have been compared", rather, they should be reclassified as bound nominal elements showing "obvious parallels in a number of Oceanic languages of Vanuatu". Næss (2006) pointed out that one of Wurm's arguments for a Papuan origin of RSC languages was not fundamentally correct, at least for Äiwoo.

Ross and Næss (2007) is considered the breakthrough study in RSC literature, leading to the classification of RSC languages as Austronesian, and more precisely, as Oceanic. The study is based mainly on data on Äiwoo, but also on Natügu and Engdewu. In this paper, the authors establish the consonant sound correspondences between RSC languages and POc, analyse some morphosyntactic features of Äiwoo by comparing them with those attested in other Oceanic languages, and reconstruct some morphology. The paper also deals with the most common phonological processes, such as syncope and truncation, which took place in the evolution of RSC languages, possibly obscuring their Oceanic pedigree. In the same paper, the authors group

⁸ "...and to conclude this first study of Neo, we opt, on the contrary, to assign this dialect to the Melanesian [Oceanic] language group." (Ross & Næss 2007).

together RSC languages on the one hand, and the UV languages on the other, in the Temotu group, a first-order subgroup within the Oceanic family.

Ross and Næss (2007)'s hypothesis appears to match archaeological findings, according to which Temotu Province is thought to be the first settlement in Remote Oceania of peoples belonging to the Lapita culture. The latter originated in the Bismarck Archipelago, and, at around 1600 BC, spread throughout the south Pacific region (Spriggs 1995). As speakers of Proto Oceanic (henceforth POc), the ancestor of all Oceanic languages, Lapita peoples brought their native language in the newly established settlements (Ross 1989). As Santa Cruz is the site in which archaeologists have found the earliest artefacts attributable to the Lapita culture in Remote Oceania, it might be assumed that POc speakers bypassed the rest of the Solomons Archipelago to land in the Santa Cruz area as early as 1200 BC (Sheppard & Walter 2006). If this hypothesis proved to be true, then, the Temotu language group could be said to be an early offshoot of POc in Remote Oceania.

Finally, Næss and Boerger (2008) provide further evidence of an Oceanic origin for RSC languages by analysing the complex verb structures, whose complexity was regarded by Wurm as a 'Papuan' feature. In this paper, the authors show that a number of morphemes originated in POc morphology and that the RSC complex verb structures could be viewed as the outcomes of processes of grammaticalisation applied to serial verb constructions, which are common in Oceanic languages. More precisely, morphological elements, which were once part of nuclear verb serialisation, grammaticalised to the point of losing their phonological independence and becoming bound forms.

1.5.1.2 Internal classification

According to the current classification, four separate languages are spoken on Nedö today, namely, Natügu, Nalögo, Noipä and Engdewu. However, this internal classification is the result of a number of studies on this topic and controversies among scholars over the years. As Boerger and Zimmerman (2012) point out, the difficulty of determining the number of languages is likely due to the presence of a dialectal continuum encompassing most linguistic varieties spoken on the island from the north to the southeast. Figure 1-1 below taken from Boerger and Zimmerman (2012), summarizes the positions of some scholars who dealt with the internal classification of RSC starting from the 70s until 2007.

| 7 lgs | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
|--------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| Hackman 1970 | Hackman 1970 | Hackman 1968, 1975 | Davenport 1962 | Voegelin & Voegelin 1965 | Wurm 1970 | Wurm 1969, 1972 | Simons 1977 | Boerger 2007 |
| Neo | Neo | TöMotu | NW | NW-SCentral | Namba-kaengö | Namba-kaengö | Santa Cruz | Natügu |
| Malo | Malo | | | | | | | |
| Namba-kaengö | Namba-kaengö | North | | | | | | |
| Mbaengö | Mbaengö | SW | | | | | | |
| Nea | Nea | | | | Nea | Nea | | |
| Nooli | | | SCentral | | | | | Nalögo |
| Nanggu | Nanggu | Nanggu | SE | SE | Nanggu | Nanggu | Nanggu | Nagu |

Figure 1-1. Classification of SC languages (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012)

According to the table, Hackman (1968, 1970, 1975) reduced progressively the number of languages spoken in the island from seven to four. In his study (1970), Hackman refers to the language varieties through village names, except for *Nambakaengö* which as pointed out by Boerger and Zimmerman (2012), is a region located in Graciosa Bay; while in (1968) and (1975), he uses the local word *tömotu* ‘island’ to refer to the varieties spoken on the islet of Temotu Neo (Neo and Malo), North and South West to refer to *Nambakaengö* and the transitioning region *Mbaengö* between Graciosa Bay and the area of Nea (included). Hackman (1968, 1975) groups the variety of Nooli (Noole) with Nanggu (Engdewu) instead of Nea, by contrast with the current classification where the varieties of Noole and Nea are grouped together.

Davenport (1962) recognises three languages spoken on Nedö as Boerger (2007) does, the only difference being the position of the Nea variety which Davenport (1962) groups with Natügu (NW), while Boerger (2007) groups it with Nooli (S Central). However, Davenport was the first to propose a separation between Natügu and Nalögo as two independent languages.

Vogelin and Vogelin (1965) proposed a classification of the Santa Cruz varieties in only two languages by accepting Davenport (1962)’s classification, but not allowing for the possible existence of separate languages within the dialect continuum.

Like Davenport (1962), Wurm (1969, 1970, 1972a) recognises the existence of three languages spoken on the island. Wurm’s classification is very close to Boerger (2007), except for the position of *Mbaengö* that Boerger (2007) groups with *Nambakengö* (Natügu) instead of Nea (Nalögo).

From 1977 to 2007, the position of Simons (1977) was the dominant one, according to which only two languages were recognised on Santa Cruz, Nagu (Engdewu) on the one hand and Santa Cruz (Natügu and Nalögo) on the other. Based on a language survey that he conducted on the island, Simons (1977) noticed that from the 60s, the time of the last studies on SC languages (Davenport 1962, Wurm 1969), the intelligibility between the dialects increased due to the better communication among villages. In addition, he also argued that informants typically underestimated their understanding of the surrounding varieties, leading previous scholars to identify more separate languages. After more than thirty years, Boerger (2007) recognised Natügu and Nalögo as two separate languages, leading to the identification of three languages—Natügu, Nalögo and Engdewu. The split between Natügu and Nalögo was based on three main criteria: mutual intelligibility, common literature and ethnolinguistic identities (Boerger and Zimmerman 2012). The two languages are viewed as mutually unintelligible, in that speakers need to know both languages to communicate, or, if not, SI Pijin. Linguistically speaking, there is a considerable amount of shared vocabulary between the two languages, but this is said to be mainly due to a common past rather than a present-day cohesion. However, despite these similarities, there is enough lexical and structural difference to justify a split between the two languages. In terms of literature, there are no common printed materials and stories are not mutually understood when told orally by speakers. While some printed literature exists for Natügu, Nalögo still lacks printed materials. Finally, there is a clear distinction between the speakers in terms of identity. In Nea and Nemboi, speakers of Natügu are often referred to in Pijin as ‘olketa long Bay’, in English ‘people in the Bay’. They also distinguish their languages for census purposes

More recently, a fourth language, Noipä [npx], has been identified as a separate language belonging to the RSC group based on some data that Boerger collected in 2015. In this work, I adopt Boerger and Zimmerman (2012)’s classification with addition of the Noipä language.

1.5.2 Other studies on RSC languages

In the previous section, I discuss the most relevant works related to the internal and external classification of RSC languages. However, starting mainly from Wurm’s research in the sixties, several papers include some analyses on various grammatical aspects of RSC languages, including Wurm (1972b, 1992), specifically devoted to possessive systems and the structure of the verb complex. Wurm never produced any study specifically to Nalögo, although few

phonological and morphological aspects of the Nalögo varieties of Nea, Nemboi and Noole are mentioned in a number of papers, for instance in Wurm (1969, 1970, 1976, 1978, 1972b).

Although RSC languages display some differences, they also share many similarities, especially SC languages. The main grammatical features of RSC languages mentioned by Wurm (1969, 1972a) have been summarised by Vaa (2013: 58-59). Many of the features in Vaa's summary which hold for Engdewu are also attested in Nalögo. These points, with some adaptations and additional information about Nalögo varieties, are reported below.

1. Presence of a complex morphophonemics (Wurm 1969: 77).
2. Presence of 'petrified' prefixed articles with little functional load in the forms nV-, tV- and IV- (Wurm 1969: 77).
3. Personal pronouns formed by possessive suffixes added to a base (in SC *ni*) (Wurm 1969: 77).
4. Presence of an inclusive-exclusive contrast in first person non-singular, plus an additional number in the first person non-singular inclusive (Wurm 1969: 77).
5. Possession of relationship, body parts and some additional nouns is expressed by possessive suffixes attached to nouns (Wurm 1969: 77).
6. Additional relations different from those in (5) are expressed by possessive markers suffixed by possessive suffixes. They follow the noun (Wurm 1969: 77-78).
7. In Engdewu and the Nea variety specifically, some nouns occur with semantic class prefixes (Wurm 1969: 78).
8. Presence of an 'adjective introducer' in the form of ka-, kä, kε- in SC dialects (Wurm 1969: 78).
9. Presence of prefixes, suffixes and discontinuous morphemes encoding aspects.
10. Presence of few tenses indicated by suffixes (Wurm 1969: 78).
11. Presence of suffixes and prefixes encoding direction and location of an action (Wurm 1969: 78).
12. 'Negation, prohibition and other features' are expressed by discontinuous morphemes (Wurm 1969: 78).
13. Causative indicated by a prefix (Wurm 1969: 78).
14. The presence of verbal nouns is common, especially in Engdewu (Wurm 1969: 78).
15. Benefactive obligatorily marked by 'special suffixes' (Wurm 1969: 78).
16. Subjects are indicated by suffixes (Wurm 1969: 78).
17. The number of the object is frequently marked in Engdewu (Wurm 1969: 79).

With regard to Nalögo, aspects of Wurm's analysis of some specific morphemes are mentioned in the grammar, where relevant.

In the following subsections, I summarise the most relevant studies on various aspects of Äiwoo, Natügu, Engdewu and Nalögo after Wurm.

1.5.2.1 Äiwoo

As previously mentioned, since Wurm's focus was mainly on the Reef language (Äiwoo), some grammatical aspects of the language are found in various papers (e.g. Wurm 1981, 1985 and 1987). In the last twenty years, research on Äiwoo has been mainly carried out by Åshild Næss, who has studied various aspects of the Äiwoo grammar, including bound nominal forms (Næss 2006, Næss 2017), complex verbs (Næss & Boerger 2008, Næss 2012), plural-marking strategies (Næss 2018a), strategies encoding stative spatial relations (Næss 2018b), negation (Næss & Roversi 2019), and comparatives (Næss 2020), among others. In the last eight years, Næss' works related to Äiwoo clausal structure, including Næss (2013, 2015a, 2015b, and Næss, forthcoming), have been of great interest, especially Næss (2015b), where the author identifies for the first time the presence of a symmetrical voice system in the language. Symmetrical voice systems are highly unusual for Oceanic languages, because the voice alternations that are common in Western Austronesian languages and have been reconstructed to Proto Austronesian are generally thought to have been lost by the time of POc branched off the rest of the Austronesian family (Lynch et al. 2002: 60-62). Thus, Næss (2015b) and her following studies on this topic have been of particular relevance for RSC, but more generally for the history of Oceanic languages. In Næss (2015b), based on her findings on the clausal structure in Äiwoo, the author highlights the importance of future comparison among RSC clausal systems to understand if and how they relate to each other. The central chapters of this thesis on verbal valency and clausal structure, in particular Chapter 14 on grammatical relations, are meant to address this point regarding Nalögo.

1.5.2.2 Natügu and Engdewu

Brenda Boerger, who lived more than twenty years on Santa Cruz Island for Bible translation purposes, is the leading expert of SC languages, and more specifically, of Natügu, spoken in the northern part of the island. Boerger published papers on some aspects of the Natügu grammar, such as the encoding of spatial relations (Boerger & Lober 2009), the composition of the verb complex (Næss & Boerger 2008), and the existence of a passive construction (van den Berg & Boerger 2011). She also focused on sociolinguistic aspects of RSC languages and language internal classification (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012, Boerger et al. 2012), Natügu literacy (Boerger 2007), linguistic and cultural documentation (e.g. Boerger 2007, 2009). Finally, Anders Vaa, who did fieldwork on Engdewu for his doctoral studies, was the first to

write a detailed grammatical description of a RSC language (Vaa 2013), after the short grammatical information given in Wurm's works.

1.5.2.3 Nalögo

As previously mentioned, this is the first extensive descriptive work on Nalögo, and more precisely, on the varieties of Nea and Nemboi. However, as mentioned in §1.5.2, some grammatical aspects on Nalögo varieties have been mentioned in Wurm's papers (1969, 1970, 1978, 1972b). Boerger & Zimmerman (2012) also published an interlinearised text in Nalögo and a wordlist in parallel with Natügu. Some recordings made by Wurm are found in PARADISEC language archive (<http://www.paradisec.org.au/>), but not all are available online or target Nalögo specifically. They include wordlists, some dictionary materials and elicited sentences. The main goal of the ELDP documentation project on Nalögo, of which this thesis is one of the outcomes, was to expand on these scattered materials.

1.6 Fieldwork activity and data collection

This grammatical description is based on primary data collected during six months of fieldwork, divided into two trips: the former was carried out from September to November 2015, while latter from November 2017 to February 2018.

The first trip was mainly self-funded, with some additional funds from the University of Newcastle (NSW, Australia) where this project started in 2015. The second trip was entirely funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) as part of the Small Grant SG0453, whose main goal was the creation of a corpus of annotated data on Nalögo. In September 2017, the author participated in the ELDP training in data collection, annotation and archiving. Additional help related to the practical side of fieldwork (equipment, flight booking, etc.) was provided by the laboratory *Langues et civilisations à tradition orale* (LACITO; Paris), where I carried out my research on Nalögo starting from December 2016.

In this section, I provide a summary of my fieldwork in Santa Cruz Island, with some information on data collection, annotation and archiving.

1.6.1 Community access

My first trip to Santa Cruz took place from September to November 2015. At the end of the preceding year, Prof. Åshild Næss, who was my primary advisor at the University of Newcastle

(NSW), got in touch with pastor Noel Keniano, a community leader who was responsible for the administration of the Nea/Noole ward in Nedö. Pastor Noel Keniano gave a written consent on the behalf of the community to my PhD colleague from the University of Newcastle, Aslak Vaag Olesen, who was in Santa Cruz at that time after a trip to Utupua island. After nearly ten months, I obtained the relevant permits from the Solomon Islands government, especially thanks to Karen and James Ashley from SITAG (Solomon Islands Translation Advisory Group), who kindly help me pass through the procedure at the Ministries of Education and Immigration, following up the process in Honiara while I was still in Australia. Once in Lata, in September 2015, I met Noel Keniano who was incredibly friendly and introduced me to some of his family members in Nea, finding a place for me with a local family and speaking to some male leaders.

1.6.2 Field trips, data collection, processing and archiving

1.6.2.1 Field trips and data collection

During my first trip of two months, I spent some days in Honiara and almost two weeks in total in Lata, the provincial capital of Temotu. After my arrival in Santa Cruz, I spent some days in Lata where I met Brenda Boerger and her team, who were running workshops with Natügu speakers for dictionary purposes. My first field trip benefited a lot from the support of Dr Boerger and Prof. Åshild Næss, carrying out a field trip to the Reef Islands. During my first trip, along with establishing some contacts with people in the community, I collected elicited materials mainly on the lexicon⁹ and various basic aspects of the grammar of the language. I also elicited some materials by using questionnaires and stimuli of various types, including video clips. A good number of texts were recorded, but only some of them were transcribed and translated with the help of some speakers. Most elicitations based on video stimuli were translated with the help of the speakers. During this trip, a good number of people took part in the documentation, even just for a short recording, but the project benefited mostly from the help of Julia Pute, Elisabeth Mena, Mark Liko, Joyce Bade, Kevin Bwebla, Devine Mwaplir and Catherine Pweka, who helped me with elicitations and translations.

⁹ I would like to thank Alex Boerger who helped me transcribe a good number of words during one of my first elicitation sessions in 2015. I also thank Jeremiah Aviel for participating in the recording session and helping me out with audio equipment.

My second field trip lasted about four months, of which two weeks were spent in Honiara for practical reasons. During this second trip, I created a larger corpus of more than twenty hours of video/audio recordings. Approximately eleven hours were transcribed and translated in ELAN, including elicitations and texts of different genres, such as traditional narratives known locally as *kastom* stories, personal stories, texts about cultural practices, village life, procedures, and conversations. More transcriptions and translations are in process of being imported in ELAN. Two young speakers, Charity Mweabu and Catherine Pweka, helped me with the transcription and translation of a number of texts, including some short texts from my first field trip, and elicitations based on stimuli. I also transcribed and glossed a good number of elicitations both in the field and later. Together with Catherine and Charity, Billy Palu also provided me with two English translations of his own texts, as well as contributing to the project with some elicitations. Elicitation tasks were primarily carried out by Julia Pute and Elisabeth Mena, even though other people have contributed to various degrees. Julia and Elisabeth were always very patient and replied very kindly to all my questions. During this field trip, I also created, with a group of young people, a set of video clips showing daily activities, from drinking to cutting a pig with a bush knife. The aim of this video clips is to elicit the most common predicates and their argument structure.

Data were recorded at 16-bit/48KHz, using the following equipment: (i) Zoom Q8 video recorder, (ii) Zoom H4N audio recorder, Superlux E524/D stereo microphone cardioide.

In the table below, I provide the names of people from Nea and Nemboi who took part in the documentation project, contributing to various degrees, from one single recording of a few minutes to translations and elicitations.

| NAME OF PEOPLE | RECORDING TYPE | GENRE |
|--------------------|----------------|--|
| Alice Inagle | Audio/video | Narrative text, song |
| Ellen Mwaplir | Audio/video | Narrative text, song |
| Mark Liko | Audio | Elicitations, narrative text, translations, wordlist |
| Billy Palu | Audio | Elicitations, narrative text, procedural text, translation |
| Roger Pisar | Audio/video | Elicitations, narrative text and procedural text |
| Peter Bade | Audio | Elicitations |
| Noel Keniano | Audio | Wordlist |
| Rebecca Ipwowa | Audio/video | Narrative text, poem, song |
| Nancy Karen Iwa | Audio | Procedural text |
| Mathias Keva | Audio | Narrative text |
| Leslie James Kolia | Audio | Narrative text |
| Kevin Bwebla | Audio | Elicitations, translations, narrative texts, personal text |

| | | |
|------------------|-------------|---|
| Catherine Pweka | Audio/video | Elicitations, translations |
| Julia Pute | Audio/video | Elicitations, narrative texts, personal text, village life text, song |
| Judith Mesapo | Audio/video | Narrative text, procedural text |
| Judith La'ale | Audio | Elicitations |
| Joyce Bade | Audio/video | Elicitations, procedural text |
| Joshua Mendealue | Audio | Narrative text |
| Harold Me'ete | Audio | Narrative text, village life text |
| Elisabeth Mena | Video/audio | Elicitations, narrative texts, procedural texts, conversations, songs |
| Duncan Mesapo | Audio/video | (procedural texts) |
| Devine Mwaplir | Audio/video | Translations, narrative text, procedural text, village life text, elicitation |
| Clemens Mweabu | Audio/video | Elicitations |
| Nancy Ivaio | Video | Elicitations |
| Charity Mweabu | Audio/video | Elicitations, translations |
| Mark Mesapo | Video | Procedural text |
| Henry Bade | Video | Village life text |
| Isaak Muesatu | Video | Village life text |
| Michael Palu | Video | Narrative text, procedural text |

Table 1-1. Names of people who participating in the project.

1.6.2.2 Data processing

Data were processed according to the guidelines given by ELDP (Gaved & Salfner 2014). Audio files were first segmented in ELAN (2020), then imported in FLEx (2020) for interlinearisation. The glossing has been carried out mainly out of the field. Many elicited sentences were first transcribed and translated in Word files and, on some occasions, on papers, then imported in ELAN, when possible. Currently, annotations are still in progress.

1.6.2.3 Data archiving

The data collected during my second trip are currently archived in ELAR (Alfarano 2020)¹⁰, under the project ‘Documenting Nalögo, an Oceanic language of Santa Cruz Island’ (nalogo-alfarano0742). The corpus is organised in bundles. Each bundle includes various files associated with a recording session, e.g. metadata, audio and/or video files, ELAN/FLEx transcriptions, photographs, and any additional information which might be relevant for a

¹⁰ Alfarano, Valentina. 2020. Documenting Nalögo, an Oceanic language of Santa Cruz Island. London: SOAS, Endangered Languages Archive, ELAR.

specific recording sessions. The corpus includes video/audio files of elicitations and a variety of texts, photographs, video clips, consent forms, and some community materials.

1.6.2.4 Software

The main software used for linguistic analysis were ELAN for segmentation and a primary annotation of audio/video files, FLE_x for interlinearisation and PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2020) for phonetic analysis.

1.7 Goal of the thesis

This thesis provides a grammatical description of Nalögo based on primary data collected in the field. The goal of this work is to cover the most important aspects of the Nalögo grammar, including its phonology, morphology and syntax. The description tries to be typologically informed and, where possible, diachronically informed. Special attention has been paid to three topics: valency-changing phenomena, clausal structure and especially grammatical relations. In particular, Chapter 14 is devoted to a more detailed description of Nalögo grammatical relations, with the aim of investigating the similarities and differences between the Nalögo system and the symmetrical voice systems attested in Äiwoo and in Western Austronesian languages. There is a lot that remains to be done for future research. There are areas in the description that require more fine-grained analyses and/or more data, and others that need to be investigated. However, I hope that this grammar will give to the reader a little glimpse into the fascinating complexity of an RSC language, but more generally, of any linguistic system.

1.8 Framework and organisation

The descriptive framework used in this description is based on the “Basic linguistic theory”, which as Dryer (2006: 211) writes, has become dominant in the last years as a descriptive theory, involving the most common notions found in various frameworks, such as traditional grammar, structuralism, generative grammar and typology. However, there are also language-specific categories in Nalögo which do not match traditional definitions given in the literature. In this case, the system is described, as Haspelmath writes (2008), in ‘its own terms’.

In terms of organisation, this grammar follows what Mosel (2008: 305) refers to as ‘ascending model’, which means that the description starts from the phonology moving to the more complex units of morphology and syntax.

1.9 Typological overview

The aim of this section is to provide a short typological overview of the most common characteristics of Oceanic languages compared to those attested in Nalögo. The description of the Oceanic features given here is based on Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002), even though typological variation is attested among Oceanic systems.

1.9.1. Phonology

In terms of phonology, Oceanic languages show a wide range of typologically diverse profiles, which are most likely the result of innovations, which took place in languages of various subgroups, starting from POc. However, ‘canonical’ Oceanic languages tend to display fairly small phoneme inventories. Vowel inventories tend to include five vowels and distinctive vowel length is typically found in languages spoken in the eastern parts of Oceania, but not in the western parts. The syllable structure is generally CV and stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable.

When Nalögo is compared to canonical Oceanic languages, it displays a slightly more complex phonology with fifteen phonemic consonants (/p, b, g, p, k, t, d̥ʒ, s, v, m, n, ŋ, l, j, w/) and ten oral vowels (/i, e, ε, a, ʌ, ø, ɜ, u, o, ʊ/). The phonetic realisations of vowels show a great variation, especially when it comes to central vowels. This characteristic, namely, the presence of a complex vowel inventory, is characteristic of RSC languages, but, for instance, absent from the other Temotu languages, like those spoken in Vanikoro, which show the canonical five vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ (François 2009). As in many parts of Melanesia, Nalögo contrasts nasalised voiced plosives with plain oral stops. The syllable structure, (C)(C)(C)V(C), appears to be more complex than the one attested in many Oceanic languages, as well as phonological and morpho-phonemic processes. Stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable, with exceptions, but further studies are needed for a detailed analysis of its behaviour. The phonology of Nalögo is outlined in Chapter 2.

1.9.2 Pronominal system

In their pronominal systems, Oceanic languages typically distinguish between singular, dual and plural number, as well as showing an inclusive/exclusive distinction within the first non-singular person. Many languages also display a paucal number. With rare exceptions, Oceanic languages do not make gender distinctions in their pronominal system. Finally, they tend to

display three or four pronominal sets, which include free forms, bound possessive forms and bound verbal forms expressing subjects and, less commonly, objects.

Unlike many Oceanic languages, pronouns in Nalögo follow a minimal-augmented (MIN/AUG) pattern, which include four basic terms, 1, 1+2 ('1st+2nd' person, i.e. 'you and I'), 2, 3. This pattern is not widespread across the languages of the family, except for RSC languages which display minimal-augmented and unit-augmented systems. There are three sets of pronouns: free forms, possessive enclitics and bound subject forms. Subject forms, which are further divided into two sets, show great number of allomorphs and variants. There is no dedicated set for verbal bound objects, although a form =*le* is found marking 3MIN objects in specific contexts. However, object bound forms, which are homophonous with possessive forms, can be expressed on one preposition. Finally, Nalögo has no gender distinction in the pronominal system, except for two innovative forms based on demonstratives, *i-kâ* 'the female one, she' and *mö-kâ* 'the male one, he', which can display a pronominal function. Pronouns are treated in Chapter 3.

1.9.3 Nouns

In canonical Oceanic languages, nouns are classified as common, personal or local/temporal, based on their morphosyntactic properties. Nominal inflection is almost absent, in that nouns are generally unmarked for case and number. If languages distinguish between singular and plural referents, highly animate nouns are the target of this distinction. In other words, plural marking is based on an animacy hierarchy. Nominal derivation from verbs or other roots, as well as reduplication is widespread Oceanic languages also classify nouns as belonging to two classes, directly or indirectly possessed (§1.9.4).

In Nalögo, nouns behave as those found in most Oceanic languages, in that based on their morphosyntactic properties, they can be divided in common, person, and local/temporal, as well as 'relational possessed' nouns. Nominal inflection is absent, except for a plural marker which is rarely attached to common bare nouns. A distinction between singular and plural referents is made for highly animate referents (Chapter 3). Reduplication is almost absent. Word formation includes three processes: (i) the process of nominalization of verb roots through affixation, (ii) the process of creation of complex nominals through bound nouns, and (iii) the process of noun compounding. All these topics are discussed in Chapter 6. The most interesting characteristic of Nalögo is probably the presence of a set of bound nouns forming complex nominals, whose properties can differ slightly from 'participant' nominalisers which are more often attested in

Oceanic languages (Ross & Næss 2007). A discussion of this topic from a typological perspective, as well as the presentation of word-formation processes, is found in Chapter 4.

1.9.4 Possession

Possession is one of the most complex areas of Oceanic grammars. As mentioned in §1.5.3, there is a basic distinction between direct and indirect constructions which correlate with some morphosyntactic and semantic properties. In direct constructions, the bound form encoding the possessor is directly attached to the noun, while in indirect possession, it is added onto a possessive morpheme. Possessive morphemes, often referred to as ‘classifiers’, tend to express a specific type of semantic relation between the possessor and the possessee (Lichtenberk 1983). Semantically, the direct/indirect distinction tends to correlate with a distinction between inalienability and alienability, in that directly possessed nouns are generally viewed as displaying a more ‘intrinsic’ and ‘indissoluble’ relation with the possessor, by contrast with indirectly possessed nouns. A detailed description of these constructions is given in Chapter 6.

With regard to possession, Nalögo is a typical Oceanic language with a distinction between direct and indirect constructions and the presence of seven possessive classifiers. Interesting is the role that notions typically associated with possessive constructions in Oceanic, such as ‘relationality’ (Lichtenberk 1983), play in the organisation of the possessive system in Nalögo, in that not all the classifiers display a ‘relational’ nature. This topic is discussed in Chapter 6.

1.9.5 Adjectives

Typically, Oceanic languages do not have a class of adjectives or, if they have one, it tends to be very small. Meanings that in the other world’s languages may be expressed by adjectives, in Oceanic languages, they are expressed by intransitive stative verbs, which depending on the language, can be part of relative clauses modifying the head noun.

In these respects, Nalögo is a typical Oceanic language. There is a class of adjectives which appears to be very small (only two members) and properties are typically expressed by stative verbs occurring in relative clauses (Chapter 5).

1.9.6 Articles, demonstratives and numerals

In the Oceanic family, many languages display articles, while others, such as languages of Manus (PNG), Micronesian and Vanuatu, typically do not display articles. In many languages

of Vanuatu and in some languages of the southwestern part of New Britain, what was originally the article (POc *na) has accreted to the noun root, being no longer separable in most contexts (Crowley 1985), with the exception of some compounds where the noun functioning as the second element of the compound can appear without the fused article. Demonstratives typically make a three-way distinction based either on person (near speaker, near listener or near neither), or relative distance (close, intermediate, and distant). The intermediate form often serves as the relative clause marker. Finally, in Oceanic languages, the most widely distributed pattern of numerals is the decimal one, with exceptions in Vanuatu and New Caledonia, where some quinary systems are found. Some languages can display mixed systems with both patterns. Typically, numerals are postposed to NP heads and can take some inflectional verbal morphology or display some vestiges of it.

With regard to articles, Nalögo patterns like languages of Vanuatu, in that, it does not have articles, but in many words, it displays reflexes of POc *na accreted to the noun root as in the word *numwö* ‘eye(s), face’ (maybe POc *mata > pre-PRSC *mala > PRSC *na mnâ > NAL *nu-mwö*; based on the reconstruction made by Ross & Næss 2007). In the reduced compound form *dölöt-mwe* ‘tears (of eyes)’, the fused article *nu-* of *numwö* disappears. In terms of demonstratives, Nalögo shows a number of demonstrative sets. Like canonical Oceanic languages, parameters such as relative distance and position of the listener play a role in the organisation of the system of most demonstrative forms, together with the ‘attention-triggering’ parameter (Chapter 7). In addition, the medial form of the pronominal demonstrative is diachronically related to the linker introducing relative clauses (Chapter 17). Finally, numerals in Nalögo follow a decimal system, as do the majority of Oceanic languages. While some of the forms appear to allow some verbal morphology, others do not or show some vestigial forms (Chapter 5).

1.9.7 Verbs

In Oceanic languages, verbs do not generally have many derivational morphemes. They typically display a causative and a reciprocal prefix, and as in Western Melanesian languages, an intransitivizing prefix turning transitive verbs into intransitive stative verbs. Reduplication is extremely common and expresses various functions, including repetition, plurality of actors or patients, randomness of action and valency-related functions. Transitivity is often formally marked on verbs, but in many Melanesian languages, there are only vestiges of formal transitive marking or no formal marking at all. Passive constructions are very rare. In terms of verbal

morphology and syntax of the verb phrase, Oceanic languages are generally quite complex, including a verbal nucleus with preverbal and postverbal morphemes expressing various verbal categories. Preverbal morphemes can encode subjects, tense/aspect/mood, and negation. There are languages with portmanteau preverbal morphemes expressing subject and TAM categories. Postverbal morphemes can also express various categories, including for instance, directionals, aspect and pronominal bound objects. Generic objects are typically incorporated and verb serialisation is common.

Nalögo appears to have a more complex system of valency-changing morphemes than the average Oceanic language. As in many Oceanic languages, there is a causative prefix, while the reciprocal function is specifically expressed by a suffix (Chapter 13). Reduplication is virtually absent. Transitivity can be marked on verbs by a transitive suffix *-ti*, depending on the verb class (Chapter 11). Unlike many Oceanic languages, there is a kind of passive-like construction (Chapter 13). In terms of verbal morphology, the Nalögo verb phrase (or ‘verb complex’ as I label it in Chapter 8), is quite complex with preverbal and postverbal morphemes expressing negation, subject, aspect/mood, directions, adverbial meanings, and so on. Object incorporation is not attested in the data on which this work is based, but if present, is probably not common. Verb serialisation, including nuclear and core serialisation is attested (Chapter 8).

1.9.8 Main clauses

Verbless clauses are typically constituted by two juxtaposed NPs with no intervening verbs, even though in some Oceanic languages, there is a copular element. Verbal clauses are minimally constituted by a predicate, given that overtly expressed subjects and objects are rare in discourse. In terms of word order, various word orders are attested, but the SVO word order is geographically “the most widely distributed pattern, as well as being found in the genetically most diverse sample of languages” (Lynch et al. 2002: 49). Most Oceanic languages display a fixed word order, allowing core arguments to be topicalised in initial position. Non-core arguments are generally marked by adpositions. In terms of alignment of core syntactic roles, most Oceanic languages are nominative-accusative, but some languages display an ergative-absolutive system. Typologically, languages with a VO order generally display prepositions, postnominal adjectives and possessed-possessor order in possessive constructions.

In Nalögo, verbless clauses are similar to those attested in Oceanic languages, thus, they are formed by two juxtaposed NPs. There is only a locative copula used in locative constructions (Chapter 12). Verbal clauses are often formed by only the predicate, the NPs being omitted due

to discourse retrievability. Nalögo has three basic clause types—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive—with the following basic word orders with nominal arguments: SV , $VA_{TR}O_{TR}$ and $A_{STR}VO_{STR}$. The properties of these core arguments are mentioned in Chapter 3 and 12, and discussed more in detail in Chapter 14. The S argument is the sole core argument of the intransitive clause, while A_{TR}/O_{TR} and A_{STR}/O_{STR} are the core arguments of transitive and semitransitive clauses, respectively. Core arguments are unmarked, while non-core arguments are marked by a small set of prepositions. As a VO language, Nalögo is ‘well-behaved’, in that it has prepositions (Chapter 12), and adjectives and possessive markers following the NP head (Chapter 5). In terms of grammatical relations, Nalögo shows different intricate patterns (Chapter 14). The alignment of pronominal bound forms, the language is fairly canonical, with a nominative-accusative alignment.

2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHO-PHONOLOGY

The goal of this chapter is to describe the phonology and the most common morpho-phonological phenomena attested in Nalögo, providing the reader with the basic properties of the system, leaving more fine-grained analyses for future research.

The chapter is organised as follows. In §2.1, I present the inventory of phonemes—consonants and vowels—and their allophones, as well as the possible alternations between vowels and consonants within some words. In the introductory part §2.1, I also provide the orthographic conventions used in this work. In §2.2, I discuss the main phonotactic rules related to syllable patterns, consonant clusters, diphthongs and vowel sequences. The most common phonological and morpho-phonological processes are described in §2.3 and §2.4, respectively. Finally, some basic properties of stress assignment are given in §2.5.

2.1. Phonemes

In Nalögo, there are ten oral vowels /i e ε a u ø ɜ u o v/ and fifteen consonants /b d g p t k s v d͡ʒ m n ŋ l w j/. The orthographic conventions used in this work are those generally adopted in the descriptions of the other RSC languages. They are shown in Table 2-1 and Table 2-2 below.

| VOWEL PHONEME | GRAPHEME |
|---------------|----------|
| /a/ | <a> |
| /e/ | <e> |
| /i/ | <i> |
| /o/ | <o> |
| /u/ | <u> |
| /ε/ | <ä> |
| /ʌ/ | <ü> |
| /ø/ | <ö> |
| /ɜ/ | <ë> |
| /v/ | <â> |

Table 2-1. Orthographic conventions for vowels

| CONSONANT PHONEME | GRAPHEME |
|-------------------|----------|
| /b/ | |
| /d/ | <d> |
| /g/ | <g> |
| /p/ | <p> |
| /t/ | <t> |
| /k/ | <k> |
| /s/ | <s> |
| /v/ | <v> |
| /d͡ʒ/ | <j> |
| /m/ | <m> |
| /n/ | <n> |
| /ŋ/ | <ng> |
| /l/ | <l> |
| /w/ | <w> |
| /j/ | <y> |

Table 2-2. Orthographic conventions for consonants

Long vowels are expressed by two adjacent vowels of the same type. Consonants are indicated by one letter or two as in the case of /ŋ/ written as <ng>. Clusters are also expressed by two or three letters, as in the examples /ml/ <ml>, /pl/ <pl> and /kŋ/ <kng>. Currently, there is no established orthography for the Nalögo varieties spoken in Nea and Nemboi. In writing their language, some people try to adapt the English orthography to the Nalögo system. For instance, some people adopted the grapheme <ir> used in the English word ‘stir’ and ‘Sir’ to express the sound /ə/. For instance, the indigenous name /Mwaplə/ is often written as <Mwaplir>, or the village /Bibə/ as <Bimbir>. This orthographic convention is also attested in Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 127). When prenasalisation occurs, prenasalised plosives as /b/ [ᵐb] in /Bibə/ are written by speakers through two graphemes <mb>. An additional example is represented by the vowel /ɜ/ which is generally written with the English grapheme <a>. However, one speaker to whom

I talked during my last fieldwork was aware of the difficulty of this process of adaptation, especially in relation to a correct representation of the Nalögo vowels. Based on community interest, further work on the orthography could be done in the future with the participation of community members.

2.1.1 Consonants

In Nalögo, there are fifteen consonants summarized in Table 2-3.

| | BILABIAL | LABIO-DENTAL | ALVEOLAR | POST-ALVEOLAR | PALATAL | VELAR | LABIAL-VELAR |
|---------------------|----------|--------------|----------|---------------|---------|-------|--------------|
| VOICED PLOSIVE | b | | d | | | g | |
| VOICELESS PLOSIVE | p | | t | | | k | |
| VOICED AFFRICATE | | | | ɖʒ | | | |
| VOICED FRICATIVE | | v | | | | | |
| VOICELESS FRICATIVE | | | s | | | | |
| NASAL | m | | n | | | ŋ | |
| LATERAL APPROXIMANT | | | l | | | | |
| CENTRAL APPROXIMANT | | | | | j | | w |

Table 2-3. Inventory of consonants

All the consonants in Table 2-3 are discussed below.

2.1.1.1 Prenasalised voiced plosives /b/ /d/ /g/

Nalögo displays three prenasalized voiced plosives produced at three main points of articulation: the bilabial /b/ , the alveolar /d/ <d> and the velar /g/ <g>. Generally, they are phonetically realized as [ᵐb], [ᵑd] and [ŋg], respectively.

Table 2-4 shows some minimal pairs where /b/, /d/ and /g/ occur word initially and word medially.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|--|
| /b/ vs /p/ | /bə/ ‘smell, have an odour’ vs /pə/ ‘make holes’ |
| /d/ vs /t/ | /da/ ‘thing’ vs /ta/ ‘fall’ |
| /g/ vs /k/ | /gə/ ‘smash’ vs /kə/ ‘sing’ |

Table 2-4. Prenasalized voiced plosives /b/ /d/ and /g/

The voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ are prenasalized, that is, they are formed by a sequence of a voiced consonant and a homorganic nasal. Along with voiced plosives, the affricate /dʒ/ is also prenasalized as shown in §2.1.1.3. The presence of phonetically prenasalized voiced plosives is attested in many parts of Melanesia (Lynch et al. 2002: 32-35). However, in Nalögo, prenasalization is not obligatory. For instance, the 3MIN free pronoun /nide/ ‘she/se/it’ can be phonetically realized as [nide] or [niⁿde].

Wurm (1969: 61-62) also mentioned the presence of prenasalised voiced plosives analyzed as complex segments. In addition, he claimed that in the Nemboi variety, they occur as prenasalized “in the majority of their observed instances of occurrence”. Here, I continue the analysis of prenasalised voiced plosives as complex segments. Vaa (2013: 75) also proposes a similar analysis for prenasalized voiced plosives in Engdewu. There is at least one simple reason to support this hypothesis, namely, nasalization is never excluded, which means that there are no contexts where voiced plosives have to be realised without the prenasalisation. In Engdewu, younger speakers tend to use prenasalization less often than older speakers and the same tendency is also observed in Natügu (Vaa 2013: 81). In this respect, Nalögo seems to pattern like the other two SC languages, even though at this stage of the analysis, this claim is purely impressionistic.

Two examples of spectrograms showing a prenasalized /b/ in word-medial and word-initial positions are shown in Figure 2-2 and Figure 2-1.

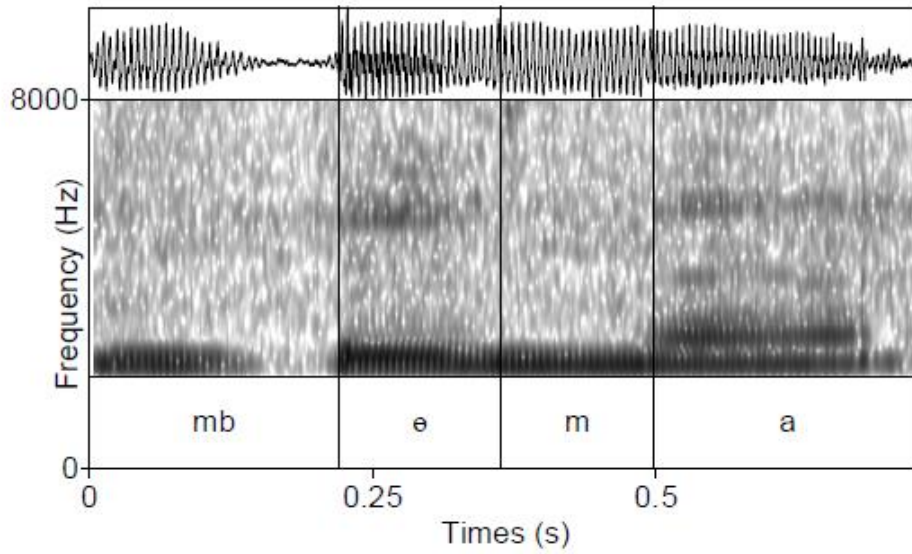


Figure 2-1. Spectrogram of the word /bema/ 'house'

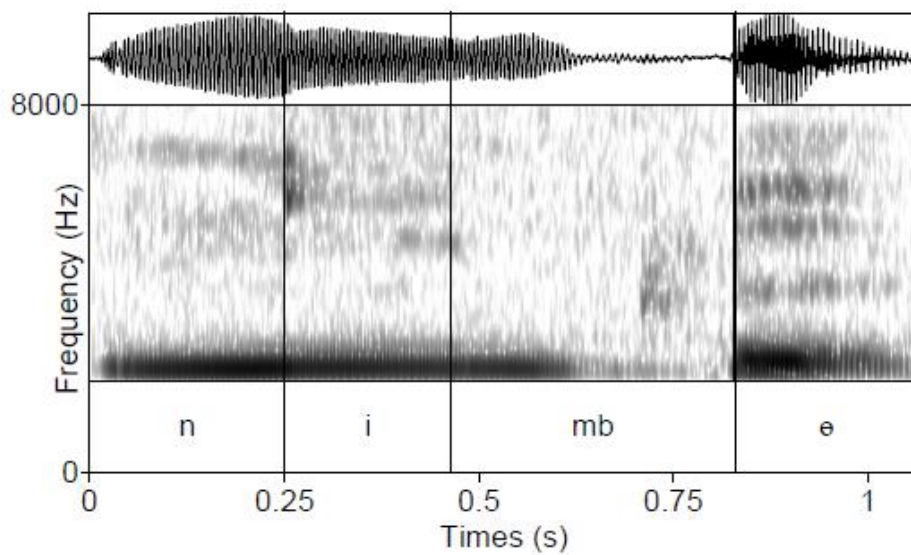


Figure 2-2. Spectrogram of the word /nibe/ 'back'

In Figure 2-3 and Figure 2-4, I show two possible realisations of the prenasalised voiced plosive /d/ in intervocalic position with and without prenasalisation, respectively.

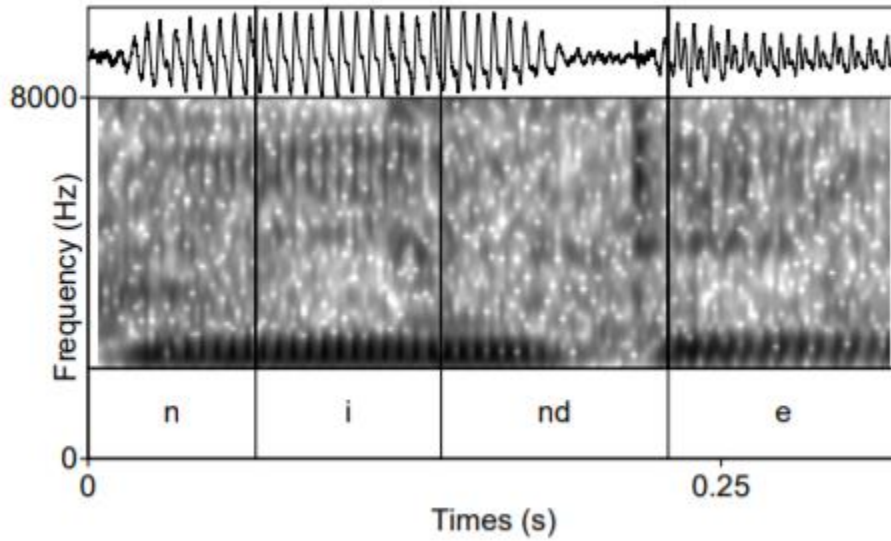


Figure 2-3. Spectrogram of the word /nide/ 'She/he/it' with prenasalized /d/

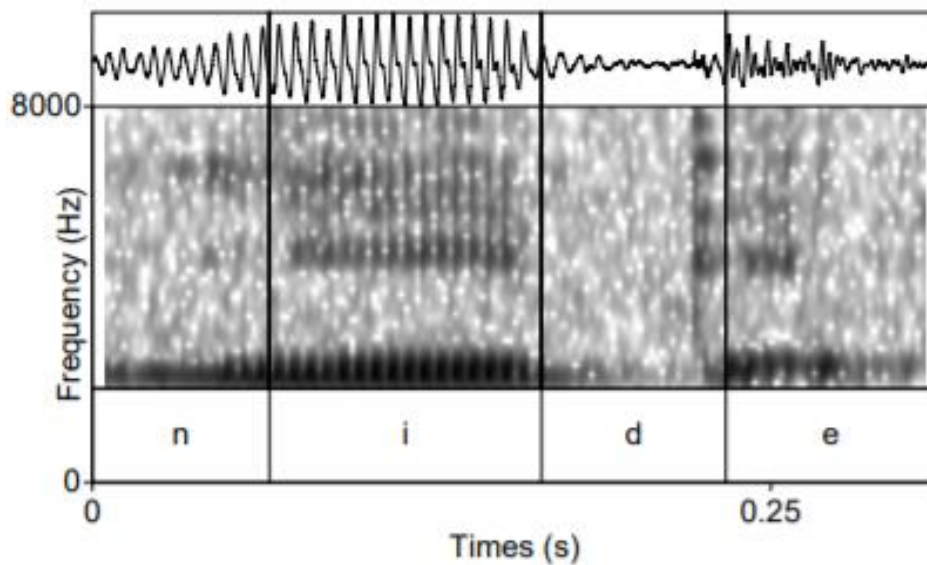


Figure 2-4. Spectrogram of the word /nide/ 'She/he/it' with plain /d/

2.1.1.2 Voiceless plosives /p/ /t/ /k/

Nalögo displays a set of voiceless plosives in three main points of articulation: the bilabial /p/, the alveolar /t/ and the velar /k/. They can occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position. The word final position is generally due to the deletion the final unstressed vowel /ʌ/ (e.g. /nat/ 'voice' < /natʌ/ 'voice').

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| /p/ vs /t/ | /pi/ ‘say’ vs /ti/ ‘smell’ |
| /p/ vs /k/ | /pʌ/ ‘be hot’ vs /kʌ/ ‘dig’ |
| /k/ vs /t/ | /ku/ ‘be cooked’ vs /tu/ ‘stand’ |

Table 2-5. Voiceless plosives /p/ /t/ and /k/

The plosive /t/ can be phonetically realized as [t], [r] or [ɾ]. The allophones [r] and [ɾ] occur in intervocalic position within words, across morpheme boundaries within the same word, and across words. The allophones occur mostly in rapid speech, while in careful speech, they tend to be replaced by [t]. Two examples of allophones within words and across morpheme boundaries are shown below. Sentence (2.1) shows an example where the initial /t/ of the imperfective prefix is realized as [ɾ] due to its intervocalic position between the final /e/ of the word for ‘boy’ and the vowel /ʌ/ of the prefix. The second /t/ is phonetically realised in the same way, but it occurs within the word for ‘be big’ between the vowels /ɜ/ and /u/.

| WITHIN WORD | ACROSS MORPHEME BOUNDARIES |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| /bu.te.te/ | /gø.tu/ |
| [bu'rere] | [ⁿ gø.ru] |
| ‘sweet potato’ | ‘mine (general poss)’ |
| | /lɜ.ka.tø.pwe/ |
| | [lɜ'karøpwe] |
| | ‘they gave in’ |

Table 2-6. Allophone [ɾ] of /t/ in intervocalic position

- (2.1) *Mweli kâ nünge*
time DEM₁.DIST boy
tü-pwë-tu-lë=ngö=pe=m=de...
IPFV.N3AUG-be.big-up-INTS.MRK=APPL=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
/tu-pwɜ-tu-lɜ=ŋø=pe=m=de/
[rupwɜɾulɜŋøpemde]
‘When the boy grew up...’ (nalogo1709_2015)

The allophony can be maintained after changes of the context. For instance, the word ‘cabbage’ /lopota/ has a reduced form /lopta/, realised as [ˈlopra], resulting from the deletion of the vowel /o/ in unstressed medial position. Even if the condition of the allophony of /t/, namely, the intervocalic position, is no longer present after vowel deletion, /t/ continues to be phonetically realised as [r]. A similar process applies to the word /pøtengime/ which is reduced to /ptengime/, realised as [ˈpreŋime]. Again, the allophone [r] is retained after the condition of the allophony disappears. Figure 2-5 shows the phonetic realisation of the word /lopta/ [lopra].

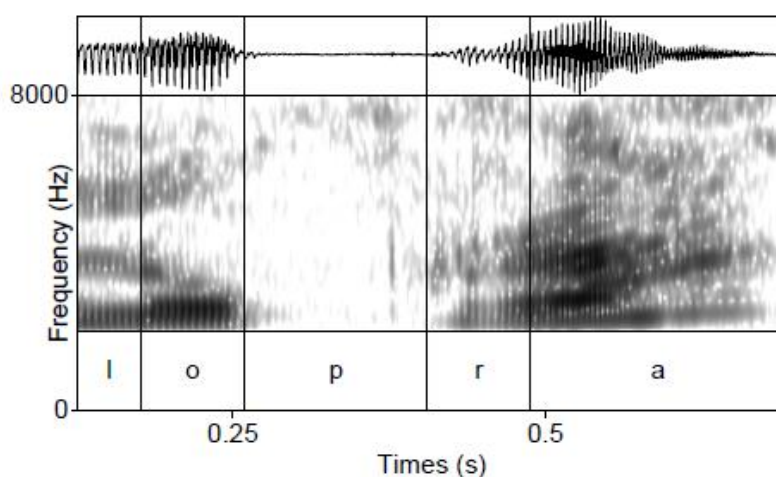


Figure 2-5. Spectrogram of the word /lopta/ ‘cabbage’

In word initial, word medial and word final position, voiceless plosives can be phonetically aspirated, but aspiration is not phonemic. Two spectrograms displaying aspirated voiceless plosives in word medial and word final positions are shown in Figure 2-6 and Figure 2-7, respectively.

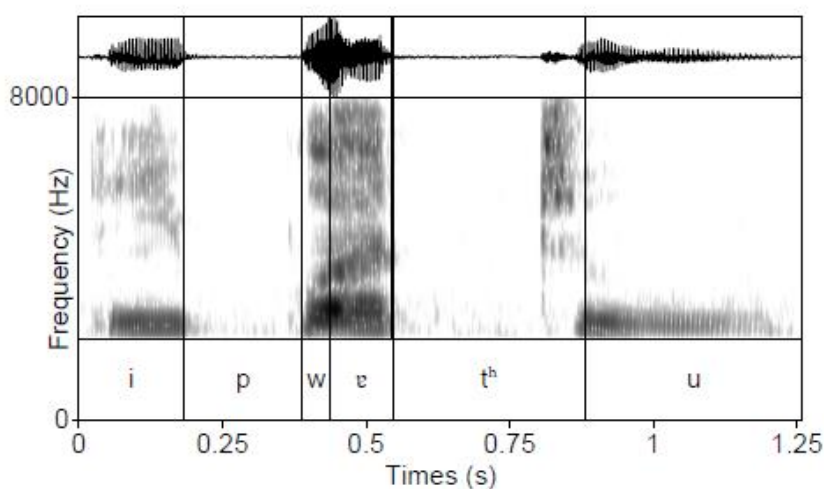


Figure 2-6. Spectrogram of the word /ipwɜtu/ ‘be big’

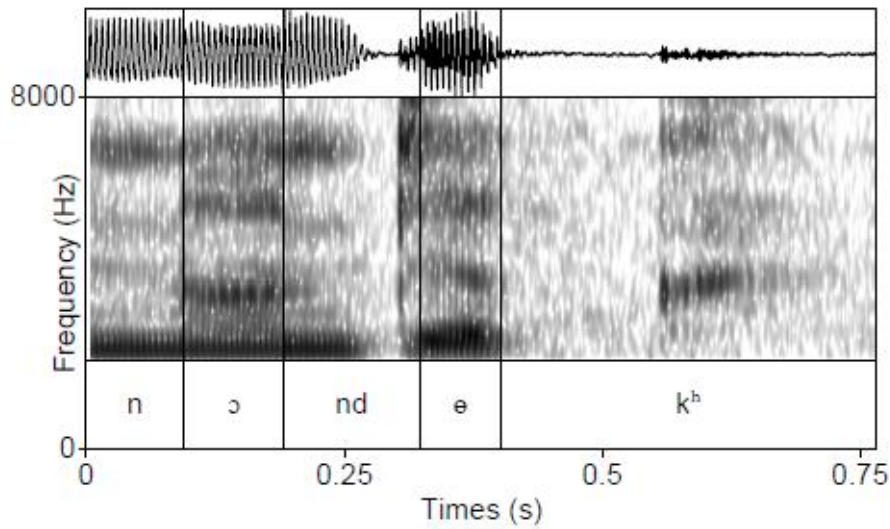


Figure 2-7. Spectrogram of the word /nodək/ 'wall'

The presence of the aspiration was already mentioned by Wurm (1969: 61) in his first analysis of the phonology of the Nalögo variety spoken in Nemboi.

Voiceless plosives in word-final position can be phonetically unreleased. For instance, final /p/ and /k/ are often pronounced as [p̚] and [k̚]. The same phenomenon is attested in Engdewu, where one of the possible realisations of the name /menamopu/ is [menamop̚] (Vaa 2013: 72). Figure 2-8 shows an example of unreleased /p/ in word-final position.

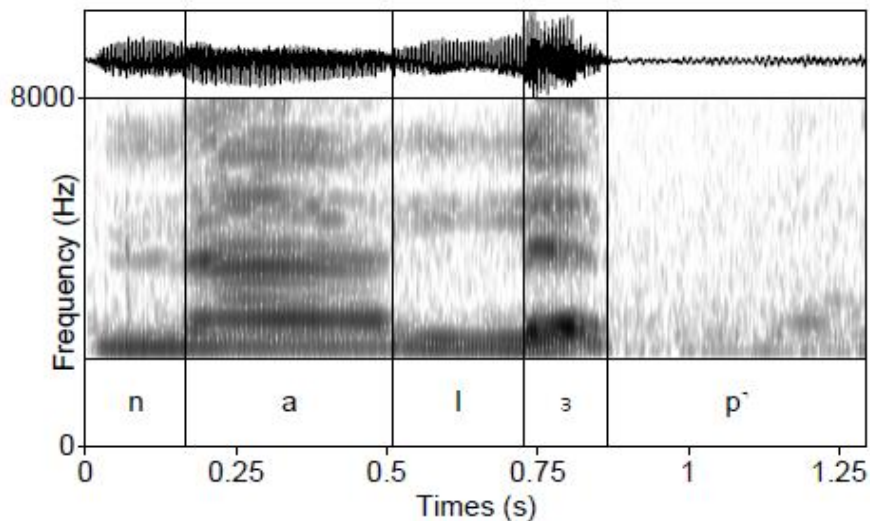


Figure 2-8. Spectrogram of the word /nalɜp/ with unreleased /p/

2.1.1.3 Prenasalized voiced affricate /d͡ʒ/

Nalögo has a phonetically prenasalized voiced affricate /d͡ʒ/, where prenasalisation is optional. This phoneme has fewer occurrences in the available data, in that, it is attested only in certain words, including the three distance-related forms of the locative demonstrative <ja, jä, jâ> /d͡ʒa, d͡ʒɛ, d͡ʒɔ/ ‘be here/there/over there’ (Chapter 7) and the homophonous 3MIN subject and possessive forms <=je> /=d͡ʒe/ (Chapter 3); the interrogative word /d͡ʒele/ ‘be where?’ and a local fruit whose indigenous name is /d͡ʒe/. The affricate is only found word initially and word medially, but never word finally as shown in Table 2-7. Prenasalized voiced affricate /d͡ʒ/

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|--------------|--|
| /d͡ʒ/ vs /m/ | /d͡ʒa/ ‘be here’ vs /ma/ ‘here’ |
| /d͡ʒ/ vs /k/ | /d͡ʒele/ ‘be where?’ vs /kele/ ‘be good’ |

Table 2-7. Prenasalized voiced affricate /d͡ʒ/

In Figure 2-9 and Figure 2-10, there are two possible phonetic realisations of /d͡ʒ/ in intervocalic position with and without prenasalisation.

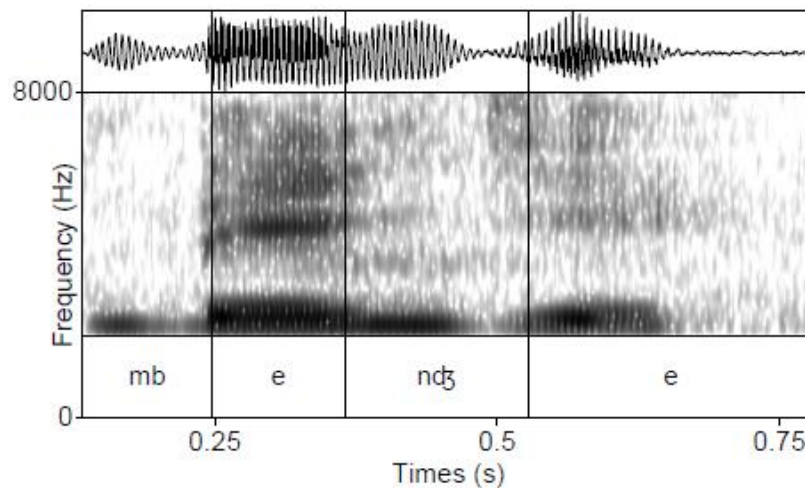


Figure 2-9. Spectrogram of the word /bed͡ʒe/ ‘its/his/her skin’

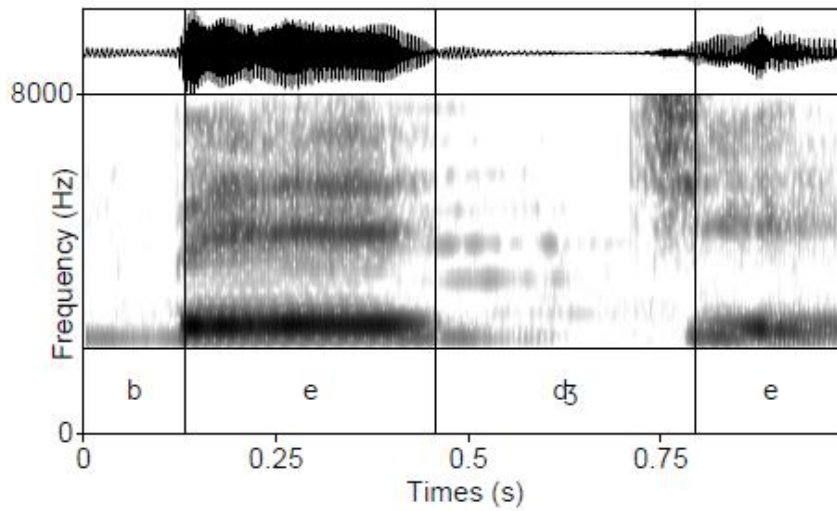


Figure 2-10. Spectrogram of the word /bedʒe/ 'Her/his/its skin'

2.1.1.4 Voiced labio-dental fricative /v/

Nalögo has a phonemic voiced fricative /v/ which can be realized as [v] or [β]. This phoneme can occur in word-initial and word-medial position as shown in Table 2-8.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| /v/ vs /w/ | /vɜ/ 'walk' vs /wɜ/ 'work' |
| /v/ vs /p/ | /vi/ 'cut, chop' vs /pi/ 'say' |

Table 2-8. Voiced labio-dental fricative /v/

2.1.1.5 Voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ realized as [s] does not appear to be very frequent, unless it occurs in borrowings from English or Pijin (e.g. SI Pijin *bicos* 'because', *sapos* 'if'). It is found in word initial and word medial position as shown in Table 2-9.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|---|
| /s/ vs /t/ | /-sə/ ‘APPL’ /-tə/ ‘in’ |
| /s/ vs /v/ | /satu/ ‘tuna’ vs /vatu/ ‘make s.t. stand’ |

Table 2-9. Voiceless post-alveolar fricative /s/

The voiceless fricative /s/ is mostly attested as a phonetic realisation of /t/ in front of /j/ with subject prefixes. This process of spirantization is described in §2.4.1.3.

2.1.1.6 Nasals /m/ /n/ /ŋ/

Nalögo displays a set of nasals at three main points of articulation: the bilabial /m/, the alveolar /n/ and the velar /ŋ/. These nasals can occur in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position as shown in Table 2-10.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| /m/ vs /n/ | /mɔ/ ‘there’ vs /nɔ/ ‘fish’ |
| /m/ vs /ŋ/ | /mɔ/ ‘there’ vs /ŋɔ/ ‘be like’ |
| /n/ vs /ŋ/ | /nini/ ‘mat’ vs /ŋini/ ‘be’ |

Table 2-10. Nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/

In some words, the presence of nasals in final positions is due to the deletion of an unstressed final vowel. For instance, the word /tun/ ‘be true’ is also attested as /tunʌ/.

When preceded by a voiceless plosive like /p/ or /k/, nasals can be realized as voiceless as in the change-of-state aspectual marker /=pme/ [p̥me] or in the word /knja/ [k̥ŋja] ‘crow (for chicken)’.

2.1.1.7 The lateral /l/

Nalögo has a lateral approximant /l/ attested in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position. Examples of minimal pairs are shown below.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIRS |
|------------|---|
| /l/ vs /t/ | /la/ ‘cut, hack’ vs /ta/ ‘fall’ |
| /l/ vs /n/ | /li/ ‘be two’ vs /ni/ ‘1MIN’ |
| /l/ vs /d/ | /la/ ‘DEM _{1.L.NPROX} ’ vs /da/ ‘this thing’ |

Table 2-11. Lateral approximant /l/

2.1.1.8 The approximants /j/ and /w/

The palatal approximant /j/ [j] is phonemic and occurs word initially and word medially. It is not attested word finally. Examples are shown in the Table 2-12.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIR |
|------------|---|
| /j/ vs /t/ | /jɔ/ ‘stay’ vs /tɔ/ ‘take’ |
| /j/ vs /l/ | /ja/ ‘peel’ vs /la/ ‘DEM _{1.L.NPROX} ’ |

Table 2-12. Palatal approximant /j/

The labio-velar approximant /w/ [w] is also phonemic and attested word initially and word medially, but not word finally. Examples are shown in Table 2-13.

| PHONEMES | MINIMAL PAIR |
|------------|----------------------------|
| /w/ vs /k/ | /wə/ ‘swim’ vs /kə/ ‘sing’ |
| /w/ vs /v/ | /wɜ/ ‘work’ vs /vɜ/ ‘go’ |

Table 2-13. Labio-velar approximant /w/

2.1.2 Vowels

Oceanic languages are generally thought to have pretty straightforward phonological systems compared to other language families. They tend to display fairly small phonemic inventories with few complex articulations (Lynch et al. 2002: 32). For instance, a canonical Oceanic system generally shows five vowels, namely, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. However, this property does not hold for languages belonging to all the Oceanic groups. For instance, Northern

Vanuatu languages of the Banks and Torres groups display considerably richer systems, as they “have historically expanded their vowel inventories from five to as many as 13 phonological vowel qualities.” (François 2005). Like Northern Vanuatu languages, RSC languages constitute an exception to this generalisation, as their vowel system is also quite rich. Nalögo displays a set of ten phonemic oral vowels: /i/, /e/, /ɜ/, /a/, /ɯ/, /ə/, /ɛ/, /u/, /o/, /ɒ/. Here, it is worth mentioning that there is great variation in vowel realisations probably due to a cooccurrence of diatopic and diastratic factors, suggesting that further studies in this area of the grammar are needed for the future.

Vowel length appears to be phonemic, but occurs only in a few words as mentioned by Wurm (1969: 62), who wrote that vowel length is “apparently phonemic, though long vowels are rare”. Long vowels are written as a sequence of two identical vowels as in the word /nɒ:bu/ ‘night’. The phonemicity of long vowels appears to be lexically based. For instance, the long vowel /a:/ appears to be phonemic with the words /a:/ ‘but’ vs /a/ ‘be this one’, and /na:/ ‘fruit’ vs /na/ ‘food classifier’. Sometimes, vowel length is associated with a greater emphasis. For instance, the interjection *eke* ‘negative surprise’ is often pronounced with a long final vowel as in the form /ekee/ to intensify the meaning expressed by the interjection.

2.1.2.1 Oral vowels

The ten oral vowels described in the following sections are /i/ <i>, /e/ <e>, /ɛ/ <ä>, /a/ <a>, /ɯ/ <ü>, /ə/ <ö>, /ɜ/ <ë>, /u/ <u>, /o/ <o>, and /ɒ/ <â>. They are shown in Table 2-14.

| | FRONT | CENTRAL | BACK |
|------------------|-------|---------|------|
| CLOSE | /i/ | /ɯ/ | /u/ |
| CLOSE-MID | /e/ | /ə/ | /o/ |
| OPEN-MID | /ɛ/ | /ɜ/ | |
| OPEN | /a/ | | /ɒ/ |

Table 2-14. Inventory of oral vowels

In Table 2-14, there are four front vowels, three central vowels and three back vowels. In terms of openness, we find close, mid-close, mid-open and open vowels.

2.1.2.1.1 The vowel /i/

The close front unrounded vowel /i/ is generally phonetically realized as [i]. It can also be realized as [ɪ] as in the 2MIN pronominal form /nim/ [nɪm] ‘You’. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.2).

- (2.2) /bi/ ‘bake’ vs /be/ ‘skin’
 /pi/ ‘say’ vs /pɛ/ ‘be hot’

The vowel /i/ is attested in word initial, word medial and word final position. It can occur before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-15.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|--------------|
| #_ | /ilaule/ | ‘mother’ |
| _# | /aki/ | ‘because’ |
| [C]_[C] | /imiŋa/ | ‘be dry (v)’ |
| [C][C]_ | /kakopli/ | ‘crocodile’ |
| _[C][C] | /itna/ | ‘fish (v)’ |

Table 2-15. Positions of the vowel /i/ within words

2.1.2.1.2 The vowel /e/

The front vowel /e/ is typically realised as [e]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.3).

- (2.3) /nuwe/ ‘water’ vs /nuwɜ/ ‘hill’
 /bwɛ/ ‘cook (cabbage)’ vs /bwe/ ‘story’

The vowel is attested in word initial, word medial and word final position. It can occur before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-16.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|------------------|
| #_ | /eke/ | ‘pew’ |
| _# | /ike/ | ‘be fragile’ |
| [C]_[C] | /ivepu/ | ‘be sick’ |
| [C][C]_ | /teple/ | ‘push’ |
| _[C][C] | /leplɜ/ | ‘person, people’ |

Table 2-16. Positions of the vowel /e/ within words

2.1.2.1.3 The vowel /ɛ/

The vowel /ɛ/ is a front vowel is generally realised as [æ]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.4).

- (2.4) /jɛ/ ‘be there’ vs /jɒ/ ‘be over there’
 /bwe/ ‘NEG’ vs /bwe/ ‘story’

The vowel is attested in word initial, word medial and word final position. It can occur before and after clusters.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| #_ | /ɛngigə/ | ‘have s.t.(as general possession)’ |
| _# | /lɜpwe/ | ‘four’ |
| [C]_[C] | /kɛtɔ/ | ‘betelnut’ |
| [C][C]_ | /pwe/ | ‘cut’ |
| _[C][C] | /iveple/ | ‘be strong’ |

Table 2-17. Positions of the vowel /ɛ/ within words

2.1.2.1.4 The vowel /a/

The open front unrounded vowel /a/ is typically realised as [a]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.5).

- (2.5) /ola/ ‘morning’ vs /olɜ/ ‘girl, woman’

/nawɜ/ ‘head’ vs /newɜ/ ‘hill’

The vowel /a/ is attested in word initial, word medial and word final position. It can occur before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-18.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|-----------|
| #_ | /awi/ | ‘thank’ |
| _# | /ola/ | ‘morning’ |
| [C]_[C] | /natʌ/ | ‘voice’ |
| [C][C]_ | /potna/ | ‘pana’ |
| _[C][C] | /atwə/ | ‘each’ |

Table 2-18. Positions of the vowel /a/ within words

2.1.2.1.5 The vowel /ʌ/

The open central rounded vowel /ʌ/ is generally realised as [ʌ]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.6).

- (2.6) /mumu/ ‘be domesticated’ vs /mʌmʌ/ ‘way, style’
 /nibʌ ‘kill’ vs /nibə/ ‘back’

The vowel is found in word medial and word final position, but not in word initial position. It occurs before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-19.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|---------|
| #_ | - | - |
| _# | /dətʌ/ | ‘name’ |
| [C]_[C] | /nʌmʌ/ | ‘hand’ |
| [C][C]_ | /iblʌ/ | ‘black’ |
| _[C][C] | /dʌkɲa/ | ‘devil’ |

Table 2-19. Positions of the vowel /ʌ/ within words

2.1.2.1.6 The vowel /ə/

The mid-close central rounded vowel /ə/ is typically realised as [ə]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.7).

- (2.7) /bə/ ‘be smelly’ vs /be/ ‘skin’
/pə/ ‘make holes’ vs po ‘pig’

This vowel can be found in word initial, word medial and word final position. It occurs before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-20.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|-------------|
| #_ | /ətə/ | ‘one’ |
| _# | /iveplə/ | ‘be strong’ |
| [C]_[C] | /bəmə/ | ‘house’ |
| [C][C]_ | /daplə/ | ‘piece’ |
| _[C][C] | /topnə/ | ‘not exist’ |

Table 2-20. Positions of the vowel /ə/ within words

2.1.2.1.7 The vowel /ɜ/

The central unrounded open-mid vowel /ɜ/ can be realized as [ɜ], [ɚ], and [ɝ]. In terms of roundness, the vowel can be rounded or unrounded. Two minimal pairs are shown in (2.8).

- (2.8) /newɜ/ ‘hill’ vs /newə/ ‘both’
/nuwɜ ‘tree (general)’ vs /nuwɛ/ ‘cutnut tree’
/nabwɜ/ ‘heart’ vs /nabwe/ ‘wing’

The vowel /ɜ/ can occur in word initial, word medial and word final position. It occurs before and after clusters as in Table 2-21.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|------------------|
| #_ | /ɜvɜ/ | ‘always, often’ |
| _# | /olɜ/ | ‘girl’ |
| [C]_[C] | /lɜli/ | ‘be two’ |
| [C][C]_ | /lepɜ/ | ‘person, people’ |
| _[C][C] | /nablɜu/ | ‘type’ |

Table 2-21. Positions of the vowel /ɜ/ within words

2.1.2.1.8 The vowel /u/

The close back rounded vowel /u/ is realized as [u]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.9).

- (2.9) /utɔ/ ‘bird’ vs /itɔ/ ‘be small’.
 /kuli/ ‘dog’ vs /kali/ ‘second’

The vowel /u/ can occur in word initial, word medial and word final position. It can occur before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-22.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|------------|
| #_ | /utɔ/ | ‘bird’ |
| _# | /ibu/ | ‘get dark’ |
| [C]_[C] | /butete/ | ‘potato’ |
| [C][C]_ | /iklu/ | ‘be many’ |
| _[C][C] | /uplɛ/ | ‘blow’ |

Table 2-22. Positions of the vowel /u/ within words

2.1.2.1.9 The vowel /o/

The vowel /o/ is a mid-close back rounded vowel realised between [o]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.10).

- (2.10) /ipo/ ‘defecate’ vs /ipp/ ‘be red’
 /nuwo/ ‘stick, tree’ vs /nuwe/ ‘water’

The vowel /o/ is attested in word initial, word medial and word final position. It occurs before and after clusters as shown in Table 2-23.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| #_ | /olɜ/ | 'woman' |
| _# | /bebelo/ | 'mucus (of the nose)' |
| [C]_[C] | / boknawɜ/ | 'sky' |
| [C][C]_ | /mno/ | 'live, stay' |
| _ [C][C] | /topla/ | 'basket' |

Table 2-23. Positions of the vowel /o/ within words

2.1.2.1.10 The vowel /ɒ/

The vowel /ɒ/ is an open back rounded vowel is typically realised as [ɔ] or [ɒ]. Two examples of minimal pairs are shown in (2.11).

(2.11) /kɒ/ 'that one over there' vs /ka/ 'this one'

/pɒ/ 'pig' vs /pɔ/ 'be red'

The vowel /ɒ/ is attested in word initial, medial and final position. It can occur before and after clusters.

| POSITION | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | MEANING |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------|
| #_ | /ɒke/ | 'well' |
| _# | /tʌɒ/ | 'he is talking' |
| [C]_[C] | /iglɒtɒp/ | 'he jumped in' |
| [C][C]_ | /iblɒ/ | 'jump' |
| _ [C][C] | /ɒplɜ/ | 'stone' |

Table 2-24. Positions of the vowel /ɒ/ within words

2.1.2.2 Nasalization

As Wurm (1969) writes, Natügu, Nalögo and Engdewu are thought to display phonemic nasal vowels. While this is confirmed for Natügu, where there are five nasal vowels whose functional load is low and decreasing (van den Berg & Boerger 2011), Vaa (2013: 86) does not analyse nasal vowels as phonemic in Engdewu, in that, “nasalisation is predictable. Oral vowels are sometimes nasalized in a nasal context”. While the phenomenon of nasalization requires further studies, the situation in Nalögo resembles the one attested in Engdewu. In Nalögo, nasalized vowels are widespread, but they do not appear to be phonemic. They typically occur in contexts where nasals are present or are the result of cluster simplification where the nasal element drops leaving a nasalized vowel. This is the case for words like /møitø/ ‘ground’ realized as [møitõ]. The nasalized vowel is the result of cluster simplification from /møitnẽ/. Variants with the full cluster are attested in the data. Likewise, the word /døtwø/ ‘neck’ can be realized as [døtwõ], due to the dropping of the nasal /n/ in /døtnwẽ/. Two additional examples are represented by the COS /pme/ and the word for ‘be short’ /ibwøtnø/. The form /pme/ is typically realized as [pmẽ] or [pẽ] where the second realization is clearly the result of cluster simplification. Likewise, the word for ‘be short’ can be realized as [ibwøtẽ] where the cluster is simplified. Another example of this type is shown by the word for ‘banana’ /bøpi/ which can be realized as [ᵐbøpĩ] as the result of cluster simplification (from /bøpmi/), or as [ᵐbøpi].

The final example of this section involves a different case where the 2MIN subject enclitic form /bwe/ encoding subject and ‘thither’ direction occurs as [bwẽ] or [bwe]. As explained in Chapter 3, these subject enclitics are the result of conflation of two morphemes, the ‘thither’ deictic person directional =*bwe* ‘away from the speaker’ and a subject form, likely belonging to the set of basic subject forms (Chapter 3). Under this analysis, the 2MIN form /bwe/ could be the result of the conflation of the deictic person directional and the basic 2MIN subject form =*ng* /ng/. The nasalization of the vowel in [bwẽ] could be the influence of the nasal /ng/ before its dropping. However, further analyses are in need to support this hypothesis.

2.1.2.3 Glottal stop

The glottal stop is not phonemic in Nalögo, but it can occur before vowels when they occur word initially. Words like /atwø/ ‘each, every’ it can be realized as [ʔatwø].

2.1.3 Vowel and consonant alternations

In Nalögo, some vowels can alternate in some words: /e/ ~ /ə/, /i/ ~ /ɨ/. Some examples showing the alternation between /e/ and /ə/ are found below.

| WORD | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| <i>ikele</i> ‘be good’ | /ikele/ | ~ /ikəle/ |
| <i>mepyö</i> ‘blood’ | /mepjə/ | ~ /möpjə/ |
| <i>e</i> ‘ASS MRK’ | /e/ | ~ /ə/ |
| <i>numwe</i> ‘eye’ | /numwe/ | ~ /numwə/ |
| <i>nelia</i> ‘belly’ | /nelia/ | ~ /nəlia/ |

Table 2-25. Vowel alternations in some words

For instance, the alternation between /e/ and /ə/ seems to be common. Næss and Hovdhaugen (2011: 33) report that the Vaeakau-Taumako, the Polynesian Outlier spoken in the Duff Islands, has an alternation between the vowels /e/ and /o/ in pre-stressed syllable in six words which is not phonetically conditioned. They argue that this alternation can be partly due to the influence of Äiwoo, the RSC language mainly spoken in the Reef Islands, where the alternation between /e/ and /o/ is quite common (e.g. *singeda* ~ *singoda* ‘woman’).

A second type of alternation is the one between /i/ and /ɨ/ as shown in the examples below.

| WORD | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| <i>nini</i> ‘mat’ | /nini/ | ~ /nɨni/ |
| <i>imimi</i> ‘sweet’ | /imimi/ | ~ /imɨmi/ |
| <i>nibö</i> ‘back’ | /nibə/ | ~ /nɨbə/ |

Table 2-26. Vowel alternations in some words

The most interesting consonant alternation is the one between /l/ and /n/ in the same words. This change is accounted for by semantic change, in that nasal-initial place names refer to specific places, e.g. *Nea*, *Neboi*, *Noole*, while the forms starting with /l/, such as *Lea*, *Leboi* and *Loole*, refer to people belonging to those places. In Äiwoo, there are a few cases showing this alternation. For instance, the noun *läpākâu* ‘carve objects from wood’ has the alternative form

~ *näpäkâu*, while *nenelu* ‘dance’ has the alternative form ~ *nelelu* (Næss p.c.). When the bound noun *pe-* ‘person’ is added to a place name to form the expression ‘person from X’, a couple of *n*-initial place names show this alternation, such as *Nede* ‘Santa Cruz’ – *pe-lede* ‘Santa Cruz people’, or *Nenubo* ‘name of village’ – *pe-lenubo* ‘people from Nenubo’. The alternation between /l/ and /n/ is also attested in some additional words with no semantic change implied as in the two examples below.

| WORD | PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION | |
|--------------------|------------------------|--------|
| = <i>nu</i> ‘1MIN’ | /nu/ | ~ /lu/ |
| <i>lɜ-</i> ‘NMLZ1’ | /lɜ/ | ~ /nɜ/ |

Table 2-27. Consonant alternations between /n/ and /l/

2.2 Phonotactics

2.2.1. Syllable structure

The structure of the syllable includes an onset and a rhyme, where the rhyme is further divided into a nucleus and a coda. The onset can be formed by one or more consonants, while the rhyme can be formed either by a nucleus (as in an open syllable) or by a nucleus and a coda (as in a closed syllable). The nucleus is the essential component of a syllable, in that, onsets and codas are optional. The syllable structure is shown in Figure 2-11.

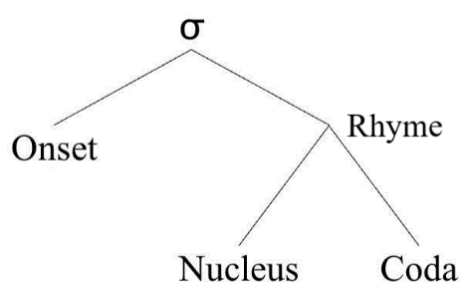


Figure 2-11. Syllable structure

In Nalögo, the nucleus can be composed by a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong as shown in (2.12).

- (2.12) /kə/ ‘sing’
 /na:/ ‘fruit’
 /dou/ ‘heap’

When onsets are present, they can be simple or complex, that is, they include one consonant or two consonants (three consonants are very rare), while codas can only be simple. The syllable pattern is (C)C(C)V(C), meaning that the following syllable structures are attested: V, VC, CV, CCV, CCV, CCCV (rare) and CCVC. Codas are typically the result of final vowel deletion. For instance, the word /nəp/ ‘flower’ with a CVC structure is the reduced form of /nəpə/ with a CV.CV structure. Except for a few cases, the second element of complex onsets is a sonorant. Engdewu shows a similar pattern where the second consonant of onset clusters is a sonorant—a nasal, liquid or a glide (Vaa 2013: 95). Examples of consonant clusters are shown in the following section. Here, in Table 2-28 and

Table 2-29, I show examples of syllable patterns in monosyllabic words, and some possible combinations of patterns in disyllabic and polysyllabic words.

| SYLLABLE | MONOSYLLABIC WORD | MEANING |
|----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| V | /ɛ/ | ‘and’ |
| V | /a:/ | ‘but’ |
| VC | /ɒt/ | ‘seed’ |
| CV | /ma/ | ‘here’ |
| CCV | /mno/ | ‘live’ |
| CCV | /pnə/ | ‘tie’ |
| CVC | /nəm/ | ‘plantation’ |
| CVC | /dɒt/ | ‘nose’ |
| CCCV | /knja/ | ‘crow’ |
| CCVC | /kla/ | ‘DEM _{1.L} .NPROX’ |
| CCVC | /blom (nagwa)/ | ‘cheek’ |
| CCVC | /=pmjam/ | ‘2AUG.COS’ |

Table 2-28. Syllable patterns with monosyllabic words

| SYLLABLE | DISYLLABIC AND POLYSYLLABIC WORD | MEANING |
|------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| V.CV | /a.mu/ | ‘together’ |
| V.CCV | /o.plɜ/ | ‘stone’ |
| V.CVC | /i.tuŋ/ | ‘you stand’ |
| V.CCVC | /i.pwək/ | ‘huge’ |
| CV.V | /bi.a/ | ‘breadfruit’ |
| CV.CV | /nɛ.mɛ/ | ‘hand’ |
| CV.CCV | /lo.pta/ | ‘cabbage’ |
| CV.CVC | /no.dək/ | ‘wall’ |
| CV.CCCV | /tu.kɲja/ | ‘it is crying’ |
| CCV.CV | /mwa.pu/ | ‘whistle’ |
| CCV.CCV | /bwe.bwe/ | ‘covering’ |
| CCV.CVC | /mwa.ŋam/ | ‘eat (imperative, 2AUG)’ |
| CVC.CV | /dət.de/ | ‘his/her name’ |
| CVC.CVC | /wom.gom/ | ‘we came’ |
| V.CV.CV | /i.ke.le/ | ‘be good’ |
| V.CV.CVC | /i.vɜ.təp/ | ‘he came in’ |
| V.CVC.CV | /ə.kap.gə/ | ‘fog’ |
| V.CCV.CV | /i.pwɜ.tu/ | ‘be big’ |
| CV.CV.CV | /na.ni.ka/ | ‘mat’ |
| CV.CCV.CVC | /na.bwɛ.tom/ | ‘oven’ |
| V.CCV.CCV | /i.bwɛ.mwi/ | ‘be rotten’ |

Table 2-29. Possible combinations of syllable patterns with disyllabic and polysyllabic words

2.2.2 Consonant clusters

In this analysis, first, I make a distinction between intra-syllable clusters and inter-syllable clusters. The first ones refer to clusters occurring in the same syllable, while the second ones refer to clusters which occur across morpheme boundaries. They are treated in §2.2.2.1 and §2.2.2.2. As previously mentioned, syllable onsets are typically formed by one or two consonants. Two cases are attested with triconsonantal onsets. In complex onsets, the first consonant can be a plosive /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/, /k/, a nasal /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, or the fricative /v/, while

the second element can be a glide (Cw; Cj), a nasal (CN) or the lateral (Cl). However, there is one exception to this rule occurring in intra-syllabic position, the cluster /pt/, which is attested in two words word initially and word medially, respectively. The two trisyllabic clusters attested in syllable onsets are /knj/ and /pmj/, where the second and third elements are a nasal and a glide. In terms of cluster composition, Nalögo patterns like Engdewu, where the second consonant of a complex onset is a sonorant (Vaa 2013: 95), by showing a CSV pattern. However, unlike Nalögo, Engdewu does not display triconsonantal onsets.

2.2.2.1 Intra-syllable consonant clusters

In Table 2-30, I show the types of intra-syllabic biconsonantal clusters attested word initially.

| CLUSTERS | TYPE | EXAMPLES |
|----------|------|--|
| /bl/ | Cl | /blɒ/ ‘jump’ |
| /gl/ | Cl | /glɯ/ ‘carry’ |
| /pl/ | Cl | /plɒ/ ‘burn’ |
| /kl/ | Cl | /kla/ ‘that one (close to the listener)’ |
| /vl/ | Cl | /vla.be/ ‘float’ |
| /ml/ | Cl | /mla/ ‘there (close to the listener)’ |
| /bw/ | Cw | /bwe/ ‘story’ |
| /dw/ | Cw | /dwɜ/ ‘vagina’ |
| /gw/ | Cw | /gwa/ ‘run’ |
| /pw/ | Cw | /pwə/ ‘be big’ |
| /tw/ | Cw | /twɜ/ ‘take’ |
| /mw/ | Cw | /mwe/ ‘be afraid’ |
| /pm/ | CN | /pmo/ ‘again’ |
| /pn/ | CN | /pne/ ‘tie’ |
| /tn/ | CN | /tnu/ ‘stand’ |
| /mn/ | CN | /mno/ ‘stay’ |
| /pj/ | Cj | /mɛ.pjə/ ‘blood’ |
| /vj/ | Cj | /vyə/ ‘write’ |
| /mj/ | Cj | /Ne.nja/ ‘Nemya’ |
| /nj/ | Cj | /njə/ ‘fire’ |

| | | |
|------|----|----------------------|
| /ŋj/ | Cj | /ngya/ ‘be angry’ |
| /pt/ | CC | /pte.ng(i).me/ ‘six’ |
| /m/ | CC | /mḍʒe/ ‘be how?’ |

Table 2-30. Word initial clusters

In Table 2-31, I show the attested intra-syllabic consonant clusters occurring word medially.

| CLUSTERS | TYPE | EXAMPLES |
|----------|------|----------------------------------|
| /bl/ | Cl | /mi.ble/ ‘dream’ |
| /gl/ | Cl | /te.glu/ ‘fan’ |
| /pl/ | Cl | /o.plɜ/ ‘stone’ |
| /kl/ | Cl | /wɔ.kla/ ‘visit’ |
| /vl/ | Cl | /tu.vlɔ/ ‘how much?’ |
| /ml/ | Cl | /na.mlou/ ‘method’ |
| /bw/ | Cw | /nu.bwɔ/ ‘snake’ |
| /gw/ | Cw | /nɜ.gwa/ ‘today’ |
| /pw/ | Cw | /lɜ.pwɛ/ ‘four’ |
| /tw/ | Cw | /dɔ.twɔ/ ‘neck’ |
| /mw/ | Cw | /ni.mwi/ ‘You (AUG)’ |
| /nw/ | Cw | /dɔt.nwɔ/ ‘neck’ |
| /lw/ | Cw | /lɜ.tɔ.lwɔ/ ‘three’ |
| /pm/ | CN | /bɔ.pmi/ ‘banana’ |
| /pn/ | CN | /tɔ.pnɔ/ ‘not exist’ |
| /tn/ | CN | /i.tna/ ‘fish’ |
| /kn/ | CN | /bo.kna.wɜ/ ‘sky’ |
| /kŋ/ | CN | /kɔ.kŋa/ ‘pray’ |
| /mn/ | CN | /mnɔ.pu/ ‘be smooth’ |
| /bj/ | Cj | /o.bjɔŋ/ ‘they’ |
| /pj/ | Cj | /ta.pjɔ/ ‘egg’ |
| /kj/ | Cj | /tɔ.kjɔ/ ‘pandanus’ |
| /vj/ | Cj | /tɔ.vja/ ‘she is writing’ |
| /mj/ | Cj | /ne.mjɔ (numwɔtu)/ ‘my eyebrows’ |
| /nj/ | Cj | /mo.nja/ ‘jamb’ |

| | | |
|------|----|------------------------|
| /ɲj/ | Cj | /bok.ɲja/ ‘go out’ |
| /lj/ | Cj | /mwe.te.lja/ ‘village’ |
| /pt/ | CC | /lo.pta/ ‘cabbage’ |

Table 2-31. Word medial clusters

The most common intra-syllabic biconsonantal clusters occurring word initially also occur word medially, except /dw/. There are also intra-syllabic clusters occurring word medially which do not seem to occur word initially: /kj/, /nw/, /lw/ and /lj/. Again, except for the cluster /pt/, all the others show a sonorant in second position.

The only two cases of triconsonantal clusters are /knj/ and /pmj/ attested in the verb /knja/ ‘crow (chicken)’ and the subject forms /=pmja/ ‘2MIN, COS’ and /=pmjam/ ‘2AUG, COS’, which are the result of the conflation of the change-of-state marker =p(m)e and the final V /a/ and CV /am/ of the basic 2MIN and 2AUG person subjects (Chapter 3).

In Table 2-30 and Table 2-31 above, there are no examples of clusters occurring across morpheme boundaries. However, if these cases are taken into account, we can add to the group of initial clusters /tv/, /tj/, /nv/ and /nj/. Typically, these clusters form in rapid speech, when the imperfective and irrealis prefixes /tʌ-/ and /nʌ-/ , respectively, attach to /v/-initial and /j/-initial roots.

- /tv/ /tvɜ/ ‘she/he goes
- /tj/ /tjəni/ ‘she/he cries’¹¹
- /nv/ /nvɜ/ ‘he/she goes’
- /nj/ /njɔ/ ‘it will stay’

In general, the rules of cluster formation appear to follow the Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP), according to which more sonorous sounds tend to be closer to the syllable nucleus than less sonorous sounds. Voiced sounds are more sonorous than voiceless sounds. The SSP scale adapted to the Nalögo consonantal system is provided in

Figure 2-12 below. The affricate /dʒ/ can only occur in simple onsets.

¹¹ In most cases, /t/ in front of /j/ undergoes spirantization (§2.4.1.3).

| |
|--|
| SONORITY SEQUENCING PRINCIPLE (SSP) |
|--|

| |
|--|
| VOWEL > APPROXIMANT > LIQUID > NASAL > FRICATIVE > PLOSIVE |
|--|

Figure 2-12. Sonority Sequencing Principle (SSP) scale in Nalögo

If we look at the examples of consonant clusters in Table 2-30 and Table 2-31, we can notice the following properties:

- When the two consonants show a different sonority profile, they tend to follow the scale provided above.
 - The liquid is less close to the nucleus than the approximants as in /mwe.te.lja/ ‘village’ and /lɜ.tə.lwə/ ‘three’.
 - Nasals are less close to the nucleus than approximants and liquids as in /mwe/ ‘be afraid’, and /mla/ ‘there (close to the listener)’.
 - Fricatives are less close to the nucleus than liquids and approximants (they are not attested before nasals) as in /vlə/ ‘be which’, /vjə/ ‘write’.
 - Plosives are less close to the nucleus than fricatives, nasals, and liquids, as in /psa/ ‘break, /pne/ ‘tie’, /glɔ/ ‘break’ and /ko.pjɔ/ ‘EXIST’, respectively.
- In complex syllable onsets, two consonants belonging to the same sonority group can cooccur. This applies to nasals as in /mno/ ‘live’ and plosives /ptengime/ ‘six’.

There is also one case in which a cluster, /nv/, violates the SSP. The cluster /nv/ occurs across morpheme boundaries, since it involves the irrealis prefix *n(i)-* and any following /v/-initial prefix or verb root.

2.2.2.2 Inter-syllabic consonant clusters

For the sake of completeness, in this section, I provide some examples of inter-syllable consonant clusters attested in the data, where the first consonant is analysed as the coda of one syllable and the second as the onset of the following one. A list of inter-syllable clusters attested in lexemes and complex morphological forms with a root and additional morphology are presented in Table 2-32 below.

| CLUSTER | EXAMPLE |
|---------|--|
| /md/ | /i.təm.de/ ‘He brings.’ |
| /mg/ | /i.twɜm.gom/ ‘We bring.’ |
| /mt/ | /lom.ta.ngi/ ‘white man’ |
| /mk/ | /ə.pi.bom.kɜ/ ‘we also call (it).’ |
| /np/ | /noun.pye.nu/ ‘my penis’ |
| /nm/ | /Nɒn.mə/ ‘Nân(ü)mö’ |
| /nl/ | /ton.lə/ ‘not’ |
| /ɲb/ | /ko.pe.laɲ.bo/ ‘there are another ones’ |
| /ɲd/ | /i.və.la.loɲ.də/ ‘You heard some’ |
| /ɲp/ | /vɲ.pe/ ‘be those one now’ |
| /ɲm/ | /pteɲ.me/ ‘six’ |
| /td/ | /dət.de/ ‘his name’ |
| /tb/ | /dət.bə/ ‘earth’ |
| /tg/ | /dət.gə/ ‘their name’ |
| /tm/ | /də.lət.mwe.nu/ ‘my tears’ |
| /tɲ/ | /nat.ɲə/ ‘language of’ |
| /tl/ | /ɒt.lə.gi/ ‘both’ |
| /pk/ | /lɜp.kə.lo/ ‘cloth’ |
| /pb/ | /ə.kap.bə/ ‘fog’ |
| /pg/ | /i.twɜ.kep.gom/ ‘we also bring.’ |
| /pd/ | /i.vɜ.təp.de/ ‘it came in (towards)’ |
| /kp/ | /i.tek.pɛ.pe/ ‘it has changed now’ |
| /lt/ | /lɜ.jəl.tə/ ‘they put in’ |
| /lk/ | /tvel.kə.pu.pe.le/ ‘He hid (by putting)’ |
| /lm/ | /bwel.mə.ti/ ‘beg’ |

Table 2-32. Inter-syllable clusters

In terms of SSP (Sonority Sequencing Principle), unlike intra-syllable clusters, there are more cases of inter-syllable clusters violating the principle, such as /md, mg, mt, mk, np, nl, ɲb, ɲd, ɲp, lt, lk, lm/. While /md, mg, mk, ɲb, ɲd, ɲp, lt, lk/ occur across morphological boundaries,

/mt, np, nl, lm/ occur in the lexical context. All the other clusters show the same sonority profile, i.e. they are both nasals or plosives as in /nm, ŋm, pk, kp/. When a cluster is made up of a voiceless and a voiced sound sharing the same sonority profile (for instance, they are both plosives), the voiced one is closer to the nucleus, as in /tb, td, tg, pb, pd, pg/.

2.2.3 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

Nalögo has several diphthongs which occur word medially and word finally. They differ from vowel sequences in that there they show the same distribution as vowels, namely, they can form the nucleus of the syllable. Phonetically, they show a transition from one sound to the other. In the available data, the most common diphthongs are given in

Table 2-33.

| DIPHTHONG | EXAMPLES | | |
|-----------|--------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| /ai/ | /laide/ ‘side’ | /øu/ | /lɔtøu/ ‘bow’ |
| /ei/ | /neime/ ‘egg’ | /ae/ | /paebi/ ‘rope’ /jae/ ‘see’ |
| /oi/ | /tokoi/ ‘tongs’ | /ao/ | /nao/ ‘mouth’ |
| /zi/ | /lɔiku/ ‘yam’ | /au/ | /boulau/ ‘sink’ |
| /ɛi/ | /bokɛi/ ‘local plant’ | /aʉ/ | /naʉ/ ‘(Malay) apple’ |
| /ɛø/ | /molɛø / ‘beam’ | /eu/ | /teu/ ‘light s.t.’ |
| /vi/ | /wvi/ ‘squeeze’ | /øi/ | /vøi/ ‘star’ |
| /ɜu/ | /namlɜu/ ‘method’ | | |

Table 2-33. Examples of diphthongs in Nalögo

In Nalögo, diphthongs display the same distribution as vowels. They can constitute the syllable nucleus and can occur in open syllables with simple or complex onsets, or in closed syllables, as in the following examples: /kai/ ‘pudding’, /blai.tø/ ‘grandmother’, /noun.pje.nu/ ‘my penis’. These examples also show that the diphthongs /ai/ and /ou/ cannot be analysed as a sequence

of vowel plus the glide /j/ for two reasons. First, there are no examples of CVC syllables where the final C is a glide, thus, for instance, the analysis of *kai* as /kaj/ would be an exception in the system. Second, in the word for ‘penis’, if the diphthong /ou/ was analysed as a vowel plus a glide, the syllable where the diphthong occurs would follow a CVCC pattern, which is not attested elsewhere in the system, given that Nalögo has no complex codas. The same argument is proposed by Vaa (2013: 93) for the analysis of diphthongs in Engdewu, where /ai/ in /pwaim/ [pwaim] ‘your grandmother’ is analysed as a diphthong, rather than a sequence of a vowel plus a glide. Another argument that Vaa proposes for a diphthong analysis is related to the fact that in Engdewu, as in Nalögo, the second element of the sequence is not always a glide. In other words, “not only do /i/ and /u/ occur as the second element in these sequences, but also /e, ə, u/—two close-mid and one central vowel” (Vaa 2013: 93). In Nalögo, diphthongs can form minimal pairs (e.g. /naʊ/ ‘apple’ vs /nao/ mouth/). As can be inferred from the table above, there are no instances of diphthongs where the vowels /u/ and /i/ occur as the first element of the diphthong, e.g. /ue/ or /ia/. The reason is because these sequences are currently analysed as a combination of a glide and a vowel, which is regarded as phonemic. Words like *kalwe* ‘scratch’ and *vəlyə* ‘dance’ are realised as /kalwe/ and /nəlja/, respectively. This analysis is based on the fact that as briefly explained in §2.5, stress in Nalögo is sensitive to heavy syllables. In words like /to. **koi**/ ‘tongs’ or /ɜ. **təu**/ ‘bow’, the diphthongs trigger stress (cf. /**i**.tə ‘grandmother’). In *kalwe* and *vəlyə*, the stress is assigned to the first syllable /**ka**.lwe/ and /**vɜ**.lja/, meaning that the second syllable is probably not a diphthong. However, with some words the analysis appears less straightforward, thus further studies are in need on this topic.

In the words provided in the table above, the diphthongs occur word medially or word finally in simple lexemes with no affixation involved. However, diphthongs can also be formed across morpheme boundaries as in (2.13), where the topological directional /u/ attaches to the verb root *ta* ‘fall’.

- (2.13) *I-ta-u=nga*
 PFV.N3AUG-fall-down=1MIN.SBJ
 /i.tau.nga/
 ‘I fell down.’

However, there are also cases where two adjacent vowels are not analysed as diphthongs. This holds for: (i) words /bi.a/ [‘**bi**.a] ‘breadfruit’, /kio/ [‘**ki**.o] ‘chicken’ and /ti.u/ [‘**ti**.u] ‘thousand’

where the encounter of the vowels /i/ and /o/ produces hiatus; and (ii) sequence of identical vowels like /a:/ ‘but’.

2.3 Phonological processes

In this section, I analyse the main properties of four common phonological processes attested in the data: vowel deletion (§2.3.1), vowel assimilation (§2.3.2), cluster simplification (§2.3.3) and glide formation (§2.3.4).

2.3.1 Vowel deletion

Nalögo shows the tendency to drop unstressed vowels. In disyllabic and trisyllabic words following a CV₁.CV₂ and a CV₁.CV₂.CV₃ structure, the vowels V₂ and V₃, respectively, are subject to deletion. For instance, in (2.14), disyllabic words with a CV.CV structure are reduced to CVC, while trisyllabic words with a CV.CV.CV pattern are reduced to CV.CVC. The vowels subject to this process are /ɘ/ and /u/. In all the examples, the consonants preceding the deleted vowels is a voiceless plosive or a nasal.

- (2.14) /dø.tɘ/ > /døt/ ‘name’
 /nø.pɘ/ > /nøp/ ‘flower’
 /na.tɘ/ > /nat/ ‘voice, word’
 /ni.mwɘ¹²/ > /nim/ ‘2MIN’
 /ne.nɘ/ > /nen/ ‘wind’
 /vɜ.tø.pu/ > /vɜ.tøp/ ‘come in!’
 /yɔ.ka.pɘ/ > /yɔ.kap/ ‘stay-hide’

As mentioned above, the deleted vowel occurs word finally. In the trisyllabic words below with a CV₁.CV₂.CV₃ pattern, it is the medial vowel V₂ which is deleted. This process is applied to /ɘ/, /o/, /e/, /u/, but it is possible that more vowels are involved. In example (2.15), the consonants preceding the deleted vowels are voiceless plosives or nasals, while the following ones are nasals and laterals. In terms of stress, the words in (2.15) with a CV₁.CV₂.CV₃ structure are stressed on the first syllable.

- (2.15) /mø.tɘ.mø/ [ˈmø.tɘ.mø] > /møt.mø/ [ˈmøt.mø] ‘urine’
 /Nɔ.nɘ.mø/ [ˈNɔ.nɘ.mø] > /Nɔn.mø/ [ˈNɔn.mø] ‘Nea’
 /to.po.la/ [ˈto.po.la] > /to.pla/ [ˈto.pla] ‘basket’

¹² The word /nimwɘ/ and /nenu/ are attested in the Nalögo word list provided by Boerger and Zimmerman (2012).

/le.pe.lɜ/ [ˈle.pe.lɜ] > /le.plɜ/ [ˈle.plɜ] ‘person, people’
 /dapulɜ¹³ nuwɔ [ˈda.pu.lɜ] / > /da.plɜ nu.wɔ/ [ˈda.plɜ] ‘stick (piece of wood)’

Vowels that drop in some contexts may not drop in others. For instance, in the word /dɛtɯ/ ‘name’, the final /ɯ/ is generally deleted when it is followed by the 3MIN and 1MIN possessor forms as in /dɛt.de/ ‘his name’ or /dɛt.nu/ ‘my name’. However, when the 2MIN possessor form =*m* attaches to the word, the vowel never drops. This is simply due to a phonotactic rule attested in Nalögo, according to which syllables do not show complex codas.

The deletion of the vowel /ɯ/ is very common with imperfective and irrealis prefixes (§2.4.2).

2.3.2 Vowel assimilation

Nalögo shows a process of vowel assimilation involving a process of regressive assimilation at distance, which is common in rapid speech. This phenomenon can occur within words across morpheme boundaries or across words. Many examples of processes of vowel assimilation are shown in §2.4.1. Here, some examples are shown with complex nominals and verbs. The black vowel /ɔ/ typically triggers assimilation with the preceding vowels /ə/ and /ɜ/ as shown in the two examples below.

- (2.16) /ə/ > /ɔ/ CV₁.CV₂ /meitɔ/ ‘small man’ > /mɔitɔ/
 /ə/ > /ɔ/ or /o/ CV₁.CV₂ /mɛkɔ/ ‘the male one’ > /mɔkɔ/ or /mokɔ/
 /ɜ/ > /o/ CV₁.CV₂ /olɜ kɔ/ ‘that girl’ > /olo kɔ/

2.3.3 Cluster simplification

Especially in rapid speech, post-nasalized plosives tend to undergo a process of simplification, leading to a simple plosive /p t k/ followed by a vowel, which can be nasalized, but not obligatorily. Examples of clusters undergoing this simplification are /pm/, /tn/, /k/ and /kn/. Examples are shown in (2.17).

- (2.17) /pme/ ‘change-of-state’: [pme] ~ [pɛ̃];
 /pmo/ ‘again’: [pmo] ~ [po];
 /meitnɔ/ ‘ground’: [meitnɔ] ~ [meitɔ̃];
 /dɛtnanu/ ‘my food’: [dɛtnanu] ~ [dɛta];
 /boknawɜ/ ‘sky’: [boknawɜ] ~ [bokawɜ];
 /kɲa/ ‘give’: [kɲa] ~ [ka].

¹³ The word /dapulɜ/ is attested in the Nalögo word list provided by Boerger and Zimmerman (2012).

2.3.4 Glide formation

In some contexts, when /i/ /e/ and /ʉ/ occur in front of another vowel, they become glides. For instance, the vowel /i/ in front of other vowels can be phonetically realised as [j]. Typically, this occurs across morpheme boundaries as in (2.18), where the vowel /i/ of the verbs /pi/ ‘say’ is realised as a glide in front of the vowel /ø/ of the quotative marker.

- (2.18) *Aw* *da* *kä-lë-pi=ö=kö*
 before thing one-PFV.3AUG-say=QUOT.MRK=3AUG.SBJ
 /kɛlɜpjøkø/
 ‘Before the thing that they said...’ (nalogo033)

An additional example is the word for ‘period of time’, <mweliö> /mweljø/ displays a similar process where /i/ becomes a glide in front of /ø/ [mweljø]. The noun *mweli-ö* is a lexicalised complex nominal form made up of /mweli/ ‘time’ and the form /ø/.

The vowel /e/ can also become a glide in front of another vowel. An example is shown in (2.19), where the vowel /e/ of change-of-state marker /pe/ occurring before the quotative marker /ø/ or its variant /e/ is realised as a glide [j].

- (2.19) *I-pi-pe=e=bwa* *ba=m*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=COS=QUOT.MRK=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 /i.pi.pje.bwa/
 ‘I already told you...’ (nalogo010)

Additional examples are represented by the forms of the existential demonstratives, /kopja/, /kopjɛ/ and /kopjɔ/ ‘there is/are one(s) here/there/over there’, where /j/ might be the result of /e/ in front of the vowels /a/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/. When the vowel /e/ occurs in front of a consonant such as /l/ as in the existential demonstrative form /kopela/ ‘there is another one there’, it does not turn into a glide. The same process of glide formation occurs in the existential marker /kopjɔ/ ‘there is’, which is diachronically related to the distal form of the existential demonstrative. The final case presented here is the free pronoun /objɔŋ/ ‘they’. As mentioned in Chapter 3, this form might have originated in the word for ‘child’, /obwe/, undergoing a process of crasis with the plural distal form of the demonstrative identifier /ɔŋ/, leading to the formation of a glide (/e/ > /j/) and the deletion of /w/. The examples above refer to instances of /i/ and /e/ turning into /j/. However, the vowel /ø/ in the interrogative word /nolø/ ‘what’ can also undergo a similar process when it occurs in front of the vowels /a/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ ‘be this/tha/that one over

there’ of the demonstrative identifier (Chapter 7) as shown in (2.20). This phenomenon also involves a process of crasis where two words become one.

- (2.20) a) /nole a/? what DEM₃.PROX ‘What is this?’
 b) /nojja/? what.DEM₃.PROX ‘What is this?’

2.4 Morpho-phonological processes

In this section, I describe the most common morpho-phonological processes applied to (i) subject prefixes encoding subject and aspect/mood values, (ii) the valency-changing devices /(v)ə-/ ‘middle’ and /(v)a-/ ‘causative’ and some /v/-initial, /w/-initial and /j/-initial verb roots.

2.4.1 Vowel assimilation with subject prefixes

As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, Nalögo has a set of subject prefixes attaching to the verb form, as shown below. Table 2-34 includes the basic forms /tə-/ ‘N3AUG/imperfective’, /tɜ-/ ‘3AUG/imperfective’, /nə-/ ‘N3AUG/irrealis’, /nɜ-/ ‘3AUG/irrealis’, /i-/ ‘N3AUG perfective’ and /ɪɜ-/ ‘3AUG perfective’.

| MOOD/ASPECT | N3AUG | 3AUG |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| IPFV (REALIS) | /tə-/ | /tɜ-/ |
| PFV (REALIS) | /i-/ | /ɪɜ-/ |
| IRREALIS | /nə-/ | /nɜ-/ |

Table 2-34. Portmanteau subject prefixes

As explained in Chapter 3, Nalögo has a set of portmanteau subject prefixes encoding realis and irrealis. The realis shows an opposition between perfective and imperfective. There is also a number distinction between non-third augmented and third-augmented forms.¹⁴ The basic forms of these prefixes reported in the table are subject to regressive vowel assimilation triggered by the back vowels /ɒ/ and /u/, the central vowel /ə/, and the front vowels /i/, /ɛ/ and /a/.

¹⁴ Nalögo pronominal paradigms follow a ‘minimal-augmented’ pattern with four main person categories: 1 ‘first’, 2 ‘second’, 1+2 ‘first & second’, 3 ‘third’. For details on the pronominal system, see Chapter 3.

Two additional examples are shown with the N3AUG irrealis and realis prefixes /nɜ/ and /tɜ/ as shown in (2.23) and (2.24).

- (2.23) *Mweli ka topnö=pe*
time DEM₁.PROX NEG.EXIST=COS
kä-na-aula=bwa ba=m Vali
one-IRR.N3AUG-CAUS.show=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ Vali
/kenaulabwa/
‘This time there is no one that I will show to you Vali.’ (nalogo012)

- (2.24) *I-klë-ti=bwe=le mweli kâ olë*
PFV.N3AUG-reach-TR=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ time DEM₁.DIST girl
jâ ta-a-ku=pme.
CONT₁ IPFV.3AUG-CAUS-cook=COS
/taakupme/
‘When it (the day) arrives, that time, women cook.’ (nalogo012)

Examples with passive prefixes which undergo assimilation are shown in (2.25), (2.26) and (2.27), respectively. In terms of morpho-phonological properties, they pattern like 3AUG prefixes, in that, the vowel of the passive prefix assimilates to the one of the causative prefix after the syncope of /v/.

- (2.25) *Nuwe kâ la-a-ngabä*
water DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-CAUS-flow
/laaŋabɛ/
‘The water was poured.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

- (2.26) *Lopta ta-a-ku mö oplë.*
Cabbage PASS.IPFV-CAUS-be.cooked PREP stone
/taaku/
‘Cabbage is cooked with stones.’ (field notes 2017)

- (2.27) *Lopta jä na-a-ku mö oplë*
cabbage FUT PASS.IRR-CAUS-be.cooked PREP stone
/naaku/
‘Cabbage will be cooked with stones.’ (field notes 2017)

Finally, the nominalizer /ɜ-/ undergoes the same process of vowel assimilation when it precedes the causative prefix as in (2.28).

- (2.28) *Böma* *ngö* *la-a-ku-gö=gi*
house ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-CAUS-cook-NMLZ₃=1+2MIN.SBJ
 /laakugögi/
‘Kitchen (lit. house for our cooking)’

2.4.1.2 Assimilation with /ø/

The N3AUG imperfective prefix /t̥-/ and N3AUG irrealis prefix /n̥-/ can assimilate to the vowel /ø/ of the middle prefix /(v)ø-/. An example with the imperfective prefix is shown in (2.29).

- (2.29) *Jâ* *tö-(v)ö-vya*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-write
 /tøvja/
‘She is writing.’ (nalogo055)

2.4.1.3 Assimilation with /i/

The vowel /u/ of the N3AUG imperfective and irrealis prefixes undergoes regressive assimilation when it is conditioned by verbs containing the vowel /i/. The assimilation can be at distance or adjacent. Verb roots triggering this type of regressive assimilation are: *ngi* ‘be’, *pi* ‘say’, *kngya* ‘crow (chicken)’, *yenu* ‘kiss’, and *ngya* ‘be angry’ and *nibü* ‘kill’. Four examples are shown in (2.30), (2.31), (2.32) and (2.33).

- (2.30) *Ti-pi=bwe=le* *ba=de*
IPFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=3MIN.OBJ
/tipibwele/
‘...she said to her...’ (nalogo001)

- (2.31) *Kâ=ng* *të-vle=kö* *ti-ngi* *towa*
DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-make=3AUG.SBJ IPFV.N3AUG-be money
 /tiŋi/
‘...those they make as traditional money.’ (nalogo025)

- (2.32) *Ibu=m* *jä* *ni-nibü=le* *po* *kâ*
father=2MIN.POSS FUT IRR.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ pig DEM₁.DIST
 /ninibule/
‘Your father will kill the chicken.’ (nalogo003)

- (2.33) *Klâ* *jä* *ni-ngi* *töputi ne=nu*
DEM_{1,L}.NPROX FUT IRR.N3AUG-be cat animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 /niŋi/
‘This one will be my cat.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

The vowel /i/ of the verb *pi* ‘say’ in (2.30) can be deleted. Even though the condition triggering the assimilation disappears, /ti-/ can still occur in the same context. However, the form /tu-/ is also attested without any assimilation as shown in (2.34).

- (2.34) *I-klë=pe=bwa* *da* *la*
 PFV.N3AUG-understand=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither thing DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
tü-pi=ng.
 /tupiq/
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘I’ve understood what you are saying!’

2.4.1.4 Assimilation with /u/

The N3AUG imperfective prefix can assimilate to a following vowel /u/ or the vowel /u/ as in (2.35).

- (2.35) *i-kâ* *jâ* *tu-tu* *ä* *jâ*
 female-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-stand COORD CONT₁
/tutu/
t(i)-yöni
 IPFV.N3AUG-cry
 ‘The girl is standing and crying.’ (nalogo023)

2.4.1.5 Assimilation with /ε/

In the available data, there is one example where the vowel of the passive prefix /t3-/ assimilates to the vowel /ε/ of the following morpheme. An example is shown in (2.36).

- (2.36) *Da* *kä tä-(w)äbu-ti-u=m* *ja,*
 thing one-PASS.IPFV-sit-APPL-down=DIR.hither DEM₂.PROX
/ketεεbutium/
(w)äbu-ti-u=m!
 sit-APPL=down=DIR.hither
 ‘Thing to sit on (chair) is here, sit on it!’ (nalogo045)

2.4.1.6 Assimilation with /ɒ/

The back vowel /ɒ/ of the verb can also trigger total assimilation of the vowel of the subject prefixes. For instance, in (2.37) and (2.38). Two examples are shown in (2.39) and (2.40) with the 3AUG perfective and imperfective prefix.

(2.37) *Lâ-tâ=kö* *butete* *kâ=ng*
 3AUG.PFV-take=3AUG.SBJ potato DEM₁.DIST=PL
 /lɒtɒkə/
i-mimi.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.sweet
 ‘They take potatoes that are sweet.’

(2.38) *Jâ tâ-(w)âwi=pme*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-squeeze=pme
 /tɒwɒwipme/
 ‘Then, they are squeezed.’ (nalogo066)

(2.39) *Jâ tâ-lâ-(y)apwe=bwe* *leplë.*
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-talk-tell=DIR.thither people
 /tɒlɒapwe.bwe/
 ‘He is giving advice to people.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(2.40) *Jä nâ-(w)â-ti=bwe* *lë-(v)elya-ngö*
 FUT PASS.IRR-go-APPL=DIR.thither NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 /nɒwɒtibwe/
bä mwetelya
 PREP village
 ‘They will go for dancing in the village.’

(2.41) *Ni leplë kä-i-vö-kla* *lâ-(w)â-ngö*
 1MIN person one-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-know NMLZ₁-build-NMLZ₂
 /lɒŋə/
böma
 house
 ‘I am an expert at building houses.’

2.4.2 Deletion of /u/ in N3AUG prefixes /tɒ-/ and /nɒ-/

With the N3AUG prefixes, /tɒ-/ and /nɒ-/, the vowel can be deleted in the following contexts: (i) the prefixes are followed by /v/; (ii) the prefixes are followed by /j/, and (iii) the imperfective /tɒ-/ is followed by /w/.

Context (i) involves cases where the N3AUG prefixes are followed by /v/-initial prefixes, such as /(v)a-/ ‘causative’ and /(v)ə-/ ‘middle’, or /v/-initial verb forms. Examples of context (i) are provided in (2.42), (2.43), (2.44), (2.45) and (2.46).

(2.42) *T(ü)-va-ku=nga* *lëikü*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.cooked=1MIN.SBJ yam

/tvakuŋa/

‘I am cooking yams.’ (nalogo020) (context i)

(2.43) *t(ü)-vö-kü=ki*

IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-dig=1+2MIN.SBJ

/tvökuki/

‘We are digging.’ (nalogo067) (context i)

(2.44) *T(ü)-völalö=m=de*

da kâ

IPFV.N3AUG-listen=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ thing DEM₁.DIST

ti-pi=bwa=ba=de.

IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=3MIN.OBJ

/tvөлalөmde/

‘He was listening what I was telling him.’

(2.45) *Maya jä te=n(ü)-va-klë-tö=lü*

Maya FUT NEG₁=IRR.N3AUG-CAUS-know-in=NEG₂

/tenvklstөлә/

‘Maya will not teach.’ (nalogo3010_2015) (context i)

Context (ii) involves the deletion of /u-/ before /j/-initial verb forms. Examples are shown in (2.46), (2.47) and (2.48) below.

(2.46) *Aple*

n(ü)-yâ-ti=le

bä

nabwëtom

SIMIL.EPIST IRR.N3AUG-stay-APPL=3MIN.SBJ

PREP oven

/njötile/

obu n(ü)-vöte

day IRR.N3AUG-be.one

/nvöte/

‘Maybe, it stays in the oven for a day.’ (context i) (context iii)

(2.47) *T(ü)-yöni*

IPFV.N3AUG-cry

/tjöni/

[tjöni]

‘She is crying.’ (nalogo058)

(2.48) *Jâ t(ü)-yelu=pe=bwe*

nuwe=lö

nölu

SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-put=COS=2MIN.SBJ.thither

water=ASS.MRK

coconut

/tjölupewbe/

[tʃelupewbe]

kâ=ng

DEM₁.DIST=PL

‘Then, you put the coconut milk.’ (nalogo017)

Typically, after the deletion of /w/, the consonant /t/ of the imperfective prefix undergoes a process of spirantization before /j/ as explained in the following section. However, there are also examples in the data where /t/ does not undergo spirantization and the sequence /tj/ is realised as [tj] or [tʃ]. Examples (2.47) and (2.48) show two different realizations of /tj/.

Finally, (2.49) shows a case of context (iii) where the vowel /w/ of the imperfective prefix is deleted before a /w/-initial verb form.

(2.49) *Jâ* *t(ü)-wäbu=pmo*
SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-sit=again
 /twɛbupmo/
‘[...] then, he sits down again.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

2.4.3 Spirantization of /t/ of N3AUG prefix /tu-/

When the N3AUG imperfective prefix /tu-/ is added to a /j/-initial verb, there are two options: either the prefix is simply attached to the verb, or the vowel of the prefix is deleted in rapid speech. Generally, the deletion of the vowel results in the spirantization of /t/ in front of /j/. The process of spirantization was regarded by one older speaker as the ‘right’ pronunciation used by older generations. An example is shown in (2.50) where /t/ in front of /j/ is realised as [s].

(2.50) *Kopyo* *nüinge* *t(ü)-yöbü*
EXIST boy IPFV.N3AUG-lie
 /sɔbɯ/
‘There is a boy lying.’ (nalogo1009_2015)

Additional /j/-initial verbs undergoing this process are: *yöni* ‘cry’, *yagla* ‘look’, *yöpwalu* ‘return’, *ya* ‘paddle’, *yepwale* ‘laugh’, *yökö* ‘finish’, *yapwe* ‘tell’, and *yawe* ‘play’.

2.4.4 Deletion of the N3AUG perfective prefix /i-/

The N3AUG perfective prefix *i-* can drop in two contexts: (i) when it attaches to /j/-initial verbs (e.g. *yöpwale* ‘laugh’, *yagla* ‘look’), (ii) when it attaches to /w/-initial verbs (e.g. *woti* ‘take s.t’, *wuti* ‘make a road’), (iii) before /v/-initial prefixes /-(v)a-/ ‘causative’ and /-(v)ɔ-/ ‘middle’

prefixes, and /v/-initial verb roots. Two examples of contexts (i) and (ii) are shown in (2.51) and (2.53).

(2.51) *Yövlë-lë=mwa*
grow-up=1MIN.SBJ.hither
/jəvlɜlɜmwa/
'I grew up.' (nalogo0809_2015)

(2.52) *Niinge* *kâ* *wo-ti=bwe=le*
boy DEM₁.DIST take-TR=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ money
/wotibwele/

töwa *kâ*
money DEM₁.DIST
'The boy took that money.'

However, as shown in (2.53) and (2.54) the option with the prefix /i-/ is also possible.

(2.53) *Jisas* *i-yövlë-lë=m* *Nazareth.*
Jesus PFV.N3AUG-grow-up =DIR.hither Nazareth
/ijəvlɜlɜm/
'Jesus grew up in Nazareth.' (field notes 2018)

(2.54) *I-wo-ti=le* *bwebwe=de.*
PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=3MIN.SBJ covering=3MIN.POSS
/iwotile/
'She took her covering.' (nalogo2209_2015)

According to context (iii), the prefix is obligatorily omitted before the variants /a-/ and /ə-/ of the causative and middle prefixes.

With the variants /va-/ and /və-/ retaining the fricative /v/, apparently, the prefix *i-* can co-occur or be omitted without any difference in meaning.

(2.55) *(V)a-klë=kom* *yökö.*
CAUS-know=1AUG.SBJ QNT
/vaklɜkom/
'We clean it all.' (nalogo021)

(2.56) *Mö-kâ* *(i)-vö-nibü* *no.*
male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill fish
/(i)vəniβ/
'The man killed fish.' (nalogo019)

Finally, an example with the verb *(v)ölalö* ‘hear’, is shown in (2.57) where the prefix /i-/ can occur or be omitted before the verb root.

- (2.57) *(I)-völalö=nga*
 PFV.N3AUG-hear=1MIN.SBJ
 /i)völaɫə/’
 ‘I hear.’

2.4.5 Deletion of /v/, /w/ and /j/

The /v/-initial, /w/-initial and /j/-initial verb forms tend to drop the initial consonant in the following contexts: (i) when they are prefixed by the nominalizer /lɜ-/; (ii) when they are prefixed by 3AUG realis and irrealis markers; (iii) when they are prefixed by N3AUG imperfective and irrealis markers. Examples of verbs showing this behaviour are given below.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| /v/-INITIAL VERBS | <i>vɛɫa</i> ‘dance’, <i>(v)öblemi</i> ‘make’, <i>(v)ölalö</i> ‘hear’, <i>vë</i> ‘go’ |
| /w/-INITIAL VERBS | <i>wäbu</i> ‘sit’, <i>wowi</i> ‘squeeze’, <i>wo</i> ‘climb’, <i>wo</i> ‘go’ |
| /j/-INITIAL VERBS | <i>ya</i> ‘paddle’, <i>yâ</i> ‘stay’ |

When these verb roots occur in context (i), they typically drop the initial consonant or glide as in examples in (2.58), (2.59) and (2.60).

- (2.58) *lë-(v)ɛɫa-ngö*
 NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 /lɜɛɫɛ/’
 ‘Dancing’

- (2.59) *lë-(y)a-ngö*
 NMLZ₁-paddle-NMLZ₂
 /lɜɛ/’
 ‘paddling’

- (2.60) *lë-(w)o-lë-ngö*
 NMLZ₁-climb-up-NMLZ₂
 /lɜoɫɛ/’
 ‘climbing up.’

Three examples of context (ii) are shown in (2.61), (2.62) and (2.63).

- (2.61) *Nübü* *te=lë-(y)a=lü*
 yesterday NEG₁=3AUG.PFV-paddle=NEG₂
 /telealɯ/
 ‘Yesterday I didn’t paddle.’ (nalogo033)

- (2.62) *Chair kâ* *të-(w)äbu-ti-u=m=gö*
 chair DEM₁.DIST PFV.3AUG-sit-APPL=down=3AUG.SBJ
 /tɜɛbutjumgø/
 ‘The chair they are sitting on...’ (nalogo045)

- (2.63) *Olë* *në-(v)ë* *kayö*
 girl IRR.3AUG-go first
 /nɜɜ/
 ‘Girls go first.’

Examples of context (iii) are shown in (2.64) and (2.65).

- (2.64) *Mweli ka* *tü-(v)öblemi=kom*
 time DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-do=1AUG.SBJ
 /tʷöblemikom/
 lë-ö-vë-ngö *nini.*
 NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-weave-NMLZ₂ mat
 ‘Now we are doing the weaving of sleeping mats.’ (nalogo005)

- (2.65) *tü-(w)äbu-m=gi* *mö* *nini*
 IPFV.N3AUG-sit=DIR.hither=1+2MIN.SBJ PREP mat
 /tʷæbumgi/
 ‘We are sitting on the mat.’

Verbs starting with /j/ typically trigger the deletion of /ɯ/ in N3AUG imperfective and irrealis prefixes.

2.4.6 Deletion of /v/ with middle and causative prefix

Nalögo has two valency-changing devices, the middle (v)ö- and the causative (v)a-, occurring right before the verb root (Chapter 8; Chapter 11). The causative and middle prefixes are treated together here because they share a similar behaviour in the same contexts. The two allomorphs

/və-/ and /ə-/ appear to be in free variation, but there are some contexts where the consonant /v/ tend to drop. They are the following: (i) after the nominalizer prefix /lɜ-/ (~ /nɜ-/); (ii) after the 3AUG realis and irrealis prefixes; and (iii) after the N3AUG imperfective and irrealis prefixes. Some examples of contexts (i), (ii) and (iii) are shown below. Sentences (2.66), (2.67), (2.68), and (2.69) show examples with the variant /ə-/ of the middle prefix.

(2.66) *Lë-ö-kla-gö* *ibu=nu*
 NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-know-NMLZ₂ father=1MIN.POSS
 /lɜəkləgə/
 ‘My father’s wisdom.’ (context i) (nominalization)

(2.67) *La-a-mwi-ngö* *nuwi* *leplë* *ö-laki*
 NMLZ₁-CAUS-be.set-NMLZ₂ rope people MIDD₁-N3AUG-cut
nuwâ
 stick
 /laamwiŋə/
 ‘When setting ropes, people cut sticks.’ (context i) (nominalization) (nalogo013)

(2.68) *Nübü* *lë-ö-nibü* *po* *ä*
 yesterday PFV.3AUG-MIDD-kill pig CONJ
 /lɜənibə/
lë-ngü=kö.
 PFV.3AUG-eat=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday they killed pigs and ate them.’ (context ii) (3AUG prefix) (nalogo051)

(2.69) *Jâ* *la-a-o=pe=kö* *nge*¹⁵
 SEQ PFV.3AUG-CAUS-be.lined.up=COS=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK
 /laaopekə/
naoduknga *la.*
 bride.price DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘Then, they line up the bride price.’ (context ii) (3AUG prefix)

Sentences (2.70) and (2.71) show two examples of /ə-/ and /a-/ occurring in context (iii), that is, after the N3AUG imperfective /tu-/. The N3AUG prefixes can assimilate to the vowel of the valency-changing device, as shown in §2.4.1.1.

(2.70) *Tü-ö-bi*

¹⁵ The functions of the form *nge* need further research. This pragmatic marker appears to signal the portion of information in the discourse to which the speaker wants the hearer to draw attention to.

IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake

/tʉəbi/

‘She is baking.’ (context iii) (nalogo058)

- (2.71) *Jâ tü-a-o-ti=bo* *dötwö=de* *obwe*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-think-APPL=still neck=3MIN.POSS child
/tʉaotibo/
olë ne=de.
child animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
‘She is still thinking about her daughter.’ (context iii)

The variants /və-/ and /va-/ can be selected when they are preceded by N3AUG imperfective and irrealis prefixes as in (2.72) and (2.73), respectively. However, in this context, either the /ʉ/ of the subject prefix or the /v/ of the valency-changing prefix is generally elided.

- (2.72) *nigom â tü-vö-la=pe*
1AUG PRAG.MARK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=COS
/tʉvələpe/
‘We cut...’ (nalogo057)

- (2.73) *Nü-va-klë-pä=pe=bwa*
IRR.N3AUG-CAUS-clean-out=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither
/nʉvaklɜpebwa/
‘Let me clean it.’ (nalogo039)

Finally, as previously mentioned, with the variants /və-/ and /va-/, the N3AUG perfective prefix /i-/ can be omitted or not.

2.5 Stress assignment

Here, I show the basics of stress assignment in Nalögo. This analysis is very preliminary and requires further research.

In Nalögo, stress assignment seems to be influenced by the notion of ‘mora’. A mora is a unit of weight, where every element having weight constitutes one mora. Syllable onsets do not form a mora, but each element of a syllable rhyme does, be it a short vowel, a long vowel, a diphthong or a vowel plus a coda. Light syllables are formed by a single mora, while heavy syllables are formed by two morae.

In Nalögo, disyllabic words made up of two light syllables are generally stressed on the first syllable as in the following examples.

/ˈna.wɜ/ ‘head’

/ˈbø.ma/ ‘house’

/ˈo.bwe/ ‘child’

/ˈi.tø/ ‘grandmother’

/ˈmnø.pu/ ‘be smooth’

/ˈnu.wɜ/ ‘water’

/ˈi.pwø/ ‘be big’

However, if disyllabic words are made up of one light and one heavy syllable, where the heavy syllable follows the light one, the stress is assigned to the heavy syllable. As previously mentioned, heavy syllables contain the combination vowel plus a coda (VC) diphthongs or long vowels.

/nɔ.ˈdøk/ ‘wall’

/na.ˈlɜp/ ‘tong’

/a.ˈmou/ ‘dirty’

/to.ˈkoi/ ‘tongs’

/mo.ˈlaø/ ‘axe’

/lɜ.ˈtøu/ ‘bow’

In trisyllabic words, the position of the stress varies. In most words, the stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable.

/be.ˈte.pu/ ‘coconut shell’

/bø.ˈlo.ma/ ‘arm band’

/me.ˈli.bu/ ‘uncle’

/mwi.ˈlɜ.pu/ ‘afternoon’

/mo.'ka.li/ 'tapa cloth'

/ta.'le.ngi/ 'earrings'

However, not all trisyllabic words follow the pattern above. In some words, the stress seems to be assigned to the first syllable instead of the second one.

/'tø.pu.ti/ 'cat'

/'pte.ngi.me/ 'six'

/'lo.po.ta/ 'cabbage'

/'a.ngi.dø/ 'well'

When clitics and affixes are added to roots, they participate in the regime of stress assignment. For instance, when the perfective/N3AUG prefix /i-/ is added to the verb /pwø/, it forms a disyllabic word of two light syllables, attracting the stress /'i.pwø/ 'be big'. If the intensity suffix /-k/ is added to the inflected verb as in /i.'pwøk/, the stress is assigned to the second syllable due to its weight. An additional example with the verb root /v3/ 'go' is shown below.

- (2.74) a) /v3/ 'Go!'
b) /'i.v3/ 'He went'
c) /i.'v3.pɛ/ 'He goes out'
d) /i.'v3.pme/ 'He has gone'
e) /i.v3.'tɔp/ 'He went in'

In (2.74b), the N3AUG/perfective prefix i- is added to the verb root, producing a disyllabic word of two light syllables where stress is assigned to the first syllable. If the topological

directional /-pɛ/ ‘out’ is added to the verb inflected for aspect as in (2.74c), it forms a trisyllabic word of three light syllables where the stress is assigned to the penultimate. The prefix *i-* is extrametrical. The same pattern is attested in (2.74d), when the change-of-state enclitic /=*pme*/ is added to the inflected verb form. This example shows that there seems to be no difference between clitics and affixes in terms of regime of stress assignment. Finally, when the topological directional /-tə/ and the person directional /=*p*/ are added to the verb root, the new heavy syllable triggers the stress and (2.74e).

3. PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

This chapter is devoted to the description of free and bound pronominal forms in Nalögo. As in other RSC languages (Ross & Næss 2007; Næss & Boerger 2008), the system is organised around a ‘minimal-augmented’ pattern. Even though the minimal-augmented pattern resembles the more widespread inclusive/exclusive one attested in some Oceanic languages, it also differs from it, in that ‘You and I’ forms are treated as a distinct person category (§3.1).

Generally, Oceanic languages display distinctive sets of pronominal forms, which include free pronouns, possessor suffixes, subject and object bound forms (Lynch et al. 2002: 35-36, Ross 2004a). Not all languages display the same set of paradigms: they can lack one or more sets, or display different types of sets (Lynch et al. 2002: 36). In Nalögo, there are four sets of pronominal forms: three sets of bound forms encoding subjects, objects and possessors and one set of free forms.

This chapter is organised as follows. In §3.1, I describe the main characteristics of the minimal-augmented pattern, which is quite uncommon in Oceanic languages. In §3.2, I give an overview of the pronominal sets attested in Nalögo. In §3.3, I describe in more detail the paradigms of subject and object bound forms. Subject bound forms belong to two sets, which include great allomorphy and free/dialectal variants. In §3.4, I deal with the paradigm of possessor forms that typically occur with direct and indirect possessive constructions (see Chapter 6) and possessed nominalised forms (see Chapter 4). Finally, in §3.5, I describe the paradigm of free pronominal forms.

3.1 Brief introduction to the minimal-augmented pattern

The ‘minimal-augmented’ pattern involves a dual in the first person inclusive, but not in the other person categories. In other words, we find two forms to express the number distinction ‘We (You and I)’ and ‘We (You and I and others)’. In past studies, the minimal-augmented pattern was traditionally analysed as including a dual number in an inclusive/exclusive system. Krifka (2005) argues against this analysis, pointing out its inefficiency by reporting Bloomfield (1942)’s analysis of the free pronouns in Ilocano, an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines. His analysis of the pronominal forms in Ilocano is shown in Figure 3-1.

Ilocano pronominal system, traditional

| | | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| 1 st Pers | inclusive | <i>ko</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>tayo</i> |
| | exclusive | | | <i>mi</i> |
| 2 nd Pers | | <i>mo</i> | | <i>yo</i> |
| 3 rd Pers | | <i>na</i> | | <i>da</i> |

Figure 3-1. Ilocano pronominal system proposed by Bloomfield (1942) quoted in Krifka (2005)

In Ilocano, the dual category has only one form, the first person inclusive *ta*. No other person and number category display a dual distinction.

A few years after Bloomfield, Thomas (1955) proposed a more economic analysis of the Ilocano system. As shown in Krifka (2005)'s adaptation of Thomas (1955)'s analysis (Figure 3-2), there is no dual number, rather a new person category (Speaker-Hearer) encompassing the first and second person (1+2) is added. On a par with the other persons, the 1+2 person displays its 'simple' and 'plus' form, later referred to as 'minimal' and 'augmented' (McKay 1978). With the introduction of the 1+2 person category, the singular/plural distinction was no longer suitable to describe this type of system because the 1+2 person is not singular, but involves two referents.

Ilocano pronominal system, alternative analysis:

| | simple (minimal) | plus (augmented) |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Speaker | <i>ko</i> | <i>mi</i> |
| Hearer | <i>mo</i> | <i>yo</i> |
| Speaker-Hearer | <i>ta</i> | <i>tayo</i> |
| neither | <i>na</i> | <i>da</i> |

Figure 3-2. Ilocano pronominal system proposed by Thomas (1955) quoted in Krifka (2005)

This type of pronominal system is not only typical of Philippine languages like Ilocano, but is also attested in other language families. An example is represented by the Arnhem languages, spoken in the Northern Territory of Australia, which display rather complex pronominal distinctions (Krifka 2005). Among RSC languages, three of the languages spoken in Santa Cruz, namely Engdewu, Natügu and Nalögo, show a minimal-augmented system. Äiwoo, spoken in the Reef Islands, has also a minimal-augmented system, but with the addition of a third number category labelled as ‘unit-augmented’, which refers to a “minimal number plus exactly one” (Næss & Boerger 2008). As previously mentioned, the minimal-augmented patterns are rare in Oceanic languages, which generally show an opposition between first, second, and third person categories, as well as an inclusive/exclusive distinction for the first person. In terms of number, there is always a singular/plural distinction, and the presence of a distinct dual series is common (Lynch et al. 2002: 35).

From a diachronic point of view, the minimal-augmented pattern is generally thought to be an innovation, developing out of the inclusive/exclusive distinction found in POc (Ross & Næss 2007). However, in this respect, it is worth mentioning Reid (2016)’s reconstruction of a minimal-augmented pronominal system in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), the POc ancestor. If his hypothesis is correct, then, the minimal-augmented system attested in RSC languages might not be an innovation, but the original pattern.

3.2 Overview of pronominal paradigms

In this section, I provide an overview of the pronominal forms described in this chapter. In Nalögo, subjects can be marked on the verb by enclitics. In this respect, Nalögo behaves like canonical Oceanic languages, which display a set of bound subject forms, be they clitics or affixes (Lynch et al. 2002: 35). Like any other pronominal paradigm in the language, subject enclitics follow the minimal-augmented pattern described above. There are two sets of subject enclitics labelled as ‘Set I’ and ‘Set II’, whose forms are illustrated in Table 3-1.

| PERSON | SET I | SET II |
|------------|---|------------|
| MIN | | |
| 1 | =nga, ~ =la, ~ =wa, ~ =na, ~ =ka, ~ =na, ~ =wa, ~ =wa, ~ =la | =nu |
| 1+2 | =ki, ~ =wi, ~ =ni, ~ =li, ~ =gi | =gi |
| 2 | =ng, ~ =l, ~ =u, ~ =l | - |
| 3 | =le, ~ =te, ~ =je, ~ =te, ~ =de | =de, ~ =je |
| AUG | | |
| 1 | =kom, ~ =wom, ~ =nom, ~ =lom, ~ =gom | =gom |
| 1+2 | =ko, ~ =wo, ~ =lo, ~ =go | =go |
| 2 | =ngam, ~ =nam, ~ =wam, ~ =lam | - |
| 3 | =kö, =tö | =gö, ~ =dö |

Table 3-1. Subject enclitics belonging to Set I and Set II

Set I is regarded as the main set, containing what I consider to be the basic subject forms, due to their frequency of use and the lack of conditioning factors. For most person categories, this set includes more than one form: while some of these forms are allomorphs, others are regarded as free or dialectal variants. In Table 3-1, allomorphs and variants are preceded by the symbol ‘~’. With regard to the variation of subject forms, it is worth mentioning here that the Nalögo area in the south-west of the Santa Cruz is characterised by great dialectal variation. Some speakers, especially the elders, can understand and speak to different levels more than one variety, and sometimes, they can switch freely between varieties. Typically, people have a passive knowledge of at least another variety and/or language. During my fieldwork, it was not always possible to have speakers explain whether different subject forms belonged to different varieties or whether they were just free variants within a single variety. On some occasions, this has represented a challenge for the analysis of subject bound forms. Thus, based on the available data, when subject enclitics are not regarded as allomorphs, they could be viewed either as free variants within a single variety or as variants belonging to different varieties. Further exploration of this variation is left for future research.

In many cases, subject enclitics belonging to Set II, which are formally identical to possessor forms, are morphologically conditioned. Along with the bound forms shown in Table 3-1, there are also additional subject forms which are the result of the conflation between subject enclitics

and morphemes expressing other functions, including ‘person deictic’ directionals, the change-of-state marker *=p(m)e* and the restrictive adverb *tëipwö* ‘just, only’ (§3.3.1.3).

From a diachronic point of view, subjects encoded by enclitics constitute an innovation, since POC is generally thought to have displayed preverbal subject markers (Lynch et al. 2002: 67). However, in PAN and in Western Austronesian languages, the presence of enclitics is very common (in Amis for instance, Brill p.c.). In Nalögo, subject forms are glossed as clitics, but they display more affix-like properties than clitic-like properties. As is well-known, in many languages, there is a fine line separating affixes from clitics. In this work, I analyse the subject bound forms in Nalögo as enclitics because they occur at the periphery of the verb complex (VC) and after other clitics, such as the change-of-state (COS) marker *=p(m)e* (Chapter 8 for the positions of subject enclitics inside the VC). However, these subject forms also exhibit properties of affixes, for instance, they are linked to a specific morphosyntactic class, since they can occur only on verbs. In addition, they show great allomorphic variation as shown in Table 3-1 above, which is typical of affixes.

Along with subject enclitics, Nalögo displays a set of object enclitics, formally identical to possessor enclitics (§3.4), as well as an additional 3MIN object enclitic *=le* ($\sim =de$) occurring in some specific contexts (§3.3.2.1). The object forms shown in Table 3-2 below attach only to prepositions, because in Nalögo, except for the case of the 3MIN object *=le* mentioned above, objects are not marked on the verb (§3.3.2.2). Finally, free pronominal forms, which can encode subject or object referents (§3.5.1), are constituted by a base *ni* to which possessor forms are attached. They are described in (§3.5).

| PERSON | POSSESSOR FORMS | OBJECT FORMS | FREE FORMS |
|------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| MIN | | | |
| 1 | <i>=nu, ~ =tu</i> | <i>=nu</i> | <i>ni</i> |
| 1+2 | <i>=gi</i> | <i>=gi</i> | <i>ni=gi</i> |
| 2 | <i>=m, ~ =p</i> | <i>=m</i> | <i>ni=m (~ =p)</i> |
| 3 | <i>=de, ~ =te</i> | <i>=de</i> | <i>ni=de</i> |
| AUG | | | |
| 1 | <i>=gom</i> | <i>=gom</i> | <i>ni=gom</i> |
| 1+2 | <i>=go</i> | <i>=go</i> | <i>ni=go</i> |
| 2 | <i>=mwi</i> | <i>=mwi</i> | <i>ni=mwi</i> |
| 3 | <i>=gö</i> | <i>=go</i> | <i>ni=gö</i> |

Table 3-2. Possessor enclitics, object enclitics and free forms

3.3 Subject and object bound forms

In this section, I first provide an overview of the subject-marking patterns attested in Nalögo (§3.3.1) to show how subjects are marked on verbs. In §3.3.1.1 and §3.3.1.2, I describe the two sets of subject enclitics, Set I and Set II, respectively. Finally, in §3.3.1.3, I deal with conflated subject forms expressing subject person/number and additional functions.

3.3.1 Overview of subject-marking patterns

In Nalögo, there are two sets of subject forms, which show a great allomorphic variation, which is morphologically and phonologically conditioned. The subject enclitics which are not analysed as allomorphs are considered as free variants within a single dialect or as dialectal variants, since, as previously mentioned, it is difficult to choose one analysis over the other based on the available data. Before describing these forms in more detail, a few words on verbal subject-marking patterns and alignment of subject bound forms are in order.

Subjects are encoded on verbs by prefixes and/or enclitics attaching to the periphery of the verb complex (VC). Subject prefixes are portmanteau forms expressing subject person/number and aspect/mood meanings. The basic forms of subject prefixes are shown in Table 3-3 below.

| MOOD/ASPECT | N3AUG | 3AUG |
|-------------|------------|------------|
| IPFV | <i>tü-</i> | <i>të-</i> |
| PFV | <i>i-</i> | <i>lë-</i> |
| IRR | <i>nü-</i> | <i>në-</i> |

Table 3-3. Portmanteau prefixes expressing subject properties and aspect/mood meanings

Subject prefixes are subject to processes like vowel deletion and assimilation as described in Chapter 2. As shown in Table 3-3, there is a N3AUG/3AUG number distinction, i.e. a distinction between prefixes encoding the 3AUG person and prefixes encoding all the other persons. In addition, there is a realis/irrealis distinction where the realis has prefixes expressing a perfective/imperfective distinction, while the irrealis is expressed by the N3AUG/3AUG prefixes *nü-/në-*. The functions of these portmanteau subject forms are described in Chapter 10.

Nalögo has a transitivity-based system with three main clause types—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive (Chapter 12). Intransitive clauses display one single argument S, while

transitive clauses display two arguments, O_{TR} and A_{TR} . Finally, semitransitive clauses also display two arguments called A_{STR} and O_{STR} . A_{TR} and A_{STR} are regarded as the actor-like arguments in transitive and semitransitive clauses, respectively. In Chapter 14, I provide a definition of these arguments, showing how they are grouped together in grammatical relations (GRs) according to different types of constructions/rules. However, for the time being, what concerns us here is the basic definitions of S, A_{TR} and A_{STR} given above.

In the three main clauses in Nalögo, the subject prefixes shown in Table 3-3 can combine with subject enclitics belonging to Set I and Set II mentioned in §3.3. In Table 3-4, I show how the subject enclitics belonging to Set I can combine with aspect/mood prefixes.

| NUMBER | ASPECT/MOOD PREFIXES | SET I | ALIGNMENT |
|--------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| MIN | N3AUG | | |
| 1 | <i>i-, tü- nü-</i> | = <i>nga</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| 1+2 | | = <i>ng</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| 2 | | = <i>ki</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| 3 | | = \emptyset | S, A_{STR} |
| | | = <i>le</i> | A_{TR} |
| AUG | | | |
| 1 | | = <i>kom</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| 1+2 | | = <i>ko</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| 2 | | = <i>ngam</i> | A_{TR} ; A_{STR} ; S |
| | | 3AUG | |
| 3 | <i>lä-, tē- nē-</i> | - | S, A_{STR} |
| | | = <i>kö</i> | A_{TR} |

Table 3-4. Alignment patterns of subject enclitics and portmanteau subject prefixes

According to Table 3-4, all the person categories which are not 3MIN/AUG express S, A_{TR} and A_{STR} arguments on the verb in the same way as shown in (3.1), (3.2) and (3.3) below. In (3.1), the 1AUG S is expressed by the subject enclitic =*kom* like the actor-like arguments A_{TR} and A_{STR} of transitive and semitransitive clauses, respectively, as shown in (3.2) and (3.3). The 1AUG form =*kom* cooccurs with N3AUG subject/mood/aspect prefixes.

- (3.1) *Nü-mno=angidö=**kom**.*
 IRR.N3AUG-live=well=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We must live well.’ (intransitive) (nalogo012)

- (3.2) *Tü-ya-kö-pä=pe=kom* *be=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-peel-take.soft.bit.off-out=COS=1AUG.SBJ skin=3MIN.POSS
 ‘We are peeling off its skin.’ (transitive) (field notes 2015)
- (3.3) *I-vö-bi=kom* *na=gom* *da.*
 PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=1AUG.SBJ food.CLF=1AUG.POSS thing
 ‘We bake our food.’ (semitransitive) (nalogo062)

The 3MIN/AUG persons show a different pattern, where S and A_{STR} pattern alike and differently from the actor-like argument of transitive clauses. While 3MIN S arguments are zero-marked (=∅), 3MIN A_{TR} arguments are expressed by subject enclitics cooccurring with subject prefixes. This pattern is shown in (3.4) and (3.5) where the 3MIN S in (3.4) is zero-marked and the 3MIN A_{TR} in (3.5) is marked by the bound form =*le*. In semitransitive clauses, the subject-marking pattern is intransitive as shown in (3.6), where A_{STR} patterns like S¹⁶.

- (3.4) *I-vë=pmo=∅.*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=again=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘He went again.’ (intransitive) (nalogo1109_2015)
- (3.5) *I-va-lu=le* *ngumö* *lepelë.*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.alive=3MIN.SBJ spirit people
 ‘He makes the spirit of people alive.’ (transitive) (nalogo039)
- (3.6) (*Mö-kâ*) *i-vö-nibü=∅* *no.*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill=3MIN.SBJ fish
 ‘The man killed fish.’ (semitransitive) (nalogo019)

Subjects encoding 3AUG persons follow the same pattern where S and A_{STR} pattern alike and A_{TR} is treated differently as shown in (3.7), (3.8) and (3.9). In (3.7), the 3AUG S argument is expressed only by the 3AUG prefix *të-*, while in the transitive clause in (3.8), *të-* has to combine with the subject enclitic =*kö*. In semitransitive clauses as the one in (3.9), A_{STR} follows the pattern of S.

¹⁶ As explained in Chapter 12, semitransitive clauses, which are used to express a focus on the action, show a mixed set of transitive and intransitive properties. Morphologically, they are intransitive, thus, their subject-marking pattern follows the intransitive one.

- (3.7) *Të-pö* *nge* *ma=ng* *ä*
 IPFV.3AUG-make.hole PRAG.MRK DEM₂.PROX=PL COOR
ma=ng.
 DEM₂.PROX=PL
 ‘They make holes here and here.’ (intransitive) (nalogo060)
- (3.8) *Të-pna=kö* *tëipwö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-shoot=3AUG.SBJ just
 ‘They just shoot (it).’ (transitive) (nalogo025)
- (3.9) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *të-ö-tabö* *nowi.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-search.for lice
 ‘The girls are searching for lice.’ (semitransitive) (nalogo007)

The interaction between bound subject forms (prefixes and enclitics) and free subject forms on the one hand, and clause types on the other, is discussed in Chapter 12. The aim of the following sections is to present the subject forms belonging to Set I and Set II attested in the data.

3.3.1.1 Set I of subject enclitics

Set I is regarded as the basic set in Nalögo, since it includes all the default forms whose selection is not conditioned by any specific context. These forms are summarized in Table 3-5 below, which also shows allomorphic and dialectal variation. The alignment patterns are indicated in the rightmost column.

| PERSON | BASIC FORM | FREE/DIALECTAL VARIANTS | ALLOMORPH | ALIGNMENT |
|------------|---------------|---|--|--|
| MIN | | | | |
| 1 | = <i>nga</i> | ~ = <i>na</i> ; ~ = <i>la</i> ; ~ = <i>wa</i> ; ~ = <i>na</i> ; ~ = <i>ka</i> | ~ = <i>na</i> ; ~ = <i>wa</i> ; ~ = <i>la</i> | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 1+2 | = <i>ki</i> | ~ = <i>li</i> | ~ = <i>wi</i> ; ~ = <i>ni</i> | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 2 | = <i>ng</i> | ~ = <i>l</i> ; | ~ = <i>u</i> ; ~ = <i>l</i> | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 3 | = <i>le</i> | ~ = <i>te</i> ; ~ = <i>je</i> , ~ = <i>de</i> | - | A _{TR} |
| AUG | | | | |
| 1 | = <i>kom</i> | ~ = <i>lom</i> | ~ = <i>wom</i> ; ~ = <i>nom</i> ; | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 1+2 | = <i>ko</i> | ~ = <i>lo</i> ; ~ = <i>no</i> | ~ = <i>wo</i> , | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 2 | = <i>ngam</i> | - | ~ = <i>wam</i> ; ~ = <i>nam</i> , ~ = <i>lam</i> | A _{TR} ; A _{STR} ; S |
| 3 | = <i>kö</i> | - | ~ = <i>tö</i> | A _{TR} |

Table 3-5. Subject enclitics belonging to Set I

In Table 3-5, the ‘basic’ MIN and AUG subject enclitics are labelled as such based on their type frequency in the available data. As mentioned in § 3.2, the symbol ‘~’ indicates all the allomorphs and free/dialectal variants. Free/dialectal variants are labelled together because, based on the available data, it cannot be established if they are free variants within a single dialect or dialectal variants. Unlike variants, allomorphs seem to be triggered by specific contexts. Table 3-6 shows the conditions of allomorphy of some subject enclitics.

| NUMBER | ALLOMORPHS | MORPHOLOGICAL CONTEXTS |
|------------|---------------|---|
| MIN | | |
| 1 | ~ = <i>wa</i> | = <i>p(m)o</i> ‘again’; = <i>käli</i> ‘second, next’; negator = <i>lü</i> (standard negation) |
| | ~ = <i>na</i> | applicative = <i>ngö</i> |
| | ~ = <i>la</i> | = <i>ka</i> ‘yet’ (in negative context) |
| 1+2 | ~ = <i>ni</i> | = <i>kai</i> ‘first’ |
| | ~ = <i>wi</i> | = <i>kälë</i> ‘later’; negator = <i>lü</i> (standard negation) |

| | | |
|------------|-------------------|--|
| 2 | $\sim =u$ | $=p(m)o$ ‘again’; $=k\acute{a}li$ ‘second, next’; $=k\ddot{o}$ ‘also, too’; negator $=l\ddot{u}$ (standard negation) |
| | $\sim =l$ | $=ka$ ‘yet’ (in negative context) |
| AUG | | |
| 1 | $\sim =wom$ | $=p(m)o$ ‘again’; $=k\acute{a}li$ ‘second, next’; $=k\ddot{o}$ ‘also, too’; negator $=l\ddot{u}$ (standard negation) |
| | $\sim =nom$ | quotative marker $-ö$; $=kai$ ‘first’ |
| 1+2 | $\sim =wo$ | negator $=l\ddot{u}$ (standard negation) |
| 2 | $\sim =wam$ | negator $=l\ddot{u}$ (standard negation) |
| | $\sim =nam$ | applicative $=ng\ddot{o}$ |
| | $\sim =lam$ | $=ka$ ‘yet’ (in negative context) |
| 3 | $\sim =t\ddot{o}$ | negator $=l\ddot{u}$ (standard negation) |

Table 3-6. Conditions of allomorphy for subject enclitics belonging to Set I

As shown in Table 3-6, most allomorphs involve a variation in the initial consonant. In all the contexts, the morphemes triggering specific forms occur before the subject forms, except for the one involving the second negator $=l\ddot{u}$, which occurs after the subject forms.

The *w*-initial subject forms of all persons, and the 2MIN $=u$, are triggered by the following morphemes: (i) $=p(m)o$ ‘again’; (ii) $=k\acute{a}li$ ($\sim =kali$) ‘second, next’; $=k\ddot{o}$ ($\sim =ka$) ‘too, also’; (iv) $=l\ddot{u}$ ‘not’, the second negator of standard negation; and (v) $=k\acute{a}l\ddot{e}$ ‘later’. Some examples of these contexts are shown below.

(3.10) *I-mo=po=wa* *lepl\ddot{e}* *k\hat{a}*.
 PFV.N3AUG-see=again=1MIN.SBJ person DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I saw that person again.’ (nalogo020_1)

(3.11) *I-pm\ddot{e}-u=po=wom*.
 PFV.N3AUG-soften-down=again=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We soften (them) again.’ (nalogo042)

(3.12) *I-wo-ti=po=u*.
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=again=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘You take (it) again.’ (nalogo013)

- (3.13) *T(ü)-(v)ö-vë=pe=käli=wa* *topla.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave=COS=next=1MIN.SBJ *basket*
 ‘I am weaving a basket this time (nalogo062)’
- (3.14) *Yölu=kali=wom* *mö belëm kä*
 PFV.N3AUG-put=next=1AUG.SBJ *PREP bowl LNK*
i-kütâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.small
 ‘We put it in the small bowl again.’ (nalogo042)
- (3.15) *Kâ nüngelö nide â*
 DEM₁.DIST *male* 3MIN *DEM₃.DIST*
tü-twë=nö=pe=käli=u *në-doulë-ngö*
 IPFV.N3AUG-take=DISP=COS=next=2MIN.SBJ *NMLZ₁-catch-NMLZ₂*
kä-ble.
 one-different
 ‘The male one is that one that you take around again to catch a different one’
 (nalogo013)
- (3.16) *T(ü)-vë-tö=pmo=kö=wom.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=again=ADD=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We want to go inside too’ (nalogo2209_2015)
- (3.17) *Ö-ni=ng lopta ä ö-ni-ki=ka=u*
 MIDD₁-pick=2MIN.SBJ *cabbage* COOR *MIDD₁-pick-rigid.obj=ADD=2MIN.SBJ*
lemo ngö=de.
 leaf *ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS*
 ‘You pick cabbage and you also pick its leaves.’ (nalogo017)
- (3.18) *Te=i-kuki=wa=lü* *lëikü.*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-cook=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ *yam*
 ‘I don’t cook yams.’ (nalogo020)
- (3.19) *Nübü te=ya-nö=wi=lü.*
 yesterday *NEG₁=paddle-DISP=1+2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂*
 ‘Yesterday, we (you and I) didn’t paddle around.’ (nalogo033)
- (3.20) *I-pi=m=de* *ba=nu*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ *PREP=1MIN.OBJ*
te=(v)a-mölwe=u=lü *nide.*
 NEG₁=CAUS-respect=2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ *3MIN*

‘She said to me that you don’t respect her.’ (nalogo020_1)

(3.21) *Te=i-klu-nö=wom=lü.*

NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.many-DISP=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂

‘We were not many around.’ (nalogo001_2015)

(3.22) *Te=i-ngu=wo=lü*

kâ=ng

NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-eat=1+2AUG.SBJ=NEG₂ DEM₁.DIST=PL

i-veplö.

PFV.N3AUG-be.strong

‘We do not eat the strong ones.’ (nalogo039)

(3.23) *Te=ya=wam=lü*

NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-paddle=2AUG.SBJ=NEG₂

‘You didn’t paddle.’ (nalogo033)

In the available data, there is only one example triggered by the morpheme =*kälë* ‘later’ shown in (3.24).

(3.24) *Nü-mwa-ki-ti=kälë=wi*

kâ=ng

IRR.N3AUG-bite-rigid.obj-TR=later=1+2MIN.SBJ

DEM₁.DIST=PL

i-woplëwe.

PFV.N3AUG-be.strong

‘We will bite the strong ones (leaves).’ (nalogo039)

The applicative =*ngö* triggers two *n*-initial subject enclitics, the 1MIN =*na* and the 2AUG =*nam* as shown in (3.25) and (3.26).

(3.25) *Ö-kâ-u=ngö=na*

kâ.

MIDD₁-scrape-down=APPL=1MIN.SBJ

DEM₁.DIST

‘I scrape in (it) that one.’ (nalogo039)

(3.26) *Toe kä yawe=ngö=nam.*

toy LNK play-=PPL=2AUG.SBJ

‘Toy that you played with.’ (nalogo051)

With the other person categories, =*ngö* can also be followed by *n*-initial forms, but they are most likely dialectal/free variants, because they can alternate in the same contexts with subject

forms belonging to Set II. Examples (3.27) and (3.28) show the same context triggering both subject forms. The subject enclitic =*gi* belongs to Set II (§3.3.1.2).

(3.27) *Obu kä t(ü)-vë=ngö=ni ja.*
 day LNK IPFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM4.PROX
 ‘The day in which we are going is this one.’ (nalogo039)

(3.28) *Nübü lë-vëpe=kö kâ toe*
 yesterday PFV.3AUG-buy=3AUG.SBJ DEM1.DIST toy
ä yawe=ngö=gi.
 COOR play=APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday they bought a toy and we played with it.’ (nalogo051)

In the available data, two *n*-initial subject forms seem to be triggered by the morpheme *kai* ‘first’ (~ =*kae*) as shown in (3.29) and (3.30).

(3.29) *Kayö i-kâ=kai=nom nölu.*
 first PFV.N3AUG-scrape=first=1AUG.SBJ coconut
 ‘Firstly, we scrape coconut first.’ (nalogo042)

(3.30) *T(ü)-va-klë=kae=ni nge kilu.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-clean=first=1+2MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK kilu
 ‘We clean first *kilu*¹⁷.’ (nalogo039)

There is also one example where the quotative marker =*ö* triggers one *n*-initial subject form (3.31). However, further data are required to establish whether the *n*-initial subject forms triggered by =*kai* and =*ö* are allomorphs or simply free/dialectal variants.

(3.31) *E-pi=ö=nom nge tü-wö-tö=ka=wom.*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=1AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-swim-in=ADD=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘...we want to swim inside too.’ (narr_MJ_2015)

The *l*-initial subject forms for the 1MIN, 2MIN/AUG persons are triggered by the morpheme =*ka* ‘yet’ in negative context. Two examples are in (3.32) and (3.33).

(3.32) *Te=i-wo=ka=la Honiara.*
 NEG1=PFV.N3AUG-go=yet=1MIN.SBJ Honiara
 ‘I didn’t go to Honiara yet.’ (nalogo033)

¹⁷ This is a type of local cabbage.

(3.33) *Aple* *te=i-klë=ka=l* *âkö Vali.*
 SIMIL.EPIST NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=yes=2MIN.SBJ well Vali
 ‘You don’t know (it) well yet Vali.’ (nalogo039)

In this negative context, there are additional *l*-initial subject forms for other person categories (e.g. 1+2 =*li*, 1AUG =*lom*, 1+2AUG =*lom*), but apparently, they can alternate with subject forms belonging to Set II. Therefore, they are regarded as free/dialectal variants. This context also triggers the 3AUG allomorph =*tö*.

3.3.1.2 Set II of subject forms

Subject forms belonging to Set II are mostly formally identical to the possessor forms described in §3.4. Set II subject forms and the possessor ones are compared in Table 3-7 below.

| PERSON | SET II SUBJECT ENCLITICS | | POSSESSOR ENCLITICS | |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|--------------|
| | MIN | AUG | MIN | AUG |
| 1 | - | = <i>gom</i> | = <i>nu</i> ; ~= <i>tu</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | - | - | = <i>m</i> ; ~= <i>p</i> | = <i>mwi</i> |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> ; ~= <i>je</i> | = <i>gö</i> ; ~= <i>dö</i> | = <i>de</i> ; ~= <i>te</i> ; ~= <i>je</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 3-7. Comparison between subject enclitics belonging to Set II and possessor forms

The subject forms belonging to Table 3-7 are mainly triggered by five morphemes: (i) the person deictic ‘hither’ directional =*m* (~ =*p*), (ii) the applicative =*ngö*; (iii) the quotative marker =*ö*; (iv) the stative verb *lëpwä* ‘be four’; and (v) the verb *mwe* ‘be afraid of’.

Examples of context (i) are shown below. It is important to point out that the 1MIN and 2MIN/AUG persons are exceptions, because they display specific forms which are the results of conflation of subject forms and person deictic directional (§3.3.1.3). The forms triggered by the hither directional =*m* are: the 3MIN =*de* (ex. (3.34)), the 1+2MIN =*gi* (ex. (3.35)), the 1AUG =*gom* (ex. (3.36)), the 1+2AUG =*go* (ex. (3.37)) and the 3AUG =*gö* (ex. (3.38)).

- (3.34) *I-pi=m=de* *ba=nu.*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘He said (it) to me.’ (nalogo020_1)
- (3.35) *Chair kâ* *tü-wäbu-ti-u=m=gi*
 chair DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=DIR.hither=1+2MIN.SBJ
i-mö-glâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘The chair we are sitting on is broken.’ (nalogo045)
- (3.36) *Jâ* *tü-ke-u=pe=m=gom* *bia*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-hook-down=COS=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ breadfruit
kâ=ng.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘Then, we hook down the breadfruits.’ (nalogo057)
- (3.37) *I-pi=m=go* *ba=gö...*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.hither=1+2AUG.SBJ PREP=3AUG.OBJ
 ‘We (you and I) said (it) to them...’ (nalogo0110_2015)
- (3.38) *La-a-mumu-pä=m=gö* *nuwâ kâ=ng*
 PFV.3AUG-CAUS-collect-out=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ stick DEM₁.DIST=PL
yökö.
 finish
 ‘They collect all those sticks.’ (nalogo038)

The directional =*m* also display an allomorph ~ =*p* occurring in specific contexts (Chapter 9) which triggers the same subject forms selected by =*m* as shown in (3.39) and (3.40).

- (3.39) *Nuwo kâ* *i-la-ki=le*
 stick DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ
i-gë-lë=käli=p=de
 PFV.N3AUG-pick-up=next=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘As for the stick, he cut (it) and pick (it) up...’ (nalogo2010_2015)
- (3.40) *Leplë lömtangi* *kä* *lë-vë-tö=p=gö*
 people white.man SUBR PFV.3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ
kâ *mö-nye=gom.*
 DEM₁.DIST place-place.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘As for white people, when they came in our place...’ (nalogo012)

In (3.41) and (3.42), the applicative =*ngö* triggers two allomorphs, the 3MIN subject form =*de* and the 3AUG subject form =*dö*¹⁸.

(3.41) *Tü-mwe=ngö=de* *ni.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.afraid=APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘He is afraid because of me.’ (nalogo067)

(3.42) *Nubü* *lë-vëpe=kö* *kâ* *toe* *ä*
 yesterday PFV.3AUG-buy=3AUG.SBJ QNT toy COOR
lë-(y)awe=ngö=dö
 PFV.3AUG-play=APPL=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday they bought a toy and they played with it.’ (nalogo051)

With 1MIN, 2MIN and 2AUG persons, the applicative triggers the subject forms belonging to Set I=*na*, =*ng* and =*nam*, respectively. With 1+2MIN, 1AUG and 2AUG persons, the Set I *n*-initial variants =*ni*, =*nom* and =*no* and Set II subject forms =*gi*, =*gom* and =*go* seem to be in free variation.

There is one point that is worth mentioning here. When other morphemes, such as the deictic person directional =*bwe* ‘thither’ and COS marker =*p(m)e*, occur after the applicative, subject forms belonging to Set I are used, because subject forms are triggered by the form of the applicative rather than its function. An example is shown in (3.43), but further examples are given in Chapter 13.

(3.43) *kä-lë-veltö=ngö=bwe=le...*
 way-PASS.PFV-put.in=APPL=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘How it is put in (in the mat)...’ (nalogo005)

Like the applicative =*ngö*, the quotative marker =*ö* triggers the 3MIN and 3AUG subject forms =*de* and =*dö*, respectively; while with 1MIN and 2MIN person categories, it selects the subject forms belonging to Set I =*na* and =*ng*, respectively. In the available data, there are only examples with the person categories mentioned above. Further data are necessary to establish

¹⁸ The 3AUG form =*dö* might be a borrowing from Natügu where it functions as a possessive form (Boerger, in progress).

the whole paradigm of forms conditioned by the presence of the marker. Two examples with 3MIN and 3AUG subject forms are shown in (3.44) and (3.45).

(3.44) *e-pi=ö=de* “Kale!”
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=3MIN.SBJ wait
 ‘...she said: “Wait!”.’ (field notes 2018)

(3.45) *Leplë* *lë-e-pi=ö=dö* *nge*
 people PFV.3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=3AUG.SBJ COMP
të-(v)elia=pmo *Nedö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-dance=again Nedö
 ‘...people said that they wanted to dance again in Nedö.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

There are two cases in the available data where Set II subject forms attach directly to verb roots. For instance, (3.46) shows an example of the 1AUG subject form =*gom* attaching directly to the verb *lëpwä* ‘be four.’ The prefix *lë-* on this verb does not refer to a 3AUG perfective subject, but rather, to a N3AUG perfective subject combining with =*gom*. This function of *lë-* is currently not fully understood and requires further data. In (3.46), the form is glossed as SBJ meaning ‘subject’, where the person number is not specified.

(3.46) *Lë-pwä=gom*
 SBJ-be.four=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We were four.’ (nalogo0809_2015)

The 3MIN form =*je*, functioning as a transitive subject, is attached directly to the transitive form of the verb *mwe* ‘fear, be afraid of’ as shown in (3.47).

(3.47) *I-mwe=je* *ni.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.afraid.of=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘He is afraid of me.’ (nalogo058)

3.3.1.3 Conflation of subject forms with morphemes expressing additional functions

Some subject forms which encode certain person categories can attach to some morphemes expressing different functions. The first case is the one of the subject forms encoding 1MIN/AUG and 2MIN/AUG which can conflate with the deictic person directionals =*m* ‘hither’ and =*bwe* ‘thither’ (Chapter 9), creating the new forms shown in Table 3-8. With all

the other person categories, the deictic person directionals =*m* and =*bwe* are followed by Set II and Set I subject forms.

| PERSON | SUBJECT AND = <i>m</i> 'HITHER' | SUBJECT AND = <i>bwe</i> 'THITHER' |
|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| MIN | | |
| 1 | = <i>mwa</i> | = <i>bwa</i> ; ~ = <i>pwa</i> |
| 1+2 | - | - |
| 2 | = <i>mwe</i> | = <i>bwe</i> ; ~ = <i>pwe</i> |
| AUG | | |
| 1 | - | = <i>bom</i> ; ~ = <i>pom</i> |
| 1+2 | - | - |
| 2 | = <i>mwam</i> | = <i>bwam</i> |
| 3 | - | - |

Table 3-8. Subject forms resulting from the conflation of subject and deictic person directionals

Examples of some subject forms of Table 3-8 are shown below.

(3.48) *I-twë-tö=p=****mwa***

PFV.N3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=1MIN.SBJ.hither
'I brought (them) in.' (nalogo060-2)

(3.49) *Yagla=****mwam***

look=2AUG.SBJ.hither
'Look here! (you, augmented)' (nalogo062)

(3.50) *Nünge kâ* *jâ*

boy DEM₁.DIST DEM₄.DIST

t(ü)-völalö-tno *mweli*

IPFV.N3AUG-listen-a.bit.far time

kâ *tü-lâ=ngö=****bwam*** *ba=de.*

DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-talk=APPL=2AUG.SBJ.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ

'The boy was listening a bit far when you were talking to him.' (nalogo051)

(3.51) *Yelü-lë=bom* *oplë mölë kä i-klu*
 put-up=1AUG.SBJ.thither stone red LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many
ba=de.
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘...we put many red stones on it.’ (nalogo042)

(3.52) *Ka* *t(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa* *nogwa...*
 DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither today
 ‘As for this, I am telling today...’ (nalogo0922_2015)

In some cases, like those in (3.48) and (3.49) and (3.52), the final vowel /a/ of the basic subject form =*nga* is retained in the conflated forms. In some other cases, it is the final VC of the basic subject form which is retained as in (3.50) and (3.51) (cf. 1AUG =*kom* and 2AUG =*ngam*).

The 1MIN, 2MIN, and 1AUG allomorphs ~ =*pwa*, ~ =*pwe* and ~ =*pom* are conditioned by similar morphological contexts. These forms can occur: (i) after the topological directional -*tö* ‘in’, (ii) after =*p(m)o* ‘again’, (iii) after =*kai* ‘first’, (iv) after =*käli* ‘second, next’, and (v) before the negator =*lü*.

In (3.53) and (3.54) below, the 1MIN =*pwa* and 2MIN =*pwe* occur after the directional -*tö*.

(3.53) *Noglâ nü-gwa-tö=pwa...*
 today IRR.N3AUG-run-in=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘Today I will run inside...’ (nalogo010)

(3.54) *I-vel-tö=pwe* *kio* *dölen kä*
 PFV.N3AUG-put-in=2MIN.SBJ.thither chicken wild DEM₁.DIST
ne=m *bä nabwe* *nubwe* *kâ*
 animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS PREP inside net DEM₁.DIST
 ‘You put your wild chickens inside the net.’ (nalogo013)

In (3.55) and (3.56), the 1MIN =*pwa* and 2MIN =*pwe* occur after the bound adverb =*po* ‘again’.

(3.55) *Kopyo bwe t(ü)-yapwe-ti=po=pwa...*
 EXIST story IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=again=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘There is a story I want to tell you again...’ (nalogo002)

(3.56) *Yelu=po=pwe* *kâ=ng* *oplë*
 PFV.N3AUG-put.down=again=2MIN.SBJ.thither QNT=PL stone
 ‘You put down some stones.’ (nalogo021)

In (3.57) and (3.58), the 1MIN =*pwa* and 2MIN =*pwe* occurs after =*kai* ‘first’.

(3.57) *N(ü)-ö-vë=tö=kai=pwa.*
 IRR.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave-in=first=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘I will weave in first.’ (nalogo005)

(3.58) *Yölu=kai=pwe* *bä* *lewö* *mo* *böpi*
 put.down=first=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP leaf tree banana
kâ=ng.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘You put (it) down on the leaves of those banana leaves.’ (nalogo066)

In (3.59), the 1MIN =*pwa* follows the bound adverb =*käli* ‘second, next’.

(3.59) *Mweli ka* *t(ü)-yapwe-ti=pe=käli=pwa...*
 time DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=COS=again=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘Now I am telling again.’ (nalogo1709_2015)

Finally, (3.60) and (3.61) show two examples with the 1AUG and 1MIN subject forms occurring before the negator =*lii*.

(3.60) *Te=tü-vë=pom=lii*
 NEG₁=IPFV.N3AUG-go=1AUG.SBJ.thither=NEG₂
 ‘We will not go.’ (nalogo020)

(3.61) *Te=i-lisin=pe=pwa=lii* *ba=m*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-listen=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither=NEG₂ PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘I will not listen to you.’ (nalogo002)

Along with deictic person directionals, the change-of-state marker =*pme* can conflate with 1MIN and 2AUG subject forms, resulting in the forms =*pmya* (~ =*pya*) and =*pmyam*, which retain the final vowel V or the final VC of the respective basic subject forms (cf. 1MIN =*nga* and 2AUG =*ngam*). An example with the 1MIN =*pmya* is shown in (3.62).

- (3.62) *Ba tü-lâ=pmya* *bä natü=go.*
 yeah IPFV.N3AUG-speak=1MIN.SBJ.COS PREP language=1AUG.POSS
 ‘Yeah, I am speaking now in our language.’ (nalogo016)

With the other person categories, the aspectual marker =*pme* precedes subject forms belonging to Set I as in (3.63).

- (3.63) *Tü-bi=pme=ng.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-bake=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘You bake (it).’ (nalogo017)

With the 1MIN, the subject form =*pmya* typically has no alternatives to express the same functions. There are only two exceptions: the former includes the variant =*ka* which can be preceded by =*p(m)e* as in (3.64); while the latter involves the negator =*lii* triggering the 1MIN =*wa* as (3.65).

- (3.64) *Jâ tü-vë=pe=ka.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-go=COS=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘Then, I am going now.’ (nalogo001)

- (3.65) *Te-i-klë=pe=wa=lü* *aple way back*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=COS=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ SIMIL.EPIST way back
long...
 LONG
 ‘I don’t know now, maybe a long time ago...’ (nalogo062)

Finally, the adverb =*tëipwö* ‘just, only’ conflate with 1MIN/AUG and 2MIN/2AUG subject forms, resulting in the 1MIN form =*tëipwa* (~ =*tëpwa*), 2MIN form =*tëipwe*, 1AUG form =*tëipom* and 2AUG form =*tëipwam* (~ =*tëpwam*). An example with the 1MIN =*tëipwa* is shown in (3.66).

- (3.66) *Tü-wo-nö=tëipwa* *ma.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-swim-DISP=1MIN.SBJ.just DEM₂.PROX
 ‘I am just going to swim here (on the surface).’ (nalogo010)

With the other person categories, the adverb is followed by Set I subject form as in (3.67) where =*tëipwe* is followed by the 3MIN form =*le*.

- (3.67) *Kä-i-ngâ=nö=tëipwö=le* *â.*
 way-PFV.N3AUG-be.like=APPL=just=3MIN.SBJ DEM₃.DIST
 ‘It is just like that.’ (nalogo013)

Again, the subject forms =*tëipwa*, =*tëipwam* and =*tëipom* seem to retained the final vowel or VC of the basic subject forms (cf. 1MIN =*nga*, 2AUG =*ngam* and 1AUG =*kom*).

3.3.2 Object forms

In Nalögo, direct objects are typically not marked on the verb, since they are expressed by free forms as shown in §3.5. However, there are contexts where 3MIN objects are marked on verbs, as well as on nominalised verb forms. In addition, the preposition *ba* is the only one which can take a set of objects formally identical to the possessor enclitics described in §3.4. The contexts where objects are marked are described in §3.3.2.1 and §3.3.2.2.

3.3.2.1 The 3MIN object form =*le*

In simple transitive clauses, 3MIN objects are never marked on the verb (Chapter 12). However, the bound form =*le*, formally identical to the 3MIN transitive subject form =*le* belonging to Set I, is found marking 3MIN objects with (i) nominalised verb forms, and (ii) applicative constructions marked by =*ngö* based on transitive verbs. Two examples of contexts (i) and (ii) are shown in in (3.68) and (3.69).

- (3.68) *Yökö-pä=bwe* *në-taaböu-gö=m=de=le*
 finish-out=DIR.thither NMLZ₁-smash-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS=3MIN.OBJ
i-gë-lë=m=de *kâ* *spun*
 PFV.N3AUG-pick-up=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ QNT spoon
 ‘After smashing it, he picked up a spoon.’ (nalogo1009_2015)

- (3.69) *Mweli kâ* *t(ü)-velalö=ngö* *manga=le*
 time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-hear=APPL honey.eater=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘When the honey-eater bird hears it...’ (nalogo025)

In (3.68), the nominalised form is the subject of the intransitive verb *yökö* ‘finish’. The subject of the nominalisation is expressed by the 3MIN possessive enclitic =*de* to which the 3MIN object =*le* is attached. In (3.69), the transitive verb *velalö* is applicativized by =*ngö* which adds a third argument, the NP *mweli kâ*, to the clause. The base object, the original direct object of

velalö, is expressed by the 3MIN enclitic =*le* attaching to the overtly expressed A_{TR} argument *manga* which follows the verb. Details on nominalisations are given in Chapter 4, while details on temporal clauses as the one in (3.69) are discussed in Chapter 18. At this stage, the most important point to remember is that 3MIN objects marked by the 3MIN enclitic =*le* occur in specific contexts and that this does not constitute the norm in simple clauses with transitive verbs. Finally, the 3MIN object =*le* is analysed as an enclitic for two reasons: (i) it occurs after the other enclitics in the verb complex, and (ii) it can attach to hosts other than verbs, as shown in (3.69) where it appears on the A_{TR} NP. Interestingly, this is the only form in the language showing this behaviour.

3.3.2.2 Set II forms encoding prepositional objects

Some forms of Set II can express prepositional objects. They are summarised in Table 3-9. In some contexts (§3.3.1.2), some of these forms can also occur on verbs expressing subjects.

| PERSON | MIN | AUG |
|--------|-------------|--------------|
| 1 | = <i>nu</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | = <i>m</i> | = <i>mwi</i> |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 3-9. Set II forms expressing prepositional objects

Among prepositions, object forms attach only to the preposition *ba* (Chapter 12). Pronominal objects occur if the object NPs are not overtly expressed. Therefore, pronominal forms and NPs are mutually exclusive. Example (3.70a) is an example of *ba* with a 3MIN object =*de*; while (3.70b) is ungrammatical in the language. However, the fronting of the possessor NP is possible, functioning as an apposition of the object enclitic =*de* (3.70).

(3.70) a) *I-kele* *ba=de* *nim*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good PREP=3MIN.OBJ 2MIN
 ‘She loves you (lit. you are good to her).’

b) **I-kele* *ba=de* *ile=nu* *nim*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good PREP=3MIN.OBJ sister=1MIN.POSS 2MIN
 ‘My sister loves you (lit. you are good to her, my sister).’

c) *Ile=nu* *i-kele* *ba=de* *nim*
 sister=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.good PREP=3MIN.OBJ 2MIN
 ‘As for my sister, she loves you (lit. as for my sister, you are good to her).’

3.3.3 Summary on the properties of morphosyntactic alignment

In this section, I summarise the properties of the alignment of subject and object bound forms in Nalögo.

First of all, I mentioned in §3.3.1 that 1, 1+2 and 2 persons show a type of ‘accusative’ alignment where S, A_{STR} and A_{TR} arguments are marked in the same way, while O_{TR}, which typically is expressed by free pronominal forms, is marked differently. By contrast, the 3MIN and 3AUG persons show a different pattern where S, A_{STR} is marked differently from A_{TR}. The 3MIN subject is unmarked, while the 3AUG subject is expressed only by portmanteau subject prefixes (§3.3.1). In relation to alignment, 3MIN/AUG subjects could be analysed as displaying a kind of ‘tripartite’ system where S, A_{STR} are different from both A_{TR} and O_{TR}.

In terms of object marking, as previously mentioned, objects are unmarked on the verb, since they are expressed by free pronouns (§3.5.1). However, there are some contexts including nominalisations and applicative constructions based on transitive verbs (Chapter 13) where the 3MIN object is expressed by the enclitic =*le* (§3.3.2.1).

3.4 Possessor forms

Possessor forms are summarized in Table 3-10.

| PERSON | MIN | AUG |
|--------|---|--------------|
| 1 | = <i>nu</i> ; ~= <i>tu</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | = <i>m</i> ; ~= <i>p</i> | = <i>mwi</i> |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> ; ~= <i>te</i> ; ~= <i>je</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 3-10. Possessor forms

Possessor forms are enclitics encoding possessors in possessive constructions (Chapter 6), where they are attached either to the head noun as in (3.71) or to a possessive classifier (3.72).

(3.71) *Nimü=de*
 hand=3MIN.POSS
 ‘His hands.’ (direct possessive constructions)

(3.72) *Lëikü ne=gom*
 yam animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘Our yam (plantation).’ (indirect possessive constructions)

In direct constructions, the use of the possessor forms $\sim =tu$, $\sim =p$, $\sim =te$ and $\sim =je$ is lexically-based (Chapter 6). In addition, the 1MIN allomorph $\sim =tu$ occurs only on the general classifier *gö*.

In the context of nominalisations, $\sim =tu$ is triggered only by the nominaliser *-gö*, which is formally identical to the general classifier *gö* (Chapter 6). As explained in Chapter 4, one of the two types of nominalisations is formed by the combination of the nominaliser *-gö* and the nominaliser *lë-*. An example of this form with a lexical nominalisation is given in (3.73).

(3.73) *Lë-wö-gö=tu*
 NMLZ₁-swim-NMLZ₃=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My swimming.’ (nominalisation)

With the 2MIN and 3MIN persons, *-gö* triggers the forms $=m$ and $=de$, respectively.

Along with the nominaliser *-gö*, nominalisations can be formed by the nominaliser *-ngö*, which is formally identical to the associative marker *ngö* ‘belonging, from’ (Chapter 6). This type of nominalisation which is used either when they are unpossessed or apparently, when the subject is patient-like and more affected by the verbal action, is formed by *-ngö* and the nominaliser *lë-* (Chapter 4). The 1MIN enclitic $=nu$ encoding the possessor can occur on the nominaliser *-ngö*, at least according to one example attested in the data as in (3.74). In most examples, the nominaliser *-ngö* forms unpossessed nouns as in (3.75).

(3.74) *Nö¹⁹-nguba-ngö=nu*
 NMLZ₁-vomit-NMLZ₂=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My vomit.’

¹⁹ The nominalizer *nö-* is most likely a prefix borrowed from Engdewu (Vaa 2013; Chapter 4).

(3.75) *Lë-gwa-ngö*
 NMLZ₁-run-NMLZ₂
 ‘Running.’

With possessive constructions and nominalisations, the pronominal enclitics encoding the possessor cannot coexist with a possessor NP following the nominal head. This is shown with a possessive construction in (3.76). In (3.76a), the 3MIN form =*de* cannot cooccur with the possessor NP ‘my father’. However, the possessor form =*de* can function as a resumptive pronoun cooccurring with a fronted possessor NP. This is the case in (3.76b).

(3.76) a) *Nimü=de* *ibu=nu*
 hand=3MIN.POSS father=1MIN.POSS
 *‘My father’s hand.’

b) *Ibu=nu* *nimü=de*
 father=1MIN.POSS hand=3MIN.POSS
 ‘As for my father, his hand ...’

Possessor forms are analyzed as enclitics as they can attach to different morphosyntactic hosts, including nouns and classifiers. In addition, they can follow other clitics as in (3.77) where =*nu* follows the COS marker =*p(m)e*.

(3.77) *Ne=pe=nu*
 animate.CLF=COS=1MIN.POSS
 ‘It’s mine now!’ (field notes 2017)

3.5 Free pronominal forms

Free pronominal forms are summarised in Table 3-11 where they are compared with possessor forms (§3.4).

| PERSON | FREE FORMS | POSSESSOR FORMS |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| MIN | | |
| 1 | <i>ni</i> | = <i>nu</i> |
| 1+2 | <i>ni=gi</i> | = <i>gi</i> |
| 2 | <i>ni=m</i> | = <i>m</i> |
| 3 | <i>ni=de</i> | = <i>de</i> |
| AUG | | |
| 1 | <i>ni=gom</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | <i>ni=go</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | <i>ni=mwi</i> | = <i>mwi</i> |
| 3 | <i>ni=gö</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 3-11 Paradigm of free pronouns

Free pronominal forms are made up of two elements, namely, a base *ni* and possessor forms which are directly attached to it, the only exception being the 1MIN person, which is made up only by the base. The pronominal base *ni* is also found in Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 195) and Natügu (Boerger, in progress). No gender distinction is present in the paradigm. The 3MIN *nide* can refer to human, animate and inanimate referents.

Historically, the form *ni* has been analysed as a reduction of the Natügu verb *ngini* ‘to be’, to which possessive forms are suffixed (Wurm 1978: 973). Næss and Boerger (2008) accepted this hypothesis as the most likely one; evidence for the verbal origin is provided by Natügu, in which there is the possibility for the completive aspect suffix to intervene between the base and the person ending, as in *ni-pe-de* ‘he has become’. However, synchronically, these forms are analysed as a single unit due to their function. The use of possessive forms attached to a basis is not uncommon in Oceanic languages. Ross and Næss (2007) argue that free pronominal forms can be replaced by “erstwhile emphatic forms consisting of a stem and possessor suffixes”. For instance, the Oceanic language Gapapaiwa, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea, displays free forms that are reflexes of the POc emphatic forms made up of the inalienable noun *tau ‘person, body’ and possessor suffixes (McGuckin 2002). An example from Gapapaiwa is the free form *taku* (< POc *tau-gu ‘my person’). Another example is found in the Oceanic language Sinaugoro, also spoken in Papua New Guinea, where personal emphatic pronouns are also formed by the indirectly possessed nominal base *tau* and the possessor suffixes (e.g. tau-gē-gu; (Tauberschmidt 1999)). In Gapapaiwa and Sinaugoro,

possessive forms are attached to a nominal base to form free pronouns. According to Wurm, in SC languages, possessor forms are attached to a reduced verbal form. In this work, I do not intend to investigate the origins of free forms in detail, leaving this topic for further diachronic research.

The most common functions of free forms are shown in the following section.

3.5.1 Functions of free forms: an overview

The main functions of free forms are shown in the following list:

- Core function in verbless clauses (ex. (3.78); Chapter 12);
- Core argument function in verbal clauses (ex. (3.79); Chapter 12);
- NP modifier (with a quantifier head) (ex. (3.80); Chapter 5);
- In combination with the intensifier *âtöngyö* (ex. (3.81); Chapter 5);
- Coordinating function in inclusory constructions (ex. (3.82); Chapter 19);
- Deictic function of the 3MIN free pronoun (ex. (3.83)).

(3.78) *Nim* *ilaule=nu.*
 2MIN mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘You are my mother.’ (nalogo047)

(3.79) *Lë-twë=kö* *nge* ***nide*** *newë* *Calvary.*
 PFV.3AUG-take=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK 3MIN hill Calvary
 ‘They took him to the Mont Calvary.’ (nalogo039)

(3.80) *E-pi-e=nga* *nü-lâ-mi=nga* *dü*
 ?-say-QUOT.MRK=1MIN.SBJ IRR.N3AUG-talk-APPL=1MIN.SBJ QNT
nigö *nü-li.*
 3AUG IRR.N3AUG-be.two
 ‘There are girls outside. I want to talk with two of them.’ (nalogo2210_2015)

(3.81) *Tü-mwa=nga* ***ni*** *âtöngyö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN INTS
 ‘I am eating by myself.’ (nalogo029)

(3.82) *Kopyo lomtangi nigö ba boe ne=de*
 EXIST white.man 3AUG COORD boy animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
kä i-tâ
 LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small
 ‘There is a man with his child.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(3.83) *Nide nide nide!*
 3MIN 3MIN 3MIN
 ‘That’s it, that’s it, that’s it.’ (nalogo039)

While examples which are similar to (3.78-3.82) are found in the respective sections mentioned above, (3.83) requires a short explanation. In the example, the 3MIN pronoun *nide* is used predicatively. *Nide* can have deictic functions. In (3.83), it refers what the listener is saying in the local language. In SI Pijin, the third singular pronoun *hem* can be used to express the same function. Often the vowel /e/ of *hem* is realized as a long vowel. In this case, vowel lengthening has an emphatic function.

3.5.2 The free forms *i-kâ* ‘the female one’ and *mö-kâ* ‘the male one’

The forms *i-kâ* ‘girl, she (lit. the female one)’ and *mö-kâ* ‘man, he (lit. the male one)’ are made up of elements which are separable: the bound nouns *i-* ‘female’ and *mö-* ‘male’ and the distal demonstrative form *kâ* ‘that’ (Chapter 4 for details on bound nouns). Like the free pronouns discussed in §3.5.1, these complex nominals can function as core arguments, but unlike them, they can function as prepositional objects. To function as prepositional objects, free pronouns need to be replaced by object forms (§3.3.2.2). Two examples are shown below.

(3.84) *I-mo=nga mö-kâ/i-kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ male-DEM₁.DIST /female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I saw him (the male one)/her (the female one).’ (nalogo1011_2015)

(3.85) *Mö-kâ jâ tü-ka=bwe=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
da kä ba i-kâ.
 thing DEM₁.DIST PREP female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘He is giving the thing to her.’ (nalogo043_2)

The form *kâ* involved in these complex nominals has a demonstrative origin. As explained in Chapter 7, the bound nouns *i-* and *mö-* can attach to proximal, medial and distal forms of nominal demonstratives. Compared to the examples above, the demonstrative forms *i-kâ* ‘the female one over there’ and *mö-kâ* ‘the male one over there’ display a distance contrast. In (3.84) and (3.85), the complex forms could be replaced by *nide* ‘she/he/it’ designating a general third person. Therefore, they lost their original deictic property.

These forms are used to express gender distinctions. RSC languages do not display any gender distinction in their pronominal paradigms. In Oceanic languages, gender distinctions are rare and only two languages, namely Kilivila, a Western Oceanic language spoken in Trobriand Islands, and Maringe, a Northwest Solomonian language spoken in Solomon Islands, are reported to display masculine and feminine third person pronouns (Lynch et al. 2002: 35). Diachronically, the free forms *i-kâ* and *mö-kâ* show the common path of grammaticalization involving demonstratives as original sources. This source for pronouns is far from being uncommon crosslinguistically (Diessel 1999: 120). For instance, when thinking of Indo-European languages, demonstratives are historically very common sources (e.g. the French third person pronoun *il* ‘he’ from the Latin demonstrative pronoun *ille* (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 112).

5.5.3 The free pronominal form *obyâng* ‘they’

The 3AUG form *obyâng* (~ *obyong*) ‘they’ or ‘olketa’ in SI Pijin. This pronominal form can be used as core argument as shown in (3.86).

- (3.86) *Obyâng* *të-(y)awe* *guitar*
 3AUG IPFV.N3AUG-play guitar
 ‘They are playing guitar.’ (field notes 2018)

The form *obyâng* might be the result of a phenomenon of crasis between the noun *obwe* ‘child; children’ and the demonstrative form *(k)â=ng* (Chapter 7). In (3.87), the word is used to express the meaning ‘children’.

- (3.87) *ti-pi=ko* *obyâng*
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=1+2AUG.SBJ child.DEM₁.DIST.PL
 lë-kütâ
 PFV.3AUG-be.little

‘We are talking about the small children (lit. those children that are small)’
(nalogo045)

The crasis takes place between the final vowel /e/ of the word *obwe* ‘child’ and the initial vowel *â* of the form *(k)â=ng*, resulting in /e/ becoming a glide as a strategy to avoid hiatus, and the dropping of the glide /w/ (Chapter 2 for glide formation). Typologically speaking, words expressing the plural of human referents based on words designating ‘children’ can be involved in the grammaticalization of plural markers and demonstrative forms (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 67). The development of this pronominal form might be a recent innovation, because no other similar pronouns have been reported in other RSC languages so far.

4. NOUNS AND WORD-FORMATION

This chapter is devoted to the description of nouns and word-formation. In §4.1 and §4.2, I describe the formal classes of nouns attested in Nalögo and nominal inflection, respectively. In §4.3, I describe the processes of noun-formation including nominalisations (§4.3.1), complex nominals formed by different types of bound nouns (§4.3.2), and noun compounding (§4.3.3).

4.1 Formal classes of nouns

From a typological point of view, nouns typically form an open class, because new lexical items can always be added. Schachter and Shopen (1985: 2) classify nouns based on three parameters: distribution, range of functions and categorisation. In terms of distribution and functions, nouns can function as predicate arguments at a clausal level, bearing subject and object roles to the predicate. Pragmatically, they can be topics in discourse, where they are often omitted if easily retrievable from the context. In some languages, nouns can also function as predicates. At a phrasal level, nouns are NP heads taking modifiers. In terms of categorization, they can subcategorize for various values, depending on the language in question (for instance, they can subcategorize for number, gender, and so forth). From a semantic point of view, they prototypically express “highly and obviously time-stable concepts” (Payne 1997: 33).

In Nalögo, nouns form an open class. Based on their formal properties, they are divided into common nouns (§ 4.1.1), personal nouns (§ 4.1.2), local nouns (§ 4.1.3), possessed relational nouns (§ 4.1.4) and temporal nouns (§ 4.1.5).

4.1.1 Common nouns

In Nalögo, common nouns typically refer to any referent of a class denoting human, animate and inanimate entities. In Oceanic languages, common nouns show similar properties, denoting human referents (all those which are not assigned to the personal category), as well as animate, non-animate referents, and abstract entities (Ross 2004b: 184). In Nalögo, common nouns can function as predicates, arguments and topics at a clausal and discourse level. At an NP level, they function as heads taking a large number of modifiers, including demonstratives, possessive classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, and relative clauses. An example of a common noun functioning as an intransitive subject is found in (4.1), where the common noun *nuwi* ‘rope’ is modified by the distal demonstrative *kâ* expressing definiteness.

- (4.1) *Nuwi kâ i-bëki.*
 rope DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break
 ‘The rope breaks.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

Common nouns can be classified in two types according to whether they occur in direct or indirect possessive constructions. Direct constructions involve nouns that are directly possessed by possessor forms; whereas indirect constructions involve nouns which can occur with at least one possessive classifier (Chapter 6). This distinction is exemplified in (4.2).

- (4.2) a) *Nawë=nu*
 head=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My head.’ (direct construction)
- b) *Nuwe mu=nu*
 water drink.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My water (to drink).’ (indirect construction)

In (4.2a), the noun for ‘head’ is marked as directly possessed by the 1MIN possessor form =*nu*. In (4.2b), the noun for ‘water’ is marked as indirectly possessed by *mu*, the classifier for drinkable entities, to which the possessor form is attached. Nouns that are directly possessed are typically conceived as inalienable (e.g. body-part or kin terms); while nouns that are indirectly possessed are generally, but not exclusively, alienable. Although many nouns fall neatly into one category or the other, there are also examples of nouns occurring in both direct and indirect constructions (Chapter 6). Therefore, this classification based on the properties that nouns display in possessive constructions cannot be applied to all nouns in the same way. In Oceanic languages, kinship and body-part terms that do not occur without possessive marking can be referred to as ‘bound nouns’ (Næss 2017). In Nalögo, kinship and body-part terms tend to occur with possessive marking in context, but they can be uttered in isolation without possessive forms. This is explained in §4.3.2.2.1.

In Nalögo, bare common nouns can express indefinite specific referents, generic and unique referents. The difference between definite and indefinite NPs can be defined as follows: “A definite NP is identifiable and presuppositional, while an indefinite NP is referentially unanchored, not yet identified in discourse or situationally, and does not constitute shared knowledge” (Bril 2020: 410). Indefinite NPs can be specific or non-specific. When they are specific, they “have some presupposition of existence, at least for the speaker” or they are taken

to be “identifiable and referentially anchored, either situationally [...], or relative to some other contextual expression in bridging contexts, or relative to other discourse referents [...]” (ibid.).

In Nalögo, bare nouns can be used to express specific indefinite referents. Indefinite, newly-mentioned referents are typically introduced by existential constructions with the existential form *kopyo* ‘there is/are’ (Chapter 12). Examples are shown in (4.3).

- (4.3) a) *Kopyo olë yövë.*
 EXIST girl outside
 ‘There was a girl outside.’ (field notes 2015)
- b) *Kopyâ=ng olë böma.*
 EXIST=PL girl house
 ‘There were some girls in the house.’
- c) *Kopyâ(=ng) nâ pola.*
 EXIST=PL fish sea
 ‘There was/were fishes in the sea.’
- d) *Kopyâ toki mö table.*
 EXIST knife PREP table
 ‘There is a knife on the table.’

In (4.3a), the bare noun *olë* ‘girl’ functions as the argument of the existential predicate *kopyo*. It expresses an indefinite human referent. In (4.3b), the indefinite referent is plural. Plurality is typically not marked on nouns, but it can be expressed on other grammatical elements as in (4.3), where the pluralizer *=ng* occurs on the existential form. Examples (4.3c) and (4.3d) show similar cases of newly-introduced indefinite referents which are animate (4.3c) and inanimate (4.3d).

Bare nouns expressing indefinite specific referents occur not only in existential constructions, but also in simple verbal clauses as shown in (4.4) and (4.5).

- (4.4) *I-vi-ki=le nuwo.*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-ridig.obj=3MIN.SBJ stick
 ‘She cut a stick.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

- (4.5) *I-kâ* *tü-pë-bö=le* *can* *kâ*
 female-DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-hit-be.crushed=3MIN.SBJ can DEM₁.DIST
bä *nuwâ*.
 PREP stick
 ‘The girl is hitting the can with a stick.’ (nalogo043)

In (4.4) and (4.5), the word for ‘stick’ functions as an object following the predicate and a prepositional object, respectively. In (4.4) and (4.5), the noun encodes indefinite specific singular referents. (4.6) shows an example where the noun *leplë* encodes an indefinite specific plural referent.

- (4.6) *Nepi* *i-pwöte=m* *ä* *leplë* *i-mwa*.
 sun PFV.N3AUG-rise=DIR.hither COORD people PFV.N3AUG-eat
 ‘The sun rises and people eat.’ (nalogo016)

In (4.6), the speaker is telling a story about traditional dances during which some people were dancing and eating.

Along with indefiniteness, bare common nouns can express genericity. Bril (2020: 411-412) describes the notion of ‘genericity’ as follows: “Generic NPs and generic statements constitute shared knowledge. They are non-specific since they do not refer to an individuated entity, but to some entity standing for the kind, or for a general concept.”. Generic nouns typically function as subjects or objects of semitransitive constructions. An example is shown in (4.7).

- (4.7) *Kakopli* *vö-nibü* *leplë*.
 crocodile MIDD₁-kill people
 ‘Crocodiles kill people.’ (nalogo047)

(4.7) shows a semitransitive construction expressing a generic statement. The property of people-killing holds true for any entity belonging to the category ‘crocodile’. Both subject and object are generic. Bare nouns expressing genericity are common in Austronesian (Oceanic) languages, because “[g]eneric objects tend to be incorporated in the VP, or they occur in semitransitive constructions in languages with such constructions.” (Bril 2020: 411).

Finally, bare nouns can express unique referents. Unique referents are those which are expected by the speaker to be identifiable by the addressee by virtue of their uniqueness. To explain this concept, Payne (1997: 243) proposes the example ‘The Duke of Wimple trod on the princess’ toe’, stating that “[...] if this were a real communication situation, the speaker would probably

assume that the addressee knows who the Duke of Wimple and the princess are. That is, the speaker treats the participants in question as identifiable given the information the speaker assumes the addressee has available.” Two examples of bare common nouns expressing uniqueness are found in (4.8) and (4.9).

(4.8) *Pwöla* *i-tüka* *mweli* *ka.*
 sea PFV.N3AUG-be.bad time DEM₁.PROX
 ‘The sea is rough now.’ (nalogo047)

(4.9) *Temwö* *i-pwötë=m* *mwilëpu.*
 moon PFV.N3AUG-rise=DIR.hither evening
 ‘The moon rises in the evening.’ (nalogo047)

4.1.2 Personal nouns

In Oceanic languages, the class of personal nouns refer to proper names and address kin terms, In some languages, address kin terms can be used as proper names (Ross 2004b: 184), while in others, they pattern like common nouns. In Nalögo, the class of personal nouns include proper names, whose functions are similar to those described for common nouns. Examples are shown in (4.10).

(4.10) a) *Me-läke* *tü-gwa-u=pme* *mö* *nivlyö* *nöwë.*
 male-? IPFV.N3AUG-go-down=COS PREP side dancing.circle
 ‘Meläke went down at the side of the dancing circle.’ (nalogo060)

b) *Vivian* *a-mwa-tö=le* *Francis.*
 Vivian CAUS-feed-in=3MIN.SBJ Francis
 ‘Vivian fed Francis.’ (nalogo059)

c) *T(ii)-vea-ti=bwa* *da* *ba* *Elisabeth.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-ask-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither thing PREP Elisabeth
 ‘I am asking something to Elisabeth.’ (nalogo068_1)

Personal names are often formed with the bound nouns *me-* ‘male’ and *i-* ‘female’ attaching to roots whose meaning is not clear, since they are not attested outside of names as in (4.10a). In (4.10a), the proper name *Meläke* functions as the subject of the intransitive clause. In (4.10b), the proper names *Vivian* and *Francis* function as the transitive subject and object, respectively. Finally, in (4.10c), the proper name *Elisabeth* functions as a prepositional object of a PP introduced by the preposition *ba*.

In terms of modifiers, personal nouns do not occur with the same range of modifiers as common nouns. However, in the available data, they can occur at least with possessive classifiers, relative clauses and numerals. Three examples are shown in (4.11-4.13).

- (4.11) *Amoloti ne-nge*²⁰
 Amoloti animate.CLF-1MIN.POSS
tü-pi=bwa=ba=m nge
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ COMP
tü-(v)ë-ki=ki kâ
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1+2MIN DEM₁.DIST
 ‘My Amoloti, I told you that we go in that direction.’ (nalogo01)

- (4.12) *Jisas kâ i-mo=la i-kele=ba=nu.*
 Jesus LNK PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘Jesus that I see I love.’ (nalogo039)

- (4.13) *Mweli ka i-mno=pme Me-tevli vöte.*
 time DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-stay=COS male-? one
 ‘Until now, one Metevli lived.’ (nalogo1109_2015)

In (4.11), the proper name *Amoloti* occurs with the animate possessive classifier *ne*. In (4.12), the name *Jisas* is modified by a relative clause, while in (4.13), the name *Metevli* is modified by the cardinal numeral *vöte*.

4.1.3 Local nouns

In Oceanic languages, local nouns can involve “institutionalised place names as well as nouns denoting places so familiar in the environment that they need no further specification (e.g. ‘home’, ‘(own) village’, ‘(own) garden’, ‘bush’, ‘beach’ etc.” (Lynch et al. 2002: 37).

In Nalögo, the category of local noun involves place names and familiar locations which are relevant for the speakers on a daily basis. The main characteristic of local nouns as a class is that they do not need to occur with prepositions to express peripheral locative roles. Three examples with place names are shown in (4.14), (4.15) and (4.16).

- (4.14) *Tü-vë=nga Noipä.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ Noipä
 ‘I am going to Noipä.’ (nalogo020_1)

²⁰The 1MIN possessive form *-nge* is a borrowing from Nattügu.

(4.15) *Leplë t(ii)-velya Nedö.*
 people IPFV.N3AUG-dance Santa.Cruz
 ‘...people were dancing in Santa Cruz.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(4.16) *Jä te-në-(v)ë-po=p=lü Neboi.*
 FUT NEG1=3AUG.PFV-go=again=DIR.hither=NEG2 Nemboi
 ‘They will not come back to Nemboi.’ (nalogo033)

By contrast, common nouns typically take a preposition to encode peripheral locative roles as in (4.17).

(4.17) *Kopyo lomtangi já tü-mwi-u=m*
 EXIST white.man CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-sleep-down=DIR.hither
bä növlü ne=de
 PREP sleeping.place animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘There is a white man sleeping in his bed (lit. sleeping place).’

Local nouns also encode places in the environment which are familiar to community members. Examples with the local nouns *bäipluwu* ‘bush’, *pwöla* ‘sea’, *böma* ‘home, house’, *ladekäyou* ‘hill’, *namwe*²¹ ‘single house’ are shown in (4.18), (4.19), (4.20), (4.21) and (4.22).

(4.18) *I-vë=ng bäipluwu.*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=3MIN.SBJ bush
 ‘You go to the bush.’ (nalogo044)

(4.19) *I-wo-ti-pä=nga pwöla*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR-out=1MIN.SBJ sea
i-twë-tö=p=mwa
 PFV.N3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘I took (them) from the sea (and) I brought (them) in.’ (nalogo060_2)

(4.20) *Leplë i-wo-lë bia*
 people PFV.N3AUG-climb-up breadfruit
lë-twë=m böma.
 PFV.3AUG-take=DIR.hither home
 ‘People climb breadfruit trees (and) take (the fruits) home.’ (nalogo018)

²¹ Traditionally, unmarried men and women lived separately. The house of unmarried men, to which women had no access, was referred to as *namwe*, translated as ‘single house’. See Chapter 1.

(4.21) *Lëmapä* *tii-(v)ë=ki* *lade-kä-you,* *nge?*
 tomorrow IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ side-LNK-down TAG
 ‘Tomorrow we are going uphill, right?’ (nalogo039)

(4.22) *Olë* *lë-twë-pë=teipwö* *da-kä-lë-ng* *namwe.*
 girl PFV.3AUG-take-out=just thing-LNK-PASS.PFV-eat single.house
 ‘Girls only take food in the single house.’ (nalogo026)

In only one attested example, the local noun *böma* shown in (4.23) occurs in a PP construction.

(4.23) *I-twë=m=gom* *bia* *kâ=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-take=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL
mö böma ne=gom.
 PREP house animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘We bring those breadfruits to our house.’ (nalogo042)

In (4.23), *böma* expresses the meaning ‘house’, by contrast with (4.20). When it means ‘house’, this local noun seems to occur with or without the preposition. However, further data are required to understand how commonly it occurs with prepositions and if this is related to a difference in meaning between ‘house’ and ‘home’.

Local nouns are different from adverbs as they can be modified like common nouns as in (4.24) and be used as core arguments as in (4.25).

(4.24) *I-vë=m* *böma ne=nu* *ä*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither home animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS COORD
va-tati=le ni.
 CAUS-ask=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘She came to my home and asked for me.’ (nalogo051)

(4.25) *Böma* *kä* *i-klu* *lë-wo-tnyö*
 house LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many PASS.PFV-build-TR.around
ma=ng.
 DEM₂.PROX=PL
 ‘Many houses were built around here.’ (nalogo016)

Nouns functioning as both common and local nouns were reconstructed for POC (Ross 2004b).

4.1.4 Possessed relational nouns

In Nalögo, relational nouns, which are obligatorily possessed, are introduced by prepositions. Examples with the relational nouns *nabwe* (~ *nabwä*) ‘inside’, *nivlyö* ‘side’, *nawë* ‘head, top (of something)’, *nünga* ‘buttock, bottom (of something)’ and *nibö* ‘back, behind’ are illustrated below.

- (4.26) *I-kâ* *â*²²
 female-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK
t(ü)-vaoti-lë=m=de *nge* *flour*
 IPFV.N3AUG-mix-up=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK flour
kâ=ng *mö* *nabwe* *dis* *kâ=ng.*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL PREP inside dish DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘As for the girl is mixing up the flour inside the dishes.’ (nalogo043_2)

- (4.27) *Me-läke* *tü-gwa-u=pme* *mö* *nivlyö* *nöwë.*
 male-? IPFV.N3AUG-run-down=COS PREP side dancing.circle
 ‘Meläke went down at the side of the dancing circle.’ (nalogo060)

- (4.28) *Jâ* *tü-pne-tö=pe=ng* *bä* *nawë* *mo* *kätü,*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-tie-in=COS=2MIN.SBJ PREP head tree betelnut
kâ=ng *i-veleli-ti=ng.*
 DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-scratch-TR=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Then, you tie (them) to the top of the betelnut tree, those that you scratched.’
 (nalogo065)

- (4.29) *Nyö* *â* *tü-plâ-lë=bwe* *bä* *nünga=te*
 fire PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-burn-up=DIR.thither PREP bottom=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The fire is burning under it.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

- (4.30) *I-kâ* *i-tu=bwe* *bä* *nibö*
 female-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-stand=DIR.thither PREP back
i-kä-te=de *kâ.*
 PFV.N3AUG-DEM₁.MED-close.relation=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The girl stands behind her friend.’ (nalogo043_1).’

Relational nouns can also combine with one another, as in the case of *nivlyö* ‘side’ which in (4.31) combines with *nawë* ‘head’ to express the meaning ‘surface’.

²² The form *â* is analysed as a pragmatic marker. It occurs after free pronouns or NPs, mainly subjects. It seems to mark arguments which are pragmatically salient (e.g. topics). Further analyses are required to better establish its functions. In the thesis, it is glossed as pragmatic marker ‘PRAG.MRK’.

- (4.31) *Tü-wo-nö=tëipwa* *ma* *bä*
 IPFV.N3AUG-swim-DISP=1MIN.SBJ.just DEM₂.PROX PREP
nivlyö nawë dopwe.
 side head sea
 ‘I will swim just on the surface of the sea.’ (nalogo002)

4.1.5 Temporal nouns

In Nalögo, temporal nouns pattern like local nouns, more precisely like place names and familiar places, as they can express peripheral roles without occurring with prepositions. In Oceanic languages, it is common for temporal nouns to pattern like local nouns (Ross 2004b).

In Nalögo, the word *obu* ‘day’ can be regarded as a temporal noun. In (4.32), *obu* functions as an intransitive subject.

- (4.32) *Obu ka i-pwutö*
 day DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.cold
 ‘It’s cold (lit. this day is cold).’ (nalogo1509_2015)

In (4.33) and (4.34), *obu* expresses peripheral temporal roles without and with a preposition, respectively. Like local nouns, it can be modified.

- (4.33) *Mâ aulö-mâ-ti=ngö=na* *nim obu kâ.*
 place finish-see-TR=APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN day DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The place where I met you last time.’ (nalogo003)

- (4.34) *T(ü)-vë=ki* *mö obu kâ=ng*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ PREP day DEM₁.DIST=PL
ti-ngi gö=tu mö Friday
 IPFV.N3AUG-be general.CLF=1MIN.POSS PREP Friday
 ‘We are going in my days on Fridays.’ (nalogo039)

Two additional temporal nouns attested in the data are *ola* ‘morning’ and *mwilëpu* ‘evening’, which can express peripheral roles as in (4.35) and (4.36).

- (4.35) *Nepi i-pwotë=m* *ola.*
 sun PFV.N3AUG-rise=DIR.hither morning
 ‘The sun rises in the morning.’ (nalogo047)

- (4.36) *Temwe* *i-pwotë=m* *mwilëpu.*
 moon PFV.N3AUG-rise=DIR.hither evening
 ‘The moon rises in the evening.’ (nalogo047)

The temporal nouns *ola* ‘morning’ and *mwilëpu* ‘evening’ can also combine with the phrase *mweli kâ* to form the expressions *mweli kâ ola* ‘morning time’ or *mweli kâ mwilëpu* ‘evening time’. The whole expression is not introduced by prepositions as in (4.37) where *mweli kâ* combines with *mwilëpu*.

- (4.37) *Mweli kâ* *mwilëpu* *leplë* *tü-mwa=teipwö*
 time DEM₁.DIST evening people IPFV.N3AUG-eat=just
da=lö *nelia=te.*
 thing=ASS.MRK belly=3MIN.POSS
 ‘In the evening time, people only eat its guts (of the pigs).’

The same lexemes can also behave as subjects of relative clauses as in the two greetings in (4.38) and (4.39), showing that the two lexemes pattern like nouns.

- (4.38) *Ola* *kä* *i-kele!*
 morning LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Good morning!’

- (4.39) *Mwilëpu* *kä* *i-kele!*
 evening LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Good evening!’

4.2 Nominal inflection

Nalögo does not have much nominal inflection. Only plurality can be marked on nouns through the pluralizer =*ng* as shown in (4.40) and (4.41).

- (4.40) *Olë=ng!*
 girl=PL
 ‘Girls!’ (the speaker is calling some women in the bush while walking on the main road)
 (field notes 2018)

- (4.41) *Te=i-kele=ka* *olë=ng?*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.good=yet girl=PL
 ‘Is it not good yet, girls?’ (nalogo005)

Examples like those in (4.40) and (4.41) are extremely rare in the data. Directly pluralized nouns can be heard during conversations in daily speech, but they are not found in narrative texts. In this regard, Nalögo patterns like many Oceanic languages which typically do not express number on nouns inflectionally (Lynch et al. 2002: 37). When the pluralizer attaches to nouns that are encoded as directly possessed, =*ng* attaches to the possessor forms as in (4.42).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (4.42) <i>Kani=nu=ng</i> relative=1MIN.POSS=PL 'My relatives' | <i>blaitö=nu=ng</i> grandmother=1MIN.POSS=PL 'My grandmothers' |
|---|--|

Likewise, when nouns are marked by associative markers, the pluralizer follows the associative marker as in (4.43).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4.43) <i>Nünge=lö=ng</i> boy=ASS.MRK=PL 'Hunters.' | <i>lë-tabâ-ngö</i> NMLZ ₁ -hunt-NMLZ ₂ |
|---|---|

In principle, the pluralizer =*ng* could follow the other associative markers, but further data are required to support this hypothesis.

4.3 Word formation

This section involves a description of word-formation processes including lexical action nominalizations (§4.3.1), complex nominal constructions with bound nouns (§4.3.2) and noun-compounding (§4.3.3).

4.3.1 Lexical action nominalisations

Crosslinguistically, two of the three parameters used to classify nominalisations are participant vs event nominalizations and lexical vs clausal nominalisation (Yap et al. 2011: 3-9; Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). In the languages of the world, participant nominalizations refer to entities that participate in an event, such as agents, patients, instruments, etc.; whereas event nominalizations, often referred to as 'action' nominalizations, express actions or states. The difference between lexical and clausal nominalisation pertains to the fact that lexical nominalisation are formed from a lexical item, while clausal nominalisations are formed from a clause.

Nalögo displays only action nominalisations; there are no canonical participant nominalisations. Complex nominal expressions formed with bound nouns are functionally similar to participant nominalisation, yet not identical (§4.3.2.1.7). In this section, I discuss the properties of lexical action nominalisation.

In Nalögo, action nominalisations express events or states through a deverbal nominal. This type of nominalisations tend to be unmarked for TAM, while retaining other verbal properties, such as valency-changing devices and directionals. There are two different types of action nominalisations. The former involves the nominalizer *lë-* (NMLZ₁) cooccurring with the nominalizer *-ngö* (NMLZ₂), while the latter involves the nominalizer *lë-* cooccurring with the nominalizer *-gö* (NMLZ₃). The nominalizer *lë-* displays a variant *në-*, which is formally identical to the nominalizing prefix *në-* in Natügu (van den Berg & Boerger 2011).

The combination *lë-V-ngö* derives action nominalisations without a subject, or with a subject perceived as being more affected by the action. Two examples of nominalisations without and with a subject are shown in (4.44) and (4.45), respectively.

- (4.44) *I-kele=ba=nu* *lë-kö-ngö.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ NMLZ₁-sing-NMLZ₂
 ‘I like singing (lit. singing is good to me).’ (nalogo028)

- (4.45) *Teglu lë-vë-ngö=de* *ble* *ä* *topla*
 fan NMLZ₁-weave-NMLZ₂=3MIN.POSS different COORD basket
lë-vë-ngö=de *ble.*
 NMLZ₁-weave-NMLZ₂=3MIN.POSS be.different
 ‘As for the fan, it is woven differently, and as for the basket, it is woven differently (lit. As for the fan, its being woven is different, and as for the basket, its being woven is different).’ (nalogo062)

In (4.44), the subjectless nominalization is the subject of the clausal predicate. In (4.45), the nominalizations are also the subjects of the clause. The subjects of the two nominalizations are expressed by two NPs, *teglu* ‘fan’ and *topla* ‘basket’, which are fronted and cross-referenced on the nominalised form by the 3MIN possessor form *=de*. Semantically, the subjects are patients, entities affected by the action of weaving. An additional example is represented by the word for ‘vomit’ in (4.46).

- (4.46) *Nö-nguba-ngö=nu*
 NMLZ₁-vomit-NMLZ₂=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My vomit.’

There are two points to discuss related to (4.46). First, the prefix *nö-* is most likely a borrowing from Engdewu, where it functions as one of the possible forms of the action nominalizer (Vaa 2013: 187). Second, semantically, the 1MIN subject can be viewed as affected by the action over which the possessor lacks control. In the available data, examples of nominalisations without a subject are the majority. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that (4.44) and (4.45) are not sufficient for the analysis of the properties of this type of nominalisations. This topic is left for future research.

The combination *lë-V-gö* encodes action nominalisation where the subject is perceived as more ‘agentive’. An example is shown in (4.47).

- (4.47) *Lë-(y)epwëlu-gö=de* *i-kele*
NMLZ₁-laugh-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.good
‘Her smile is nice.’ (field notes 2018)

(4.47) shows an action nominalisation functioning as the subject of the clausal predicate. The subject of the nominalisation is expressed by the 3MIN possessor form =*de*.

The examples above show sentences with lexical nominalisations functioning as subjects of predicates. However, like nouns, nominalisations can express other syntactic functions, i.e. they can function as direct and prepositional objects, and take modifiers. For instance, in (4.48), the nominalisation function as a prepositional object and is modified by a demonstrative form. Likewise, in (4.49), the nominalisation functions as a direct object and takes a relative clause as modifier.

- (4.48) *Nimwi* *ä* *nü-vë=m* *mö* *lë-(y)elë-ngö*
2AUG FUT IRR.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither PREP NMLZ₁-get.married-NMLZ₂
kâ?
DEM₁.DIST
‘Will you go the wedding?’ (nalogo020)

- (4.49) *Ka=m=de* *lë-lu-ngö* *kä* *i-kele*
give=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-be.alive-NMLZ₂ LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
‘He gives good life’ (nalogo039).

The last topic discussed in this section pertains to how arguments are marked on lexical nominalisations formed by *lë-* and *-gö*, where the subject is more ‘agentive’. Due to the lack of examples of possessed nominalisations formed by *lë-* and *-ngö*, their argument-marking pattern is not analysed here.

In *lë-V-gö* nominalisations, the subject can be expressed either by a possessor form or by an NP. The nominalizer *-gö*, maybe related to the general possessive classifier *gö* described in Chapter 6, selects the same set of possessive forms, which are given in Table 4-1 below.

| PERSON | MINIMAL | AUGMENTED |
|--------|-------------|--------------|
| 1 | = <i>tu</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | = <i>m;</i> | = <i>mwi</i> |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 4-1. Set of possessive forms occurring with the nominalizer *-gö*

Examples of subject forms and subject marking patterns are shown in (4.50-4.52).

- (4.50) *Lë-wë-gö* *mwe-nalë=nu* *mö* *stoa*
 NMLZ₁-work-NMLZ₃ male-spouse=1MIN.POSS PREP store
jâ *tü-kele.*
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘My husband’s work at the store is going well.’ (nalogo037)

- (4.51) *Lë-(v)elya-gö=de* *i-kele.*
 NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Her dance is impressive.’ (nalogo028)

- (4.52) a) *Mwe-nalë=nu* *lë-wë-gö=de* *mö*
 male-spouse=1MIN.POSS NMLZ₁-work-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS PREP
stoa *jâ* *tü-kele.*
 store CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘As for my husband, his work at the store is going well.’ (nalogo037)

- b) **Lë-wë-gö=de* *mwe-nalë=nu* *mö*
 NMLZ₁-work-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS male-spouse=1MIN.POSS PREP
stoa *jâ* *tü-kele.*
 PREP CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘My husband’s work at the store is going well.’

In (4.50), the possessor is expressed by an NP following the nominalised form. In (4.51), the possessor is expressed by the 3MIN possessor form *=de*. (4.52a) shows a case where the subject marked on the nominalised form through the 3MIN *=de* cooccurs with a fronted subject NP.

By contrast, (4.52b), which is ungrammatical, shows that =*de* cannot cooccur with the NP when it follows the nominalised form.

In the examples above the process of nominalization is applied to intransitive verbs. The same subject-marking pattern is attested with nominalised forms derived from transitive verbs, which takes two core arguments. Examples with the verb *nibü* ‘kill’ are given in (4.53–4.55).

(4.53) *Lë-nibü-gö* *John po kâ* *i-kele.*
 NMLZ₁-kill-NMLZ₃ John pig DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘John’s killing the pig is good.’

(4.54) *Lë-nibü-gö=de* *po kâ* *i-kele.*
 NMLZ₁-kill-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS pig DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘His killing the pig is good.’

(4.55) a) *John lë-nibü-gö=de* *po kâ*
 John NMLZ₁-kill-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS pig DEM₁.DIST
i-kele.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘As for John, his killing the pig is good.’

b) **Lë-nibü-gö=de* *John po kâ*
 NMLZ₁-kill-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS John pig DEM₁.DIST
i-kele
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘As for John, his killing the pig is good.’

In (4.53), the nominalization takes two arguments, the subject NP *John* and the object NP *po kâ*, which follow the nominalised form. In (4.54), the subject is expressed only by the 3MIN possessor form =*de*, while the object follows the nominalised form. Finally, in (4.55a), the subject is marked by =*de*, which cooccurs with the fronted subject NP. The subject NP and the bound pronominal form cannot cooccur after the nominalised form as shown in (4.55b).

In the final part of this section, I discuss how objects are marked on nominalisations. While objects are generally unmarked in simple transitive clauses except for rare cases (Chapter 13 on the applicative =*ngö* with bivalent transitive verbs), 3MIN objects can be expressed on nominalisations by the bound object form =*le*. An example is shown in (4.56).

| | | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (4.56) | <i>Kopyo</i> | <i>nünge já</i> | <i>t(ü)-yöbü.</i> | <i>Kopyo</i> | <i>plet</i> |
| | EXIST | boy CONT ₁ | IPFV.N3AUG-lie | EXIST | plate |
| | <i>i-taabö-ki-u=le</i> | | <i>dötna=de.</i> | | |
| | PFV.N3AUG-smash-APPL-down=3MIN.SBJ | | food=3MIN.POSS | | |
| | <i>Yökö-pä=bwe</i> | | <i>në-taabö-gö=de=le,</i> | | |
| | finish-out=DIR.thither | | NMLZ ₁ -smash-NMLZ ₃ =3MIN.POSS=3MIN.OBJ | | |
| | <i>i-gë-lë=m=de</i> | | <i>kâ</i> | <i>spun,</i> | |
| | PFV.N3AUG-pick-up-DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ | | QNT | spoon | |
| | <i>jâ</i> | <i>tü-ngü=pe=le</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | |
| | SEQ | IPFV.N3AUG-eat=COS=3MIN.SBJ | thing | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | |
| | <i>t(ü)-yo-lë=m</i> | | <i>bä</i> | <i>plate</i> | <i>kâ.</i> |
| | IPFV.N3AUG-stay-up=DIR.hither | | PREP | plet | DEM ₁ .DIST |

‘There is a boy lying. There is a plate he is smashing his food in, after smashing it (lit. his smashing of it is finished), he picks up a spoon and starts to eat the things inside the plate.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

In (4.56), the nominalisation functions as the subject of the verb *yökö* ‘finish’. There are two pronominal forms on the nominalised form, the 3MIN =*de* marking the subject, the boy, and the 3MIN =*le* which follows the subject and refers to the food. In this respect, action nominalisations differ from simple transitive clauses where the object is typically unmarked (Chapter 3; Chapter 12).

To summarize, there are four relevant properties related to argument-marking patterns with nominalisations: (i) the subject can be expressed either by an NP or a bound pronominal form; (ii) the subject NP, when overtly expressed, follows the nominalization, but it can be fronted for pragmatic purposes; (iii) when the subject NP is fronted, it cooccurs obligatorily on the nominalisation with a pronominal bound form; (iv) the object can be expressed either by an NP or by the bound 3MIN object form =*le*.

4.3.2 Bound nouns

In Nalögo, there are four classes of bound nouns. The term ‘bound noun’ refers to nominal forms which do not have an independent use, but cooccur with other elements, be they nouns, verbs, demonstratives, etc. The type and number of elements cooccurring with bound nouns depend on the class to which they belong. The first type of bound nouns includes those referred to as ‘generic bound nouns’, described in §4.3.2.1. Generic bound nouns do not occur as

independent lexical items. They function as syntactic heads taking various modifiers including nouns, demonstratives, bare verbs and relative clauses, with which they form complex nominal constructions. The number and type of cooccurring modifiers depend on the type of bound noun. The label ‘generic bound noun constructions’ has been firstly adopted by Næss (2017) for the description of these constructions in Äiwoo. Generic bound nouns differ from the three other types of bound nouns: plant-part and body-part nouns, the classifier *nalë* ‘spouse’ and reduced compounds. Plant-part and body-part nouns are regarded as bound forms because they always cooccur with another noun. They are described in §4.3.2.2.1. The classifier *nalë* ‘spouse’ functions as a bound noun attaching to other bound forms with a classifying function. It is described in §4.3.2.2.2. Finally, §4.3.2.3 is devoted to reduced compounds. According to the available data, this construction seems to be much less common than in some other RSC languages.

4.3.2.1 Class of generic bound nouns

In Nalögo, generic bound nouns are bound nouns which do not have an independent use. They are defined as ‘generic’ because they display general meanings, such as ‘people’, ‘female’, ‘male’, and so on. Formally, they attach obligatorily to other elements, including nouns, verbs, demonstratives, possessives and relative clauses. Typically, bound nouns do not display direct independent forms, even though in some cases, they can be related to independent lexemes probably through a more complex path of development (e.g. bound noun *ma* ‘house’ is likely to be related to the independent noun *böma* ‘house’).

Table 4-2 below summarizes these bound forms, the types of modifiers they take and their corresponding independent forms.

| BOUND NOUN | TYPE OF MODIFIER | INDEPENDENT FORM |
|---------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| <i>lö-</i> ‘people’ | Noun | <i>leplë</i> ‘person, people’ |
| <i>i-</i> ‘female’ | Noun Demonstrative Verb | <i>olë</i> ‘woman, girl’ |
| <i>mö-</i> ‘male’ | Noun Demonstrative Possessive Verb Relative clause | <i>nünge</i> ‘boy, man’ |
| <i>ma-</i> ‘house’ | Noun Possessive Relative clause | <i>böma</i> ‘house, home’ |

| | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>mö-</i> ‘place’ <i>bä-</i> ‘place’ | Possessive Verb Relative clause | <i>nolâ</i> ‘place’, <i>mâ</i> ‘place’ |
| <i>kä-</i> ‘one’ | Verb Possessive | - |
| <i>kä-</i> ‘way, reason’ | Verb | <i>müümü</i> ‘way’, <i>kât</i> ²³ ‘reason’ |

Table 4-2. Nalogo generic bound nouns

As shown in Table 4-2, bound nouns are all monosyllabic and show a low phonological independence; thus, they need to attach to other elements. In this respect, they display a prefix-like behaviour. The types of modifiers taken by generic bound nouns depend on the nature of the bound form itself. While some bound forms allow a great number of modifiers, others allow only one type of modifier. However, it is worth pointing out that the absence of combinations between some bound forms and certain types of modifiers might be due to a lack of data. This topic is left for further research. Finally, from a syntactic viewpoint, generic bound nouns function as heads, but not as modifiers.

Generic bound nouns do not directly relate to their corresponding independent forms. Only the bound noun *ma-* ‘house’ shows a formal connection with the independent noun *böma* ‘house’. The form *kä-* ‘one’ does not have an independent counterpart²⁴. With regard to the other bound forms, it is possible that some independent nouns are related to them through more complex paths of development. This might be the case of ‘female’ and ‘male’ bound nouns, as described in §4.3.2.1.2.

Generic bound nouns showing similar properties are also attested in Äiwoo (Næss 2017). In Næss (2017)’s analysis of bound forms in Äiwoo, the term ‘generic bound noun’ is regarded as a ‘handy label’ rather than a definition, with the aim of differentiating this class from other types of bound forms. As in Nalögo, Äiwoo generic bound forms function as syntactic heads, taking various types of modifiers and showing a low phonological independence, by contrast with other bound forms. In terms of types of modifiers, they can occur with other nouns, possessives, demonstratives, verbs, PPs or clauses. The full range of available modifiers might not cooccur with each bound form, some of them taking only a subset of them. Phonologically,

²³ In the data, this noun is always found directly possessed by the form =*de* as in *kât=de* ‘its reason’.

²⁴ However, the two homophonous forms *kä-* ‘one’ and *kä-* ‘way, reason’ could be related to the medial demonstrative form *kä* ‘that one’ and the linker *kä*, described in Chapter 7 and Chapter 17, respectively.

generic bound forms tend to be monosyllabic or monomoraic, showing, in this regard, a prefix-like behaviour. Finally, they do not display clear sources in independent lexical nouns.

In the following sections, I describe the main properties of generic bound nouns in Nalögo. In §4.3.2.1.7, I compare the properties of constructions with generic bound nouns with those of participant nominalizations as a crosslinguistic category, highlighting their similarities and differences.

4.3.2.1.1 The bound noun *lö-* ‘people’

The bound noun *lö-* ‘people’ refers to a group of people. It is typically found attached to nouns, but not to other modifiers. Äiwoo displays a generic bound form *pe-* which has broadly the same meaning and is more frequently attested with nouns and PPs rather than verbs (Næss 2017: 921). In Nalögo, *lö-* is commonly attached to place names as in (4.57).

(4.57) *Kopyo* *mweli* *lö-Nedö*
EXIST time people-Nedö
lä-ö-pi=ö=dö *nge* *të-(v)elya=pme.*
PFV.3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=3AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-dance=COS
‘Once upon a time once upon a time people from Nendö said they wanted to dance.’
(nalogo2209_2015)

In (4.57), the bound noun refers to a group of people living in Santa Cruz island. The corresponding independent noun of *lö-* is *leplë* ‘person, people’. The bound noun *lö-* occurs with plural collective referents. When the referent is singular, the independent form *leplë* is used in expressions of the type ‘person from X’. The noun occurs with the associative marker *ngö* followed by a place name or a local noun. (4.58) shows an example of this construction.

(4.58) *Leplë* *ngö* *Neboi*
person ASS.MRK Nemboi
‘Person from Nemboi.’

Another interesting way to express a similar meaning involves a phonological process where the initial consonant /n/ of place names like *Nea*, *Neboi* and *Noole* is replaced by the liquid /l/ (Chapter 2).

4.3.2.1.2 Bound nouns *i-* ‘female’ and *mö-* ‘male’

In the available data, the generic bound form *i-* ‘female’ attaches to nouns, bare verbs, possessives and demonstrative forms. Examples are shown in (4.59)(4.62).

(4.59) *I-tuku*
 female-walking.stick
 ‘old woman (lit. female who uses the walking stick a lot)’

(4.60) *I-ne=nu*
 female-animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My daughter (lit. my female one).’

(4.61) *I-vya*
 female-write
 ‘female writer (lit. female who writes a lot)’

(4.62) *I-ka*
 female-DEM₁.PROX
 ‘This girl/woman (lit. this female one)’

In (4.59), the bound noun is attached to the noun *tuku* ‘walking stick’, whereas in (4.60), it occurs with the possessive classifier *ne*. In (4.61) and (4.62), it is attached to a bare verb form and a demonstrative, respectively. The female bound noun *i-* can attach to additional nominal demonstratives (Chapter 7). It is frequently attested with the distal demonstrative form *kâ* in the complex nominal *i-kâ* ‘that female one’ (Chapter 3).

The generic bound noun *mö-* ‘male’, which displays some variants, such as *m(w)e-* and *më-*, can attach to demonstratives (4.63) nouns (4.64), bare verbs (4.65), relative clauses (4.66) and the root *te* ‘close relation’ (4.67).

(4.63) *Mö-kâ* *i-pla-glâ=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break.with.hand-break=3MIN.SBJ
nuwâ kâ *bä* *nauple* *ino=de*
 stick DEM₁.DIST PREP knee leg=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The boy (lit. the male one) broke the stick on his knee.’ (nalogo043)

(4.64) *Mö-tuku*
 male-walking.stick
 ‘old man (lit. male who uses the walking stick a lot)’

(4.65) *Me-ya*
 male-paddle
 ‘male paddler (lit. male person who paddles a lot).’

(4.66) *Mö-kä-i-vë*
 male-PFV.N3AUG-walk
 ‘Wild man (lit. male person who walks a lot).’

(4.67) *Më-te=de*
 male-close.relation=3MIN.POSS
 ‘My male friend.’

The bound noun *mö-* is frequently attached to the distal form *kâ* ‘that one’ of the nominal demonstrative. The complex form *mö-kâ* can be translated as ‘man, boy (lit. the male one)’ as in (4.63). Along with attaching to demonstratives, verbs and relative clauses, the ‘male’ bound noun can attach to the bound root *te* as in (4.67). The corresponding independent lexical noun is *niinge* ‘man, boy’ which is unrelated. With some complex forms, more than one variant of the bound noun can cooccur with the same element. For instance, the form *mö-tuku* in (4.64) has an alternative version *mwe-tuku*. In (4.65), the bound noun attaches to a bare verb.

The bound noun ‘male’ also occurs in the lexicalised complex form *mwe-lë-kölö* ‘male old person’ as shown in (4.68). Engdewu shows a similar complex form, *mwe-lakölö* ‘old man’, which is analysed as involving the bound noun *mwe-* ‘male’ and the verb *kölö* ‘be big, prominent’ occurring with the 3AUG prefix *la-*, which encodes a ‘generic agent’ (Vaa 2013: 250). An example is shown in (4.69).

| | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| (4.68) <i>Mwe-lë-kölö</i> | <i>kâ</i> | <i>i-bwë=pe</i> |
| male-PFV.3AUG-be.old | DEM ₁ .DIST | PFV.N3AUG-die=COS |
| ‘The old man is dead.’ | | |

(4.69) Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 250)
mwe-la-kölö (BN:male-PFV:3AUG.S/A-prominent) ‘old man’

In Nalögo, the form *lëkölö* means ‘old people’ as shown in (4.70).

| | | | |
|--|------------------------|---------------|------------------|
| (4.70) <i>Mweli</i> | <i>kâ</i> | <i>ba=gö</i> | <i>lëkölö...</i> |
| time | DEM ₁ .DIST | PREP=3AUG.OBJ | old.people |
| During the time of ancestors...’ (nalogo065) | | | |

Based on the nominal function of *lëkölö*, the complex nominal *mwe-lëkölö* might be interpreted as an instance of the combination of the bound noun *mwe-* combined with the noun shown in

(4.70). The complex nominal in (4.68) does not have a corresponding female form formed with a bound noun, the female version being the lexical noun *bwale* ‘old woman’.

In (4.66) above, the form *mö-* attaches to a relative clause. The complex nominal *mö-kä-i-vë* ‘wild man’ seems to be a lexicalised form. The prefix *i-* does not agree with the intended referent. Evidence is given in (4.71), where despite the fact that the subject referent is plural, the verb of the relative clause is marked by the N3AUG prefix *i-* instead of the 3AUG prefix *lë-*. The plurality of the referents is signalled by the 3AUG prefix *lë-* occurring on the clausal predicate and the pluralizer *=ng* attached to the demonstrative modifier. Like the complex form for ‘old man’, the nominal expression for ‘wild man’ is lexicalised.

(4.71) *Më-kä-i-vë* *kâ=ng* *lë-ö-nibü* *leplë*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-walk DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-kill people
 ‘Wild men kill people.’

In general, more examples are required to better understand the functions and the distribution of the prefixes *lë-* and *i-* in complex nominals with the ‘male’ and ‘female’ bound nouns.

The origins of the ‘male’ and ‘female’ bound forms cannot be easily determined at this stage. They display corresponding independent lexical forms which are unrelated, the nouns *olë* ‘girl, woman’ and *nünge* ‘boy, man’. This also holds for Engdewu, where the two bound nouns (*l*)*i-* ‘female’ and *m(w)e-* ‘male’ show the two unrelated independent lexemes *opla* ‘woman’ and *noude* ‘man’ (Vaa 2013: 145). In Äiwoo, the bound nouns *si-* ‘female, woman’ and *gi-* ‘male, man’ express female and male referents, respectively (Næss 2017). A large number of kin terms appears to involve the bound nouns *si-* and *gi-*, but establishing a direct derivation from the lexical noun to the bound form is not possible, since more complex paths of development are involved. For instance, the generic bound noun *si-* ‘female’ could be related to the noun *singedâ* ‘woman’, but the picture is likely to be more complex than just involving a reduction of the independent noun (Næss 2017). In Nalögo, the presence of bound nouns in kinship terms appears, for instance, in the pair *i-näpu* ‘mother-in-law’ and *mwe-näpu* ‘father-in-law’, where the bound nouns *i-* and *mwe-* are attached to the same element, *näpu*, deriving two different referents. The origin of the form *näpu* is not clear. Some kin terms expressing female referents are *i-*initial and might be composed of the bound noun *i-* and another element, such as *ilaule*

‘mother’, *ile* ‘sister’ and *ine*²⁵ ‘daughter’. Likewise, some male kin terms are *me*-initial like *melibu* ‘uncle’. However, there are kin terms expressing male referents which are also *i*-initial like *ibu* ‘father’ and *ita* ‘grandfather’, showing that the initial /i/ might be simply part of the noun root.

The ‘female’ and ‘male’ bound nouns constructions can be used to form proper names. In the Nalögo community, but more generally in Santa Cruz Island, the naming system includes the assignment of two names at birth, a modern and a local one. Local names are composed of bound nouns, female or male, plus a root which can be a noun or a bare verb. The two bound nouns *i*- and *mö*- can occur alternatively on the same root, producing a female or a male version of the same name. According to the local naming system, local names are chosen by the first contributor of the bride price, i.e. the person who provides the groom with the largest amount of money to buy the bride. The first contributor has rights over the firstborn of the family, including the possibility to name him or her. The firstborn is generally named after the first contributor, or alternatively, the community assigns to the baby a local name based on the main characteristic of the contributor. Similar naming systems are also found in Engdewu and Natügu communities. Examples of local names are shown in Table 4-3.

| MALE PROPER NAMES | FEMALE PROPER NAMES |
|---|--|
| <i>me-wë</i> ‘the (male) one who always works’ | <i>i-wë</i> ‘the (female) one who always works’ |
| <i>me-ta</i> ²⁶ ‘the (male) one who is rich’ ‘the (male) one who is lazy’ | <i>i-ta</i> ‘the (female) one who is rich’ ‘the (female) one who is lazy’ |
| <i>me-ya</i> ‘the (male) one who always paddles’ | <i>i-ya</i> ‘the (female) one who always paddles’ |
| <i>me-vya</i> ‘the (male) one who always writes’ | <i>i-vya</i> ‘the (female) one who always writes’ |
| <i>m(w)e-tuku</i> ‘the (male) one who holds the walking stick, the old man’ | <i>i-tuku</i> ‘the (female) one who holds the walking stick, the old woman’ |
| <i>m(w)e-lâ</i> ‘the (male) one who always talks’ | <i>i-lâ</i> ‘the (female) one who always talks’ |

Table 4-3. Examples of male and female traditional names

²⁵ The word *ine* might be formed by the bound noun *i*- and the animate possessive classifier *ne*, which can be used with human referents, including kin.

²⁶ This traditional name can be interpreted in two different ways: either the element *ta* is a word, most likely a noun, meaning ‘money, cash’ or a stative verb meaning ‘be lazy’. According to one speaker, the word *ta* ‘money, cash’ is a borrowing from the other Nalögo varieties, possibly spoken in the villages of Noole or Nonia.

4.3.2.1.3 The bound noun *ma-* ‘place, house’

In the available data, the bound noun *ma-* ‘house’ is found attached to nouns, relative clauses and possessive classifiers/associative markers. The independent form, which is likely related to the bound noun, is *böma* ‘house, home’. Examples are shown in (4.72-4.75).

(4.72) *Ma-kä-i-tö*

house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy
‘church (lit. the holy place)’.

(4.73) *Ma-kapö*

house-iron
‘iron house (house made up of iron).’

(4.74) *Mweli ka*

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| | | <i>t(ü)-yapwe-ti=pe=käli=pwa</i> | |
| time | DEM ₁ .PROX | IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=COS=next=1MIN.SBJ.thither | |
| <i>bwe ngö</i> | <i>në-yelë-ngö</i> | <i>ma-ne=gö.</i> | |
| story | ASS.MRK | NMLZ ₁ -marry-NMLZ ₂ | house-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS |

‘Now I am telling a story about marriage in our place.’

(4.75) *Ma-ngö*

| | |
|---------------|--|
| | <i>lë-(y)agwe-ngö</i> |
| house-ASS.MRK | NMLZ ₁ -be.sick-NMLZ ₂ |

‘hospital (lit. house of sickness)

In (4.72), the bound noun attaches to a relative clause introduced by *kä-*, while in (4.73), it attaches to the noun *kapö* ‘iron’. In (4.74) and (4.75), *ma-* cooccur with the animate possessive classifier *ne* and with the associative morpheme *-ngö*, respectively.

4.3.2.1.4 The bound nouns *mö-* ‘place’ and *bä-* ‘place’

The bound noun *mö-* (~ *me-*) ‘place’ cooccurs with possessive classifiers and verbs. In (4.76-4.78), the bound form is used with verbs to coin terms for which there are no lexical items. In (4.76), it attaches to the place possessive classifier *nye*, whereas in (4.77) and (4.78), it occurs in more complex constructions, with verbs taking valency-changing morphology and extra arguments.

(4.76) *Me-nye=nu*

place-place.CLF=1MIN.POSS
‘my place’

(4.77) *Me-i-plâ=ngö=nyö*
 place-PFV.N3AUG-burn=APPL=fire
 ‘fireplace (lit. place where fire burns)’

(4.78) *Me-i-mwi=ngö=na*
 place-PFV.N3AUG-sleep=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘my bed (lit. place where I sleep).’

The examples above involve the form *me-*. Two examples with the variant *mö-* are shown in (4.79) and (4.80).

(4.79) *Ma* *tü-mno=ngö=na*
 DEM₂.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-stay=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
mö-ne=nu *Nân(ü)mö.*
 place-animate.CLF=1MIN.SBJ Nea
 ‘Here where I live is my place Nea.’ (nalogo060)

(4.80) *I-töu-lë-tö=kom* *nyö* *mö* *nabwë* *drum* *ngö*
 PFV.N3AUG-light-up-in=1AUG.SBJ fire PREP inside drum ASS.MRK
mö-ta-(v)aglö=ngö *nubo.*
 place-PASS.PFV-CAUS-dry=APPL dried.breadfruit
 ‘We light in up the fire inside the drum of the place where dried breadfruit is dried.’
 (nalogo057)

The bound form *bä*-²⁷ can occur with possessive classifiers and verbs. Three examples are shown in (4.81)(4.83).

(4.81) *Bë-ne=nu*
 place-animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘my place’

(4.82) *Kopyo* *lomtangi* *tu-tu* *i-tu*
 EXIST white.man IPFV.N3AUG-stand PFV.N3AUG-stand
bë-lë-fence-tö.
 place-PASS.PFV-fence-in
 ‘There is a white man standing, he stands in a fenced place...’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(4.83) *Kâ* *tü-ulâ=m* *lë-yelu-ti=bwe*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-fly=DIR.hither PASS.PFV-put-TR=DIR.thither
bä-tü-tu=ngö=de.
 place-IPFV.N3AUG-stand=APPL=3MIN.SBJ

²⁷In the available data, this form has phonetic variants as *bë-* in (4.81).

‘...for the one flying in, they put a place for it to stand on.’ (nalogo025)

In (4.81), the bound noun occurs with the possessive classifier *ne*, while in (4.82) and (4.83), it occurs with an inflected verb form.

The forms *mö-* and *bä-* seem to have unrelated corresponding independent lexical forms, *nolâ* ‘surroundings, world, universe’ and *mâ* ‘place’. However, the two prepositions *mö* and *bä* are formally identical (Chapter 12). Historically, bound nouns and prepositions might share the same origin, two lexemes *mö* and *bä* meaning ‘place’, which are no longer used synchronically. The forms *mö-* and *bä-* are also attested in some lexemes which might be related to concept of ‘place’ such as *meitnö* (~ *möitnö*) ‘ground’, or *meipluwu* (~ *möipluwu*; ~ *bäipluwu*) ‘bush’.

4.3.2.1.5 The bound noun *kä-* ‘the one who/which...’

The bound noun *kä-* has a more general meaning ‘the one who/which...’ compared to other bound forms. It can encode animate or inanimate referents. Three examples where *kä-* expresses human animate referents are shown in (4.84)(4.87).

(4.84) *Kopyo* *lomtangi* *aple* *kä-i-ngungu*.
 EXIST white.man SIMIL.EPIST one-PFV.N3AUG-be.cranky
 ‘There is a white man, (he is) like a cranky person.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(4.85) *Brenda* *kä-i-pwö=wö=m*.
 Brenda one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big=ASS.MRK=2MIN.POSS
 Brenda is your boss (lit. Brenda is your big one).’ (field notes 2015)

(4.86) *Topnö* *kä-i-wö*.
 NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-swim
 ‘There is no swimmer here (lit. one that swim does not exist).’ (nalogo033)

(4.87) *Kopyo* *kä-i-pwö=wö* *mwetelya* *jâ*
 exist one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big=ASS.MRK village CONT₁
tü-lâ-(y)apwe=bwe *leplë*.
 IPFV.N3AUGtalk-discuss=DIR.away people
 ‘There is a village leader giving advice to people. (nalogo2010_2015)

With existentials as in (4.86) and (4.87), *kä-*constructions are very common. Examples (4.88-4.90) show cases where these constructions express inanimate referents.

(4.88) *Ngâ kä tü-gë-pä=mwam nge*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-take-out=2AUG.SBJ.hither PRAG.MRK

kä-i-lu-ngö=na ni â
 one-PFV.N3AUG-be.alive=APPL=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN PRAG.MRK

tü-bwë=pe.

IPFV.N3AUG-die=COS

‘If I take out my heart, I will die (lit. what I live on)’ (nalogo002)

(4.89) *Âplë kê=ng tË-ö-bwö=ngö*

stone DEM₁.DIST=PL PASS.IPFV-MIDD₁-prepare=APPL

lopta ni-ngi kâ-yabulö-ti yökö.

cabbage IRR.N3AUG-be one-be.round-PL finish

‘...those stones that are used to prepare cabbage are all the round ones.’ (nalogo017)

(4.90) *Kä-yölu=pe=ng nge*

one-put=COS=2MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK

ta-a-ngumwa=ng, jâ tü-twë=pme=ng

IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-sell=2MIN.SBJ SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-take=COS=2MIN.SBJ

mo ta-a-ngumwa=ngö=de

place PASS.IPFV-caus-sell-APPL=3MIN.SBJ

‘Those that you put down to sell, then you take (them) to the market (lit. place for selling)’ (nalogo017)

In (4.84-4.87), *kä-* attaches to verbs to express singular human referents. The perfective prefix *i-* agrees with singular referents. With plural human referents, the 3AUG perfective prefix *lë-* occurs on the verb as in the complex nominal *kä-lë-(y)agwe=ng*²⁸ ‘invalid people (lit. the ones who are sick)’. In (4.88)(4.90), the referents are inanimate. Inanimate referents are always marked by the 3MIN prefix *i-*, regardless of their number. In this respect, they differ from animate referents. The hierarchy related to plural marking is attested in some Oceanic languages, where if there is a singular/plural distinction, only animate referents display it (Lynch et al. 2002: 37). The bound noun *kä-* can also occur with possessive classifiers. (4.91) shows one example of this use.

(4.91) *John tü-(y)ölë=pme lëmapë. Nelö â=ng*
 John IPFV.N3AUG-get.married=COS tomorrow who DEM₃.DIST=PL
ti-ngi kâ-ne=de bä
 IPFV.N3AUG-be one-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS PREP
në-yölë-ngö kâ?

²⁸ The function of *-ng* is not clear here. Since the combination of the bound noun and the verb derives a nominal expression, the form could be analysed as the pluralizer *=ng*.

NMLZ₁-get.married-NMLZ₂ DEM₁.DIST

‘John is getting married tomorrow. Who will be the witnesses at his marriage? (lit. Who are those ones that will be his ones at the marriage?) (nalogo055)

This bound noun has no related independent lexical form.

4.3.2.1.6 The bound noun *kä-* ‘way, manner’

The generic bound noun *kä-* ‘way, reason’ is commonly found attached to verbs to derive complex nominals. There are two unrelated corresponding independent forms, the lexemes *mimü* ‘way’ and *kât* ‘reason’. An example of a complex nominal introduced by *kä-* is shown in (4.92).

(4.92) *Ka* *kä-lë-wo=ngö* *ibu=gom* *böma*
DEM₁.DIST way-PFV.3AUG-build=APPL father=1AUG.POSS house
‘This is how our fathers built houses.’ (nalogo038)

The ‘manner’ function can be semantically extended to express ‘reason’ as in (4.93).

(4.93) *Te=i-klë=wa=lü*
NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
kä-i-vë=ngö=mwe *ma*
way-PFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=2MIN.SBJ.hither DEM₂.PROX
‘I don’t know why you came here.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

The complex nominal formed by *kä-* can also function syntactically as an adverbial. An example is shown in (4.94), where it follows the adverb *dongo* ‘a lot, very/too much’ which is interpreted here as an intensifier referring to the volume of the voice.

(4.94) *Lâ* *dongo* *kä-i-pmi*
talk very.much way-PFV.N3AUG-be.a.little
‘Talk a bit louder! (lit. talk very much in a way that is a little).’ (nalogo016)

4.3.2.1.7 Generic bound nouns constructions and participant nominalizations

As Næss (2017) points out, in some Oceanic languages, morphemes showing properties similar to those of generic bound nouns in Äiwoo (and Nalögo) are described as nominalising prefixes (e.g. in Nêlêmwa, a language of New Caledonia, bound forms with meanings like ‘place’, ‘manner’ and ‘agent’ are analysed as derivational prefixes Brill (2002: 73-82). However, Næss (2017) identifies some interesting differences between constructions with generic bound nouns

and participant nominalizations displaying nominalizing prefixes. The label ‘participant nominalization’ is generally used in typological works to refer to deverbal nominal constituents with referential status (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993). They express entities like people, objects and locations, and convey semantic roles like agents, patients, instruments, and so forth. When they are compared with action nominalizations, they tend to display fewer verbal inflections (Baker & Vinokurova 2009).

Næss (2017) identifies two main differences between the typological category of participant nominalization mentioned above and the constructions with generic bound nouns in Äiwoo. The former refers to the ability of participant nominalizations to encode specific semantic roles (e.g. agent, patient, instrument); while the constructions with generic bound forms tend to not be linked to any specific semantic roles. The latter refers to the fact that while participant nominalizations tend to take fewer inflections than action nominalizations, this is not the case of constructions with generic bound forms which can take various modifiers, fully inflected verbs and additional arguments.

In Nalögo, the way and the degree to which constructions with generic bound forms differ from participant nominalizations depend on the type of generic bound noun. For instance, the bound noun *lö-* ‘people’ has no properties in common with participant nominalizations, since it cannot attach to verbs, at least according to the available data. By contrast, the bound nouns *i-* ‘female’, *mö-* ‘male’, *mö-/bä-* ‘place’, *kä-* ‘one’ and *kä-* ‘manner, reason’ can cooccur with verbs.

In terms of semantic roles, generic bound forms differ from participant nominalizers, in that they are not necessarily linked to a specific role. For instance, *kä-* ‘one’ refers to an entity, be it animate or inanimate, but it does not encode a specific semantic role. This is shown in (4.95) and (4.96).

(4.95) *Topnö* *kä-i-wö.*
 NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-swim
 ‘There is no swimmer (lit. a person that swim does not exist).’ (nalogo033)

(4.96) *Mweli* *ka* *topnö=pe*
 time DEM₁.PROX NEG.EXIST=COS
kä-na-aula=bwa *ba=m* *Vali.*
 one-IRR.N3AUG-CAUS.show=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ *Vali*
 ‘Now there is none for me to show to you, Vali.’ (nalogo12)

The two *kä*-constructions express an animate referent in (4.95) and an inanimate one in (4.96)²⁹. In (4.95), *kä*- is attached to the verb deriving a complex nominal expressing an ‘agentive’ argument, i.e. the person who actively performs the action of swimming. In (4.96), *kä*- derives a complex nominal expression encoding a more ‘patientive’ argument, i.e. the entity that the speaker cannot show to the hearer. These examples show that the semantic role that the complex nominal encodes does not depend on the generic bound noun itself, but rather, on the construction as a whole. In addition, the verb to which the bound noun attach can take verbal inflections as in (4.96) where the verb form *aula* ‘show’ is inflected for mood and takes the subject bound form =*bwa*. Examples with the bound noun *mö*- (~ *m(w)e*-) ‘male’ are shown in (4.97) and (4.98).

(4.97) *Me-wë*
 male-work
 ‘Worker (lit. the male one that works).’

(4.98) *Mö-kä-i-ngya-ti-dötwö=de*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.angry-APPL-neck=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘His enemy (lit. the male one that he is angry with).’

While in (4.97), the bound noun encodes an agent-like argument, i.e. the male person that works; in (4.98), it encodes a patient-like argument, i.e. the one that someone is angry with. There are no examples in the corpus like (4.98) with the bound noun *i*- ‘female’, but this might be due to a lack of data.

In terms of semantic roles, the bound forms *kä*- ‘way, reason’ and *mö*- ‘place’ differ from *kä*- ‘one’, in that they can be seen as semantic roles in themselves, rather than expressing a semantic role. Two examples are shown in (4.99) and (4.100).

(4.99) *Me-i-plâ=ngö=nyö*
 place-PFV.N3AUG-burn=APPL=fire
 ‘fireplace (lit. place where fire burns)’

(4.100) *Bwe ngö kä-lë-öblemi-pä=ngö=m*
 story ASS.MRK way-PASS.PFV-make-out=APPL=DIR.hither
kai mö bia
 pudding PREP breadfruit
mö-t(ü)-yökö-pä=ngö=pe=le a.
 place-IPFV.N3AUG-finish-out=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ DEM3.PROX

²⁹ The speaker refers to traditional money.

‘As for the story of how to make pudding out of breadfruit, it is finished here (lit. the place in which it is finished is this one).’ (nalogo042)

The nominal expression in (4.99) formed with *me-* ‘place’ encodes location. The applicative *=ngö* allows the location role to be promoted to core argument. The whole construction is complex in that it takes verbal inflections and even the additional subject argument *nyö* ‘fire’. In (4.100), the two complex nominals formed with *kä-* ‘way’ and *mö-* ‘place’ involve verbal inflections of all kinds, ranging from aspectual markers to subject forms.

So far, I have described how constructions with generic bound nouns differ from participant nominalizations. However, they also differ from action nominalizations. An example is shown in (4.101).

(4.101) *Bwe nge lä-ö-bwo-ngö lopta nide*
 story ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-cook-NMLZ₂ cabbage 3MIN
la.
 DEM_{3,L}.NPROX
 ‘The story about cooking cabbage is that one.’ (nalogo017)

In (4.101), the associative marker *nge* (~ *ngö*) takes an action nominalization as its complement. Action nominalizations (§4.3.1) are different from generic bound nouns, in that, they do not take typical verbal inflections, as in (4.101), where the nominalisation does not take any mood/aspect marker. By contrast, the constructions with generic bound forms do as in (4.99) and (4.100). The bound noun *kä-* ‘way’, which occurs with the perfective prefix in (4.100) takes the irrealis prefix in (4.102).

(4.102) *Kä-nu-ngâ=nö=de ja.*
 way-IRR.N3AUG-be.like=APPL=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{4,L}.PROX
 ‘This is how it is like (lit. the way in which it is like is this one).’ (nalogo1109_2015)

The structural similarities among (4.100), (4.101) and (4.102) are apparent, and mainly due to the presence of the homophonous suffix *-ngö*. However, the form *=ngö* in (4.99), (4.100) and (4.102) functions as an applicative, not as a nominalizer. Evidence of this is given in (4.103) where *=ngö* is replaced by the applicative *-ki* performing a similar function.

(4.103) *Mije kä-tü-vë-ki=nga Noipä?*
 be.how way-IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ Noipä
 ‘How do I go to Noipä?’ (field notes2015)

To summarize, the discussion above shows that the distinction between complex nominals with generic bound forms and participant nominalizations appears to be a matter of degree rather than a clear-cut distinction. There are bound forms like *lö-* ‘people’ and *ma-* ‘house’ which do not share properties with nominalizations, while the other bound forms can relate to nominalizations in different ways, depending on the form. Like participant nominalizations, the bound forms *mö-* ‘male’ and *kä-* ‘one’ can express different semantic roles, whereas the bound nouns *kä-* ‘manner/reason’ and *mö-* ‘place’ tend to express the same semantic role, but they can occur in constructions which are internally more complex than participant nominalizations.

4.3.2.2 Other types of bound nouns and compounds

Along with generic bound nouns, Nalögo shows three other types of bound nouns and compounds. The first type, described in §4.3.2.2.1, involve plant-part and body-part bound nouns, which cooccur only with other nouns and function as NP heads. §4.3.2.2.2 deals with the classifier *nalë* ‘spouse’, which is regarded as a bound noun in that it can only cooccur as a modifier with other bound nouns. Finally, §4.3.2.3 describes one example of reduced compounds involving nominals whose shape is different from the one they display in independent usage.

4.3.2.2.1 Plant-part and body-part nouns

In Nalögo, plant-part and some body-part nouns can be regarded as bound forms because they obligatorily occur with another noun. For instance, the nouns *nela* ‘branch’, *ât* ‘seed’ or *däbö* ‘root’ typically cooccur either with the noun *nuwâ* ‘tree, stick’ or with another noun denoting the type of tree or plant that they are part of. Some examples are in (4.104).

- (4.104) a) *nela* ‘branch’ > *nela nuwâ* ‘branch of tree’; *nela mo bwa* ‘branch of Bwa tree’
 b) *ât* ‘seed’ > *ât nuwâ* ‘seed of tree’; *ât melon* ‘seed of melon’
 c) *däbö* ‘root’ > *däbö nuwâ* ‘root of tree’; *däbö mo bwa* ‘root of Bwa tree’

Three other bound nouns which typically cooccur with other nouns are *lewë* ‘leaf’, *mo* ‘tree’ and *naa* ‘fruit’.

- (4.105) a) *lewë* ‘leaf’: *lewë nuwo* ‘tree leaf’; *lewë mo lopia* ‘leaf of Lopia tree’;
 b) *mo* ‘tree’: *mo bia* ‘breadfruit tree’; *mo töbao* ‘papaya tree’; *mo böpi* ‘banana tree’
 c) *naa* ‘fruit’: *naa nuwâ* ‘tree fruit’; *naa nuwä* ‘Cutnut fruit’;

The plant-part bound nouns in (4.105) are used to refer to a class of entities. Some body-part nouns also behave like plant-part nouns, in that they typically cooccur with another noun referring to a larger body part to which they are connected. Some examples of common body-part nouns are in (4.106).

- (4.106) *ningi nawë* ‘hair of head’; *bebelo dât* ‘mucus of nose’
nangi nüümü ‘digit of hand’ *nemyö numwë=tu* ‘my eyebrow’
nabölë ino=nu ‘my foot of leg’ *nao bwölö* ‘chest, heart’

When these bound nouns cooccur with another noun, they cannot be possessed. As with the nouns for ‘foot’ and ‘eyebrow’ in (4.106), the possessive forms attach to the noun denoting the larger part of the body. In Nalögo, one of the most noteworthy examples of body-part bound noun is the word *be* ‘skin, covering’, which displays different meanings depending on the cooccurring noun as in (4.107).

- (4.107) *be=je* ‘her skin, covering’
be no ‘fish skin’
be ningü=nu ‘my lips (lit. teeth covering)’
be nuwe ‘water container’

In her description of bound nouns in Äiwoo, Næss (2017) also mentions the noun *läge* ‘skin, bark, shell’ as the “most striking example” of body-part bound nouns. The noun has different translations depending on the cooccurring noun as in *läge nyisi* ‘my skin (lit. covering of my body)’ or *läge nyenaa* ‘bark (lit. covering of tree)’.

An interesting form involving the bound noun *be* is *betepu* referring to a small bowl-shaped container made up of coconut shell. The whole complex form is lexicalized. In Äiwoo, the noun *tepu*, presumably a Polynesian borrowing³⁰, is used for ‘cup’ in general, although those were traditionally made from coconut shells (Næss p.c.).

The three main characteristics of plant-part and body-part nouns can be summarized in the following points: (i) they can only be heads of NPs; (ii) they can combine only with nouns; and (iii) they are more phonologically independent than generic bound nouns.

Plant-part and body-part complex nominals can only function as NP heads. An example of the bound noun *be* functioning as NP head is shown in (4.108), where the complex nominal *be*

³⁰ In Vaeakau-Taumako, *ipu* means ‘shell of coconut for drinking, cup, bowl.’ (Næss p.c.)

nuwe ‘water container’ functions as the head of a relative clause which specifies the type of water container. Like any other noun, these complex nominals can take modifiers.

- (4.108) *Be nuwe kä yo-ki-lë=m nuwe kä*
 skin water LNK stay-APPL-up=DIR.hither water LNK
i-pü.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.hot
 ‘Termos (lit. water container in which the hot water stays).’

All the examples in this section show that plant-part and body-part nouns cooccur only with other nouns. Finally, compared to generic bound nouns described in §4.3.2.1, plant-part and body-part nouns are typically more phonologically independent. Plant-part and body-part nouns in Nalögo seem to pattern like those in Äiwoo, which can only function as NP heads and take nouns as modifiers (Næss 2017).

4.3.2.2 The bound noun *nalë* ‘spouse’

In Nalögo, *nalë* ‘spouse’ is a bound noun which cannot be used as an independent lexical item. This bound form has a classifying function because it can only occur and modify bound nouns. The use of the form *nalë* is very restricted. For instance, it combines with the bound nouns *mwe*- ‘male’ and *ilöp*³¹- ‘female’ to form the complex nominals *mwe-nalë* ‘husband’ and *ilöp-nalë* ‘wife’. The two bound nouns meaning ‘male’ and ‘female’ cannot occur independently. This bound noun is most likely related to the possessive classifier *nalë* that is only attested preposed to the head to express beneficiaries (Chapter 6). As a postposed modifier, it only occurs with the nouns mentioned above.

4.3.2.3 Reduced compounds

Reduced forms in compounds involve nominal forms which are different from those found in independent usage (Næss 2017). In the available data, only one reduced compound is attested, *dölöt-mwe=tu* ‘my tears (of the eyes)’, which is formed by *dölöt* ‘tear’ and *mwe* ‘eyes’, the reduced form of *numwe*³² ‘eyes, face’. The initial syllable /nu/ of the body part *numwe* might be a reflex of the POc article *na³³. The reduced form functions as a modifier. Currently, there are not enough examples in the data to establish the properties of this category of bound forms

³¹ The word *ilöp* has the variant *olëp*, which might be a free variant within the same variety or a form belonging to another surrounding variety.

³² This independent form has the variant *numwö* ‘eyes, face’ with the vowel /ö/ occurring in the second syllable.

³³ As far as my knowledge, RSC vowels have been yet been reconstructed (Ross & Næss 2007).

or how productive this type of compounding is. In Äiwoo, this process of compounding is prominent (Næss 2017). An example is represented by the combination of the noun *nupo* ‘net’ with *nebi* ‘bamboo’, resulting in the form *po-nebi* ‘type of fishing net attached to bamboo sticks’. The initial syllable /nu/ of /nupo/ reflecting POC *na is dropped to form the compound.

4.3.3 Noun-noun compounds

Aikhenvald (2007: 24) defines the process of compounding as follows: “Compounding involves word-formation based on the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns or verbs [...]”. Nalögo, some independent nouns can occur in compounds. For instance, the independent noun *obwe* ‘child’ can occur in the compound *ialule obwe* ‘mother child’. The independent nouns *olë* ‘girl, woman’ and *nünge* ‘boy, man’ can cooccur with *obwe* in the compounds *obwe olë* ‘young girl’ and *obwe nünge* ‘young boy’. Examples are shown in (4.109), (4.110) and (4.111).

(4.109) *Nide ilaule obwe.*
 3MIN mother child
 ‘She is a mother.’(nalogo2310_2015)

(4.110) *Jâ tü-(v)a-o-ti=bo dötwö=de*
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-think-APPL=still neck=3MIN.POSS
obwe olë ne=de.
 child girl animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘She is still thinking about her young daughter.’ (nalogo045)

(4.111) *Obwe nünge kâ i-mwa naa nuwë*
 child boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-eat fruit tree
 ‘The young boy ate a fruit.’ (nalogo2109_2015)

Bisetto and Scalise (2005) propose a classification of compounds where the grammatical relations existing between the elements of a compound can be of three types: subordinating, coordinating and attributive. The compound *ilaule obwe* ‘mother child’ in example (4.109) is based on a subordinating relation according to which the mother-child relation is similar to a ‘head-complement’ one (e.g. mother of a child). The compound is endocentric and mother is the head. Unlike (4.109), (4.110) and (4.111) can be defined as attributive compounds where *obwe* functions as a head followed by two nouns, *olë* and *nünge*, expressing a property of the referent (i.e. female/male child).

5. NP STRUCTURE

In theoretical and typological literature, NPs are generally defined as “phrasal constituents, whose syntactic head is a noun” (Kroeger 2005: 87). They can function as arguments at a clausal level, encoding functions like subject, direct or prepositional objects. Along with contributing to the syntactic organization of the clause, NPs display their own internal structure constituted by a head plus its dependents, labelled here as ‘pre-head’ and ‘post-head’ modifiers, based on their position.

In this chapter, I describe the structure of simple and complex NPs in Nalögo. The term ‘simple’ refers to NPs formed only by a head; while the term ‘complex’ refers to those formed by a head plus at least one modifier. In complex NPs, the type and number of modifiers cooccurring with the head depend on the type of head. Section §5.1 gives a brief introduction to the NP structure, including the most common types of NP heads found in the available data, such as nouns, nominalisations, free pronouns and demonstratives. In §5.2, I describe the most common types of pre-head modifiers (§5.2.1) and post-head modifiers (§5.2.2). Coordination and negation of NPs are treated in Chapters 19 and 15, respectively.

5.1 NP head types

The most common types of NP heads attested in the data are the following: nouns (§5.1.1), nominalisations (§5.1.2), free pronouns (§5.1.3) and demonstratives (§5.1.4). Along with the NP heads belonging to the morphosyntactic categories mentioned above, classifiers, quantifiers and numerals can also function as heads. Examples of this function for classifiers, quantifiers and numerals are given in the corresponding sections.

5.1.1 Nouns as NP heads

Nouns can function as NP heads, taking pre-head and/or post-head modifiers, the number and type varying based on the type of noun. While proper nouns are more likely to function as bare NPs, common nouns tend to occur with modifiers. Examples of simple and complex NPs with nouns as their heads are found in (5.1), (5.2) and (5.3).

- (5.1) [Julia]_{NP} *i-va-wäbu=le* [Janet.]_{NP}
Julia PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-sit=3MIN.SBJ Janet
‘Julia seated Janet.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

(5.2) [Nünge kâ]_{NP} a-mo-glâ=le [nuwi
 man DEM₁.DIST CAUS-break-break=3MIN.SBJ rope
 kâ]_{NP} bä nümü=de.
 DEM₁.DIST PREP hand=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The man broke the rope with his hands.’ (nalogo_2909_2015)

(5.3) [Bwale kâ]_{NP} [itö=de.]_{NP}
 old.woman DEM₁.DIST grandmother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘That old woman is her grandmother.’ (field notes 2015)

Personal and common nouns do not display any restriction in terms of types of syntactic roles that they can encode. In (5.1), two personal nouns (proper names) are used as bare NPs to express the transitive subject and object, respectively; while in (5.2), the transitive subject and object are expressed by common nouns functioning as heads of complex NPs modified by two demonstrative forms. Finally, in (5.3), common nouns form two NPs occurring in a verbless clause.

5.1.2 Nominalisations as heads

Nominalisations can function as NP heads. Compared to common nouns, they allow a smaller number of modifiers. Two examples of nominalisations as intransitive subject and transitive object are given in (5.4) and (5.5), respectively.

(5.4) [Lë-elia-gö ile=m]_{NP} i-kele.
 NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₃ sister=2MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Your sister’s dance is good.’ (nalogo028)

(5.5) Ka=m=de [lë-lu-ngö kâ
 give=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-be.alive-NMLZ₂ LNK
 i-kele.]_{NP}
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘He gives good life.’ (nalogo039)

5.1.3 Free pronouns as heads

Free pronouns can display syntactic functions in verbal and verbless clauses. Oceanic languages generally show this option, as Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 35) write: “Independent (*i.e.* free pronouns) are used in citation form and function as noun phrases, *i.e.* as topic in topic-comment constructions, and as subject, object, possessor or prepositional objects”.

In Nalögo, free pronouns can be topics, subjects and objects at discourse and clausal levels, respectively. In (5.6) and (5.7), I show two examples where free pronouns function as intransitive subject and transitive object.

(5.6) *I-kele=ba=nu* [nim.]_{NP}
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ 2MIN
 ‘I love you (lit. you are good to me).’ (intransitive subject) (field notes 2015)

(5.7) *T(iü)-yagla-ti=nga* [nim.]_{NP}
 IPFV.N3AUG-look-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I am looking at you.’ (transitive direct object) (field notes 2015)

5.1.4 Demonstratives as heads

Demonstratives can function as NP heads as shown in (5.8), (5.9) and (5.10).

(5.8) [Ka]_{NP} *t(iü)-yapwe-ti=bwa* *nogwa.*
 DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither today
 ‘This I am telling today [...].’ (nalogo013)

(5.9) *I-klë=ng* [ma]_{NP} *i-mweli.*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=2MIN.SBJ DEM₂.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.soft
 ‘You know, here is soft.’ (nalogo039)

(5.10) [A]_{NP} *mo të-e-pi=e=bwe=nge*
 DEM₃.PROX place PASS.IPFV-?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=PRAG.MRK
Mweng.
 Mweng
 ‘This one is a place called Mweng.’ (nalogo001)

In (5.8), the pronominal demonstrative *ka* functions as direct object, while in (5.9), the adverbial demonstrative *ma* is the intransitive subject. Finally, in (5.10), the demonstrative identifier *a* seems to function as the subject of a verbless clause.

In terms of modifiers, demonstratives are mainly modified by relative clauses as shown in (5.11). The relative clause is enclosed in square brackets.

(5.11) *Te=i-ngu=wo=lü* *kâ=ng*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂ DEM₁.DIST=PL
 [i-veplö.]_{RC}
 PFV.N3AUG-be.strong
 ‘We do not eat those that are strong.’ (nalogo039)

5.2 Modifiers

NP modifiers are divided into ‘pre-head’ and ‘post-head’ modifiers, described in §5.2.1 and §5.2.2, respectively.

5.2.1 Pre-head modifier

There are two pre-head modifiers discussed here, the quantifier *dü* (§5.2.1.1) and the quantifier *kâ(=ng)* (§5.2.1.2).

5.2.1.1 The quantifier *dü* ‘a, one, some’

The quantifier *dü* ‘a, one’ is used to express an indefinite referent introduced for the first time in the discourse. The quantifier can modify NP heads expressing various syntactic roles from subjects to prepositional objects. Semantically, it can occur with animate or inanimate referents. Three examples are shown in (5.12), (5.13) and (5.14) where *dü* modifies a subject, a direct object and a prepositional object, respectively. The form does not seem to make a distinction between specific or non-specific referents. While in (5.13) and (5.14), the referent is non-specific; in (5.12), the referent is specific since the sentence was given as a description of a video clip where the two participants involved were unknown to the speaker.

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------|--------------|--|-------------|------------------------|
| (5.12) | <i>Kopyo</i> | <i>nünge</i> | <i>t(ü)-ö-lë=le</i> | | <i>kâ³⁴</i> |
| | EXIST | boy | IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD ₁ -cut=3MIN.SBJ | | QNT |
| | <i>dot nuwâ</i> | <i>bä</i> | <i>möläö.</i> | <i>Dü</i> | <i>nünge</i> |
| | end tree | PREP | axe | QNT | boy |
| | <i>i-vë-tö=pwe</i> | | <i>i-ka=bwe=le</i> | | |
| | PFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.thither | | PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ | | |
| | <i>kâ</i> | <i>soa</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>axo.</i> | |
| | QNT | saw | or | axe | |

‘There was a boy cutting an end of a stick with an axe. Another boy came in (and) he gave (to him) a saw or an axe.’ (nalogo1009_2015)

| | | | | |
|--------|--|----------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| (5.13) | <i>Yölü=ng</i> | <i>i-wo-ti=ng</i> | <i>dü</i> | <i>dis.</i> |
| | PFV.N3AUG-put=2MIN.SBJ | PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=2MIN.SBJ | QNT | dish |
| | ‘You put (it) down (and) take a dish.’ (nalogo066) | | | |

³⁴ The form *kâ*, which is also analysed as a quantifier, is presented in the next section.

- (5.14) *I-velalö=bwe* *kopyo* *kio*
 PFV.N3AUG-hear=2MIN.SBJ EXIST chicken
tü-knya-nö *bä* *dü* *nolâ...*
 IPFV.N3AUG-cry-DISP PREP QNT surrounding
 ‘(If) you hear that there is a chicken crying around in a place...’ (nalogo013)

The quantifier is optional to mark indefiniteness. For instance, according to one speaker, in (5.15), the object NP could appear with or without the quantifier *dü* without any difference in meaning.

- (5.15) *I-tuti* *dötwö=nu* *lä-mâ-ngö* (*dü*)
 PFV.N3AUG-want neck=1MIN.POSS NMLZ₁-see-NMLZ₂ QNT
leplë *ngö* *Noole.*
 people ASS.MRK Noole
 ‘I want to see a person from Noole.’ (nalogo047)

When the noun head *leplë* ‘person’ is modified by *dü*, it expresses the meaning of the English indefinite pronoun ‘someone’. Likewise, when the head noun *da* ‘thing’ is modified by *dü*, it expresses the meaning of the English indefinite pronoun ‘something’. Two examples are shown in (5.16) and (5.17).

- (5.16) *Dü* *leplë* *i-vë-tö* *böma* *ne=m.*
 QNT person PFV.N3AUG-go-in house animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘Someone (a person) goes in your house.’ (nalogo047)

- (5.17) *I-mwa-u=m* *bä* *dü* *da* *të-lelia=ngö.*
 PFV.N3AUG-eat-down=DIR.hither PREP QNT thing PASS.IPFV-slide=APPL
 ‘He ate down on something used to slide on.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

Meanings like ‘someone’ or ‘something’ are also encoded by existential constructions where the words *leplë* and *da* occur with the existential predicate *kopyo* (Chapter 12).

In all the examples, the quantifier *dü* is prosodically independent. However, it is possible for the quantifier to form a prosodic unit with a verb when it follows it as shown in (5.18).

- (5.18) *Böpi* *kâ* *i-pä-bö=ng*
 banana DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-hit-be.crushed=2MIN.SBJ
yökö-pä=bwe *yöliü=ngö=de=dü* *dis* *kâ* *ble.*
 finish-out=DIR.thither put=APPL=3MIN.SBJ=QNT dish LNK different
 ‘After smashing the banana, it is put in a different dish.’ (nalogo066)

The quantifier can also function as NP head as in (5.19) and (5.20).

(5.19) *Noglâ nü-vë-tö=p=dü...*
 today IRR.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither=QNT
 ‘Today if one comes inside [...].’ (nalogo026)

(5.20) *Pi=pmo=dü!*
 say=again=QNT
 ‘Say one more!’ (nalogo039)

The pre-head modifier *dü* can modify a head noun followed by other modifiers if they are all semantically compatible. For instance, in (5.21), the NP head is followed by a relative clause and a numeral.

(5.21) *Lëmapë tii-ngu=nga dü naii kä*
 tomorrow IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ QNT apple LNK
i-pwö t(ii)-vöte.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.big IPFV.N3AUG-be.one
 ‘Tomorrow I am going to eat a big apple.’ (nalogo009)

Relative clauses with stative verbs like *pwö* ‘be big’ in (5.21) are compatible with *dü*, because they express the attributes of a referent, but they do not tell anything about its identifiability. By contrast, the quantifier cannot cooccur with post-head demonstratives because they express definiteness.

The quantifier *dü* can also express the meaning ‘some’ to refer to the quantity of an entity. Two examples are shown in (5.22) and (5.23).

(5.22) *Ka=m dü na=nu döpye!*
 give=DIR.hither QNT food.CLF=1MIN.POSS salt
 ‘Give me some salt! (lit. give some salt for me to eat)’ (nalogo0211_2015)

(5.23) *Yelu=po=pwe dü oplë mö sospen kä.*
 put=again=2MIN.SBJ.thither QNT stone PREP pot DEM₁.DIST
 ‘You put some stones again in the pot.’ (nalogo021)

The quantifier *dü* can also occur independently to express the adverbial meaning ‘sometimes’ as in (5.24)

(5.24) *Dü nünge=la kä tu-monaka=te=dü*
 QNT boy=DEM_{1,L}.NPROX SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-find.by.himself=3MIN.SBJ=QNT
olë
 girl...
 ‘Sometimes if the boy finds by himself a girl...’ (nalogo1709_2015)

The form *dü* can display a partitive reading, identifying one member of a predefined set. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001: 527) refers to partitive construction as follows: “partitive nominal constructions involve a presupposed set of items referred to by one of the nominals [...]; and the quantifier indicates a subset which is selected from it [...] (emphasis in the original)”. Two examples are shown in (5.25) and (5.26).

(5.25) *Dü nigö nide pastor.*
 QNT 3AUG 3MIN pastor
 ‘One of them is a pastor.’ (nalogo001)

(5.26) *Lë-pi=bwe nge lë-knya-ti-ngö. Dü*
 PASS.PFV-say=DIR.thither PRAG.MRK NMLZ₁-cry-TR-NMLZ₂ QNT
namlëu nide la.
 method 3MIN DEM_{3,L}.NPROX
 ‘People call/it is called ‘making (wild chickens) cry (the wild chickens’ crying method). One method (of the three) is that one.’ (nalogo013)

Sentence (5.25) is taken from a text where the speaker is telling a story about her life by including some details on her family and siblings. The form *dü* is used to pick one brother out of the predefined set of siblings. Sentence in (5.26) are taken from a procedural text where the speaker describes different methods to catch wild chickens in Santa Cruz. He listed three possible methods, one of them involving a domesticated chicken that the hunter brings to the bush to attract wild chickens. In (5.25) and (5.26) the nominal specifying the predefined set of items is overtly expressed and follows the quantifier. (5.27) shows that it is possible to topicalize the nominal, while (5.28) shows that it can be omitted if it is retrievable from the context.

(5.27) *Lopta ka=ng tü-kobi=nga=dü*
 cabbage DEM₁.PROX=PL IPFV.N3AUG-wrap=1MIN.SBJ=QNT
na=m.
 food.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘As for these cabbages, I will wrap some (of them) for you.’ (nalogo039)

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|---|---------------|
| (5.28) <i>I-klë=kom</i> | | <i>lë-öblemi-ngö</i> | <i>nablëu</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-know=1AUG.SBJ | | NMLZ ₁ -make-NMLZ ₂ | type |
| <i>ngö</i> | <i>kai</i> | <i>lë-li.</i> | <i>Dü</i> |
| ASS.MRK | pudding | PFV.3AUG-be.two | QNT |
| <i>lë-ö-pi=ö=bwe</i> | | <i>kai.</i> | |
| PASS.PFV-?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither | | pudding | |

‘We can make two types of pudding. One (of the two) is called *kai*.’

5.2.1.2 The quantifier *kâ(=ng)*

In addition to the quantifier *dü* described in the previous section, Nalögo has a second type of quantifier, *kâ(=ng)* ‘a, some’, whose functions are not fully understood. However, in this section, I try to outline its main formal and functional characteristics. In terms of form, the quantifier is identical to the distal form of the nominal demonstrative *kâ* ‘that one’ (Chapter 7). In addition, like the demonstrative, it can be pluralized by *=ng* when it refers to plural referents. However, its semantic and syntactic distribution differ from those of nominal demonstratives, given that it never occurs after the NP it refers to and is used to express indefinite referents, quantify entities or express partitive meanings.

In (5.29) and (5.30), the quantifier encodes the indefiniteness of the referent. Both examples are descriptions of video clips where there is a man cutting and breaking a branch of a tree. In (5.29) and (5.30), the quantified NPs function as transitive objects.

| | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| (5.29) <i>I-mo=la</i> | <i>kâ</i> | <i>nünge.</i> | <i>Kopyo</i> | <i>nela</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ | QNT | boy | EXIST | branch |
| <i>nuwo t(ü)-vi-ki=pe=le.</i> | | | | |
| tree | IPFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=COS=3MIN.SBJ | | | |
| ‘I see a boy. There is a branch of a tree that he is cutting.’ (nalogo2110_2015) | | | | |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| (5.30) <i>Kopyo nünge i-velya-glâ=le</i> | <i>kâ</i> |
| exist man PFV.N3AUG-move.feet-break=3MIN.SBJ | QNT |
| <i>nela nuwo.</i> | |
| branch tree | |
| ‘There is a boy who broke a branch of a tree (with his foot).’ (nalogo2110_2015) | |

Even though there are fewer examples attested in the corpus (this might be due to a lack of data), in (5.31), the quantifier *kâ* refers to an indefinite referent functioning as an intransitive

subject NP. Further data are required to see if the quantifier can quantify NPs expressing syntactic roles other than intransitive subjects and direct objects.

- (5.31) *kâpyâ* *nünge i-wäbu-tö=te* *bä* *table*
 EXIST boy PFV.N3AUG-sit-in=3MIN.SBJ PREP table
ne=de *nawë=de* *a-taglö-tö=le* *bä*
 animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS head=3MIN.POSS CAUS-lean-in=3MIN.SBJ PREP
chair jâ *tü-mwi.* *Ä* *i-vë=m*
 chair CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-sleep COORD PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
kâ *nünge* *ka-te=de...*
 QNT boy one-close.relation=3MIN.POSS
 ‘There is a man sitting on his table. His head leans on the chair while sleeping. Another man his friend came...’ (nalogo2010_2015)

Examples (5.32) and (5.33) show two additional examples with the pluralised forms of the quantifier modifying two NP heads functioning as transitive objects. However, in these cases, *kâ=ng* expresses the quantity of two entities.

- (5.32) *Mö-kâ* *i-ka=bwe=le*
 man-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
kâ=ng *töwa* *ba* *mäde=je.*
 QNT=PL money PREP brother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The boy gave some money to his friend.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

- (5.33) *I-wo-ti=nga* *kâ=ng* *naana* *mâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=1MIN.SBJ QNT=PL sand DEM₂.DIST
nivle pwela.
 side sea
 ‘I took some sand from the sea shore.’ (nalogo0211_2015)

An additional example is shown in (5.34).

- (5.34) *Be=je* *i-ta-ti-pä=pe=m* *kâ=ng.*
 skin=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-fall-PL-out=COS=DIR.hither QNT=PL
T(ü)-ö-pilë *t(ü)-ö-pilë.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel
 ‘As for its skin, some (of it) fell off. He is peeling and peeling.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

Example (5.34) is relevant for two reasons. First, it shows a case in which the quantifier expresses a partitive meaning (some of the skin). Second, it shows that when the NP head moves

away, the quantifier does not follow it. This also holds if additional materials occur between the quantifier and the NP head as in (5.35).

- (5.35) a) *A-twelö=bwa* *kâ* *böpi* *ba*
 CAUS-send=1MIN.SBJ.thither QNT banana PREP
ilaule=m.
 mother=2MIN.POSS
 ‘I sent a banana to your mother.’ (nalogo2309_2015)
- b) *A-twelö=bwa* *kâ* *ba* *ilaule=m*
 CAUS-send=1MIN.SBJ.thither DEM₁.DIST PREP mother=2MIN.POSS
böpi.
 banana
 ‘I sent **your mother** a banana.’ (nalogo1410_2015)

The difference between (5.53a) and (5.53b) is based on where the quantifier is located with respect to the NP. While in (5.53a), the quantifier precedes the NP, in (5.53b), it is followed by a PP occurring before the quantified noun. The bold text in the English translation in (5.53b) expresses contrastive emphasis (it is ‘your mother’ to whom I sent a banana, not other people). In Nalögo, this pragmatic nuance is expressed by placing the PP before the object. However, the quantifier *kâ* does not move with its object, but remains in its position after the verb.

Examples (5.34) and (5.35) reveal that syntactically, the quantifier *kâ* has a fixed position. In this respect, this quantifier is different from *dü* (§5.2.1.1) which does have to occur right after the verb. Moreover, if the NP that it quantifies moves from its position, it can follow it. However, semantically speaking, *kâ* and *dü* seem to be very similar. Apparently, in a couple of sentences, the two quantifiers can cooccur, suggesting that they might perform slightly different functions. An example of this context is given in (5.36).

- (5.36) *Kâ* *i-ka=bwe=le* *phone* *ä*
 DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ phone COORD
kâ *i-ka=bwe=le* *kâ* *dü*
 DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QNT QNT
container *kä* *i-pöki.*
 container LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.white
 ‘One (person) gave a phone (to the other one) and one gave a white container.’
 (nalogo043_1)

The behaviour of the two morphemes in the example above are currently not fully understood. Impressionistically, and based on some observations of one speaker, the quantifier *dü* appears to be more often associated with irrealis contexts (e.g. future). Further data and analyses are in need to provide a less tentative analysis of the differences between these morphemes³⁵.

5.2.2 Post-head modifiers

The post-head modifiers analysed in this section are the following: demonstratives (§5.2.2.1), possessive classifiers (§5.2.2.2), relative clauses (§5.2.2.3), adjectives (§5.2.2.4), numerals (§5.2.2.5), quantifier *atwö* ‘each’ (§5.2.2.6), *yökö* ‘finish’ as a quantifier (§5.2.2.7), quantifier *âtlâgi* ‘both’ (§5.2.2.8), intensifier *otöngyö* ‘oneself’ (§5.2.2.9).

5.2.2.1 Demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives (Chapter 7) can function as NP modifiers occurring in post-head position as shown in (5.37) where the proximal form *ka* follows the head *da* ‘thing’.

(5.37) *Use=tëipom da ka, toplä.*
 use=1AUG.SBJ.just thing DEM₁.PROX basket
 ‘We just use this thing, the basket.’ (nalogo062)

The distal form *kâ* ‘that’ of the nominal demonstrative is often used anaphorically to mark referents which are specific and highly identifiable in the discourse. Example of this anaphoric use of *kâ* is explained in Chapter 7.

5.2.2.2 Possessive classifiers

Nalögo has a set of possessive classifiers, whose formal and functional properties are described in detail in Chapter 6. Typically, possessive classifiers occur after the NP head of the possessive construction as in (5.38), where the general classifier *gö* follows the NP head *buk*.

(5.38) *Buk gö=tu jâ mö skul.*
 book general.CLF=1MIN.POSS LOC.COP PREP school
 ‘My book is at school.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

³⁵ The fact that *kâ* seems to form a unit with the verb rather than with the noun suggests a possible alternative analysis where it is not in fact a quantifier, but rather some kind of information-structural device which marks off the boundary of the verb complex, and it is the fact that the noun is placed outside of this boundary that gives rise to the indefinite reading. This would resonate with the use of deictic clitics to indicate information-structurally relevant divisions in Äiwoo (Næss 2019). However, this is still poorly understood both in Äiwoo and Nalögo, and I leave it as a question for future research.

When a possessive classifier and a demonstrative form modify an NP head, the possessive classifier follows the demonstrative as in (5.39).

- (5.39) *Toki ka na=nu i-malo ile.*
 knife DEM₁.PROX food.CLF=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.sharp sister
 ‘This knife of mine is sharp, sister.’ (nalogo039)

When possessive constructions express prospective possessors (beneficiaries), the classifiers can occur in pre-head position as shown in Chapter 6.

5.2.2.3 Relative clauses

In Nalögo, relative clauses (RC) function as modifiers of NP heads. RCs can be marked or unmarked, depending on whether the referent is highly identifiable or not. Marked RCs are introduced by the linker *kä* (Chapter 17). Two examples of marked and unmarked relative clauses are shown in (5.40) and (5.41). Relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets.

- (5.40) *I-la-ki=le bä toki [kä i-pwö.]_{RC}*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ PREP knife LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘She cuts (it) with a big knife.’ (nalogo043)

- (5.41) *Jâ t(ü)-vë-pä=bwe ba kio dölen*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-go-out=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP chicken wild
kâ [tü-knya.]_{RC}
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-cry
 ‘Then, it goes to the wild chicken that is crying.’ (nalogo013)

In (5.40), the RC is introduced by *kä*, while in (5.41), the RC is unmarked and juxtaposed to the NP *kio dölen kâ*. In both examples, the RC follows the NP head. When RCs modify nouns, they often occur with stative verbs as predicates. Nalögo has a very small class of adjectives; thus, meanings that crosslinguistically tend to be expressed by adjectives, in Nalögo, are expressed by stative verbs, such as *kütâ* ‘be small’, *kele* ‘be good’, and so forth. Stative verbs also express meanings like *klu* ‘be much’, *pmi* ‘be a little, a bit’ that in other languages can be expressed by quantifiers (for instance, English ‘many’, ‘much’, etc.). In this respect, Nalögo patterns like many Oceanic languages, where stative verbs express ‘adjectival’ meanings (Lynch et al. 2002: 40). Sentence (5.40) above is an example of RC occurring with a stative verb expressing the property of ‘being big’, while sentence (5.42) shows an example where the stative verb *klu* ‘be much’ has a quantificational meaning.

- (5.42) *I-va-lu=le* *nge* *lepelë kä*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.alive=3MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK people LNK
i-klu.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.many
 ‘...he makes many people alive.’ (nalogo039)

The position of RCs within the NP is analysed in Chapter 17.

5.2.2.4 Adjectives

In the available data, there are some examples of two lexemes expressing properties of the referent which do not seem to function as verbs. These two modifiers are grouped together and tentatively labelled as ‘adjectives’. They are *döle(n)* ‘wild’ and *mölë* ‘black’.

The lexeme *döle(n)* ‘wild’ is only attested as an NP modifier simply juxtaposed to the NP head. It occurs with the nouns *kio* ‘chicken’ and *po* ‘pig’. Unlike stative verbs, it does not occur in a relative clause and does not take any verbal inflection. An example is shown in (5.43) below.

- (5.43) *Ka* *t(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa* *nogwa*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither today
kä-lë-doulë=ngö *kio* *döle.*
 way-PASS.PFV-catch=APPL chicken wild
 ‘This I am going to tell you today, how to catch wild chickens.’ (nalogo013)

The lexeme *mölë* ‘black’ occurs only once in the data as a modifier of the NP head *oplë* ‘stone’ as shown in (5.44).

- (5.44) *Yelü-lë=bom* *oplë mölë kä i-klu*
 put-up=1AUG.SBJ.thither stone black LNK IPFV.N3AUG-be.many
ba=de.
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘You put many black stones on it.’ (nalogo042)

This lexeme is not a verb and is never used as a predicate within a relative clause. In Nalögo, there is a stative verb, *bâ* ‘be black’, which expresses the same meaning and can occur inside a relative clause to modify a noun as shown in (5.45).

- (5.45) *Eu, nide* *âplë kä i-bâ...*
 Yes 3MIN stone LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.black
 ‘Yes, that’s right...black stones.’ (nalogo039)

5.2.2.5 Numerals

Nalögo has two types of numerals: cardinal numerals (§5.2.2.5.1) and ordinal numerals (§5.2.2.5.2).

5.2.2.5.1 Cardinal numerals

The counting system in Nalögo is decimal³⁶. Numbers from one to ten are listed below.

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| <i>vöte</i> ‘one’ | <i>ptengime</i> ‘six’ |
| <i>lëli</i> ‘two’ | <i>itumütü</i> ‘seven’ |
| <i>lëtölwö</i> (~ <i>lëtâlwö</i>) ‘three’ | <i>itumöli</i> ‘eight’ |
| <i>lëpwä</i> ‘four’ | <i>itumöte</i> ‘nine’ |
| <i>nöulün</i> ‘five’ | <i>nöpnu</i> ‘ten’ |

Numbers from ten to nineteen are formed by adding more units to the ten base through a linking element, namely, the directly possessed noun *naa=de* ‘its fruit’. The 3MIN possessor form occurring on the word for ‘fruit’ refers to the base. The list of numbers from eleven to nineteen is given below.

| |
|---|
| <i>nöpnu naa=de vöte</i> ‘eleven’ |
| <i>nöpnu naa=de lëli</i> ‘twelve’ |
| <i>nöpnu naa=de lëtölwö</i> ‘thirteen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naa=de lëpwä</i> ‘fourteen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naa=de nöulün</i> ‘fifteen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naa=de ptengime</i> ‘sixteen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naade tumütü</i> (~ <i>itumütü</i>) ‘seventeen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naade tumöli</i> (~ <i>itumöli</i>) ‘eighteen’ |
| <i>nöpnu naade tumöte</i> (~ <i>itumöte</i>) ‘nineteen’ |

³⁶ It is worth pointing out that on a daily basis, the majority of speakers, even the elders, use the English or Pijin counting system. The younger generations, including people in their thirties and forties, can only recall a few numbers. Of course, there are some exceptions, but this generalisation accounts for the competence of most speakers.

Tens like twenty, thirty, forty or fifty are formed by adding the units ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’ and ‘five’ to the ten base without any intervening element as shown in the examples below.

| |
|-------------------------------|
| <i>nöpnu lëli</i> ‘twenty’ |
| <i>nöpnu lëtölwö</i> ‘thirty’ |
| <i>nöpnu lëpwä</i> ‘forty’ |
| <i>nöpnu nöulün</i> ‘fifty’ |

Numbers such as one hundred, one thousand, ten thousand, one hundred thousand, and so on, pattern like tens as shown in the examples below.

| |
|--|
| <i>tiu vöte</i> ‘one thousand’ |
| <i>tiu nöpnu</i> ‘ten thousand’ |
| <i>tiu tötüki</i> ‘one hundred thousand’ |
| <i>nyömö vöte</i> ‘one million’ |
| <i>nyömö lëli</i> ‘two million’ |

In Nalögo, cardinal numbers can occur within NPs as predicate of relative clauses. Three examples of this function are shown in (5.46), (5.47) and (5.48) below. In (5.48), the numeral occurs in an unmarked relative clause, while in (5.46) and (5.47), the relative clause is introduced by *kä*.

(5.46) *Topnö ne=nu obwe [kä lë-pwä.]RC*
 NEG.EXIST animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS child LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.four
 ‘I did not have four children.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

(5.47) *Lë-(v)epe=kö po [kä nöpnu nöulün]RC*
 PFV.3AUG-buy=3AUG.SBJ pig LNK ten five
 ‘They bought fifty pigs.’ (nalogo016)

(5.48) *Olë kâ=ng [nöpnu]RC lä-vë-tö=po=p.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL ten PFV.3AUG-go-in=again=DIR.hither
 ‘The ten girls came in back.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

In terms of position within the NP, cardinal numerals tend to occur after other modifiers. For instance, while in (5.46) and (5.47), the numerals occur right after the NP head; in (5.48), the numeral occurs after the demonstrative form *kâ=ng*. In (5.49), the numeral occurs in final position after a demonstrative form and a possessive classifier.

- (5.49) *Nübü* *i-ngu=nga* *naü* *kâ=ng*
 yesterday PFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ apple DEM1.DIST=PL
na=nu *lë-li.*
 food.CLF=1MIN.POSS PFV.3AUG-be.two
 ‘Yesterday I ate my (those) two apples.’ (nalogo009)

Morphologically, the cardinal numbers expressing ‘one’ and ‘two’ display some verbal properties, e.g. they can take aspect/mood inflections. Numerals taking verbal morphology are common in RSC languages and, more generally, in Oceanic languages. In this respect, Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 39) claim that “[...] outside Western Melanesia, it is more common for numerals to accept some verbal morphology, while in others there is some vestigial verbal morphology”. Examples of the Nalögo numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ taking verbal inflections are shown in (5.50), (5.51) and (5.52). Numerals can be marked for aspect and mood.

- (5.50) *Leplë* *nöpwë* *t(ü)-vöte,* *të-li...*
 people cloth IPFV.N3AUG-be.one IPFV.3AUG-be.two
 ‘People (were wearing) clothes, two, three.’ (nalogo0809_2015)

- (5.51) *Tâ=m* *ma* *butete* *nü-li!*
 take=DIR.hither DEM2.PROX potato IRR.N3AUG-be.two
 ‘Bring here two potatoes!’ (nalogo2310_2015)

- (5.52) *Aple* *n(ü)-yâ-ti=le* *bä* *nabwëtom*
 SIMIL.EPIST IRR.N3AUG-stay-APPL=3MIN.SBJ PREP oven
obu *n(ü)-vöte.*
 day IRR.N3AUG-be.one
 ‘Perhaps, it stays in the oven for one day.’ (nalogo066)

With regard to the other numerals, there are no examples in the corpus where they occur with different mood/aspect prefixes. Thus, it is difficult to determine if they are full-fledged verbs or if they display some vestigial verbal inflections. However, some indirect evidence might be given by the formation of ordinal numerals from cardinal ones (§5.2.2.5.2). To form the ordinal number ‘second’, the form *lë-li* ‘two’ takes the prefix *ka-* which replaces the 3AUG/perfective prefix *lë-* in the form *ka-li* ‘second’. Likewise, the numerals *lë-töhwö* ‘three’ and *lë-pwä* ‘four’

take the prefix *ka-* which replaces the prefix *lë-*, giving the forms *ka-tölwö* ‘third’ and *ka-pwä* ‘forth’ (for the list of ordinal numerals, see §5.2.2.5.2). When ordinal numerals are derived from the cardinal ones meaning ‘seven’, ‘eight’ and ‘nine’, they all have the prefix *i-* replaced by *ka-*. This behaviour differs from the one of the other numerals, such as *ptengime* ‘six’ or *nöpnu* ‘ten’, whose corresponding ordinal forms consist in the addition of the prefix *ka-* to the cardinal number with no further morphological changes, as in *ka-ptengime* ‘sixth’. The structural similarity between *lë-li* ‘two’ and the other numerals mentioned above, namely, *lë-tölwö* ‘three’ and *lë-pwä* ‘four’, *i-tumütü* ‘seven’, *i-tumöli* ‘eight’ and *i-tumöte* ‘nine’, inferred from the formation of cardinal numerals suggests that these forms might have a verbal nature. From a diachronic point of view, *lë-tölwö* (~ *lëtâlwö*) and *lë-pwä* might be reflexes of POc *tolu ‘three’ and *pati ‘four’ (Lynch et. al. 2002: 72) with the addition of the prefix *lë-* and, in the case of ‘four’, with the loss of the second syllable /ti/. In POc, from the morpheme *rua ‘two’ upwards, all the forms seem to have been both adjectival verbs and nouns (ibid.).

5.2.2.5.2 Ordinal numerals

In Nalögo, ordinal numerals are cardinal numerals prefixed by the form *ka-*. This type of derivation is found in some of the other RSC languages. The ordinal numbers from one to ten are listed below.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ka-yö</i> ‘first’ | <i>ka-ptengime</i> ‘sixth’ |
| <i>ka-li</i> | <i>ka-tumütü</i> ‘seventh’ |
| <i>ka-tölwö</i> ‘third’ | <i>ka-tumöli</i> ‘eighth’ |
| <i>ka-pwä</i> ‘fourth’ | <i>ka-tumöte</i> ‘ninth’ |
| <i>ka-nöulün</i> ‘fifth’ | <i>ka-nöpnu</i> ‘tenth’ |

The form *ka-* is prefixed to all numbers. As already mentioned in §5.2.2.5.1, the numerals for ‘one’ and ‘two’ are verbs. As for *kali* ‘second’, the prefix *ka-* replaces the 3AUG/perfective prefix *lë-*, while the form *yö* in the numeral ‘first’ might be a variant of *vö* ‘be one’³⁷ with the loss of the second syllable /te/. The origins of the forms *lëtölwö* ‘three’ and *lëpwä* ‘four’ cannot be established with certainty, but the way they derive the ordinal forms patterns with the verb *lëli* ‘be two’ (§5.2.2.5.1). The same holds for ‘seventh’, ‘eighth’ and ‘ninth’. With the forms for

³⁷ In the data, there are a few *y*-initial verbs showing the alternation between /y/ and /v/ (*yeli* (~ *veli*)).

‘fifth’, ‘sixth’ and ‘tenth’, the prefix *ka-* is added to the cardinal numeral without the replacement of any other syllable.

In terms of position, ordinal numerals always occur as post-head modifiers. They are simply juxtaposed to the NP head. If there are additional modifiers following the NP head, numerals occur after them as shown in (5.53).

- (5.53) *I-ngu=nga* *naiü* *kâ* *na=nu*
 PFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ apple DEM₁.DIST food.CLF=1MIN.POSS
kayö.
 first
 ‘I ate (that) my first apple.’ (nalogo009)

Ordinal numbers are commonly used in the expression for week days where the temporal noun *obu* ‘day’ is modified by the numerals. Nowadays, younger generations tend to use more often English or Pijin to express week days. Examples are provided in the list below

| |
|---|
| <i>obu ka-yö</i> ‘first day’, ‘Monday’ |
| <i>obu ka-li</i> ‘second’, ‘Tuesday’ |
| <i>obu ka-tü</i> ‘third’ ‘Wednesday’ |
| <i>obu ka-pwä</i> ‘fourth’ ‘Thursday’ |
| <i>obu ka-nöulün</i> ‘fifth’ ‘Friday’ |
| <i>obu ka-ptengime</i> ‘sixth’ ‘Saturday’ |
| <i>obu ka-tumütü</i> ‘seventh’ ‘Sunday’ |

Ordinal numerals can also occur: (i) as independent forms expressing an adverbial function in the clause, and (ii) inside the verb complex as post-nucleus modifiers (Chapter 8).

Historically, a potential source of the Nalögo prefix *ka-* is the POC prefix **ka-* that was used prefixed to numerals when someone counted objects ‘one, two, three...’ (Lynch et al. 2002: 74). Examples are the POC forms **ka-rua* ‘two’ and *ka-tolu* ‘three’. The Nalögo ordinal numerals *ka-li* and *ka-tölwö* might be reflexes of these proto-forms. However, in some Oceanic languages, reflexes of POC forms like **ka-rua* or **ka-tolu* are used to form cardinal numbers. There is good evidence to reconstruct ordinal numbers as involving the POC suffix *-ña (ibid.). In this respect, Nalögo retained the structure and the morphology of the POC cardinal numbers, but with a different function.

5.2.2.6 The quantifier *atwö* ‘each, every’

The quantifier *atwö* ‘each, every’ functions only as a predicate of relative clauses as shown in example (5.54) where it is introduced by the linker *kä*.

- (5.54) *Eu, obu kä atwö i-vë=nga lade-kä-you*
 yes day LNK every PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ side-LNK-down
 ‘Yes, every day I go uphill.’ (nalogo039)

As previously mentioned, in Nalögo, quantificational meanings, such as ‘many’ or ‘a few’, are generally expressed by stative verbs. This is not the case of the lexeme *atwö* which is invariable and does not take any verb morphology.

5.2.2.7 The lexeme *yökö* ‘finish’

In Nalögo, there is a lexeme *yökö* ‘finish’ functioning either as a predicate or as a quantifier meaning ‘all’. The behaviour of this quantifier is shown in detail in Chapter 14 where I analyse the cases in which it floats outside the NP. Since a number of examples are provided in Chapter 14, here I just show one example of *yökö* as a post-head modifier.

- (5.55) *Lemo kä yelü=bwe ba=de*
 leaf DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-put=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ
nge lopta kâ=ng yökö.
 PRAG.MRK cabbage DEM₁.DIST all
 ‘As for the leaf, you put on it all the cabbage leaves.’ (nalogo021)

The lexeme *yökö* functioning as a predicate with the meaning ‘finish’ is common in serial verb constructions where it can be used to express completion and intensification (Chapter 8).

5.2.2.8 Quantifier *âtlâgi* ‘both’

In Nalögo, the quantifier *âtlâgi* ‘both’ is attested in only one example where it follows the free pronoun *nigi* ‘You and I’. The example is shown in (5.56).

- (5.56) *Nigi âtlâgi ya man...*
 1+2MIN both yes man
 ‘We both (do that) yes man...’ (nalogo039)

This form might occur also with nominal heads, but further data are required to support this claim.

5.2.2.9 Intensifier *otöngyö* ‘oneself’

The lexeme *otöngyö* ‘oneself’ is analysed as an intensifier which can modify free pronouns as in (5.57) and (5.58).

- (5.57) *I-vë=nga* *ma-kä-i-tö* *ni*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy 1MIN
*âtöngye*³⁸.
 INTS
 ‘I went to the church by myself.’ (nalogo029)

- (5.58) *Ilaule=je* *nide* *otöngye* *jä*
 mother=3MIN.POSS 3MIN INTS FUT
n(ü)-yöpwë=le *obwe* *la*.
 IRR.N3AUG-carry=3MIN.SBJ child DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘The mother herself will carry that child.’ (nalogo029)

The intensifier can also occur by itself to express the same meaning as shown in (5.59), where it does not occur with any free pronoun.

- (5.59) *Ibu=nu* *va-ku=le* *no* *na=de*
 father=1MIN.POSS CAUS-cook=3MIN.SBJ fish food.CLF=3MIN.POSS
âtöngye.
 INTS
 ‘My father cooked his fish (to eat) by himself.’ (nalogo029)

An example of a construction similar to the one described above is represented by the intensifier *seleva* in SI Pijin which follows free pronouns to express intensification (e.g. Pijin ‘olketa seleva go long taon’ ‘They go to town by themselves’). The origins of *otöngyö* are not fully understood. Natügu has a functionally similar word, the intensifier *esë'kömü*³⁹ ‘yourself’, whose origins appear more transparent. The form *esë'kömü*, which literally means ‘your being one’, might be a nominalised form made up of the stative verb *esë'* ‘be one’ and the nominaliser *-kö* to which the 2MIN possessor form is attached. In Oceanic languages, body parts and various grammatical elements expressing the notion of ‘self’ can be encoded as possessed. For instance, this strategy is attested in languages of Vanuatu and Central Eastern Oceanic (Moyses-Faurie 2017: 119). In Nalögo, the word *otöngye*, probably meaning something like ‘being one’, might

³⁸ The form *otöngyö* has variants, Variation in vowel pronunciation, which is both speaker- and dialect-based, is common with this form. Additional attested forms are *otengyö*, *âtöngye*, and *âtöngyö*.

³⁹ I thank Brenda Boerger who provided me with some narrative texts in Natügu for comparative purposes.

be formed by *vöte* ‘be one’, the verb *ngi* ‘to be’ and the nominaliser *-ö* ($\sim -e$)⁴⁰, attested in the Nalögo variety of Noole.

⁴⁰ This nominaliser seems to perform the same functions of the nominaliser *-ngö* in the varieties of Nea and Nemboi.

6. POSSESSIVE AND ASSOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter, I describe the characteristics of possessive and associative constructions in Nalögo. Traditionally, in our daily use, the notion of possession equals the one of ‘ownership’. However, when looking at the languages of the world, this idea of possessive relations as ways to express ‘ownership’ is quite misleading (Lyons 1977), because possessive constructions can express “a broader concept of association or relationship between two nouns” (Aikhenvald 2013: 2). This property is especially true for Oceanic languages, where possessive constructions encode a wide range of semantic relations between the ‘possessor’, the entity that ‘possesses’, and the ‘possessee’ or ‘possessum’, the ‘possessed’ entity. As Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 40) point out, possession is usually one of the most complex domains in the grammars of Oceanic languages. Possessive constructions in Nalögo, as well as in two of the other SC languages, Natügu and Engdewu, are quite interesting, because when they are compared to more canonical Oceanic languages, they tend to display richer systems.

In the languages of the world, there is a basic distinction between possessive constructions expressed at NP level and possessive constructions expressed at a clause level. In this chapter, I focus only on the former, while the latter is described in Chapter 12. In §6.1 and §6.2, I describe the main characteristics of possessive constructions in Oceanic languages and Nalögo, respectively. Section §6.2.2 focuses on the properties of ‘direct’ possessive constructions; while §6.2.3 deals with those of ‘indirect’ possessive constructions. In §6.2.4, I describe possessive constructions encoding beneficiary roles. Finally, §6.2.5 deals with associative constructions, which are functionally similar, yet not identical, to possessive constructions.

6.1 Possessive constructions in Oceanic languages

6.1.1 Formal properties

In Oceanic languages, there is a basic formal distinction between ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ possessive constructions (Lynch 1996, Palmer & Brown 2007, Palmer 2008, Lichtenberk 2009, 2011, among others). Direct constructions typically involve a possessor-indexing affix, mainly a suffix, which occurs directly on the noun expressing the possessee. An example of this construction from Manam, an Oceanic language spoken in PNG, is shown in (6.1), where the suffix *-gu* encoding the first-person singular is directly attached to the noun.

(6.1) Manam (Western Oceanic; Lichtenberk 1983a)

Ara-gu
name-1SG:POSS
'my name'

In (6.1), the possessor is encoded through a suffix. However, possessive relations can also be expressed by NPs which generally tend to follow the possessee (Lynch et al. 2002: 41). In this respect, Lichtenberk (1983) distinguishes between possessive constructions with pronominal possessors and nominal possessors, respectively; they are defined as 'simplex' and 'complex' constructions. Example (6.2) from Kwaio, spoken in Solomon Islands, shows a complex possessive construction where the possessor is expressed by a noun following the possessee and cooccurring with the 3SG suffix *-na*.

(6.2) Kwaio (Southeast Solomonian; Keesing 1985)

Lata-na *wela*
name-3SG:POSS child
'The child's name'

Indirect possessive constructions show different structural properties, because possessor-indexing suffixes do not attach directly to the possessee, but to a 'possessive marker', also referred to in the literature as 'possessive particle' or 'possessive classifier' (Lichtenberk 1983b, 1985, Lynch 1996). In this description, I adopt the label 'possessive classifier'. Oceanic languages vary in terms of the number of classifiers. In some languages, such as Yapese and Kiribati, only one marker is attested; more commonly, two or three markers are attested. In a few cases, including languages of St Mathias, Micronesian and New Caledonian subgroups, indirect possession makes use of a large number of classifiers to express more fine-grained semantic relations. In (6.3), three examples with the possessive classifiers *ke-*, *me-* and *no-* in Fijian are shown.

(6.3) Fijian (Central Pacific; Lichtenberk 1983b)

a) *Na* *ke-mudrau* *kākana*
ART CLASS-your food
'your (dual) food' (edible)

b) *Na* *me-munī* *tī*
ART CLASS-your tea
'your (pl) tea' (drinkable)

c) *Na* *no-na* *vale*
ART CLASS-his house
'his house' (general)

In (6.3), possessor-indexing suffixes are attached to the classifiers preceding the head nouns. The three classifiers are associated with the encoding of different semantic relations, as explained in the following sections.

For the sake of completeness, it is worth mentioning that along with the distinction between direct and indirect constructions, additional patterns are also possible, although they are less widespread. For instance, Polynesian languages show no distinction between direct and indirect constructions; rather, they follow a pattern known as ‘A-possession’ and ‘O-possession’ (Clark 2000).

6.1.2 The alienability/inalienability distinction

The formal distinction between direct and indirect possessive constructions frequently matches the semantic distinction between the notions of inalienability and alienability. This semantic distinction, coined by Lévy-Bruhl (1914: 97-98), has been described by a number of scholars by using similar terminologies. For instance, inalienable possession encodes those semantic relations in which the possessee is regarded as an ‘inherent’ part of the possessor, such as part-whole or kinship relations. By contrast, alienable possession encodes ‘intrinsic’, ‘intimate’ and ‘obligatory’ relationships: a kin relation or a body part cannot be conceived, except in relation to a possessor (Aikhenvald 2013: 20). Chappell and McGregor (2011) describe inalienable relations as expressing ‘indissoluble’, ‘permanent’ and ‘inherent’ associations. In Oceanic languages, the ‘inherent’, ‘intimate’ and ‘indissoluble’ relations that are frequently encoded by direct constructions involve mainly part-whole and body-part relations, body-product, mental/organs’ relations, kinship relations, and so forth. As opposed to these concepts of ‘inherent’ and ‘intimate’ relations, alienable possession is described negatively, since it encodes relations which are not an inherent part of the possessor. Chappell & McGregor (2011) refer to alienable possession as involving ‘less permanent’ relationships. There are many subtypes of alienable relations encoded by indirect constructions. In this respect, there is a great variation across languages. For instance, in (6.3) in §8.1.1, Fijian displays three possessive classifiers encoding three types of relations between the possessor and the possessee. The possessive classifier *ke-* in (6.3) encodes the concept of ‘edibility’, that is, the possessee is conceived or destined to be eaten by the possessor. In (6.3), the possessive classifier *me-* ‘drinkable’ expresses that an item is conceived or destined to be drunk, while in (6.3), the classifier *no* ‘general’ refers to the general possession of an item. However, the relationship between an entity and the concept of inalienability/alienability is not a one-to-one relationship,

but depends on various factors, such as culturally driven associations, borrowings, and so on. In the next section, I discuss the properties of ‘fluidity’ and ‘relationality’ which are generally associated with possessive classifiers in Oceanic languages.

6.1.3 The notions ‘fluidity’ and ‘relationality’

The notions of ‘relationality’ and ‘fluidity’ are generally thought to be central to the definition of possessive classifiers in Oceanic, also referred to as ‘relational’ classifiers (Lichtenberk 1983b). The notion of ‘relationality’ refers to the fact that the selection of possessive classifiers is based on the relation that the possessor establishes with the possessee based on how the possessor intends to use the possessee. Thus, generally, the notion of relationality correlates with the intentionality of a prototypically animate possessor. An example is shown in (6.4).

- (6.4) Kaliai-Kove (Western Oceanic; Lichtenberk 1983b)
- | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| a) <i>Ti-pa-ani-ri</i> | <i>le-ri</i> | <i>yaia.</i> |
| they-CAUS-ani-them | CLASS-their | pig |
| ‘they feed their pigs’ | | |
| | | |
| b) <i>Ti-nono</i> | <i>a-ri</i> | <i>yaia.</i> |
| they-cook | CLASS-their | pig |
| ‘they cook their pigs’ | | |

In Kaliai-Kove, an Oceanic language spoken in New Britain, the noun *yaia* ‘pig’ occurs in two possessive constructions, depending on the relation that the possessee establishes with the possessor. In (6.4a), the noun occurs with the general classifier *le* to express a relation of general possession (pig that they possess), while in (6.4b), it occurs with the ‘alimentary’ classifier *a* to express a relation of edibility (pig that they intend to eat).

While the property of relationality belongs to the classifiers, the property of fluidity refers to the ability of a noun to occur in more than one type of possessive constructions. This property does not refer only to shifts of construction in indirect possession, namely, the possibility for a noun to occur with more than one possessive classifier as shown in (6.4); but also, to the shifts of construction between direct and indirect possession as shown in the Nalögo example in (6.5).

- (6.5) Nalögo
- | | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| a) <i>Nawě=nu</i> | ‘my head’ |
| head=1MIN.POSS | |
| ‘My head.’ | |

b) *Nawë* *nâ*
head fish
'The fish's head.'

c) *Nawë* *ne=nu*
head general.CLF=1MIN.POSS
'My head (the head of the fish I possess).'

Examples (6.5a) and (6.5b) show two direct constructions where the 'heads' are those of two possessors, the speaker and the fish, respectively. In (6.5c), the word for 'head' is indirectly possessed, referring to the head of an entity possessed by the possessor. In this case, the head *nawë* is said to be fluid because it can shift from a direct construction like those in (6.5a) and (6.5b) to an indirect one (6.5c).

The notion of fluidity is a property that possessive classifiers share with 'sortal classifiers' (Lyons 1977: 463). Sortal classifiers express some inherent properties of the entities with which they occur, e.g. their size, colour, and shape. The same noun can occur with different sortal classifiers, depending on the aspect of the entity which is highlighted. However, while relational classifiers and sortal classifiers are similar, in that they allow the fluidity of head nouns, the types of relations they encode are different in nature. While sortal classifiers encode inherent properties of the possessee, relational classifiers express the relation between the possessor and the possessee.

It is worth pointing out here that the property of fluidity is crucial to make the conceptual distinction between classifiers and noun class markers. In languages with noun classes, nouns typically fall into one category or another. In Oceanic languages, some possessive systems show properties of both classifiers and noun class markers. Some nouns are fluid and enter various constructions, while others can only occur in one construction. In this respect, the semantics of nouns can play an indirect role to license the occurrence of nouns in more than one construction (Lichtenberk 1983b). However, semantics does not seem to be always involved.

The last property which is typical of relational classifiers is their ability to be metaphorically extended to less primary semantic domains (Lichtenberk 1983b). For instance, 'edible' classifiers, which naturally occur with nouns encoding food, are often extended to occur with food-related items, such as tools for cooking or preparing food.

6.2 Possessive constructions in Nalögo

First of all, like many Oceanic languages, Nalögo shows a basic distinction between direct and indirect possession, described in §6.2.2 and §6.2.3, respectively. The formal strategies used in Nalögo in these two types of possessive constructions patten like those attested in most Oceanic languages.

In indirect possessive constructions, Nalögo shows eight classifiers encoding different semantic relations. If we look at RSC languages, Nalögo is located in between Engdewu and Äiwoo. Engdewu has the highest number of classifiers, fourteen in total (Vaa 2013: 221), while Äiwoo has six classifiers. More generally, among Oceanic languages, the Nalögo system is located mid-way between a fairly typical Oceanic language with three or four classifiers and those displaying more complex systems. In relation to the properties of fluidity and relationality described in §6.1.3, possessive classifiers in Nalögo show some variation, in that relationality and fluidity occur at different degrees, depending on the type of classifier involved. This also holds for metaphorical extension because not all the classifiers shows this property to the same extent. This topic is briefly discussed in §6.2.3.9.

6.2.1 Formal properties of direct and indirect constructions

Direct possessive constructions in Nalögo display two ways of encoding the possessor, depending on whether it is expressed by a pronominal form or by an NP. Lichtenberk (1983) defines the constructions where the possessor is expressed by a pronominal as ‘simplex’, because the possessor-indexing form is directly attached to the head noun. By contrast, when the possessor is expressed by an NP which is juxtaposed to the head without any intervening morpheme⁴¹, the constructions are defined as ‘complex’. Two examples of simplex and complex constructions in Nalögo are shown in (6.6) and (6.7), respectively.

(6.6) *Ngüme=nu*
spirit=1MIN.POSS
‘my spirit’

(6.7) *Nat obwe kâ*
voice child DEM₁.DIST
‘The voice of the child’

⁴¹ In Oceanic languages, when the possessor is encoded by a full NP, it can be expressed by four different strategies: (i) full cross-referencing, (ii) partial cross-referencing, (iii) construct cross-referencing, and (iv) no cross-referencing. (iv) is the case of Nalögo (for further explanations, see (Lichtenberk 1983b).

In indirect constructions, which make use of possessive classifiers, simplex and complex constructions pattern like those in (6.6) and (6.7), the only difference being the presence of the classifier. In this case, possessor pronominal forms attach to the classifier, while possessor NPs follow it as in (6.8) and (6.9), respectively. Two examples with the animate classifier *ne* described in §6.2.3.3 are shown below.

(6.8) *Böma ne=nu*
 house animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My house.’

(6.9) *Böma ne Billy*
 house animate.CLF Billy
 ‘Billy’s house.’

The possessive classifier always follows the head noun as *ne* does in the examples above. The only case in which the classifier precedes the head is when possessive constructions express beneficiary roles as described in §6.2.4.1.

In (6.9), the possessive classifier *ne* followed by the possessor NP modifies the head. However, possessive classifiers can also occur as NP heads, without the possessee, as in (6.10), where the food classifier *na* (§6.2.3.1) occurring with the 1AUG possessor form functions as an NP head meaning ‘our edible thing’, or more idiomatically, ‘our food’.

(6.10) *Da kä yelü-ti-u=kom na=gom*
 thing LNK put-APPL-down=1AUG.SBJ food.CLF=1AUG.POSS
a, toplä.
 DEM₃.PROX basket
 ‘The thing we put our food in is this one, the basket.’ (nalogo062)

Two additional examples involve the ‘animate’ classifier *ne* (§6.2.3.3). The first example is represented by the word *Nedö*, the indigenous name of Santa Cruz, which is formed by the animate classifier *ne* and the 3AUG possessor form =*dö*. Literally, the possessive classifier means ‘(thing) belonging to them’. The second example is the NP *ne kio* ‘chicks (lit. the animate ones of the chicken)’ referring to the chicken’s offspring. The polyfunctionality of possessive classifiers, i.e. their ability to function as NP modifiers or NP heads, is attested in various Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2009).

In all the examples above, there is only one possessor involved. However, it is possible for a head noun to take a possessive construction as modifier, whose head is, in turn, modified by another possessive construction. In this case, there are two possessor referents. Two examples are shown in (6.11) and (6.12).

(6.11) *Nawë nâ na=nu*
 head fish food.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘head of my fish.’

(6.12) *Nawë ine=je*
 head daughter=3MIN.POSS
 ‘head of her daughter.’

In (6.11) and (6.12), the word for ‘head’ is directly possessed by the words for ‘fish’ and ‘daughter’, which are, in turn, the heads of an indirect and a direct possessive construction, respectively.

Finally, the possessor enclitics occurring in direct and indirect possessive constructions are summarised in Table 6-1.

| PERSON | MINIMAL | AUGMENTED |
|--------|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | = <i>nu</i> ; ~ = <i>tu</i> | = <i>gom</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 2 | = <i>m</i> ; ~ = <i>p</i> | = <i>mwî</i> ⁴² |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> ; ~ = <i>te</i> ; ~ = <i>je</i> | = <i>gö</i> |

Table 6-1. Possessor enclitics occurring in possessive constructions

The 1MIN, 2MIN and 3MIN persons show some allomorphs depending on the context. In the available data, the 1MIN form =*nu* is attested more frequently than the allomorph ~ =*tu*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the form ~ =*tu* is obligatorily triggered by the general possessive classifier *gö* (§6.2.3.7), while =*nu* occurs with all the other classifiers. In direct constructions, the selection of some possessor enclitics in the paradigm appears to be lexically based. If a lexeme triggers the 1MIN ~ =*tu*, it tends to trigger the 2MIN ~ =*p* and the 3MIN ~ =*te*. Two examples with the words *numwë* ‘eye/s’ and *nölia* ‘belly’ are shown in (6.13).

⁴² In the data, there is also a 2AUG form =*pmwi* attested with the word *numwë* ‘eye/s, face’ in direct constructions.

- (6.13) *numwe=tu* ‘my eyes’ *nölia=tu* ‘my belly’
numwe=p ‘your eyes’ *nölia=p* ‘your belly’
numwe=te ‘his/her eyes’ *nölia=te* ‘his/her belly’

However, further research is required to establish how many words display the same paradigm of *numwe* and *nölia*. The 3MIN possessor form =*je* is also triggered by specific lexemes, especially kin terms (e.g. *ine=je* ‘her daughter’, *ilaule=je* ‘his/her mother’, *mäde=je* ‘his brother’, *melä=je* ‘his son’). An additional example is the directly possessed body part noun *be=je* ‘his/her skin’.

6.2.2 Direct constructions

As mentioned in §6.1.2, in Oceanic languages, direct possession tends to be associated with the notion of inalienability involving ‘inherent’, ‘intimate, or ‘permanent’ relations between the possessor and the possessee. However, a variety of semantic associations can be conveyed by this type of construction (Lynch 2001).

In Nalögo, direct constructions can express the following relations: (i) body-part and part-whole relations, (ii) body products, (iii) organs, states and products of mental processes, (iv) attributes of the possessor, (v) entities on the surface of the possessor’s body, (vi) kin terms, and (vii) personal belongings. Direct constructions expressing the relations (i-vii) are also attested in other Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk et al. 2011).

Examples of type (i) involving direct possessive constructions expressing body-part and part-whole relations. The possessor is either a pronominal form directly attached to the head or an NP following the head.

(I) BODY-PART AND PART-WHOLE RELATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>nawë=nu</i> ‘my head’ | <i>nela nuwâ</i> ‘tree’s branch’ |
| <i>numwe=p</i> ‘your eye/s’ | <i>lewë pumpkin</i> ‘pumpkin’s leaf’ |
| <i>dât(ü)=de</i> ‘his nose’ | <i>ât naa nuwâ</i> ‘fruit’s seed’ |
| <i>dötwö=nu</i> ‘my neck’ | <i>nöplö kio</i> ‘chicken’s feather’ |

Lists (ii), (iii), and (iv) show examples of direct constructions with body products, mental organs, mind-related products/processes and the possessor’s attributes, respectively. Nouns

expressing body-part and part-whole relations are generally directly possessed, because concepts like ‘head’, ‘nose’ or ‘seed’ tend to be conceptualised in combination with a possessor (e.g. ‘head’ is not an abstract concept, but it is the head of something or someone).

| (II) BODY PRODUCTS | (II) MENTAL ORGANS, THEIR STATES AND PRODUCTS | (IV) POSSESSUM AS AN ATTRIBUTE |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>natü=m</i> ‘your voice’ | <i>dötwö=nu</i> ‘my thought/mind’ | <i>döt=nu</i> ‘my name’ |
| <i>möt(ü)mö=nu</i> ‘my urine’ | <i>döt=de</i> ‘his feeling’ | <i>natü=gö</i> ‘their language’ |
| <i>duo=nu</i> ‘my feces’ | | |
| <i>mwelüt=nu</i> ‘my smell’ | | |
| <i>dölötmwe=nu</i> ⁴³ ‘my tears’ | | |

Finally, most kin terms, some items that are on the surface or in contact with the body of the possessor, and personal belongings are directly possessed as shown in lists (v), (vi) and (vii) below.

| (V) KIN TERMS | (VI) ITEMS ON BODY SURFACE | (VII) PERSONAL BELONGINGS |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>ilaule=nu</i> ‘my mother’ | <i>nëpwë=nu</i> ‘my clothes’ | <i>noto=nu</i> ‘my property’ |
| <i>ibu=nu</i> ‘my father’ | <i>nökwö=nu</i> ‘my shirt’ | |
| <i>ile=m</i> ‘your sister’ | | |
| <i>mëlue=nu</i> ‘my brother (for a woman) ⁴⁴ ’ | | |
| <i>melibu=nu</i> ‘my uncle’ | | |

Kin terms are listed in (v). However, it is worth noticing that borrowings from English or SI Pijin are never directly possessed. For instance, the Pijin words *mami* ‘mother’ and *dadi* ‘father’ are obligatorily possessed by the animate classifier *ne* (§6.2.3.3).

Items that are on the surface or in contact with the body of the possessor are listed in (vi). The word for ‘cloth’ and ‘shirt’ can be also indirectly possessed by the general classifier *gö* without

⁴³ The word *dölötmwe* ‘tear’ constitutes an example of reduced compounds with bound forms (Chapter 4).

⁴⁴ Some kin relations are expressed by more than one word according to the gender of the possessor. For instance, the kin term *mëlue=nu* ‘my brother’ is used by a female possessor, while *mäde* ‘brother’ is used by a male possessor. Likewise, the kin term *ile* ‘sister’ is used by a female possessor, while *ilue* ‘sister’ is used by a male possessor.

any difference in meaning (§6.2.3.7). When it is not possessed, the word for ‘shirt’ is *nökü* as opposed to *nökwö*. In his study on possession in RSC languages, Wurm (1972b) mentions the presence of morphophonemic changes that head nouns can undergo when pronominal possessive forms are attached to them. In this respect, the author writes: ‘many nouns in Santa Cruz languages [...] appear in two or several allomorphic forms, when possessive suffixes are added to them’ Wurm (1972b: 91-92). When compared to other RSC languages, Engdewu is regarded as the language displaying the largest number of cases of morphophonemic change of noun roots (Vaa 2013: 219). In Nalögo, the word *nokü* is the only one found in the data which shows a morphophonemic change of the root. An explanation for this type of change change is given in §6.2.6.2.

The list of items denoting ‘personal belongings’ (vii) contains only one word, *noto* ‘property’. Finally, direct constructions seem to be involved in passive possession. This type of encoding dates back to POC possessive system, where according to some scholars (see Lynch 2001), the passive possession was realised by direct constructions. Passive possession includes a number of semantic relations. Lynch (2001) identifies the following ones: (i) possession by the patient of a nominalised verb (e.g. my being hit); (ii) nouns referring to things done to or about the possessor (e.g. ‘my wound’, ‘her story/song’); (iii) possession of animate/ inanimate nouns where the relationship is one which might cause suffering on the part of the possessor (e.g. ‘enemy’); and (iv) possession of nouns which can be seen as ‘suffered’ by the possessor (e.g. parasites, disadvantages).

In Nalögo, direct constructions can encode passive possession with nouns referring to things done to or about the possessor. For instance, *ngumö nâ* ‘the picture of/about the fish’ is a direct construction where the possessor NP is juxtaposed to the head noun ‘picture’. In this case, the possessor is the content of the picture. However, if the type of relation changes, that is, if the possessor no longer constitutes its content, a different construction is used. In the possessive construction *ngumö Tina ne=nu* ‘my picture of/about Tina’, it is clear that while the content of the picture is expressed by the direct construction, the ‘ownership’ of the picture is expressed by the indirect construction with the animate classifier *ne*. Other types of passive possession show the opposition between two indirect constructions. Some examples are found in the next sections.

6.2.3 Indirect constructions

Nalögo displays a set of eight possessive classifiers encoding various relations: ‘food’ *na*, ‘drink’ *mu*, ‘animate’ *ne*, ‘betelnut’ *mwe* (~ *mwö*), ‘fire’ *mwilö* (~ *mlö*), ‘place’ *nye* and ‘general’ *gö*. In the following sections, I describe their main functions. In §6.2.3.9, I investigate the nature of the classifiers by discussing the role of relationality and fluidity. In particular, I show that relationality does not seem to be a dominant factor in the organisation of the system and fluidity is also a matter of degree (Alfarano 2019a). Classifiers show different properties from one another and nouns falling into classes show variation in their behaviour.

6.2.3.1 The ‘food’ classifier *na*

Nalögo displays a possessive classifier *na* ‘food’ which occurs with food items. It can also be metaphorically extended to items used to prepare or eat food with. Some examples are listed below.

EXAMPLES WITH POSSESSIVE CLASSIFIER *na* ‘FOOD’

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>böpi na=nu</i> ‘my banana’ | <i>kumara na=nu</i> ‘my potato’ |
| <i>nölu na=gö</i> ‘their coconut’ | <i>nâ na=go</i> ‘our fish’ |
| <i>rice na=nu</i> ‘my rice’ | <i>toki na=nu</i> ‘my knife (for cooking)’ |
| <i>töbao na=gö</i> ‘their papaya’ | <i>belëm na=nu</i> ‘my wooden bowl (for eating)’ |
| <i>dölötmwe=nu</i> ‘my tears’ | |

In the list above, *na* occurs with prototypical food like fruits, meat and vegetable. The words for ‘knife’ and ‘wooden bowl’ can also occur with *na* as food-related items. The metaphorical nature of food classifiers is also attested in other RSC languages. When describing the system of classifiers in Engdewu, Wurm (1972b: 108) writes that the food classifier allows in its constructions not only food items, but also “[...] utensils connected with food and its acquisition such as axes, knives, paddles and the like”. When English or SI Pijin borrowings encoding food are introduced in the possessive system, they can take the classifier *na* as shown with the word ‘rice’ in the list.

It is worth pointing out here that there are two main differences between the analysis proposed here and the one proposed by Wurm (1972b). Firstly, when Wurm (1972b: 104) talks about possession in the Nalögo variety of Nemboi, he argues that unlike Engdewu, utensils associated with food belong to a specific possessive class, except for cooking stones. My data on which

this analysis is based does not show the presence of any specific marker covering food-related items. Secondly, according to Wurm (1972b)’s analysis, nouns referring to betelnut and related items belong to the ‘edible’ *na*-class. By contrast, my data show that there is a specific marker, the classifier *mwö*, which covers this semantic class of items. These differences between this analysis and the one proposed by Wurm are not surprising as crosslinguistically, items which fall into a possessive class can change membership over time and occur in a different one.

From a diachronic point of view, the origin of the classifier *na* is not completely clear, since the reconstructed POc ‘food’ classifier is **ka-* (Lynch et al. 2002: 77). However, the form *na* might be related to the POc verb **kanan* ‘food’ (Lynch et al. 2002: 78). The most common verbs in Nalögo for ‘eat’ are *mwa* and *ngü*, which do not appear to have any relation with *na*. However, in the lexicalised complex form *da-lë-k* ‘food (lit. thing to eat)’, the final consonant /k/ associated with the meaning ‘eat’ might be related to POc **kanan*.

6.2.3.2 The ‘drink’ classifier *mu*

The possessive classifier *mu* is used to express a relationship of the ‘drink’ type between the possessor and the possessee. It includes water and liquids in general and fruits from which juice can be sucked out. The classifier *mu* can be extended to items related to the drinkable ones, including tools for drinking like ‘kettle’ and ‘cup’. In Natügu, the SC language spoken in the north of Santa Cruz, there is a classifier *mü* occurring with drinkable items including liquids and wet fruits (Boerger, in progress). Examples are provided in the list below.

EXAMPLES WITH POSSESSIVE CLASSIFIER *mu* ‘DRINK’

nuwe mu=nu ‘my water’

ti mu=nu ‘my tea’

mango mu=nu ‘my mango (to drink)’

nölu mu=nu ‘my coconut (to drink)’

kettle mu=nu ‘my kettle’

The diachronic origin of this classifier is not straightforward. In POc, the reconstructed possessive classifier for drinkable items is **m(w)a-* (Lynch et al. 2002: 77), whose origins are unclear, probably verbal (from POc **inum* ‘drink’). The Nalögo form *mu* might be related to the verb *mnu* ‘drink’ showing a formal similarity with POc **inum*.

6.2.3.3 The ‘animate’ classifier *ne*

The classifier *ne* is used to express general ‘ownership’, or ‘property’. This is a possessive construction which a variety of semantically different nouns can enter. Two similar classifiers occur in the neighbouring languages. Natügu displays the classifier *ne* which involves nouns denoting ‘underlings’ and semantic relations of general ownership, responsibility and creation (Boerger, in progress). Likewise, Engdewu has a classifier *nei* defined as ‘animate classifier’ which is used with nouns denoting ‘any low-status animate or spiritual referent, or even referents related to animals, children and spirits’ (Vaa 2013: 227-228). In this work, I label the classifier *ne* in Nalögo as ‘animate’, because it is typically found with nouns encoding animate beings like humans, animals and plants. However, other nouns belonging to more varied semantic classes can occur with *ne*, including celestial bodies, sea- and land-related referents, locations, kin terms and other items. The classifier can be also applied to borrowings. Examples are shown below.

| (I) HUMAN | (II) ANIMALS | (III) ITEMS ON BODY SURFACE |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>obwe ne=nu</i> ‘my child’ | <i>kio ne=nu</i> ‘my chicken’ | <i>talengi ne=nu</i> ‘my earrings’ |
| <i>olë ne=nu</i> ‘my girl’ | <i>po ne=nu</i> ‘my pig’ | <i>shoes ne=nu</i> ‘my shoes’ |
| <i>nünge ne=nu</i> ‘my boy’ | <i>mokilëla ne=nu</i> ‘my mosquito’ | <i>muli ne=nu</i> ‘my necklace’ |
| <i>mami ne=nu</i> ‘my mother’ | <i>läki ne=nu</i> ‘my rat’ | <i>hat ne=nu</i> ‘my hat’ |
| | | |
| (IV) PLANTS, SEA, LAND, UNIVERSE | (V) HOUSE PARTS AND ITEMS AND (VI) LOCATIONS | |
| <i>nuwâ ne=nu</i> ‘my tree’ | <i>table ne=nu</i> ‘my table’ | |
| <i>lemo ne=nu</i> ‘my leaf’ | <i>floor ne=nu</i> ‘my floor’ | |
| <i>beipluwu ne=nu</i> ‘my bush’ | <i>naonima ne=nu</i> ‘my roof’ | |
| <i>dâbë ne=nu</i> ‘my cloud’ | <i>növlü ne=nu</i> ‘my bed’ | |
| <i>nepi ne=nu</i> ‘my sun’ | <i>window ne=nu</i> ‘my window’ | |
| <i>temwe ne=nu</i> ‘my moon’ | <i>hammer ne=de</i> ‘his hammer’ | |
| <i>pwöla ne=nu</i> ‘my sea’ | <i>nowe ne=nu</i> ‘my door’ | |
| <i>tömotu ne=nu</i> ‘my island’ | <i>mwetelya ne=nu</i> ‘my village’ | |
| <i>naana ne=nu</i> ‘my sand’ | <i>böma ne=nu</i> ‘my house’ | |

First of all, the classifier *ne* occurs with animate humans, including kin referents and animals. In (i), the first three examples involve human referents under the ‘control’ of the possessor. The notion of ‘control’ is semantically close to the one of ‘responsibility’ that Boerger (in progress) describes for the classifier *ne* in Natügu. However, the notion of ‘control’ cannot be applied to all the nouns which enter the possessive constructions with *ne*. For instance, in (ii), while some animals can be viewed as being under the control of humans (e.g. domesticated pigs), others, such as ‘mosquito’ or ‘rat’, clearly cannot. If we take these cases into consideration, the notion of ‘animacy’ as underlying semantics of *ne* appears more appropriate.

Some items on the body’s surface can only enter this possessive construction. For instance, *talengi* ‘earrings’ and *muli* ‘necklace’ can only occur with the classifier *ne*. One potential explanation for this behaviour is that traditional ornaments, such as earrings or necklaces, are made out of shells of animals, especially turtle shells⁴⁵. This behaviour could be seen as a case of semantic extension of the classifier *ne*.

The underlying semantics of ‘animacy’ is the one that likely characterizes the occurrence of this construction with nouns encoding celestial bodies, and sea- and land-related referents. Natural entities, such as trees or leaves, might be conceived as displaying an inherent living power. In traditional beliefs, nature is connected to deities (e.g. spirits can live in the bush or in the sea). Even nowadays that in Nalögo-speaking communities⁴⁶, traditional beliefs have been replaced by Christianity, the nature is seen as a living entity, part of God’s power and creation.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that there are some members of this class, including nouns denoting locations, house parts and other tools, which do not seem to have an explanation from a synchronic point of view, but there might be a historical link which has since been lost.

In terms of diachronic origin, POc had a possessive form to encode ‘general’ possession, that is, the classifier **na*. Except for the vowel grade, the nasal element is present in both forms, *ne* and **na*, respectively. While the role of the POc form **na* as a source cannot be established, it

⁴⁵ Vaa (Vaa 2013: 228) makes a similar statement about the word *dalengi* ‘earrings’ in Engdewu that is indirectly possessed through the ‘animate’ possessive classifier *nei*.

⁴⁶ This holds true for the Nalögo-speaking communities of Nea and Nemboi, where most of indigenous people converted to Christianity. Traditional beliefs are no longer culturally accepted, but some beliefs still coexist with the new religion. However, in my experience, they are no longer practised in the community, at least not publicly.

is also true that *ne* cannot be used as an independent lexical item; thus, the form does not seem to have a nominal origin⁴⁷.

6.2.3.4 The ‘betel’ classifier *mwö* (~ *mwe*)

The ‘betel’ classifier *mwö* (~ *mwe*) occurs with nouns related to betelnut, and through metaphorical extension, with items related to the betelnut-chewing activity, such as *kätü* ‘betel nut’, *do* ‘lime powder’, *pwä* ‘betel leaf’.

The classifier can also occur with nouns related to smoking, such as *töpaka* ‘tobacco’ and ‘cigarette’. Smoking is often associated with betelnut-chewing, since these two activities tend to be performed together on a daily basis. Therefore, the use of the classifier *mwö* with items related to smoking is not surprising. The existence of a specific classifier for betelnut is also not surprising as chewing betelnut is a culturally significant activity throughout Melanesia (Ross et al. 2016: 224). As opposed to Engdewu, Natügu displays a classifier *ma* which is used for betelnut and related items such as leaf, lime and the betelnut container (Boerger, in progress). Likewise, Äiwoo has a betel class marked by *da* (Næss p.c.).

In terms of origin, this marker is clearly an innovation, because POc only display three classifiers expressing ‘food’, ‘drink’ and ‘general’ possession (Lynch et al. 2002: 77). The origin of *mwö* might be verbal. In Nalögo, the verb for ‘chew (betelnut)’ is *omwa*. The form *omwa* is also found in the verb for ‘smoke’ *omwauvle*. The use of the same verb to express the meanings ‘chew’ and ‘smoke’ is attested in other languages of the group. For instance, Äiwoo uses the verb *mââ* ‘chew, hold between the teeth’ also for ‘smoke’ (Næss p.c.).

6.2.3.5 The ‘fire’ classifier *mwilö* (~ *mlö*)

Nalögo displays a classifier *mwilö* (~ *mlö*) which is defined as ‘fire’ classifier. Wurm (1972b: 105) mentions the presence of a ‘fire classifier’ *mwilö* for the Nalögo varieties of Nea and Nemboi. In Engdewu, there are two ‘fire’ classifiers, *molo* and *mwilo*, the latter being regarded as a likely loan from Nalögo (Vaa 2013: 230-231). In Natügu, Boerger (in progress) describes a ‘hearth’ classifier *mnö* (~ *pnö*) encoding ‘hearth and home’ items including fire, firewood, and mats. There is a likely relation between the Nalögo *mlö* and the Natügu form *mnö*, especially if we consider the dialectal alternation between nasals and liquids found in the

⁴⁷ It is interesting to notice that this form is formally identical to the forms /ne/ occurring in the applicative form -*neba*, which adds applied objects expressing human beneficiaries/recipients (Chapter 13) and in the interrogative pronoun *nelö* ‘who’.

Nalögo varieties⁴⁸. The classifier occurs with the nouns *nyö* ‘fire’ and *nanö* ‘firewood’. Through metaphorical extension, the classifier is also extended to the nouns *nini* ‘mat (made from coconut leaves)’ and *nanika* ‘mat (made from pandanus leaves)’. It can be hypothesised that the occurrence of the classifiers with words for ‘mats’ is related to people’s habit of sleeping by the fire, but further data are in need to support this hypothesis.

From a diachronic perspective, the classifier *mwilö* might be related to the verb *mwi* ‘sleep’. The connection between the concepts of ‘fire’ and ‘sleep’ are attested in other languages. For instance, in North Ambae, Franjeh (2012: 242) writes that the classifier *bon* occurs with lexemes that denote fire or related items, including the word *fwerrye* ‘firebrand for sleeping with’.

6.2.3.6 The ‘place’ classifier *nye*

In the available data, the classifier *nye* is only found with two items, the bound nouns *bä-* ‘place’ and *mö-* (or *me-*) ‘place’. These bound forms can also occur in constructions with the animate classifier *ne* without any difference in meaning. Examples are in (6.14).

- (6.14) a) *bä-nye=nu*
 place-place.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My place’
- b) *bä-ne=nu*
 place-animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My place.’

Among RSC languages, Natügu has a classifier *nyë* used to express property and time (Boerger, in progress). Äiwoo displays a similar form, the generic bound noun *nyi-/nye-* ‘place’ (Næss 2017). Given its low occurrence, this form might be a borrowing from Natügu.

6.2.3.7 The ‘general’ classifier *gö*

Nalögo has a classifier *gö* encoding a ‘general’ possession. The classifier *gö* does not seem to have a semantic content. Rather, it is analysed as the ‘elsewhere’ form, i.e. a form used for anything that does not fall into any of the other classes. In this respect, it is similar to the

⁴⁸ Various examples can be found in the varieties of Nalögo, at least in the Nea and Nemboi varieties. For instance, two examples are attested with subject bound forms (2MIN =*ng* (~ =*l*) and the nominalizer *lä-* (~ *në-*) (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, respectively).

classifier *ne* described in §6.2.3.3, but while *ne* has a kind of semantic content, it does not appear to be the case for *gö*. The classifier *gö* occurs with classes of nouns which are semantically varied, including kin terms, body products, attributes of the possessor, items on body surface, transport, passive and general possession. Many words belonging to this class are loanwords strengthening the idea of ‘general’ as the ‘default’ class. They are listed below.

(I) KIN TERMS, (II) BODY PRODUCTS, (III) ATTRIBUTES OF POSSESSOR **(IV) ITEMS ON BODY SURFACE**

| | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| <i>cousin gö=tu</i> ‘my cousin’ | <i>nökü gö=tu</i> ‘my shirt’ |
| <i>cough gö=tu</i> ‘my cough’ | <i>shoes gö=tu</i> ‘my shoes’ |
| <i>mweli gö=tu</i> ‘my time’ | <i>hat gö=tu</i> ‘my hat’ |
| <i>nolue gö nünge</i> ‘the strength of the boy’ | <i>nëpwë gö=tu</i> ‘my clothes’ |

(V) TRANSPORT **(VI) PASSIVE** **(VII) GENERAL**

| | | |
|--|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>nua gö=tu</i> ‘my outrigger canoe’ | <i>wea gö=de</i> ‘his enemy’ | <i>sospen gö=tu</i> ‘my pot’ |
| <i>canoe gö=tu</i> ‘my canoe’ | | <i>nabotom gö=tu</i> ‘my oven’ |
| <i>car gö=tu</i> ‘my car’ (also <i>ne=nu</i>) | | <i>topla gö=m</i> ‘your basket’ |
| <i>lëtiu gö=de</i> ‘his ship’ (also <i>ne=nu</i>) | | <i>toki gö=tu</i> ‘my knife’ |

From a diachronic point of view, I do not have any hypothesis on the origins of *gö*, since there are no potential sources that I found in the available data. The only form related to this classifier is the nominalizer *-gö* which occurs with action nominalizations (Chapter 4).

In (i) and (ii), there are some examples of ‘kin terms’ and ‘body products’, which are not directly possessed (§6.2.2) or indirectly possessed through *ne* (§6.2.3.3). The same holds for ‘attributes of the possessor’ (iii) and ‘items on body surface’ (iv), which are generally expressed by direct constructions. In some cases, items belonging to (iv) can: (i) be directly possessed or occur in the classifier *gö* (e.g. *nökü* or *nëpwë*), (ii) only take the classifier *ne* (§6.2.3.3), (iii) take both *ne* and *gö* classifiers (e.g. ‘hat’, ‘skirt’, ‘shoes’), or (iii) only take the classifier *gö* (e.g. *mokali*).

6.2.3.8 The ‘spouse’ classifier *nalë*

Wurm (1972b: 105) mentions the existence of a ‘spouse’ classifier *nëlö* in the variety of Nemboi. According to Wurm’s analysis, the classifier occurred with the words *nüngë*⁴⁹ ‘man’ and *olë* ‘woman’. Engdewu shows a formally similar classifier, *nolo/nölö* (Vaa 2013: 233).

In the data, there is only one occurrence of a formally similar form *nalë* functioning as a possessive classifier which follows the head noun *vei*⁵⁰ ‘star’. The example is shown in (6.15).

- (6.15) *Vei nalë temwö.*
 star spouse.CLF moon
 ‘The star of the moon (the start who always appears behind the moon).’

Further data are required to determine how many nouns can occur in this type of construction.

In my data, there is also a lexeme *nalë* ‘spouse’ analysed as a bound noun in (Chapter 4). This lexeme is likely to be the source of the classifier.

6.2.3.9 Some remarks on nature of possessive classifiers

In this section, I discuss the nature of possessive classifiers in Nalögo, showing that the role of notions like ‘relationality’ and ‘fluidity’, traditionally thought to characterize possessive classifiers in Oceanic languages (§6.1.3), is not central for all the possessive classifiers in the same way. Alfarano (2019) provides a primary analysis of this topic. Table 6-2 below shows how possessive classifiers interact with the notion of relationality.

| CLASSIFIER | MEANING | RELATIONALITY | EXAMPLES |
|------------|---------|---------------|---|
| <i>na</i> | food | ✓ | <i>nâ na=nu</i> ‘my fish (to eat) vs <i>nâ ne=nu</i> ‘my fish (that I own)’ |
| <i>mu</i> | drink | ✓ | <i>mango mu=nu</i> ‘mango (to drink) vs <i>mango na=nu</i> ‘mango (to eat)’ |
| <i>ne</i> | animate | ✓ | <i>po ne=nu</i> ‘my pig (that I own) vs <i>po na=nu</i> ‘my pork (to eat)’ |
| <i>gö</i> | general | ✓ | <i>toki na=nu</i> ‘my knife (to cook with) vs <i>toki gö=tu</i> ‘my knife (that I own)’ |

⁴⁹ In my data, *nüngë* ‘boy, man’ is attested as *nünge* ‘boy, man’.

⁵⁰ This noun can also occur with the animate classifier *ne* or with the associative marker *ngö*.

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|---|---|
| <i>mwö</i> | betel | ✓ | <i>cigarette mwö=nu</i> ‘my cigarette (to smoke)’ vs <i>cigarette gö=tu</i> ‘my cigarette (to sell)’ |
| <i>nalë</i> | spouse | ✓ | <i>vei nalë temwö</i> ‘the star of the moon’ (star associated with the moon) vs <i>vei ne=nu</i> ‘my star’ (possession of ‘animate’ entity) |
| <i>mwilö</i> | fire | - | - |
| <i>nye</i> | place | - | - |

Table 6-2. Possessive classifiers and the property of relationality

As shown in Table 6-2, six classifiers out of eight show the property of relationality, meaning that they encode a type of relation that the possessor establishes with the possessee. However, this property seems to be lexically-based, in that it cannot be extended in the same way to all the lexemes belonging to a specific class. While with some lexemes, classifiers encode a specific type of relation, encoding different senses of the same referent, with others, they help identify different referents (Alfarano 2019a). For instance, the lexemes *po* ‘pig’ and *nâ* ‘fish’ can occur either with the classifier *na* ‘food’ or with *ne* ‘animate’, depending on whether the possessee is viewed as an edible referent or as an animate possession. The two classifiers are relational in the sense that they encode two types of relations depending on the context, helping disambiguate two different possessive relations applied to the same referent. However, this does not hold for all the members of the class. For instance, the lexeme *bia* ‘breadfruit’ can occur with *na* or *ne* as in the examples *bia na=nu* ‘my breadfruit (fruit)’ and *bia ne=nu* ‘my breadfruit (plant)’. The fruit of the breadfruit can only be possessed by the food classifier; vice versa, the breadfruit plant can only be possessed by the animate classifier. In this example, there is no relationality involved, since the classifiers do not express two different possessive relations with the same entity, but rather two different referents, the fruit and the plant, respectively.

Another example is represented by *toki* ‘knife’ which can occur with the food classifier *na* or with the general classifier *gö*. With this lexeme, the classifiers are relational. By contrast, the lexemes *sospen* ‘pot’ or *spun* ‘spoon’ occur only with the general classifier *gö*, independently from the context of use (whether they are used for cooking or viewed as general possession). With ‘pot’ and ‘spoon’, *gö* does not really contribute to the identification of a referent compared to another, but rather, it functions as the ‘default’ possessive classifier. Similar examples are attested with the ‘betel’ classifier *mwö*, the ‘fire’ classifier *mwilö* and the ‘place’ classifier *nye*.

The ‘betel’ classifier *mwö* is the only classifier occurring with the word *kätü* ‘betelnut’, while with the word for ‘cigarette’, it can alternate with the ‘general’ *gö* depending on the context (whether the possessor intends to smoke the cigarette or not). The ‘fire’ *mwilö* and ‘place’ *nye* classifiers show no relationality, in that, their use is limited to some specific items.

The notion of fluidity interacts with the one of relationality to different degrees. When some lexemes are fluid, the referent they encode can enter more than one construction based on which sense is selected. For instance, the same referent ‘pig’ mentioned above can be viewed either as something to eat or as something to possess; thus, it can occur either with the food classifier or with the animate classifier. In this case, the fluidity of the head noun correlates with the relationality of the two classifiers.

There are also instances of fluidity where the same lexeme can occur in more than one construction, but encoding different referents depending on the semantic contribution given by the classifier. For instance, the lexeme *bia* can mean ‘breadfruit fruit’ or ‘breadfruit tree’ depending on whether it occurs with the food classifier *na* or the animate classifier *ne*. The meaning of the referent is construed through the lexeme and the classifiers together. Therefore, fluidity does not seem to correlate with relationality as in the case of ‘pig’.

Finally, there are lexemes such as ‘car’, ‘boat’ and *lëtiu* ‘ship’, which are attested with both the classifiers *ne* and *gö*, but apparently with no difference in meaning.

The cases above show that relationality is not necessarily involved in every context with every classifier, but it depends on each lexeme. In general, there is the tendency for some items to occur in specific constructions, even when they would have the possibility to occur in others. For instance, the noun *toki* ‘knife’ tends to cooccur with the food classifier, independently of the context of use (whether the knife is used to prepare food or not), which, in a strictly relational system, would suggest that the general classifier *gö* would be more suitable (Alfarano 2019a). In these cases, the classifier does not encode a relation between the possessor and the possessee, rather, it identifies a specific type of knife (the kitchen knife vs machete). In some cases, this process might lead to the accretion of the classifier to the nominal root. This process might have taken place with the Nalögo word to express the meaning ‘food’, *döt(n)a=nu* or *dat(n)a=nu* ‘my food’. Vaa (2013: 226) reports a similar case in Engdewu, where for the same word, two forms are attested: /datnanu/ and /datanu/ ‘my food’. These forms are thought to be a combination of the bound noun *da-* ‘thing’ and the classifier *nanu*. Vaa hypothesizes that the classifier *nanu* might have triggered an allomorph of the bound noun *da-*, reflecting what is

thought to be a historical onset /t/ of the truncated final syllable. This might be the case for the lexicalised form *dat(n)a* ‘food’, formed by the noun *da* ‘thing’ and the food classifier *na*. The other form, *döt(n)a*, might be a dialectal variant. Evidence of the process of accretion is given by the fact that the additive adverb *kö* ‘also, too’ can occur between the noun plus the classifier and the possessor-marking form in as in the example *dötna=kö=gom* ‘also our food’. The function of the classifier *na* with *toki* is similar to the function that both *na* and the animate classifier *ne* have with the word *bia* ‘breadfruit’ described above. They behave more like sortal classifiers encoding aspects of the referent than as relational classifiers à la Lichtenberk (1983). More research is required to investigate the behaviour of each noun falling into the possessive classes mentioned above. My aim in this section was to show that notions such as relationality and fluidity are not present in all the constructions to the same degree and that in some of them, they are completely absent. This topic, especially the position of Nalögo classifiers among the most common types of noun-classifying devices, is left for further typological studies.

6.2.4 Possessive constructions encoding beneficiaries

In this section, I describe two strategies involving possessive classifiers which are used to express beneficiaries or recipients in Nalögo.

6.2.4.1 Beneficiaries constructions with classifiers

In a number of Oceanic languages, possessive constructions serve to encode benefactive relations where the beneficiary is construed as an intended, prospective possessor (Lichtenberk 2002). In Nalögo, possessive constructions serving this function can follow or precede the head noun. Examples are shown in (6.16), (6.17), (6.18) and (6.19).

(6.16) *Mno=täpwe* *nü-wotä=bwa*
 stay=2MIN.SBJ.just IRR.N3AUG-take=1MIN.SBJ.thither
na=gi *lëkö.*
 food.CLF=1+2MIN.POSS food
 ‘You just stay, I will take food for us.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(6.17) *I-va-ku=bwa* *kâ=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1MIN.SBJ.thither DEM₁.DIST=PL
na=m *da-lë-ng* *ngö* *mwilëpu.*
 food.CLF=2MIN.POSS thing-PASS.PFV-eat ASS.MRK evening
 ‘I cooked dinner for you (lit. some food for evening for you).’ (nalogo1410_2015)

(6.18) *I-wo-ti=bwa* *kâ* *böma*
 PFV.N3AUG-build-TR=1MIN.SBJ.thither QNT house
ne *ile=m.*
 animate.CLF sister=2MIN.POSS
 ‘I built a house for your sister’ or ‘I built your sister’s house’ (nalogo1410_2015)

(6.19) *Leplë* *ö-vëpe=kapwö* *po* *na=gö*
 people MIDD₁-buy=also pig food.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘People also buy pigs for them.’ (nalogo016)

The choice of position might be due to how the possessor is conceptualized by the speaker, whether they are ‘real’ possessors or intended ones. For instance, in (6.17), (6.18) and (6.19), the food and the pigs still need to be eaten by the possessors; thus, the possessors might be viewed as prospective possessors. In (6.19), the house is already built and belongs to the possessor who is viewed as a ‘real’ one. Other two examples are shown in (6.20).

(6.20) a) *I-wo=nga* *na=nu* *rice.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take=1MIN.SBJ food.CLF=1MIN.POSS rice
 ‘I get rice for me.’

b) *I-wo-ti=nga* *rice* *na=nu.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=1MIN.SBJ rice food.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I got rice for me.’

The difference between (6.20a) and (6.20b) was explained by the speaker in terms of prospective vs ‘real’ possession. While the speaker in (6.20a) is an intended possessor because she is going to buy some rice, in (6.20b), the speaker is a real possessor because she already bought some rice. Formally, this difference is clearly expressed by the syntactic position of the possessive phrase encoding the beneficiary.

Finally, an interesting example of beneficiary construction is attested with the ‘spouse’ classifier *nalë* which cooccurs with the independent noun *olë* ‘woman’ as shown in (6.21).

- (6.21) *Mweli kâ nünge*
time DEM₁.DIST boy
tü-pwë-tu-lë=ngö=pe=m=de,
IPFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK-up=APPL=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
e-pi=e=le=nge
?-say=QUOT.MRK=3MIN.SBJ=PRAG.MRK
t(ü)-yelë=ngö=pe=le *ibu=de*
IPFV.N3AUG-get.married=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ father=3MIN.POSS
ba=gö *ilaule=je* *â*
COORD=3AUG.OBJ mother=3MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK
të-ötagö=pe=bwe *nalë=de* *olë.*
IPFV.3AUG-search.for=COS=DIR.thither spouse=3MIN.POSS girl
‘When the boy is growing, he says that he wants to get married, his father and his mother search for a girl for him (to marry).’

The use of the classifier *nalë* in (6.21) is peculiar because it can occur with the noun *olë* only in beneficiary constructions. According to some speakers, a possessive use where the classifier function as a post-head modifier as in (6.22) is not allowed.

- (6.22) **Olë nalë=de*
girl spouse=3min.poss
‘His wife’

6.2.4.2 The benefactive marker *-n*

In Nalögo, the food classifier *na* can take the benefactive marker *-n* to express a prospective possessor, which can be a singular or plural referent. Two examples are shown in (6.23) and (6.24).

- (6.23) *Tonlü ti-ngi na-n po*
NEG IPFV.N3AUG-be food.CLF-BEN.MRK pig
‘No, they are for my pigs.’ (nalogo039)

- (6.24) *leplë vö-pma=pe [...]*
people MIDD₁-make.pudding=COS
da-lë-k na-n i-kâ kä
food-PASS.PFV-eat food.CLF-BEN.MRK female-DEM₁.DIST LNK
i-ku ä da-lë-k
PFV.N3AUG-be.cooked COORD thing-PASS.PFV-eat
na-n leplë kä lë-klu...
food.CLF-BEN.MRK people LNK PFV.3AUG-be.many

‘People make pudding [...], cooked food for the girl and food for many people....’
(nalogo1709_2015)

In the available data, there are no examples with the marker *-n* occurring on other classifiers. Interestingly, Äiwoo displays form *na-na* where the first *na* is the irrealis marker, while the second is the food classifier (Næss p.c.). In Nalögo, it is difficult to interpret the form *na-* of *na-n* as an irrealis marker, given that the basic irrealis form is the prefix *nü-*. Further investigations are required to establish whether the second interpretation of *nan* can be supported by the data.

6.2.5 Associative constructions

Nalögo has a type of associative constructions involving the four markers *ngö*, *ö*, *lö*, and *wö*. These morphemes express a relationship of association between two entities, where there is no real ‘active’ possessor. Associative constructions, which are widely attested in Oceanic languages, can cover various functions, some of which are typically conveyed by direct constructions (Lichtenberk 2006). They are mainly translated with the English ‘of, belonging to, from’. Associative morphemes, which often display different phonological shapes, are referred to in different ways in descriptive works, including ‘construct markers’ or ‘genitive prepositions’ (Deck 1934: 16). Here, I refer to them as ‘associative markers’.

Associative constructions have been reconstructed for POC, which is thought to display two associative/construct markers, **qi* and **ni* (Ross 1998). The ‘possessors’ of these associative constructions were common and non-specific. In Nalögo, associative constructions can occur with both specific and non-specific ‘possessors’. In terms of origins, the associative markers in Nalögo do not appear to reflect the POC construct markers mentioned above, although further studies are needed to investigate this topic in detail. Four examples of associative constructions encoding different types of relations are shown below.

(6.25) *Bwe=ngö* *ma*
 story=ASS.MRK DEM₂.PROX
 ‘A story from/belonging to here.’ (location)

(6.26) *Naadu* *lö=nu*
 bone ASS.MRK=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My bones.’ (internal structure)

(6.27) *Puti* *ö=de*
 liver ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS

‘His liver’ (internal organ)

- (6.28) *Olë=wö* *Nea*
girl=ASS.MRK Nea
‘Girl from/belonging to Nea.’ (location)

As it can be noticed from examples (6.25) and (6.28) the associative morphemes can behave as clitics, attaching to the head noun. Two examples with *lö* and *ö* are shown in (6.29) and (6.30).

- (6.29) a) *Nuwe=lö* *nölu*
water=ASS.MRK coconut
‘coconut water’

- b) *Nuwe* *lö=de*
water ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
‘Its water (of the coconut).’

- (6.30) a) *Mweli=ö* *nepi*
time=ASS.MRK sun
‘Time of the sun.’

- b) *Mweli* *ö=de*
time ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
‘Its season.’

Explanations for this behaviour might be due to the rules of stress assignment. However, further analyses are in need to support this hypothesis. In the current data, the associative marker =*wö* is always attached the head noun as shown in (6.31) and (6.32).

- (6.31) *Kä-i-pwö=wö* *mwetelya*
one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big=ASS.MRK village
‘Village leader’

- (6.32) *kä-i-pwö=wö=nu*
one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big=ASS.MRK=1MIN.POSS
‘My leader.’

Apparently, there are no factors conditioning the selection of one associative marker over the other. At least with some lexemes, the same head can occur with more than one marker to express the same semantic relation. Examples are shown below.

(6.33) a) *Puti* *ö=nu*
 liver ASS.MRK=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My liver.’

b) *Puti* *ngö=nu*
 liver ASS.MRK=1MIN.POSS
 ‘My liver.’

(6.34) a) *Olë=wö* *Nea*
 girl=ASS.MRK *Nea*
 ‘Girl from Nea.’

b) *Olë=lö* *Nea*
 girl=ASS.MRK *Nea*
 ‘Girl from Nea.’

This alternation suggests that they might be free or dialectal variants. Example (6.29) shows that the associative marker can be followed either by a pronominal possessive form or by a NP. In this respect, associative markers are similar to possessive classifiers. However, they also differ from them, in that, they show the tendency to attach to noun heads. The tendency of associative markers to gravitate towards the NP head and gradually get accreted to, is attested in other Oceanic languages as mentioned in §6.2.6.2.

6.2.6.1 Functions of associative constructions

Associative constructions in Nalögo express various semantic relations. The most frequently attested relations are the following: internal body parts, organs and fluids; part-whole relations; collectivity, measure or quantity of an entity; passive possession; designation of a type; membership; abstract feelings; interpersonal relations; location and purpose.

Associative prepositions occur frequently with body parts, especially internal structures, organs and fluids. This class includes all the body parts which are not directly possessed. Examples are listed below.

| BODY PARTS, INTERNAL STRUCTURES, ORGANS AND FLUIDS | |
|---|--|
| <i>puti (ng)ö=nu</i> ‘my liver’ | <i>nuwe lö=de</i> ‘its water (of the coconut)’ |
| <i>wöliki ngö=m</i> ‘your veins’ | <i>naadu lo=m</i> ‘your bones’ |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>mepyö ngö=nu</i> ‘my blood’ | <i>bebelo ngö dât ibu=nu</i> ‘the mucus of my father’s nose’ |
| <i>Bilu=(w)ö nölia=p</i> ‘your guts’ (lit. guts of the belly’) | <i>Bilu=(w)ö nölia=p</i> ‘your guts’ (lit. guts of the belly’) |

The word *puti* ‘liver’ can also occur with the *ö* variant as in the associative construction *puti ö=nu* ‘my liver’. Likewise, the word for ‘guts’ can be formed with *bilu* to which both the associative markers =*ö* and =*wö* can be attached. Relational prepositions in Äiwoo can also occur with internal body parts and organs Næss (to appear). For instance, the preposition *eä* can occur with the words for ‘kidney’ as in *nupe eä* ‘his/her kidney’, and ‘skull’ as in *temenge eä* ‘his/her skull. The difference in the encoding of external and internal organs is attested in other Oceanic languages. For instance, in Daakaka, external body parts are directly possessed, while internal organs occur with a derivational morpheme to take a possessor (von Prince 2016).

Associative constructions can also express some part-whole relations. Some are listed below.

PART-WHOLE RELATIONS

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>taku (ng)ö=de</i> ‘its seeds’ | <i>tekyö ngö toplä</i> ‘pandanus of basket’ |
| <i>motopo ngö böma kâ</i> ‘poles of the house’ | <i>nuwe ngö pwöla</i> ‘the water of sea’ |
| <i>nowe ngö böma kâ</i> ‘door of the house’ | <i>betepu ngö nēlu</i> ‘the shell of the coconut’ |
| <i>lâ ngö böma kâ</i> ‘sago palm leaves of the house’ | <i>da=lö boknawë</i> ‘celestial bodies (lit. things of the sky)’ |

The word *taku* ‘seed (of breadfruit)’ can also occur with the *ö* variant as in *taku ö=de* ‘its seeds’. Along with expressing internal organs, body parts, and part-whole, associative constructions can designate “the type of entity or entities that occurs in a kind of collectivity, in a certain measure or quantity” (Lichtenberk 2006). In some cases, the head of the construction can be viewed as a container (e.g. *belëm* ‘bowl’ and *toplä* ‘basket’ in the list below).

ASSOCIATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH HEAD-CONTAINER

belēm ngö rais ‘bowl of rice’

topla ngö dalēng ‘basket of food’

dou ngö lēkö ‘heaps of taro’

bwedeknou ngö olē ‘group of women’

Passive possession can also be expressed by these constructions. In this type of relation, the possessor is the content of the possessee as shown in the examples with the words for ‘picture’, ‘song’ and ‘story’⁵¹.

PASSIVE POSSESSION

picture ngö=m ‘your picture (about you)’

song ngö=nu ‘my song (about me)’

bwe ngö=nu ‘my story (about me)’

bwe lö=nu ‘my story (about me)’

The associative relation labelled ‘designation’ refers to those constructions which characterize “the referent of the whole construction as to its type” (Lichtenberk 2006). Examples are shown below.

DESIGNATION

nuwe=lö nölu ‘coconut water’

nuwe=lö kätü ‘betelnut water’

An additional example of associative construction expressing designation is in (6.35).

- (6.35) *Böma ngö* *la-a-ku-ngö*
house ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-CAUS-be.cooked-NMLZ₂
‘cooking house’

The words for ‘coconut water’ and ‘betelnut water’ refer to a type of water; thus, the associative construction is used to identify a subtype of the category ‘water’. Likewise, the word for ‘cooking house’ where the associative morpheme *ngö* takes a nominalization as its complement

⁵¹ In the case of ‘picture’, passive possession can be possessed by direct constructions. If the possessor is not the content of the picture, the animate classifier *ne* is used. The construction with the animate classifier is also used when the possessor is not the content of a song or a story.

designates a subtype of house, the one built for cooking purposes. Among associative constructions expressing body parts and part-whole relations described above, there are some cases which could be regarded as conveying ‘designation’. For instance, the words for ‘saliva (lit. water of mouth)’, *nuwe lö nao*, could be viewed as a type of water like ‘coconut water’; or the words for ‘guts (lit. things of the belly)’ and ‘celestial bodies (lit. things of the sky)’, *da=lö bâlö* and *da=lö boknawë*, could be viewed as instances of ‘designation’, since the constructions designate two subtypes of ‘thing’, those ‘belonging to the belly’ and those ‘belonging to the sky’.

Associative constructions can also encode inherent characteristics or habits of the possessor as shown in (6.36), where the complement of *-lö* is a nominalization expressing an inherent characteristic of the referent.

- (6.36) *Nünge=lö* *lë-tabâ-ngö*
 man=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-hunt-NMLZ₂
 ‘Male hunter (lit. male of hunting).’

Two additional examples of this type are shown in (6.37) and (6.38).

- (6.37) *Leplë* *ngö* *lë-gwa-ngö*
 person ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-run-NMLZ₂
 ‘Runner (lit. person of running).’

- (6.38) *Olë=wö* *lë-(v)elia-ngö*
 Girl=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 ‘Female dancer (lit. woman of dancing).’

Associative constructions can also express membership, relationships of subordination and abstract feelings as shown below.

| MEMBERSHIP | SUBORDINATION | ABSTRACT FEELINGS |
|--|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>nowidu lö leplë</i> ‘people’s tribe’ | <i>God ngö=nu</i> ‘my God’ | <i>aluli ngö God</i> ‘glory of God’ |
| | | <i>niwa lö=nu</i> ‘my love, my kindness’ |

Relations of locations of the type ‘from, belonging to place X’ are the most common relations encoded by associative constructions.

LOCATION

leplë ngö Italy ‘person from/belonging to Italy’

leplë ngö mwetelya ‘people from village’

nünge=lö Tikopia ‘man from Tikopia’

natü lö Nablawi ‘language of Nablawi’

olë=wö Nea ‘woman from Nea’

The final example of this section, *läikü ngö mwilëpu* ‘yams for dinner’, seems to encode a purposive relation. An additional example is provided below.

- (6.39) *Topola* *ngö* *da-lë-ng.*
basket ASS.MRK thing-PFV.3AUG-eat
‘Basket for food’

6.2.6.2 Accretion of associative markers

The associative markers mentioned above show the tendency of undergoing a gradual process of accretion to the head noun. In Oceanic languages, possessive/associative markers showing accretion are attested. For instance, Ozanne-Rivierre (1991) shows examples of genitive markers in some Oceanic languages of New Caledonia that got accreted to the noun root. This phenomenon is typically associated with parts of a whole, parts of plants, etc. (1991: 321), involving constructions where the ‘possessor’ is inanimate. Relational prepositions in Äiwoo display a similar pattern, in that with certain nouns, they may have accreted leading to forms which are indistinguishable from directly possessed nouns (Næss 2017). In terms of phonological shape, the Äiwoo prepositions, *eä/wä*, *lä*, *nä*, and *ngä*, are similar to the Nalögo forms *ngö*, *ö*, *lö* and *-wö*, the only difference being that associative prepositions in Äiwoo are marked for person and number of the possessor. This property is what causes nouns with accreted prepositions to look like those which are obligatorily possessed by possessive suffixes, as mentioned above. In Nalögo, associative markers are not marked for person and number of the possessor, but they take possessor forms as possessive classifiers do (see §6.2.1).

In Nalögo, not all the forms show the same degree of accretion: while the associative marker *-wö* is only found attached to the NP head, *ngö*, *lö* and *ö* do not need to be.

An interesting point of this discussion refers to those roots that according to Wurm (1972b), undergo morphophonemic changes when they are directly possessed (§6.2.2 for further details). In Nalögo, the noun *nökü* ‘shirt’ takes the form *nökwö* (~ *nökwe*) when the possessor-indexing

form =*nu* attaches to it as in *nökwö=nu* ‘my shirt’. The latter could be the result of the accretion of the form =*ö* to the original root, with the consequent formation of the glide (/ü/ > /w/). In some cases, this phenomenon leads to semantic change. For instance, the word *mweli* ‘time’ displays a similar form, *mwelyö* ‘period of time’, which is clearly the result of accretion of the associative =*ö* to the original noun. The form for ‘period of time’ occurs with a possessor. As for the cases of accretion in Äiwoo, it is not easy to establish if these examples should be regarded as associative or direct constructions. However, with certain constructions, accreted markers form a unit with the root. Evidence is given by the pluralisation of some nouns through the pluraliser =*ng*. (6.40) is an example.

| | |
|--|---|
| (6.40) <i>Niinge=lö=ng</i> boy=ASS.MRK=PL ‘Male hunters’ | <i>lä-tabâ-ngö</i> NMLZ ₁ -hunt-NMLZ ₂ |
|--|---|

In (6.40), =*ng* attaches to the root to which =*lö* is attached. In this respect, this associative construction patterns like direct constructions where =*ng* attaches to the directly possessed form (e.g. *kani=nu=ng* ‘my relatives’).

7. DEMONSTRATIVES

This chapter is devoted to an overview of the forms and functions of demonstratives in Nalögo. Section §7.1 provides a basic definition of demonstrative forms and their functions, as well as a summary of the sets of demonstratives attested in Nalögo. In §7.2, I describe the parameters involved in the organisation of the sets, including distance-related distinctions, the position of the speech participants, the notion of ‘attention-directing’ and pragmatic meanings. Finally, section §7.3 is devoted to a detailed description of the various demonstrative sets and their functions.

7.1 Definition and summary of the functions

Deixis is widely recognised as playing a special role in the organisation of the grammar of the world’s languages (Levinson 2004). The functions of deixis are anchored to the moment of speech, the *hic et nunc* of the utterance, which changes along with other parameters, such as the position of the participants. Among various morphological loci where deixis is realised, adverbs and demonstratives, such as the English ‘this’ or ‘that’, constitute the most prototypical elements to convey spatial deictic functions.

In this chapter, I describe the main forms and functions of demonstratives in Nalögo. Their use is extremely pervasive in the discourse. In this analysis, I adopt the definition of ‘demonstrative’ proposed by Diessel (1999: 2), which can be summarised in the following points:

- Demonstratives are “deictics serving specific syntactic functions” (Diessel 1999: 2). This notion includes demonstrative forms such as pronouns, noun modifiers, and locational adverbs (e.g. English ‘here’ and ‘there’).
- Demonstratives are characterized by specific semantic features, as they express distance contrasts.
- Demonstratives are used to express pragmatic functions, i.e. to “orient the listener outside of discourse in the surrounding situation”. Secondly, they can be used to “organize the information flow in the ongoing discourse” (Diessel 1999: 2).

The categories of demonstratives in Nalögo proposed in this chapter are based on the criteria mentioned above. In terms of syntax, Diessel (1999) identifies four contexts or ‘loci’ where deixis is realised: (i) pronominal, (ii) adnominal, (iii) adverbial and (iv) identificational. Not all

languages display the demonstrative contexts listed in (i-iv). In this analysis, the categories of demonstratives are regarded as distinct if they differ both formally and syntactically.

Nalögo displays a fairly rich system of demonstrative sets involving the following five sets:

- i. Nominal demonstratives (§7.3.1)
- ii. Adverbial demonstratives (§7.3.2)
- iii. Demonstrative identifiers (§7.3.3)
- iv. Locative demonstratives (§7.3.4)
- v. Existential demonstratives (§7.3.5)

Set (i) includes demonstrative forms which can function as NP heads or NP modifiers. Nominal demonstrative can be core arguments of predicates and topics at discourse level. Functionally, they are the richest demonstrative devices in the language, given that their functions range from spatial to textual. They are described in §7.3.1.

Set (ii) includes adverbial demonstratives of the type ‘here/there/over there’. They have mostly spatial function; they can also have an adverbial function or function as predicate arguments. They are described in §7.3.2.

Set (iii) includes a set of demonstrative identifiers ‘be this one here/there/over there.’ They are mainly found in verbless clauses and their function is to introduce a new referent in the discourse. They are described in §7.3.3.

Set (iv) includes locative demonstratives ‘be here/ there/ over there’, which mostly have a predicative function. They are described in §7.3.4.

Set (v) involves existential demonstratives which display a predicative function. They are described in §7.3.5.

Finally, section §7.3.6 provides examples of very common expressions involving demonstrative forms and the similative verb *ngâ* ‘be like’.

Along with syntax, Nalögo demonstratives are characterized by semantic parameters. First, they all express distance-related contrasts. Along with distance, the two other parameters which play a role in the organisation of the sets are the position of speech participants and the notion of ‘attention-directing’. Finally, Nalögo demonstratives also display pragmatic functions. These parameters are described in §7.2.

Before describing the demonstrative sets mentioned above, it is worth pointing out that as is well known, describing deictics in a language is not always an easy task. In Nalögo, demonstrative forms can be subject to dialectal variation. In Santa Cruz communities, speakers are in contact with various languages and dialects; thus, sometimes, they can select different forms for the same context. Some of the examples on which this analysis is based are taken from texts, while others are based on elicitations. In the light of this, what I propose here is a primary analysis of the Nalögo demonstrative forms. More fine-grained studies based on further data are left for future research.

7.2 Semantic and pragmatic parameters

In the following sections, I describe the properties of the parameters on which the Nalögo demonstrative sets are organized, including distance-related contrasts (§7.2.1), the position of speech participant (§7.2.2), the ‘attention-directing’ notion (§7.2.3) and pragmatic functions (§7.2.4).

7.2.1 Distance

The term ‘distance’ refers to the distance from the speaker and/or deictic centre. Nalögo has a three-way distinction including proximal, medial and distal forms, at least in the speaker-anchored forms (see §7.2.2 for the distinction between speaker- and listener-anchored forms).

Three-way systems of demonstratives are common across Oceanic languages and are thought to originate in the POc three-way person-oriented system (Ross 2004b: 177). In the other RSC languages, only Engdewu displays a three-way contrastive system (Vaa 2013: 241); whereas Äiwoo and Natügu display only the proximal/distal distinction (Vaa 2006; van den Berg & Boerger 2011) In this respect, from a diachronic point of view, Nalögo and Engdewu appear more conservative.

Formally, this three-way system is characterized by vowel grades to encode distance contrasts. The role of vowels in encoding deixis has been pointed out by Woodworth (1991) who claims that distal forms are thought to display lower and wider vowels; while proximal forms display higher and narrower vowels (see Imai (2003: 34-35) for further explanations). However, not all languages seem to follow the same pattern (Imai 2003: 34). In Nalögo, Woodworth’s hypothesis is only partially supported, the proximal and distal forms involve the front vowels /a/ and /ä/, respectively; while distal forms are formed with the back vowel /â/. The distinction related to the backness between proximal/medial and distal forms is in line with Woodworth’s prediction.

With respect to height, we would expect the medial form to have a closer vowel than the one attested in the proximal form. In Nalögo, the vowel /ä/ of the medial form is a mid-open vowel as opposed to the open /a/ of the proximal form. The Nalögo vowel-grade distinctions do not follow exactly the same pattern found in the POC reconstructed demonstrative system (Ross 2004b: 178). POC had a three-way contrast involving **i/*e* vowel grade for ‘proximal, near speaker’, **a* vowel grade for ‘medial, near listener’, and **o/*u* vowel grades for ‘distal, away from both interlocutors’ (Lynch et al. 2002: 72). In Nalögo, the vowel grade in distal forms is retained, but proximal and medial forms display a different pattern. The parameter of distance often interacts with the position of speech participants (§7.2.2).

7.2.2 Speech participants

The second semantic parameter involved in the selection of demonstratives is the position of speech participants. Imai (2003: 15-16; 19-20) makes a useful distinction between the notion of ‘anchor’ and the one of ‘deictic centre’. The term anchor is defined as “the base to which referents are related in deixis”, whereas the deictic centre “usually refers to the location of the speaker” (2003: 15). The English deictic forms ‘this’ and ‘that’ are speaker-anchored, in the sense that the respective proximal and distal relations are accounted for by the relative distance from the speaker as a deictic centre. Given that languages use the speaker as an anchor for the demonstratives, it can be defined as the ‘primary anchor’ of deixis. In other languages, along with the speaker/deictic centre, the system is sensitive to a ‘secondary anchor’, that is, the listener. For instance, Japanese displays three forms: ‘kore’ ‘this one’ and ‘are’ ‘that one’ are speaker-oriented, while ‘sore’ ‘that one close to the addressee’ is listener-oriented. In the case of ‘kore’ and ‘are’, the selection of one form over the other is determined by the relative distance from the speaker/deictic centre. In the case of ‘sore’, by contrast, the selection of this form is sensitive to the position of the listener, the ‘secondary anchor’, but simultaneously to the speaker’s location as a centre.

The Nalögo system is similar to the one mentioned for Japanese, in that there is a distinction between ‘speaker-anchored’ forms and ‘listener-anchored’ forms. This parameter interacts with distance contrasts, neutralizing some distinctions. Speakers might also disagree on some fine-grained semantic distinctions for specific forms. More detailed studies are required to test this parameter across the demonstrative sets.

7.2.3 ‘Attention-directing’ notion

The ‘attention-directing’ function refers to the use of demonstratives to trigger the listener’s attention on an entity or an event which is attention-worthy because of its relevance for the ongoing situation. While in the past, most studies on demonstratives focused on their spatial properties, more recently, research on this topic has revealed “a growing number of cases where demonstratives can best be understood as grammatical devices for bringing one’s interlocutor’s attention into line with one’s own” (Evans et al. 2018: 123). This function of demonstratives is regarded as part of the more general notion of ‘engagement’, intended as a way to encode the relative accessibility to the speaker and the listener of an entity or an event (Evans et al.2018: 123). The ‘attention-directing’ parameter seems to be less involved in the organisation of the demonstrative sets than the other parameters.

7.2.4 Pragmatics

Typologically, the functions of demonstratives can be summarized under the distinction between ‘exophoric’ and ‘endophoric’ functions. Figure 7-1 is taken from Diessel (1999: 6). It summarizes schematically the main pragmatic functions of demonstratives.

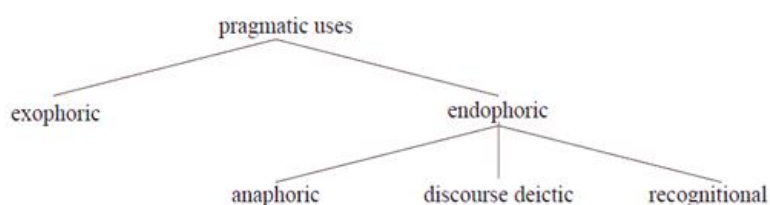


Figure 7-1. The pragmatics of demonstratives (Diessel 1999: 6)

Based on Diessel’s description, this section provides a brief description for each function found in §7.4.

The notion ‘exophoric’ involves demonstrative forms referring to entities which are present in the speech moment; while ‘endophoric’ functions include all the other uses, including anaphoric, discourse deictic and recognitional (Diessel 1999: 91). Exophoric functions include spatial and temporal functions. Anaphoric and discourse uses are text-internal. The function of anaphoric demonstratives is to refer anaphorically to a prior NP referent to track it across clause, while discourse demonstratives are related to textual cohesion, in that, they refer to previously

mentioned utterances, portions of text, or to the whole text. Finally, the recognitional function is used to express referents which are part of the knowledge shared between speaker and listener without any previous mention in the discourse. In Nalögo, this function is performed by nominal demonstratives.

7.3 Demonstrative sets

7.3.1 Nominal demonstratives

Dixon (2003: 65) uses the term ‘nominal’ demonstratives to refer to one of the most common types of demonstratives which are able to function as NP modifiers, occurring with a noun or a pronoun, and “in most languages” as NP heads. This definition groups together the forms traditionally referred to as ‘demonstrative pronouns’ and ‘demonstrative adjectives’ (cf. Diessel (1999) distinguishes formally ‘pronominal’ and ‘adnominal’ demonstratives).

In Nalögo, nominal demonstratives function as NP modifiers, and most of them can also occur as NP heads. Semantically, the organisation of this set is sensitive to the parameters of distance and position of speech participants. Table 7-1 below shows how these two parameters interact.

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED | <i>ka(=ng)</i> ‘this’ | <i>kä(=ng)</i> ‘that’ | <i>kâ(=ng)</i> ‘that over there’ |
| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | NON-PROXIMAL | |
| LISTENER-ANCHORED | - | <i>kla(=ng)</i> ‘that one over there’ | <i>la(=ng)</i> ‘that, that over there’ |

Table 7-1. Nominal demonstratives

In Table 7-1, there is a distinction between speaker-anchored and listener-anchored forms. While speaker-anchor forms show a three-way distance contrast (proximal, medial and distal), listener-anchored forms make a distinction between proximal and non-proximal forms, the latter subsuming the medial and distal distance distinctions. All the forms in the table can be pluralized by the pluralizer =ng. Given that nouns in Nalögo do not take much nominal morphology (Chapter 4), the plurality of NP heads is frequently expressed on modifiers,

including demonstrative forms⁵². In Table 7-1, the plural marker =ng is indicated in the brackets.

With speaker-anchored forms, the speaker functions as a primary anchor and as a deictic centre. As mentioned in §7.2.2, the term ‘anchor’ refers to “the base to which referents are related in deixis”, while ‘deictic centre’ refers to the “location of the speaker” (Imai 2003: 15-16; 19-20). This means that the three forms *ka*, *kä* and *kâ*, encoding proximal, medial and distal relations, respectively, are accounted for by the relative distance from the speaker as a deictic centre. By contrast listener-anchored forms have a primary and a secondary anchor. The former is the speaker, which also functions as deictic center; while the latter is the listener. Two examples with the speaker-anchored demonstrative *kä* and the listener-anchored demonstrative *kla* are given below to explain this concept.

(7.1) *Cup kä!*
cup DEM₁.PROX
‘That cup!’

(7.2) *Cup kla!*
cup DEM_{1,L}.NPROX
‘That cup (close to the listener).’

Sentences (7.1) and (7.2) are elicited examples. In the context of (7.1), the speaker and the listener were physically close and far from a cup located in the middle of the room. Sentence (7.1) was the reply of the speaker to the listener’s question “Where is the cup?”. In the context of (7.2), the listener got physically close to the same cup, standing far from the speaker. The use of the listener-anchored form in (7.2) by contrast with (7.1) is determined by the position of the listener who functions as a secondary anchor. The contrast related to the position of the participants in (7.1) and (7.2) interacts only with the medial/distal distinctions, but not with the proximal one, i.e. when the speaker and the listener are both in proximity of another referent, speaker-anchored forms are used. Given that the listener-anchored forms used for medial/distal distinctions are the same ones as shown in Table 7-1, I consider them as being part of the same category which subsumes the medial/distal distinctions, called ‘non-proximal’, as opposed to a ‘proximal’ unmarked category⁵³. In terms of glossing, nominal demonstratives are glossed as

⁵² Typologically, at the NP-level, Nalögo could be classified as a dependent-marking language.

⁵³ The forms *kla* and *la* show some differences in their distribution. In terms of their spatial uses, while the form *kla* is attested functioning both as a NP head and a modifier, the form *la* is only attested as NP modifier.

‘DEM₁’ where the number 1 stands for the first set of demonstrative forms (nominal). The distance distinctions are indicated as ‘PROX’, ‘MED’ and ‘DIST’. Listener-anchored forms are indicated as ‘DEM_{1,L}’ where ‘L’ stands for the listener⁵⁴. The non-proximal distance is glossed as ‘NPROX’.

The syntactic distribution and semantic/pragmatic functions of these forms are described in the following subsections. §7.3.1.1 and §7.3.1.2 are devoted to the spatial and temporal uses of nominal demonstratives; while §7.3.1.3, §7.3.1.4 and §7.3.1.5 are devoted to their anaphoric, recognitional and discourse uses, respectively. Finally, in §7.3.1.6, I describe some complex nominal forms made up of nominal demonstratives and bound nouns.

7.3.1.1 Spatial use

The spatial function of nominal demonstratives is very common in Nalögo. These demonstratives refer to entities which are present in the situational context. Their use is often accompanied by a pointing or eye gesture. Sentences (7.3), (7.4), and (7.5) show examples with the speaker-anchored proximal, medial and distal demonstratives functioning as NP heads.

(7.3) *Ka* *la-a-koplau=bwe*
 DEM₁.PROX PASS.PFV-CAUS-face.opposite=DIR.thither
 ‘[...] and this one is placed opposite (to the other one)’ (nalogo005)

(7.4) *La-a-mö=bwe* *kä,* *la-a-mö=m*
 PASS.PFV-CAUS-turn=DIR.thither DEM₁.MED PASS.PFV-turn=DIR.hither
ka.
 DEM₁.PROX
 ‘You turn that one away, you turn this one towards.’ (nalogo005)

(7.5) *Kâ=ng* *i-veplö.*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.strong
 ‘Those ones are strong.’ (nalogo039)

In (7.3) and (7.4), the proximal demonstrative *ka* refers to coconut leaves; while in (7.5), the proximal demonstrative refers to the leaves of the cabbage that the speech participants are

⁵⁴ The forms of the other demonstrative sets are glossed in the same way. Different numbers refer to different sets of demonstratives.

cleaning. In (7.5), the pluralizer =*ng* is the only marker of plurality, since the verb is not marked for the augmented number.

Speaker-anchored forms with spatial functions can also function as NP modifiers, as in (7.6), (7.7) and (7.8), where they follow the NP heads. These forms can be pluralized as in (7.6) and (7.8). Again, the pluralizer =*ng* is the only marker for the plurality of referents.

(7.6) *Da ka=ng ningia=de i-pwëtu.*
 thing DEM₁.PROX=PL liquid=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘These things have a lot of liquid’. (nalogo039)

(7.7) *Cup kä!*
 cup DEM₁.MED
 ‘That cup there!’ (field notes 2018)

(7.8) *Lopta kâ=ng yökö=pe.*
 cabbage DEM₁.DIST=PL finish=COS
 ‘Those cabbage leaves over there are finished.’ (nalogo039)

Listener-anchored forms can also express spatial functions. Three examples with the forms *kla* and *la* are shown in (7.9), (7.10) and (7.11). The difference between the two is accounted for by their syntactic properties. While *kla* can be used both as NP head and modifier as in (7.9) and (7.10), respectively, *la* can only be used as NP modifier as in (7.11)⁵⁵.

(7.9) *Cup kla⁵⁶!*
 cup DEM_{1,L}.NPROX
 ‘That cup there/over there!’ (field notes 2018)

(7.10) *Kla=ng t(ü)-vöblömi-ti=ng i-wrong.*
 DEM_{1,L}.NPROX=PL IPFV.N3AUG-make-TR=2MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-wrong
 ‘Those you are making are wrong.’ (nalogo039)

(7.11) *Taem la ne=m nolö=pe?*
 time DEM_{1,L}.NPROX animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS what=COS
 ‘What is your time there?’ (looking at the listener’s watch)’ (nalogo039)

⁵⁵ This observation only concerns the spatial use of the listener-anchored nominal demonstratives.

⁵⁶ An alternative form *la* with the same meaning is also attested in the data.

Example (7.9), which has been already described in §7.3.1, refers to the cup which is close to the listener (it can be in contact with it or just in the proximity), functioning as a second anchor. The form *kla=ng* in (7.10) refers to some cabbage leaves that are physically close to the listener. Finally, in (7.11), the form *la* modifies the NP head *taem*, which refers to the watch that the listener is wearing.

Nominal demonstratives can also be used with additional exophoric functions, involving, for instance, actions performed at the moment of speech as in (7.12), where the proximal form *ka* refers to the action that the speaker is performing in the moment of speech.

(7.12) *Ka* *kä-lë-ngâ=nö=de,* *yagla=m=na!*
 DEM₁.PROX way-PASS.PFV-make=APPL=3MIN.SBJ LOOK=DIR.hither=JUSS
 ‘This is how to make it, look here first! (nalogo039)’

(7.13) is an additional example where *ka*, which modifies the NP head *da* ‘thing’, refers to the action that the speaker and listener are performing in the speech moment.

(7.13) *Noglâ* *yökö-pä=bwe* *da* *ka*
 today finish-out=DIR.thither thing DEM₁.PROX
t(ü)-öblemi=ki.
 IPFV.N3AUG-do=1+2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Today after this thing we are doing...’ (nalogo039)

In (7.14) and (7.15) below, the listener-anchored forms *la* and *kla*, functioning as NP modifier and NP head, respectively, refer to the song that the listener has just sang and to the physical action the listener is performing, respectively.

(7.14) *Copy=ng* *nabwe* *la.*
 copy=2MIN.SBJ song DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘You copy that song.’ (nalogo039)

(7.15) *Eu* *eu,* *dakâ* *kla!*
 yes yes do DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘Yes, yes do that!’ (nalogo039)

The difference between (7.12) and (7.13) on the one hand, and (7.14) and (7.15) on the other, is that (7.14) and (7.15) refer to actions which are only performed by the listener.

7.3.1.2 Temporal use

In Nalögo, some nominal demonstratives occur with the temporal noun *mweli* ‘time’ in temporal expressions. The most common way to refer to the speech moment is by using the nominal expression *mweli ka* ‘this time’, in which the proximal *ka* functions as NP modifier. Syntactically, the whole NP displays an adverbial function. Given that Nalögo does not have a rich tense system, making an extensive use of adverbial temporal expressions is useful to frame the event in time. These NPs occur in various positions in the clause; there are no specific restrictions, as in (7.16) and (7.17). In (7.17), the speaker talks about the introduction of the Western-style dishes in the island. As modifiers of *mweli*, the nominal demonstratives can take the pluralizer =*ng*.

(7.16) *Okei, mweli ka t(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa*
 okay time DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.thither
bwe lö...
 story ASS.MRK
 ‘Okay, now I am telling a story about...’ (nalogo065)

(7.17) *Dis awi tü-vě-tö=p mweli ka=ng*
 dish just IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither time DEM₁.PROX=PL
tëipwö.
 only
 ‘The dish just came in only these times.’ (nalogo062)

Example (7.16) refers to the moment of speech. Example (7.17) encompasses a time period including the present moment. The noun *mweli* also occurs with the distal demonstrative *kâ* to express past temporal reference (e.g. *mweli kâ* ‘in the past’). (7.18), (7.19) and (7.20) are three examples.

(7.18) *Kâ i-ngâ=nö=na teglu kâ*
 DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-do=APPL=1MIN.SBJ fan DEM₁.DIST
mweli kâ.
 time DEM₁.DIST
 ‘That way I did the fan last time (lit. that way in which I did the fan last time).’
 (nalogo062)

(7.19) *Leplë kâ lë-kütâ te=lë-mo=peu=lö=lü*
 people LNK PFV.3AUG-be.small NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-see=even=3AUG.SBJ=NEG₂
towa kâ=ng mweli kâ.
 money DEM₁.DIST=PL time DEM₁.DIST

‘Young people do not even see the money (used) then in the past.’ (nalogo012)

- (7.20) ...*Aki mweli kâ*
 because time DEM₁.DIST
te=i-vö-use=wom=lü dish.
 NEG₁-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-use=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂ dish
 ‘Because in the past we didn’t use dishes.’ (nalogo012)

Mweli kâ in (7.18) refers to a specific moment in a recent past, while expressions in (7.19) and (7.20) refer to any moment in the past before the speech moment. Syntactically, the temporal NP can be sentence-final as in (7.18) and (7.19), or not as in (7.20).

The proximal and distal demonstratives can occur together in the temporal expression *mweli kâ ka*. This type of expression frames the event in a recent past, which has some kind of relevance for the present time. In (7.21), the speaker describes the expression *mweli kâ ka* as ‘the time before now’, or ‘last time’. The form *kâ* and *ka* refer to a moment in the past and to the present moment, respectively.

- (7.21) *Mweli kâ ka teglu*
 time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX fan
i-ngâ=le ble.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ be.different
 ‘Last time the fan was like different.’ (nalogo062)

Two additional examples are shown in (7.22) and (7.23).

- (7.22) *Mweli kâ ka*
 time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX
t(ü)-ö-vë=ngö=ni teglu *e-pi=bwa*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave=APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ FAN ?-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither
mwale-ulë nge ka.
 hold-tight PRAG.MRK DEM₁.PROX
 ‘When we wove the fan, I told you to hold tight this one.’ (nalogo062)

- (7.23) *I-pi=bwa mweli kâ ka,*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX
te-i-völale=u=lü.
 NEG₁-PFV.N3AUG-listen=2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
 ‘I told (it) to you before, you didn’t listen.’ (nalogo061)

The listener-anchored form *la* can also occur with the temporal noun *mweli* as shown in (7.24), where the temporal expression refers to the previous sentence, temporally linking the event to the one that follows.

| | | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| (7.24) | <i>Tü-ulâ=pme</i> | <i>topnö</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>mweli</i> |
| | IPFV.N3AUG-fly=COS | NEG.EXIST | COORD | time |
| | <i>la</i> | <i>mö-kâ</i> | | <i>tü-tabâ...</i> |
| | DEM _{1.L} .NPROX | male-DEM ₁ .DIST | | IPFV.N3AUG-hunt |
| | ‘It (the bird) tries to fly, nothing, and in that moment the man hunting...’ (nalogo025) | | | |

7.3.1.3 Anaphoric use

In Nalögo, proximal and distal demonstrative forms of nominal demonstratives can function as anaphoric devices, as shown in (7.25) where the form *kâ* is used to track a referent.

| | | | | |
|--------|--|------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| (7.25) | <i>(W)oula-nö-pä=le</i> | <i>kâ</i> | <i>bä</i> | <i>nowe</i> |
| | throw-DISP-out=3MIN.SBJ | DEM ₁ .DIST | PREP | door |
| | ‘She throws that one out of the door.’ (nalogo010) | | | |

In (7.25), *kâ* refers to one of the previously mentioned protagonists of the narrative. The story is about two personified animals, a dog and a hermit crab, who want to rob an old woman of her food. During the night, the woman finds out that the hermit crab is trying to steal her food, so she picks it up from the ground and throws it out of the door. At this point of the narrative, the woman, who is in focus of attention, is tracked by the 3MIN subject enclitic *=le*, while *kâ* refers to the hermit crab⁵⁷.

Similar functions are shown in (7.26) and (7.27). These examples are taken from a procedural text where the speaker is explaining how to catch honey-eater birds. In (7.26), the last occurrence of the form *kâ* refers back to the branches of the tree as sleeping place for the honey-eater birds. In (7.27), the form *kâ* refers back to the bird’s feather which is not overtly

⁵⁷ Crosslinguistically, a number of scholars have studied the role of demonstratives as anaphors in relation to that of other reference tracking devices such as pronouns or definite articles (see Diessel 1999: 96). These studies show that anaphoric demonstratives are often used to refer back to referents which are “unexpected and not currently in focus of attention” (Diessel 1999: 96). Given that no frequency tests have been applied to this use of demonstratives, at this stage, it is not possible to make a similar statement for the Nalögo demonstratives. However, the feature of being “not currently in focus of attention” seems to characterize the use of the demonstrative in (7.25).

mentioned. The focus of attention are the impersonal 2MIN subject =ng and the hunter expressed by =le in (7.26) and (7.27), respectively.

- (7.26) *A-tu-ti=pe=ng* *nöla=de* *kâ=ng*
 CAUS-stand-TR=COS=2MIN.SBJ branch=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST=PL
aki *da* *kâ* *të-mwi=ngö=de*
 because thing DEM₁.DIST PASS.IPFV-sleep=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
la=ng. *I-daka=ng* *kâ* *i-kele.*
 DEM₁.1.L=PL PFV.N3AUG-make=2MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘You make its branches stand, because the thing where they sleep on are those ones.
 You make it good’ (nalogo026)

- (7.27) *I-pli-ti=le* *i-pli-ti=le* *yökö*
 PFV.N3AUG-remove-TR =3MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-remove=TR=3MIN.SBJ QNT
ä *jâ* *t(ü)-velü=po=te* *bä* *betepu,*
 COORD SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-put=again=3MIN.SBJ PREP coconut.shell
i-velu=le *kâ* *bä* *betepu.*
 PFV.N3AUG-put=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST PREP coconut.shell
 ‘He removes (the feather) all and then he put (it) down in the coconut shell, he put that
 down in the coconut shell [...]’ (nalogo026)

The listener-anchored form *kla* can also track referents in the discourse, as in (7.28), where it refers to the fruits of the trees that the speaker already mentioned to the listener. The listener-anchored form *la* do not seem to perform the function of *kla* in (7.28).

- (7.28) *Naa nuwâ na=gom* *topnö* *kâ-i-tüka*
 fruit tree food.CLF=1AUG.SBJ NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-be.bad
kla=ng *i-kele.*
 DEM₁.L=PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘As for our fruits, there are no bad ones, those are good.’ (nalogo032)

Nominal demonstratives functioning as NP modifiers are also used to track referents. Sentences (7.29) and (7.30) are examples.

- (7.29) *Nigom* *â* *tü-vö-kâ=pe* *nölu.*
 1AUG PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-scratch=COS coconut
Nölu *kâ=ng* *lë-kâ* *lë-kâ*
 coconut DEM₁.DIST=PL PASS.PFV-scrape PASS.PFV-scratch
yökö.
 finish
 ‘We scrape coconut. Those coconuts we scrape, we scrape (them) all.’ (nalogo021)

(7.30) *Kä lë-(v)elia=kö* *kâ Meläke*
 SUBR PFV.3AUG-dance=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST Meläke
tü-gwa-u=pme mö nivliö nöwë bä
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-down=COS PREP inside dancing.ring PREP
lë-omwauvle-ngö. Kä i-vë-u=le
 NMLZ₁-smoke-NMLZ₂ SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go-down=3MIN.SBJ
kâ ti-pi=pme=bwe olë kâ...
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-say=COS=DIR.thither girl DEM₁.DIST
 ‘When they were dancing, Meläke went down along the side of the dancing circle to smoke. When he went down, what the girl said...’ (nalogo060)

In (7.29), after a previous mention, the referent is directly tracked by the distal demonstrative. In (7.30), the referent *olë* modified by *kâ* occurs in the last sentence. In the previous portion of text, the centre of attention is another protagonist of the story, the supernatural being *Meläke*. It is mentioned once and tracked by the 3MIN subject =*le*. The function of the demonstrative *kâ* modifying the noun *olë* is to reactivate another protagonist, which is part of the story, but not at the centre of attention.

Example (7.31) below shows the pluralized form *la=ng*. The listener-anchored demonstrative refers back to a previously mentioned referent.

(7.31) *Mweli kâ tü-ö-na=ngö=nom*
 time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-dry=APPL=1AUG.SBJ
nubo nigom â
 dried.breadfruit 1AUG PRAG.MRK
t(ü)-vö-ya-kö=pme bia la=ng
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel-take.soft.bits.off=COS breadfruit DEM₁.L.NPROX=PL
ya-kö=kom
 PFV.N3AUG-peel-take.soft.bits.off=1AUG.SBJ
yökö-pä=bwe.
 finish-out-DIR.hither
 ‘When we dry nubo, we peel breadfruit, after peeling those breadfruits’ (nalogo062)

In (7.32), *lang* has a similar function. The demonstrative modifies the word *da* and allows the NP to refer back to previously mentioned referents.

(7.32) *Kä lë-tâ-tö=p=gö* *kâ* *plate*
 SUBR PFV.3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST plate
kâ=ng *dish da la=ng*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL dish thing DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
i-tek-pä=le *i-tek-pä=le*
 PFV.N3AUG-change-out=3MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-change-out=3MIN.SBJ
yökö mweli ka.
 QNT time DEM₁.PROX
 ‘When they (white people) brought plate, dishes, those things change (and) change everything now.’ (nalogo012)

7.3.1.4 Recognitional use

Nominal speaker-anchored demonstratives can display a recognitional use, i.e. they can be used to activate a referent belonging to the speech participants’ common knowledge, not previously mentioned in the discourse (Diessel 1999: 105-109). In (7.33), the bare noun *bia* ‘breadfruit’ is introduced as a new referent referring to breadfruit trees that people climb during breadfruit season. Then, the noun *bia* is mentioned a second time, but this time referring to introduce the fruits of the breadfruit in the discourse. This new referent occurs in the clause modified by the nominal demonstrative *kâ=ng*. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the mention of the breadfruit trees activates the notion ‘breadfruit fruits’ as part of the shared knowledge between the interlocutors. The common knowledge between the interlocutors can be experience-, environment- or culturally-based.

(7.33) *I-vë=kom* *mö* *lë-(w)o-lë-ngö*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=1AUG.SBJ PREP NMLZ₁-climb-up-NMLZ₂
bia mö napöki. *I-twë=m=gom*
 breadfruit PREP bamboo PFV.N3AUG-take=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ
bia kâ=ng mö böma
 breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL PREP house
ne=gom.
 animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘And we go climbing breadfruit tree. We take those breadfruits to our house.’
 (nalogo042)

7.3.1.5 Discourse use

Discourse demonstratives refer to the surrounding discourse. They do not refer to a previously mentioned NP, rather, to the whole proposition. “Discourse deictic demonstratives focus the listener’s attention on some aspects of meaning, expressed by a clause, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire story” (Diessel 1999: 101). Sentences (7.34) and (7.35) are two examples with speaker-anchored demonstratives.

(7.34) *Nü-mwa-ki-ti=kälë=wi* *kâ=ng*
 IRR.N3AUG-bite-rigid.obj-TR=later=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL
i-woplëwe. *I-kele=ka* *ba=m?*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.strong PFV.N3AUG-be.good=DEM₁.PROX PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘We will bite the strong ones. Is this good for you?’ (nalogo039)

(7.35) a) *Tü-kö=nga.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-sing=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am about to sing.’ (speaker A)

b) *Eu* *i-kele=ka.* *Kö!*
 yes PFV.N3AUG-be.good=DEM₁.PROX sing
 ‘Yes, that’s good. Sing!’ (speaker B) (nalogo039)

In (7.34), the pronominal speaker-anchored demonstrative =*ka* refers to a previous utterance. Example (7.35b) shows a similar case where the proximal form *ka* refers back to the content of the previous utterance. The form *ikeleka* ‘alright’ is very frequent, functioning like an idiomatic expression.

In the examples above, the demonstratives refer to previously mentioned utterances. It is also possible for demonstratives to refer to paragraphs of texts or to the whole text as in (7.36) where the demonstrative *ka* refers back to the whole story.

(7.36) *Awi Valentina mö lë-yapwe-ti-gö=bwa*
 thank Valentina PREP NMLZ₁-tell-APPL-NMLZ₃=1MIN.SBJ.thither
ba=m *bwe ka.*
 PREP=2MIN.OBJ story DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Thank you, Valentina, for letting me tell you this story.’ (nalogo042)

Nominal proximal and distal forms can also function cataphorically as in (7.37) and (7.38). In (7.37), *ka* refers to the following sentence, while in (7.38), *kâ* refers to the following questions.

(7.37) *I-pi=bwe=le,* “*Ka*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.PROX
tü-a-boulëu-te=ng ni mâ pwöla
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-sink-in=2MIN.SBJ 1MIN DEM₂.DIST⁵⁸ sea
 ‘He (the man) said: “this (I am scared of), that you drown me there in the sea.”’
 (nalogo002)

(7.38) *Ba kâ i-pi=ng,* “*Tü-vëpe=ng*
 yeah DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-say=2MIN.SBJ IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ
lopta? T(ü)-vëpë=bwe ba nelö?
 cabbage IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP who
 ‘Yeah, I said that: “Are you going to buy cabbage? Who are you going to buy it from?”’
 (nalogo039)

7.3.1.6 Complex demonstrative forms with bound nouns

As described in Chapter 4, Nalögo displays two generic bound nouns, *i-* ‘female’ and *mö-* ‘male’, which can combine with various elements to form complex nominal expressions, including nominal demonstratives. When the bound noun *i-* combines with demonstratives, it expresses female referents, while *mö-* expresses male referents. These forms are shown in Table 7-2.

| PERSON PARAMETER | FEMALE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS | MALE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS |
|-------------------------|--|---|
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED FORMS | <i>i-ka</i> ‘this (female) one’ <i>i-kä</i> ‘that (female) one’ <i>i-kâ</i> ‘that (female) one over there’ | <i>mö-ka</i> ‘this (male) one’ <i>mö-kä</i> ‘that (male) one’ <i>mö-kâ</i> ‘that (male) one over there’ |
| LISTENER-ANCHORED FORMS | <i>i-kla</i> ‘that (female one) there (close to the listener)’ | <i>mö-kla</i> ‘that (male) one over there’ |

Table 7-2. Pronominal demonstratives with generic bound nouns *i-* ‘female’ and *mö-* ‘male’

Some examples attested in Table 7-2 appear in textual materials, while others were elicited examples. Two examples of these complex nominals are shown in (7.39) and (7.40).

⁵⁸ This form labelled ‘adverbial’ demonstrative is analysed in the following section.

(7.39) *Ka i-wäbu-ki=le laide*
 DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL=3MIN.SBJ side
ne i-ka.
 animate.CLF female-DEM₁.PROX
 ‘This one sits at the side of this girl (lit. the female one here).’ (nalogo039)

(7.40) *Ili plis oo i-tüka=pmo i-kä!*
 INTJ please INTJ PFV.N3AUG-be.bad=again female-DEM₁.MED
 ‘Ooh, please, it is wrong again girl (lit. female one there)⁵⁹!’ (nalogo005)

7.3.2 Adverbial demonstratives

Following (Diessel 1999: 74), ‘adverbial’ demonstratives refer to locational deictics like the English ‘here’ and ‘there’. From a syntactic viewpoint, locational deictics display an adverbial function, in that “they are primarily used to indicate the location of the event or situation that is expressed by a co-occurring verb; that is, locational deictics function as some sort of verb modifiers” (Diessel 1999: 74).

Nalögo displays a category of adverbial demonstrative which can function as core arguments or display an adverbial function. They are glossed as ‘DEM₂’. The set is sensitive to the parameters of distance and speech participants as shown in Table 7-3.

| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED | ‘here’ | <i>mä</i> ‘there’ | <i>mâ</i> ‘over there’ |
| | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
| LISTENER-ANCHORED | <i>la</i> ‘here’ | <i>la mla</i> ‘there’ | <i>mla</i> ‘over there’ |

Table 7-3. Adverbial demonstratives

There is a three-way distance distinction involving proximal, medial and distal forms, together with a distinction between speaker-anchored and listener-anchored forms. According to one speaker, the listener-anchored forms appear to be chosen if the listener functions as a secondary anchor and is closer to a third referent.

⁵⁹ In this context, the word *ikä* can be also translated as ‘sister’.

Sections §7.3.2.1 is devoted to spatial uses, while sections §7.3.2.2 is devoted to anaphoric uses.

7.3.2.1 Spatial use

Adverbial demonstratives can express spatial functions. Three examples with proximal, medial and distal speaker-anchored forms are in (7.41), (7.42) and (7.43).

(7.41) *Bwe ngö ma, ma Nea.*
 story ASS.MRK DEM₂.PROX DEM₂.PROX Nea
 ‘...a story from here, here in Nea.’ (nalogo001)

(7.42) *Cup kâ jä⁶⁰ mä.*
 cup DEM₁.DIST DEM₄.MED DEM₂.MED
 ‘The cup is there!’ (field notes 2018)

(7.43) *Nubwo pumpkin kâ i-woula-nö=ng*
 top pumpkin DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-throw-DISP=2MIN.SBJ
jä t(ü)-yöbu mâ⁶¹.
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-lie.down DEM₂.DIST
 ‘The top of the pumpkin you threw away is lying over there.’ (nalogo039)

Listener-anchored forms can also have spatial functions as shown in (7.44).

(7.44) *Tina, ka=po=p dötna gö=tu*
 Tina give=again=DIR.hither food general.CLF=1MIN.POSS
baisin mla.
 dish DEM₂.DIST
 ‘Tina, give me my dish over there.’ (nalogo039)

In many languages, adverbial demonstratives can be used as NP modifiers as in the English sentence ‘The girl over there is brilliant’. This function is also present with adverbial demonstratives in Nalögo as shown in (7.45) and (7.46).

(7.45) *Cup kla mla...*
 cup DEM₁.L.NPROX DEM₂.L.DIST
 ‘The cup (close to you) over there...’

⁶⁰ The form *jä* ‘be there’ is a locative demonstrative with a predicative function. The set of these forms is described in §7.3.4. Some examples of the combination of locative and adverbial demonstratives are found in §7.3.4.1.

⁶¹ Vowel variation is common among speakers. The distal form can be realized as *mo* or *mâ*.

(7.46) *Bwelomati* *kâ* *gö=m* *mo*
 bag DEM₁.DIST general.CLF=2MIN.POSS DEM₂.DIST
jâ *tü-bwämi*
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-get.wet
 ‘Your bag over there is getting wet.’ (field notes 2018)

In (7.45), the listener-anchored form *m̩la* functions as an NP modifier. Likewise, the speaker-anchored form *mo* in (7.46) is an NP modifier, together with the nominal demonstrative and the possessive classifier.

Adverbial demonstratives can also be NP heads as in (7.47), (7.48) and (7.49).

(7.47) *I-klë=ng,* *ma* *i-mweli.*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=2MIN.SBJ DEM₂.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.soft
 ‘You know, here is soft.’ (nalogo039)

(7.48) *Mo* *lë-gë-pä* *i-set.*
 DEM₂.DIST PASS.PFV-take-out PFV.N3AUG-set
 ‘That one over there taken off is good.’ (nalogo039)

(7.49) *Mla=ng* *i-vë-pä* *i-kele* *ka.*
 DEM_{2,L}.NPROX=PL PFV.N3AUG-go-out PFV.N3AUG-be.good DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Those ones over there thrown away, that’s alright (lit. those ones over there which went out...)’ (nalogo039)

In (7.47), the demonstrative is the subject of the clausal predicate; while in (7.48) and (7.49), the demonstratives function as subjects of unmarked relative clauses.

7.3.2.2 Anaphoric use

Listener-anchored forms of adverbial demonstratives can be used anaphorically, that is, to refer back to a previously mentioned referent. An example is provided in (7.50), where the listener-anchored form is selected to refer back to the complex nominal introduced by *bä-* ‘place’ attaching to a verb form.

- (7.50) *Lë-yelu-ti=bwe* *bä-tü-tu=ngö=de*
 PASS.PFV-put-APPL=DIR.thither place-IPFV.N3AUG-stand=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
ä *m̄la* *tü-tu=ngö=de*
 COORD DEM_{2.L}.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-stand=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
nela nuwâ kâ lë-yelu-ti=bwe.
 branch tree DEM₁.DIST PFV.3AUG-put-APPL=DIR.thither
 ‘A place it is put for it to stand on and in that place for it to stand on, the branch of the tree branch is put.’ (nalogo025)

The form *m̄la* functions as the NP head of the following relative clause, promoted to core function by the applicative =*ngö*. An additional example is (7.51).

- (7.51) *Kä* *i-vë=bwe=le* *m̄la*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{2.L}.DIST
tü-ku-ti-nö=de *ilaule=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-DISP=3MIN.SBJ mother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘When she gets there, she called out for her mother.’ (nalogo001)

In (7.51), the protagonist of the *kastom* story, a child called Amoloti, goes to a place in the bush where her mother is supposed to be. The form *m̄la* refers back to the previously mentioned place. In (7.52), the adverbial demonstrative *m̄la=ng* refers to some specific years in the sixties, which were previously mentioned in the discourse.

- (7.52) *Mla=ng* (*ä*) *mwetelya* *ne=gom*
 DEM_{2.L}.DIST=PL COORD village animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS
â *tü-change=pme* *kä-i-pmi-taikü.*
 PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-change=COS way-PFV.N3AUG-be.little-very
 ‘During those times our village started to change a little bit.’ (nalogo0809_2015)

7.3.3 Demonstrative identifiers

Nalögo displays a set of demonstrative identifiers, which typically occur in verbless clauses. According to Diessel (1999: 79)’s classification, this type of demonstratives, referred to as ‘identifiers’ or ‘identificational’, are mainly used to introduce new topics in the discourse. In Nalögo, demonstrative identifiers are organised around the distance-related and participant-related parameters. They are glossed as ‘DEM₃’. The forms are shown in Table 7-4.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED | <i>a(=ng)</i> ‘this one’ | <i>ä(=ng)</i> ‘that one’ | <i>â(=ng)</i> ‘that one over there’ |
| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | NON-PROXIMAL | |
| LISTENER-ANCHORED | - | <i>la(=ng)</i> ‘be this one there/over there’ | |

Table 7-4. Demonstrative identifiers

In the speaker-anchored set, there is a three-way distance contrast, whereas in the listener-anchored set has only a non-proximal form, which is used when the listener functions as a secondary anchor. The interaction between distance and the position of speech participants parallels the one of nominal demonstratives described in §7.3.1. All the forms can be pluralised by the enclitic *=ng*. The main functions of these forms are shown in the following sections.

7.3.3.1 Spatial use

The speaker-anchored demonstrative identifiers display primarily a spatial function as in (7.53), (7.54) and (7.55). They are used to identify new referents, which have never been mentioned before in the context. The forms, which are speaker-anchored, encode a three-way distance contrast.

(7.53) *Nelâ* *a=ng*.
nose.pendant DEM₃.PROX=PL
‘*Nelâ*⁶² are these ones.’ (nalogo060_2)

(7.54) *Teputi* *ne=nu* *ä*.
cat animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS DEM₃.MED
‘My cat is that one.’ (fieldnotes 2018)

(7.55) *Trak kavlö* *â?*
truck which DEM₃.DIST
‘Which truck is that one?’ (nalogo039)

The possibility of the change-of-state marker *=p(m)e* and the morpheme *=p(m)o* ‘again’ to attach to demonstrative identifiers suggest that they are predicative. These markers generally,

⁶² The word *nelâ* refers to the nose pendant which were typically used during dances (see Chapter 1).

but not exclusively, occur on predicative elements (Chapter 12). Examples are shown in (7.56), (7.57), (7.58) and (7.59).

(7.56) *Taem nâlö a=pme Vali?*
time what DEM₃.PROX=COS Vali
‘What time is it now, Vali?’ (nalogo039)

(7.57) *Da kä tü-ngâ=nga a=pme.*
thing LNK IPFV.N3AUG-do=1MIN.SBJ DEM₃.PROX=COS
‘The thing I am doing is this one.’ (nalogo062)

(7.58) *Bä-t(ü)-yökö-pä=ngö=pe=le nide*
place-IPFV.N3AUG-finish-out=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ 3MIN
a=pe.
DEM₃.PROX=COS
‘As for its ending (the place where it ends), that’s it (*lit.* it is that one).’ (nalogo057)

(7.59) *Kâ i-ngâ=le nubü*
DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ yesterday
â=pmo.
DEM₃.DIST=again
‘What happened yesterday, it is happening again (*lit.* it is this one again)’ (nalogo005)

Listener-anchored forms can express the same function as speaker-anchored forms. In (7.60) and (7.61), they display a spatial function. In (7.60), the listener is holding the cat in her arms; there is a physical contact between the third referent and the secondary anchor. In (7.61), no contact is involved. The cabbage is physically closer to the listener than to the speaker⁶³.

(7.60) *Teputi ne=nu la.*
cat animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS DEM_{3,L}.NPROX
‘That one there/over there is my cat.’ (field notes 2018)

(7.61) *Bokäi la.*
bokäi DEM_{3,L}.NPROX
‘That one is *bokäi*⁶⁴.’ (nalogo039)

⁶³ Further studies are required to establish if the component of physical contact is essential to the semantic definition of listener-anchored forms or not.

⁶⁴ *Bokäi* refers to a very common type of cabbage found in Santa Cruz Island.

Demonstrative intensifiers are often used in *wh*-questions with interrogative words. Three examples with proximal, medial and distal forms are shown in (7.62), (7.63) and (7.64).

(7.62) *Nolö* *a⁶⁵?*
what DEM₃.PROX
'What is this?' (fieldnotes 2018)

(7.63) *Nolö* *ä?*
what DEM₃.MED
'What is that?' (field notes 2018)

(7.64) *Nolö* *â?*
what DEM₃.DIST
'What is that over there?' (field notes 2018)

Demonstrative identifiers have an exophoric function rooted in the situational context. For instance, in (7.65), the form *â* refers to how the speaker rephrased a prior listener's utterance.

(7.65) *Kä-tü-pi=ngö=ng=le* *â*
way-IPFV.N3AUG-say=APPL=2MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ DEM₃.DIST
tü-pi=bwa.
IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither
'The way you are saying it is how I am saying it.' (nalogo039)

7.3.3.2 Anaphoric use

Demonstrative identifiers can be used anaphorically to refer back to previously mentioned referents in the discourse context. In (7.66), the pluralized demonstrative identifier *â=ng* refers to the clothes, previously mentioned as an NP by the speaker.

(7.66) *Nöpwë* *kâ=ng* (*ä*)
cloth DEM₁.DIST=PL COORD
tu-skul-mi=kom *â=ng=pwö.*
IPFV.N3AUG-go.to.school-APPL=1AUG.SBJ DEM₃.DIST=PL=same
'Those clothes we were going to school with were those same ones.'

⁶⁵ There are also three formal attested variants, the forms *nolya*, *nolyä*, and *nolyâ*, which have been reported by one speaker. In rapid speech, the formation of the glide is a common strategy to solve problems of hiatus. In rapid speech, phenomena of crasis are also quite common (e.g. *nolö â > nolâ*).

Likewise, in (7.67), the identifier *â=ng* refers to a prior NP expressing the feather of honey eater birds traditionally used to make the local money.

- (7.67) *Nöple=de* *nigö* *â=ng* *të-dakâ=ngö*
 feather=3MIN.POSS 3AUG DEM₃.DIST=PL PASS.IPFV-make=APPL
töwa *gö=go*.
 money general.CLF=1+2AUG.POSS
 ‘As for their feather, they are those ones with which our money is made.’ (nalogo025)

In (7.68), the pluralized listener-anchored form *la=ng* refers the types of fruits previously listed by the speaker.

- (7.68) *Nigö* *la=ng=pe*.
 3AUG DEM_{3,L}.NPROX=PL=COS
 ‘They are those ones (those that I have previously mentioned).’ (nalogo032)

As shown in the previous examples, both speaker-anchored and listener-anchored forms can have an anaphoric function.

7.3.3.3 Discourse use

Demonstrative identifiers can be used anaphorically to refer to a previous portion of texts or to the whole text. For instance, in (7.69), the identifier *la* refers back to the whole story told by the speaker.

- (7.69) *So nide la=pe*.
 so 3MIN DEM_{3,L}.NPROX=COS
 ‘So, it is that one (the story that I have just told).’ (nalogo010)

Two additional examples are (7.70) and (7.71).

- (7.70) *Nide a ti-pi=bwa=ba=m*
 3MIN DEM₃.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell=1MIN.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
mweli ka.
 time DEM₁.PROX
 ‘This is what I am telling you this time.’ (nalogo012)

- (7.71) *Bwe kâ ti-pi=bwa=ba=m*
 story DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
nide â Vale.
 3MIN DEM₃.DIST Vale
 ‘The story that I told you is that one, Vale.’ (nalogo001)

7.3.4. Locative demonstratives

Nalögo, displays a class of locative demonstratives expressing a predication of location, i.e. they are used to locate an existing entity in a specific place. They can be translated as ‘be here/there/over there’. Semantically, they are similar yet very different from existential demonstratives described in §7.3.5, in that, they do not assert the existence of a new entity itself, but the existence of an identifiable entity in a specific place. Locative demonstratives display a three-way distance contrast. There are no listener-anchored forms, except for the medial *jä la* ‘be there’. According to one speaker, the choice of the listener-anchored forms can be accounted for by physical contact between the listener and the entity to which the demonstrative refers to. However, more data are required to test this hypothesis, since in many occurrences, a physical contact between the listener and the entity does not seem to be present. These demonstratives are glossed as ‘DEM₄’ and summarised in

| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED | <i>ja(=ng)</i> ‘be there’ | <i>jä(=ng)</i> ‘be there’ | <i>jâ(=ng)</i> ‘be over there’ |
| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
| LISTENER-ANCHORED | - | <i>jä la</i> | - |

Table 7-5. Locative demonstratives

7.3.4.1 Spatial use

Locative demonstratives can have a spatial meaning as shown in (7.72), (7.73) and (7.74).

(7.72) *Lopta kâ=ng ja=ng.*
 lopta DEM₁.DIST=PL DEM₄.PROX=PL
 ‘The lopta (leaves) are here.’ (nalogo039)

(7.73) *Mo=tna, ka=ng tü-öblömi-ti=nga*
 look=CONT₂ DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-make-TR=1MIN.SBJ
jä=ng.
 DEM₄.MED=PL
 ‘Look those that I am making are there.’ (nalogo039)

(7.74) *Da tē-pmau=ngö kai jâ.*
 thing PASS.IPFV-make=APPL pudding DEM₄.DIST
 ‘The thing to make pudding with is over there.’ (nalogo016)

The predicative nature of this demonstrative is shown in (7.75) where the form takes the change-of-state marker *=p(m)e*, which frequently occurs on predicative elements.

- (7.75) *Kâ* *tii-ngâ* *teglu* *ngö=de*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-be.like fan ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
jâ=pme.
 DEM₄.DIST=COS
 ‘The one that is like its fan is there now.’ (nalogo016)

In all the examples above, the subject is overtly expressed. However, it is possible to omit the subject if it is easily retrievable from the context as in (7.76).

- (7.76) *Ja=ng.*
 DEM₄.PROX=PL
 ‘They are here.’ (nalogo039)

(7.77) below shows an example of a listener-anchored form consisting in the medial speaker-anchored form *jä* and the non-proximal listener-anchored form *la*. The phonologically identical form *la* occurs in other demonstratives sets to express various functions. In (7.77), it expresses that the subject referent is physically close to the listener and is interpreted as having an adverbial function.

- (7.77) *Jä* *la* *tü-mwale=ng.*
 DEM₄.MED DEM_{2,L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-hold=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘it is there, you are holding (it).’ (field notes 2018)

Along with spatial deixis, locative demonstratives can express additional exophoric functions as in (7.78) where the medial form *jä* refers to the way the speaker is cleaning cabbage; thus, the demonstrative refers to a specific action that the speaker is carrying out in front of the listener in the situational context.

- (7.78) *Eu, mo kayö jä.*
 yes see first DEM₄.MED
 ‘See it first, it is here (the way to do it).’ (nalogo039)

Locative demonstratives can cooccur with adverbial demonstratives (§7.3.2) as in (7.79). The context of this example involves a speaker A who is outside the door asking speaker B for her cup.

- (7.79) a) *Jele cup?*
 be.where cup?
 ‘Where is the cup?’ (speaker A)
- b) *Cup kâ ja (ma)!*
 cup DEM₁.DIST DEM₃.PROX DEM₂.PROX
 ‘The cup is here!’ (speaker B) (fieldnotes 2018)

In examples like (7.79b), the locative demonstrative is obligatory, while the adverbial demonstrative is optional. The explanation for this combination of demonstratives is tentative. One speaker described the presence of the adverbial demonstrative as a further semantic specification, while another speaker argued that the use of the adverbial demonstrative is associated with the invisibility of the referent for the listener. More research is required to investigate the functions of this combination of demonstratives.

7.3.4.2 Temporal use

When locative demonstratives express temporal meanings, they link events right to the speech moment. They appear to convey a sense of immediacy. Examples (7.80), (7.81) and (7.82) display this function.

- (7.80) *Ja=pe ja t(ü)-yöltö=pe=bwa*
 DEM₄.PROX=COS DEM₄.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-put.in=COS=1MIN.thither
ka.
 DEM₁.PROX
 ‘It is here now! Now I am putting in this.’ (nalogo005)

- (7.81) *Ka mweli ka ja*
 DEM₁.PROX time DEM₁.PROX DEM₄.PROX
t(ü)-veltö=pe=bwa bā nini ka
 IPFV.N3AUG-put.in=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP mat DEM₁.PROX
tü-vě=nga.
 IPFV.N3AUG-weave=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘This now I am putting it in this mat I am weaving.’ (nalogo005)

- (7.82) *Ja tü-mâ=pwa.*
 DEM₄.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘Now I see.’ (nalogo061)

7.3.4.3 ‘Attention-triggering’ use

Locative demonstratives seem to have an ‘attention-triggering’ function, i.e. they can be used to trigger the listener’s attention on an event or entity which is relevant in the ongoing situation. An example is shown in (7.83).

- (7.83) *Jâ=pe,* *jâ=pe!*
DEM₄.DIST=COS DEM₄.DIST=COS
‘There! There! (lit. it is there now)’ (field notes 2018)

The context of (7.83) involves two participants. The speaker and the listener are waiting for the video camera to turn on. At a certain point, while the listener is engaged in another activity, the video camera turns on and the speaker utters sentence (7.83). The use of *jâ* is interpreted as a way to trigger the listener’s attention on a relevant event. The form cannot have a spatial meaning because the listener already knows where the video camera is located. Another example of this function is shown in (7.84).

- (7.84) *Be=je* *i-ta-ti-pä=pe=m*
skin=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-fall-PL-OUT=COS=DIR.hither
kâ=ng *t(ü)-ö-pilë*
DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel
t(ü)-ö-pilë, *jâ* *kâ=ng,*
IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel DEM₄.DIST DEM₁.DIST=PL
jâ *tü-gë-ti-pä=le* *be=je.*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-take-PL-out=3MIN.SBJ skin=3MIN.POSS
‘As for its skin, some (of it) fell off. He is peeling and peeling. See, those (they are falling off). He is taking out its skin.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

Example (7.84) is the description of a video clip given by a speaker during a recording session where both speaker and listener were watching some video stimuli. The form *jâ* is used to catch the listener’s attention on what is happening in the clip (the fact that the skin is falling off).

7.3.5 Existential demonstratives

Nalögo has a set of existential demonstratives with predicative function meaning ‘there is/are here/there/over there’. These forms cannot be negated, but a different form, the negative existential *topnö* ‘not exist’ is used in negative contexts, combined with adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *topnö lopta ma* ‘there is no cabbage here’). Existential demonstratives assert the existence of one or more entities, previously unknown in the discourse context, in a

specific location. Like the other sets, they have a three-way distance system with proximal, medial and distal forms. In terms of functions, demonstrative existentials display only an exophoric spatial function. They are glossed as ‘DEM₅’. All the forms are shown in Table 7-6.

| PERSON-RELATED | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL | DISTAL |
|------------------|--|--|---|
| SPEAKER-ANCHORED | <i>kopya(=ng)</i> ‘there is/are here’ | <i>kopyä(=ng)</i> ‘there is/are there’ | <i>kopyâ(=ng)</i> ‘there is/are over there’ |

Table 7-6. Speaker-anchored forms of demonstrative existentials

Demonstrative existentials can be used to encode existential meanings with distance contrasts. Like the nominal sets, the forms can be pluralized by the enclitic =*ng*. Examples are shown in (7.85), (7.86), (7.87) and (7.88). Sentences (7.85) and (7.86) are examples of the proximal form, while in (7.87) and (7.88), the medial and distal forms are used, respectively. The subject can be expressed or unexpressed as in (7.87) and (7.88).

(7.85) *Kopya* *vöte*.
 DEM₅.PROX one
 ‘There is one here.’ (nalogo039)

(7.86) *Kopya* *lopta*.
 DEM₅.PROX cabbage
 ‘There is cabbage here.’ (nalogo039)

(7.87) *Kopyä* (*lopta*).
 DEM₅.MED cabbage
 ‘There is (some cabbage) there.’ (field notes 2018)

(7.88) *Kopyâ* (*lopta*).
 DEM₅.DIST cabbage
 ‘There is (some cabbage) there.’ (field notes 2018)

Like the other demonstratives, existential demonstratives can be pluralised as shown in (7.89). In (7.90), the proximal form *kopya* takes the adverbial marker =*bo* ‘still’, which mainly occurs on predicative elements (Chapter 10).

(7.89) *Kopya=ng*.
 DEM₅.PROX=PL
 ‘There are some here.’ (nalogo039)

(7.90) *Kopya=bo.*
 DEM₅.PROX=still
 ‘There are some still here.’ (nalogo039)

Finally, there is another existential demonstrative, the form *kopela* ‘there is another one there’, which is attested in three examples, two of which are provided in (7.91) and (7.92). While in the former, *kopela* seems to be a demonstrative with distance-related function, expressing that there is an additional referent physically closer to the listener; in the latter, *kopela* ‘there is another’ does not involve any distance-related function, rather, the form is functionally similar to the existential marker *kopyo* ‘there is/are’.

(7.91) *Eu, aa kopela=ng=bo lewë pumpkin.*
 yes COORD DEM_{5,L}=PL=still leaf pumpkin
 ‘Yes, but there are still other pumpkin leaves.’ (nalogo039)

(7.92) *Kopela müümü ngö në-doulë-ngö manga...*
 EXIST.another way ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-catch-NMLZ₂ honey.eater
 ‘There is another way to catch honey eater birds...’ (nalogo025)

Further examples are in need to better understand the functions of this form.

7.3.6 Demonstratives and the verb *ngâ* ‘be like’

Demonstratives often occur in expressions with the similative verb *ngâ* ‘be like’ to express concepts like ‘it is like this/that one’. This type of construction is attested very frequently with demonstrative identifiers (§7.3.3) as predicates. (7.93) shows an example.

(7.93) *Kä-i-ngâ=nö=teipwe=le â.*
 way-PFV.N3AUG-be.like=APPL=just=3MIN.SBJ DEM₃.DIST
Teipwe i-vë=po=pwe bä dü nolâ...
 just PFV.N3AUG-go=again=DIR.thither PREP QNT surroundings
 ‘It is just like that, just you go again to a place...’ (nalogo013)

In (7.93), the subject form *=le* refers to the method used to catch wild chickens which is explained later in the text. The bound noun *kä-* ‘way’ is an argument of the verb added by the applicative *=nö*. Literally, the complex nominal, which appears to be the subject of the demonstrative identifier *â* ‘be that one’, means ‘the way in which it is like’. The demonstrative

identifier is a speaker-anchored form. Sentence (7.94) shows an additional example where the listener-anchored form *la=ng* is used as a predicate ‘be those ones’.

(7.94) *Da kâ t̥-mwi=ngö=de la=ng.*
thing DEM₁.DIST PASS.IPFV-sleep=APPL=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{3.L}.NPROX
‘The thing they sleep/are slept on are those ones.’ (nalogo025)

8. VERB COMPLEX AND SERIALIZATION

RSC languages are well known for their complex verb structures when compared to more canonical Oceanic languages (Næss & Boerger 2008). A wide range of lexical and grammatical items can combine in a single inflected verb form, giving rise to complex structures. From a syntactic point of view, most units of this structure occupy fixed slots.

Wurm (1992) proposed a first analysis for the verb structures in SC languages, claiming that “30 affix positions exist with verb roots and bases, most of these following them as suffixes”. His analysis is based on the SC variety called ‘Northern Santa Cruzan’, which today is referred to as Natügu. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the existence of complex verb structures was considered as evidence for a non-Austronesian origin of these languages. In this respect, Wurm (1985: 964) writes that RSC language “show formal and functional agreements with verb systems in Papuan languages spoken further west”. However, later research (Næss 2006, Ross & Næss 2007, Næss & Boerger 2008) has proven the non-Austronesian hypothesis to be fundamentally incorrect.

The goal of this chapter is to describe the main characteristics of the verbal structure in Nalögo. In §8.1, I describe the most common characteristics of verbal structure in Oceanic languages, based on the analysis of Pawley (2003). In §8.2, I focus on the properties of the Nalögo VC, which is made up of pre-nucleus modifiers (§8.2.1), a nucleus (§8.2.2) and post-nucleus modifiers (§8.2.3). In §8.3, I describe the properties of serial verb constructions and coverbal constructions. Finally, in §8.4, I show examples of the repetition of VCs used to convey intensification.

8.1 The Verb Complex in Oceanic languages

The term ‘verb complex’ (VC), firstly used by Pawley (2003), describes a phonological unit with a single intonational contour encompassing the verb root plus its modifiers (also labelled ‘functors’). The author employs this term to avoid potential ambiguity with the label ‘verb phrase’, typically used in the generative tradition, but with a different meaning. Following Pawley (2003), Vaa (2013: 289) uses the term ‘verb complex’ for the description of the verbal structure in Engdewu.

According to Pawley (2003: 149) based on Biggs (1960), the VC has both wordlike and unwordlike properties. The first wordlike property refers to the presence of a nucleus, a verb

base or a compound, around which a number of modifiers occur in a fixed order. These modifiers constitute the periphery of the VC. The second wordlike property refers to the presence of a single intonational contour encompassing the whole VC, “with only one contour stress allowed per phrase” (Pawley 2003: 149). The only unwordlike property refers to the fact that peripheral modifiers are typically free forms which can be uttered and glossed in isolation. The degree of boundness of the VC modifiers vary across Oceanic languages. Typically, as in Lolovoli Ambae spoken in Vanuatu and Wayan Fijian spoken in Fiji, modifiers tend to be free forms. However, in other languages such as Manam and Saliba spoken in Solomon Islands and PNG, respectively, modifiers are affixes, thus, phonologically more tightly bound to the verb base (Pawley 2003: 149-151).

In this chapter, I analyse the verb structure in Nalögo as a type of VC based on the following two properties:

- i. the VC displays a single intonational contour, and
- ii. there is a nucleus to which affixes and/or clitics are attached.

The nucleus can be simple or complex. In Nalögo, the term ‘complex nuclei’ is used to refer to those nuclei made up of more than one lexical unit. They are analysed either as ‘nuclear’ verb serialisation or coverbal serialisation, depending on the characteristics of the lexemes (§8.3.1, §8.3.2). In his analysis, Pawley (2003) considers ‘nuclear’ serialization as part of the VC, by contrast with ‘core’ serialization. Following Pawley (2003), I analyse nuclear serialisation (and coverbal serialisation) as part of the nucleus, while core serialization is analysed as a different construction. These topics are treated in more detail in §8.3.

8.2 The VC in Nalögo

Given that core arguments are generally omitted, the VC is the only obligatory constituent of independent verbal clauses. The nucleus is formed by one or more lexemes to which affixes and/or clitics are attached. In this respect, Nalögo patterns like Saliba, where the VC is made up of bound forms. The position of the modifiers inside the VC is generally fixed. Figure 8-1 shows an example of a VC in Nalögo.

| | | | | | |
|--|----------------|---------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|
| <i>i-</i> | <i>pli</i> | <i>-pä</i> | <i>=po</i> | <i>=p</i> | <i>=mwe</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG | remove | out | again | DIR.hither | 2MIN.SBJ.hither |
| PRE-NUCLEUS | NUCLEUS | POST-NUCLEUS | | | |
| ‘You remove (the feathers) out again (towards you).’ | | | | | |

Figure 8-1. Example of VC template

In Figure 8-1, the nucleus is simple. The verb takes the N3AUG subject/perfective prefix *i-* as pre-head modifier, and as post-nucleus modifiers, the topological directional *-pä* ‘out’, the morpheme *=p(m)o* ‘again’, the ‘thither’ deictic person directional *=p*⁶⁶ and the subject form *=mwe*. This example of VC shows a relatively simple structure, but VCs can involve more complex nuclei and various combinations of modifiers.

As shown in Figure 8-2, the VC forms one single intonational unit.

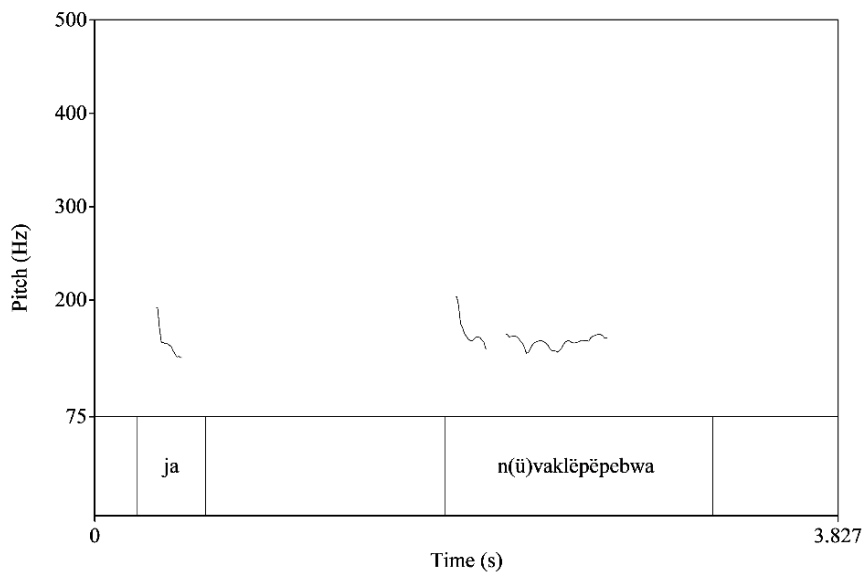


Figure 8-2. Intonation contour of the sentence ‘Ja n(ü)vaklöpëpëbwa’ ‘It is here, I will clean (it)’

In Figure 8-2, the locative demonstrative *ja* and the VC *n(ü)-va-klë-pë=pe=bwa* are two words, displaying two different intonation contours. The analysis of the elements forming the VC is provided in (8.1).

⁶⁶ The form $\sim =p$ is analysed as an allomorph of the directional $=m$ (see Chapter 9).

- (8.1) *N(ü)-va-klë-pä=pe=bwa.*
 IRR.N3AUG-CAUS-clean-out=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘I will clean (it).’ (nalogo039)

The elements occurring in the VC described in the following sections are summarised below.

Pre-Nucleus modifiers (§8.2.1)

- Standard negation (first negator) (§8.2.1.1)
- Subject/aspect/mood prefixes (§8.2.1.2)

Nucleus (§8.2.2)

- Derivational prefixes (§8.2.2.1)
- Derivational suffixes (§8.2.2.2)

Post-Nucleus modifiers (§8.2.3)

- Intensity markers *-k* and *-tu* (§8.2.3.1)
- Plurality/affectedness marker (§8.2.3.2)
- Intensifier *-te* (§8.2.3.3)
- Bound morphemes expressing directions (§8.2.3.4)
- Reciprocal marker *-welo* (§8.2.3.5)
- Middle marker *=lëbu* (§8.2.3.6)
- Applicative *=ngö* (§8.2.3.7)
- Change-of-state (COS) marker *=p(m)e* (§8.2.3.8)
- Quotative marker *=ö* (§8.2.3.9)
- *=kayö* ‘first’ and *=kali* ‘second’ (§8.2.3.10)
- *=tëipwö* ‘just, only’ (§8.2.3.11)
- *=p(m)o* ‘again’ (§8.2.3.12)
- *=bo* ‘still’ (§8.2.3.13)
- *=kapwö* ‘also, too’ (§8.2.3.14)
- *=kälë* ‘later’ (§8.2.3.15)
- Completive/past marker *=pnö* (§8.2.3.16)
- Person deictic directionals (§8.2.3.17)
- Subject and object bound forms (§8.2.3.18)

- =*kö* ‘also, too’ (§8.2.3.19)
- Desiderative marker =*ta* (§8.2.3.20)
- Jussive marker =*na* (§8.2.3.21)
- Continuative marker =*tna* (§8.2.3.22)
- Second negator =*lii* (§8.2.3.23)

While some units are only described in this section, other units, such as topological/person directionals and aspect/mood markers, are treated more extensively in Chapters 9 and 10, since this chapter focuses on the structure of the VC.

8.2.1 Pre-nucleus modifiers

Pre-nuclear modifiers include the first negator *te=* of standard negation (§8.2.1.1) and the subject/aspect/mood prefixes (§8.2.1.2). The structure of the pre-nucleus slots in the VC is shown in Figure 8-3.

| NEGATOR | SUBJECT ASPECT/MOOD PREFIX | NUCLEUS |
|------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>te=</i> | N3AUG | 3AUG |
| | <i>tii-</i> ‘IPFV’ | <i>të-</i> ‘IPFV’ |
| | <i>i-</i> ‘PFV’ | <i>lë-</i> ‘PFV’ |
| | <i>nii-</i> ‘IRR’ | <i>në-</i> ‘IRR’ |

Figure 8-3. Positions of negator and subject aspect-mood prefixes inside the VC

8.2.1.1 First negator *te=*

Verbal clauses are negated through a bipartite negation including the proclitic *te=* and the enclitic =*lii*. The negator *te=* always occupies the same position in the VC. The second part of the bipartite negation occupies the final slot in the VC. An example of *te=* is shown in (8.2).

- (8.2) *Tonlii, te=lë-mno=lii ma.*
 NEG NEG₁=3AUG.PFV-stay=NEG₂ DEM₁.PROX
 ‘No, they were not here.’ (nalogo033)

8.2.1.2 Subject/aspect/mood prefixes

The first position to the right of the first negator *te=* is always occupied by portmanteau prefixes encoding subject person/number and aspect/mood. The functions of these subject markers are analysed in Chapter 10. The forms of these prefixes are shown in Table 8-1. Morpho-phonological processes like vowel deletion and vowel assimilation can be applied to these prefixes as described in Chapter 2.

| PERSON/NUMBER | REALIS | | IRREALIS |
|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| | PFV | IPFV | |
| N3AUG | <i>i-</i> | <i>tii-</i> | <i>nii-</i> |
| 3AUG | <i>lä-</i> | <i>të-</i> | <i>në-</i> |

Table 8-1. Subject/aspect/mood prefixes

The prefixes in Table 8-1 occupy the same syntactic slot in the VC, thus, they cannot cooccur. Their fixed position inside the VC and the presence of morpho-phonological processes applied to them suggest that these forms are affix-like. Sentence (8.3) shows an example where the N3AUG imperfective *tii-* occurs after the negator *te=*.

- (8.3) *Kopyo da t̥e=tii-kele=lii bä dötwö=de.*
 EXIST thing NEG₁=IPFV.N3AUG-be.good=NEG₂ PREP neck=3MIN.POSS
 ‘There is something which is not good in his mind.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

8.2.2 Nucleus

The nucleus is the core of the VC and is made up of the verb root and any valency-changing devices, except for the applicative *=ngö*. The nucleus can be ‘simple’ and ‘complex’. The simple nucleus consists only in the verb root. The 2MIN affirmative imperative is the simplest form attested in Nalögo because it does not involve any mood/aspect prefix and subject inflection. An example is shown in (8.4), where the imperative is formed by the intransitive verb root *wë* ‘work’.

- (8.4) *Wë!*
 work
 ‘Work!’

The complex nucleus is made up of more than one lexical unit. Complex nuclei are analysed in §8.3, where I describe serial verb constructions (SVC) and coverbal constructions (CVC). The decision of considering complex verb forms as complex nuclei relies on the fact that further inflections and derivations are applied to the whole complex, and not to a single component⁶⁷. In addition, as previously mentioned, Pawley (2003: 152) considers nuclear serialisation to be part of the VC. Depending on the verb class, the VC verb root can take additional derivational morphology.

Complex nuclei involve at least two lexemes combined together in a single inflected verb form. Functionally, similar complex forms are attested in Äiwoo, Natügu and Engdewu (Næss & Boerger 2008; Vaa 2013). While nuclei of nuclear serial constructions are formed by independent verbs, nuclei in coverbal constructions include lexical elements which are not canonical verbs. Two examples of SVC and CVC are shown in (8.5) and (8.6) for illustrative purposes.

(8.5) *Aki te=wo-klu=p=mwe=lii.*
 because NEG₁=go-be.much=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither=NEG₂
 ‘...because you did not come quickly.’ (nalogo039)

(8.6) *Obwe kä i-tâ-taikü*
 child LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small-very
 ‘The very small child.’ (nalogo028)

Complex verb nuclei can also be formed with lexemes that have an independent adverbial use in the clause. Determining the right position of these lexemes inside the VC is not always straightforward. Thus, further data are required to investigate this topic specifically. These types of lexemes are described in §8.3.2.2. The structure of a simple verb nucleus is shown below.

| VALENCY-CHANGING MORPHEMES | VERB ROOTS | VALENCY-CHANGING MORPHEMES |
|----------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| (v)a- ‘caus’ | VERB ROOT | -ti |
| (v)ö- ‘middle’ | | -mi |
| | | -ulë |
| | | -neba |
| | | -ki |

Figure 8-4. Structure of the simple VC nucleus

⁶⁷ Vaa (2013) uses the same criteria to define the VC nucleus in Engdewu.

8.2.2.1 Derivational prefixes

The verb in the VC can take two valency-changing prefixes: the middle (*v*)*ö*- and the causative (*v*)*a*-, depending on the verb class (Chapter 11). Despite their opposite functions, these two prefixes are treated together because they occupy the same syntactic slot in the VC: they both come just before the verb root and cannot cooccur. The causative (*v*)*a*- functions as a valency-increasing device, while the main function of the middle (*v*)*ö*- is to reduce transitivity (Chapter 13). These morphemes are analysed as affixes, because morpho-phonological processes are applied to them and they always occur in a fixed position in the VC, very close to the verb root.

8.2.2.2 Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes occur directly on the verb root and modify the valence of the verb by adding a new argument. They are listed below.

- Transitive/applicative *-ti*
- Applicative *-mi*
- Applicative *-ulë*
- Applicative *-ki*
- Applicative *-neba*

The classes of verbs derived by these morphemes are discussed in Chapter 11. Unlike the suffixes of the list above, the applicative =*ngö* occupies a more peripheral position inside the VC, since it occurs after topological directionals that are external to the nucleus. The formal and functional properties of applicative constructions are analysed in Chapter 13.

8.2.3 Post-nucleus modifiers

In this section, I describe the position and the main functions of the most common post-nuclear morphemes occurring in the VC. While the position of some VC elements are established (e.g. verb root, pre-nucleus modifiers), the one of post-nucleus modifiers, especially those following COS marker =*p(m)e* is not always clear to determine due to a lack of data. Thus, additional data are needed to analyse this specific aspect of the VC.

8.2.3.1 Intensity markers *-k* and *-tu*

The suffix *-k*, often pronounced as an unreleased consonant [k̚], is attested on a few verbs and encodes a greater intensity of the property expressed by the verb as in (8.7) where it attaches to the verb *pwö* ‘be big’ to derive the meaning ‘huge’.

- (8.7) *Dü leng nölu ka=ng i-kütâ*
 QNT leaf coconut DEM₁.PROX=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.small
dü i-pwö-k.
 QNT PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK
 ‘Some of these leaves are small, some are huge.’ (field notes 2018)

In the examples of VCs attested in the data where *-k* occurs after the verb nucleus, there are no additional bound forms following or preceding the morpheme; thus, it is unclear where *-k* is located with respect to the other VC modifiers.

The suffix *-tu* is functionally similar and also has a very restricted distribution, since it only occurs on the verb *pwë* ‘be big’ as in (8.8), where according to one speaker, it expresses the same function of *-k*.

- (8.8) *Kopyo mo lopta kä i-pwë-tu, jâ*
 EXIST tree cabbage LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK SEQ
tü-(w)o-lë=pe=ba=de.
 IPFV.N3AUG-climb-up=COS=PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘...There was a very big cabbage tree, then she climbed up on it.’ (nalogo060_2)

8.2.3.2 Plurality/affectedness marker *-ti*

Nalögo displays an optional marker of plurality, the suffix *-ti*, which is formally identical to the transitive/applicative *-ti* mentioned in §8.2.2.2.

In RSC studies, Wurm (1992: 533) was the first one to identify two suffixes: (i) *-ti₁* functioning as ‘object focus markers’ in the Northern Santa Cruz language (Natügu) encoding objects that are “only loosely and generally involved in the action”, and (ii) *-ti₂* encoding “plurality of 3PL object with scattering effect”. While Wurm’s *-ti₁* might refer to the transitive/applicative *-ti* (Chapter 13), *-ti₂* might refer to the plurality marker *-ti* described in this section.

The plural marker *-ti* seems to express two meanings: (i) denoting a plurality of S arguments with intransitive and stative verbs, and (ii) denoting the high affectedness of the patient, often

resulting in a plurality of actions and entities. In (8.9) and (8.10), the morpheme *-ti* referring to the S participant occurs with a stative and an intransitive verb, respectively. In (8.9), the SI Pijin *grin* ‘green’ takes verbal inflection.

(8.9) *Lewö mo nölu i-grin-ti.*
 leaf tree coconut PFV.N3AUG-grin-PL
 ‘Coconut leaves are green.’ (field notes 2018)

(8.10) *Böpi jâ=ng tü-plâ-ti bä garden.*
 banana CONT₁=PL IPFV.N3AUG-get.ripe-PL PREP garden
ne=m.
 animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘Bananas are getting ripe in your garden.’ (field notes 2018)

However, the occurrence of *-ti* is optional as shown in (8.11). According to one speaker, there are no semantic differences between (8.10) and (8.11) below.

(8.11) *Böpi jâ=ng tü-plâ bä*
 banana CONT₁=PL IPFV.N3AUG-get.ripe PREP
garden ne=m.
 garden animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘Bananas are getting ripe in your garden.’ (field notes 2018)

The same marker can also refer to object participants as in (8.12).

(8.12) *Kopyo leplë tü-yeliü-ângidö-ti da.*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-put-well-PL thing
 ‘There is someone putting things carefully (one on top of the other).’
 (nalogo1509_2015)

The sentence above was used by one speaker to describe the content of card 14 of the Story-Builder Action Cards (Sardinha 2011), used as stimulus for elicitations. In card 14 (Figure 8-5), there is a human character piling up similar objects to build something. The suffix *-ti* in (8.12) is interpreted as encoding a plurality of actions of the same type applied to a plurality of object

participants. It is not analysed as a transitive suffix because the verb *yelü* is a transitive verb which does not require a marker of transitivity.



Figure 8-5. Card 14 of Story-Builder (Sardinha 2011)

The suffix *-ti* can encode increased patient affectedness, which can result in a plurality of entities. When it expresses this function, *-ti* occurs often on verbs expressing breaking and cutting actions. An example is shown in (8.13).

- (8.13) *Kopyo* *leplë* *a-ta-u=le* *kâ*
 EXIST person CAUS-fall-down=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST
be nuwe mu=de. *I-mö-glâ-ti.*
 skin water drink.CLF=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-break-break-PL
 ‘Someone dropped a water container. It broke into pieces.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

Example (8.13) is based on card 44 of the Story-Builder Action Cards (Sardinha 2011) (Figure 8-6), where there is a human referent bumping into a vase which drops and breaks into pieces.

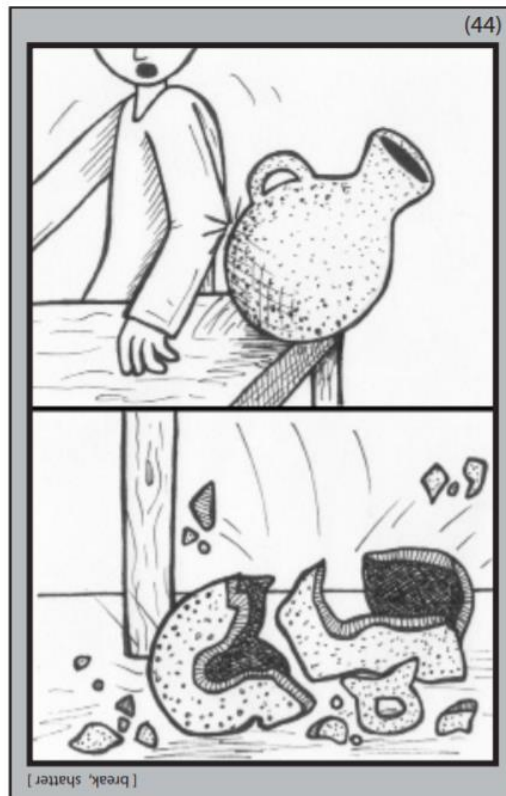


Figure 8-6. Card 44 of Story-Builder (Sardinha 2011)

In (8.13), *-ti* indicates that the patient is highly affected, as it is broken in many pieces (in a plurality of entities). The action could be also interpreted as having a ‘dispersive’ effect. Wurm (1992) mentioned this function when describing *-ti₂* as a marker of “plurality of 3PL object with scattering effect”. The expression “with a scattering effect” refers to what here is labelled as ‘dispersive’ effect. However, in this analysis, the involvement of a plural object in the action and the presence of a ‘dispersive’ effect are regarded as contextual elements, rather than as part of the semantics of *-ti*. First, in (8.13) above, there is one single action performed on one single object, which results in a plurality of pieces. Second, while the ‘dispersive’ reading might be inferred in (8.13), it is not present in (8.14) below.

- (8.14) *I-kâ* *â*
 female-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK
tü-ni-ki-ti=le
 IPFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-PL=3MIN.SBJ
nge *ningi no kâ=ng.*
 PRAG.MRK piece fish DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘The girl is cutting the pieces of the fish.’ (nalogo043_2)

Sentence (8.14) is the description of a video clip created on the field where a woman is cutting a piece of tuna into smaller pieces. The action is carried out slowly with no dispersive effect. The suffix *-ti* in (8.14) can only be interpreted as marking a high degree of affectedness of the patient.

An additional piece of evidence which supports this interpretation is given by the comparison between (8.15) and (8.16).

(8.15) *Nüinge kâ* *i-la-ki=le* *nela*
 boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ branch
nuwo kâ
 tree DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The boy cut off the branch of the tree.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

(8.16) *Nüinge kâ* *i-la-ki-ti=le*
 man DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-PL=3MIN.SBJ
carrot *kâ=ng.*
 carrot DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘The man cut the carrots (with fury and a bush knife).’ (nalogo2909_2015)

The difference between (8.15) and (8.16) can be explained in terms of affectedness of the patient. The two sentences were used by one speaker to describe two different actions of cutting occurring in two video clips (Clips 3 and 6 of the Cut & Break Set; Bohnemeyer et al. 2001). While in (8.16), there is a man cutting carrots with a long knife through repeated actions performed with fury, in (8.15), the man cuts off a branch of a tree through repeated actions. In (8.16), the patient is more affected.

Semitransitive verbs occurring in semitransitive and depatientive constructions can be also suffixed by *-ti*. Two examples with the semitransitive complex verb form (*v*)*ö-la-ki* ‘cut s.t. rigid’ occurring in both depatientive and semitransitive clauses are shown in (8.17) and (8.18), respectively. The suffix *-ti* was interpreted by one speaker as involving a plurality of actions of the same type performed on a plurality of objects and resulting in a plurality of pieces.

(8.17) *Nüinge kâ* *kâ* *pwöla* *ö-la-ki-ti.*
 boy DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.DIST sea MIDD₁-cut-rigid.obj-PL
 ‘The boy, the one at the sea, is cutting.’ (depatientive) (nalogo050)

- (8.18) *Niinge kâ kâ pwöla ö-la-ki-ti nuwâ.*
 boy DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.DIST sea MIDD₁-cut-rigid.obj-PL stick
 ‘The boy, the one at the sea, is cutting sticks (many sticks into pieces)’ (semitransitive)
 (nalogo050)

Finally, in terms of VC position, *-ti* occurs after the verb nucleus, but before the intensifier *-te* (§8.2.3.3) and the bound forms expressing directions, including topological directionals (§8.2.3.4).

8.2.3.3 Intensifier *-te*

The intensifier *-te* is a post-nucleus modifier which intensifies the action expressed by the verb. An example is shown in (8.19) below.

- (8.19) *Kopyo leplë ti-wäbu-te döt=de*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-sit-INTS.MRK mind=3MIN.POSS
i-ta-te=pe.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.tired-INTS.MRK=COS
 ‘There is someone who is (really) sitting. He is really tired.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

In (8.19), *-te* occurs on the two verbs of the example. The sentence describes card 18 of the Story-Builder Action Cards where a human character is sitting on a table while thinking about something (Figure 8-7). The character’s position and body attitude suggested a feeling of extreme tiredness to the speaker.



Figure 8-7. Card 18 of Story-Builder (Sardinha 2011)

The intensifier *-te* occurs after the verb nucleus and the plurality/affectedness marker *-ti* as shown in (8.20).

- (8.20) *I-gë-lë=mwe*
 PFV.N3AUG-pick-up=2MIN.SBJ.hither
i-vi-ki-ti-te=ng *ningi=de*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-PL-INTS.MRK=2MIN.SBJ piece=3MIN.POSS
i-kütâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.small
 ‘You pick (it) up (and) chop it into really small pieces.’ (nalogo066)

8.2.3.4 Bound morphemes expressing directions

In Nalögo, bound morphemes encoding directions, including topological directionals, occur after the plural/affectedness marker *-ti*. Topological directionals, which are described in detail in Chapter 9, involve two pairs of forms: *-lë/-u* ‘up/down’ and *-tö/-pä* ‘in/out’. In (8.21), the topological directional *-u* ‘down’ occurs after the plurality/affectedness marker *-ti*.

- (8.21) *Mö-kâ* *jâ*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁
t(ü)-ö-vi-ki-ti-u=m *bread*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut-rigid.obj-PL-down=DIR.hither bread
na=de *bä* *teibol* *ne=de.*
 food.CLF=3MIN.POSS PREP table animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The man is cutting his bread on his table.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

Along with topological directionals, there are some additional bound morphemes expressing directions which occur in the VC, including *-nö* ‘dispersive’, *-ki* ‘path’, *-plä* ‘through’ and *-o* ‘across’ (Chapter 9). Among these, the dispersive *-nö* occurs after the plurality/affectedness marker *-ti* as shown in (8.22).

- (8.22) *Lë-ga-ti-nö* *böpmi* *kä* *i-klu*
 PASS.PFV-collect-PL-DISP banana LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.much
ä *lë-(y)eltö=kö* *mö* *topola.*
 COORD PFV.3AUG-put.in=3AUG.SBJ PREP basket
 ‘Many bananas were collected (around) and they put (them) in the basket.’ (field notes 2018)

Further data are needed to identify the positions of the other bound morphemes with respect to *-ti*.

8.2.3.5 Reciprocal marker *-welo*

The marker *-welo* ‘each other’ expresses reciprocal constructions. This bound form occurs only inside the VC. Sentence (8.23) is an example of a reciprocal construction with *-welo*.

- (8.23) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-li* *â*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-be.two PRAG.MRK
të-ka-welo=kö *nümü=gö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-give-RECP=3AUG.SBJ hand=3AUG.POSS
 ‘The two girls are shaking their hands (lit. giving their hands to one another).’
 (nalogo043_1)

The reciprocal *-welo* can also combine with the middle form *=lëbu*, which occupies a more peripheral position in the VC as shown in (8.24).

- (8.24) *Kopyo=ng* *leplë* *lë-li.*
 EXIST=PL people PFV.3AUG-be.two
të-ö-ka-welo=lëbu *da.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD1-give-RECP-MIDD2 thing
 ‘There are two people giving something to each other.’ (nalogo0915_2015)

A more detailed description of the functions of *-welo* and *=lëbu* and the properties of reciprocal constructions are given in Chapter 13.

8.2.3.6 Middle marker *=lëbu*

The middle marker *=lëbu*, glossed as ‘MIDD₂’, is one of the two middle markers attested in Nalögo⁶⁸. It occurs after the nucleus and the reciprocal marker *-welo* with which it can combine as shown in (8.24), §8.2.3.6. The middle marker can occur in middle, reflexive and reciprocal constructions, its interpretation being contextual (see Chapter 13). An example of a reflexive construction is shown in (8.25).

- (8.25) *Nünge* *kâ* *i-la-ki=lëbu* *mö* *toki.*
 boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=MIDD₂ PREP knife
 ‘The boy cut himself with a knife.’

⁶⁸ The prefix *(v)ö-* is also labelled as ‘middle’, glossed as ‘MIDD₁’. The functions served by *(v)ö-* and *=lëbu* differ in that the middle *(v)ö-* is attested mainly in semitransitive and deponent constructions. There is only one example in the data where the prefix has a reciprocal meaning (*të* ‘hit’ > *ö-të* ‘fight (with each other)’). By contrast, the form *=lëbu* can occur with some verbs with a middle semantics (e.g. *ngyobla* ‘get dressed’ > *ngyobla=lëbu* ‘dress oneself’), or in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (Chapter 13).

8.2.3.7 Applicative =ngö

Nalögo displays the applicative marker =ngö which unlike the other applicatives, occurs outside the VC nucleus, after the plurality marker and topological directionals, but before the COS marker =p(m)e. The position of the applicative with respect to the reciprocal and reflexive markers -welo and =lēbu requires more data. Its functions are described in detail in Chapter 13. In (8.26), I show an example where =ngö occurs after the plurality marker -ti.

- (8.26) *Jâ* *tü-bë-ki-ti=ngö* *leng* *nölu*
 DEM₄.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-break-rigid.obj-PL=APPL leaf coconut
ka=ng.
 DEM₁.PROX=PL
 ‘That’s why these coconut leaves break.’ (nalogo062)

8.2.3.8 Change-of-state (COS) marker =p(m)e

The change-of-state (COS) marker =p(m)e is an enclitic form displaying various functions as described in Chapter 10. =p(m)e occupies a more peripheral position, as it occurs after the applicative =ngö. An example is shown in (8.27).

- (8.27) *Mweli* *kâ* *bia* *kâ=ng*
 time DEM₁.DIST breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL
tü-bö=ngö=pe=le...
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.ready=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘When the breadfruits are ready...’ (nalogo057)

8.2.3.9 Quotative marker =ö

In Nalögo, the form =ö⁶⁹ (~ =e) is tentatively analysed as a quotative marker referring to the content of the verb of speech *pi* ‘say, tell, call’. When it is added to the verb root, in rapid speech, the vowel /i/ is realised as a glide [j]. This morpheme might refer to the content of the speech act as shown in (8.28) and (8.29).

- (8.28) *E-pi=ö=de,* “*Eu* *man* !”
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=3MIN.SBJ yes man
 ‘He said: “Yes man.”’ (nalogo08)

⁶⁹ The quotative marker =ö is formally identical to the associative marker ö ‘from, belonging to’ (see Chapter 6).

(8.29) *E-pi=e=de* *kä* *jâ* *t(ü)-yagwe*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=3MIN.SBJ COMP CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-be.sick
 ‘He said that he is sick.’ (nalogo002)

Example (8.30) shows that the presence of =ö after *pi* is not mandatory.

(8.30) *Ti-pi=pme=bwe* *olë* *kâ* *nge,*
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=COS=DIR.thither girl DEM₁.DIST QUOT
 “*E* *Me-lëke,* *bölo**ma* *ne=m*
 hey male-? arm.band animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
tü-ta-pä!” *E-pi=ö=bwe=le*
 IPFV.N3AUG-fall-out ?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
ba *olë* *kâ* *nge,* “*Wo-ti-m!*”
 PREP girl DEM₁.DIST QUOT take-TR=DIR.hither
 ‘The girl said: “Hey, Melëke, your arm band is falling out. He said to the girl: “Come and get it!”’ (nalogo060)

The first instance of the speech verb does not have the quotative marker =ö, while the second instance involves its presence. In both cases, the speech verb is followed by quoted speech. The difference, if any, between the two instances of *pi* with and without the quotative marker are currently not fully understood and further research is needed.

The marker =ö triggers some specific subject forms belonging to Set I and Set II mentioned in Chapter 3.

In terms of position inside the VC, =ö is analysed as following the COS marker =*p(m)e*⁷⁰.

(8.31) *Döt=nu* *â* *ti-pi=pyö=bwe.*
 name=1MIN.POSS PRAG.MARK IPFV.N3AUG-say-COS.QUOT.MARK=DIR.thither
 Vali
 Vali
 ‘As for my name, Vali was telling it.’ (nalogo0908_2015)

⁷⁰ As explained in Chapter 2, the vowel /e/ of the COS marker becomes a glide in front of the quotative marker.

8.2.3.10 =kayö ‘first’ and =kali ‘second, next’

The lexeme *kayö* ‘first’ is an ordinal numeral occurring outside or inside the VC. Outside the VC, it can either modify NP heads (Chapter 5), or show an adverbial function in the clause as in (8.32).

- (8.32) *Kayö i-kâ=kai=nom* *nölu*
 first PFV.N3AUG-scrape=first=1AUG.SBJ coconut
 ‘First, we scrape coconut first.’ (nalogo042)

When =*kayö* occurs inside the VC, it comes after the COS marker =*p(m)e* as in (8.33).

- (8.33) *Kio dölen kâ ne=m*
 chicken wild DEM₁.DIST animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
a-mumu-ti=pe=kayö=ng...
 CAUS-domesticate-TR=COS=first=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘The wild chicken of yours that you domesticated first...’ (nalogo013)

As shown in (8.32), =*kayö* seems to have a reduced form =*kai* occurring inside the VC.

The lexeme =*kali* ‘second, next’ can also occur inside the VC. However, this lexeme is not attested with an independent use, but this might be due to a lack of data. This form conveys that the same action takes place a second time as in (8.34).

- (8.34) *Yelü=kali=wom mö belëm.*
 put=second=1AUG.SBJ PREP plate
 ‘We put (it) again (a second time) in the plate.’ (nalogo042)

The lexeme =*kali* seems to have a variant ~ =*käli* ‘second, next’ as in (8.35) and (8.36) below.

- (8.35) *Amilëpoti=kom böma bä obu kaptengime*
 clean=1AUG.SBJ house PREP day sixth
kä atuö aa mweli ka öblemi=pe=käli=wom
 LNK every COORD time DEM₁.PROX make=COS=next=1AUG.SBJ
bä obu kapwe.
 PREP day forth
 ‘We used to clean the house every Saturday, but now we do (it) every Thursday.’
 (nalogo055)

- (8.36) *Set, mweli ka*
 right time DEM₁.PROX
t(ü)-ö-vë=pe=käli=wa *topola.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave=COS=second=1MIN.SBJ basket

‘Right, this time I am weaving basket.’ (nalogo062)

In both examples above, =*käli* ‘next’ refers to another instance of an action which was already performed on another occasion prior to the moment of speech. Semantically, the actions can be either of the same types as in (8.35), where habituality is also implied, or slightly different as in (8.36), where the speaker is going to weave a basket, by contrast with a previous occasion when she was weaving a fan. In (8.35) and (8.36), the notion of sequence of actions expressed by =*käli* appears to be associated with contrast, reinforced by the presence of the NP *mweli ka* ‘this time’.

8.2.3.11 =*tëipwö* ‘just, only’

The lexeme =*tëipwö* ‘just, only’ can occur outside the VC with an adverbial function as in (8.37), or inside the VC in a peripheral position before subject enclitics.

(8.37) *Të-pna=kö* *tëipwö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-shoot=3AUG.SBJ just
 ‘They just spear (it).’ (nalogo001)

(8.38) *Kä-lë-doulë=ngö* *kio* *dölen*
 way-PASS.PFV-catch=APPL chicken wild
kä-i-ngâ=tëipwö=le *la*
 way-PFV.N3AUG-be.like=just=3MIN.SBJ DEM1.DIST
 ‘As for how to catch wild chickens, it is just like that.’ (nalogo013)

When it occurs as an independent lexeme, *tëipwö* can have predicates under its scope as in (8.37) or NP heads as in (8.39). In both cases, the lexeme has scope on the element that it follows.

(8.39) *Jisas* *tëipwö* *kä* *i-mo=la*
 Jesus only LNK PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ
i-kele=ba=nu.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘Only Jesus that I see is good for me.’ (nalogo039)

As mentioned in Chapter 3, this lexeme can conflate with some subject forms.

8.2.3.12 =*p(m)o* ‘again’

As explained in Chapter 10, the lexeme =*p(m)o* ‘again’ signals that an action, not necessarily performed by the same subject, is repeated more than one time. This lexeme can occur either outside the VC as an adverb or inside the VC. When it occurs inside the VC, =*p(m)o* is attested after the COS marker =*p(m)e*, but before the additive =*kö* ‘also, too’ and subject forms as in (8.40) and (8.41).

(8.40) *To=pe=gö, jâ tË-vË=pe=pmo pwela...*
 NEG.EXIST=COS=3AUG.SBJ SEQ IPFV.3AUG-go=COS=again sea
 ‘They were not there; they were going again to the sea...’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(8.41) *E-pi=ö=nom nge t(ü)-vË-tö=pmo=kö=wom.*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=1AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=again=ADD=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We want to go in again.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

The form =*pmo* can also attach to NPs as in (8.42) where it occurs on the quantifier *dü*.

(8.42) *Jele dü=pmo? Pi!*
 be.where QNT=again say
 ‘Where is one more (song)? Say (it)!’ (nalogo039)

8.2.3.13 =*bo* ‘still’

The lexeme =*bo* ‘still, yet’ can only occur inside the VC, following the COS marker =*p(m)e* and preceding =*pwö* ‘same’, person deictic directionals and subject enclitic forms. In (8.43) =*bo* occurs before the 3MIN bound subject form =*te*.

(8.43) *Mo-i-tâ=pwö â*
 male-PFV.N3AUG-be.small=same PRAG.MRK
tü-mwapu-mi=bo=te nabwö ne=de.
 IPFV.N3AUG-whistle-APPL=still=3MIN.SBJ song animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The same man is whistling his song.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

The form =*bo* can also attach to NPs as in (8.44) where it occurs on the nominal demonstrative *kâ*. When =*bo* attaches to NPs, it means ‘same’ and guarantees the continuity in the choice of the referent.

(8.44) *Niinge kâ=bo kopyo nela nuwë*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=still EXIST branch tree
tü-(v)elya-glâ=pe=kâli=te.

IPFV.N3AUG-move.feet-break=COS =next=3MIN.SBJ

‘As for the same boy, there is a branch of a tree that he is breaking now.’
(nalogo2010_2015)

In (8.44), which is the description of a video clip, =*bo* suggests that the referent within its scope is still the same one who appeared in the previous clips. Functionally, =*bo* is similar to =*pwö* ‘same’ which occurs in (8.43) attached to the initial NP.

8.2.3.14 =*kapwö* ‘also, too’

The lexeme =*kapwö* (~ =*käpwö*) ‘also, in the same way’ occurs only inside the VC, after the COS marker =*p(m)e*. Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 354-356) displays a functionally and formally similar adverb -*kap(w)ë/-kap(w)a* ‘too’ attested in the VC. Two examples are shown below.

(8.45) *Leplë* *ö-vëpe=kapwö* *po* *na=gö.*
people MIDD₁-buy=also pig food.CLF=3AUG.POSS
‘People also buy pigs for them.’ (nalogo012)

(8.46) *I-kâ* *i-vë* *i-wäbu* *ä*
female-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-go PFV.N3AUG-sit COORD
i-ka-te=de *kâ*
female-DEM₁.PROX-close.relation=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST
i-vë *i-wäbu-tö=käpwö* *ba=de.*
PFV.N3AUG-go PFV.N3AUG-sit-in=too PREP=3MIN.OBJ
‘The girl goes, sits and her friend goes and sits in the same way next to her.’
(nalogo043_1)

The lexeme *kapwö* is most likely related to the short forms =*ka* ‘also’ and =*pwö* ‘same’, which seems to express similar meanings.

(8.47) *Ö-ni=ng* *lopta* *ä*
MIDD₁-cut=1MIN.SBJ cabbage COORD
ö-ni-ki=ka=u *lemo* *ngö=de.*
MIDD₁-cut-rigid.obj=also=2MIN.SBJ leaf ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
‘You cut cabbage and you also cut its leaves.’ (nalogo050)

(8.48) *Eke, sorry* *i-dâ-tö=bo=pwö* *ba=de*
Phew sorry IPFV.N3AUG-hand-in=still=same PREP=3MIN.OBJ
‘Phew, sorry, it still yet hangs on it.’ (nalogo062)

The reduced form =*pwö* can attach to predicative elements or to NPs. For instance, in (8.49), =*pwö* occurs on the distal form *â* of the demonstrative identifier.

- (8.49) *Nat kâ tü-pi=bwa ba=mwi*
 word DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2AUG.OBJ
â=pwö.
 DEM₃.DIST=same
 ‘The word that I told you is the same one.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

In (8.50) below, =*pwö* attaches to the nominal demonstrative *kâ*. Vaa (2013: 173) describes a formally and functionally similar form in Engdewu, the enclitic =*pwë*/=*pwa*, that he defines as ‘restrictive marker’ which also can attach to demonstrative forms.

- (8.50) *I-va-ku=kë=wom obu kâ=pwö.*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=ADD=1AUG.SBJ day DEM₁.DIST=same
 ‘We also cook that same day.’ (nalogo057)

8.2.3.15 =*kälë* ‘later’

The lexeme =*kälë* ‘later’, which does not have many attestations in the data, seems to occur before person deictic directionals and subject bound forms. Two examples are shown in (8.51) and (8.52). The form is not attested outside the VC.

- (8.51) *Aula=kälë=pwö noglâ!*
 CAUS.show=later=DIR.thither today
 ‘Show her later today!’ (nalogo016)

- (8.52) *Nü-mwa-ki-ti=kälë=wi kâ=ng*
 IRR.N3AUG-eat-rigid.obj-PL=later=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL
i-woplëwe. I-kele=ka ba=m?
 PFV.N3AUG-be.strong PFV.N3AUG-be.good=DEM₁.PROX PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘We will bite the strong ones later. Is this okay for you?’ (nalogo039)

8.2.3.16 Completive/past marker =*pnö*

Although there are just few attestations of =*pnö* in the data, the marker seems to occur inside the VC after the verb root and before person deictic directionals and subject enclitics as shown in (8.53) taken from Chapter 10.

- (8.53) *I-pi=bwe=le*, *“Me-i-tâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ male-PFV.N3AUG-be.small
nü-pi=pnö=ka=p=mwe *mo*
 IRR.N3AUG-say-COMPL.PST=also=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither DEM₂.DIST
aki nu-wâ-mi=mwa.”
 so.that IRR.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘...He said (to the shark): “Friend, you should have told (that) to me too before, so that I could come with it.’

Apparently, the same marker can also attach to NPs. In the data, it is only attested once in the expression in (8.54).

- (8.54) *Mweli kâ=ng=pnö*
 time DEM₁.DIST=PL=COMPL.PST
 ‘Past, ancestors’ time’

8.2.3.17 Person deictic directionals

Person deictic directionals, the ‘hither’ =*m* and the ‘thither’ =*bwe*, occupy a peripheral position in the VC right before subject enclitics. An example with =*m* is shown in (8.55).

- (8.55) *Vealö=m=de* *kâ biro ba=nu.*
 ask=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ QNT biro PREP=1MIN.POSS
 ‘She asked a biro to me.’

In Chapter 9, additional examples with person deictic directionals are provided.

8.2.3.18 Subject and object bound forms

Nalögo displays two sets of subject enclitics with allomorphic variation, free and/or dialectal variants (Chapter 3). Within the VC, subject enclitics occur in a very peripheral position, right before the second negator =*lü* of standard negation as shown in (8.56).

- (8.56) *Te-i-mwa=wom=lü* *da-lë=ng.*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂ thing-PASS.PFV-eat
 ‘We do not eat food...’ (nalogo032)

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, subject forms are analysed as enclitics, although they also display an affix-like behaviour. They are regarded as clitics because they occur peripherally in

the VC and after the COS marker =*p(m)e*. While subjects—unless they are encoded by free pronouns—can be expressed on the verb, objects are typically expressed by free pronominal forms. However, there are some contexts in which the object is marked on the verb by the 3MIN enclitic=*le* (Chapter 3). In that case, the 3MIN object form is very peripheral, occurring even after the subject enclitic as in (8.57).

- (8.57) *Jâ* *t(ü)-ya-li-ti-pä=ngö=na=de*.
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-split-be.two-PL-out=APPL=1MIN.SBJ =3MIN.SBJ
 ‘That’s why I split it (the side).’ (nalogo062)

8.2.3.19 =*kö* ‘also, too’

The lexeme =*kö* ‘also, too’ can function either as an independent adverb occurring in the clause outside the VC as in (8.58), or as a bound form occupying a peripheral position in the VC.

- (8.58) *Mo* *nölu* *kâ* *te=i-boi-dongo=lü* *kö*
 tree coconut DEM₁.DIST NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.tall-a.lot=NEG₂ also
 ‘The coconut tree was also not too tall.’ (nalogo002)

The morpheme =*kö* occurs after the COS marker =*p(m)e* and the lexeme =*p(m)o* ‘again’. However, its position does not appear to be fixed, so for instance, it can occur before and after subject enclitics as in (8.59) and (8.60).

- (8.59) *I-vö-la=kö=wom* *paebi*
 PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=also=1AUG.SBJ rope
 ‘...we also cut ropes...’ (nalogo057)

- (8.60) *Da* *la* *ö-pi=bom=kö* *mwago*.
 thing DEM_{1,L}.NPROX ?-say=1AUG.SBJ=also mwago
 ‘That thing, we also call it mango.’ (nalogo032)

In addition, this form can attach to different hosts, including free pronouns, common nouns and demonstratives. In (8.61), I show one example where =*kö* attaches to a demonstrative form functioning as NP head.

- (8.61) *I-pwä-ki-pä=nga* *nge* *ma=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-out=1MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK DEM₂.PROX=PL
ä *ka=kö*.
 COORD DEM₁.PROX=also
 ‘I cut off the parts here and this one too.’ (nalogo060_2)

8.2.3.20 Desiderative marker *=ta*

The desiderative marker *=ta*, mentioned in Chapter 10, occurs at the periphery of the VC, after person deictic directionals and subject forms as in (8.62). This example is also found in Chapter 10.

- (8.62) *Nü-lâ-te=pwa=ta* *mö* *natu=go*.
IRR.N3AUG-talk-INTS=1MIN.SBJ.thither=DESID PREP language=1+2AUG.POSS
‘I wish I could talk in our language.’ (field notes 2018)

8.2.3.21 Jussive marker *=na*

In the available data, the jussive marker *=na* occurs only on imperative forms. It is typically used to catch the listener’s attention to exhort him/her to do something (Chapter 10). In (8.63), *=na* appears on a 2MIN imperative form, after the ‘hither’ person deictic directional *=m*.

- (8.63) *Yagla=m=na!*
look=DIR.hither=JUSS.MRK
‘Look here first!’ (nalogo039)

8.2.3.22 Continuative marker *=tna*

The continuative marker *=tna* described in Chapter 10 occupies a peripheral position in the VC, after subject enclitics as in (8.64), where it occurs after the 3MIN subject *=le*.

- (8.64) *E-pi=ö* *Melëke* *nge*
?-say=QUOT male-? COMP
ni-ngi-nalë=tëpwö=le=tna *dongo*.
IRR.N3AUG-be-spouse=only=3MIN.SBJ=CONT₂ a lot
‘Melëke really wanted her to be his wife forever.’

The same marker *=tna* can also attach to the temporal phrase *mweli kâ* ‘that time’ with an intensifying function as in (8.65).

- (8.65) *Kä-i-mno-nö=kayö* *kä-i-pwë-tu*
one-PFV.N3AUG-stay-DISP=first one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK
mweli *kâ=tna*.
time DEM₁.DIST=CONT₂
‘But the first one was the oldest one (lit. the one who stayed around first was the old one in the very ancient time)’ (nalogo1109_2015)

The expression *mweli kâ=tna* emphasizes the notion of ‘past time’. In (8.65), the speaker makes use of that expression to identify the oldest member of a family belonging to a very old generation, as opposed to some members of younger generations

8.2.3.23 Second negator =*lii*

The second negator =*lii* of standard negation occurs at the very end of the VC after subject bound forms as in (8.66). The combination *te=...=lii* encompasses the VC nucleus, pre-modifiers and post-modifiers.

- (8.66) *Kä=ng* *i-veplö*
 DEM₁.MED=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.strong
te-i-ngu=wo=lii.
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂
 ‘As for those that are strong, we don’t eat them.’ (nalogo039)

8.3 Serial verb and coverb constructions

In this section, I describe the most common types of serial verb constructions (SVC) in Nalögo. Broadly speaking, SVCs refer to sequences of verbs expressing a single predication. This topic has been treated extensively in typological and Oceanic studies (e.g. Crowley 2002; Aikhenvald 2006; Bril & Ozanne-Rivierre 2004). Oceanic languages show a great deal of variation in terms of types and functions of SVCs. There are languages where SVCs are very common, such as Paamese (Crowley 2002), or languages where SVCs are almost absent (Bril 2004).

SVCs are generally divided into ‘nuclear’ SVCs and ‘core’ SVCs. The distinction between these two types is based on Foley and Olson (1985: 33-37)’s analysis of the clause involving three layers: the innermost layer (nucleus and nuclear operators), the clausal core layer (including verbal arguments), and the periphery (including the temporal and spatial setting of the event). This structure has proven to be useful also for the description of SVCs in Oceanic languages (Crowley 2002: 42). Nuclear SVCs refer to contiguous complex nuclei of the type *sV₁V₂(o)*, whereas ‘core’ SVCs refer to non-contiguous nuclei of the type *sV₁(o) sV₂(o)*.

Nalögo displays both nuclear and core SVCs, which are discussed in §8.3.1 and §8.3.3, respectively. In addition, there is a kind of nuclear serialisation, where one or two lexical elements of the nucleus are not canonical verbs. These lexemes are labelled as ‘coverbs’. Coverbal constructions (CVC) are discussed in §8.3.2.

8.3.1 Nuclear serial verb constructions

In Nalögo, nuclear SVCs involve a sequence of two contiguous verbal nuclei which can either be used independently as verbs, or combine in complex nuclei. In the SVC construction, the two verbs take a single set of arguments and TAM markers. In Nalögo, nuclear SVCs can express various meanings, such as manner, direction, purpose and result.

In nuclear SVC, the V₂ can express manner as shown in (8.67) and (8.68).

(8.67) ...*Aki* *noglâ nolâ tii-bu-toulö.*
because today world IPFV.N3AUG-get.dark-go.fast
'...because today it is getting dark fast.' (nalogo039)

(8.68) *Nü-mno-wëli=ko* *natü=de.*
IRR.N3AUG-live-follow=1AUG.SBJ word=3MIN.POSS
'We must live following his word.' (nalogo039)

In (8.67), V₁ *bu* 'get dark' and V₂ *toulö* 'go fast' function as head and modifier, respectively. They are intransitive verbs which can be used independently. In (8.68), V₂ *wëli* follows V₁ *mno* 'stay, live' expressing a static relation. The verbs *mno* and *wëli* are intransitive and transitive, respectively; the transitivity of the complex nucleus is determined by the valence of V₂.

An interesting case is the SVC in (8.69), where V₂, a stative verb, takes the prefix *a-* which is formally identical to the causative (*v*)*a-*.

(8.69) *I-vängi-a-tüka=nga.*
PFV.N3AUG-feel-CAUS-be.bad=1MIN.SBJ
'I feel bad.' (nalogo1014_2015)

When used as an independent verb, the causativised form (*v*)*a-tüka* of the stative verb means 'hurt s.o.' The occurrence in SVCs of a morpheme identical to a causative form on V₂ stative verbs is attested in other Oceanic languages (Bril 2007). However, in the available data, this construction does not appear to be common. The same V₂ *wëli* occurring in the SVC above is also attested in the SVC in (8.70) following an activity verb to express direction. Again, in (8.70), V₂ determines the transitivity of the complex nucleus.

(8.70) *Ya-wëli-lë=nga* *nuwe kâ*
paddle-follow-up=1MIN.SBJ river DEM₁.DIST
'I paddle up along the river.' (fieldnotes 2018)

Nuclear SVCs can also express purpose as in (8.71).

- (8.71) *Nim ä nü-vë-pi=m ba=nu.*
2MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-go-tell=DIR.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ
'You will come to tell me...' (nalogo039)

The combination MOTION + ACTIVITY conveying purpose is attested in Oceanic languages. As Brill (2007) writes: "[...] the purposive meaning is often expressed by a sequence involving a V₁ of motion and a V₂ of activity [...]."

An example of SVCs expressing result is shown in (8.72).

- (8.72) ...Ä *i-vië-a-kiütâ-ti=kom.*
COORD PFV.N3AUG-cut-CAUS-be.small-PL=1AUG.SBJ
'...and we cut (them) in small pieces. (nalogo057)

In (8.72), the transitive verb *vië* 'cut' combines with the causativized form of the stative verb *kiütâ* 'be small'. The verb in V₂ is seen as the result of the action of *vië*. The occurrence of a causative prefix on verbs expressing a similar function is attested in Oceanic languages (Brill 2007). An example from Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia), is shown in (8.73), where the stative V₂ is causativized by *pa-*.

- (8.73) Nêlêmwa (Brill 2002: 168)
Hla khi pa-maxa-e.
3PL hit FACT-be dead-3SG
'They struck him dead.'

8.3.2 Coverbal constructions

In typological and descriptive literature, the term 'coverb' is generally used to refer to lexemes occurring in complex nuclei of serialised constructions which do not belong to the category of verbs. Coverbal constructions are found especially in languages of East Asia (e.g. Lord 1993, Matthews 2006) and Northern Australia (e.g. Baker & Harvey 2010). However, coverbal constructions are also attested in Oceanic languages, as for instance in Ahamb, a language spoken in Vanuatu (Rangelov 2020).

Nalögo also includes a class of coverbs which do not behave as canonical verbs. In coverbal constructions, the complex nucleus can be formed by one independent verb and one coverb, or by two coverbs. Examples of coverbal constructions are found in (8.74) and (8.75).

(8.74) *Mö-kâ* *â* *tü-vë-nebliü-nö=de*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go-follow-DISP =3MIN.SBJ
i-kâ.
 female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The boy is following around the girl.’ (nalogo043_2)

(8.75) *Mwa-nebliü=nga* *nim*.
 go-follow=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I followed you.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

In (8.74) and (8.75), *-nebliü* has a ‘verbal’ semantics, but it does not have the properties of a verb found in SVCs. The lexeme is never attested with an independent use or inflected for verbal categories. It only occurs in second position in coverbal constructions with motion verbs to express manner. However, while the verb *vë* in (8.74) has an independent use, the lexeme *mwa-* is a bound element not attested outside the VC. Although *mwa-* cannot be used independently, it appears to have the semantics of a verb of motion, given that it can be replaced by *vë* ‘go’ in the same construction. In both examples, the complex form is transitive, showing that the coverb *-nebliü* determines the transitivity of the complex nucleus.

Two additional cases of coverbal constructions where the second lexeme is a coverb occurring in a fixed position are shown in (8.76) and (8.77). The coverb *-delü* ‘away’ expresses direction and occurs after two verbs of motion, which can be used independently. The whole complex nucleus is applicativised by *-ti*.

(8.76) *Wo-delü-ti=nga* *mwetelya*
 go-away-APPL=1MIN.SBJ village
 ‘I left the village (lit. I went away from the village).’

(8.77) *Horse kâ* *i-gwa-delü-ti=pe=le* *ni*
 horse DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-run-away-APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘The horse ran away from me.’

An interesting case is represented by the coverb *-kap(ü)* ‘hide’ which can only occur in the nucleus of CVCs with various interpretations. In the available data, it is attested in second position after verbs of posture like *tu* ‘stand’ and *yâ* ‘stay’ and the verb of caused movement *yöliü* ‘put’. Three examples are shown in (8.78), (8.79) and (8.80).

(8.78) *Nim â tü-tu-kapü-nö=pe.*
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-stand-hide-DISP=COS
 ‘You stand hiding around.’ (nalogo013)

(8.79) *Janet yöliü-kapü=le pot kâ*
 Janet put-hide=3MIN.SBJ pot DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Janet hid the pot.’ (nalogo059)

(8.80) *Frog kâ yâ-kapü*
 frog DEM₁.DIST stay-hide
 ‘The frog remains hidden.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

In all the examples above, *-kapü* occurs in the second position of the verb nucleus, while the first position is occupied by three independent verbs. In (8.78), the coverb seems to express manner, while in (8.79), it could be interpreted as expressing purpose (e.g. Janet put the pot down to hide it). However, the reading of example (8.79) is ambiguous, in that *-kapü* could also express manner (Janet put down the pot by hiding it). Finally, in (8.80), the CVC displays an aspectual specification, a kind of continuative meaning, where *-kapü* expresses the state in which the subject continues to be. While (8.78) and (8.80) display two examples where the CVCs are intransitive, in (8.79), the CVC is transitive, showing that it is the first element of the CVC to determine the transitivity.

The coverbs presented above display a kind of ‘verbal’ semantics. However, there are also coverbs functioning as a kind of adverbial modifiers, such as *-lëblö* ‘together’, *-taikü* ‘very, too’ and *-ani* ‘very’. These lexemes, which do not have an independent use, occur after the verb root. Sentence (8.81) show an example with *-lëblö* ‘together’.

(8.81) *Da la=ng lë-wo-ti-lëblö=bwö=kö*
 thing DEM_{1,L}.NPROX=PL PFV.3AUG-do-TR-together=DIR.thither=3AUG.SBJ
nigö yökö.
 3AUG QNT
 ‘As for those things, they do them together, all of them.’ (nalogo026)

The lexeme *-taikü* ‘very, too’ is found occurring with the stative verbs *tâ* ‘be small’ and *pmi* ‘be little, a few, a bit’ as shown in (8.82) and (8.83)

(8.82) *Da ka i-tâ-taikü.*
 thing DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.small-very
 ‘This thing is too small.’ (nalogo060_2)

- (8.83) *Mla=ng* *ä* *mwetelya* *ne=gom*
 DEM_{1,L}.NPROX=PL COORD village animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS
â *tü-change=pme* *kä-i-pmi-taikü*
 PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-change=COS way-PFV-N3AUG-be.a.bit-very
 ‘...in those times (and) our village started to change a little bit.’
 (nalogo0809_2015)

The lexeme *-ani* ‘very’ is attested only on the stative verb *kele* ‘be good’. Further data are required to know if there are restrictions in its distribution. The lexeme *-ani*, which occurs right after the verb root as in (8.84), does not have any free counterpart.

- (8.84) *Ii* *i-kele-ani* *mö-kâ*
 yay PFV.N3AUG-be.good-very male-DEM₁.DIST
i-pwë-tu
 PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK
lë-ka-gö=m=de *ba=gom* *naa* *nuwâ*.
 NMLZ₁-give-NMLZ₃=DIR.hither=3MIN.POSS PREP=1AUG.OBJ fruit tree
 ‘Yay! it is very good that the Bigman gave fruits to us.’ (nalogo032)

8.3.2.1 CVC constructions expressing ‘Cut & Break’ events

‘Cut & Break’ (C&B) events⁷¹ are defined as involving “volitional directed acts carried out by an agent with the intention of bringing about a change of state in an object” (Næss 2012). In Äiwoo, these complex structures are made up of two parts. The former conveys the act which is carried out to bring about the destruction of the object and the instrument, if there is any; while the latter specifies the properties of the objects and how they break. While in Äiwoo, a good number of verbs combining in these structures can function independently, this is not the case for Natügu and Engdewu where most verbs are bound (Næss & Boerger 2008; Vaa 2013: 312).

In Nalögo, CVC constructions expressing C&B events are constituted by verbs or coverbs occurring in two positions: the former is for the type of action or the instrument used, while the latter for the properties of the objects or the way in which they are modified by the action. In Nalögo, while some verbs occurring in these constructions are independent, many lexemes

⁷¹ The examples found in this section have been extracted from texts or elicited through to the “Cut & Break” video clips (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2001).

behave as coverbs, i.e. they occur only as bound elements in the complex nucleus. Examples are found in (8.85).

- (8.85) *Nuwo kâ i-la-ki=le*
 stick DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ
i-gë-lë=käli=p=de
 PFV.N3AUG-pick-up=next=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
i-tu-glâ=le. I-mö-glâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-stand-break =3MIN.SBJ N3AUG-break-break
 ‘As for the stick, he broke it. He picked it up (next) and he broke it (by standing on it). It broke in pieces.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

In (8.85), in the first two instances of CVC constructions, the two coverbs *-ki* ‘rigid object’ and *-glâ* ‘break (in pieces)’ combine with the independent verbs *la* ‘cut, hack’ and *tu* ‘stand’. In the last instance, *-glâ* combines with another coverb, the form *mö-* ‘break’. Example (8.85) also shows that the same coverb can combine with both independent and bound elements. While the combination of *la* ‘cut, hack’ plus *-ki* ‘rigid object’ encodes the properties of the objects involved in the action of cutting/hacking, the combination of *tu* ‘stand’ plus *-glâ* encodes how the object is modified.

Some verbs and coverbs occurring in the nucleus of CVC constructions expressing C&B events are shown in Table 8-2.

| FIRST POSITION | SECOND POSITION |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>bä-</i> ‘break’ | <i>-ki</i> ‘rigid object’ |
| <i>la-</i> ‘cut, hack, chop’ | <i>-kä</i> ‘soft object’ |
| <i>lu-</i> ‘spear (with pointed tool)’ | <i>-li</i> ‘become two’ |
| <i>pwä-</i> ‘break (with long knives, axe)’ | <i>-pya</i> ‘split lengthwise’ |
| <i>mwa-</i> ‘bite’ | <i>-bu</i> ‘be smashed’ |
| <i>pla-</i> ‘break (with hands)’ | <i>-bö</i> ‘be crushed’ |
| <i>Tu-</i> ‘stand’ | <i>-kö</i> ‘take a soft bit off’ |
| <i>vely-</i> ‘move feet’ | <i>-wä</i> ‘be opened’ |

Table 8-2 Independent verbs and coverbs occurring in CVC constructions expressing C&B events

In some cases, complex nuclei of CVC constructions can also involve more than two lexemes as in (8.86).

- (8.86) *Nëpwë* *kâ* *i-bä-pya-li*.
 cloth DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break-split.lengthwise-be.two
 ‘The cloth tore off in two pieces.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

8.3.2.2 Differences between coverbs and adverbs

In Nalögo, there are some additional lexemes occurring in the VC which unlike coverbs, occur in the clause independently as aspectual, degree and manner adverbs. Because of this, although in terms of VC position, they pattern like coverbs, they cannot be defined as such. The most common forms attested in the data are briefly presented below.

8.3.2.1.1 *-(t)ëvë* ‘always, often, usually’

The lexeme *ëvë* ‘always, often, usually’ can be used either independently in the clause with an adverbial function as in (8.87) or as part of the VC as in (8.88).

- (8.87) *Ëvë* *lë-(y)apwe* *dongo*.
 usually PFV.3AUG-discuss a.lot
 ‘Usually, they discuss a lot.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

- (8.88) *Lë-glii-ëvë=kö* *mëlu gö=gö*.
 PFV.3AUG-carry-always=3AUG.SBJ bag general.CLF=3AUG.POSS
 ‘They always carry their bags.’ (nalogo047)

When occurring inside the VC, the adverb has a variant with the initial consonant /t/ as shown in (8.89).

- (8.89) *Mö-kâ* *i-vö-ta-tëvë* *po* *obu* *kä*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-hit-always pig day LNK
atuö.
 QNT
 ‘The man always hit pigs every day.’ (nalogo218_2015)

8.3.2.1.2 *-dongo* ‘really, a lot’

The lexeme *dongo* ‘a lot, very/too much, really’ can be used either independently in the clause with an adverbial function, or as part of the VC. Two examples are shown in (8.90) and (8.91).

- (8.90) *Mö-kâ* *nide mö-kä-i-vö-nibü* *da*
 male-DEM₁.DIST 3MIN male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill thing
kä i-klu dongo.
 LNK PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill a.lot
 ‘That man is a hunter (lit. that male one is a male one that kills many things a lot.)’

- (8.91) *I-vë-dongo=nga* *meipluwu*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-a.lot=1MIN.SBJ bush
 ‘I used to go a lot to the bush.’ (nalogo821_2015)

8.2.3.1.3 -*amu* ‘together’

The lexeme *-amu* ‘together’ can occur either outside the VC as an independent adverb encoding manner as in (8.92), or inside the VC after the verb root as in (8.93). The lexeme *-amu* ‘together’ is likely to be related to the verb *atamuti* ‘gather’.

- (8.92) *Ryan ä* *John lë-nibü=kö* *nge*
 Ryan COORD John PFV.3AUG-kill=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK
mäde=gö amu.
 brother=3AUG.POSS together
 ‘Ryan and John killed their brother together.’

- (8.93) *Lë-maki-ngö=la* *te-lë-mno-amu=ka.*
 NMLZ₁-engage-NMLZ₂=DEM_{1.L}.NPROX NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-live-together=yet
 ‘During the engagement, they do not live together yet.’ (nalogo0917_2015)

8.2.3.1.4 -*âkö* and -*angidö* ‘well’

The lexemes *âkö* and *angidö* (~ *ângidö*) ‘well, really, properly, fully, carefully’ can occur either outside the VC as independent manner adverbs or inside the VC after the verb root. In (8.94) and (8.95), the two lexemes occur outside the VC; while in (8.96) and (8.97), they occur inside it after the verb root.

- (8.94) *T(ü)-va-klë=nga* *lopta âkö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-clean=1MIN.SBJ cabbage well
 ‘I am cleaning cabbage well.’ (nalogo039)

(8.95) *Jâ t(ü)-va-küü-ti=le ä*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-turn.over-TR=3MIN.SBJ COORD
t(ü)-va-mwi=le ângidö.
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-sleep=3MIN.SBJ well
 ‘...then, she turns it over and she makes it rest well.’ (nalogo043_2)

(8.96) *I-klë-âkö=ng lë-(v)elya-ngö.*
 PFV.N3AUG-know-well=2MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 ‘You can dance well.’ (nalogo218_2015)

(8.97) *Kopyo leplë tü-yelü-ângidö-ti da*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-put-carefully-PL thing
 ‘There is someone putting things carefully (one on top of the other).’
 (nalogo1509_2015)

When used independently, the lexeme *ângidö* ‘real’ can also modify NP heads as in (8.98). The concept of ‘real money’ refers to the money traditionally used to pay bride price. In (8.98), ‘real money’ is used in opposition to Solomon Islands dollars.

(8.98) *Töwa gö=go kä tü-ngâ=pe*
 money general.CLF=1+2AUG.POSS LNK IPFV.N3AUG-be.like=COS
Noveapu towa ângidö...
 Noveapu money real
 ‘[...] and our money like Noveapu, the real money...’

8.3.3 Core serialization

As previously mentioned in this Chapter, core serialization involve non-contiguous nuclei of the type sV(o)sV(o) (Bril 2004). In Nalögo, core serialization differs from nuclear serialization because each verb has its own overt inflectional marking. Some common cases of core serialisation are shown in the following subsections.

8.3.3.1 Manner function

Core serialization can express manner. In (8.99), V₂ is a stative verb in an ambient serial construction. Ambient serial constructions are “those in which a serialized verb makes some kind of qualification about the manner in which an action is performed, with the manner being expressed by means of a serialized stative verb [...]” (Crowley 2002: 41-42).

- (8.99) *I-wâi=ng* *nölu* *gö=m*
 PFV.N3AUG-squeeze=2MIN.SBJ coconut general.clf=2MIN.POSS
i-kele=Ø
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘You squeeze your coconuts right.’ (nalogo066)

The stative verb *ikele* ‘be good’ expresses the manner in which the main action is carried out. The subject of V₁ is not shared with the ambient verb, which takes a zero-marked 3MIN subject referring to the manner in which the action of squeezing is carried out. The inflections of V₂ pattern like those of V₁, since both verbs take the N3AUG/perfective prefix *i-*. However, it is also possible to find V₂ verbs which pattern differently from V₁. This is shown in (8.100).

- (8.100) *Aki* *lopta* *ka=ng* *bwö* *kayö*
 because cabbage DEM₁.PROX=PL cook first
nü-kele=Ø *awi* *nim* *i-vë.*
 IRR.N3AUG-be.good=3MIN.SBJ before 2MIN PFV.N3AUG-go
 ‘...because this cabbage, cook (it) first good before you go.’ (nalogo039)

In (8.100), the serialised stative verb does not take the same inflections as the 2MIN affirmative imperative in V₁ position, which has no inflections. However, the command expressed by the imperative in (8.100) belongs to the domain of irrealis because the commanded action has not taken place yet. As a consequence, the serialised stative verb in the serial ambient construction belongs to the same semantic domain of the imperative, taking the irrealis prefix *nü-*. As in (8.99), the serialised verb takes the 3MIN unmarked subject.

The final example of core serialization expressing manner is shown in (8.101), where the verb *toulö* ‘go fast’, which can be used independently, is used in an ambient serialisation where the serialised verb expressing manner does not take any aspect/mood inflection.

- (8.101) *T(ü)-va-klë=nga* *toulö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-clean=1MIN.SBJ go.fast
 ‘I am cleaning (it) fast.’ (nalogo039)

8.3.3.2 Endpoint function

Core serialization can express a time-limit function through the serialization of the verb *klë* ‘reach’. This verb occurs as the V₂ of a complex ambient serialized construction where it takes

Examples of core serialisation like (8.105) are common in tail-head linkage structures as shown in (8.106).

- (8.106) *Jâ tü-bi-tö=pe=ng.* *I-bi-tö=ng*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-bake-in=COS=2MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-break-in=2MIN.SBJ
yökö-pä=bwe ä jâ tü-wo=pme.
 finish-out=DIR.thither COORD SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-be.left=COS
 ‘...then you bake it. When is baked, then it is left.’ (nalogo066)

In Nalögo, the serialised verb *yökö* occurs in the ‘head’ of the tail-head structure to signal that the event, which is first reported in the tail, is over. The occurrence of serialisation expressing completive meanings in tail-head structures is attested in other Oceanic languages, including Vatlongos, spoken in Vanuatu, where the serialized verb *bus* ‘finish’ occurs in the head of tail-head constructions. With regard to tail-head structures, Ridge (2019: 181-183) writes: “This strategy is closely linked to information structure: when the situation is expressed in a ‘tail’ it is usually new information; then it is repeated as old information in the ‘head’, the topic of a new section of discourse. When the situation is first reported in the tail, it is presented as unfinished; then, when it appears in the head, it is often marked with the completive to show it is over and prepare the listener for the new situation that follows”.

The serialised *yökö* can also have an intensification meaning as shown in (8.107).

- (8.107) *Set one i-klë=ng yökö-pä!*
 set one PFV.N3AUG-know=2MIN.SBJ finish-out
 ‘Set one, you really know (it)!’ (nalogo039)

8.4 Intensification through repetition of VCs

In Nalögo, identical VCs can be repeated to express intensification. Two examples are shown in (8.108) and (8.109), where the two VCs take the same subject and same verbal inflections.

- (8.108) *Nepi tü-pâ tü-pâ.*
 sun IPFV.N3AUG-be.red IPFV.N3AUG-be.red
 ‘The sun is really shining.’

- (8.109) *Olë kâ i-kele i-kele.*
 girl DEM1.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘That girl is very nice.’ (nalogo028)

9. DIRECTIONS IN THE VERB COMPLEX

This chapter describes the properties of bound morphemes expressing directions in the VC. This set of morphemes include ‘directionals’, which are mainly used to frame events in space, and additional bound forms expressing directions.

Directionals occur very frequently in the VC, and this high frequency can be accounted for by the vast array of functions they cover, ranging from primary spatial meanings to more figurative ones. Following Ross (2004b), the term ‘directional’ refers to “a morpheme—often a clitic—that occurs in a verb phrase and has a deictic meaning”. In terms of functions, François (2003) writes that the function of directionals consists in ‘vectorizing’ an event in space, i.e. orienting it along a certain axis. The author provides a classification of directionals in Mwotlap, an Oceanic language spoken in Vanuatu, based on three underlying spatial systems referred to as ‘coordinates’. The types of coordinates based on which directionals are organised are defined below:

- **PERSON COORDINATES** defined by reference to a *participant*;
- **LOCAL COORDINATES** defined by reference to a *local asymmetry*
- **GEOCENTRIC COORDINATES** defined by reference to *geography*

‘Person Coordinates’ refer to those directionals defined in relation to a participant which functions as deictic centre. In this analysis, I refer to them as ‘person deictic’ directionals. Nalögo has one pair of morphemes expressing this function: =*m* ‘hither, towards the speaker/deictic centre’ and =*bwe* ‘thither, away from the speaker/deictic centre’.

‘Local Coordinates’ include those directionals defined in relation to local asymmetry. Nalögo has four directionals showing this function which are organised in two pairs: -*lë* ‘up’/-*u* ‘down’, located on the up/down vertical axis; and -*pä* ‘out’/-*tö* ‘in’, which express what François (2003) refers to as ‘container perspective’. In this analysis, I refer to them as ‘topological’ directionals.

‘Geocentric coordinates’ are defined by reference to geography, that is, to the physical features of the surrounding environment. There is a basic distinction between ‘absolute’ and ‘relative’ coordinates, which express fixed points on a cardinal axis and a landwards/seawards opposition, respectively. Nalögo encodes this function through topological directionals: the pair -*lë*/-*u* ‘up/down’ can express absolute coordinates, while the pair -*tö*/-*pä* ‘in/out’ express relative coordinates.

In Nalögo, there are additional bound forms in the VC expressing directions, including *-nö* ‘dispersed direction’, *-ki* ‘specific direction’, *-o* ‘across’, and *-plä* ‘through’.

This chapter is organized as follows. Firstly, in §9.1, I describe the position of directionals inside the VC. In §9.2, I provide some historical observations on the origins of directionals, as well as some comparative notes with other RSC languages. Section §9.3 is devoted to person deictic directionals, while section §9.4 deals with topological directionals. In §9.5, I analyse the specific uses of directionals with verbs of posture and properties. Finally, in §9.6, I describe the additional bound forms indicating directions: *-plä* ‘through’, *-o* ‘across’, *-ki* ‘path’, *-nö* ‘dispersed direction’ and *-ba* ‘reverse’.

The forms and functions of the bound forms expressing directions are summarised in Table 9-1 and Table 9-2.

| DIRECTIONALS | FUNCTIONS |
|--|--|
| = <i>m</i> (~ = <i>p</i>) ‘hither’; = <i>bwe</i> (~ = <i>pwe</i>) ‘thither’ | Deictic function (defined by reference to a participant/deictic) |
| - <i>tö</i> ‘in’; - <i>pä</i> ‘out’ | Topological function (container perspective) Geocentric function (landwards/seawards) |
| - <i>lä</i> ‘up’; - <i>u</i> ‘down’ | Topological function (up/down axis) Geocentric function (absolute reference) |

Table 9-1. Forms and functions of VC directionals

| BOUND FORMS | FUNCTIONS |
|--------------|---------------------|
| - <i>nö</i> | dispersed direction |
| - <i>ki</i> | path |
| - <i>o</i> | across |
| - <i>plä</i> | through |

Table 9-2. Bound forms in the VC expressing directions

9.1 Position in the VC

In the VC, person deictic directionals occur peripherally, at the end of the VC and always after topological directionals and other types of bound morphemes expressing directions. For instance, in (9.1), the ‘thither’ directional =*bwe* occurs after the topological directional *-lë* ‘up’, while in (9.2), it occurs after the bound morpheme *-nö* encoding a ‘dispersed’ action and the topological directional *-pä*.

- (9.1) *Leplë* *kâ* *â* *tü-wo-lë=pe=bwe*
 person DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-climb-up=COS=DIR.thither
bä *däbö* *mo* *bwa*.
 PREP root tree bwa
 ‘The person started to climb up on the root of the Bwa tree.’ (nalogo1109_2015)

- (9.2) *Mö-kâ* *i-pwenge-nö-pä=bwe...*
 man-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-walk.easily-DISP-out=DIR.thither
 ‘The man walks about easily...’ (nalogo043)

Example (9.2) also shows that even though topological directionals occupy a less peripheral position in the VC than person deictic directionals, they still occur after other types of bound morphemes encoding directions, such as the directional *-nö*. An additional example, which is also found in §9.6.3, is shown in (9.3) where the topological directional *-lë* occurs after the bound form *-ki* encoding ‘path’.

- (9.3) *Ti-ya-ki-lë=nga* *mö* *nuwe*.
 IPFV.N3AUG-paddle-path-up=1MIN.SBJ PREP water
 ‘I am paddling up to the river.’ (27/01/2018, field notes)

Typically, person deictic directionals do not cooccur on the same verb, but they can cooccur with other types of directionals (e.g. topological directionals). An example is shown in (9.1), where the person deictic directional =*bwe* ‘away from the speaker’ cooccurs with the topological directional *-lë* ‘up’ on the same verb.

By contrast, it is possible for up/down and in/out topological directionals to cooccur with each other. For instance, sentence (9.4) shows an example where the directional *-u* ‘down’ belonging to the up/down pair cooccurs with the directional *-tö* ‘in’ belonging to the in/out pair.

- (9.4) *Kopyo da tii-pne-tö-u=le mö nuwë kâ.*
 EXIST thing IPFV.N3AUG-tie-in-down=3MIN.SBJ PREP stick DEM₁.DIST
 ‘There is something she is tiding down to the stick.’ (nalogo051)

Interestingly, the up/down topological directionals are found cooccurring on the same verb as in (9.5).

- (9.5) *I-mwale-u-lë=nga kâ kio,*
 PFV.N3AUG-catch-down-up=1MIN.SBJ QNT chicken
i-pne-tö=wa mö nuwâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-tie-in=1MIN.SBJ PREP stick
 ‘I caught a chicken (and) I tied it to the stick.’ (nalogo051)

The cooccurrence of the two directionals might refer to directions of the two movements involved in the action of catching the chicken: a movement downward to grab the chicken and a movement upward to lift it off the ground. In terms of syntactic status, topological directionals are analysed as affixes. They are not viewed as part of the verb nucleus, because when valency-changing devices occur on the verb stem, directionals occur after them. Two examples are shown (9.6) and (9.7) where the directionals *-pä* and *-u* appear after the applicative *-ti*.

- (9.6) *Tü-pu-ti-pä=le topnö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-out=3MIN.SBJ NEG.EXIST
 ‘She was calling (for her) out (at the sea), (but) nothing.’ (nalogo001)

- (9.7) *Kopyâ=ng da të-(y)agla-ti-u=kö mö*
 EXIST=PL thing IPFV.3AUG-look-APPL-down=3AUG.SBJ PREP
paper kâ.
 paper DEM₁.DIST
 ‘There is something they are looking down at on the paper.’ (nalogo043_1)

Person deictic directionals are analysed as enclitics because they occupy a more peripheral position in the VC before subject forms and after the change-of-state aspectual enclitic *=p(m)e* as shown in (9.8).

- (9.8) *T(ü)-yapwe-ti=pe=bwe=le ba=gö...*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=COS=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=3AUG.OBJ
 ‘He told (it) to them...’ (nalogo1609_2015)

9.2 Some historical and comparative observations

From a diachronic point of view, directionals in Oceanic languages are generally regarded as derived from serialized constructions including direction verbs (Lober & Boerger 2009, Ross 2004c: 297). In POc, there were four deictic direction verbs encoding a three-way person-oriented distinction:

- i. *mai, *ma ‘come’,
- ii. *watu, *ua ‘go towards addressee (=go:2)’, and
- iii. *lako, *la ‘go (to) (=go:3), and
- iv. *pano, *pa ‘go away’.

In Natügu, suffixes *-mü* ‘hither’ is analysed as a reflex of *mai ‘come’; *-bë* ‘thither, towards non-speaker, non-deictic center’ (Lober & Boerger 2009), is analysed as a reflex either of *watu or *pano “which appear to have merged [...]” (Boerger 2019: 5). Likewise, in Nalögo, only the distinctions (i) and (ii) survived. The directional *=m* ‘towards the speaker’ is a likely reflex of POc *mai, while the directional *=bwe* ‘thither, towards non-speaker’ might be related to *pano or *watu. The deictic person directional *=m* might be related to POc *mai. In Natügu and Nalögo, reflexes of *lako appears to have been lost.

From a diachronic perspective, Næss and Boerger (2008) argue that in Äiwoo and Natügu, directionals are most likely the result of grammaticalization processes of nuclear-layer serialization. This is in line with what is attested in other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002, Ross 2004c). However, while in Äiwoo, up/down/in/out topological directionals are analysed as verbs because they can function as such (Næss 2018b), in Natügu and Engdewu, the process of grammaticalization went further and the forms are no longer independent (Næss & Boerger 2008, Vaa 2013). In this respect, as in Natügu and Engdewu, in Nalögo, person deictic and topological directionals cannot be used independently as verbs.

9.3 Person deictic directionals

Person deictic directionals include a pair of coordinates defined in relation to a participant constituting the deictic centre. They are expressed by the morphemes *=m* ‘hither, towards the speaker/deictic centre’ and *=bwe* ‘away from the speaker/deictic centre’. In the following sections, I analyse their forms and most common functions.

9.3.1 Forms of the speaker-directed directional

The directional *=m* encodes a direction “towards the speaker, or a group of people to which the speaker belongs, or the portion of space where the speaker is located” (François 2003). Depending on the person, *=m* can trigger specific subject forms. With 1MIN, 2MIN/AUG persons, *=m* conflates with subject forms, resulting in the forms *=mwa* ‘1MIN SBJ hither’, *=mwe* ‘1MIN SBJ hither’ and *=mwam* ‘2AUG SBJ hither’. For details on Set II subject forms and conflated subject forms, see Chapter 3.

The directional *=m* also displays the allomorph *=p(ü)*, where the vowel /ü/ is often subject to deletion. In this respect, it is worth spending a few words on the syntactic status of person deictic morphemes. As mentioned in §9.2. the form *=m* (also *=bwe* ‘away from the speaker’) is analysed as an enclitic, since its position in the VC is quite peripheral and located after other clitics. However, this type of clitics has more properties in common with affixes than with clitics. For instance, they can only attach to one type of host (e.g. verbs) and display allomorphs.

Going back to the allomorph *~ =p* of the deictic person directional *=m*, it seems to be triggered by the following contexts: (i) the topological directional *-tö* ‘in’, (ii) the adverbs *=kayö* (*~ =kai*) ‘first’ and *=kali* ‘second, next’, (iii) the second negator *=lü* of standard negation, (iv) the adverb *=kä* ‘too, also’ and (v) the adverb *=po* ‘again’. Examples are shown in (9.9-9.16).

(9.9) *Vë-tö=p!*
 go-in=DIR.hither
 ‘Come in!’ (fieldnotes) (context (i))

(9.10) *Yagla=kayö=p!*
 look=first=DIR.hither
 ‘Look first (towards speaker)!’ (context (ii)) (nalogo039)

(9.11) *I-woi-pä=kai=p=mwe* *kâ=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-squeeze-out=first=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither QNT=PL
nuwe lö *nölu* *kâ=ng*
 water ASS.MRK coconut DEM₁.DIST=PL
i-vegla=m.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.first=DIR.hither
 ‘You squeeze out first the water of the first coconuts.’ (context (ii)) (nalogo017)

- (9.12) *Gë-pë=käli=p* *lewë* *pumpkin.*
 take-out=next=DIR.hither leaf pumpkin
 ‘Remove again the leaves of the pumpkin.’ (context (iii)) (nalogo039)
- (9.13) *aa* *te=lë-vë=ka=p* *ba=go.*
 COOR NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-go=yet=DIR.thither PREP=1AUG.OBJ
 ‘[...] but they didn’t come to us yet.’ (context (iv)) nalogo2209_2015)
- (9.14) *Nünge kâ* *te=i-vë=p=lü* *böma.*
 man DEM₁.DIST NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither=NEG₂ home
 ‘The man didn’t come home.’ (nalogo033)
- (9.15) *I-twë=kä=p=gom* *mö* *kisin.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take=ADD=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ PREP kitchen
 ‘We also bring (them) in the kitchen.’ (nalogo021)
- (9.16) *Nim â* *tü-(v)ë=po=p* *böma mö* *mwetelya.*
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go=again=DIR.hither home PREP village
 ‘You are coming back home in the village.’ (Nalogo033)

Example (9.17) shows a sentence with the form =*pü* without vowel deletion.

- (9.17) *Buk gö=m* *te=yâ-o=pü=lü*
 book general.CLF=2MIN.POSS NEG₁=stay-across=DIR.hither=NEG₂
mö *tebol.*
 PREP table
 ‘My book is not on the table.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

Evidence for the analysis of ~ =*p* as an allomorph of =*m* is given by the fact that they both trigger the same subject forms. For instance, in (9.18) and (9.19) ~ =*p* triggers the 3AUG and 3MIN subject forms =*gö* and =*de*.

- (9.18) *Lë-tâ-tö=p=gö* *kâ=ng* *dish.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL dish
 ‘They brought dishes.’ (nalogo012)
- (9.19) *Amoloti kâ* *i-vë-tö=p=de...*
 Amoloti SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘When Amoloti comes back in...’ (nalogo001)

Like the directional =*m*, with the 1MIN and 2MIN/AUG person categories, the allomorph ~ =*p* can cooccur with subject forms which are the result of conflation between subject

person/number and the directional =*m* (Chapter 3). Two examples are shown in (9.20) and (9.21).

(9.20) *I-twë-tö=p=mwa.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take=DIR.hither=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘I brought (them) in.’ (nalogo060_2)

(9.21) *I-was=ng,*
 PFV.N3AUG-wash=2MIN.SBJ
i-twë-tö=p=mwe.
 PFV.N3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘You wash (it), you carry (it) back in.’ (nalogo066)

If another element occurs between the context triggering the allomorphy and the allomorph, for instance, the aspectual marker =*pme*, the form =*m* replaces ~ =*p* as in (9.22) below.

(9.22) *Leplë të-(v)ë-tö=pme=m.*
 people IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=COS=DIR.hither
 ‘...people are starting to come in.’ (nalogo0809_2015)

9.3.2 Forms of non-speaker-directed directional

The person deictic directional =*bwe* expresses the meaning ‘away from the speaker’. In terms of subject marking =*bwe* occurs with subject forms belonging to Set I and with subject forms which are the result of conflation of subject person/number and direction. For details on these paradigms, see Chapter 3. With 1MIN/AUG, 2MIN/AUG person categories, the directional combines with subject forms, giving the conflated forms =*bwa* ‘1MIN thither’, =*bwe* ‘2MIN thither’, =*bom* ‘1AUG thither’ and =*bwam* ‘2AUG thither’. With all the other person categories, Set I subject forms appear after the directional.

The form =*bwe* has the allomorph ~ =*pwe* which seems to occur in the following contexts: (i) after the topological directional -*tö* ‘in’, (ii) after the adverb =*po* ‘again’, (iii) after the adverb =*käli* ‘second, next’, and (iv) before the second negator =*lii* of standard negation. It is interesting to notice here that some contexts triggering the allomorph ~ =*pwe* are the same ones triggering the allomorph ~ =*p* of the person deictic ‘hither’ directional =*m* (§9.3.1). Examples are shown in (9.23-9.26).

(9.23) *Yongola-tö=pwe* *yongola-tö=pwe* *bä* *nabotom* *kâ*.
 crawl-in=DIR.thither crawl-in=DIR.thither PREP oven DEM₁.DIST
 ‘He crawled inside, crawled inside to the oven’. (context (i)) (nalogo010)

(9.24) *E-pi=bwe=le* *okay* *jâ* *të-wö-po=pwe*.
 ?-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ okay SEQ IPFV.3AUG-swim=again=DIR.thither
 ‘He said okay, then they swam back.’ (context (ii)) (nalogo002)

(9.25) *Yo* *pi=käli=pwe* *bä* *Pijin!*
 okay say-next=DIR.thither PREP Pijin
 ‘Okay, tell her next in Pijin!’ (context (iii)) (nalogo016)

(9.26) *Olë* *te=lë-cross=pwe=lü*.
 girl NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-cross=DIR.thither=NEG₂
 ‘Girls do not cross (the door to enter the place where boys live).’ (context (iv))
 (nalogo026)

9.3.3 Functions of person deictic directionals

The primary function of person deictic directionals is to direct the event ‘towards’ and ‘away’ from the deictic centre, depending on the form. The deictic centre can be the speaker, a group of people to which the speaker belongs or the location where the speaker is. Two examples with imperative forms are given in (9.27) and (9.28).

(9.27) *Yagla=m!*
 look=DIR.hither
 ‘Look (towards me)!’

(9.28) *Vë=m!*
 go=DIR.hither
 ‘Come (towards me)!’

In (9.27) and (9.28), the person directional is used to indicate that the action is directed towards the speaker/ deictic centre, which does not need to be overtly mentioned when easily retrievable from the context. However, it is always possible to include it, as in (9.29), where it is encoded by the prepositional phrase *ba=nu* ‘towards me’.

(9.29) *Jâ* *t(ü)-yongâla=pme=m* *ba=nu*.
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-crawl=COS=DIR.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘...then, it crawled towards me.’ (nalogo051)

In Nalögo, when the person deictic directional =*m* combines with the verb *vë* ‘go’, it expresses the meaning ‘come’. The same pattern is also found in Natügu (Lober & Boerger 2009). Along with the speaker, additional referents which are “distinct from the actual place of utterance” (François 2003) can function as a shifted deictic centre. This shift is attested in narrative texts, where the deictic centre tends to coincide with the characters’ point of view. Examples are (9.30) and (9.31).

(9.30) *I-ku-pä=m=de* *mönga* *kâ*.
 PFV.N3AUG-take-out=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ honey.eater DEM₁.DIST
 ‘He took the honey-eater bird out’. (feather_money_2015)

(9.31) *Leplë* *yagla-pä=bwe* *olë* *kâ=ng* *nöpnü*
 people see-out=DIR.thither girl DEM₁.DIST=PL ten
lë-wö-tö=pe=m.
 PFV.3AUG-swim-in=COS=DIR.hither
 ‘People saw the ten girls swimming in.’ (nalogo024)

In (9.30), the deictic centre is expressed by the 3MIN form =*de*; while in (9.31), it refers to a group of people in the island. The presence of =*m* is enough to vectorize an event in space. The location of the speaker/deictic centre can also be the target of the directional, as shown in (9.32) and (9.33).

(9.32) *I-vë=ng* *bäipluwu* *ö-twë=mwe*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ bush MIDD₁-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither
kassava.
 cassava
 ‘You go to the bush; you bring cassava.’ (nalogo066)

(9.33) *Kâ* *ne=m* *t(ü)-vë=bwe*
 DEM₁.DIST animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither
ä *kio* *dölen* *kâ* *tü-vë=m*.
 COOR chicken wild DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
 ‘Yours (your chicken) goes away and the wild chicken comes.’ (nalogo013)

In (9.33), the deictic centre coincides with the location of the speaker, for instance the village or the house where the speaker lives. In (9.33), the motion of the two chickens is defined by the unexpressed location of the deictic centre, which refers to a place somewhere in the bush. The person deictic ‘thither’ directional displays various functions, ranging from primary spatial

meanings to more figurative ones. Its basic spatial meaning consists in vectorizing the event ‘towards the non-speaker’. The suffix *-bë* in Natügu conveys similar functions. (Lober & Boerger 2009). Examples are shown in (9.34) and (9.35).

(9.34) *Jâ=bo* *jâ* *lë-wö=bwe* *ba=de.*
 DEM₄.DIST=still SEQ PFV.3AUG-swim=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘...he was still there, then they swam towards him’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(9.35) *Kä* *i-vë=bwe=le* *m̄la*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{2.L}.NPROX
tü-ku-ti-nö=de *ilaule=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-DISP=3MIN.SBJ mother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘As she goes there, she called for her mother.’ (nalogo001)

In (9.34), the shifted deictic centre towards which the action is directed is another protagonist of the story different from the subject; while in (9.35), it is a location. The two non-deictic centres are both expressed by a prepositional phrase and a demonstrative form.

The person deictic ‘hither’ directional can have extended functions encoding metaphorical or physical direction based on the types of verbs on which it occurs. For instance, it can occur with verbs of transfer, speech, or more generally, with “any activity that would be directed towards (a group including) the speaker or deictic centre” (François 2003). In (9.36-9.38), I show three examples with the verb of transfer *ka* ‘give’, the verb of speech *pi* ‘say, tell’ and the verb form *vaeula* ‘to show’.

(9.36) *Lë-ka=m=gö* *ba=nu* *butete.*
 PFV.3AUG-give=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ PREP=1MIN.OBJ potato
 ‘They give me a potato.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

(9.37) *Ilaule=gom* *lë-pi=m=gö* *ba=gom...*
 mother=1AUG.POSS PFV.3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ PREP=1AUG.OBJ
 ‘Our mothers told us...’ (nalogo012)

(9.38) *Julia* *i-vaeula=m=de* *ba=nu*
 Julia PFV.N3AUG-CAUS.show=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=1MIN.OBJ
car *gö=de.*
 car general.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Julia showed me her car.’

In (9.36), the verb *ka* ‘give’ expresses a transfer of possession, where the theme is transferred from an agent to a recipient. Thus, the action is performed towards the speaker/recipient. In (9.37), the verb expresses a speech event, where =*m* directs the action towards the addressee. Finally, in (9.38), the action of showing is directed towards the speaker/recipient. In all the examples, the non-deictic centre is expressed by a prepositional phrase.

The person deictic ‘thither’ directional can also occur with verbs of transfer and speech, as shown in (9.39) and (9.40).

(9.39) *Mö-kâ* *jâ* *tü-ka=bwe=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
can kâ *ba* *i-kâ*
 can DEM₁.DIST PREP female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The boy is giving the can to the girl.’ (nalogo043)

(9.40) *Mweli ka* *t(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa*
 time DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither
bwe lö...
 story ASS.MRK
 ‘This time I am telling a story about...’ (nalogo065)

In (9.39) and (9.40), the actions of giving and telling imply a figure that moves from an initial point to a targeted one. The roles encoded by the directional include recipient, beneficiary and addressee, as in the examples above.

Person deictic directionals can also suggest the presence of a goal. This is the case of (9.41), where the goal is the omitted location.

(9.41) *Mweli kâ* *tü-kngya=ngö* *kio*
 time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-cry=APPL chicken
i-teu-lë-u=ng *nabwëtom* *ä*
 PFV.N3AUG-make.fire-up=down=2MIN.SBJ oven COOR
yölë=bwe *âplë* *kâ=ng.*
 put.up=DIR.thither stone DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘When the chicken cries, you make fire in the oven and put up the stones (on it).’
 (nalogo017)

9.3.4 Progression in time

Person directionals can express functions which are the result of a metaphorical extension. The most common metaphor is SPACE > TIME. For instance, the person directional =*m* can express progression in time as in (9.42).

- (9.42) *So, i-mâ=l mweli kâ*
 so PFV.N3AUG-see=2MIN.SBJ time DEM₁.DIST
t(ü)-yövlë-lë=ngö=mwa...
 IPFV.N3AUG-grow-up=APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘So, you see, when I was growing up...’ (nalogo032)

In (9.42), the subject form =*mwa*, conflating subject person/number and ‘hither’ direction (§9.3.1; Chapter 3) combines with the topological directional -*lë* ‘up’ expressing a metaphorical upwards movement (the natural process of human growth referring to human height). In this context, the person deictic directional =*m* encodes the gradual progression of the process of growth.

9.3.5 Reaching an endpoint

The deictic person ‘thither’ directional =*bwe* is frequently used with serial verbs to express an endpoint. For instance, in (9.43), =*bwe* occurs on the core ambient serialized verb *klë* ‘reach, arrive, get to, up to’, which expresses a goal meaning with a sequence of numbers.

- (9.43) *Vöte i-vë i-klë-ti=bwe=le*
 be.one PFV.N3AUG-go PFV.N3AUG-reach-APPL=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
nöpnu.
 ten
 ‘One up to ten.’ (nalogo012)

The directional =*bwe* implies the existence of an endpoint, which in the case of (9.43), is *nöpnu* ‘ten’. (9.44) and (9.45) show two additional examples of this function. In (9.44), =*bwe* occurs on the ambient serialized verb *yökö* ‘finish’ to emphasize that the action of removing stones from the oven has reached its endpoint.

- (9.44) *I-gë-pä=ng oplë ngö=de*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-out=2MIN.SBJ stone ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
yökö-pä=bwe jâ
 finish-out-DIR.thither SEQ

tü-kapwe-lë=pe=ka=p=mwe
 IPFV.N3AUG-open-up=COS=ADD=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither
nabwëtom ngö butete kâ
 oven ASS.MRK potato DEM₁.DIST
 ‘After you’ve finished taking out its stones, then you open the oven of the potato.’
 (nalogo017)

In (9.45), the person deictic ‘thither’ directional =*bwe* occurs on the serialized verb *vë* ‘go’ displaying a continuative function. The directional =*bwe* suggests that the action has reached its endpoint.

(9.45) *Yelu=bom oplë kâ i-klu*
 put=1AUG.SBJ.thither stone LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many
i-vë=bwe mweli kâ...
 PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither time LNK
 ‘We keep putting down many stones until the time...’ (nalogo042)

9.4 Topological directionals

Local Coordinates, as they are defined by François (2003), are “a physical feature of the local situation”. In this chapter, directionals encoding this type of coordinates are referred to as topological directionals. François makes a distinction between two types of what he calls ‘local asymmetries’: (i) the vertical up/down axis, and (ii) the in/out axis, which is based on the notion of ‘container’.

In Nalögo, these notions are expressed by directionals organised in two pairs: the *-lë* ‘up’/–*u* ‘down’ axis and the *-tö* ‘in’/–*pä* ‘out’ axis, described in §9.4.1 and §9.4.2, respectively. In addition, these topological directionals display what François (2003) refers to as ‘geocentric’ uses, that is absolute vs relative orientation. The geocentric/absolute orientation involves fixed reference points, dividing the island approximately from south-west to north-east. This axis, which is most likely based on wind directions, is encoded by the up/down pair of directionals §9.4.1.1. The geocentric/relative orientation instead involves the seawards/landwards axis which is encoded by the in/out pair of directionals §9.4.2.1. The existence of two directional systems—a relative system based on topography and an absolute system based on the direction of the prevailing winds—is common in Oceanic languages (Ozanne-Rivierre 1999: 78).

9.4.1 The up/down axis

François (2003) states that “the up/down contrast reflects a physical asymmetry which is perceptible whatever the scale of observation: given any figure in the vertical plane, the mere effect of gravity always suffices to identify an upper and a lower part.” Two examples with *-lə* ‘up’ and *-u* ‘down’ are shown in (9.46) and (9.47).

- (9.46) *Kopyo mo lopta kä i-pwētu, jâ*
 EXIST tree lopta LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big SEQ
tü-(w)o-lë=pe=ba=de.
 IPFV.N3AUG-climb-up=COS=PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘There was a big lopta tree, then she climbed up on it.’ (nalogo001)

- (9.47) *Meläke i-gwa-u=pme.*
 Meläke PFV.N3AUG-go-down=COS
 ‘Meläke went down (in the dancing ring).’ (nalogo060)

In (9.46) and (9.47), the two directionals occur on two motion verbs. More generally, with non-position verbs, topological directionals express that a certain action is carried out in an upward or downward direction. Two examples with *-lə* ‘up’ are shown in (9.48) and (9.49).

- (9.48) *So, i-mwa-lë=teipom bä nuwâ.*
 so PFV.N3AUG-eat-up=1MIN.SBJ.just PREP tree
 ‘So, we eat from trees.’ (nalogo032)

- (9.49) *Jâ tü-pnõ-lë=pe=le.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-shoot-up=COS=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘Then, he shoots up at her.’ (nalogo001)

In (9.48) and (9.49), the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘shoot’ do not imply any specific direction by themselves. The directional expresses that the actions of eating and shooting imply an upwards movement, because in (9.48) and (9.49), the food (fruits) and the target of the shooting are located higher than the subject. Two examples with the directional *-u* are shown in (9.50) and (9.51).

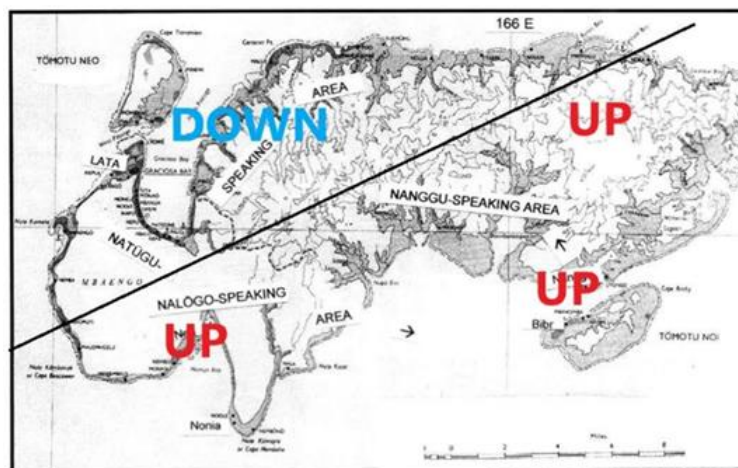
- (9.50) *I-wo-lë bä mo nëlu kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-climb-up PREP tree coconut DEM₁.DIST
yagla-u=m i-pi-u=m=de...
 look-down=DIR.hither PFV.N3AUG-say-down=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘He climbed the coconut tree, looked down and said...’ (nalogo002)

(9.51) *Naa nuwâ kâ tü-ngü=kom kâ*
 fruit tree LNK IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ LNK
i-ka-u=m ibu=gom gwabokâ
 PFV.N3AUG-give-down=DIR.hither father=1AUG.POSS INTS
 ‘The fruits that we eat that our Father gave us...’ (nalogo032)

In (9.50), the actions of looking and saying imply a downwards movement because the addressee to whom the speaker is talking to is located lower than the speaker; thus, the movement has to be directed downwards. Likewise, in (9.51), the action of giving implies a downwards movement, as according to the speaker’s beliefs, the Father/God is located in a location higher than the speaker.

9.4.1.1 Absolute axis

In Nalögo, terms for cardinal points like ‘North’, ‘South’, ‘East’ and ‘West’ are absent. In other words, there are no lexemes for the Western cardinal points. In order to express directions, speakers tend to mention specific locations. For instance, instead of saying ‘I am going north’, people prefer saying ‘I am going to Graciosa Bay’. The terms for ‘left’ and ‘right’ are not used in this context. For navigation purposes, the name of the winds can be used to express fixed points similar to the cardinal ones in Western systems. In expressions like ‘I am going to X’, where X is a specific place, one of the two up/down directionals occur on the verb, depending on where the place in question is located. There is an absolute axis which cuts approximately the island from south-west to north-east as shown in Map 9-1



Map 9-1. Absolute axis in Santa Cruz Island (modified version of the map of Santa Cruz in Boerger & Zimmerman (2012))

All the directions to areas located in the southern, south-western, south-eastern and north-eastern parts of the island are encoded as involving an upwards movement. However, the upwards movement does not necessarily coincide with topography. In other words, when the form ‘up’ is used, a physical movement upwards is not necessarily implied. By contrast, all the directions to the areas located in the northern and north-eastern parts of the island are encoded as involving a downwards movement. While someone goes ‘up’ to the Nea and Nagu areas, he/she goes ‘down’ to Lata. Two examples are shown in (9.52) and (9.53).

(9.52) *Tü-vě-u=pe=kom* *Lata.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-down=1+2AUG.SBJ *Lata*
 ‘We are going down to Lata.’ (the speaker is in Nea) (nalogo028)

(9.53) *Tü-wo-lě=nga* *mö Nea.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go.by.transport-up=1MIN.SBJ *PREP Nea*
 ‘I am going up to Nea.’ (the speaker is in Lata)

The geocentric reading of up/down directionals can be used on a larger scale and extended to areas in the province, or more generally, in the Pacific region, including the rest of Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. For instance, going to the Reef Islands, which are located approximately 70 km to the north-east of Santa Cruz, is encoded as a downwards movement, while going to the south-east of the island (e.g. Vanikoro, Utupua, Anuta and Tikopia) is encoded as involving an upwards movement. Two examples are shown in (9.54) and (9.55).

(9.54) *Tü-wo-u=kom* *Něvlö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-down=1+2AUG.SBJ *Něvlö*
 ‘We are going down to Něvlö (Reef Islands).’ (field notes 2018)

(9.55) *Tü-wo-lě=kom* *Vanikoro.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-up=1+2AUG.SBJ *Vanikoro*
 ‘We are going up to Vanikoro.’ (field notes 2018)

Outside Temotu province, going to Vanuatu islands, which are located approximately 250 km to the south of the Santa Cruz Archipelago, is encoded as involving an upwards movement, while going to Guadalcanal island, approximately at 390 km to the west of Santa Cruz, where Honiara is located, is encoded as involving a downwards movement. Two examples are shown in (9.56) and (9.57).

(9.56) *Tü-wo-lë=kom* Vanuatu.
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-up=1+2AUG.SBJ Vanuatu
 ‘We are going up to Vanuatu.’ (field notes 2018)

(9.57) *Tü-wo-u=kom* Guadalcanal.
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-down=1+2AUG.SBJ Guadalcanal
 ‘We are going down to Guadalcanal.’ (fieldnotes, 27012018)

9.4.2 The in/out axis

The underlying metaphor of the in/out axis involves the notion of ‘container’ from which a movement outward is performed (François 2003). This function involves the pair of directionals *-pä* ‘out’ and *-tö* ‘in’. An example with *-pä* ‘out’ is shown in (9.58).

(9.58) *Kopyâ leplë â tü-gwa-pä=m*
 EXIST person PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-run-out=DIR.hither
ma-ne=de.
 house-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Someone is running out of his house.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

In (9.59), the opposite directional *-tö* ‘in’ expresses a movement inwards.

(9.59) *Leplë kâ jâ tü-gwa-tö böma.*
 person DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-run-in house
 ‘Someone is running into a house.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

Two additional examples are shown in (9.60) and (9.61), where the verbs imply movements inside a traditional basket, the *topla*, used to preserve dried breadfruit and inside the nose to wear the *nelâ*, the traditional pearl shell pendant used for dancing.

(9.60) *Lë-yöl(ü)-tö bä bag topla o baket.*
 PASS.PFV-put-in PREP bag custom.basket COOR basket
 ‘It is put in a bag, custom basket or basket.’ (nalogo018)

(9.61) *La-a-ulâ-tö mö dât nge da ka.*
 PASS.PFV-CAUS-push-in PREP nose PRAG.MRK thing DEM₁.PROX
 ‘They push in the nose this thing.’ (nalogo060_2)

The examples above show that the in/out directionals can occur not only on motion verbs expressing the direction of the motion, but also with other types of actions implying a movement outwards or inwards. An example with *-pä* ‘out’ is shown in (9.62).

- (9.62) *I-gë-pä=ng* *nge* *oplë* *ngö* *lopta*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-out=2MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK stone ASS.MRK cabbage
kâ=ng.
 DEM1.DIST=PL
 ‘You take out the stones of the cabbage.’ (nalogo021)

The use of *-pä* ‘out’ in (9.62) refers to the action of taking out stones from the pot, which is not overtly mentioned because of its retrievability from the context.

The notion of ‘container’ can be metaphorically extended, for instance, to open areas. Open areas can be conceptualized as ‘outside’, by contrast with more confined spaces. For instance, villages can be viewed as extended containers surrounded by open areas like the bush. (9.63) is an example of this function.

- (9.63) *Tü-vë-pä=pe=kom* *bä* *mwetelya.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-out=COS=1+2AUG.SBJ PREP village
 ‘We are going out from the village (to the bush).’ (nalogo028)

9.4.2.1 Relative axis

The in/out topological directionals are used to express relative orientation based on land/sea opposition. The landwards/seawards opposition, which was present in Proto-Austronesian (Blust 1984), has been retained in most Austronesian languages (Ozanne-Rivierre 1999). With regard to this axis, François (2003) evokes the metaphor of the island as a ‘container’, where the ‘outside’ of the island is represented by the surroundings. In this perspective, any movement from outside into the island is conceptualized as ‘inwards’; while any movement from the island towards the sea is conceptualized as ‘outwards.’ This metaphor, albeit straightforward, seems to be quite rare in Oceanic languages. In this respect, François (2003) writes: “apart from Mwotlap—plus a couple of neighbouring languages—there aren’t many Oceanic languages which have the same image; most of them either use specific words for ‘inland’ vs. ‘sea’, or employ the vertical axis (‘up’-‘down’) for this purpose”. For instance, Nêlêmwa, spoken in New Caledonia, uses the up/down axis where ‘up’ is used to describe a movement inwards (e.g. a house/inland/towards the land) and ‘down’ a movement outwards (Bril 2002: 294-298). In

this respect, Nalögo is an exception, since the directional *-pä* ‘out’ expresses a seawards movement, out of the island/container, while *-tö* ‘in’ expresses a landwards movement, into the island/container. Two examples of this function are shown in (9.64) and (9.65).

- (9.64) *Ya-pä=nga* *tömotu* *Nemya.*
 PFV.N3AUG-paddle-out=1MIN.SBJ island Nemia
 ‘I paddled out to Nemia island’. (field notes 2018)

- (9.65) *Jâ* *të-vë-tö=pe=m* *Nedö.*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-go-in=COS=DIR.hither Nedö
 ‘Then, they went in towards Nedö.’ (nalogo024)

In (9.64), paddling to Nemia island (an islet located in front of Nea) is conceptualized as paddling ‘out’ of the land towards the island. In (9.65), the subject refers to ten dolphins swimming from the open sea towards the island of Nedö.

The directionals are not only used with motion verbs as in (9.64) and (9.65), but also with verbs expressing actions which might involve a landwards/seawards movement. This is the case of (9.66) where the speaker explains how he took some shells from the sea, bringing them home to make traditional nose piercings.

- (9.66) *I-twe-tö=p=mwa.*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-in=DIR.hither=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘I brought (them) in (to the island).’ (nalogo060_2)

A similar function with the directional *-pä* ‘out’ is shown in (9.67) where the action of calling is performed seawards.

- (9.67) *Olë* *kâ* *jâ* *tü-ku-ti-pä=pe=le*
 woman DEM1.DIST SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-out=COS=3MIN.SBJ
obwe ne=de.
 child animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘She then called out for her child.’ (nalogo001)

The landwards/seawards opposition is also used on a larger scale to describe the direction to Pacific countries like New Caledonia and Fiji, which are located farther than Vanuatu and the main Solomon Islands chain, those that are accessible only by flights. The directional *-pä* ‘out’ on the VC expresses that those countries are ‘out’ in the open sea. The two directional

systems—up/down axis and in/out axis—used to express directions in the Pacific region are shown in Map 9-2⁷³.



Map 9-2. The seaward/landward opposition used to express directions in the Pacific area

9.4.3 Additional functions of topological directionals

9.4.3.1 Topological directionals in comparative expressions

The topological in/out directionals can be used in expressions of comparison. An example with the directional *-lē* ‘up’ is shown in (9.68).

- (9.68) *Mo-kā* *i-bwoi-lē=bwe* *ba=nu*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.tall-up=DIR.thither PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘The man is taller than me.’

In (9.68), the directional gives a better specification of the quality by which the subject, the man, is compared with the standard (in this case, the speaker). It specifies that the man is taller than the speaker when they are compared in height, vertically. In the same context, the directional *-pä* ‘out’ would be used if the subject and the standard were compared in length,

⁷³ Map 9-2 has been modified to show the directional systems used in Nalögo to express directions in the Pacific region.

when lying on the ground. According to the speakers, *-pä* typically occurs in comparative constructions involving non-human and inanimate entities. An example is shown in (9.69).

- (9.69) *Kakopli* *kâ* *i-pwö-pä=bwe* *ba*
 crocodile DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.big-out=DIR.thither PREP
mö-kâ
 male-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The crocodile is bigger than the man.’

In (9.69), *-pä* signals that the reptile is measured ‘outwards’ rather than ‘upwards’; thus, the reptile is viewed more ‘horizontally extended’ than the man. The choice of the directional in these cases seems to depend on the position and orientation of the object compared.

9.4.3.2 Completive function of *-pä*

The directional *-pä* ‘out’ can display an aspectual function, expressing completeness of the action. Two examples are provided in (9.70) and (9.71).

- (9.70) *I-pwä-ki-pä=nga* *nge* *ma=ng.*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-out=1MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK DEM₂.PROX=PL
 ‘I cut (them) off here and here.’ (nalogo060_2)

- (9.71) *Bwe* *ngö* *lä-elya-mi-ngö* *kâ* *nelâ*
 story ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-dance-APPL-NMLZ₂ DEM₁.DIST nose.piercing
nide *la=pe* *t(ü)-yökö-pä=pe=bwe.*
 3MIN DEM_{3.L}.NPROX=COS IPFV.N3AUG-finish-out=COS=DIR.thither
m̄la.
 DEM_{2.L}.NPROX
 ‘As for the story of dancing with *nelâ*, it finished there.’ (nalogo 060)

In (9.70), the directional *-pä* signals that the process of cutting is complete, resulting in two shells cut into two halves. In (9.71), *-pä* occurs on the verb *yökö* ‘finish’ to express that the story is complete and there is nothing more to add.

9.4.3.3 Additional functions of *-tö*

The directional *-tö* ‘in’ can be used to express functions other than those analysed in §9.4.2. In some examples, *-tö* seems to express that the action is performed with more force. An example is shown in (9.72).

(9.72) a) *A-ulöpwë=nga* *obwe kâ.*
 CAUS-fall=1MIN.SBJ child DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I made the child fall (accidentally).’

b) *A-ulöpwë-tö=wa* *obwe kâ.*
 CAUS-fall-in=1MIN.SBJ child DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I made the child fall (on purpose; I pushed him).’

In (9.72a), the speaker bumps into the child, making him fall by accident, while in (9.72b), the speaker makes the child fall on purpose by pushing him down. In (9.72a), the subject is more physically involved in the action. In Engdewu, the occurrence of the causative prefix with the same directional *-tö* is associated to an action performed with more force (Vaa 2013: 342). Another example is shown in (9.73).

(9.73) a) *Kopyo* *leplë* *tü-mwale-tö=pwe=le*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-hold-in-DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
nabwe *më-te=de.*
 shoulder male-close.relation=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Someone is touching his friend’s shoulder.’

b) *I-kâ* *â* *tü-mwale=bwe=le*
 female-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-hold=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
nabwe *mö-kâ.*
 shoulder male-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The girl is touching the shoulder of the boy.’

In (9.73), there are two instances of the verb *mwale* ‘hold, touch’ with and without the directional *-tö*. Sentence in (9.73a) is a description of card 9 of the Action Cards belonging to the Story-Builder set (Sardinha 2011). Card 9 shows a hand touching the shoulder of someone by pressing it with the thumb and the index finger. Sentence (9.73b) is a description of a video clip belonging to a set of clips made in the field thanks to the help of some young speakers. The video clip shows a girl who gently places her hand on the shoulder of a boy. The action of pressing is not present. The difference between (9.73a) and (9.73b) is most likely explained in terms of force and stronger contact between the participants.

Finally, there are cases in which the function of the directional *-tö* is not so clear as in (9.74).

(9.74) a) *Valentina a-yöpwale-tö=le Charity.*
 Valentina CAUS-laugh-in=3MIN.SBJ Charity
 ‘Valentina made Charity laugh.’ (nalogo059)

b) *Valentina a-yöpwale=le Charity.*
 Valentina CAUS-laugh=3MIN.SBJ Charity
 ‘Valentina made Charity laugh.’ (nalogo059)

In (9.74), both sentences are grammatical, but no difference in meaning and context is perceived according to speakers’ judgement.

9.5 Directionals with posture verbs

Topological directionals can occur with posture verbs expressing static relations. With verbs of posture, the directional *-lə* ‘up’ is used in expressions meaning ‘down’, the directional *-u* ‘down’ is used in expressions meaning ‘up’, the directional *-pä* ‘out’ is used in expressions meaning ‘inside’; and finally, the directional *-tö* ‘in’ is used in expressions meaning ‘outside’ or ‘against, next to’. The verbs of posture involved in these constructions are verbs like *mno* ‘stay, live’, *yo* ‘stay’, *tu* ‘stand’, *wäbu* ‘sit’, and so on. When expressing these functions, topological directionals can combine with deictic directionals, hither and thither.

The same apparent reversal of the directional meanings with stative expressions is found in Äiwoo. Næss (2018b) analyses these cases as instances of ‘fictive’ motion “where the figure is construed as metaphorically moving towards the ground”. The notion of ‘fictive motion’ (Talmy 1983) refers to stative relations which are construed as involving a metaphorical path, but no real physical motion is involved. For instance, a stative relation like ‘X is below Y’ can be construed as involving a metaphorical path “where X is construed as moving upwards towards Y” (Næss 2018b). A stative relation like ‘X is above Y’, instead, can be construed as involving the opposite metaphorical path, where X is moving downwards. This analysis can also be applied to some combinations of directionals in Nalögo.

9.5.1 *-u* ‘on top of’

In (9.75), the directional *-u* ‘down’ combines with the static verb *mno* ‘stay’ to express the meaning ‘on top (of)’.

(9.75) *kuli* *jâ* *tü-mno-u* *mö* *teibol.*
 dog CONT1 IPFV.N3AUG-stay-down PREP table
 ‘The dog stays on top of the table.’

In (9.75), The static relation ‘stay on top of s.t.’ is expressed by a construction involving the directional *-u*, which, in its basic meaning, describes a downwards movement, and the posture verb *mno* ‘stay’. Under a fictive-motion analysis, the figure (the dog) is construed as moving downwards towards the ground (table).

The directional *-u* can also combine with the ‘hither’ directional *=m*. An example is shown in (9.76), where *-u + =m* occurs on the verb *mno* ‘stay’. In (9.76), the figure is construed as moving downwards towards the ground.

(9.76) *Obwe* *kâ* *jâ* *tü-mno-u=m*
 child DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-stay-down=DIR.hither
bä *mo* *lopta* *kâ* *you.*
 PREP tree lopta DEM₁.DIST down
 ‘The child was staying on the top of the upper part of the *lopta* tree (*lit.* the child was staying on the *lopta* tree that is down). (nalogo001)

9.5.2 *-lë* ‘under’

The topological directional *-lë* ‘up’ combines with the hither directional *=m* to express the meaning ‘under’ as shown in (9.77).

(9.77) *Timber* *ja* *t(ü)-yo-lë-m.*
 timber DEM₄.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-stay-up=DIR.hither
 ‘The timber is here under (us).’

The timber/figure to which the speaker referred to in (9.77) was located under the feet of the speaker and the hearer/ground. The static relation is construed as involving a metaphorical path of the figure towards the ground. Sentence (9.78) shows a similar case where the meaning ‘up’ is used to express the relation ‘under’.

(9.78) *Leplë* *kâ* *i-wäbu-lë-te=bwe*
 person DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-sit-up-INTS.MRK=DIR.thither
bä *nöbö* *mo* *naü* *kâ.*
 PREP bottom tree apple DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The person sits under the upper part of the apple tree.’ (nalogo025)

As shown in (9.77) and (9.78), the directional *-lə* can combine with both deictic directionals.

9.5.3 *-pä + =m* ‘inside’

The topological directional *-pä* ‘out’ can combine with the person deictic directional *=m* to express the meaning ‘inside’. Two examples are shown in (9.79) and (9.80).

(9.79) *Kopyo leplë jâ tü-mno-pä=m böma*
 EXIST person CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-live-out=DIR.hither house
 ‘There is someone living inside the house.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(9.80) *Heart gö=tu yo-pä=m ba=nu.*
 heart general.CLF=1MIN.POSS stay-out=DIR.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘My heart is inside me.’ (nalogo010)

In (9.79) and (9.80), the figure is ‘inside’ the ground. In (9.79), the ground is a house, while in (9.80), it is a human body. However, the ground can also refer to an enclosure as in (9.81), where the boy hanging is located inside a fenced area. In (9.79) and (9.80), the ground is overtly expressed, while in (9.81), it is suggested by the combination of the topological and person directional. Example (9.82) also shows a case where the ground is not overtly expressed.

(9.81) *Kopyâ nünge tü-dola-pä=m bä*
 EXIST boy IPFV.N3AUG-hang-out=DIR.hither PREP
mola ngö böma.
 Beam ASS.MRK house
 ‘There is a boy hanging from a beam of a house (inside a fenced area).’

(9.82) *Mö-kâ (v)engi-ne böma kâ*
 male-DEM₁.DIST have-animate.CLF house DEM₁.DIST
i-vë-tö-pä=m, jâ tü-wäbu-pä=m
 PFV.N3AUG-go-in-out=DIR.hither SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-sit-out=DIR.hither
bä da kâ=ng tē-(w)äbu=ngö,
 PREP thing DEM₁.DIST=PL PASS.IPFV-sit=APPL
i-tu-lë=m, jâ tü-vë.
 PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-go
 ‘The man who owns the house goes inside (it), then he sits inside on those things to sit on, he stands up, then he goes.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

In (9.82), the two instances of *pä + =m* imply a ground which is not overtly expressed. In Äiwoo, a similar function is expressed by the combination of the topological directional *lä* ‘out’

and deictic directionals, especially the directional *-mä* ‘towards 1st person’. In this respect, Næss (2018b) explains the use of *lä* ‘out’ in expressions meaning ‘inside’ with a fictive-motion analysis, stating that “If something is moving out relative to a container or enclosure, then by inference it is currently inside it”. As in Äiwoo, in Nalögo, *-pä* ‘out’ occurs with the person ‘hither’ directional *=m*. In the case of Äiwoo, the directional *lä* ‘out’ combines more frequently with *-mä* ‘towards 1st person’, since “[...] motion downward and outward from a container takes place in a direction towards the deictic centre [...]” (Næss 2018b).

9.5.4 *-tö + =m (~ =p)* ‘outside’

In §9.5.3, the combination of the local and person directionals *-pä + =m* is described under a fictive-motion analysis where the basic idea is that if something goes outside a container, by inference, it is currently inside it. A similar approach might be taken to analyse the combination of *-tö* ‘in’ + the person directional *=m (~ =p)*. In this case, we can hypothesize that if something goes inside a container, it is currently outside it. This is the case of (9.83).

(9.83) *Kla* *tü-tu-tö=p* *Nuwä.*
 DEM_{1.L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-stand-in=DIR.hither Cutnut
 ‘That one standing outside is the Cutnut.’ (nalogo032)

The context of (9.83) involves the speaker who is pointing to the hearer a Cutnut tree which is standing outside the house where they are staying. A similar example is shown in (9.84).

(9.84) *Nübü* *i-vë-pä=nga* *mo*
 yesterday IPFV.N3AUG-go-out=1MIN.SBJ place
tü-yo-tö=p *Nemya.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-stay-in-DIR.hither Nemya
 ‘Yesterday I went out to Nemya (lit. yesterday I went out to the place that stays in, Nemya).’ (nalogo028)

In (9.84), the verb of motion *vë* ‘go’ takes the topological directional *-pä* ‘out’ to express a movement outwards/towards the sea where the islet of Nemya is located. When motion is not implied, that is, when the meaning ‘outside’ is part of expressions encoding static relations like ‘be located, stay outside (e.g. in the sea)’ the combination *-tö + -m (~ -p)* occurs on the verb. Like the verb *tu* ‘stand’ in (9.83), *yo* ‘stay’ in (9.84) is a verb of posture.

The last two examples, (9.85) and (9.86), show the use of the in/out topological directionals with verbs of posture.

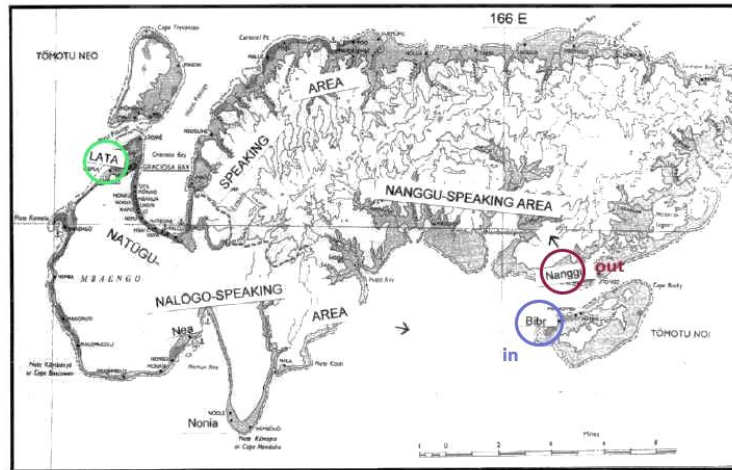
- (9.85) a) *'Nagu dövle?'*
 Nagu where
 'Where is Nagu?' (Speaker A)
- b) *'Nagu tü-(y)o-pä=m.'*
 Nagu N3AUG.IPFV-stay-out=DIR.hither
 'Nagu is inside (inland).' (Speaker B)

- (9.86) a) *'Bibö dövle?'*
 Bibö where
 'Where is Bibö?' (Speaker A)

- b) *'Bibö (t)ü-yo-tö=p* *bä* *island.*
 Bibö IPFV.N3AUG-stay-in=DIR.hither PREP island
 'Bibö is in on the island.' (nalogo064)

Examples (9.85) and (9.86) are taken from a hypothetical conversation made up by a speaker where he is imagining a conversation between two Nalögo speakers with some questions and replies related to the location of some places on the island. The questions in (9.85) and (9.86) refer to two places, Nagu and Bibö. The village of Nagu is located inland in the south-eastern part of Santa Cruz; while the village of Bibö is located on Tömotu Noi, a small island in front of the Nagu area. At the moment of speech, Speakers A and B are in Lata, the provincial capital. In this hypothetical conversation, Speaker A asks Speaker B where these two villages are located. In (9.85), the static relation 'be inside (in land)' is expressed by the verb of posture *yo* and the combination *-pä + =m*; thus, the expression involves the 'out' directional. In (9.86), the static relation 'be outside (away from the land)' is expressed by the verb of posture *yo* 'stay' and the combination *-tö + =m (~ =p)*; thus, the expression involves the 'in' directional. Under a fictive-motion analysis, in (9.85) and (9.86), Nagu and the island where Bibö is located are construed as metaphorically 'moving out' and 'coming in' in relation to the interlocutors, respectively. The locations of the speakers in (9.85) and (9.86), as well as the locations of the two places are shown in Map 9-3⁷⁴.

⁷⁴ This is modified version of the map of Santa Cruz found in Boerger and Zimmerman (2012).



Map 9-3. Locations of Nagu and Bibö in Santa Cruz

9.5.5 -tö ‘against’, next to’

The directional *-tö*, which typically expresses a motion ‘in, into’, can also mean ‘against’ or ‘next to’, when it occurs with verbs of posture. Examples are shown in (9.87-9.90).

(9.87) *Monakio* *kâ* *i-taglô-tö* *bä* *nodök.*
 pole DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-lean-in PREP wall
 ‘The pole leaned against the wall.’ (nalogo059)

(9.88) *Mö-kâ* *i-blâ* *i-wäbu*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-jump PFV.N3AUG-sit
ma-ne=de *i-tu-lë=m*
 house-animate.CLF=3MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither
i-tu-lë=m *jâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither SEQ
tü-tëkë-të=pe=le *ma-ne=de*
 IPFV.N3AUG-knock-in=COS=3MIN.SBJ animate.CLF=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘The man jumped, sat down in his house, he stood up, he stood up, then he knocked against his house.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(9.89) *I-kâ* *i-vë* *i-wäbu* *ä*
 female-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-go PFV.N3AUG-sit COOR
i-ka-te=de *kâ* *i-vë*
 female-DEM₁.PROX-close.relation=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-go
i-wäbu-tö=käpwö *ba=de* *ä* *mö-kâ.*
 PFV.N3AUG-sit-in-too PREP=3MIN.POSS COORD male-DEM₁.DIST
i-vë-kë=p *i-wäbu-tö=käpwö*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-ADD=DIR.hither PFV.N3AUG-sit-in-same.way

‘The girl goes (and) sits and her female friend goes (and) sits in the same way next to her and the boy also comes (and) sits (next to them) in the same way.’

- (9.90) *Kopyo* *leplë* *i-wäbu-nö-tö-te=pe=m*
 EXIST person PFV.N3AUG-sit-DISP-in-INTS.MRK=COS=DIR.hither
ma-ne=de *i-wäbu=ngö=de*
 house-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-sit=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
kâ *da* *i-tu-lë=m* *jâ*
 QNT thing PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither SEQ
tü-blâ=pe *tü-blâ* *tü-blâ* *jâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-jump=COS IPFV.N3AUG-jump IPFV.N3AUG-jump SEQ
tü-wäbu=pmo.
 IPFV.N3AUG-sit=again
 ‘There is someone sitting by his house, he sits on a thing, he stood up, then he started to jump, he jumped, he jumped, then he sat down again.’

Similar functions are found in Äiwoo where the combination *to* ‘in’ + deictic directionals on verb of posture or location means ‘against’ and ‘next to’ (Næss 2018b). Under a fictive-motion analysis “for a Figure to be moving in towards a Ground can be taken to mean that it is close to, next to or up against that Ground”. While in Äiwoo, *to* combines with deictic directionals, this combination is not obligatory in Nalögo to express those meanings.

9.5.6 With verbs of properties

In the data, there is one example where the directional *-lë* ‘up’ occur on the stative verb *yobu* ‘be full’ as in example (9.91).

- (9.91) *Yobu-lë=pe=m*
 be.full-up=COS=DIR.hither
 ‘It’s full up now.’

In the example, *-lë* does not refer to a movement upwards, but to the level of water in the jar after it was filled with water.

9.6 Additional bound morphemes expressing directions

A number of additional directionals occur in the VC. In this section, I show some examples of the most common bound forms expressing directions occurring in the VC (not in pair): *-nö* ‘dispersed motion’, *-ki* ‘specific path’, *-o* ‘across’, and *-plä* ‘through’.

9.6.1 The bound form *-plä* ‘through’

The form *-plä* is used to convey the meaning ‘through’. Two examples are shown in (9.92) and (9.93). As shown in both examples, *-plä* can combine with directionals, like the topological directional *-pä*.

(9.92) *Yagla-plä-pä=nga* *mosquito* *net*.
see-through-out=1MIN.SBJ mosquito net
‘I looked through a mosquito net.’

(9.93) *Nüinge kâ* *i-lë-plë-pä=le* *paper*
boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-poke-through-out=3MIN.SBJ paper
kâ *bä* *toki* *kâ*.
DEM₁.DIST PREP knife DEM₁.DIST
‘The boy poked through the paper with a knife.’

The directional *-plä* can also have a metaphorical use as in (9.94).

(9.94) *Yagla-plä-pä=nga* *nabwë=m*.
see-through-out=1MIN.SBJ heart=2MIN.POSS
‘I look through your heart.’ (nalogo064)

9.6.2 The bound form *-o* ‘across’

The bound morpheme *-o* means ‘across’. Its main function is with motion verbs, conveying the idea of moving from one side to another side of an area or a place. It can also occur with other verbs to express more abstract meanings (e.g. *yagla* ‘look, *yagla-o* ‘look aside’). (9.95) is an example of its function.

(9.95) *T(ü)-ya-o=kom* *Mölu*.
IPFV.N3AUG-paddle-across=1AUG.SBJ *Mölu*
‘We paddle across to Mölu.’ (fieldnotes, 27072018)

9.6.3 The bound form *-ki* ‘path’

The form *-ki* is used to express the notion of ‘path, direction’. This form is used when a specific path is implied via sea, land or sky. Two examples are shown below.

(9.96) *Ti-ya-ki-lë=nga* *mö* *nuwe*.
IPFV.N3AUG-paddle-path-up=1MIN.SBJ PREP water
‘I am paddling up to the river.’ (field notes 2018)

(9.97) *Tü-(v)ë-ki-pä=nga* *Nablawi*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-path-out=1MIN.SBJ *Nablawi*
 ‘I am going out to Nablawi.’

In (9.96), *-ki* implies that the hearer is paddling following a specific direction. In (9.97), the speaker is walking in the bush following a path to the Nablawi (Nemboi) village. As shown in the examples, *-ki* can occur with topological directionals.

In Natügu, *-ki* is used to express the notion of ‘path’ (Boerger 2019: 5). In terms of origins these forms might be related to the POc prepositional verb **kini* ‘by, with (instrument)’ (Pawley 1973). Whether the form **ki* was already a separable element in POc is unknown. However, the morpheme **ki* is reflected as a directional preposition in Eastern Fijian and in many Polynesian languages. The Vaeakau-Taumako *ki* might be a reflex of **ki*. The Nalögo and Natügu forms *-ki* might be related to POc **ki*, since they also display a directional component.

9.6.4 The bound form *-nö* ‘around’

Lichtenberk (2000a: 39) identifies some subtype of distributed situations all involving plural directionality: dispersive (the subevents disperse from a common point), reverse directionality (‘back and forth’), unspecified plurality of directions (‘in various directions’), and plural locality (the subevents take place in different parts of an area ‘here and there’, ‘all over the place’). In a number of Oceanic languages, these functions are performed by reflexes of the POc reciprocal/middle **paRi-*. In Nalögo, although there is proposed reflex of POc **paRi-*, the middle prefix *(v)ö-* (Chapter 13), some distributed situations, including dispersive function, unspecified plurality of directions and plural locality, are expressed by the bound form *-nö*.

For instance, in (9.98) and (9.99), *-nö* signals that the actions of walking and crawling lack a specific direction, but are performed in various directions. The morpheme *-nö* signals an unspecified plurality of directions.

(9.98) *Ni* *tü-(v)ë-nö=nom* *ba*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-go-DISP=1AUG.SBJ COORD
kuli *ne=nu*
 dog animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am walking around with my dog.’

(9.99) *Völalö=nga* *kopyo* *da* *t(ü)-yongâla-nö* *ma*
 hear=1MIN.SBJ EXIST thing IPFV.N3AUG-crawl-DISP DEM₂.PROX
 ‘I heard something crawling around here.’

An additional example of this function with the verb *ku* ‘call’ is shown in (9.100) where the morpheme *-nö* specifies that the action of calling performed by the protagonist of the story (a child looking for her mother in the bush) is directed to various directions.

(9.100) *Kä i-vë=bwe=le mla*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{2.L}.NPROX
tü-ku-ti-nö=de ilaule=je.
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-DISP=3MIN.SBJ mother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Once she arrived there, she called around for her mother.’

In (9.101) and (9.102) *-nö* occurs with the verb *ka* ‘give’ and causativized verb form *a-ngumwa* ‘sell’, respectively. In these cases, the subevents disperse from a common point.

(9.101) *Jâ të-(w)o-ti=pe=kö bä lë-maki-ngö*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-go-APPL=COS=3AUG.SBJ PREP NMLZ₁-engage-NMLZ₂
da kä lë-ka-nö=bwö=kö.
 thing LNK PFV.3AUG-give-DISP=DIR.thither=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘...and then they go to engage her with things that they give around.’

(9.102) *Tü-a-ngumwa-nö=na po.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-sell-DISP=1MIN.SBJ pig
 ‘I am selling pigs around.’ (field notes 2018)

In (9.103), *-nö* seems to express plural locality, that is the action of collecting bananas took place ‘around’ in different places.

(9.103) *Lë-ga-ti-nö böpmi kä*
 PASS.PFV-collect-PL-DISP banana LNK
i-klu ä lë-(y)eltö=kö mö topola.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.many COOR PFV.N3AUG-put.in=3AUG.SBJ PREP basket
 ‘Many bananas were collected around and they put them in the basket.’ (nalogo045)

Along with motion verbs, the morpheme can also occur with verbs of posture. Two examples are shown in (9.104) and (9.105).

(9.104) *Kä-i-mno-nö=kayö kä-i-pwëtu mweli*
 one-PFV.N3AUG-live-DISP=first one-PFV.N3AUG-be.big time
kâ=tna
 DEM₁.DIST=CONT₂
 ‘The first one who lived around, the oldest...’

(9.105) *Nim â tü-tu-kapu-nö=pe*
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-stand-hide-DISP=COS
 ‘You hide (by standing) around.’ (nalogo013)

In (9.104), the expression ‘live around’ simply means ‘exist’, while in (9.105), *-nö* expresses that the subject (the hunter) is hiding ‘around’ the place where a wild chicken is crying. Finally, in (9.106), *-nö* attaches to the form *atwö* ‘every’. In this example, the morpheme has a more abstract meaning, referring to all those items ‘around’ the concept of ‘dish’, that is, to all the items belonging to the same category.

(9.106) *Tü-ius=pe=kom da ka*
 IPFV.N3AUG-use=COS=1AUG.SBJ thing DEM1.PROX
i-ngâ=le plate dish da la=ng
 PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ plate dish thing DEM1.L.NPROX=PL
atwö-nö.
 every-DISP
 ‘We use this thing like plate, dish, all sort of those things.’

9.6.5 The bound form *-ba* ‘reverse’

The bound form *-ba* expresses the meaning ‘reverse’ as shown in (9.107).

(9.107) *Jâ tü-vě-ba-nö.*
 CONT1 IPFV.N3AUG-go-REV-DISP
 ‘He is walking in the opposite/wrong direction.’

In (9.107), *-ba* means that the subject is walking in the opposite (wrong) direction. Boerger (2017: 6) mentions the existence of a ‘reverse’ directional *-ba* in Natügu as well found, which is found, for instance, in the verb *ngüba* ‘vomit’ (*ngü* ‘eat’ + *ba* ‘reverse’). In Engdewu, the homophonous form *-ba* is analysed as a directional meaning ‘away’ (Vaa 2013: 339-40). While the action of eating implies a movement ‘towards’ the deictic centre, the action of vomiting implies the opposite, that is, an action is carried ‘away’ from the deictic centre. If we take this perspective, the ‘reverse’ meaning suggested by Boerger might imply a movement ‘away’ from the deictic centre.

10. TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD

This chapter is devoted to tense, aspect and mood (TAM). As many other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 84, Ross 2004a: 500), Nalögo has a basic realis/irrealis mood distinction. The main properties and contexts of use are described in §10.1. Section §10.2 deals with the functions of some modal markers and verbs to present their basic meanings. Section §10.3 describes the properties of aspect. It includes a discussion on the perfective/imperfective distinction (§10.3.1) with their functions (§10.3.2; §10.3.3) and various aspectual markers, such as the change-of-state (COS) marker =*p(m)e* (§10.3.4), the continuous marker *jâ* (§10.3.5), completive aspect with the serialised verb *yökö* (§10.3.6), the continuative marker =*tna* (§10.3.7), the completive/past marker =*pnö* (§10.3.8) and the aspectual adverbial forms =*p(m)o* ‘again’ and =*bo* ‘still’ (§10.3.9).

In Nalögo, tense is not generally expressed grammatically, but through other means like temporal adverbs or expressions (e.g. *nübü* ‘yesterday’, *nëgwa* ‘today’, *mveli ka* ‘now’). In this respect, Nalögo is like canonical Oceanic languages where tense tends not to be grammatically expressed (Ross 2004a). However, there are two exceptions. First, there is what seems to be a future form *ä/jä* occurring with irrealis. The irrealis mood can express future and, in many cases, the independent markers combine with it. Further research is needed to determine the exact semantic contribution of these markers to the irrealis context. Examples are shown in the section on irrealis (§10.1.2). Second, the marker =*pnö* expressing that an action is complete and belongs to the past has a tense-related function (§10.3.8).

10.1 Realis and irrealis

In relation to reality status, Elliott (2000: 81) writes that the reality status “can be understood as the grammaticalised expression of the location of an event or state in either the real world or in some hypothesised, but not real, world. Prototypically the realis component of the category asserts that an event or state is located in the real world, while irrealis events or states are perceived as being located in an alternative hypothetical or imagined world, but not the real world.” Elliott’s definition seems to account for what happens in Nalögo, where the realis expresses events belonging to the ‘real world’. As a grammatical category, the realis has no specific morpheme expressing its meaning, by contrast with the irrealis which is expressed by the morphemes *nü-/në-*. This situation parallels the one in POc where the irrealis was unmarked

(Lynch et al. 2002: 84). However, only the realis context shows an aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect which is expressed by portmanteau subject/aspect prefixes. In (10.1), which is taken from a procedural text, the same verb *vela* ‘file’ occurs with the imperfective prefix *tü-* and perfective prefix *i-*.

- (10.1) *Jâ tü-vela=pmya. I-vela=nga ä*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-file=1MIN.SBJ.COS PFV.N3AUG-file=1MIN.SBJ COORD
jâ tü-ngâ=pe=le ka.
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-be.like=COS=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Then, I am filing it. I file it and then, it looks like this one.’ (nalogo060_2)

The choice between imperfective and perfective depends on the speaker’s point of view on the event. Irrealis contexts do not show any aspectual distinction of this type. In §10.3.1, I provide the definitions of ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ used in this analysis. In (10.1), realis events are expressed in the main clause by predicates inflected for imperfective and perfective aspect; while in (10.2), they are expressed by a predicate in a subordinate clause with imperfective marking.

- (10.2) *I-pi=bwa=ba=m nge tü-vë=nga*
 PFV.N3AUG-tell=DIR.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ
Noipä.
 Noipä
 ‘I told you that I am going to Noipä.’ (realis) (field notes 2017)

Realis and irrealis prefixes cannot cooccur, as they occupy the same slot in the VC. An example of irrealis is shown in (10.3).

- (10.3) *T(ü)-vë=ki mö obu kâ=ng ti-ngi*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ PREP day DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-be
gö=tu mö Friday o obu
 general.CLF=1MIN.POSS PREP Friday COORD day
nâlö nim ä nü-e-pi=m ba=nu.
 what 2MIN FUT IPFV.N3AUG-?-say=DIR.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘We are going in my days on Friday or what day... You will tell me.’ (nalogo039)

In (10.3), the irrealis is expressed by *nü-* encoding subject person/number and mood. In POc, the morpheme *na ‘irrealis’ has been reconstructed (Lynch et al. 2002: 44). In Äiwoo and Natügu, the irrealis markers *nâ-/nä-*, and *na-* is related to POc *na ‘irrealis’. Given the formal similarities, it seems reasonable to posit the same origin for *nü-* in Nalögo. In (10.3), the irrealis

prefix occurs with what appears to be a morpheme encoding future. Additional examples are given in §10.1.2.

In (10.3) above, the irrealis prefix occurs on the predicate on the main clause, while (10.4) below shows an example of irrealis marking occurring in a subordinate clause.

- (10.4) *Vengi-tö!* *da* *ka=ng* *atwö-nö*
 feel-in thing DEM₁.PROX=PL every-DISP
e-pi=ö=ng *nge* *nü-öblömi=ng* *yökö*.
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=2MIN.SBJ COMP IRR.N3AUG-make=2MIN.SBJ QNT
 ‘Sure! All this type of things that you said you will make them all.’ (nalogo039)

10.1.1 Functions of the realis

The realis is mainly used in events which are regarded as belonging to the ‘real’ world. Interestingly, habitual events, which in some Oceanic languages are expressed by irrealis (e.g. in Manam; Lichtenberk 1983a: 351), in Nalögo are expressed by realis as described in §10.3.2. In general, the realis is mainly attested: (i) expressing events taking place in present and past time; (ii) expressing prospective aspect; (iii) occurring in hortative contexts; and (iv) occurring in negative contexts. Examples of the contexts mentioned above are shown below.

(10.5) and (10.6) show two examples where the realis is used to express events framed in the present and in the past, respectively. In both examples, the imperfective N3AUG subject prefix *tü-* occurs on the verb.

- (10.5) *Kopyo obwe i-mo=la* *jâ* *tü-mwi*.
 EXIST child PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-sleep
 ‘There is a child that I see who is sleeping.’ (nalogo2110_2015)⁷⁵
 (event framed in the present)

- (10.6) *Kâ* *tü-ngâ=le* *nöpwë* *kâ=ng*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ cloth DEM₁.DIST=PL
 (*ä*) *tu-skul-mi=kom* *â=ng=pwö*.
 COORD IPFV.N3AUG-go.to.school-APPL=1AUG.SBJ DEM₃.DIST=PL=same
 ‘That was it. As for the clothes we were going to school with, they were the same ones.’
 (nalogo0809_2015) (event framed in the past)

⁷⁵ The analysis of the main properties of aspect in Nalögo is based on textual material and elicitations. I would like to thank Robert Mailhammer who kindly shared with me a set of experimental video clips targeting aspect in 2014, which I used during my first field trip in Santa Cruz in 2015 while documenting Nalögo.

(10.7) shows an example where the imperfective prefix expresses prospective aspect. Although the event is located in the future, it is planned, so conceived as belonging to the real world.

(10.7) *Lëmapë* *tii-ngu=nga* *naii* *t(ii)-vöte*.
 tomorrow IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ apple IPFV.N3AUG-be.one
 ‘Tomorrow I am going to eat one apple.’ (nalogo009)

The realis is also used in hortative contexts of the type ‘Let’s do X’ as in (10.8), where the imperfective prefix combines with the COS marker =*p(m)e*. Additional examples showing this combination are shown in §10.3.4.2.2.

(10.8) *T(ii)-velya=pe=ko!*
 IPFV.N3AUG-dance=COS=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘Let’s dance!’ (nalogo020_1)

Finally, the realis is compatible with negative contexts as shown in (10.9).

(10.9) *Kä-lë-öblemi-ti=ngö=dö=le* *te=i-köle=lü*
 way-PFV.3AUG-do-TR=APPL=3AUG.SBJ =3MIN.OBJ NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.good=NEG₂
 ‘The way they did it is not good.’ (nalogo068)

10.1.2 Functions of the irrealis

According to Elliott (2000), in the languages of the world, irrealis marking is mainly associated with the following contexts: (i) potential events, (ii) conditionals (including counterfactuals) (iii) events qualified by modality, and (iv) commands. Additional contexts include negation, habituals and interrogatives.

In Nalögo, verbs inflected for irrealis occur in the contexts (i), (ii) and (iii) mentioned above. In their affirmative version, verbs expressing commands are unmarked for mood. Likewise, habitual and interrogative contexts do not attract irrealis specifically. This also holds for negative, in that both realis and irrealis can occur in negative clauses.

Elliott (2000: 70) points out that in languages which do not mark tense, potentiality implies future time, “since an event which has not yet been initiated can be viewed as having the potential to occur at some point of time in the future”. In languages with no tense marking, this function of the irrealis is common. For instance, in the Oceanic language Manam (Lichtenberk 1983a), given that there is no category for tense, “events which potentially will or may occur at

some future time are marked for irrealis” (Elliott 2000: 70). In this respect, Nalögo is similar to Manam, since potential future events are expressed by irrealis. An example is shown in (10.10).

- (10.10) *Nü-mwa-ki-ti=kälë=wi* *ka=ng*
 IRR.N3AUG-bite-rigid.obj-PL=later=1+2SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL
i-woplëwe, *i-kele?*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.strong PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘We (You and I) will bite these strong ones later, is it okay?’ (nalogo039)

The irrealis can also combine with the future markers *ä* and *jä* as shown in (10.11), (10.12) and (10.13).

- (10.11) *Ba nüümü=m ä nü-tüka. Yagla=m!*
 yeah hand=2MIN.POSS FUT IRR.N3AUG-hurt look=DIR.hither
 ‘Yeah, your hands will get hurt, look here!’ (nalogo039)

- (10.12) *Ni ä/jä nü-vë mö Tömotu Neo.*
 1MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-go PREP Island Neo
 ‘I will go to Neo island.’

- (10.13) *I-pi-pä Isaiah nge kopyo bonyö jä*
 PFV.N3AUG-say-out Isaiah COMP EXIST king FUT
në-(v)elo mö nowidu lö Juda.
 PASS.IRR-deliver PREP tribe ASS.MRK Juda
 ‘Isaiah said that a king would/will be born in the tribe of Juda.’ (field notes 2018)

The difference, if any, between the markers *ä* and *jä* require further research, but apparently, they can occur in the same context, as in (10.12). It is interesting to mention here that *jä* and *ä* are formally identical to the medial forms *jä* ‘be there’ and *ä* ‘be that one’ of locative demonstratives and demonstrative identifiers, respectively.

Irrealis prefixes are also attested in contexts expressing exhortation as in (10.14), and weak necessity as in (10.15) and (10.16).

- (10.14) *Nü-(v)elya!*
 IRR.N3AUG-dance
 ‘Let (him) dance!’ (exhortation; ‘Let X do Y’)

(10.15) *Nü-toulö-ti=ki* *lopta* *ka=ng* *aki*
 IRR.N3AUG-go.fast-TR=1+2MIN.SBJ cabbage DEM₁.PROX=PL because
nölä tü-bu=pme.
 world IPFV.N3AUG-get.dark=COS
 ‘We should go fast (to clean) this cabbage because it is getting dark.’ (nalogo039)

(10.16) *Nü-vö-kükyö* *nge* *leng* *nölu* *ka=ng.*
 IRR.N3AUG-MIDD₁-be.same PRAG.MRK leaf coconut DEM₁.PROX=PL
 ‘These coconut leaves should be the same.’ (nalogo062)

The irrealis can occur in a hortative context with 1MIN and 3MIN persons as in (10.14). Sentence (10.15) is taken from a conversation where there are two participants cleaning cabbage who need to finish its preparation before it gets too late. (10.16) is also taken from a conversation during which the speaker, who is weaving a basket, makes a mistake by cutting two leaves in two different sizes. Then, she explains to the listener that this is wrong according to the weaving procedure because the two leaves need to be of the same length.

In (10.17), the irrealis can also express projected ability.

(10.17) *Tü-vëpë=bwe* *ba* *nelö?* *Pi=ba=nu*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP who tell=PREP=1MIN.OBJ
n(ü)-(v)ö-ni-ti=bwa.
 IRR.N3AUG-MIDD₁-pick-PL=DIR.thither
 ‘Who are you buying it from? Tell me, tell me, so that I can pick (it).’ (nalogo039)

Finally, the irrealis can occur in negative contexts as in (10.18) where the verb inflected for irrealis occur with standard negation. The irrealis cooccurs with the future marker *jä*.

(10.18) *Jä te-në-ö-bi-lü* *po.*
 FUT NEG₁=IRR.3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=NEG₂ pig
 ‘They will not bake pigs.’ (nalogo033)

10.1.3 Realis and irrealis in conditionals

In this section, I summarise the uses of realis and irrealis in different types of conditionals in Table 10-1 and Table 10-2. These uses are based only on some examples of conditional clauses given in Chapter 18. Further studies on this topic are left for future research. The symbol ✓ in the tables signals the presence of the realis and irrealis mood prefixes, while the symbol ‘-’

signals their absence. In Table 10-1, I also give some English examples of the various types of conditionals.

| TYPE OF CONDITIONAL | PROTASIS | APODOSIS | EXAMPLE |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|--|
| REALITY CONDITIONAL | ✓ | ✓ | ‘If it is raining outside, your clothes are getting wet.’ |
| PREDICTIVE CONDITIONAL | ✓ | ✓ | ‘If you do not take your flight tomorrow, you will stay here.’ |
| HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL | ✓ | ✓ | ‘If I went to the bush, I would hunt some wild meat’ |
| COUNTERFACTUAL | - | ✓ | ‘If I were a goddess, I would be Athena’ |

Table 10-1. The use of realis in conditionals

| TYPE OF CONDITIONAL | PROTASIS | APODOSIS |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|
| REALITY CONDITIONAL | - | ✓ |
| PREDICTIVE CONDITIONAL | ✓ | ✓ |
| HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL | ✓ | ✓ |
| COUNTERFACTUAL | ✓ | - |

Table 10-2. The use of irrealis in conditionals

Based on Table 10-1 and Table 10-2, the uses of the realis and irrealis in certain contexts are expected, while some others are not and require further analyses. For instance, the occurrence of the realis in reality conditionals is expected, even though the irrealis can also be used. This is not surprising because reality conditionals are typically viewed as belonging to the realm of ‘reality’. An example taken from Chapter 18 where the realis occur in both protasis and apodosis is provided below.

- (10.19) *Nepi kä tü-pü=le* *yövë,*
 sun SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-be.hot=3MIN.SBJ outside,
nëpwë=m â tü-minga-nö=pe.
 cloth=2MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-dry-DISP=COS
 ‘If the sun is hot outside, your clothes are getting dry.’ (present) (nalogo003)

In Nalögo, predictive conditionals involve both realis and irrealis marking. Typologically, languages show variation in the way they encode this type of conditionals, depending on whether the event is viewed as ‘real’ or ‘unreal’ In this respect, Thompson, Longacre, Hwang 2007: 259) writes: “[...] a future prediction is about something that has not yet happened, so it is ‘unreal’, as are sentences about what did not happen or what might happen. But it is also ‘real’ in that it is making a prediction about a state of affairs in the ‘real world’, as opposed to the ‘imaginary’ world.” In example (10.20), which is also taken from Chapter 18, the predictive conditional occurs with realis in both protasis and apodosis.

(10.20) *Kä tü-vë=ki lade-kä-you*
 SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ side-LNK-down
tü-pi=bwa ba=m.
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘If we go uphill, I will tell you.’ (nalogo039)

Finally, imaginative conditionals are divided into hypothetical conditionals and counterfactuals (Thompson et al. 2007: 256). Based on typological analyses, the apodoses of imaginative conditionals are expected to attract irrealis marking (Elliott 2000), but in Nalögo, they occur with the realis as shown in (10.21).

(10.21) *Ngâ kä tü-vë-tö=pmya*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=1MIN.SBJ.COS
ma-kä-i-tö, ilaule=nu döt=de
 house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy mother=1MIN.POSS name=3MIN.POSS
i-wu.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.happy
 ‘If I started to go to church, my mother would be happy.’ (nalogo048)

Example (10.21) also shows in the protasis, the verb inflected for irrealis can also occur with the simulative *ngâ* ‘be like’ functioning as a modal particle. The contexts where *ngâ* occurs in conditional clauses are the following. As in the previous tables, the symbol ✓ signals the presence of the modal particle.

| TYPE OF CONDITIONAL | PROTASIS | APODOSIS |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|
| REALITY CONDITIONAL | - | - |
| PREDICTIVE CONDITIONAL | ✓ | - |
| HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL | ✓ | - |
| COUNTERFACTUAL | ✓ | ✓ |

Table 10-3. The uses of the modal *ngâ* with conditionals

With reality conditionals, there are no examples where the modal particle occurs. With unreality conditionals, the use of *ngâ* is attested. With predictive and hypothetical conditionals, *ngâ* occurs only in the protases as in (10.22) and (10.23), while with counterfactuals, it can occur in both protasis and apodosis as in (10.24). All these examples are taken from Chapter 18 on adverbial clauses.

(10.22) *Ngâ* *kä* *tü-gë-pë=mwam* *nge*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-take-out=2AUG.SBJ.hither PRAG.MRK
kä-i-lu=ngö=na, *ni* *â*
 one-PFV.N3AUG-be.alive=APPL=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN PRAG.MRK
tü-bwë=pe
 IPFV.N3AUG-die=COS
 ‘If you take out my heart, I will die.’ (predictive) (nalogo002)

(10.23) *Ngâ* *kä* *tü-mo=nga* *Elisabeth,*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ Elisabeth
ni *â* *tü-lâ=bwe* *ba=de.*
 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-talk=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘If I saw Elisabeth, I would talk to her.’

(10.24) *Ngâ* *ni-ngi* *ni* *nünge,*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-be 1MIN man
ngâ *i-driver=nga.*
 be.like PFV.N3AUG-be.driver=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘If I were a man, I would be a driver.’ (counterfactual)

10.2 Modality

In this section, I present how some modal functions are encoded in Nalögo. They include the modal functions of the form *aple* ‘probably’ (§10.2.1), the verb *ngâ* ‘be like’ (§10.2.2), the deontic *-täpnö* (§10.2.3), the verb *klë* ‘know’ expressing ability (§10.2.4), the jussive and the desiderative markers *=na* and *=ta* (§10.2.5, §10.2.6).

10.2.1 The similative/epistemic *aple* ‘probably’

The form *aple* ‘probably’ encodes an epistemic value, whereby the concept of ‘epistemic’ refers to “the degree to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the clause” (Payne 1997: 70). The origins of this form are most likely verbal. In Natügu, there is a verb *apu* ‘be like’ which can occur in the inflected form *apule* ‘She/He/it is like’ (Boerger, p.c.). In Nalögo, a verb *apu* is not attested; the meaning ‘be like’ is encoded by the verb *ngâ*. However, the Nalögo *aple* is related to the Natügu inflected verb form *apule*, suggesting that it most likely originated in a similative verb *apu* no longer attested independently. Two examples of *aple* in Nalögo are shown in (10.25) and (10.26) where the form is translated with the English modal adverbs ‘probably’ and ‘maybe’.

(10.25) *Lopta* *kâ=ng* *aple* *yökö=pe* *man*
 cabbage DEM₁.DIST=PL SIMIL.EPIST finish=COS man
 ‘That cabbage is probably finished man.’ (nalogo039)

(10.26) *Eu,* *aple* *fault* *gö=m* *aki*
 yes SIMIL.EPIST fault general.CLF=2MIN.POSS because
te=wo-klu=p=mwe=lü
 NEG₁=go-be.much=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither=NEG₂
 ‘Yes, maybe it is your fault because you didn’t come quickly.’ (nalogo039)

In (10.25), *aple* occurs before the predicate, but it can be found in other positions in the clause as in (10.27), where it is attested sentence initially.

(10.27) *Aple* *ni* *ä* *n(ü)-yöpwëlu=po=p* *Nödö*
 SIMIL.EPIST 1MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-return=again=DIR.hither Nödö
 ‘Maybe I will come back to Santa Cruz.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

In (10.28) and (10.29), *aple* encodes epistemic necessity.

(10.28) *Kopyo* *lomtangi* *aple* *kä-i-ngungu*
 EXIST white.man SIMIL.EPIST one-PFV.N3AUG-be.cranky
 ‘There is a white man that must be cranky.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(10.29) *Aple* *âpwötö.*
 SIMIL.EPIST cold
 ‘It must be the cold.’

Finally, in the discourse context, *aple* seems to have an illustrative function meaning ‘such as’ as shown in example 0, where it functions as the predicate of a relative clause introduced by *kä*.

(10.30) *Da* *kä* *aple* *bottle* *nâlö* *mirror*
 thing LNK SIMIL.EPIST bottle what mirror
da *kä* *i-ngâ=le* *la=ng*
 thing LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
nide *ä* *i-mo-glâ*.
 3MIN PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘Things such as bottle...what...mirror, things like those ones, they *imöglâ*.’ (nalogo039)

Example (10.30) is taken from a conversation where the speaker is explaining to the listener which words meaning ‘break’ are used in Nalögo according to the type of object involved in the event.

10.2.2 The similative verb *ngâ* ‘be like’

The verb *ngâ* ‘be like’ has a similative function as shown in examples (10.31) and (10.32).

(10.31) *Kâ* *i-ngâ=le* *nubü*
 DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ yesterday
â=pmo.
 DEM₄.DIST=again
 ‘What happened yesterday is happening again (lit. what was like yesterday is that one again).’ (nalogo005)

(10.32) *So* *bä* *da* *kä* *i-ngâ=le* *la=ng*
 So PREP thing LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
awi *tëpme* *Vali*.
 thank very.much Vali
 ‘So, for those kinds of things, thank you very much Vali (lit. so, for the thing that are like those ones).’

The similative verb *ngâ* ‘be like’ can also occur with verbs inflected for irrealis to express weak obligation as shown in (10.33) and (10.34).

(10.33) *Lepelë* *kä* *lë-klu* *ngâ*
 people LNK PFV.3AUG-be.much be.like
të-mwa-neblü=kö *nge* *natü* *God*.
 IPFV.3AUG-go-follow=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK word God
 ‘Everyone is expected/is supposed to follow the word of God.’ (nalogo047)

- (10.34) *Ngâ* *tü-ka=mwe* *ba=nu* *buk*
 be.like IPFV.N3AUG-give=2MIN.SBJ.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ book
la=ng.
 DEM_{1.L.}.NPROX=PL
 ‘You’re supposed to/should give me those books.’

The verb can also cooccur with the imperfective prefix expressing the potential for an event to happen as shown in (10.35).

- (10.35) *Lemo* *kâ=ng* *i-twë=mwe*
 leaf DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither
ngâ *tü-kâbi=ngö=de* *ä* *jâ*
 be.like IPFV.N3AUG-wrap=APPL=3MIN.SBJ COORD SEQ
tü-kâbi=pme=ng.
 IPFV.N3AUG-wrap=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘As for the leaves, you take (them) to wrap it (the cabbage), and then, you wrap it.’

Finally, the occurrence of *ngâ* is common in concessive, substitutive and conditional clauses. Two examples of concessive and substitutive clauses which are found in Chapter 18 are provided below.

- (10.36) *Ngâ* *n(ü)-yagwe=nga,* *ni* *â*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-be.sick=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN PRAG.MRK
i-wë=ka.
 PFV.N3AUG-work-=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘Even if I am sick, I will work.’ (nalogo1021_2015)

- (10.37) *Ngâ* *tü-a-kü=nga,* *aa*
 be.like IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1MIN.SBJ COORD
ni *â* *ti-kipü=pme=ka* *pwöla.*
 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-swim=COS=1MIN.SBJ sea
 ‘Instead of cooking, I was swimming in the sea (nalogo003)

Examples of *ngâ* are shown in conditional clauses in §10.1.3 above.

10.2.3 The deontic *-täpnö*

The form *-täpnö*, translated with the English ‘must’, expresses very strong obligation. According to one speaker, when the form *-täpnö* emphasizes a command, the hearer is forced

to perform the action without any hesitation. The suffixed form occurs on the two imperative forms in (10.38) and (10.39).

(10.38) *Ka-täpnö=m!*
 give-DEONT=DIR.hither
 ‘Do give (them) (to me)!’

(10.39) *Velya-täpnö!*
 dance-DEONT
 ‘Do dance!’

10.2.4 The modal function of *klë* ‘know’

In Nalögo, the knowledge predicate *klë* ‘know’ can display a modal function expressing ability. In this construction, it occurs as the main predicate taking a nominalization as its complement. Two examples are shown in (10.40) and (10.41).

(10.40) *Nim i-klë-âkö=ng lë-(v)elya-ngö.*
 2MIN PFV.N3AUG-know-well=2MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 ‘You can/are able to dance well.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

(10.41) *Ibu=m i-klë=le lë-ö-nibü-ngö*
 father=2MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-know=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-kill-NMLZ₂
nâ pwöla.
 fish sea
 ‘Your father can/is able to catch fish in the sea.’

When the ability is negated, the verb *klë* takes standard negation as any other verb form as shown in (10.42).

(10.42) *Nim te-i-klë-âkö=u=lü*
 2MIN NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=well=2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
lë-(v)elya-ngö
 NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
 ‘You cannot/aren’t able to dance well.’

10.2.5 The jussive marker =*na*

The jussive marker =*na* is attested only in imperative forms and is typically used to catch the listener’s attention to exhort him/her to do something as shown in (10.43).

- (10.43) *Mo nölu kâ t̥e=i-boi-dongo=lü*
 tree coconut DEM₁.DIST NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.long-a.lot=NEG₂
kö, aa i-p(i)=bwe=le,
 also COORD PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘*Me-i-tâ wo-u=kayö=p=na!*’
 male-PFV.N3AUG-be.small climb-down=first=DIR.hither=JUSS
 ‘The coconut tree was not very tall too, but it said: “Friend, do climb down!”’

The imperative form with the jussive marker in (10.43) was described by one speaker as a sort of polite imperative. A number of speakers argued that =*na* is especially used when the hearer is totally engaged in performing another activity as in (10.44).

- (10.44) *Yagla=m=na!*
 look=DIR.hither=JUSS
 ‘Do look here!’ (nalogo039)

In (10.44), the two interlocutors are cleaning cabbage. While the hearer is engaged in the activity of cleaning, the speaker kindly exhorts her to stop and look at what she is doing.

10.2.6 The desiderative marker =*ta*

Nalögo seems to have a kind of desiderative marker, =*ta*, occurring very peripherally in the VC. Only a few examples are attested in the data where =*ta* occurs on verbs inflected for irrealis and on imperatives. Three examples are shown in (10.45), (10.46b) and (10.47).

- (10.45) *Nü-lâ-te=pwa=ta*
 IRR.N3AUG-talk-INTS.MRK=1MIN.SBJ.thither=DESID
mö natu=go.
 PREP language=1+2AUG.POSS
 ‘I wish I could talk in our language.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

- (10.46) a) *Nü-mâ=pwa.*
 IRR.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘I will see (it).’ (field notes 2018)

- b) *Nü-mâ=pwa=ta.*
 IRR.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ.thither=DESID
 ‘I want to see (it).’

(10.47) *Ngu-mnö=ta* *butete* *la.*
 Eat-try=DESID potato DEM1.L.NPROX
 ‘Taste that potato! (as an invitation)’ (nalogo006)

10.3 Aspect

In this section, I describe the basic properties of the most important aspectual markers. In §10.3.1, I describe the functional distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. Sections §10.3.2 and 10.3.3 are devoted to some functions that perfective and imperfective can perform. While perfective can be found expressing habituality, iterativity, frequentativity and gnomic aspect (§10.3.2), imperfective is used to express prospective events (§10.3.3). Section §10.3.4 is devoted to the description of the change-of-state (COS) marker *=p(m)e* which can combine with both perfective and imperfective. When it combines with the perfective, it can express a change-of-state meaning of two types: either a change of state from a previous negative state (with states) (§10.3.4.1.1); or a change of state conceived as the resulting state following the endpoint of the event causing it (with telic verbs) (§10.3.4.1.2). With atelic verbs, *=p(m)e* encodes a completed event (§10.3.4.1.3). When it combines with the imperfective (§10.3.4.2), the enclitic express either an ingressive meaning (with states, atelic verbs and atelic non-punctual verbs) (§10.3.4.2.1, §10.3.4.2.2, §10.3.4.2.3) or an imminent meaning (with telic punctual verbs) (§10.3.4.2.4).). The same marker can also express ‘already’-related meanings (§10.3.4.3), the meaning ‘anymore’ in negative contexts (§10.3.4.4) and ‘change of scene’ at a discourse level (§10.3.4.5). The last part of the chapter is devoted to other aspectual markers and their properties: the continuous marker *jâ* (§10.3.5), completive aspect with the serialised verb *yökö* (§10.3.6), the continuative marker *=tna* (§10.3.7), the completive/past marker *=pnö* (§10.3.8) and the aspectual adverbial forms *=p(m)o* ‘again’ and *=bo* ‘still’ (§10.3.9).

10.3.1 Perfective vs Imperfective aspect

In Nalögo, there is a basic aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective and imperfective values are expressed by portmanteau subject prefixes. As mentioned in §10.1, they only occur in realis contexts. In declarative clauses, verbs are obligatorily inflected for aspect. An example of a typical context showing the perfective vs imperfective contrast is (10.48).

(10.48) *Mweli* *kâ* *tü-wë=ngö=na,*
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-work=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
Juju *i-vlëpä=le* *nowe.*
Juju PFV.N3AUG-open=3MIN.SBJ door
‘While I was working, Juju opened the door.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

In (10.48), the imperfective *tü-* encodes an ongoing event and establishes the background for the main clause whose verb is inflected for perfectivity.

A good number of definitions for perfectivity and imperfectivity have been proposed in literature. For instance, Timberlake (2007: 292) defines perfectivity as imposing “boundaries on situations at the contextual occasion. A perfective presupposes a situation consisting of three phases: a prior situation in which there is no activity or no state holds, then a phase of change and transition, and an ensuing situation after which no more change is to be expected and the static situation that results should remain in force for the foreseeable future. There is a limit on the interval of change; in this sense a perfective event is bounded, liminal.” This definition could potentially apply to the perfective in (10.48). The event of the door opening in (10.48) could be viewed as made up of three phases: a first phase with no activity, where the door is closed, a second phase of change where Juju opens the door and a third phase with a resulting static relation where the door is open. There is also a “limit on the interval of change”, in that, the event of the door opening is bounded. However, Timberlake (2007)’s definition cannot account for all the contexts in which the perfective in Nalögo is used. For instance, in Timberlake (2007: 292)’ analysis, the perfective is highly compatible with liminal/telic predicates, i.e. those predicates that have a result, a telos (2007: 284-285). In this respect, he writes (2007: 285): “Liminal predicates have three phases: an initial phase, in which some property (of the world or of an entity in the world) does not hold; a transition phase, during which the property changes and comes to hold; and a final phase, in which there is no more change and the property, once established, can be expected to hold by inertia.” The liminal/telic predicates described by Timberlake are said to correspond approximately to the traditional categories of ‘accomplishment’ and ‘achievement’ verbs proposed by Vendler (1957). The verb ‘open’ in (10.48) is a liminal predicate. Two additional examples of accomplishment and achievement verbs occurring with the perfective are shown in (10.49) and (10.50).

(10.49) *Ibu=nu* *i-va-ku=le* *no*
 father=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=3MIN.SBJ fish
na=de *âtöngye.*
 food.CLF=3MIN.POSS INTS
 ‘My father cooked his fish by himself.’ (accomplishment) (nalogo029)

(10.50) *Nuwâ* *kâ* *i-mö-glâ.*
 stick DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘The stick broke.’ (achievement) (nalogo059)

However, Timberlake (2007: 293) argues that “[s]tates and processes, left to their own devices, would rather not occur in the perfective.” Under Vendler’s analysis, these categories involve ‘state’ and ‘activity’ verbs. In this regard, the behaviour of the perfective in Nalögo shows a different behaviour. For instance, the use of the perfective is extremely common on stative verbs. Two examples are shown in (10.51) and (10.52).

(10.51) *I-klë=nga* *nünge kâ.*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ boy DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I know that boy.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

(10.52) *Pi=bwe,* “*Ni* *olë* *kä* *i-pwö!*”
 say=DIR.thither 1MIN girl LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘Tell him: “I am a big girl!” (nalogo039)

In (10.51), the verb *klë* ‘know’ takes the perfective; while in (10.52), it is the verb *pwö* ‘be big’ expressing a permanent characteristic of the subject referent which takes the perfective. In (10.51), the verb is the clausal predicate, while in (10.52), it is the predicate of the relative clause modifying the head noun. No changes of state are implied by the context in both (10.51) and (10.52).

With regard to ‘process’/activity predicates, those ‘lacking a goal’, Timberlake (2007: 293) writes: “A perfective of plain ‘work’ or ‘walk’, if understood as an activity and not locomotion to some destination, is only ‘work a bit’ or ‘walk for a while’”. Thus, the perfective bounds the event, set a boundary to its duration. In Nalögo, perfective is common with activity verbs, but it does not necessarily limit the duration of the event. An example is shown in (10.53).

(10.53) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *nöpnu* *lä-vë-tö=po=p.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL ten PFV.3AUG-go-in=again=DIR.hither
Lä-(v)elya=pmo *lä-(v)elya=pmo*
 PFV.3AUG-dance-again PFV.3AUG-dance=again
lë-(v)elya=pmo...
 PFV.3AUG-dance-again
 ‘The ten dolphin girls came back again, they danced again, danced, danced...’
 (nalogo2209_2015)

The example above is taken from a narrative text where ten dolphins with human form go to Nedö to take part in the traditional dances. The activity verb *velya* ‘dance’ occurs with the perfective prefix which is not meant to express a limited duration of the event (e.g. ‘they danced for a while’), but rather, the event itself viewed as a whole.

This property of the perfective in Nalögo seems to be better accounted for by the definition proposed by Comrie (1976: 21) who writes: “[...] perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such internal temporal constituency. Thus it is quite possible for perfective forms to be used for situations that are internally complex, such as those that last for a considerable period of time, or include a number of distinct internal phases, provided only that the whole of the situation is subsumed as a single whole.” The same definition of perfectivity based on Comrie (1976) has been also adopted by Næss (2019b) for Äiwoo.

The use of the perfective in (10.53) does not express a lack of internal temporal constituency, in that presumably, the action of dancing lasted for some time. Under Comrie’s definition, what the perfective does is to avoid an explicit reference to that internal constituency and just subsumed the event as a whole.

The perfective can also occur with predicates expressing ‘semelfactive’ actions. The term ‘semelfactive’ refers to “a situation that takes place once and once only” (Comrie 1976: 42). With a verb like ‘cough’, the semelfactive situation would refer to one single cough, thus, a situation which is punctual. An example of the verb ‘cough’ with the perfective is shown in (10.54), where a single cough takes place three times.

(10.54) *Mwe-lë-kölö* *i-wu* *dolë=de*
 male-PFV.3AUG-be.old PFV.N3AUG-cough time=3MIN.POSS
lë-tölwö.
 PFV.3AUG-be.three
 ‘The old man coughed three times.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

By contrast with perfectivity, imperfectivity makes an “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within [...]” (Comrie 1976:24). Næss (2019b) refers to the opposition between perfective and imperfective in Äiwoo as ‘privative’ where the perfective is analysed as the unmarked member of the dichotomy, defined by the lack of imperfectivity, i.e. the explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of an event.

In terms of verb classes, the imperfective prefix can occur with verbs of various types. In (10.48) above, the activity verb *wë* is inflected for imperfectivity. Additional examples with accomplishment, semelfactive and achievement verbs are shown below.

(10.55) *Mö-kla* *tü-wo.*
 man-DEM₁.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-build
 ‘That man is building (something).’ (accomplishment)

(10.56) *Kopyo* *leplë* *tü-wu.*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-cough
 ‘There is someone that is coughing.’ (semelfactive) (nalogo1509_2015)

(10.57) *Nünge* *kâ* *t(ü)-a-bä-ki-ti=le*
 boy DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.broken-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ
nuwi.
 rope
 ‘The boy is breaking a rope.’ (achievement) (nalogo2909_2015)

In (10.55), the imperfective makes explicit reference to the internal constituency of the event, suggesting that the man is in the middle of the action of building. The two semelfactive and achievement events are made iterative by the presence of the imperfective. In (10.56), which is the description of a video clip where a man is coughing repeatedly, the imperfective prefix allows the iterative reading. Example (10.57), which is also based on a video stimulus (Clip 50 of Cut & Break verbs; Bohnemeyer et al. 2001). describes a situation where there is a boy hammering a rope. The action of hammering is repeated more than one time.

In some cases, the imperfective seems to occur also with stative verbs as in (10.58) below taken from a conversation.

(10.59) *Eu, obu kä atuö i-vë=nga*
 yes day LNK every PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ
lade-kä-you.
 side-LNK-down
 ‘Yes, every day I go uphill.’ (nalogo039)

(10.60) *Mweli kâ i-vë bā lë-velya-ngö*
 time DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-go PREP NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂
bā obu kapteingme kä atwö
 PREP day sixth LNK every
 ‘At that time (in the past), he used to go to dance every Saturday.’ (nalogo055)

The perfective can also be used to express situations implying a frequentative meaning. An example is shown in (10.61) where the adverb *ëvë* ‘usually’ strengthens the frequentative reading.

(10.61) *Ëvë lë-(y)apwe dongo.*
 usually PFV.N3AUG-converse a.lot
 ‘They usually converse a lot.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

Both habituality in (10.59) and (10.60), and frequentativity in (10.61) involve situations repeated over an extended period of time, either repeated regularly, ‘every day’ or ‘every Saturday’ as in (10.59) and (10.60), or usually done as in (10.61). Mattiola (2017) also explains the difference between habituality and frequentativity as follows: “The difference between these two functions consists in the fact that while frequentativity encodes a random repetition, habituality conveys that such repetitions are regular and typical of a specific time frame.” The perfective can also be used to express ‘gnomic’ aspect, as in (10.62), where the perfective expresses a generic truth based on shared knowledge.

(10.62) *Ola nepi i-pwotë=m.*
 morning sun PFV.N3AUG-rise=DIR.hither
 ‘In the morning, the sun rises.’ (nalogo047)

The semantic link between habituality/frequentativity and generic statements/gnomic truths is quite straightforward, in that, the same event repeated over time can be said to turn into a property of a referent or a gnomic truth. The notion of generic statement/gnomic truth might explain the occurrence of the perfective on stative verbs expressing permanent properties of a referent.

Finally, the perfective is compatible with iterative contexts as in (10.63). Iterativity is typically defined as the repetition of a situation on a particular occasion (Bybee et al. 1994: 107).

- (10.63) *Mwe-lë-kölö* *kâ* *i-wu* *dolë=de*
 male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cough time=3MIN.POSS
lë-tölwö
 PFV.3AUG-be.three
 ‘The old man coughed three times.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

The compatibility of the perfective with iterative contexts is not surprising, because each event is viewed as occurring in one single occasion seen as completed.

10.3.3 Prospective aspect

In Nalögo, imperfective prefixes can have a prospective function, expressing a state which is “related to some subsequent situation, for instance where someone is in a state of being about to do something” (Comrie 1976: 64). In other words, a present state is conceived as related to some future event. Two examples are shown in (10.64) and (10.65).

- (10.64) *Nim ä nü-vë-pi=m* *ba=nu* *nge,*
 2MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-go-tell=DIR.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ QUOT
 “*Obu kä t(ü)-vë=ngö=ni* *ja.*” *nge?*
 day LNK IPFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM₄.PROX TAG
Tü-pi=kälë=pwa *ba=m.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell=later=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘You will come to tell me: “The day when we are going is this one”, right? You are going to tell me later.’ (nalogo039)

- (10.65) *Nëgwa Tina ti-pi=bwa=ba=m*
 today Tina IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
nge naa nuwâ kä tü-ngu=kom ma
 PRAG.MRK fruit tree LNK IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ DEM₂.PROX
Nedö.
 Nedö
 ‘Today, Tina, I am going to tell you about the fruits we eat here in Nendö.’ (nalogo032)

Examples (10.64) and show that the prospective aspect in Nalögo marked by imperfective prefixes can imply imminent futurity as in (10.65) where the speaker is just starting to talk about the types of local fruits found in Santa Cruz Island, or not as in (10.64) shows a case where the imminence of the action is not implied.

Prospective aspect also expresses someone’s intentions or planned events as shown in (10.66), where the speaker is asking the listener from whom she has the intention of buying cabbage.

(10.66) *T(ü)-vëpë=bwe* *ba nelö?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP who
 ‘Who are you going to buy it from?’ (nalogo039)

An additional example is shown in (10.67), where the verb *bi* ‘bake’ inflects for imperfective to express the intention of the speaker to bake breadfruit.

(10.67) *Bia* *na=nu* *a*
 breadfruit food.CLF =1MIN.POSS DEM3.PROX
tü-bi=nga.
 IPFV.N3AUG-bake=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘This is the breadfruit for me to bake (that I am going to bake).’ (nalogo045)

In Engdewu, imperfective prefixes encode a similar function to which Vaa (2013: 382) refers to as “the potential for the event to happen”. In this respect, he writes that verbs denoting achievements can inflect for imperfective aspect to express this function. An example from Engdewu with the verb *minga* ‘dry’ is shown in (10.68), where “the clothes are not dry, and the drying process has not yet started”.

(10.68) Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 382)
Newa tü-minga.
 kaleko IPFV:N3AUG.S/A-dry
 ‘Clothes to dry./Kaleko fo drae.’

10.3.4 The change-of-state (COS) marker =*p(m)e*

Nalögo displays a change-of-state (COS) marker =*p(m)e* (~ =*pe*). The conditions which determine the use of the variant, if any, requires further analyses. An example with =*pme* is shown in (10.69).

(10.69) *Tü-pi=pme=bwe* *olë kâ nge,*
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=COS=DIR.thither girl DEM1.DIST QUOT
 “E Me-lëke *böloma ne=m tü-ta-pä.*
 INTJ male-? arm.band animate=2MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-fall-out
 ‘The girl said: “Hey, Melëke, your *böloma* (arm band) is falling out.’ (nalogo060)

This form is very often attested inside the VC, but, more generally, it can occur on other elements functioning as predicates, such as possessive classifiers, nouns and free pronouns. The position of =*p(m)e* inside the VC is described in Chapter 8. It never occurs independently. Some examples showing the distribution of =*p(m)e* are found in (10.70)(10.73), where the form occurs inside the VC, is attached to a possessive construction, a noun and free pronouns, respectively.

(10.70) *I-klë=pe=ng!*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘You have understood it now!’ (nalogo039)

(10.71) *Ne=pe=nu!*
 animate.CLF=COS=1MIN.POSS
 ‘It’s mine now!’ (field notes 2017)

(10.72) *Nen=pme*
 wind=COS
 ‘It is windy now.’ (field notes 2018)

(10.73) *Kla* *ni=pe=ka=p⁷⁶.*
 DEM_{1.L}.NPROX base=COS=ADD=2MIN.POSS
 ‘As for that (storing dried breadfruit), it is also up to you.’ (nalogo018)

The change-of-state marker can also attach to non-predicative hosts, supporting its analyses as a clitic. Example (10.74) below shows that =*p(m)e* can occur either on predicative or non-predicative elements.

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (10.74) | <i>Lë-pi-te=kö</i> | <i>lë-pwö-k</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> |
| | PFV.N3AUG-say-INTS=also | PFV.3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL |
| | <i>dü da ä</i> | <i>mweli kâ=pe</i> | <i>mwilëpu olë</i> |
| | QNT thing COORD | time DEM ₁ .DIST=COS | afternoon girl |
| | <i>kâ â</i> | <i>të-vë-mi=pe=kö</i> | <i>olë la.</i> |
| | DEM ₁ .DIST PRAG.MRK | IPFV.3AUG-go-APPL=COS=3AUG.SBJ | girl DEM _{1.L} .NPROX |
| | <i>Lë-vë-mi=kö</i> | <i>böma ne=pe</i> | <i>nünge kâ</i> |
| | PFV.3AUG-go-APPL=3AUG.SBJ | house animate.CLF=COS | boy DEM ₁ .DIST |
| | <i>ä jâ të-mno=pe</i> | <i>ba=de</i> | <i>ä</i> |
| | COORD SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-live=COS | PREP=3MIN.SBJ | COORD |
| | <i>në-yelë-gö=gö</i> | <i>ba=de</i> | <i>la=pe</i> |

⁷⁶ The form of the free pronoun in the example above is interesting, in that, it might show the verbal nature of free pronouns, where morphemes can cooccur between the base *ni* and the possessive form (2MIN =*p* triggered by the additive adverb =*ka*).

NMLZ₁-marry-NMLZ₃=3AUG.POSS PREP=3MIN.OBJ DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=COS
 ‘The old people make a speech and in the afternoon, they go with the girl. They go with the girl to the house of the boy and then, they live together. (And) their marriage is that one.’ (nalogo1709_2015)

In (10.74), there are five instances of the aspectual marker, three of them where the form occurs on predicative elements, and two of them where it occurs within the temporal expression *mweli kâ=pe mwilëpu* ‘in the afternoon’ and the possessive construction *böma ne=pe niinge kâ* ‘the house of the boy’. In addition, it shows how frequently this marker is used in the discourse. In the available data, there are not many examples of *=pe* attached to elements other than VCs. At this stage, it is difficult to say if there is a general tendency for *=p(m)e* to occur on predicative elements, or if the non-predicative use of this form is poorly represented in the data due to the corpus size, or again if the non-predicative use of *=p(m)e* is a stylistic matter, simply related to the individual choice of the speakers.

Here, I propose a tentative analysis based on the non-predicative occurrences of *=p(m)e* in the portion of text in (10.74), which is extracted from a text describing the characteristics of local marriage. First, the occurrence of *=p(m)e* within the time expression might encode a change of scene, a new situation, where the bride is taken to her new home. In its second occurrence, *=pe* is attached to the possessive classifier *ne*. In this case, the marker might also signal a change of situation which could be interpreted contrastively. According to the local rules, after the marriage, the wife, who until that moment has lived with her family, has to move to the husband’s house to create a new family. The form *=pe* on the possessive classifier *ne* might signal that there is change of situation which contrasts with the previous one, since the wife no longer lives in her family house. Further data are needed to investigate this topic and support these hypotheses.

When occurring with predicative elements, the change-of-state marker has various meaning depending on its combination with other aspectual forms or contexts of use (whether if the context is affirmative or negative). This form seems to cover the meanings typically associated with perfect and ‘already’. In order to describe markers displaying similar functions, Olsson (2013: 4) introduces the term ‘iamitive’, a “cover term for more or less grammaticalized markers that have functions shared by ‘already’ and the perfect”. In this description, I refer to the aspectual marker *=p(m)e* in Nalögo as ‘change-of-state (COS)’ marker.

(10.78) *Nen=pme.*
 wind=COS
 ‘It is windy now (it has become).’ (field notes 2018)

10.3.4.1.2 Change-of-state with telic verbs

With dynamic telic verbs, the combination of perfective and =*p(m)e* encodes the resulting states which follows the endpoint of the event causing it. Two examples are shown in (10.79) and (10.80).

(10.79) *Mwe-lë-kölö* *kâ* *i-bwë=pme.*
 male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-die=COS
 ‘The old man is dead now’ (achievement) (nalogo059)

(10.80) *Böma* *kâ* *lo-(w)o-ti=pme.*
 house DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-build-TR=COS
 ‘The house is built now.’ (accomplishment)

In (10.79) and (10.80), the ‘new situation’ brought about by the marker refers to the resulting states of being dead and being built, which hold after the endpoint of the action.

10.3.4.1.3 Completed meaning with atelic verbs

With dynamic atelic verbs, the same combination encodes a completed interpretation of the event as in (10.81) where it occurs on the activity verb *vë* ‘go’.

(10.81) *E-pi=e=bwe=le* *nge,* “*O*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QUOT INTJ
i-vë=pme *tü-ku-ti-pä=bwe=le*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=COS IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-out=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
nim *pwöla topnö.*
 2MIN sea NEG.EXIST
 ‘...but she said: “Oh, she has gone! She was calling out for you at the sea, but nothing.’
 (nalogo001) (nalogo002)

10.3.4.2 Marker =*p(m)e* with imperfective aspect

The change-of-state marker =*p(m)e* combined with the imperfective prefix is used to encode:
 (i) Ingressive meaning (with states, and dynamic verbs: activities, accomplishment and semelfactive); and (ii) imminent meaning (with achievements).

10.3.4.2.1 Ingressive meaning with states

The marker =*p(m)e* can cooccur with imperfective prefixes on verbs expressing states as in (10.82), where the verb *ngi* ‘be’ cooccurring with the two markers expresses the ingressive meaning ‘become’.

- (10.82) *Tü-ki=pmya.* *I-ki=nga,*
 IPFV.N3AUG-grind=1MIN.SBJ.COS PFV.N3AUG-grind=1MIN.SBJ
jâ ti-ngi=pme nelâ kâ
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-become=COS nose.pendant DEM₁.DIST
të-(v)elya-mi bä nöwë.
 PASS.PFV-dance-APPL PREP dancing.ring
 ‘I grind them. I grind them, then they become the nose pendant people
 dance with in the dancing ring.’ (state) (nalogo060-2).

10.3.4.2.2 Ingressive meaning with atelic verbs (activity; semelfactive)

The marker =*p(m)e* can also occur with imperfective prefixes on atelic dynamic verbs to encode an ingressive meaning as in (10.83) and (10.84).

- (10.83) *La-a-ulâ-tö mö dât nge da*
 PASS.PFV-CAUS-push-in PREP nose PRAG.MRK thing
ka ä jâ të-(v)elya-mi=pme.
 DEM₁.PROX COORD SEQ PASS.IPFV-dance-APPL=COS
 ‘They put this thing in the nose and then they dance with it.’ (activity) (nalogo060)

- (10.84) *Mâ-kâ i-blâ, i-wäbu*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-jump PFV.N3AUG-sit
ma-ne=de, i-tu-lë=m
 house-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither
i-tu-lë=m, jâ tü-tëkë-tö=pe=le
 PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-knock-in-COS=3MIN.SBJ
monya nowe ngö ma-ne=de.
 jamb door ASS.MRK house-animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The man who jumped sits in his house, he stands up, he stands up (and) then he knocks
 against the jamb of the door of the house.’ (semelfactive) (nalogo2010_2015)

10.3.4.2.3 Ingressive meaning with telic non-punctual verbs (accomplishment)

The marker =*p(m)e* can also occur with telic non-punctual verbs as in (10.85), where it combines with the imperfective prefix to express an ingressive meaning.

- (10.85) *Yölë=bwe* *âplë* *kâ=ng*.
 put.up=2MIN.SBJ.thither stone DEM₁.DIST=PL
Ö-yölë=bwe *oplë* *ä* *nim* *â*
 MIDD₁-put-up=2MIN.SBJ.thither stone COORD 2MIN PRAG.MRK
t(iü)-ö-ya-kö-lö=pme *butete.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-peel-take.soft.bit.off-change.of.shape=COS potato
Ya-kä-lö=ng *yökö-pä=bwe,*
 peel-soft.obj-change.of.shape=2MIN.SBJ finish-out=DIR.thither
tü-bi=pme=ng.
 IPFV.N3AUG-bake=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘[...] and you put up those stones. You put up stones and you peel potatoes.
 Once you peeled (them), you bake (them).’ (accomplishment) (nalogo017)

Activities and accomplishments involve durative events which are compatible with some extension in time, and so they are naturally compatible with imperfectivity. In the context above, the combination of =*p(m)e* with imperfective prefixes indicates the ingressive phase of an accomplishment verb.

10.3.4.2.4 Imminent meaning with telic punctual verbs (achievement)

With achievement verbs, as those in (10.86) and (10.87), the combination of the imperfective plus =*p(m)e* seems to encode an imminent action (e.g. English ‘be about to’).

- (10.86) *Tü-pla-glâ=pe=le.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-break.with.hand-break=COS=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘He is about to break (it) (the stick).’ (nalogo050)

- (10.87) *Kio* *tü-bwë=pme.*
 chicken IPFV.N3AUG-die=COS
 ‘The chicken is about to die.’ (field notes_09022021)

10.3.4.3 Marker =*p(m)e* as ‘already’ with perfective and imperfective

The marker =*p(m)e* expresses functions which are typically associated with the meaning of the English adverb ‘already’. These functions include an event which: (i) has taken place earlier than a subsequent event; (ii) took place earlier than expected; and (iii) took place at least once before (experiential). Functions (i), (ii) and (iii) performed by ‘change-of-state’ markers are also attested in some other Oceanic languages. For instance, Mazzitelli (2020) mentions these

functions for the change-of-state marker *asang* in Lakurumau, an Oceanic language spoken in New Ireland.

Vander Kloek and Matthewson (2015) describe the notion of “earliness” mentioned in (i) as follows: “[...] the event or state obtained is earlier than some contextually relevant event or state”. In Nalögo, *=p(m)e* occurring on the verb in (10.88) seems to express this function.

- (10.88) *Ka* *i-mwale-u-lë=lëbu* *(a)ki*
 DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-hold-down-up-MIDD₂ because
la-a-mö-sö⁷⁷=pme.
 PASS.PFV-CAUS-move-in=COS
 ‘But this stands by itself because they have already moved in.’ (nalogo062)

In (10.88), the predicate marked by *=pme*, which occurs in the subordinate clause, encodes an event which took place earlier than the event in the main clause.

When *=pe* conveys function (ii), it makes reference “to a second time line representing a different but possible course of events, against which the actual events are evaluated.” (Olsson 2013: 11). This function refers to events happening earlier than expected. To explain this concept, Olsson (Olsson 2013) provides the English example *It’s only 6 p.m., but it’s already dark*, where “the state *be dark* is evaluated against a possible or expected course of events in which it becomes dark at, say, 8p.m.” Michaelis (1992: 326) gives a similar definition according to which ‘already’ signals that the event “has come about at a point prior to the time at which it might be expected to eventuate”. In Nalögo, the marker *=p(m)e* seems to express this function in (10.89).

- (10.89) *Të-nge-ti=pme* *topnö,* *ade* *lä-vë=pme*
 PASS.IPFV-wait-APPL=COS NEG.EXIST instead PFV.3AUG-go=COS
pwöla.
 sea
 ‘People waited for them, nothing, instead, they already went to the sea...’
 (nalogo2210_2015)

In (10.89), the protagonists of the story, a group of dolphins, go back to the sea from Nedö where they were dancing with locals earlier than expected by the villagers.

Finally, (10.90) shows an example expressing function (iii) where *=p(m)e* signals that the event has already taken place at least once before.

⁷⁷ The form *-sö* might be a free variant of the topological directional *-tö* ‘in’.

(10.90) *Tüivlö* *â=ng=pe* *i-pi=pe=bwa*
 be.how.much DEM₃.DIST=PL=COS PFV.N3AUG-say=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘How many have I already told you?’ (nalogo010)

10.3.4.4 *=p(m)e* and negation ‘not anymore, no longer’ with perfective aspect

When the marker *=p(m)e* combines with negation, it expresses the meaning ‘no longer, not anymore’ as shown in (10.91) and (10.92).

(10.91) *Mweli ka* *töwa* *kâ=ng* *gö=gom*
 time DEM₁.PROX money DEM₁.DIST=PL general.CLF=1AUG.POSS
te=i-klë=pe=u=lü *lä-mo-ngö* *Vali*
 NEG1=PFV.N3AUG-know=COS=2MIN.SBJ=NEG2 NMLZ₁-see-NMLZ₂ *Vali*
 ‘This time, as for our money, you cannot see (them) anymore, Vali.’ (nalogo012)

(10.92) *Dis* *kä* *i-vë-tö=p=de*
 dish SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
kâ *topla* *jâ* *te=të-use=pe=lü* *âkö.*
 DEM₁.DIST basket SEQ NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-use=COS=NEG₂ really
 ‘When the dish came in, the basket then was no longer really used.’

The marker *=p(m)e* with negation signals that a previous phase, where traditional money was used (10.91) and Western-style dishes were absent (10.92), no longer exists. In Äiwoo, when the clitic *=to* ‘now’ is followed by the negator *=gu*, it performs a similar function, extending the scope of ‘now’ over the negation, in so that “by inference ‘now X is not the case’” is taken to mean ‘as opposed to earlier’ (Roversi & Næss 2019).

10.3.4.5 Pragmatic function: change of ‘scene’

The use of the aspectual marker *=p(m)e* is pervasive in narratives where it seems to occur to bring forward the narrative, introducing a ‘new scene’. This function is also attested with some other aspectual markers in Oceanic languages, which are functionally similar to *=p(m)e* (e.g. the previously mentioned particle *asang* in Lakurumau; Mazzitelli 2020). Example (10.93) is a portion of discourse taken from a procedural text, where the speaker is describing step by step how to cook *lopta*, the local cabbage, with stones in the earth oven. The occurrences of *=p(m)e* which concerns us here are indicated in bold.

| | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (10.93) | <i>Lopta</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | <i>i-tâ=m=gom</i> | | |
| | cabbage | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | PFV.N3AUG-take=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ | | |
| | <i>böma</i> | <i>i-va-klë=kom</i> | <i>va-klë=kom</i> | <i>yökö</i> | |
| | home | PFV.N3AUG-clean=1AUG.SBJ | CAUS-clean=1MIN.SBJ | all | |
| | <i>ä</i> | <i>nigom â</i> | <i>t(ü)-velui=pme</i> | | |
| | COORD | 1AUG PRAG.MRK | IPFV.N3AUG-light.up=COS | | |
| | <i>nyö</i> | <i>ngö=de</i> | <i>tii-luwi=kom</i> | <i>mö</i> | <i>nabwëtom</i> |
| | fire | ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS | IPFV.N3AUG-light.up=1AUG.SBJ | PREP | oven |
| | <i>ä</i> | <i>yelü-lë=bom</i> | <i>nge</i> | <i>âplë</i> | |
| | COORD | put-up=1AUG.SBJ.thither | PRAG.MRK | stone | |
| | <i>ngö=de</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | <i>tii-ve-bwë=ngö=nom</i> | | |
| | ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD ₁ =cook=1AUG.SBJ | | |
| | <i>ä</i> | <i>nigom â</i> | <i>tii-vö-kâ=pe</i> | | |
| | COORD | 1AUG PRAG.MRK | IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD ₁ -sratch=COS | | |
| | <i>nölu</i> | <i>nölu</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | <i>lë-kâ</i> | |
| | coconut | coconut | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | PASS.PFV-scrape | |
| | <i>lë-kây</i> | <i>yökö</i> | <i>ä</i> | <i>jâ</i> | <i>tâ-(w)âwi=pme.</i> |
| | PASS.PFV-scrape | all | COORD | SEQ | PASS.IPFV-squeeze=COS |

‘As for the cabbage, we take it home. We clean (and) clean it all and we light up its fire. We light it up in the oven and we put the stones with which we are going to cook and we scrape coconut. As for the coconuts, they scratched (and) scratched all (of them) and then they are squeezed.’ (nalogo020)

When looking at the instances of *=p(m)e*, it is clear that the marker is used to introduce each sequence of actions which are viewed as relevant by the speaker to forward the narrative, or in the case of (10.93), the procedure. After picking and cleaning the cabbage, a new sequence of actions, a ‘new scene’ is introduced in which the fire is lighted up and the stones are put on top of it. After this, two new scenes are introduced again, where people grate coconuts, and then squeeze them to get coconut milk, respectively. In (10.93), the examples of verbs taking *=p(m)e* are inflected for imperfectivity. The function of introducing a ‘new scene’ of *=p(m)e* might overlap with the ingressive meaning ‘start to’ given by the combination of *=p(m)e* with imperfectivity. However, there are also examples where the ‘change of scene’ *=pme* occurs on verbs inflected for perfective aspect as in (10.94).

| | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (10.94) <i>I-ngi</i> | <i>obu</i> | <i>ngö</i> | <i>nepi</i> | <i>kä</i> | <i>i-pwâ.</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-be | day | ASS.MRK | sun | LNK | PFV.N3AUG-be.red |
| <i>nina</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | <i>të-ti,</i> | <i>utâ</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | |
| bee | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | IPFV.3AUG-hum | bird | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | |
| <i>të-kö,</i> | <i>cow</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | <i>të-mwa-nö</i> | | |
| IPFV.3AUG-sing | cow | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | IPFV.3AUG-eat-DISP | | |
| <i>bä</i> | <i>nabö</i> | <i>kâ=ng.</i> | | | |
| PREP | field | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | | | |
| <i>Lë-kele-wi-ö=bwe</i> | | | <i>meitnö</i> | | |
| NMLZ ₁ -be.right-in.the.middle-NMLZ ₂ =DIR.thither | | | ground | | |
| <i>i-bwë-wë=pme</i> | | <i>ä</i> | <i>dukna</i> | <i>kâ=ng</i> | |
| PFV.N3AUG-break-open=COS | | COORD | devil | DEM ₁ .DIST=PL | |
| <i>lë-gwa-lë=m.</i> | | | | | |
| PFV.3AUG-go-up=DIR.hither | | | | | |

‘It was a sunny day (lit. a day of sun that was red). The bees were humming, the birds were singing, the cows were eating around in the fields. Suddenly, the ground opened and the devils came up.’ (nalogo055).

Example (10.94) is taken from the Bertinetto Questionnaire on progressive aspect (question S62)⁷⁸. In (10.94), the only instance of *=p(m)e* (in bold) occurs to signal the new scene. From an informational point of view, the initial sentences constitute additional backgrounded information; thus, verbs do not take the marker *=p(m)e*. By contrast, the verb of the foregrounding sentence, the one that forwards the whole story, is marked by *=p(m)e*. In this case, the verb is inflected for perfective aspect.

10.3.5 Continuous marker

Nalögo displays a continuous marker *jâ* occurring with imperfective prefixes. When combined with imperfective marking, *jâ* seems to convey a notion of ‘coincidence’, since speakers describe its meaning as a way to indicate that an event is taking place ‘at the very present time’. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 127) describe continuous aspect as follows: “[...] continuous views the situation, whatever it be dynamic or stative, as ongoing at a reference time”. An example of this function is shown in (10.95).

⁷⁸ From Department of Linguistics at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, Germany: https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/questionnaire/progressive-aspects_description.php.

(10.95) *John ja ma ba=nu,*
 John DEM₄.PROX DEM₂.PROX PREP=1MIN.OBJ
jâ t(ü)-ö-velâ nat kä lë-vyö
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-read word LNK PASS.PFV-write
mö paper.
 PREP paper
 ‘John is here with me, he is reading words written on paper right now.’ (nalogo055)

In (10.95), the continuous event is framed in the present. However, it is also possible to find this marker in contexts expressing past situations as in (10.96).

(10.96) *Lë-(y)ebü-gö=de mö metnö la,*
 NMLZ₁-lie-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS PREP ground DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
jâ tü-(y)öpwale.
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-laugh
 ‘While he was lying on the ground, he was laughing.’ (nalogo051)

In terms of aspectual verb classes, examples above show that continuous aspect is compatible with verbs expressing dynamic events, in particular with activity verbs. The same constructions can also involve verbs expressing accomplishments and semelfactives as shown in (10.97) and (10.98).

(10.97) *John ja ma ba=nu, jâ*
 John DEM₃.PROX DEM₂.PROX PREP=1MIN.OBJ CONT₁
tü-ka=bwe=le kâ butete
 IPFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QNT potato

ba ilue=je.
 PREP sister=3MIN.POSS
 ‘John is here with me, he is giving a potato to his sister.’ (accomplishment)
 (nalogo055)

(10.98) *I-kâ jâ tü-wu.*
 female-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-cough
 ‘She is coughing.’ (semelfactives) (nalogo043)

The semelfactive event encoded by ‘cough’ in (10.98), through the imperfective prefix, is interpreted as iterative. The continuous marker signals that the iterative event is taking place at the reference time.

The continuous marker seems to occur also with verbs expressing static relations as shown in (10.99).

(10.99) *Imong*

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | <i>kâ</i> | <i>manga.</i> | <i>I-plë-tö=ng</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-see=2MIN.SBJ | QNT | honey.eater | PFV.N3AUG-tie-in=2MIN.SBJ |
| <i>bä bëlumati</i> | <i>kâ.</i> | <i>Jâ=ng</i> | <i>tü-do-ti-lëblö.</i> |
| PREP bag | DEM ₁ .DIST | CONT ₁ =PL | IPFV.N3AUG-hang-APPL-together |

‘You see a honey eater bird, you tie it to the bag. They are hanging together on (it).’
(nalogo025)

Example (10.99) also shows that the continuous marker can agree with the subject referent in terms of number. While in the previous examples, the form *jâ* refers to singular subject referents, in (10.99), the form is pluralised by =ng as it refers to plural subject referents. Apparently, the continuous marker does not seem to occur with verbs expressing achievements and in negative contexts.

The continuous marker *jâ=(ng)* is formally identical to the distal form *jâ=(ng)* ‘be over there’ of the locative demonstrative (Chapter 7) and the locative copula *jâ=(ng)* (Chapter 12). The connection between these forms is evident from their shared morphosyntactic properties. For instance, like locative demonstratives, the continuous marker and the locative copula can be pluralised by =ng, but unlike them, they do not express distance contrasts.

The locative copula *jâ=(ng)* might be the diachronic source of the continuous marker, which does not appear to be fully grammaticalised. As mentioned in Chapter 12, the locative copula which is obligatorily present in locative constructions, seems to occur only with 3MIN/AUG referents. This property also holds for the continuous marker *jâ=(ng)*.

10.3.6 Completive aspect with serialised *yökö* ‘finish’

According to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 54), completive aspect refers to the action of doing something “thoroughly and to completion”. In Nalögo, this function is expressed by the ambient serialised verb *yökö* ‘finish’. This type of construction is also analysed in Chapter 8. An example is shown in (10.100) below.

(10.100)

| | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Eu,</i> | <i>noglâ</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>lä-vë</i> |
| yes | today | thing | DEM ₁ .PROX | PASS.PFV-weave |
| <i>yökö-pä.</i> | | | | |
| finish-out | | | | |

‘Yes, today this thing is woven completely.’ (nalogo062)

10.3.7 Continuative marker =*tna*

The marker =*tna* is attached to the periphery of the VC, expressing a continuative meaning. It is glossed as ‘CONT₂’ which should not be confused with the continuous marker ‘CONT₁’ described in §10.3.5. There are not many instances of =*tna*, thus, further data are necessary to fully understand its function. Two examples are shown in (10.101) and (10.102) where =*tna* occurs with the imperfective and the irrealis marker, respectively.

- (10.101) *Tü-(y)öp>wale=tna.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-laugh=CONT₂
 ‘He continues to laugh.’ (nalogo060)
- (10.102) *E-pi=ö* *Me-lëke* *nge*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK male-? COMP
ni-ngi-nalë-tëpwö=le=tna *dongo*
 IRR.N3AUG-be-spouse-just=3MIN.SBJ=CONT₂ really
 ‘Melëke really wanted her to keep being his wife forever.’ (nalogo060)

The form =*tna* can also occur on imperative forms as in (10.103), where it seems to have a sort of emphatic function. However, further examples and analyses are required to fully understand how =*tna* behaves with imperatives.

- (10.103) *Kla=ng* *t(ü)-vöblömi-ti=ng*
 DEM₁.L.NPROX=PL IPFV.N3AUG-make-TR=2MIN.SBJ
i-wrong. *Mo=tna,* *ka=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-wrong look=CONT₂ DEM₁.DIST=PL

tü-öblömi-ti=nga *jä=ng.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-make-TR=1MIN.SBJ DEM₄.MED=PL
 ‘Those that you are making are wrong, look at it, these I am making are here.’
 (nalogo039)

10.3.8 Completive/past marker =*pnö*

Wurm (1992: 535) mentions a morpheme *-pnë* found in the northern Santa Cruz variety (Natügu) which he labels as ‘completive’. This completive form is described as expressing an “action entirely completed” that “belongs to the past”. Nalögo displays a formally similar morpheme =*pnö* serving a similar function. Apparently, the occurrence of =*pnö* is optional. Two examples are shown in (10.104) and (10.105).

(10.104) *I-vë-lë-pnö=nga* *kalonga* *mö* *10*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-up-COMPL.PST=1MIN.SBJ today PREP 10
o' clock.
o' clock
 'I went today at 10 o' clock.' (field notes 2018)

(10.105) *Yane=pnö=nga* *po* *jâ* *të-nibü.*
 Watch=COMPL.PST=1MIN.SBJ pig CONT₁ PASS.IPFV-kill
 'I watched the pig being killed.' (nalogo019)

According to one speaker, the meaning of *=pnö* is similar to the one of the COS *=p(m)e* when it combines with the perfective to express the completeness of an action (§10.3.4.4). Two additional examples are shown in (10.106) and (10.107).

(10.106) *I-pi=mwe=ba=nu* *nge*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=2MIN.SBJ.hither=PREP=1MIN.OBJ COMP
böpi na=nu i-pië,
 banana food.CLF=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.sour
aa te=i-ngu-mnö=pnö=ka=u=lü.
 COORD NEG1=PFV.N3AUG-eat-try=COMPL.PST=ADD=2MIN.SBJ=NEG2
 'You told me that my bananas are sour, but you didn't even taste them!' (nalogo033)

(10.107) *I-pi=bwe=le,* *"Me-i-tâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ male-PFV.N3AUG-be.small
nü-pi=pnö=ka=p=mwe *mo*
 IRR.N3AUG-say=COMPL.PST=also=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither DEM₂.DIST
aki nu-wâ-mi=mwa."
 so.that IRR.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 'But he said (to the shark): "Friend, you should have told (that) to me too early on, so that I could come with it.' (nalogo002)

In (10.106) and (10.107), *=pnö* occurs on predicates expressing events which are completed and belong to the past. It is worth noticing that apparently, the events belonging to the past can be realised as in (10.104) and (10.105), or unrealised as in (10.106) and (10.107). In (10.106) and (10.107), the events of tasting and telling were supposed to take place and be complete before the other two events.

Finally, the form *=pnö* can occur on the temporal expression *mweli kâ=pnö* 'ancestors' time' to intensify its meaning.

The origins of this form are uncertain. However, =*pnö* might be related to the lexeme *kapne* meaning ‘old’⁷⁹. However, further data are in need to better understand the functions and, if possible, the origins of this form.

10.3.9 Aspectual adverbial forms

In Chapter 8, I show some examples of adverbial forms occurring in the VC, which can express various manner, degree, restriction, time and aspect. In that context, the lexeme =*p(m)o* ‘again’ and =*bo* ‘still’ were mentioned in relation to their position inside the VC. In this section, these lexemes are analysed in more detail, focusing on their functions.

10.3.9.1 Adverbial form =*p(m)o* ‘again’

The adverbial form =*p(m)o* ‘again’ (~ =*po*) is used to express the repetition of an event and occurs with verbs inflected for imperfective and perfective aspect. Engdewu displays a formally and functionally related form =*p(m)o*, which is described as a ‘duplicative marker’ (Vaa 2013: 328-330). The Nalögo =*p(m)o* can occur independently in the clause as shown in (10.108).

- (10.108) *Nünge kâ* *i-kukyö=le* *bolo kâ*
 boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-kick=3MIN.SBJ ball DEM₁.DIST
p(m)o ä *p(m)o.*
 again COORD again
 ‘The boy kicked the ball again and again.’ (nalogo045)

As mentioned in Chapter 8, the position of =*p(m)o* inside the VC is quite peripheral as in (10.109) and (10.110) where it occurs before the subject bound forms.

- (10.109) *T(ü)-yapwä-ti=po=pwa...*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=again=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I want to tell you again...’ (nalogo002)

- (10.110) *Obyâ=ng* *lë-kütâ*
 child.DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-be.small
lâ-tâ=kö *plate gö=gö* *ä*
 PFV.3AUG-take=3AUG.SBJ plate general.CLF=3AUG.POSS COORD
lâ-tâ=p(m)o=kö *kâ=ng.*
 PFV.3AUG-take=again=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘The small children took their plate and take others again.’ (nalogo045)

⁷⁹ This lexeme occurs in a wordlist. Since the alternation between /e/ and /ö/ is common in Nalögo, it is not impossible to think of a variant ~ *kapnö* ‘old’ to which =*pnö* might be diachronically linked.

Like the marker =*pmo* in Engdewu, along with the repetition of the event, the lexeme =*p(m)o* in Nalögo can express (i) actions which are performed by different subjects, and (ii) two mirror-actions performed by the same subject on different occasions. When discussing duplicatives, Cusic (1981: 89) mentions that “this kind of plural action appears to allow a distinction between two actions performed by the same actor and two actions performed by different actors”. Examples of functions (i) and (ii) are shown in (10.111) and (10.112).

(10.111) *I-vë=po=pwe* *bä* *dü* *nolâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=again=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP QNT place
i-völalö=po=u *i-knya=po*
 PFV.N3AUG-hear=again=2MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-cry=again
kâ *kio* *kä* *ble.*
 QNT chicken LNK different
 ‘You go again to a place; you hear again another chicken that cries again...’

(10.112) *Mö-kâ* *tü-wo* *i-wo-lë*
 male-DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-climb PFV.N3AUG-climb-up
bä *nuwâ* *kâ* *ä* *jâ*
 PREP tree DEM₁.DIST COORD SEQ
t(ü)-yöpwëlu=po=p
 IPFV.N3AUG-return=again=DIR.hither
 ‘The man is climbing; he climbs up on the tree and then he is returning again.’

In (10.111), the action of crying is repeated twice, but it is performed by two different subjects (function (i)). The speaker describes how people catch wild chickens according to traditional methods. In the previous portion of the text, he describes a situation where there is a wild chicken crying in the bush which is caught by a hunter while it fights with a domesticated chicken inside a net. After taking the chicken home, the hunter is ready to catch a new one. The use of =*po* refers to the action of crying performed by a different chicken than the previous one. In (10.112), the adverb =*po* occurs on the motion verb ‘return’ with a reversive function (function (ii)), that is, it encodes a mirror-image action: after climbing up on a tree, a man returns back by climbing down on the same tree. This function typically involves “verbs of motion and indicates return by the original agent along a path to some point of origin” (Cusic 1981). However, the marker does not refer to two repeated actions of the same type on two different occasions.

10.3.9.2 Adverbial form =*bo* ‘still, yet’

The adverbial form =*bo* ‘still, yet’ occurs only inside the VC. This form has a continuative meaning, expressing that an action taking place prior to the speech moment continues over time. Engdewu also displays a formally and functionally related bound adverb -*bo* ‘still, yet’ occurring in the VC (Vaa 2013: 352-353). The adverb is analysed as a clitic because it can attach to NPs or predicative elements. When =*bo* is attached to an NP, it means ‘same’. In (10.113), (10.114) I show three examples of =*bo* occurring two predicative elements, a verb and a demonstrative, respectively; while in (10.115), I show an example of =*bo* attaching to a demonstrative modifying the NP head.

- (10.113) *Nubo* *kâ=ng* *â*
dried.breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL PRAG.MRK
tü-kele=bo.
IPFV.N3AUG-be.good=still
‘The dried breadfruit is still good.’
- (10.114) *Jâ=bo*
DEM₄.DIST=still
‘He is still there.’ (nalogoJM_2015)
- (10.115) *Nünge* *kâ=bo* *kopyo* *nela* *nuwë*
boy DEM₁.DIST=still EXIST branch tree
tü-(v)elya-glâ=pe=kâli=te.
IPFV.N3AUG-move.feet-break=COS=next=3MIN.SBJ
‘As for the same boy, there is a branch of a tree that he is breaking now.’

When =*bo* occurs within the NP as in (10.115), it signals the continuity in the choice of the referent. Sentence (10.115) contains the speaker’s description of an event of a video clip. The occurrence of =*bo* on the demonstrative *kâ* indicates that the NP referent within its scope is the same one who has appeared in the previous video clips.

Example (10.113) shows that =*bo* is compatible with verbs expressing states. However, the same form also occurs on dynamic verbs as shown in the examples below, where it attaches to activity, accomplishment, achievement and semelfactive verbs.

- (10.116) *Mo-i-tâ=pwö* *â*
male-PFV.N3AUG-be.small=same PRAG.MRK
tü-mwapu-mi=bo=te *nabwö*

IPFV.N3AUG-whistle-APPL=still=3MIN.SBJ song
ne=de.
 animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The same man is still whistling his song.’ (activity) (nalogo2010_2015)

(10.117) *Tü-wo=bo=nga* *böma.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-build=still=1MIN.SBJ house
 ‘I am still building houses.’ (accomplishment)

(10.118) *Mö-kâ* *â* *t(ü)-vö-nibü=bo* *po.*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill=still pig
 ‘The man is still killing pigs.’ (achievement)

(10.119) *Mö-kâ* *t(ü)-ö-taka-tö*
 male-DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-knock-in
bä *nöwe* *ne=de,* *jâ*
 PREP door animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS CONT₁
t(ü)-ö-taka=bo.
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-knock=still
 ‘The man who was knocking on the door, he is still knocking.’ (semelfactive)
 (nalogo2010_2015)

In the examples above, =*bo* stresses that the event which took place prior to the reference time is still ongoing. The function of =*bo* is also compatible with the continuous marker expressing that the event is ongoing at a reference time as shown in (10.120) below.

(10.120) *Mö-kâ* *yöbü-mi=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST lie-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
lä-mwa-gö=de *mweli* *kâ* *ka*
 NMLZ₁-eating-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX
jâ *t(ü)-yöbü=bo.*
 CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-lie=still
 ‘The man who lay while eating before, he is still lying right now.’
 (nalogo2010_2015)

The adverb =*bo* can also attach to the continuous marker *jâ* as shown in (10.121).

(10.121) *Fred* *ja* *ma* *ba=nu,*
 Fred DEM₄.PROX DEM₂.PROX PREP=1MIN.OBJ
jâ=bo *tü-(y)apwe-ti=bo=te* *bwe*
 CONT₁=still IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=still=3MIN.SBJ story
kâ *ne=de.*
 DEM₁.DIST animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS

‘Fred is here with me; he is still telling his story.’ (nalogo055)

Even though =*bo* occurs more frequently with imperfective prefixes, there is also one example in the data where it attaches to verbs inflected for perfective aspect as in (10.122).

(10.122) *Eke* *sorry* *i-dâ-tö=bo=pwö* *ba=de.*
INTJ *sorry* PFV.N3AUG-hang-in=still=same PREP=3MIN.OBJ
‘Oh, sorry! It still hangs in on it in the same way.’ (nalogo062)

In the previous examples, =*bo* occurs in realis contexts. However, it can also occur with verbs inflected for irrealis as shown in (10.123).

(10.123) *Nü-mno-pä=bo=ko* *böma* *ka*
IRR.N3AUG-stay-out=still=1+2AUG.SBJ *house* *DEM₁.PROX*
olë *te=i-va-cross-tö=p=lü*
girl NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cross-in=DIR.hither=NEG₂
mä *bä* *nowe*
DEM₂.MED PREP *door*
‘If we will still stay in this house, girls don’t cross there at the door.’ (nalogo026)

11. VERB CLASSES

In this Chapter, I describe the system of verb classes in Nalögo. Section §11.1 provides a brief introduction to the parameters which are generally involved in the formation of verb classes across Oceanic languages, such as: (i) the type of valency-changing devices they take, (ii) the distinction between stative and dynamic verbs; and finally, (iii) the role of the intransitive subject (Evans 2003).

In §11.2, I give an overview of the Nalögo morphosyntactic verb classes, including intransitive (§11.2.1), semitransitive (§11.2.2), transitive (§11.2.3) and ambitransitive (§11.2.4) roots. In §11.3, I discuss some exceptions of verb roots which do not fall into any specific class of those described in §11.2.

11.1 Verb Classes in Oceanic languages

In Oceanic languages, verb classes are generally established by taking into account three criteria (Evans 2003: 22):

- (i) the valency-changing morphology that the verb may combine with,
- (ii) the semantic distinction between stative and dynamic, and
- (iii) the semantic role of the intransitive subject.

These criteria are also thought to be relevant for the reconstruction of verb classes in POc (Evans 2003: 21).

Criterion (i) refers to the possibility for verb roots to combine with valency-changing devices. In this respect, Evans (2003: 22) states: “Oceanic languages often have several morphological means by which the valency of different verbs can be altered, and thus morphological classes of verbs can be established on the basis of their derived forms.” Ross (2004a) also writes that more canonical Oceanic languages “have quite a rich array of valency-changing morphemes [...]” Evans (2003: 22) mentions the case of North-East Ambae, a language belonging to the Southern Oceanic subgroup, where for instance, intransitive verbs like *garu* ‘to swim, bathe’ and *laka* ‘to be noisy’ can take the transitive suffix *-Ci* to derive *garu-hi* ‘to bathe, splash s.o.’ and *laka-si* ‘to disturb s.o. (by making noise)’ (Hyslop 2001: 84-85). By contrast, there is a group of transitive verbs which can be detransitivised through the anticausative prefixes *ta-* and

ma- (Hyslop 2001: 81; 86-89). For instance, the transitive verb *kore* ‘break’ takes the prefix *ma-* to derive the state/process meanings ‘be broken/break (INTR)’ (Hyslop 2001: 318).

Criterion (ii) involves the stative versus dynamic (or active) feature. Evans (2003) relies on Chafe (1970)’s definition of semantic types, according to which there is a basic distinction between states and non-states. Non-states are further divided into process, action and process-action situations. Criterion (ii) is often viewed as a defining characteristic of verb classes in the grammars of many Oceanic languages, since it tends to correlate with specific morphosyntactic distinctions (Evans 2003: 23). For instance, in North-East Ambae, there is a class of stative/process verbs labelled as ‘stative/inchoative’ by Hyslop (2001: 82)⁸⁰ which are characterised by taking the causative prefix (e.g. *sala* ‘be lost, become lost’ > *vaga-sala* ‘to lose sth.’).

Finally, criterion (iii) involves the role of the intransitive subject (Evans 2003: 25-32). Intransitive verbs can be divided into two groups according to the macrorole of the intransitive S argument. The subject S argument can express either the macrorole of Actor, or the macrorole of Undergoer. Verbs taking an Actor as their S arguments are referred to as Actor subject verbs, while verbs taking an Undergoer as their S arguments are referred to as Undergoer subject verbs (Evans 2003: 26). This type of classification is relevant because it can correlate with specific semantic and morphosyntactic properties. Generally, U-verbs and A-verbs encode stative and dynamic situations, respectively, and correlate with different morphosyntactic patterns.

11.2 Summary of morphosyntactic verb classes

As in the other SC languages, Nalögo displays a number of valency-changing devices, which increase or decrease the valency of the verb. Based on their morphosyntactic behaviour, verb forms in Nalögo are divided into four main classes—intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ambitransitive—which are summarized in Table 11-1. Intransitive and transitive verbs are divided into additional subclasses.

⁸⁰ In North-East Ambae, as in other Oceanic languages, there is a class involving stative verbs which can also express processual situations (Evans 2003: 25).

| VERB CLASSES | SUBCLASSES | PROPERTIES |
|----------------|------------|---|
| INTRANSITIVE | Class I | intransitive with no transitive form |
| | Class II | intransitive with causativized form |
| | Class III | intransitive with applicativized and causativized forms |
| SEMITRANSITIVE | | semitransitive with transitive form |
| TRANSITIVE | Class I | no intransitive and semitransitive forms |
| | Class II | transitive with semitransitive form |
| AMBITRANSITIVE | | S=A type S=O type |

Table 11-1. Overview of Nalögo verb classes

Intransitive verbs are divided into three subclasses (§11.2.1). Class I contains only verbs without a transitive counterpart, Class II involves verbs transitivized by the causative prefix *(v)a*, and Class III contains verbs which can take applicative morphology and are also generally causativized by *(v)a*-.

Semitransitive verbs are those that occur in semitransitive constructions (§11.2.2). They need to take the applicative/transitive *-ti* to occur in transitive constructions.

Transitive verbs are divided into two classes (§11.2.3). Class I involves verbs which have neither intransitive nor semitransitive forms, while verbs of Class II have semitransitive verb forms derived by the middle prefix *(v)ö*-.

Finally, ambitransitive verbs include those verb roots which can be used transitively or intransitively (§11.2.4). They can be classified into S=A and S=O ambitransitive verbs (for definitions, see the corresponding section).

Not all the attested verbs strictly belong to the classes mentioned above. Some of the exceptions are shown in §11.3.

11.2.1 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs display only one argument, S, which tends to be preverbal (Chapter 12). They are divided into three classes: intransitive verbs with no transitive counterpart (§11.2.1.1),

intransitive verbs with causativized forms (§11.2.1.2), and intransitive verbs with applicativized and causativized forms (§11.2.1.3).

According to Chafe (1970)'s classification, Class II and Class III involve both states and dynamic events. In terms of semantic properties, the members of Class I, Class II and Class III are semantically varied as shown in Table 11-2.

| INTRANSITIVE VERB CLASS | SEMANTIC GROUPS |
|-------------------------|--|
| CLASS I | verbs of body conditions and perception |
| CLASS II | verbs of property, non-volitional motion, grooming, opening, caused movement |
| CLASS III | verbs of emotion, perception, speech, motion and posture |

Table 11-2. Semantic groups of verbs belonging to the class of intransitive verbs

11.2.1.1 Class I: Intransitive with no transitive form

Class I of intransitive verbs have no transitive counterpart. Only two verbs attested in the data belong to this class. An example is the verb *bwë* 'die' which has no transitive form. A sentence is shown in (11.1).

- (11.1) *Mwe-lë-kölö* *kâ* *i-bwë*.
male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-die
'The old man died.' (nalogo059)

An additional example of intransitive verb of this type is the perception verb *bö* 'have an odour, be smelly'⁸¹.

11.2.1.2 Class II: Intransitive verbs with causative

Class II of intransitive verbs is mainly state verbs expressing a property of the subject (e.g. colour, size, length). Evans (2003: 52) refers to them as 'Property terms' which she describes as follows: "Property terms are taken to be forms denoting properties or characteristics of

⁸¹ The transitive verb for 'smell s.o./s.t.' is *ti*.

objects, where ‘object’ is used to include natural objects, artefacts, animals and humans, as well as reifications of states and events”.

In Nalögo, property verbs are typically U-verbs encoding states. They can only be causativized by the causative prefix (*v*)*a*- (most likely, from POc *-pa), which turns the Undergoer subject S into the O argument of the causative construction, where the causer participant is expressed as the A argument. In many Oceanic languages, property verbs take reflexes of the POc causative *pa[ka]- (Evans 2003: 51). Examples with the property verb *minga* ‘be dry’ and its causativized form are shown in (11.2).

(11.2) a) *Meitö* *i-minga*.
 ground PFV.N3AUG-be.dry
 ‘The ground is dry.’ (nalogo059)

b) *Mary* *i-va-minga=le* *meitö*.
 Mary PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.dry=3MIN.SBJ ground
 ‘Mary dried the ground.’

Table 11-3 below provides a list of property verbs, dividing them into semantic categories.

| SEMANTICS | VERBS OF PROPERTY |
|-------------------|---|
| DIMENSION | <i>tâ</i> ‘be small, be narrow’, <i>pwö</i> ‘be big, be fat’, <i>bwoi</i> ‘be long, <i>bwâdne</i> ‘be short’, <i>mele</i> ‘be thin’ |
| AGE | <i>nabool</i> ‘be new’ |
| VALUE | <i>kele</i> ‘be good, be kind’ <i>tüka</i> ‘be bad’ |
| COLOUR | <i>pâ</i> ‘be red’, <i>bâ</i> ‘be black’, <i>pöki</i> ‘be white’ |
| PHYSICAL PROPERTY | <i>kele</i> ‘be good’, <i>tüka</i> ‘be bad’ (human/animal propensity); |
| | <i>möle</i> ‘be heavy’ (weight); |
| | <i>veplö</i> ‘be strong’, <i>mweli</i> ‘be soft’ (strength, toughness); |
| | <i>yöbu</i> ‘be full’ (content); |
| | <i>pwötö</i> ‘be cold’, <i>pü</i> ‘be hot’ (temperature); |
| | <i>bwämwi</i> ‘be wet’, <i>minga</i> ‘be dry’ (wetness, dryness); |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <i>plâ</i> ‘be ripe’, <i>b(w)ämi</i> ‘be rotten’ (conditions of vegetable matter); |
| | <i>yagwe</i> ‘be sick’, <i>yopme</i> ‘be hungry’ <i>mye</i> ‘be itchy’ (physical conditions of animate being); |
| | <i>mubu</i> ‘be stormy’ (weather); |
| | <i>mnöpü</i> ‘be smooth’ <i>yabulö</i> ‘be round’ (form); |
| | <i>mümi</i> ‘be sweet’ (taste) |

Table 11-3. Examples of property verbs

Class II can also involve U-verbs encoding dynamic events, such as processes and process-actions⁸², where the S argument is affected in some way by the action. These verbs belong to the following semantic classes: (i) ‘affect’ verbs, (ii) non-volitional motion verbs, (iii) verbs of opening, (iv) grooming verbs, (v) verbs of unaccompanied caused movement.

The term ‘affect verbs’ is used by Dixon (2005: 110-119) to refer to those verbs denoting events where there is something moved or manipulated by the agent “so that it comes into contact with some thing or person [...]” Dixon’s verb types are classified as belonging to the following semantic domains: ‘hit’, ‘touch’, ‘stab’, ‘break’, ‘rub’, ‘wrap’, ‘stretch’ and ‘build’. Table 11-4 provides Dixon (2005)’s definition of the aforementioned semantic domains.

| VERB GROUP | DEFINITION |
|--------------|---|
| HIT | Manipulated Thing is brought through the air to impact on Target (e.g. ‘hit’, ‘strike’, ‘punch’). |
| TOUCH | Manipulated Thing minimally comes into contact with Target, with no disturbance of the Target (e.g. ‘touch’, ‘stroke’). |
| STAB | Pointed or bladed Manipulated Thing penetrates below the surface of the Target (e.g. ‘pierce’, ‘prick’, ‘stab’, ‘dig’, ‘sting’) |
| BREAK | Agent causes some object to lose its physical unity (e.g ‘break’, ‘crush’, ‘squash’, ‘destroy’). |
| RUB | Manipulated Thing is manipulated to affect the surface of the Target (e.g. ‘rub’, ‘wipe’, ‘scrape’, ‘scratch’). |

⁸² According to Chafe (1970: 100)’s definition, process-action verbs include both a process leading to a change in the condition of the patient and an action performed by an agent. They differ from process verbs which only involve a change in the condition of the patient.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| WRAP | Manipulated Thing moves into juxtaposition with the Target (e.g. wrap; cover; butter, roof, veil, clothe, dress). |
| STRETCH | Agent uses a Manipulated Thing to change the shape or state of a Target (e.g. stretch, extend, compress, bend, curl, fold). |
| BUILD | Agent manipulates a Manipulated thing so as to create something (a Product) (e.g. build, knit, tie, make, weave, sew, shape). |

Table 11-4. Types of affect verbs (after Dixon 2005)

While in English, the language on which Dixon (2005)'s classification is based, verbs belonging to the aforementioned semantic classes display transitive roots, this is not the case in Nalögo, where some 'affect' verbs of 'break', 'wrap', 'stretch' and 'build' types belong to Class II of intransitive verbs. An example is shown in (11.3) with the verb *plâ* 'burn' belonging to the 'stretch' type.

(11.3) a) *Böma ne John i-plâ.*
house animate.CLF John PFV.N3AUG-burn
'John's house burnt.' (nalogo059)

b) *George a-plâ=le böma ne John.*
George CAUS-burn=3MIN.SBJ house animate.CLF John
'George burnt John's house.'

More 'affect' verbs patterning like *plâ* 'burn' are shown in Table 11-5. However, it is worth noticing that most 'affect' verbs belong to Class II of transitive verbs (§11.2.3.2).

| VERB | CAUSATIVIZED FORM | VERB TYPE |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>kü</i> 'be covered' | <i>a-kü</i> 'cover s.t.' | 'wrap' |
| <i>ngyobla</i> 'get dressed' | <i>(v)a-ngyobla</i> 'dress s.o.' | 'wrap' |
| <i>ku</i> 'cook' | <i>(v)a-ku</i> 'cook s.t.' | 'build' |
| <i>bä</i> 'break' | <i>(v)a-bä</i> 'break s.t.' | 'break' |
| <i>tübü</i> 'straighten, be straight' | <i>(v)a-tübü</i> 'straighten s.t.' | 'stretch' |

Table 11-5. Affect verbs belonging to Class II of intransitive verbs

Along with 'affect' verbs, non-volitional motion verbs can also belong to this class, like the verb *yaglü* 'move up and down, blink', as shown in (11.4). In (11.4b), the causativization of *yaglü* through the prefix *(v)a-* implies the causer's volitionality.

(11.4) a) *Numwe=tu t(ü)-(y)aglü.*
 eye=1MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-move.up.and.down
 ‘My eyes blinked.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

b) *I-mo=la kâ nünge jâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ QNT boy CONT₁
tü-a-yaglü=le numwö=te.
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-move.up.and.down=3MIN.SBJ eye=3MIN.POSS
 ‘I saw a boy blinking his eyes (voluntarily).’ (nalogo0910_2015)

Additional non-volitional motion verbs falling into this class are the following⁸³:

(11.5) *ta* ‘fall’ > *(v)a-ta* ‘make s.t. fall (voluntarily)’
boulau ‘sink’ > *(v)a-boulau* ‘make s.t. sink (voluntarily)’
talëbu ‘roll’ > *(v)a-talëbu* ‘make s.t. roll (voluntarily)’
kâvia ‘turn over’ > *(v)a-kâvia* ‘make s.t. turn over (voluntarily)’

Finally, the verbs of opening *mwaku* ‘open’ and the verb of unaccompanied caused movement *ngabä* ‘pour’ also belong to this class as shown in (11.6) and (11.7).

(11.6) a) *Window kâ i-mwaku-pä.*
 window DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-open-out
 ‘The window opened.’ (intransitive) (nalogo059)

b) *John a-mwaku-tö=le nowe kâ.*
 John CAUS-open-in=3MIN.SBJ door DEM₁.DIST
 ‘John opened the door.’ (causative) (nalogo1609_2015)

(11.7) a) *Nuwe tü-ngabä.*
 water IPFV.N3AUG-flow
 ‘Water is flowing.’ (intransitive) (nalogo067)

b) *T(ü)-va-ngabä-u=le nuwe ka mö glass*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-flow-down=3MIN.SBJ water DEM₁.PROX PREP glass
 ‘He is pouring this water in the glass.’ (transitive)

⁸³ The causativized verb form *a-mö* ‘move s.t.’ is also attested. However, due to a lack of data, I do not know if this verb can be used intransitively without the causative prefix and if it can be viewed as belonging to Class II of intransitive verbs.

11.2.1.3 Class III: Intransitive verbs with applicative forms

Class III involve intransitive verbs which can be made bivalent through the affixation of the applicative form *-ti* and/or other applicative forms. Most verbs of this class can also take the causative (*v*)*a-* to enter causative constructions. Verbs of Class III can be Actor subject or Undergoer subject verbs. The most common semantic classes to which verbs of Class III belong are the following: (i) verbs of emotion; (ii) verbs of perception, (iii) verbs of speech; (iv) verbs of motion and posture, and (v) property verbs.

With verbs of emotion, the S argument is the experiencer of the event as in (11.8). In the applicative construction, the stimulus triggering the emotion is the applied object, and the experiencer is encoded as the A_{TR} argument. For instance, the verb *vä* ‘be sad’ takes the applicative *-ti* to add a stimulus encoded as an applied object (11.8b), while the experiencer is the A_{TR} argument.

- (11.8) a) *Obwe olë kâ i-tâ döt wö=de.*
 child girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.small neck=3MIN.POSS
i-vä.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.sad
 ‘The little girl is sad (lit. her neck is sad).’ (intransitive) (nalogo1609_2015)
- b) *Ni tü-vä-ti döt wö=nu nim.*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-be.sad-APPL neck=1MIN.POSS 2MIN
 ‘As for me, I am sad for you (lit. my neck is sad).’ (applicative)

When the same verb form *vä* is causativized, the experiencer is encoded as direct object of the causative construction, while the stimulus participant is encoded as transitive subject as in (11.9).

- (11.9) *Obwe olë kâ döt wö=de*
 child girl DEM₁.DIST neck=3MIN.POSS
i-va-vä=bwa.
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.sad=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘As for the young girl, I made (her) sad.’ (causative) (nalogo1609_2015)

Additional verbs of emotion patterning like *vä* ‘be sad’ are shown in Table 11-6.

| INTRANSITIVE VERB | CAUSATIVIZED FORM | APPLICATIVIZED FORM |
|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>mya</i> ‘be shy’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>a-myā</i> ‘make s.o. shy’ | <i>mya-ti</i> ‘be shy of sb’ <i>mya-sö</i> ‘be shy of sb’ |
| <i>ngya</i> ‘be angry’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>a-ngya(-sö)</i> ‘make s.o. angry’ | <i>ngya-ti</i> ‘be angry with s.o., about s.o.’ <i>ngya=ngö</i> ‘be angry because of s.o.’ |
| <i>vu</i> ‘be happy’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>a-vu</i> ‘make s.o. happy’ | <i>Ivu=ngö</i> ‘happy for s.o., about s.t.’ |
| <i>yöni</i> ‘cry’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>a-yöni</i> ‘make s.o. cry’ | <i>yöni-ti</i> ‘cry for s.o., s.t.’ <i>yöni-mi</i> ‘cry over (a dead body)’ |

Table 11-6. Emotion verbs belonging to Class III of intransitive verbs

Some verbs of perception belonging to Class III can pattern like verbs of emotions. This is the case of *yagla* ‘see, look’ which can take the applicative *-ti* to add a new direction argument to the clause as in (11.10b). The direction role is syntactically encoded as an applied object.

(11.10) a) *Kopyo leplë jâ t(ü)-yagla-nö.*
 EXIST person CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-look-DISP
 ‘There is someone looking around.’ (intransitive) (nalogo1509_2015)

b) *Pwöla kâ t(ü)-yagla-ti-pä=nga.*
 sea DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-look-APPL-out=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘The sea that I am looking at.’ (applicative) (nalogo068)

c) *Mö-kâ va-yagla=bwe=le ni*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CAUS-look=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
ba=de.
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘The man made me look towards him (because he was screaming).’ (causative)

Some verbs of talking also pattern like the previous verbs. An example is the verb for ‘scream’ *kâ* which can take the applicative *-ulë* as in (11.11b) or the causative prefix as in (11.11c).

(11.11) a) *I-kâ* *tü-kâ.*
 female-DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-scream
 ‘The girl was screaming.’ (intransitive) (nalogo2309_2015)

b) *Mö-kâ* *i-kâ-ulë=le* *ni.*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-scream-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘The man screamed at me.’ (applicative)

c) *I-va-kâ-tö=nga* *nim.*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-scream-in=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I made you scream.’ (nalogo2309_2015) (causative)

Additional examples of verbs of speech are shown in Table 11-7.

| INTRANSITIVE VERB | CAUSATIVIZED FORM | APPLICATIVIZED FORM |
|--|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>kö</i> ‘sing’ | (v)a-kö ‘make s.o. sing’ | <i>kö=ngö</i> ‘sing s.t.’ |
| <i>kabo</i> ‘shout’ | (v)a-kabo ‘make s.o. shout’ | <i>kabo-ulë</i> ‘shout at s.o.’ |
| <i>yöpwale</i> ‘laugh’ | (v)a-(y)öpwale ‘make s.o. laugh’ | <i>yöpwale-ulë</i> ‘laugh at s.o.’ |
| <i>lä</i> ‘talk’ | (v)a-lä ‘make s.o. talk’ | <i>lä=ngö</i> ‘talk about s.t.’ <i>lä-ti</i> ‘talk about s.t.’ <i>lä-neba</i> ‘talk to s.o.’ <i>lä-mi</i> ‘talk with s.o.’ |
| <i>via</i> (~ <i>vea</i>) ‘ask’ ⁸⁴ | - | <i>via-ti</i> ‘ask for s.o.’ <i>vea=ngö</i> ‘ask for s.t.’ |
| <i>ku</i> ‘call’ | (v)a-ku ‘make s.o. call’ | <i>ku-ti</i> ‘call for s.o.’ <i>ku=ngö</i> ‘call because of s.o.’ |

Table 11-7. Verbs of talking belonging to Class III in Nalögo

Class III also contains verbs of motion and posture. They can encode states or dynamic situations. These verbs can be applicativized, e.g. the intransitive verb *gwa* ‘run’ in (11.12a), which takes the applicative *-mi* to add a comitative applied object (11.12b). The same verb can also be causativized as in(11.12c).

⁸⁴ The causative form of the verb is not attested due to a lack of data.

(11.12) a) *I-gwa-pä=bwe* *jâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-run-out=2MIN.SBJ.thither SEQ
tü-doulë=pe=ng.
 IPFV.N3AUG-catch=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘You run out (and) then you catch (it).’ (intransitive) (nalogo013)

b) *Jâ* *tü-gwa-mi-tö=pe=te* *obwe*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-run-APPL-in=COS=3MIN.SBJ child
ne=de *bä* *bwebwe* *kâ.*
 animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS PREP covering DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Then, she is running with her child under the covering.’ (applicative)
 (nalogo2209_2015)

c) *I-va-gwa=nga* *horse kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-run=1MIN.SBJ horse DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I made the horse run.’ (causative) (nalogo2309_2015)

An example of a posture verb is given in (11.13a). The intransitive verb *wäbu* ‘sit’ takes the applicative *-ti* to encode an applied location object as in (11.13b). The same verb can be causativized as in (11.13c).

(11.13) a) *Jâ* *t(ü)-wäbu=pmo.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-sit=again
 ‘Then he sits again.’ (intransitive) (nalogo2010_2015)

b) *Chair* *la* *tü-wäbu-ti=mwe*
 chair DEM_{1,L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL=2MIN.SBJ.hither
i-mö-glâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘The chair you are sitting on is broken.’ (applicative) (nalogo045)

c) *I-va-wäbu=nga* *Julia.*
 N3AUG.PFV-CAUS-sit=1MIN.SBJ Julia
 ‘I seated Julia.’ (causative) (nalogo1609_2015)

Additional examples of motion and posture verbs belonging to this class are given in Table 11-8.

| INTRANSITIVE | CAUSATIVIZED FORM | APPLICATIVIZED FORM |
|----------------------|---|--|
| <i>vë</i> 'go' | (v)a- <i>vë</i> 'make s.o. go' | <i>vë-ti</i> 'go for s.t./s.o.' <i>vë-mi</i> 'go with s.o.' |
| <i>velya</i> 'dance' | (v)a-(v) <i>elya</i> 'make s.o. dance' | <i>velia-mi</i> 'dance with s.t./ s.o.' |
| <i>wö</i> 'swim' | (v)a- <i>wö</i> 'make s.o. swim, baptize' | <i>wö-mi</i> 'swim with s.o.' |
| <i>ya</i> 'paddle' | (v)a- <i>ya</i> 'make s.o. paddle' | <i>ya-ti</i> 'paddle for s.t./s.o.' |
| <i>tu</i> 'stand' | (v)a- <i>tu</i> 'make s.t. stand' | <i>tu=ngö</i> 'stand on' |
| <i>mno</i> 'stay' | (v)a- <i>mno</i> 'make s.o. stay' | <i>mno-ti</i> 'stay for' <i>mno=ngö</i> 'stay in' |
| <i>yöbü</i> 'lie' | (v)a- <i>yöbü</i> 'make s.o. lie' | <i>yöbü=ngö</i> 'lie in' |

Table 11-8. Motion and posture verbs belonging to Class III

Finally, a property verb belonging to this class is shown below. The verb *lu* 'be alive' can take the applicative =*ngö* adding an instrument applied object as in (11.14b). The same verb can also be causativized as in (11.14c).

(11.14) a) *I-lu=kom.*

PFV.N3AUG-be.alive=1AUG.SBJ
'We are alive.' (intransitive)

b) *Kâ të-lu=ngö leplë.*
DEM₁.DIST IPFV.3AUG-be.alive=APPL person
'The thing people live on.' (applicative) (nalogo002)

c) *I-va-lu=le ngüme lepelë.*
PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.alive=3MIN.SBJ spirit person
'He makes people's spirit alive.' (causative) (nalogo039)

11.2.2 Semitransitive verb forms

Nalögo has a class of semitransitive verbs occurring with their basic form in semitransitive and depatientive constructions. Semitransitive constructions are used to express a focus on the action (Chapter 12). They are syntactically transitive, but morphologically intransitive. The properties of the two arguments, labelled as A_{STR} and O_{STR}, differ from those of transitive

clauses, especially the semitransitive object which tends to be less semantically individuated and pragmatically relevant, as well as showing a less degree of freedom compared to the transitive object. Depatientive constructions are similar to semitransitives, as they also express a focus on the action (Chapter 13). They are morphologically and syntactically intransitive because the object is omitted.

Morphosyntactically, semitransitive verbs take the transitive/applicative suffix *-ti* to be used transitively with semantically highly individuated objects. An example with the verb *yapwe* ‘tell’ is in (11.15).

(11.15) a) *T(ü)-yapwe=bwa=ba=m* *bwe.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ story
 ‘I am telling you stories’ or ‘I am doing story-telling.’ (semitransitive)
 (nalogo2310_2016)

b) *Eu nëgwa t(ü)-(y)apwe-ti=bwa nge*
 yes today IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither PRAG.MRK
bwe ngö lë-(v)elya-mi-ngö nelâ.
 story ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-dance-APPL-NMLZ₂ nose.pendant
 ‘Yes. Today I am going to tell a story about dancing with *nelâ*.’ (transitive)
 (nalogo060)

In (11.15a), the semitransitive verb *yapwe* occurs in a semitransitive construction where the object is generic and the focus is on the action. The object in (11.15a) can be omitted to derive a depatientive construction. In (11.15b), the semitransitive verb takes the applicative *-ti* to be used transitively with a highly individuated object.

| SEMITRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | SEMANTIC GROUP |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>wo</i> ‘take’ | <i>wo-ti</i> ‘take s.t.’ | Verb of caused movement |
| <i>wâ</i> ‘build’ | <i>wâ-ti</i> ‘build s.t.’ | Affect verb |
| <i>pwe</i> ‘plant’ | <i>pwe-ti</i> ‘plant s.t.’ | Verb of caused movement |

Table 11-9. Semitransitive verbs

11.2.3 Transitive verbs

Nalögo has a class of transitive verb forms which by default enter transitive constructions with no additional derivational morphology. This class shows two subclasses: transitive verbs with no intransitive/semitransitive derivation, and (ii) transitive verbs with semitransitive derivation.

11.2.3.1 Class I: Transitive forms with no intransitive/semitransitive derivation

In Nalögo, some transitive verbs are only used transitively. An example with the affect verb *pnö* ‘shoot’ which has no intransitive/semitransitive counterpart is shown in (11.16).

- (11.16) *I-pnö=nga* *mönga* *ne=nu*
IPFV.N3AUG-shoot=1MIN.SBJ honey.eater animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
‘I shot my honey eater.’ (nalogo025)

The other three verbs patterning like *pnö* are the perception verbs *mâ* ‘see s.o./s.t.’, *ti* ‘smell s.o./s.t.’, *mwale* ‘touch, hold s.o./s.t.’ and the verb of doing (*v*)*öblemi* ‘do, make s.t.’.

11.2.3.2 Class II: Transitive forms with semitransitive derivation

Transitive forms belonging to this class take the middle prefix (*v*)*ö-* (< maybe POc *paRi-) to occur in contexts of lower transitivity, i.e. semitransitive and depatientive. The middle prefix (*v*)*ö-* occurs in depatientive constructions with a detransitivizing function via object omission. The middle prefix (*v*)*ö* cannot cooccur with the causative prefix (*v*)*a-*, because they occupy the same slot in the VC (Chapter 8). Examples with the transitive verb *bi* ‘bake’ occurring in transitive, semitransitive and depatientive constructions are shown in (11.17).

- (11.17) a) *Tü-bi=le* *po* *na=m.*
IPFV.N3AUG-bake=3MIN.SBJ pig food.CLF=2MIN.POSS
‘She is baking your pig.’ (nalogo067) (transitive)

- b) *Tü-ö-bi=∅* *po*
IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=3MIN.SBJ pig
‘She is baking pig.’ (semitransitive)

- c) *Tü-ö-bi=∅*
IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=3MIN.SBJ
‘She is baking.’ (nalogo067) (depatientive)

In (11.17a), the basic form of the verb occurs in a transitive construction. The subject is expressed by the 3MIN subject enclitic=*le*. In (11.17b) and (11.17c), the middle prefix allows the verbs to enter a semitransitive and a depatientive constructions, respectively, where the subject-marking pattern is intransitive, involving an unmarked 3MIN person. Verbs belonging to this class are dynamic and semantically varied. They include affect verbs, which are the majority, verbs of body process (ingestion, expulsion of body products), and verbs of caused movement. Table 11-10 below shows a list of transitive verbs taking the middle (*v*)*ö*-.

| VERB | SEMITRANSITIVE | SEMANTIC GROUP |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>mnu</i> ‘drink’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>mnu</i> | Body process (ingestion) |
| <i>kü</i> ‘dig’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>kü</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>kâ</i> ‘scrape (coconut)’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>kâ</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>bëlu</i> ‘burn (breadfruit)’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>bëlu</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>vë</i> ‘weave’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>vë</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>päbö</i> ‘smash’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>päbö</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>nibü</i> ‘kill’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>nibü</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>bi</i> ‘bake’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>bi</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>la</i> ‘cut, hack’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>ni</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>nga</i> ‘husk’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>nga</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>ya</i> ‘peel’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>ya</i> | Affect verb |
| <i>twë</i> ‘take’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>twë</i> | Verbs of caused movement |
| <i>yâ</i> ‘pull’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>yâ</i> | Verbs of caused movement |
| <i>ka</i> ‘give’ | <i>ö</i> - <i>ka</i> | Verbs of caused movement |
| <i>glü</i> ‘carry’ | (<i>v</i>) <i>ö</i> - <i>glü</i> | Verb of caused movement |

Table 11-10. Transitive verbs of Class II

11.2.4 Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are those which can be used in intransitive and transitive clauses with no additional morphology. Typologically, there are two types of ambitransitive verbs which Dixon (2010: 124) labels as ‘S=A’ and ‘S=O’. With S=A ambitransitives, the S is marked like the A of transitive constructions; while, with S=O ambitransitives, the S is marked like the O of transitive constructions.

Ambitransitive verbs in Nalögo are mostly of S=A type. There is only one example of an ambitransitive verb, *vlëpä*⁸⁵ ‘open’, which shows a S=O pattern. Morphosyntactically, S=A and S=O ambitransitive verbs in Nalögo, show the same behaviour, i.e. the same ambitransitive root can occur in both transitive and intransitive clauses. Unlike semitransitive verbs (§11.2.2), which can also occur with and without an object, ambitransitives do not need any valency-increasing device to occur in transitive constructions. An example of S=A ambitransitive is the verb of ingestion *mwa* ‘eat’ shown in (11.18).

- (11.18) a) *Obwe* *i-mwa=Ø*
 child PFV.N3AUG-eat=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘The child ate.’ (intransitive) (nalogo1609_2015)
- b) *Obwe* *i-mwa=Ø* *naii.*
 child PFV.N3AUG-eat=3MIN.SBJ apple
 ‘The child eats apples.’ (semitransitive)
- c) *John* *i-mwa=le* *kâ* *apple.*
 child PFV.N3AUG-eat=3MIN.SBJ QNT apple
 ‘John ate an apple.’ (transitive) (nalogo1909_2015)

Examples (11.18a, b) show an intransitive and a semitransitive construction, respectively. The semitransitive has a generic object. The subject-marking pattern is intransitive. (11.18c) shows a transitive construction where the object is overtly expressed and specific. The subject-marking pattern is also transitive, in that the 3MIN person is marked by the 3MIN enclitic *=le*.

An example of S=O verb is shown in (11.19) with the verb *vlëpä* ‘open’.

- (11.19) a) *I-vlëpä.*
 PFV.N3AUG-open
 ‘It opened.’ (intransitive)
- b) *John* *i-vlëpä=le* *nöwe* *kâ.*
 John PFV.N3AUG-open=3MIN.SBJ door DEM₁.DIST
 ‘John opened the door.’ (nalogo059) (transitive)

Additional verbs attested in the data which pattern like *mwa* ‘eat’ are shown in Table 11-11.

⁸⁵ The verb *wowi* ‘squeeze’ is an S=O ambitransitive verb as well, but it is reported among the exceptions in §11.3.4.

| AMBITRANSITIVE VERB | SEMANTIC GROUP |
|--|--------------------|
| <i>ngü</i> ‘eat’ (S=A) | Verb of ingestion |
| (<i>v</i>) <i>ölalö</i> ‘hear’ (S=A) | Verb of perception |
| (<i>v</i>) <i>ötäpä</i> ‘remember’ (S=A) | Verb of cognition |
| <i>pnö</i> ‘desire’ (S=A) | Verb of emotion |

Table 11-11. Ambitransitive verbs

The S=A ambitransitive verbs *mwa* ‘eat’ and *ngü* ‘eat’ can take the causative prefix (*v*)*a-* to derive a causative construction. An example with *mwa* is shown in (11.20).

- (11.20) *Vivian a-mwa-tö=le Francis.*
 Vivian CAUS-eat-in=3MIN.SBJ Francis
 ‘Vivian fed Francis.’ (nalogo059)

11.3 Verb forms with no specific class

In this section, I give some examples of verb forms which do not fall specifically into one class or another. More exceptions exist in the language, but further analyses are necessary to investigate this topic more in depth. Here, I show the derivation patterns of some verbs belonging to different semantic groups: the emotion verb *mwe* ‘be afraid’, the verb of knowledge *klë* ‘know’ and the affect verb *wowi* ‘squeeze’.

11.3.1 The verb of emotion *mwe* ‘be afraid’

The bare verb root *mwe* ‘be afraid’ can be used intransitively as in (11.21a) or transitively as in (11.21b), the only difference being the subject-marking pattern on the verb (intransitive vs transitive) and the presence of a stimulus encoded as a direct object in (11.21b). In (11.21a) and (11.21b), the 3MIN subject is unmarked and marked by the subject enclitic =*je*, respectively.

- (11.21) a) *I-mwe.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.afraid
 ‘He is afraid.’ (nalogo058)

- b) *I-mwe=je ni.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.afraid.of=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘He is afraid of me.’

The intransitive form *mwe* can also take the applicative =*ngö* as in (11.22) to add a stimulus participant to the clause. There are other two applicative forms, *-sö* and *-söu*, which seem to be functionally similar to =*ngö*. In (11.22b) and (11.22c), they add a stimulus participant to the clause.

(11.22) a) *Te=i-klë-ti=wa=lü* *da*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ thing
të-mwe=ngö *obwe kä lë-kütâ.*
 IPFV.3AUG-be.afraid=APPL child LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small
 ‘I do not know what the little children are afraid of.’ (nalogo068)

b) *I-mwe-sö=le* *ni.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.afraid-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN.OBJ
 ‘He is afraid of me.’ (nalogo058)

c) *I-mwe-söu=nga* *nim.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.afraid-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I am afraid of you.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

If there is a difference between (11.22b) and (11.22c), it is not understood. However, there might be a difference between (11.21b) and (11.21b) related to the involvement of the participants in the event. According to an older speaker, a sentence like (11.21b) is used when the speaker frightens directly the child at the time of speech; while sentences like (11.22b) would be used when the speaker tells to someone else how the child got frightened by him. By contrast, a younger speaker did not perceive any difference in terms of contexts of use between sentences (11.21b) and (11.22b).

The form *mwe* can also be causativized by (*v*)*a-* which may but does not need to cooccur with the applicative *-sö*. An example is shown in (11.23).

(11.23) *Mary a-mwe-sö=le* *John.*
 Mary CAUS-be.afraid-APPL=3MIN.SBJ John
 ‘Mary is afraid of John.’

The fact that this verb has two transitive forms is not surprising. The verb *mwe* might be a reflex of POC **matakut* ‘be afraid’. Reflexes of **matakut* across Oceanic languages can show multiple transitive forms including the presence of transitive bare forms alternating with transitive forms derived by valency-changing devices. For instance, in ‘Are’are, an Oceanic language spoken on Malaita, the verb *ma'u* ‘be afraid’ has two transitive forms to express the meaning ‘be afraid

of', *ma'u-ni-* and *ma'u*, the latter being a transitive bare form (Naitoro 2019: 63). The verb **matakut* in POc also had a form derived with the causative and the transitive suffix, **pa[ka]-matakut-i-* 'frighten' (Evans 2003: 76). This form parallels the causative form (*v*)*a-mwe-sö* attested in Nalögo, although a reflex of the POc suffix *-i is not involved.

11.3.2 The verbs of cognition *klë* 'know'

The verb of cognition *klë* 'know' can be used with or without an object as in (11.24).

(11.24) a) *I-klë=nga.*

PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ

'I know.' (depatientive)

b) *I-klë=nga*

ine=m.

PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ

daughter=2MIN.SBJ

'I know your daughter.' (transitive) (nalogo2110_2015)

When it is used in transitive clauses, the verb *klë* can also occur with the transitive/applicative suffix *-ti* as shown (11.25), without any difference in meaning compared with (11.24b).

(11.25) *Obwe kâ=ng*

lë-klë-ti=kö

child DEM₁.DIST=PL

PFV.3AUG-know-APPL=3AUG.SBJ

bwe la.

story DEM_{1,L}.NPROX

'The children know that story.' (nalogo068)

Finally, the verb *klë* can also take the middle prefix (*v*)*ö-* to express a property of the subject as shown in (11.26).

(11.26) *Ni olë*

kä i-vö-klä.

1MIN woman LNK PFV.N3AUG -MIDD₁-know

'I am a knowledgeable woman.'

11.3.3 The verb *wowi* 'squeeze'

The verb *wowi* 'squeeze' is an S=O ambitransitive verb which can be used intransitively and transitively. The S of the intransitive form in (11.27a), which is the affected entity, corresponds to the O in (11.27b). However, the same verb root can also occur without an object in

depatientive constructions as in (11.27c), where the action affects an object which is not overtly mentioned.

(11.27) a) *Nölu* *kâ=ng* *i-wowi-u*
 coconut DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.squeezed-down
kayö *nge* *nuwe* *lö=de* *mö* *sospen.*
 first PRAG.MRK water ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS PREP pot
 ‘Those coconuts, their water is squeezed first in the pot.’ (intransitive) (nalogo021)

b) *Nölu* *kâ=ng* *i-wowi=ng.*
 coconut DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-squeeze=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘As for those coconuts, you squeeze (them).’ (transitive) (nalogo021)

c) *Tü-(w)owi.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-squeeze
 ‘She is squeezing.’ (depatientive) (nalogo051)

12. SIMPLE CLAUSES

In this Chapter, I describe the most common types of simple clauses attested in Nalögo. First of all, Nalögo displays a transitivity-based system with three main types of simple declarative clauses—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive, the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of which are described in §12.1.1, §12.1.2 and §12.1.3, respectively.

In §12.1.4, I provide some examples of ‘psycho-collocation’ verbs, i.e. combinations of verbs with body-part nouns to express physical sensations, emotions, desire, will and cognitive processes. In §12.1.5, §12.1.6, §12.1.7, I describe prepositions and prepositional phrases (PP), NPs expressing time/location notions and adverbs, respectively.

In §12.2, I describe Predicate Nominals and related constructions, including equative and proper inclusion clauses (§12.2.1), locative clauses (§12.2.2), existential clauses (§12.2.3) and possessive clauses (§12.2.4). §12.2.5 illustrates some hypotheses on the origins of the predicative elements occurring in some of those constructions—the locative copula *jâ* and the existential marker *kopyâ* (~ *kopyo*).

Finally, I describe simple clauses expressing speech acts other than those expressed by simple declarative clauses, such as interrogative clauses (§12.3), imperative clauses (§12.4), hortative clauses (§12.5), exclamative clauses (§12.6) and Echo-questions (§12.7). In §12.8, §12.9 and §12.10, I show examples of comparative constructions, interjections and greetings, respectively.

12.1 Simple declarative clauses

In terms of the internal structure of clauses, the most basic typological distinction is between verbal and verbless clauses. Here, I describe the internal structure of simple declarative clauses containing a verbal predication.

Simple declarative clauses are the most common clause types in the discourse due to the wide range of speech acts they encode. König & Siemund (2007: 284) write that these types of clauses “are conventionally and typically used to perform representative (descriptive) speech acts such as assertions, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, but also acts of predicting and promising. All such acts convey the belief of the speaker that the proposition expressed is true or will turn out to be true”.

Simple declarative clauses involve a verbal predicate and core arguments, which are obligatory, be they overtly expressed or left implicit. In Nalögo, core arguments, which are often left implicit, do not show any case marking to indicate their function. The possibility for arguments to be omitted makes the basic word order difficult to pin down. This problem is also raised by Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 50) when describing the types of word order in Oceanic languages. The simplest clause is made up only by the predicate.

Before describing the properties of the basic clauses in Nalögo, I provide some notes on the terminology used. In Nalögo, there is a distinction between intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses. These clauses are defined by the types and number of arguments they take. As previously mentioned, in Chapter 14, I call ‘S’ the sole argument of an intransitive predicate, ‘A_{TR}’ and ‘O_{TR}’ the two arguments of a transitive predicate, and ‘A_{STR}’ and ‘O_{STR}’, the two arguments of a semitransitive predicate. Dixon (1994) refers to the two arguments of a transitive predicate as ‘A’ and ‘O’. A and O are defined as ‘the most actor-like’ and the ‘non-actor like’ argument of a transitive predicate. This definition of A and O can be applied to A_{TR}/A_{STR} and O_{TR}/O_{STR}, respectively. However, I give different labels to these four arguments because they do not display exactly the same set of properties and can be grouped differently in grammatical relations, depending on specific constructions (Chapter 14). The semantic and morphosyntactic properties of S, A_{TR}, A_{STR}, O_{TR} and O_{STR} in intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses are discussed in the following sections.

12.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Simple intransitive clauses involve one single S argument, which can be human/animate or inanimate, definite or indefinite. Two different word orders are possible, SV and VS, depending on whether the NP encoding S has a nominal or a pronominal element as its head. With overtly expressed NPs, the most frequent word order in the available data is SV, as shown in (12.1) and (12.2). NPs encoding singular referents agree with N3AUG portmanteau prefixes, while plural NPs agree with 3AUG portmanteau prefixes as shown in (12.3).

(12.1) *Olë kâ tii-kipu pwöla.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-swim sea
 ‘The girl is swimming in the sea.’

(12.2) *I-kâ t(ii)-yöpwale.*
 female-DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-laugh
 ‘The girl is laughing.’

(12.3) *Obwe kä lë-kiütâ lë-kipü.*
 child LNK PFV.3AUG-be.small PFV.3AUG-swim
 ‘The little children swam...’ (nalogo001)

Sentences in (12.4) below show the two possible word orders, SV and VS. Although they were both viewed as grammatical by the speakers, (12.4a) was the preferred one and the most frequent one in narratives. The difference between SV and VS is most likely related to information structure, which need more data and systematic investigations on textual materials.

(12.4) a) *Mwe-lë-kölö kâ i-bwë.*
 male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-die
 ‘The old man died.’ (SV) (nalogo059)

b) *I-bwë mwe-lë-kölö kâ.*
 PFV.N3AUG-die male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The old man died.’ (VS) (nalogo059)

NPs are generally omitted after the first mention and tracked in the discourse by bound pronominal forms as in (12.5) where the S argument is only mentioned at the beginning.

(12.5) *Olë kâ=ng nöpnü lä-vë-tö=po=p.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL ten girl PFV.3AUG-go-in=again=DIR.hither
Lä-(v)elya=pmo lä-(v)elya=pmo lë-(v)elya=pmo...
 PFV.3AUG-dance=again PFV.3AUG=again PFV.3AUG=again
 ‘The ten girls went in (the island). They danced again, again and again...’
 (nalogo2209_2015)

With free pronouns, the only allowed word order is SV. An example is shown in (12.6).

(12.6) ...*aki lopta ka=ng bwö kayö nü-kele*
 because cabbage DEM₁.DIST=PL cook first IRR.N3AUG-be.good
awi nim i-vë.
 before 2MIN PFV.N3AUG-go
 ‘...because as for this cabbage, cook (it) first good before you go.’ (nalogo039)

1, 1+2, 2 free pronouns can cooccur with subject enclitic forms as shown in (12.7).

(12.7) *Nimwi,* *t(ii)-yepwale=ngam.*
 2AUG IPFV.N3AUG-laugh=2AUG.SBJ
 ‘As for you, you are laughing.’

In general, free pronouns, regardless of whether they occur with subject enclitics like *nimwi* in (12.7) or not like *nim* in (12.6), are used for pragmatic reasons, typically to express emphasis or contrast. An example of contrastive focus is shown in (12.8).

(12.8) *Tonlü, nide tü-kipu pwöla.*
 no 3MIN IPFV.N3AUG-wash sea
 ‘No, **she** is going to wash in the sea.’ (word order_2018)

Sentence (12.8) is the reply to the question: “Are you going to wash in the sea?”. The form *nide* is used to express contrast, where a third participant, which constitutes new information, is focused. It is a third participant, not the listener, who is going to carry out the action.

The general foregrounding function of free pronouns is not uncommon in Oceanic languages. In this respect, Ross (2004a: 500) writes: “A disjunctive [free] pronoun is often used in canonic languages as the subject of a clause with a non-verbal predicate, or for topicalisation, focus, or emphasis”.

12.1.1.1 Intransitive clauses expressing meteorological phenomena

In Nalögo, meteorological phenomena are expressed by regular intransitive clauses as in (12.9) and (12.10), where the nouns *obu* ‘day’ and *ipmu* ‘rain’ function as S arguments.

(12.9) *Obu ka i-pwutö.*
 day DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.hot
 ‘It’s hot.’ (field notes 2018)

(12.10) *Ipmü kâ tü-mu ä i-pwö*
 rain DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-come.down COORD PFV.N3AUG-be.big
i-pwö.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘It’s raining (and) heavily.’ (nalogo043)

The use of the noun *nolâ* ‘world, surroundings’ is also common in constructions expressing meteorological phenomena as in (12.11), (12.12) and (12.13).

(12.11) *Mweli ka nolâ i-tüka.*
 time DEM₁.PROX world PFV.N3AUG-be.bad
 ‘It is bad now.’ (nalogo047)

(12.12) *Nolâ* *i-pwötö.*
world PFV.N3AUG-be.cold
'It is cold.' (fieldnotes 2018)

(12.13) *Nolâ* *i-pü.*
world PFV.N3AUG-be.hot
'It is hot.' (fieldnotes 2018)

In (12.14), (12.15) and (12.16) below, the word *nolâ* is used to refer to parts of the day and to an indefinite place, respectively.

(12.14) *I-vë=pmo.* *Jâ* *tü-tabâ=pmo* *da*
PFV.N3AUG-go-again SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-hunt=again thing
kâ *tü-pi=bwe* *ba=de*
DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.SBJ
bä nolâ kä i-bu.
PREP world LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.dark
'He went again. Then, he hunted again that thing (the devil) was telling to him at night...'

(12.15) *Leplö* *i-mwa* *ä* *leplë* *i-velya*
people PFV.N3AUG-eat COORD people PFV.N3AUG-dance
ä *i-velya* *i-velya* *i-velya*
COORD PFV.N3AUG-dance PFV.N3AUG-dance PFV.N3AUG-dance
nolâ *i-kilë=pe.*
world PFV.N3AUG-be.light=COS
'People eat and people dance and dance, dance, dance until morning.' (nalogo016)

(12.16) *Kä-i-ngâ=nö=teipwe=le* *â* *teipwe.*
way-PFV.N3AUG-be.like=APPL=just=3MIN.SBJ DEM₃.DIST only
I-vë=po=pwe *bä* *dü* *nolâ.*
PFV.N3AUG-go=again=2MIN.SBJ.thither PREP QNT place
I-völalö=po=u *i-kngya=po* *kâ*
PFV.N3AUG-hear=again=2MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-cry=again QNT
kio *kä* *ble.*
chicken LNK different
'It is just like that. You go again in a place. You hear again another chicken crying...'
(nalogo013)

12.1.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses have two core arguments, labelled as A_{TR} and O_{TR} . Semantically, A_{TR} and O_{TR} can be animate or inanimate. While A_{TR} is expressed on the verb by subject enclitics, O_{TR} is

generally not marked on the verb. The basic word order is $VA_{TR}O_{TR}$ as shown in (12.17), where the two NPs are overtly expressed and follow the predicate.

- (12.17) *Tü-wo-ti=pe=bwe* *Melëke* *nüümü olë kâ.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-take-TR=COS=DIR.thither Melëke hand girl DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Melëke took the girl’s hand.’ (VAO) (nalogo060)

The A_{TR} NP cooccurs with the portmanteau prefix. Sentences like (12.17) are not so frequent in the discourse, since NPs are generally omitted. After the first mention, referents are tracked by enclitics as in (12.18), where with transitive verbs, the subject referent is marked by the 3AUG subject =*kö*.

- (12.18) *Angels* *kä* *i-klu* *të-kö* *ä*
 angles LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many IPFV.3AUG-sing COORD
ta-(v)a-gliü-lë=kö *nide*
 IPFV.3AUG-CAUS-carry-up=3AUG.SBJ 3MIN
la-(v)a-mölue=kö *nge* *nide* *Christ*
 PFV.3AUG-CAUS-brother=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK 3MIN Christ
the Lord.
 the Lord
 ‘Many angels were singing and raising him up. They worshipped him, Christ the Lord.’ (field notes 2018)

Free pronouns encoding A_{TR} arguments can only occur in preverbal position. Thus, for instance, in (12.18), the form =*kö* could not be replaced by the 3AUG free pronoun *nigö*. When free pronouns occur postverbally like *nide* in (12.18), they obligatorily refer to O_{TR} arguments.

In transitive clauses, the A_{TR} argument always needs to be expressed in postverbal position, either by an overt NP or by a pronominal form. This implies that if an A_{TR} argument is fronted for pragmatic reasons, a subject enclitic has to appear on the verb to signal its original position. In (12.17) above, the A_{TR} NP occurs after the verb, but if it moves away from its position as in (12.19), the subject enclitic =*le* occurs on the verb.

- (12.19) *Olë kâ* *i-vi-ki=le* *paper kâ.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ paper DEM₁.DIST
 ‘As for the girl, she cut the paper.’

Sentences where the A_{TR} argument is fronted with no subject enclitic signalling its position on the verb are ungrammatical like the one in (12.20).

(12.20) *Olë* *kâ* *tü-ku-ti-pä=pe* *child*
 woman DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-out=COS child
ne=de.
 animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Her child called out for the woman’
 *‘The woman was calling out for her child.’

The A_{TR} NP and the subject enclitic are mutually exclusive, because they cannot cooccur in postverbal position as in (12.21).

(12.21) *Tü-ku-ti-pä=pe=le* *olë* *kâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-out =COS=3MIN.SBJ woman DEM₁.DIST
obwe ne=de.
 child animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 *‘The woman was calling out for her child.’ (nalogo001)
 ‘He was calling out for the woman, the child.’

Sentence (12.21) cannot be interpreted as displaying the meaning ‘The woman called out for the child’ because the 3MIN form *=le* cannot cooccur with the ‘girl’. The only possible interpretation of (12.21) involves the subject enclitic *=le* encoding A_{TR} and the following NP encoding the object. The final NP, ‘her child’, is viewed in appositional function to *=le*.

As previously mentioned, free pronouns encoding A_{TR} can only appear in preverbal position, where they cooccur with subject enclitics. For instance, in (12.22), the 3MIN free pronoun *nide* cooccurs obligatorily with the enclitic *=le*.

(12.22) *Nide i-nibü=le* *kuli* *kâ*
 3MIN PFV.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ dog DEM₁.DIST
 ‘As for him, he killed the dog.’ (elicitations 2018)

If free pronouns do not cooccur with an enclitic as in (12.23a) or they cooccur with it in postverbal position as in (12.23b), sentences are not grammatical.

(12.23) a) **Nide i-nibü* *kuli* *kâ.*
 3MIN PFV.N3AUG-kill dog DEM₁.DIST
 ‘He killed the dog.’ (elicitations 2018)

b) *I-nibü=le* *nide* *kuli* *kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ 3MIN dog DEM₁.DIST
 *‘He killed the dog.’
 ‘It killed him, the dog.’ (elicitations 2018)

argument also occurs preverbally. However, VO_{STR}A_{STR} word order is also grammatical as shown in (12.26).

- (12.26) *Ö-nibü po mö-kâ.*
 MIDD₁-kill pig male-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The man killed pigs (did the pig-killing).’ (elicitation 2018)

In all the examples above, the A_{STR} argument is overtly expressed by NPs. Free pronouns can also express A_{STR}. They occur in preverbal position as in the first sentence of (12.27).

- (12.27) *Nim â t(ü)-vö-la=pe mo kätü.*
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=COS tree betelnut
Ö-la=ng mo kätü yökö-pä=bwö...
 MIDD₁-cut=2MIN.SBJ tree betelnut finish-out=DIR.thither
 ‘You cut betelnut trees. After cutting betelnut trees...’ (nalogo065)

Free pronouns in semitransitive clauses cannot occur right after the predicate. (12.27) also shows that after the first mention, NPs encoding A_{STR} are usually omitted and the referent is tracked by subject enclitics. In the example, the pronoun *nim* is coreferential with *=ng*. Free pronouns can also cooccur with subject enclitics as shown in (12.28), where the 2MIN free form *nim* cooccurs with the subject enclitic *=ng*.

- (12.28) *Nim â tü-ö-kâ=pe nölu.*
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-scrape=COS coconut
Vö-kâ=ng nölu yökö-pä=bwe,
 MIDD₁-scrape=2MIN.SBJ coconut finish-out=DIR.thither
nim â t(ü)-ö-pä-bö=pe=ng böpi.
 2MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-hit-be.crushed=COS=2MIN.SBJ banana
 ‘You scrape coconut, after scraping coconut, you crush bananas.’ (nalogo066)

As previously mentioned, semitransitive clauses follow the intransitive pattern, which means that with 3MIN/AUG persons, A_{STR} is marked like S, as shown in (12.29) with the 3MIN person.

- (12.29) a) *I-kâ=Ø.*
 PFV.N3AUG-cough=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘She coughed.’ (intransitive)
- b) *T(ü)-vö-kü=Ø potna.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-dig=3MIN.SBJ pana
 ‘She is digging pana.’ (semitransitive)

Constructions showing a mismatch between syntax and morphology like semitransitive constructions in Nalögo are attested across Oceanic languages. The term ‘semitransitive’ adopted in this description was firstly introduced by Sugita (1973) who analysed similar constructions in Micronesian languages, highlighting how they differ from more traditional processes of noun incorporation. By contrast, Mithun (1984: 849) views the ‘semitransitive’ constructions in Oceanic languages as a type of lexical compounding, where, although semitransitive verbs and object nouns constitute two distinct phonological words, the object “loses its syntactic status as an argument of the sentence, and the VN unit functions as an intransitive predicate”. Margetts (2008: 30) refers to this type of phenomenon as ‘transitivity discord’.

In Nalögo, semitransitive objects differ from incorporated object nouns, at least according to less broad definitions of noun incorporation. One of the defining properties of incorporated objects *strictu sensu* is that the verb and the object noun constitute a phonological unit. As Mithun (1986) writes, in noun incorporation, “a noun stem is compounded with a verb stem to yield a more specific, derived verb stem”. In Nalögo, semitransitive objects constitute an independent phonological unit. In addition, lexical materials, such as PPs and adverbs, can occur between the verb and the semitransitive object. Examples are shown in (12.30), (12.31) and (12.32).

| | | | |
|---------|---|---------------|---------------|
| (12.30) | <i>Vö-ga-ëvë=nom</i> | <i>ba=de</i> | <i>mubli.</i> |
| | MIDD ₁ -take-always=1AUG.SBJ | PREP=3MIN.OBJ | shell |
| | ‘She and I always collected shell.’ | | |

| | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| (12.31) | <i>Vö-ga=kom</i> | <i>ëvë</i> | <i>mubli.</i> |
| | MIDD ₁ -take=1AUG.SBJ | always | shell |
| | ‘We always collect shells.’ | | |

| | | | | |
|---------|---|--------------|------------------------|------------|
| (12.32) | <i>Tü-ö-nibü=nga</i> | <i>mveli</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>po.</i> |
| | IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD ₁ -kill=1MIN.SBJ | time | DEM ₁ .PROX | pig |
| | ‘I am killing pigs now.’ | | | |

Sentence (12.30) is an example of a comitative construction, where the PP expressing the comitative role intervenes between the verb and the object noun *mubli*. In (12.31) and (12.32), two adverbial elements, *ëvë* ‘always’ and the temporal NP *mveli ka* ‘now’, occur between the verb and the object.

An additional piece of evidence suggesting that semitransitive clauses are not incorporation constructions is given by the fact that semitransitive objects occur outside the VC. For instance, in (12.33), the subject enclitic =*kom* occupies the right-most position in the VC. If the semitransitive object was incorporated, one might expect it to precede it, but this is not the case in the example

(12.33) *Ö-vë=kom topla.*
 MIDD₁-weave=1AUG.SBJ basket
 ‘We weave baskets.’ (nalogo062)

So far, I have discussed the differences between incorporated objects and semitransitive objects. When semitransitive and transitive objects are compared, the two arguments show a few similarities which are summarised in Table 12-1.

| PROPERTIES | TRANSITIVE O | SEMITRANSITIVE O |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| PHONOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM V | yes | yes |
| SEMANTIC RESTRICTIONS | - | yes |
| ABILITY OF TAKING MODIFIERS | yes (frequent) | yes (less frequent) |
| | | |
| WORD ORDER FREEDOM | yes | - |
| QUANTIFIER FLOATING | yes | - |
| SYNTACTIC PROCESSES (TARGET FUNCTION) | yes | - |

Table 12-1. Properties of transitive and semitransitive objects

First of all, transitive and semitransitive objects are phonologically independent. We have discussed this point above. They also share the property of taking modifiers, even though transitive objects allow a wider range of modifiers. While transitive objects can be modified by demonstratives, possessive classifiers, relative clauses and quantifiers, semitransitive objects occur only with possessive classifiers and relative clauses. Two examples are shown in (12.34) and (12.35), respectively.

(12.34) *T(ü)-vö-kü=kom butete na ilaule=nu*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-dig=1AUG.SBJ potato food.CLF mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘We are digging my mother’s potatoes.’

(12.35) *Tü-ö-bi* *po* *kä* *i-pwö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake pig LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘She is baking big pigs.’

The occurrence in ‘discord’ clauses of object nouns modified by possessive phrases is attested in some Oceanic languages. Margetts (2008: 42) argues that in these constructions, some types of object modifiers are more acceptable than others. For instance, determiners are less acceptable than possessive or plural lexical modifiers because they convey definiteness and specificity.

In terms of phonological independence and the ability to take modifiers, semitransitive objects resemble transitive objects. However, they also display differences in terms of: (i) word order restrictions, (ii) restrictions in syntactic processes (e.g. applicativization, relativization), (iii) the ability to be quantified by *yökö* ‘all’, and (iv) semantic restrictions. Here, I give examples for criteria (i), (ii), and (iv). Criterion (iii) is analysed in Chapter 14, where I discuss the syntactic behaviour of the quantifier *yökö* when it modifies arguments of intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses.

As described in §12.1.2, transitive objects can undergo fronting and occur before or after the predicate. By contrast, semitransitive objects do not allow any fronting as shown in (12.36b), giving evidence to the fact that they do form a syntactic unit with the verb.

(12.36) a) *Ö-vě=kom* *topla*
 MIDD₁-weave=1AUG.SBJ basket
 ‘We weave baskets.’ (semitransitive, VO)

b) **topla* *ö-vě=kom*
 basket MIDD₁-weave=1AUG.SBJ

In addition, in semitransitive clauses, the A_{STR} NP cannot occur between the O argument and the predicate as in (12.37), a sentence which was judged as ungrammatical by the speakers.

(12.37) **Vö-nibü* *mö-kâ* *po.*
 MIDD₁-kill male-DEM₁.DIST pig
 ‘The man killed pig.’

Finally, semitransitive objects do not undergo syntactic processes like topicalization or applicativization, which tend to target pragmatically prominent functions (e.g. O_{TR}). The notion

of ‘prominence’ tends to correlate with the definiteness of the referent. Following Hopper and Thompson (1980), transitive objects in Nalögo are typically ‘highly individuated’, since they are definite and specific. By contrast, semitransitive objects tend to be low in individuation (with exceptions like (12.34) above) and in prominence. However, while the semitransitive object function cannot be targeted by applicativization, semitransitive objects can be targeted to undergo the process. For instance, in (12.38), in the process of coordination reduction, the semitransitive object is promoted to direct object by the comitative applicative -mi.

(12.38) *Nübü lë-ö-të töputi ä*
 yesterday PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-hit cat COORD
lë-(y)awe-mi=kö.
 PFV.3AUG-play-APPL=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday they hit cats and played with them.’

Example (12.38) constitutes further evidence that semitransitive objects are not strictly incorporated into the verbs and part of its semantics.

12.1.3.1 Aspectual functions of semitransitive clauses

Semitransitive clauses typically express a focus on the action. For instance, the semitransitive clause in (12.39) would be a good reply for a question like “What are you doing?”, where the whole verbal action is in focus.

(12.39) *Tü-ö-pwäki=nga lëkö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=1MIN.SBJ taro
 ‘I am cutting taro.’ or ‘I do taro-cutting.’

This notion of ‘focus on the action’ can correlate with aspectually unbounded interpretations of the event. Semitransitive clauses can express habituality and generic statements/gnomic truth. An example is shown in (12.40).

(12.40) *Da kä lë-wâ-ti=bwe ibu=gom*
 thing LNK PFV.3AUG-do-TR=DIR.thither father=1AUG.POSS
lë-ö-la motopo...
 PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-cut post
 ‘The thing our fathers do, they cut posts...’

In (12.40), the notion of habituality is implied in the context, where adverbs like ‘habitually’, or ‘usually’ could be added to the sentence.

Generic statements/gnomic truth are based on recurrent situations which become a property of an entity or a gnomic truth. Semitransitive constructions can express these two functions as in (12.41) and (12.42).

(12.41) *Mö-kä-i-vö-nibü da dongo.*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill thing a.lot
 ‘hunter’ or ‘man that (habitually) kills things a lot.’

(12.42) *Mö-kä-i-vë vö-nibü leplë.*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-go MIDD₁-kill people
 ‘The wild man kills people.’

In (12.41), the semitransitive construction, which is part of a relative clause in attributive function, denotes a characteristic feature of the subject. Example (12.42), expresses a gnomic truth, i.e. a generalisation made on the basis of our encyclopaedic knowledge.

12.1.4 Clauses with psycho-collocation predicates

Psycho-collocation verbs can be defined as verbs which cooccur with body-part terms to form idiomatic expressions involving emotions, desire, will and cognitive processes. The body-part term ‘neck, mind’, *dötwö*, which is encoded as directly possessed, can cooccur as subject with verbs of emotions as in *dötwö(=POSS) ngya* ‘be angry (*lit.* one’s neck is angry), and *dötwö(=POSS) vä* ‘be sad (*lit.* one’s neck is sad)’. The same body-part term occurs with verbs expressing desire and will as in *ka-ti dötwö(=POSS)* ‘desire (*lit.* one’s neck desires)’, *tu-ti dötwö(=POSS)* ‘like (*lit.* one’s neck likes), *pnö dötwö(=POSS)* ‘desire, want (*lit.* one’s neck desires/wants). Finally, it occurs with verbs expressing cognitive processes as in (*v*)*a-o-(ti) dötwö* ‘think (*lit.* my neck thinks) and (*v*)*a-wëli-ti dötwö* ‘think (*lit.* one’s neck thinks).

The noun *döt(ü)* ‘body, name’ is also used in psycho-collocations as a subject, encoded as directly possessed. The noun occurs with verbs expressing physical sensations as in *döt(ü)(=POSS), ta* ‘be lazy, tired (*lit.* one’s body is lazy, tired)’ and *döt(ü)(=POSS) pwötö* ‘be cold (*lit.* one’s body is cold)’; with verbs expressing emotions as in *döt(ü)(=POSS) i-vu* ‘be happy (*lit.* one’s body is happy) and *döt(ü)(=POSS) mya* ‘be shy (*lit.* one’s body is shy); finally, with verbs expressing a physical characteristic of the body as in *döt(ü)(=POSS) pwö* ‘be fat (*lit.* one’s body is fat)’. Examples are shown in (12.43-12.46).

(12.43) *Döt=nu i-pwötö.*
 body=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.cold
 ‘I am cold.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

(12.44) *I-kati* *dötwö=gö* *lë-vëpe-ngö*
 PFV.N3AUG-desire neck=3AUG.POSS NMLZ₁-buy-NMLZ₂
dongo
 very.much
 ‘They want to buy (it) very much.’ (nalogo065)

(12.45) *Dötwö=de* *i-ngya*
 neck=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.angry
 ‘She is angry.’ (nalogo058)

(12.46) *Obwe olë* *kâ* *i-va-o-ti* *dötwö=de*
 child girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-think-APPL neck=3MIN.POSS
blaite=de *nubü*
 grandmother=3MIN.POSS yesterday
 ‘The little girl thought about her grandmother yesterday.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

12.1.5 Prepositional phrases

In Nalögo, oblique arguments and adjuncts are expressed by PPs. Nalögo displays a small set of adpositions, including the prepositions *ba*, *bä* and *mö*, described in §12.1.5.1 and §12.1.5.2.

12.1.5.1 Preposition *ba*

In Nalögo, the preposition *ba* is used to encode a wide range of participants. This is the only preposition which can take nouns and possessive forms as its objects (see Chapter 3). In the available data, PPs introduced by *ba* occurs after the predicate. Two examples are shown in (12.47) and (12.48) where the preposition is followed by a proper noun and the 2MIN object form =*m*, respectively.

(12.47) *T(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa* *ba* *Valentina.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP Valentina
 ‘I am telling (it) to Valentina.’ (nalogo060) (addressee)

(12.48) *T(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa* *ba=m.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am telling (it) to you.’ (addressee)

In (12.47) and (12.48), the PPs encode the addressee participant. The preposition *ba* can also be followed by additional types of pronouns as in (12.49), where it occurs with the interrogative pronoun *nelö* ‘who/whom’.

(12.49) *T(ü)-vëpë=ng* *ba* *nelö?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ PREP who
 ‘Who are you going to buy it from?’ (nalogo039) (source)

In the examples above, *ba* is a phonologically independent word. However, it is possible for this form to form a single intonation unit with the verb. If *ba* takes a pronominal object, the whole PP becomes part of the verb; otherwise, only the preposition gravitates towards the verb. Two examples are shown in (12.50) and (12.51).

(12.50) *Leplë* *kä* *i-mo=la*
 person LNK PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ
i-kele=ba=nu.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘The person that I see, I love.’ (song; nalogo039)

(12.51) *Olë* *kâ* *i-lâ=bwe=ba* *obwe* *nüinge* *kâ*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-talk=DIR.thither=PREP child boy DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The girl talked to the boy.’

In (12.48) and (12.49), the PP encodes addressee and source roles, respectively. Additional roles which can be introduced by *ba* includes: beneficiary/recipient, location, direction and instrument as shown in the examples below.

(12.52) *Nöpwë* *të-psa-li* *ba=gom.*
 cloth PASS.IPFV-break-be.two PREP=1AUG.POSS
 ‘Clothes were broken for us.’ (nalogo001_2015) (beneficiary)

(12.53) *Mö-kâ* *jâ* *tü-ka=bwe=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
can *kâ* *ba* *i-kâ*
 can DEM₁.DIST PREP female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The man is giving the can to the girl.’ (recipient)

(12.54) *Kä-lë-mno-pä=m* *ba=de.*
 one-PFV.3AUG-live-out=DIR.hither PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Those living inside it.’ (location)

(12.55) *Lë-yelü=lë=kö* *pot* *kâ* *ba=de.*
 PFV.3AUG-put-up=3AUG.SBJ pot DEM₁.DIST PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘They put the pot on it.’ (field notes 2018) (location)

(12.56) *Ni i-wäbu-tö=pwa ba=m.*
 1MIN PFV.N3AUG-sit-in=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘I sit next to you.’ (quest_2015) (location)

(12.57) *Yöpwale=bwa=ba=m.*
 laugh=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘I laughed towards you (in your direction).’ (direction)

(12.58) *Lë-tëu-lë ba=de nyö*
 PFV.3AUG-light-up PREP=3MIN.OBJ fire
 ‘They light fire with it.’ (elic_2018) (instrument)

(12.59) *Ni tü-a-ku=kom nâ ba ile=nu*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1AUG.SBJ fish PREP sister=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am cooking fish with my sister.’ (quest_2015) (associative)

12.1.5.2 Prepositions *mö* and *bä*

In Nalögo, there are two prepositions, *mö* and *bä*, encoding a wide range of peripheral roles. The prepositions *mö* and *bä* are two dialectal variants used interchangeably by the speakers. The preposition *mö* is said to belong to the variety of Nea, while *bä* to the variety of Nemboi. Unlike the preposition *ba* (§12.1.5.1), *mö* and *bä* cannot take pronominal objects and form a single phonological unit with the verb when they follow it. Syntactically PPs introduced by these prepositions also tend to occur after the predicate. Some examples of various roles encoded by the prepositions are reported below.

(12.60) *Yopla-tö=pwe bä pwelö.*
 PFV.N3AUG-land-in=DIR.thither PREP forehead
nuwë kuli kâ
 head dog DEM₁.DIST
 ‘It landed on the forehead of the dog.’ (nalogo002) (location)

(12.61) *I-mno=nga bä mwetelya ne=nu.*
 PFV.N3AUG-live=1MIN.SBJ PREP village animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I live in my village.’ (location)

(12.62) *Jâ të-yel-tö=pe=bwe bä nini ka.*
 SEQ PASS.IPFV-put-in=COS=DIR.thither PREP mat DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Then, it is put into this mat.’ (nalogo005) (location)

- (12.63) *Mona kio kâ i-taglö-tö bä nodök.*
 pole DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-lean-in PREP wall
 ‘The pole leaned against the wall.’ (location)
- (12.64) *Jâ tü-vë-mi=pe=m=de*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
t(ü)-yöni-mi-nö=pme=m=de *bä nöti.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-cry-APPL-DISP=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ PREP road
 ‘Then she took (her), crying along the road.’ (location)
- (12.65) *I-kâ â tü-tu-kap-tö bä nuwâ*
 female-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-stand-hide-in PREP tree
kâ.
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘As for the girl, she is hiding behind the tree.’ (location)
- (12.66) *I-vë=m mä nöti bä nuwâ kâ yöbü.*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither PREP road PREP tree DEM₁.DIST lie
 ‘She went on the road at the lying tree.’ (location)
- (12.67) *(W)oula-nö-pä=le kâ bä nowe*
 throw-DISP-out=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST PREP door
 ‘She threw that one out of the door.’ (nalogo010) (source)
- (12.68) *Tü-vëpe=pe=kom bä stoa.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=COS=1AUG.PREP PREP store
 ‘We used to buy from the store.’ (nalogo001_2015) (source)
- (12.69) *Olë kâ i-vë bä market.*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-go PREP market
 ‘The woman went to the market.’ (direction)
- (12.70) *Yo pi=käli=pwe bä Pijin!*
 okay say=next=DIR.thither PREP Pijin
 ‘Okay, say (it) in Pijin!’ (nalogo016)
- (12.71) *Bä obu kaptengime*
 PREP day sixth
 ‘On Saturday (*lit.* in the sixth day).’ (temporal)

(12.72) *I-twë=mwe* *bä nölâ kä i-bu*
 PFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither PREP time LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.dark
kâ.
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘You bring (that) during the night.’ (temporal)

(12.73) *Olë kâ i-vi-ki=le nge*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFVN3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK
bread kâ bä toki kä i-malo
 bread DEM₁.DIST PREP knife LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.sharp
 ‘The girl cut the bread with a sharp knife.’ (instrument)

(12.74) *Bä da kä i-ngâ=le la=ng*
 PREP thing LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.L.NPROX=PL
awi tēpme.
 thank very.much
 ‘As for this kind of things, thank you very much.’ (nalogo012) (‘about’ role)

The following examples show some instances of the variant *mö*.

(12.75) *Tü-(y)elü-lë=ko sospene kâ mö teibol.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-put-up=3AUG.SBJ pot DEM₁.DIST PREP table
 ‘We put the pot on the table.’ (location)

(12.76) *Lë-ö-bwö-ngö mö sospene nide la.*
 NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-cook-NMLZ₂ PREP pot 3MIN DEM₁.NPROX
 ‘Cooking in the pot is this one.’ (location)

(12.77) *Kä-lë-öblemi-pä=ngö=m kai mö bia.*
 way-PASS.PFV-make-out=APPL=DIR.hither pudding PREP breadfruit
 ‘How to make pudding out of breadfruit.’ (source)

(12.78) *T(ü)-yelü=pe=kom mö belëm.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-put=COS=1AUG.SBJ PREP bowl
 ‘We put (it) into the bowl.’ (location)

(12.79) *Topola gö=tu jâ mö skol*
 bag general.CLF=1MIN.POSS LOC.COP PREP school
 ‘My bag is at school.’ (location)

(12.80) *I-twë=m=gom* *bia* *kâ=ng* *mö*
 PFV.N3AUG-bring=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL PREP
böma ne=gom.
 house general.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘We bring those breadfruit to our house.’ (direction)

(12.81) *I-pi=mwe* *ba=nu* *mö* *nat*
 PFV.N3AUG-tell=2MIN.SBJ.hither PREP=1MIN.OBJ PREP language
lö Nablwi.
 ASS.MRK Nablwi
 ‘You told (it) to me in the Namblawi language.’

(12.82) *Mö wiki kä i-vë-tö=p.*
 PREP week LNK PFV.N3AUG-go=in=DIR.hither
 ‘Next week (*lit.* in the week that is coming in)’

(12.83) *Lë-büvlë-tö=kö* *nodök ngö* *böma kâ*
 PFV.3AUG-shut-in=3AUG.SBJ wall ASS.MRK house DEM₁.DIST
mö motea.
 PREP fern
 ‘They shut in the house walls with fern.’

The prepositions *bä* and *mö* cannot be stranded, i.e. their object cannot be fronted with them remaining in situ. Generally, when prepositional objects need to be fronted to undergo pragmatic and syntactic processes, PPs are replaced by applicative constructions promoting peripheral roles to core function. Two examples are shown in (12.84-12.85), and (12.86-12.87).

(12.84) *Chair kâ* *t(ü)-wäbu-ti-u=mwe* *ja.*
 chair DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=2MIN.SBJ.hither DEM₄.PROX
 ‘The chair you are sitting on is here.’ (applicative)

(12.85) *Nim la* *t(ü)-wäbu=pme=m* *mö* *chair.*
 2MIN DEM_{1,L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-sit=COS=hither PREP chair
 ‘You are sitting on the chair.’ (PP)

(12.86) *Mwetelya* *tü-mno=ngö=nga...*
 village IPFV.N3AUG-live=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘The village I live in...’ (applicative)

(12.87) *I-mno=nga* *bä* *mwetelya* *Nea.*
 PFV.N3AUG-live=1MIN.SBJ PREP village Nea
 ‘I live in the Nea village.’ (nalogo001_2015) (PP)

In (12.84), the location, the chair, is promoted to core argument to be fronted and relativized by the applicative/transitive suffix *-ti*. In (12.85), the location is expressed by a PP where the preposition is followed by the object. In (12.86), again, the location is promoted to core function by *=ngö*, while in (12.87), it is expressed by a PP where *bä* is followed by the object.

The prepositions *bä* and *mö* are formally identical to the two bound nouns *bä-* and *mö-* ‘place’ (Chapter 4).

12.1.6 Local, temporal and bound nouns as adjuncts

Like PPs, local and temporal nouns can express adjuncts in the clause (Chapter 6). Two examples of local and temporal nouns are shown in (12.88) and (12.89).

(12.88) *Nubü* *i-mno=nga* *böma ä* *mö* *skul*.
 yesterday PFV.N3AUG-stay=1MIN.SBJ home COORD PREP school
 ‘Yesterday I stayed at home and at school.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

(12.89) *I-vë=kom* *mweli bowi* *beipluwu*.
 PFV.N3AUG-go=1AUG.SBJ time be.long bush
 ‘We went for a long time in the bush.’ (nalogo0211_2015)

In (12.88), *böma* is found in coordination with a PP introduced by *mö*. They both express locations and function as syntactic adjuncts. In (12.88) and (12.89), the temporal NP, formed by the head noun *mweli* modified by the relative clause *bowi* ‘be long’, functions as an adjunct, like the local noun *beipluwu*.

Along with local and temporal nouns, the bound noun *kä-* ‘way’ modified by a relative clause can also function as an adjunct. In (12.90), the complex nominal expression encodes quantification.

(12.90) *O,* *döt=nu* *i-kele=teipwö*
 oh body=1MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-be.good=just
kä-i-pmi *nübü*.
 way-PFV.N3AUG-be.little yesterday
 ‘Oh, I was just a bit well yesterday.’ (nalogo033)

12.1.7 Adverbs

Adverbs tend to group together sets of words which, as Schachter and Shopen (2007: 19-20) write, “do not necessarily have as much in common with one another, either notionally or grammatically [...]”. However, from a functional point of view, they function as modifiers of verbs, adjectives or other verbs. In Nalögo, adverbs are different from one another semantically and syntactically. The class of adverbs is open and its members express meanings such as aspectual-temporal, manner, locational, and restrictive. In this section, I provide only some examples of the most common adverbs occurring in simple clauses.

Temporal-aspectual adverbs, such as *nübü* ‘yesterday’, *lëmapä* ‘tomorrow’, *nëgwa* ‘today’, *noglâ* ‘today, later’ and *ëvë* ‘always’, are generally free in terms of position they occupy in the clause. They can occur sentence initially or sentence finally, before or after the verb as shown, for instance, by *nëgwa* (~ *nogwa*) in the two examples below.

(12.91) *Eu nëgwa tü-(y)apwe-ti=bwa bwe*
 yes today IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither story
ngö lë-(v)elya-mi-ngö nelâ.
 ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-dance-APPL-NMLZ₂ nose.pendant
 ‘Yes, today I am telling a story about dancing with the *nelâ*.’ (nalogo065)

(12.92) *Ka t(ü)-yapwe-ti=bwa nogwa*
 DEM₁.PROX IPFV.N3AUG-tell-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither today
kä-lë-doulë=ngö kio döle.
 way-PASS.PFV-catch=APPL chicken wild
 ‘This I am going to tell you today, how to catch wild chickens.’ (nalogo013)

The aspectual adverb *pmo* ‘again’, which can also occur inside the VC (Chapter 8), is only attested postverbally (12.93), while *awi* ‘just’ only preverbally as shown in (12.94).

(12.93) *Nünge kâ i-kukiö=le bolo kâ pmo*
 boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-kick=3MIN.SBJ bolo DEM₁.DIST again
ä pmo.
 COORD again
 ‘The boy kicked the ball again and again.’ (nalogo045)

(12.94) *Seleni ka=ng awi t(ü)-vë-tö=p.*
 dollar DEM₁.PROX=PL just IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither
 ‘These dollars just came (in the island).’ (nalogo12)

Manner adverbs typically follow the verb, including *dongo* ‘a lot, really, enough (in negative context)’, *angidö* ‘well, properly, carefully’, and *âkö* ‘really, well’. Two examples with *dongo* and *âkö* are found below.

(12.95) *I-kele=ba=m* *dongo?*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=2MIN.OBJ a.lot
 ‘Do you like (it) a lot? (nalogo062)’

(12.96) *Öblemi* *âkö* *ile!*
 do well sister
 ‘Do (it) well, sister!’ (nalogo039)

The locational adverb *yöve* ‘outside’ is also attested postverbally as in (12.97).

(12.97) *Tu-tö-tä=pwe* *ma* *yöve!*
 stay-in=just DEM₂.PROX outside
 ‘...Just stand here outside!’ (nalogo010)

Finally, the restrictive adverb *teipwö* ‘just, only’ can only occur after the verb or the noun on which it has scope.

(12.98) *Të-pna=kö* *tëipwö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-shoot=3AUG.SBJ just
 ‘They just shoot (it).’ (nalogo025)

(12.99) *Leplē* *te=i-pwe=lü* [...] *butete* *da*
 people NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-plant=NEG₂ potato thing
la=ng *aa* *pötna* *tëipwö.*
 DEM_{1.L}.NPROX COORD yam just
 ‘People do not plant...potatos, those things, but only pana.’ (nalogo032)

12.2 Predicate nominals and related constructions

Following Payne (1997:111), predicate nominals are predicates where “the semantic content of the predication is embodied in a noun”. This definition includes equative and proper inclusion clauses described in §12.2.1. Typologically, predicate nominals tend to be grouped together with constructions expressing adjectival, locative, existential and possessive meanings. In this section, I describe the characteristics of locative constructions, existential constructions and possessive constructions in Nalögo in §12.2.2, §12.2.3 and §12.2.4, respectively. Adjectival

meanings are expressed by stative verbs, as in the majority of Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 40).

12.2.1 Equative and Proper Inclusion constructions

Typologically, equative constructions are often treated in the same way as proper inclusion constructions (Payne 1997: 112). In equative constructions, the subject referent is equated to the entity specified by the predicate nominal as in ‘Ann is my sister’. By contrast, ‘proper inclusion’ clauses refer to those constructions where “a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate” (Payne 1997: 112). The subject referent is generally specific, while the nominal predicate is not as in ‘Marguerite is a writer’. Typologically, the most common strategy to express the semantics of equation is through juxtaposition of two NPs. Oceanic languages typically use juxtaposition as a strategy; the existence of copulas is quite rare. Nalögo is no exception, as equative and proper inclusion constructions are mainly expressed by juxtaposition. Vaa (2013: 411-13) describes the same strategy for equative clauses in Engdewu. Three examples of equative constructions are (12.100), (12.101), and (12.102) and (12.103) are proper inclusion constructions.

- (12.100) *Elizabeth* *ilaule=nu*
 Elizabeth mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘Elizabeth is/was my mother.’
- (12.101) *Ni* *ibu* *Valentina*
 1MIN father Valentina
 ‘I am/was Valentina’s father.’ (nalogo047)
- (12.102) *Nigo leplë* *ngö* *Nea*
 1AUG people ASS.MRK Nea
kä *la-a-klë-tö*
 LNK PFV.3AUG-CAUS-know-in
 ‘We are/were teachers from Nea.’ (nalogo047)
- (12.103) *Pi=bwe,* “*Ni olë kä i-pwö!*”
 say=DIR.thither 1MIN girl LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big
 ‘Tell (to him): “I am a big girl!”’ (nalogo039)

The structure of equative and proper inclusion constructions is less straightforward to describe compared to clauses involving a predicational component. Following Stassen (1997: 108-109), these types of clauses, referred to as ‘identity statements’, are non-predicational in nature, which

means that we do not find the usual distinction between subject and predication. Semantically, the two NPs are ranked on the same level. From a structural point of view, languages show two possibilities: either they encode identity statements like predicational sentences, construing one NP as a subject and the other one as predicate; or they can encode the two NPs on the same structural level. In this respect, Stassen (1997: 108-109) writes: “[...] one might say that such constructions contain two grammatical subjects, or alternatively, no grammatical subject at all. If there is a differentiation between the two NPs as to grammatical marking, this marking will not be sensitive to grammatical role, but will concern pragmatic-functional categories such as focus, topic/comment, or background/foreground”. Based on Stassen (1997)’s definition, Nalögo seems to belong to the second type of languages, those where identity statements are encoded by two NPs on the same structural level, since there is no overt indication of a subject/predicate distinction.

With 3MIN subjects, equative and proper inclusion constructions can make use of the free pronoun *nide* intervening between the two NPs. Two examples are shown in (12.104) and (12.105), where *nide* is enclosed in brackets to indicate its optionality.

(12.104) *Judi (nide) ilaule obwe*
 Judi 3MIN mother child
 ‘Judi is/was a mother.’

(12.105) *Maya nide kä-va-klë-tö*
 Maya 3MIN one-CAUS-know-in
 ‘Maya is/was a teacher.’

In (12.104) and (12.105), 3MIN *nide* agrees with the subject, functioning anaphorically. With other person categories, free pronouns cannot cooccur between the two NPs with anaphoric function as shown in (12.106).

(12.106) *Ni ni ilaule obwe*
 1MIN 1MIN mother child
 *‘I am a mother.’
 ‘Me, I am a mother’

In (12.106), the second occurrence of *ni* cannot be interpreted as a free pronoun occurring between the two NPs. Rather, the construction can be used in a pragmatically marked context for contrastive emphasis.

All the examples of equative and proper inclusion clauses described above can be interpreted as being framed in present or past. If there is the need, temporal expressions can be added to the clause to specify the time reference. An example is shown in (12.107), where the NP *mweli kâ* frames the statement in the past.

- (12.107) *Mweli kâ* *ni* *olë=wö* *Nea* *kâ*
time DEM₁.DIST 1MIN girl=ASS.MRK Nea LNK
i-kele.
PFV.N3AUG-be.good
‘In the past, I was a good woman from Nea.’ (nalogo047)

With past and presence time reference, the context is usually enough to disambiguate. With future, identity statements require a predicational sentence where the verb form *ngi* ‘to be’ functions as a copula. Two examples are shown in (12.108) and (12.109).

- (12.108) *Billy jä* *ni-ngi* *nünge=lö* *lë-wë-ngö*
Billy FUT IRR.N3AUG-be boy=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-work-NMLZ₂
‘Billy will be a farmer (*lit.* Billy will be a man that works).’ (nalogo2310_2015)
- (12.109) *Ni ä* *ni-ngi* *ilaule* *obwe*
1MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-be mother child
‘I will be a mother.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

In (12.108), the verb form *ngi* ‘to be’ takes the irrealis marker and occurs with the future markers *ä* and *jä*. The presence of the copula in this construction is obligatory. From a typological point of view, it is common for copulas to be omitted or to be optional with present time reference, but obligatory elsewhere (Stassen 1997: 64-65).

12.2.2 Locative constructions

Locative constructions are used to assert the existence of a previously mentioned entity in a specific location. The entity is typically definite and already established in the universe of discourse. Koch (2012: 539), who defines the entity as ‘located’ and the location as ‘locus’, gives a similar definition of locative constructions where “[...] the existence of the LOCATED (within the universe of discourse) is not asserted, but only taken for granted. Likewise, Zeitoun, Huang, Yeh, and Chang (1999) point out that the entity which is located is “a definite participant/element previously established in the discourse [...]”. In this regard, locative constructions differ from existentials, whose primary function is to introduce a new referent in

the discourse. In locative constructions, the component of location is obligatorily expressed and constitutes an integral part of the predication.

In Nalögo, the located entity functions as the subject of the construction, while the locative copula *jâ* and the location, typically expressed by a PP, constitutes the predication. The copula is obligatory and specific for this type of construction. Two examples are shown in (12.110) and (12.111), where the locative constructions display an SV word order, where the subject NP precedes the predication and the location is expressed by a PP.

(12.110) *Buk* *gö=m* *jâ* *mö* *teibol.*
 book general.CLF=2MIN.POSS LOC.COP PREP table
 ‘Your book is/was on the table.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

(12.111) *Topola* *gö=m* *jâ* *mö* *skul.*
 bag general.CLF=2MIN.POSS LOC.COP PREP school
 ‘Your bag is/was at school.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

Example (12.112) shows that if the NP subject expresses a plural referent, the copula takes the pluralizer =*ng*⁸⁶.

(12.112) *Buk* *gö=m* *jâ=ng* *mö* *teibol.*
 book general.CLF=2MIN.POSS LOC.COP=PL PREP table
 ‘My books are on the table.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

In (12.110) and (12.111), the event is located in the present and the past. If the event is located in the future, the locative construction is replaced by a simple clause with verbs of posture as in (12.113).

(12.113) *Topola* *gö=m* *jä* *n(ü)-yâ* *mö*
 bag general.CLF=2MIN.POSS FUT IRR.N3AUG-stay PREP
skul.
 school
 ‘Your bag will be at school.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

The construction in (12.113) involves the inflected verb *yâ* ‘stay’. Simple clauses with posture verbs do not occur only to replace locative constructions when the event is located in the future, but they can also function as alternatives when the event is located in the present and the past. For instance, the locative construction in (12.114) could be replaced by the one in (12.115) with

⁸⁶ This inflectional property of this form is retained from its diachronic source (§12.1.5).

the verb *mno* ‘stay, live’. (12.116) shows another example with the posture verb *wäbu* ‘sit’ performing a similar function.

(12.114) *Kuli jā mö tebol*
 dog LOC.COP PREP table
 ‘The dog is on the table.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

(12.115) *Kuli jā tü-mno-u mö tebol.*
 dog CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-stay-down PREP table
 ‘The dog is on the table.’

(12.116) *Pot kâ â tü-wäbu=m bä aian*
 pot DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-sit=DIR.hither PREP iron
kâ.
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The pot is on the iron (*lit.* the pot is sitting on the iron).’ (nalogo043_2)

The replacement of locative constructions with simple clauses is obligatory in negative contexts, as discussed in Chapter 15.

12.2.3 Existential clauses

Existential clauses are used to introduce a previously unknown entity by asserting its existence in a specific location. According to Koch (2012: 538-539), existential constructions can express ‘generic existence’ or ‘bound existence’. When they express ‘generic’ existence, the location does not need to be specified; while when they express ‘bound’ existence, the location is overtly expressed to specify “the local area of validity of the statement of existence” (2012: 539).

In Nalögo, Existential clauses involve three structural components: (i) the predicative element *kopyo(=ng)* ‘there is/are’, (ii) the NP subject, and (iii) an optional locative/temporal adjunct. The word order is VS. Examples are shown in (12.117), (12.118) and (12.119).

(12.117) *Kopyo toki mö teibol.*
 EXIST knife PREP table
 ‘There is/was a knife on the table.’

(12.118) *Kopyo=ng olë böma.*
 EXIST=PL girl house
 ‘There are/were girls at home.’

- (12.119) *Kopyo lëplë nümü=de i-plëki.*
 EXIST person hand=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.sore
 ‘There is someone whose hand is sore.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

While in (12.117) and (12.118), the location is overtly expressed, in (12.119), it is not expressed. With regard to the function of existential constructions, Lambrecht (1994: 179) raises an interesting point by stating that typically, in everyday communication, it is difficult to find existential constructions whose function is just to affirm the existence of some kind of entity without a given location. In particular, he states: “From the discourse-pragmatic point of view, it is therefore preferable to interpret the function of such sentences as that of presenting or introducing a referent into the “place” or “scene” of the discourse and thereby of raising it into the addressee’s consciousness, rather than of asserting its mere existence.” For instance, the Nalögo example in (12.119) constitutes the description of the content of a card used as a stimulus for elicitation purposes. In this case, there is no overtly expressed location, but the location (the card itself) is implicit and inferable from the context. In (12.120), the location, the “scene” is the discourse itself where the protagonists of the story are introduced for the first time.

- (12.120) *A mâ të-e-pi=e=bwe nge*
 DEM₃.PROX DEM₂.DIST PASS.IPFV-?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither QUOT
Mweng o Nuwenilö. Okei. Kopyo olë
 Mweng COORD Nuwenilö okay EXIST woman
nigö ba obwe ne=de...
 3AUG PREP child animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘This one is a place called Mweng or Nuwenilö. Okay. There was a girl and her child...’ (nalogo001)

Existential constructions occur with indefinite subject referents, which can be specific as in (12.117), (12.118), (12.119) and (12.120) above or non-specific as in (12.121).

- (12.121) *Kopyo nâ pola*
 EXIST fish sea
 ‘There are fishes in the sea.’

In Nalögo, existential constructions can be also used to express those functions which in other languages, like English, can be encoded by indefinite forms meaning ‘something’ and ‘someone’ (Haspelmath 2001: 54-55). Two examples are shown in (12.122) and (12.123) where *kopyo* occurs with the nouns *da* ‘thing’ and *leplë* ‘person’, respectively.

(12.122) *Kopyo da tü-mwale=le*
 EXIST thing IPFV.N3AUG-hold=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘There is something he is holding.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

(12.123) *Kopyo leplë tü-mwa.*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-eat
 ‘Someone is eating.’ (nalogo0915)

With indefinite human subjects, the form *kopyo* can also take the pluralizer =*ng* to express the plurality of the referents as in (12.124).

(12.124) *Kopyo=ng leplë tÿ-velya*
 EXIST=PL person IPFV.3AUG-dance
 ‘There are some people dancing.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

As shown in all the example above, the statements of existence can be located in the present and the past, the interpretation being based on the context. When the statement of existence is located in the future, the existential construction is replaced by a simple construction with the verb *ngi* ‘be, exist’ inflected for irrealis. An example is shown in (12.125).

(12.125) *Jä ni-ngi nöpwë du böma.*
 FUT IRR.N3AUG-be cloth QNT home
 ‘There will be some clothes at home.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

12.2.4 Possessive clauses

There are three ways to express possessive predication of the type ‘I have an X’ in Nalögo: (i) through a possessive clause made up of a complex predication (§12.2.4.1); (ii) through a possessive clause with the hybrid predicate *vöngi* (~(*v*)*ängi*) ‘have’ (§12.2.4.2); (iii) through an existential possessive clause with the form *yobwe* ‘exist’ (§12.2.4.3).

12.2.4.1 Possessive clause with complex predication

Nalögo has a type of possessive clause made up of a complex predication including a nominal. An example is shown in (12.128) where the complex predication is made up of the possessive phrases and the following noun *obwe*.

(12.126) *Ne=nu obwe lë-pwä*
 animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS child PFV.3AUG-be.four
 ‘I have four children.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

The possessor, which in (12.126) is expressed by the 1MIN possessor form =*nu*, can also be expressed by a dislocated NP cooccurring with the pronominal possessor form as in (12.127) where *Megwau* is topicalised.

- (12.127) *Megwau, ne=de obwe lë-tölwö*
 Mengwau animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS child PFV.3AUG-be.three
 ‘As for Mengwau, he had three children.’ (nalogo1009_2015)

In (12.126) and (12.127), the two verbs, ‘be four’ and ‘be three’, are analysed as modifiers of the NP head *obwe* rather than as predicates. The reason of this choice is explained by the existences of sentences like (12.128), where the predicate is clearly the complex predication made up by the initial possessive phrase and the following nominal.

- (12.128) *Gö=gö kâ=ng töwa mö*
 general.CLF=3AUG.POSS QNT=PL money PREP
manye trausis gö=gö.
 pocket trousers general.CLF=3AUG.POSS
 ‘They have some money in the pocket of their trousers.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

Sentences like (12.128) also differ from locative constructions where the presence of the locative copula is obligatory as in (12.129).

- (12.129) *Butete na=m lë-li jâ=ng*
 potato food.CLF=2MIN.POSS PFV.3AUG-be.two LOC.COP=PL
mä nugo.
 PREP table
 ‘My two potatoes are on the table.’ (nalogo003)

12.2.4.2 Verbal possessive clause with *vöngi* ‘have, own’

Nalögo shows a possessive construction involving the possessive predicate *vöngi* ‘have, own’ (~ *vängi*) with possessive classifiers attached to it. The predicate *vöngi* seems to function as a hybrid form, displaying both nominal and verbal properties. Three examples are shown below.

- (12.130) *Ni ä vöngi-ne böma kä naabol*
 1MIN FUT have-animate.CLF house LNK new
 ‘I will have a new house.’

(12.131) *Leplē* *kä* *i-vöngi-ne* *böma*
 person LNK PFV.N3AUG-have-animate.CLF house
la
 DEM_{1,L}.NPROX
 ‘The owner of that house (*lit.* person that owns/has that house).’

(12.132) *Te=i-klë-ti=wa=lü*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know-APPL=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
kä-i-vöngi-gö *nökü* *ka*
 one-PFV.N3AUG-have-general.CLF shirt DEM₁.PROX
 ‘I don’t know who owns this shirt.’ (nalogo068)

In the examples above, the possessive classifiers *ne* ‘animate’ and *gö* ‘general’ are attached to predicate to specify the type of possessive relations and/or inherent characteristics of the object. There are no other examples attested in the available data where the other possessive classifiers attach to the predicate of this construction, but this might be due to lack of data.

12.2.4.3 Possessive clause with *yobwe* ‘exist’

In Nalögo, there is a possessive clause with the verb form *yobwe* ‘exist’ which seems to have an existential meaning. The clause is constituted by a subject NP in initial position and the predicate. Three examples are shown in (12.133-12.135).

(12.133) *Towa* *gö=gom* *yobwe*
 money general.CLF=1AUG.POSS exist
 ‘We have our money (*lit.* our money exists).’ (nalogo013)

(12.134) *Nabwetemya* *ngö* *nuwi* *kâ* *yobwe*
 loop ASS.MRK rope DEM₁.DIST exist
 ‘The rope has a loop (*lit.* a loop of the rope exists).’ (nalogo013)

(12.135) *Mweli* *gö=de* *yobwe*
 time general.CLF=3MIN.POSS exist
kâ *të-pi=bwe* *nge* *season*
 DEM₁.DIST PASS.IPFV-call=DIR.thither PRAG.MRK season
 ‘It has its time, what they call season (*lit.* its time stays)’ (nalogo013)

12.2.5 On the origins of the copula *jâ* and the existential *kopyo*

Typologically, it is common for languages to have different types of copular elements for predicate nominals and locative predicate: “It is very common, however, for a different copula to be used with locative predicates, one that has location as part of its meaning. Such locative copulas are often best glossed ‘be at’” (Dryer 2007: 239).

While predicate nominals do not show copular elements, the locative copula *jâ* displays more copula-like functions. The copula *jâ* originates in the distal form *jâ* ‘be over there’ of the locative demonstrative (Chapter 7). As pointed out by Dryer, locative copulas contain existence and location semantic, so does *jâ* in Nalögo. When the subject referent is plural, *jâ* can take the pluralizer *=ng* (§12.2.2). This morphological property is retained from the diachronic source. However, at the same time, *jâ* is no longer a demonstrative because it does not express any distance-related value like its diachronic source. This feature, as well as its obligatoriness in locative constructions, gives evidence of its status of copula.

The existential predicate *kopyâ* ‘there is/are’ originates in the distal form *kopyâ* ‘there is/are over there’ of existential demonstratives (Chapter 7). Unlike demonstrative forms, the form *kopyâ* does not have any distance-related function, which is lost in the process of grammaticalization.

12.3 Interrogative clauses

In Nalögo, polar questions (§12.3.1) have no special markers or particles and they are structurally similar to simple declarative clauses with the verb taking all the common types of inflections and derivations. However, polar questions display a different intonational pattern. Content questions (§12.3.2) involve a number of interrogative words and also show a different intonational pattern. Examples of the two constructions are given below.

12.3.1 Polar questions

In their typological survey, König and Siemund (2007: 290-303) identify six ways in which languages encode polar questions, including the use of a specific intonational pattern. Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 52) write that in Oceanic languages, “[...] [polar questions] are generally expressed simply through an intonation change from declaratives, or a following questioning interjection”.

In Nalögo, polar questions are only characterized by a slightly rising intonation. There are no interrogative particles, no word order changes nor specific verbal morphology involved. The

rising intonational patterns of two polar questions are shown in Figure 12-1 and Figure 12-2. For the sake of comparison, Figure 12-3 shows the intonational pattern of a simple declarative clause⁸⁷.

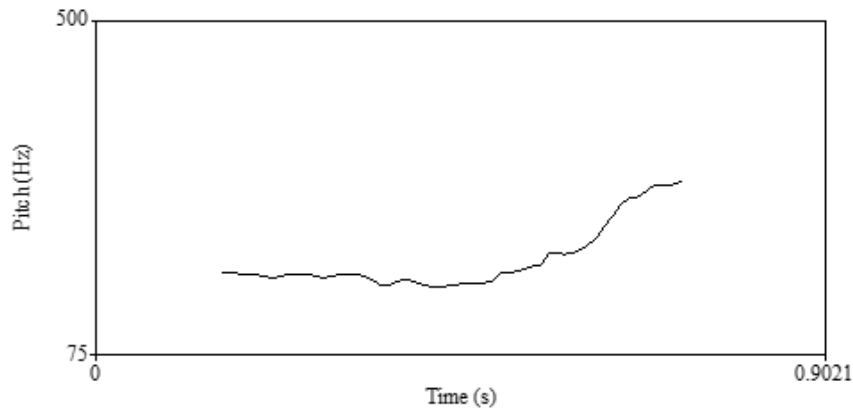


Figure 12-1 Pitch contour of the polar question *iklëpeng?* 'Have you understood?'

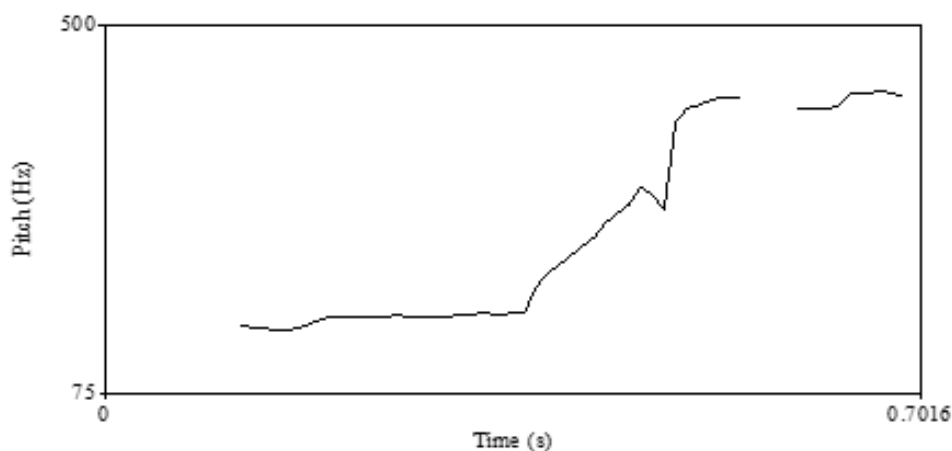


Figure 12-2. Pitch contour of the polar question *ikeleka bam?* 'Is that good for you?'

In Figure 12-1, the pitch peak of the rising intonation occurs on the last syllable of the verb; while in Figure 12-2, the progressive rising intonation has its peak at the end of the clause, on the PP *bam*. The intonational patterns of Figure 12-1 and Figure 12-2 differ from the one in

⁸⁷ Figures in this section show single utterances that can be considered representative of the patterns described here. Future quantitative analyses are warranted to provide a more systematic depiction of the intonational properties of interrogatives in Nalögo.

Figure 12-3 below representing a simple declarative clause. Intonational patterns of simple declarative clauses tend to be flatter, with a falling intonation. While there is a general tendency for questions to display a rising intonation, declarative clauses show some variation, but they do not necessarily involve a falling intonation. However, it is worth pointing out that some degree of variation of intonational patterns is always attested.

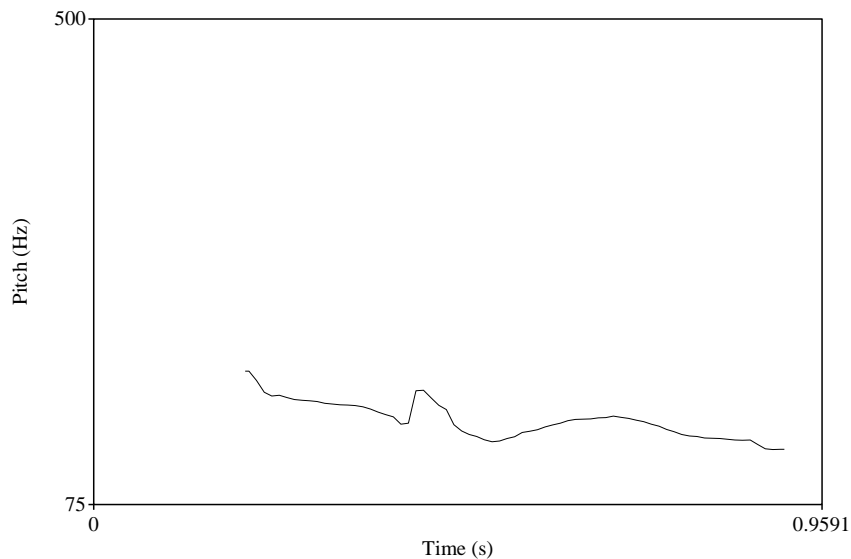


Figure 12-3. Pitch contour of the declarative clause *tiingükaini ma* 'We ate first here.'

The answers expected in polar questions are *Eu* 'Yes' or *Tonlü*⁸⁸ 'No'. Examples of polar questions with some verbless and verbal clauses are shown in (12.136-12.140).

(12.136) *Judi ilaule=m?*
Judi mother=2MIN.POSS?
 'Is Judi your mother? (speaker A) (nalogo034)

Eu, Judi ilaule=nu
 yes *Judi mother=1MIN.POSS*
 'Yes, Judi is my mother.' (Equative) (speaker B)

(12.137) *Junia ä Babra jâ=ng mö skul?*
Junia COORD Babra LOC.COP=PL PREP school
 'Are Junia and Babra at school?' (Locative) (nalogo034)

⁸⁸ The answer *toko* 'No' is also attested. The word *toko* is the negative answer in Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 128). Therefore, this might be a case of borrowing.

- (12.138) *Tü-vě=ng* *mö* *Tömotu* *Neo*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ PREP Tömotu Neo
mö wiki kä t(ü)-vě-tö=p?
 PREP week LNK IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.hither
 ‘Are you going to Tömotu Neo next week? (speaker A)
- Eu, ni ä n(ü)-vě* *mö* *Tömotu* *Neo.*
 yes 1MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-go PREP Tömotu Neo
 ‘Yes, I will go to Tömotu Neo.’ (speaker B)
- (12.139) *I-mo=pe=ng* *lopta* *kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=COS=2MIN.SBJ cabbage DEM₁.DIST
tü-pi=bwa?
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘Have you seen the cabbage I am talking to you about?’ (nalogo039)
- (12.140) *Nimwi* *ä* *nü-vě-m* *mö*
 2AUG FUT IRR.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither PREP
lě-(y)elě-ngö *kâ?*
 NMLZ₁-marry-NMLZ₂ DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Will you go to the kastom marriage? (speaker A)
- eu, nigom ä nü-vě=bwe* *mö*
 yes, 1AUG FUT IRR.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither PREP
lě-(y)elě-ngö *la*
 NMLZ₁-marry-NMLZ₂ DEM₁.NPROX
 ‘Yes, we will come to the kastom marriage.’ (speaker B)

Sentences (12.136) and (12.137) show examples of polar questions with equative and locative clauses. In (12.136), (12.138) and (12.140), two speakers, A and B, are involved in a short conversation. In verbal clauses, the verb can take different mood/aspect prefixes, as shown in (12.138), (12.139) and (12.140). Polar questions show the same word order attested in simple declarative clauses.

12.3.2 Content Questions

Content questions differ from Polar questions, in that they “receive answers that provide the kind of information specified by the interrogative word” (König & Siemund 2007: 13). Interrogative words display two functions: (i) marking the clause as a question, and ii) specifying the type of information that is being requested (Payne 1997: 300). Like polar

questions, content questions tend to display a rising intonation. Figure 12-4 and Figure 12-5 show two examples extracted from a conversation.

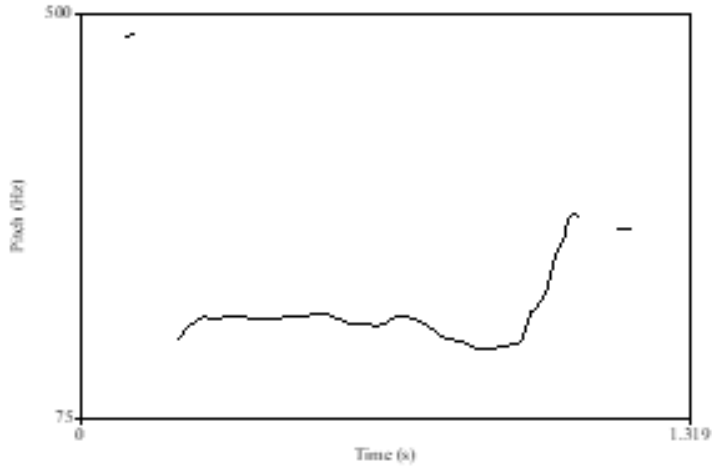


Figure 12-4. Pitch contour of the content question *taem nälö apme Vali?* 'What time is it Vali?'

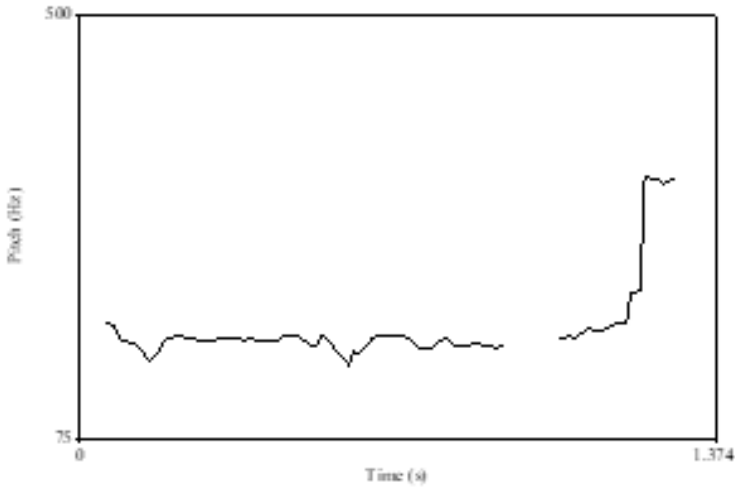


Figure 12-5. Pitch contour of the content question *jele düpmo kä ikläng?* 'Where is one (song) more that you know?'

In Figure 12-4, the question contains the interrogative *nâlö* ‘what, which’ functioning as an NP modifier. The content question *Taem nâlö apme Vali?* ‘What time is it Vali?’ exhibits a rising intonational pattern, especially towards the end of the utterance.

Likewise, in Figure 12-5, the content question *Jele düpmo kä iklëng* ‘Where is one more (song) that you know?’ has a rising intonation at the end of the question. Content questions are characterized by the presence of interrogative words displaying different functions. They are summarized in Table 12-2.

| INTERROGATIVE WORD | MEANING |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>nelö</i> | ‘who/whom?’ |
| <i>nâlö</i> | ‘what, which?’ |
| <i>nâ</i> | ‘what, why?’ |
| <i>devlö</i> | ‘where?’ |
| <i>jele</i> ⁸⁹ | ‘be where?’ |
| <i>vlö</i> | ‘how much, how many?’ |
| <i>kavlö</i> | ‘which?’ |
| <i>mveli kavlö</i> | ‘when?’ |
| <i>müje</i> | ‘be where, be how?’ |

Table 12-2. Interrogative words

12.3.2.1 *nelö* ‘who/whom’

The interrogative word *nelö* ‘who, whom?’ is a pronoun functioning as a core argument. Examples are (12.141), (12.142), (12.143), (12.144) and (12.145) show the functions of *nelö* with various clause types.

(12.141) *Nelö â mëlue=m?*
 who PRAG.MRK brother=2MIN.POSS
 ‘Who is your brother?’

(12.142) *Nelö â tü-vë meipluwu?*
 who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go bush
 ‘Who is going to the bush?’

⁸⁹ The form *jele* looks vaguely similar to the Äiwoo *kälää* ‘be where, be how’ (Næss, p.c.).

- (12.143) *Nelö â i-viki-ti-le no kâ mö*
 who PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-cut-PL=3MIN.SBJ fish DEM₁.DIST PREP
toki kä i-pwë-tu?
 knife LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK
 ‘Who cut the fish with a big knife?’
- (12.144) *Nelö â i-mo=l nubü?*
 who PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-see=2MIN.SBJ yesterday?
 ‘Whom did you see yesterday?’
- (12.145) *Nelö â tü-vö-bi bia?*
 who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake breadfruit
 ‘Who is baking breadfruit?’

In (12.141), the pronoun functions as the subject of a predicate nominal construction, while in (12.142), it functions as the subject of an intransitive clause. In (12.143), (12.144) and (12.145), it functions as the transitive subject, transitive object and semitransitive subject, respectively.

In all the examples above, the interrogative words encoding S, A_{TR}, O_{TR} and A_{STR} are fronted, but they may occur in situ as in (12.146), where the word for ‘who’ encoding A_{TR} occurs in its basic postverbal position.

- (12.146) *I-mo=pwe nelö nim nubü?*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=DIR.thither who 2MIN yesterday
 ‘Who saw you yesterday?’

Further data are needed to determine the exact difference, if any, between sentences like (12.143) and (12.146).

The interrogative form *nelö* can encode additional semantic roles such as comitatives and recipients, if they are promoted to core function by applicative forms. Two examples are shown in (12.147) and (12.148).

- (12.147) *Nelö â tü-lâ-mi=le?*
 who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘Who is she talking with?’
- (12.148) *Nelö â i-ka-neba Vivian rice*
 who PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-give-OBL/APPL Vivian rice
kâ?
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Whom did Vivian give rice to?’

In (12.147), the applicative *-mi* promotes the comitative participant to core function. In (12.148), the function of the form *-neba* is ambiguous between an applicative and an oblique pro-form (Chapter 13). However, only if *-neba* is interpreted as an applicative form, the recipient can be said to display a core function.

In (12.149), *nelö* encodes the possessor of the possessive phrase which modifies the NP head. In this construction, the interrogative form is in situ, occurring in its expected position.

- (12.149) *Bäki gö nelö â t(ü)-yâ-nö-pë bä*
 bag general.CLF who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-stay-DISP-out PREP
laö neti?
 side road
 ‘Whose bag is on the side of the road?’ (nalogo045)

The form *nelö* can also function as the object of the preposition *ba* as in (12.150). Again, the interrogative form is not fronted, but it follows the preposition, which cannot be stranded.

- (12.150) *T(ü)-vëpë=bwe ba nelö?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ.thiher PREP who
 ‘You are buying (it) from whom?’

Given that *ba* cannot be stranded, there are two options to front *nelö*: either the PP is replaced by the applicative/oblique pro-form *-neba* as in (12.148) or a resumptive pronoun is left in situ attached to the preposition to express the role of the fronted interrogative form as in (12.151) below.

- (12.151) *Nelö â tii-lâ-ngam=ba=de?*
 who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-talk=2AUG.SBJ =PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Who(m) are you talking to?’

In (12.151), the PP is part of the intonational contour of the VC.

The interrogative *nelö* can also occur in verbless clauses as in (12.48)(12.152) where it constitutes one of the two NPs forming the predicate nominal.

- (12.152) *Olë kä nelö?*
 girl DEM₁.MED who
 ‘Who’s that girl?’ (*lit.* that girl is who?)

Finally, express the indefinite concept of ‘whoever’ as in (12.153).

- (12.153) *Nelö kä vö-nibü lepelë i-vë më prison.*
 who LNK MIDD₁-kill people PFV.N3AUG-go PREP prison
 ‘Whoever kills people goes to prison.’ (nalogo047)

12.3.2.2 *nâlö* ‘what’

In Nalögo, the interrogative word *nâlö* ‘what/which’ is analysed as a pronominal form. Three examples are shown in (12.154), (12.155) and (12.156).

- (12.154) *Nâlö â?*
 what DEM₃.DIST
 ‘What is that?’ (field notes 2018)

- (12.155) *Nâlö â i-ka=bwe Vivian*
 what PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither Vivian
ba Janet?
 PREP Janet
 ‘What did Vivian give to Janet?’ (nalogo045)

- (12.156) *Nâlö â i-pi=bwe laule=nu*
 what PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-tell=DIR.hither mother=1MIN.POSS
ba=m?
 PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘What did my mother tell you?’ (nalogo020_1)

In (12.154), (12.155) and (12.156) above, the interrogative pronoun occurs at the beginning of the question before the predicate. In (12.154), the interrogative pronoun might function as an S argument, while the demonstrative identifier might be the predicate (Chapter 7). By contrast, in (12.155) and (12.156), the interrogative functions as object. In all the examples above, *nâlö* is attested in initial position. However, it is also possible for the pronoun to remain in situ as in (12.157), where it functions as an object.

- (12.157) *tü-a-ku=ng nâlö?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=2MIN.SBJ what
 ‘You’re cooking what?’

The type of construction in (12.53) is typically attested in echo-questions (§12.7), which are used to clarify on a preceding utterance.

In some examples above, *nâlö* functions as a core argument encoding patient roles. However, additional peripheral roles can also be promoted to core function and be encoded by the interrogative word. For instance, in (12.158), the applicative =*ngö* allows a peripheral locative role to be encoded as a fronted applied object.

- (12.158) *Nâlö â i-pwä-ki-u=ngö=m*
 what PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-down=APPL=DIR.hither
olë kâ no kâ?
 girl DEM₁.DIST fish DEM₁.DIST
 ‘What did she cut the fish on?’

The pronoun *nâlö* can also function as an NP modifier as in (12.159) and (12.160), where it modifies the nouns *taem* ‘time’ and *bäki* ‘bag’.

- (12.159) *Taem nâlö a=pme Vali?*
 time what DEM₃.PROX=COS Vali
 ‘What time is it Vali (*lit.* what time is this one)?’ (nalogo039)

- (12.160) *Bäki nâlö â tü-tâ=ng meipluwu?*
 bag which PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ bush
 ‘Which bag are you taking to the bush?’

The interrogative form *nâlö* can also combine with the noun *namelëu* ‘method, kind’ to express meanings like ‘what size, what kind’ as in (12.161) and (12.162).

- (12.161) *Namelëu ngö toki nâlö â*
 size ASS.MRK knife what PRAG.MRK
i-tâ=mwe?
 PFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘What size of knife did you take?’

- (12.162) *Namölëu nâlö a?*
 size what DEM₂.PROX
 ‘What size is this one?’

When *nâlö* modifies the temporal noun *mweli*, it expresses the meaning ‘when, what time’ as in (12.163).

- (12.163) *Mweli nâlö kä i-pi=le nge*
time what LNK PFV.N3AUG-say=3MIN.SBJ COMP
tü-vë=ngö=m=de Lata?
IPFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ Lata
‘When did she say that she will come to Lata?’

Nâlö can also be predicative as in (12.164) where it hosts the change-of-state clitic =*p(m)e*.

- (12.164) *Taem la ne=m nâlö=pe?*
time DEM₁.NPROX animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS what=COS
‘Your time there is what?’ (nalogo039)

Finally, *nâlö* can express the indefinite meaning ‘whatever’ as in (12.165).

- (12.165) *Nâlö kä i-vöblemi=ng, wâka-to=wa nim*
what LNK PFV.N3AUG-do=2MIN.SBJ help-in=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
‘Whatever you do, I help you.’

12.3.2.3 *nâ* ‘what, why?’

The interrogative word *nâ*⁹⁰ ‘what, why?’, which might be a reduced form of *nâlö*, is a pronoun functioning as a core argument. In the available data, this form is only attested in preverbal position as shown in (12.166) and (12.167), where it encodes objects.

- (12.166) *Nâ tü-(v)öblemi=ng?*
what IPFV.N3AUG-do=2MIN.SBJ
‘What are you doing?’
- (12.167) *Nâ tü-twë=ng mö market lëmapë?*
what IPFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ PREP market tomorrow
‘What are you going to take to the market tomorrow?’

This interrogative word can also encode peripheral roles promoted by applicatives as shown in (12.168) and (12.169), respectively, where the applicatives *-ti* and *=ngö* promote two reason roles to core function.

⁹⁰ The form *nâ* has the variants *no* and *nö*. Variation in vowel realization is very common in Nalögo. However, the variants *nâ* and *no* could be the result of vowel contraction between the vowel /ö/ of the interrogative word and the pragmatic marker *â*, which is found with the interrogative forms *nelö* and *nâlö*, but not with *nâ*. However, while contraction of the pragmatic marker *â* is common with *nelö* and *nâlö* in rapid speech, but not in careful speech where there is no vowel contraction, the forms *nâ* and *no* do not vary according to the type of speech.

(12.168) *Nâ tü-wo-ti=mwe ma?*
 what IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=2MIN.SBJ.hither DEM₂.PROX
 ‘Why did you come here? (*lit.* What did you come here for?)’

(12.169) *No tē-ō-nibü=ngö=dö po döle?*
 what IPFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-kill=APPL=3AUG.SBJ pig wild
 ‘Why did they kill wild pigs? (*lit.* What did they kill wild pigs for?)’

The verb *wo* ‘go (by transport)’ can occur with both *-ti* and *=ngö* as in (12.168) and (12.170), respectively. In both examples, the applicatives promote a reason argument, apparently with no differences in meaning implied.

(12.170) *Nâ te=tü-wo=ngö=u=lü Lata nēgwa?*
 what NEG₁=IPFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ Lata today
 ‘Why aren’t you going to Lata today?’ (nalogo032)

Further data are required to establish if any verb can take both applicatives to promote the reason/cause role or if there are lexical restrictions in the distribution of the two valency-increasing devices. Two other examples are shown in (12.171) and (12.172), where the applicative *=ngö* promotes two cause arguments to core function by attaching to two intransitive verbs.

(12.171) *No tü-bwë-pli-nge=ngö toplä kä?*
 what IPFV.N3AUG-break-tear-soft.obj=APPL basket DEM₁.MED
 ‘Why did that basket break?’

(12.172) *No tü-mwe=ngö obwe kä?*
 what IPFV.N3AUG-be.afraid=APPL child DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Why is the child afraid?’

12.3.2.4 *devlö* ‘where?’

The interrogative word *dövla* (~ *devlö*) ‘which place, where?’ is analysed as a nominal form. It might be a lexicalised complex form composed by the units /dö/ and /vle/. Two examples are shown in (12.173) and (12.174).

(12.173) *Tü-vë=ng devlö?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ where
 ‘Where are you going?’

(12.174) *Olë* *kâ* *i-velo* *dövle?*
 woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-deliver where?
 ‘Where did the woman deliver?’

In (12.173) and (12.174), *devlö* functions as an adjunct encoding location and occurring after the predicate. The form can also be promoted to core function through applicativization. This is the case of (12.175), where the applicative =*ngö* allows *devlö* to be fronted in preverbal position.

(12.175) *Devlö* *â* *i-pwä-ki-u=ngö* *olë*
 where PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-cut-down=APPL woman
no *kâ?*
 fish DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Where did the woman cut the fish on? (*lit.* which place did the woman cut the fish on?)’

In (12.175), applicative is attached to the transitive verb *pwä* ‘cut’ to promote a locative argument to core function, making the verb trivalent. The applied object, the interrogative form, is fronted (Chapter 13).

The interrogative form *devlö* is also frequent in questions like (12.176).

(12.176) *Nim* *da=lö* *devlö?*
 2MIN thing=ASS.MRK where?
 ‘Where are you from? (*lit.* you are a thing belonging to where?)’

Finally, the form *dövle* can express an indefinite meaning as shown in (12.177).

(12.177) *Dövle* *i-vë-nö=ngö=ng,* *ti-ngi*
 where PFV.N3AUG-go-DISP=APPL=2MIN.SBJ IPFV.N3AUG-be
nigi.
 1+2MIN
 ‘Wherever you go, I will be with you (*lit.* Wherever you go, you and I will be).’

12.3.2.5 *jele* ‘where?’

The verb form *jele* ‘be where?’ occurs in initial or final position of the interrogative clause. Three examples are shown in (12.178), (12.179) and (12.180). In (12.180), the change-of-state marker =*p(m)e* (Chapter 12), which typically occurs on predicative elements, attaches to the interrogative form.

- (12.178) *Jele* *dü=pmo* *kä* *i-klë=ng?*
 be.where QNT=again LNK PFV.N3AUG-know=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Where is one more that you know?’ (nalogo039)
- (12.179) *Valentina* *jele?*
 Valentina be.where?
 ‘Where is Valentina?’ (word order 2018)
- (12.180) *E-pi=e=bwe=le* *nge,* “*Itö*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QUOT grandmother
jele=pme *Amoloti?*”
 be.where=COS Amoloti?
 She said: “Grandmother, where is Amoloti now?” (nalogo001)

12.3.2.6 *tüvlö* ‘how much?’

The word *tüvlö* ‘how much’ can display various functions. In (12.181), the form seems to modify the head noun *butete*, while in (12.182), it appears to function more as a predicate followed by its subject.

- (12.181) *I-ku-ti=ng* *butete* *tüvlö?*
 PFV.N3AUG-dig-TR=2MIN.SBJ potato how.much
 ‘How many potatoes did you dig? (*lit.* Did you dig how many potatoes?)’
- (12.182) *Tüvlö* *â=ng=pe* *i-pi=pe=bwa?*
 how.much DEM₃.DIST=PL=COS PFV.N3AUG-say=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither
 ‘How many have I already told you (*lit.* How many are those ones that I have already told you)?’ (nalogo032)

When it encodes a peripheral role, *tüvlö* can also be promoted to core function by the applicative *=ngö* as shown in (12.183).

- (12.183) *Tüvlö* *â* *i-vëpe=ngö=na*
 how.much PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-buy=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
butete *kâ?*
 potato DEM₁.DIST
 ‘How much am I going to buy the potato for?’ (nalogo032_notes)

12.3.2.7 *kavlö* ‘which?’

In Nalögo, *kavlö* ‘which’ is an interrogative form, possibly a lexicalised complex form made up by /ka/⁹¹ and /vlö/. In (12.184) and (12.185), *kavlö* functions as an NP modifier and as a NP head, respectively.

(12.184) *Trak kavlö â?*
truck which DEM₃.DIST
‘Which truck is that one?’ (nalogo039)

(12.185) *Kavlö?*
which
‘Which one?’ (nalogo039)

When *kavlö* modifies the temporal noun *mweli* ‘time’, it expresses the meaning ‘when’ as in (12.186).

(12.186) *Mweli kavlö i-mâ=ngö=ng*
time which PFV.N3AUG-see=APPL=2MIN.SBJ
ilaule=m?
mother=2MIN.POSS
‘When did you see your mother?’

12.3.2.8 *m(ü)je* ‘where, how?’

Nalögo has the interrogative word *m(ü)je* (~ *mije*) ‘be where/how?’, where the vowel /ü/ is often dropped. Engdewu has a formally similar interrogative word, *müde/mde* ‘when’ (Vaa 2013: 450). Examples are shown in (12.187) and (12.188).

(12.187) *Babra, müje bag gö=m?*
Babra, be.where bag general.CLF=2MIN.POSS
‘Babra, where is your bag?’

(12.188) *Mje mö-t(ü)-vë-ki pastor?*
be.where place-IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL pastor
‘Where is the pastor going?’

⁹¹ This form might be related to the nominal demonstrative *ka* (Chapter 7). Like nominal demonstratives, the form *kavlö* can function either as an NP modifier or as a pronoun.

In (12.187) and (12.188), the word for ‘bag’ and the complex nominal formed by the bound noun *mö-* ‘place’ function as the subjects. In (12.189), (12.190), (12.191) and (12.192), I show some additional examples where the complex nominal formed tough *kä-* ‘the one that...’.

- (12.189) *M(ü)je* *kä-i-kö=ngö=de?*
 be.how way-PFV.N3AUG-sing=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘How does he sing (*lit.* How is the way in which he sings)?’
- (12.190) *Mije* *kä-tü-vë-ki=nga* *Noipä?*
 be.how way-IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ Noipä
 ‘How do I go to Noipä?’
- (12.191) *Müje* *kä-i-bowi=ngö=m* *Mëlo?*
 be.how way-PFV.N3AUG-be.far=APPL=DIR.hither Mëlo
 ‘How far is Mëlo?’
- (12.192) *Mje* *kä-i-vö-nibü=ngö=ng* *no?*
 be.how way-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill=APPL=2MIN.SBJ fish
 ‘How do you catch fish?’

12.3.3 Tag Questions

Typically, interrogative tags raise expectations for the type of answer—be it positive or negative—to the question. The type of answer depends largely on the polarity of the declarative sentence that forms the interrogative rather than on the tag itself (Ultan 1978; König & Siemund 2007: 296). In Nalögo, there is one tag marker *nge* which is used with all the questions, independently from the expected polarity of the answer. This seems to suggest that in Nalögo, the polarity of the answer depends to a great extent on the polarity of the declarative clause on which the interrogative is based. Example (12.193), extracted from a conversation between two interlocutors, shows a tag question and its answer. The question is introduced by the quotative *nge* which has the same form of the tag marker *nge* occurring at the very end of the question.

- (12.193) *Tü-pi=bwa=ba=m* *âkö*
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell=DIR.thither.1MIN.SBJ=PREP=2MIN.OBJ well
nge “*O* *lëmapë* *tü-(v)ë-ki*
 QUOT INTJ tomorrow IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ
lade-kä-you, *nge?*
 side-LNK-down TAG
 ‘I will tell you well: “Oh, tomorrow we are going uphill, right?” (speaker A)

Yeah

“Yeah.” (speaker B) (nalogo039)

In terms of intonation, tag questions show a rising pattern. The pitch contour of the tag question in (12.193); speaker A) is shown in Figure 12-6.

The pitch peak of the interrogative is on the Tag marker *nge* occurring at the end of the question.

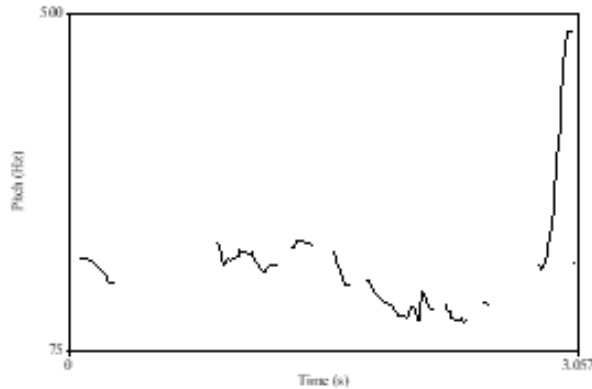


Figure 12-6. Pitch contour of the tag question *O lëmapë tuëki ladekäyou nge?* ‘Oh, tomorrow we are going uphill, right?’

Additional examples of tag questions and their answers are given in (12.194) and (12.195).

(12.194) *Melibu=m i-pwě-tu dongo, nge?*
uncle=2MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.fat-INTS.MRK a.lot TAG
(speaker A)

Eu!

Yes (speaker B)

‘Your uncle is very fat, isn’t he? Yes!’ (nalogo020)

(12.195) *I-völalö=ng kâ=ng nat meipluwu, nge?*
PFV.N3AUG-hear=2MIN.SBJ QNT voice bush TAG
(speaker A)

Eu, i-völalö=nga kâ=ng!

yes PFV.N3AUG-hear=1MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST=PL (speaker B)

‘You heard some voices in the bush, didn’t you? Yes, I heard some!’
(nalogo020)

12.4 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses are used to express commands. They generally display a second person as their subject which is often omitted, together with the majority of TAM distinctions (Payne 1997: 303). Oceanic languages constitute no exception to this tendency. Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 52) state that imperative constructions display no marking at all, or if they display some kind of marking, only a preverbal subject morpheme can occur.

In Nalögo, affirmative imperatives are the simplest verbal forms as shown in (12.196) and (12.197) where the imperative form is constituted only by the verb root.

(12.196) *Vë* *böma ne=m!*
 go house animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘Go to your house!’

(12.197) *Mwi!*
 sleep
 ‘Sleep!’

In (12.196) and (12.197), imperative clauses occur with two intransitive verb forms. However, imperatives can also occur with all the types of basic or derived verb forms, be they intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ambitransitive. In (12.198) and (12.199), imperative clauses occur with two derived verb forms, a causativized form and a transitivized one.

(12.198) *Va-ku!*
 CAUS-cook
 ‘Cook!’

(12.199) *Pwe-ti* *butete* *kâ=ng!*
 plant-TR potato DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘Plant those potatos!’

Along with valency-changing devices, directionals can also occur on imperatives. For instance, in (12.200), both the topological directional *-tö* and the person deictic directional *=m* occur on the imperative form.

(12.200) *Vë-tö=p*
 go-in=DIR.hither
 ‘Come in!’

In terms of subject marking, 2MIN subjects are unmarked as in all the examples above, while 2AUG subjects are expressed by enclitics as in (12.201) and (12.202).

(12.201) *Kö=ngam!*
sing=2AUG.SBJ
'Sing!'

(12.202) *Ngü=ngam naii la=ng*
eat=2MIN.SBJ apple DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
'Eat those apples!'

In this respect, Nalögo patterns like other Oceanic languages where subjects can occur on imperative forms. However, unlike other Oceanic languages, in Nalögo, imperative forms can take some TAM inflections, even though they are fewer than those attested in verbs occurring in simple clauses. For instance, with stative verbs, imperative forms can take the N3AUG perfective prefix *i-* as in (12.203) and or they can take the COS marker *=p(m)e* as in (12.204).

(12.203) *I-kele!*
N3AUG.PFV-be.good
'Be kind!'

(12.204) *Aulö=pme lë-mwa-ngö!*
stop=COS NMLZ₁-eat-NMLZ₂
'Stop eating now!' (nalogo037)

12.5 Hortatives

Clauses with irrealis marking and 1MIN and 3MIN/AUG subjects can display a hortative function. The meaning of this construction is 'Let X do Y'. Four examples are in (12.205), (12.206), (12.207) and (12.208).

(12.205) *Nü-va-klë-pä=pe=bwa*
IRR.N3AUG-CAUS-clean-out=COS=1MIN.SBJ.thither
'Let me clean (it).' (nalogo039)

(12.206) *Melë=m n(ü)-yawē!*
son=2MIN.POSS IRR.N3AUG-play
'Let your son play!'

(12.207) *Nü-(v)elya*
IRR.N3AUG-dance
'Let (him) dance!'

(12.208) *Në-vë ka=ng pwela!*
 IRR.3AUG-go DEM₁.PROX=PL sea
 ‘Let these ones go to the sea!’

Hortatives with 1AUG person are obligatorily expressed by imperfective prefixes and the COS marker =*pme*. The verb forms are inflected for mood/aspect and take 1AUG subject forms. The combination of the COS =*p(m)e* and the imperfective conveys an ingressive meaning (Chapter 10,) which is interpreted in this context as an exhortation. Two examples are shown in (12.209) and (12.210).

(12.209) *Tü-pwä-ki-ti=pe=ko butete*
 IPFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-PL=COS=1AUG.SBJ potato
ka=ng olë=ng!
 DEM₁.PROX=PL girl=PL
 ‘Let’s cut these potatoes, girls!’

(12.210) *T(ü)-vë=pe=ko obwe!*
 IPFV.3AUG-go=COS=1AUG.SBJ child
 ‘Let’s go, kids!’

12.6 Exclamative clauses

By contrast with assertions, „the point of an exclamation is not really to inform the hearer(s) about some situation, but to express an affective response to what is taken to be a fact.” (König and Siemund 2007: 316). In Oceanic languages, semantic exclamations are expressed by a number of strategies, the most frequent one being nominalizations (Moyses-Faurie 2011). According to the available data, exclamations in Nalögo can be expressed by two strategies: (i) simple declarative clauses; and (ii) content questions. Two examples of simple declarative clauses encoding exclamations are provided in (12.211) and (12.212). No morphosyntactic differences between simple declarative clauses and exclamative clauses are found, except for prosodic features that have not been studied in detail.

(12.211) *I-kele-ani=ng!*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good-INTS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘How kind you are! (*lit.* you are very kind)’

(12.212) *Nëkwö=m i-kele-ani!*
 shirt=2MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-be.good-INTS
 ‘How beautiful your shirt is! (*lit.* your shirt is very beautiful).’

Strategy (ii) involves content questions, introduced by interrogative words, which are co-opted to express exclamations. This is the case of the interrogative verb *müje* ‘be how’ in (12.213). The interrogative word *no* generally means ‘what’ in interrogative clauses, but in (12.214), it is translated as expresses ‘how’.

(12.213) *Müje* *kä-i-väplö=ngö=ng!*
 be.how way-PFV.N3AUG-be.strong=APPL=2MIN.SBJ
 How strong you are!

(12.214) *no* *i-pwö=ngö=ng!*
 what PFV.N3AUG-be.big=APPL=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘How fat you are!’

12.7 Echo-questions

The term ‘echo-questions’ refers to those questions used to seek “clarification on a preceding utterance” (König & Siemund 2007: 318). They display the same structure as regular interrogative clauses as shown in (12.215) below, but the interrogative word is expressed in the canonical position of the questioned argument. The sentence-final position seems to be associated with a greater emphasis on the element in focus, i.e. the interrogative word.

(12.215) *Tü-va-ku=nga* *böpi.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1MIN.SBJ banana
 ‘I am cooking bananas.’ (speaker A)

T(ü)-va-ku=ng *nolë?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=2MIN.SBJ what
 ‘You are cooking what?’ (speaker B)

12.8 Comparative constructions

In Nalögo, there are no dedicated morphemes encoding comparative and superlative meanings. Directionals occurring in the VC seems to be involved in constructions expressing comparative meanings (Chapter 9). There is only one sentence in the available data where the Pijin verb ‘wini’ is used to express the meaning of ‘beat, be better of’ as in (12.216).

- (12.216) *Nim i-kele dongo, i-wini=mwe*
 2MIN PFV.N3AUG-be.good really PFV.N3AUG-be.better.of=2MIN.SBJ
ni.
 1MIN
 ‘You are better than me (*lit.* you are very good, you are better than me).’

12.9 Interjections

In Table 3, I show a list of common interjections in Nalögo, followed by examples of three of them: *ele* ‘aversion, dislike’, *eke* ‘negative surprise’ and *a* ‘positive surprise’.

| INTERJECTION | MEANING |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>ele</i> | Aversion, dislike |
| <i>eke</i> | Negative surprise |
| <i>a</i> | Positive surprise |
| <i>ii</i> | Fear, ‘Yay!’ |
| <i>ili</i> | Oh! (Negative surprise) |
| <i>o</i> | Reply to s.o.’s calling |
| <i>sii, see</i> | Aversion, dislike |
| <i>obwelëng</i> | Oh people! (Positive or negative surprise) |
| <i>obwe</i> | Hey (used to attract attention) |
| <i>okoo</i> | Oh! (Negative surprise) |
| <i>loke makäitö!</i> | ‘Oh church!’ (Negative surprise) |
| <i>pwëö!</i> | Calling s.o. outside their house to attract attention |

Table 12-3. Interjections in Nalögo

The interjection *ele* is very common in conversations and is used to express a feeling of aversion or dislike. According to one speaker, *ele* is typically used in situations where the speaker is asked to do something they dislike. For instance, if one is asked to go out to take water, but they are tired, they can express their aversion uttering a sentence like (12.217).

- (12.217) *Ele! döt=nu i-ta=pe*
 INTJ body=1MIN.POSS PFV.3NAUG-be.tired=COS
 ‘Phew! I am tired now (and I do not want to do that).’ (field notes, 2018).

The interjection *eke* is also very common in discourse. Two examples are shown in (12.218) and (12.219). The context of (12.218) involves the speaker weaving a basket. Suddenly, she

realizes that a coconut leaf is hanging in a place where it is not expected to. The negative surprise is expressed by *eke*. Likewise, in (12.219), *eke* expresses the negative surprise of the speaker when he finds out that the headphone is broken.

(12.218) *Eke! sorry i-dâ-tö=bo=pwe*
 INTJ sorry PFV.N3AUG-hang-in=still=DIR.thither
ba=de
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Oh, sorry, it is still hanging on it.’ (nalogo062)

(12.219) *Eke! headphone kâ i-mö-glâ=pe*
 INTJ headphone DEM1.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break-break =COS
 ‘Oh, the headphone has broken!’ (field notes 2018)

Finally, I show an example of the interjection *a* encoding positive surprise. In context of (12.220), the speaker has just heard some positive news, so he asks for validation.

(12.220) *A, da tunü?*
 INTJ thing be.true
 ‘Ah! Is it true?’ (field notes 2018)

12.10 Greetings

Some greetings in Nalögo attested in the available data are listed in Table 12-4 below.

| GREETINGS | MEANING |
|---|-------------------------------|
| <i>nimla!</i> | ‘hello (to you)!’ |
| <i>nimwela!</i> | ‘hello (to you, plural)!’ |
| <i>nimlape!</i> | ‘Goodbye!’ |
| <i>obu kä ikele!</i> | ‘Have a good day!’ |
| <i>ola kä ikele! or bwola kä ikele!</i> | ‘Good morning!’ |
| <i>mwilëpu kä ikele!</i> | ‘Good afternoon!’ |
| <i>nââbu kä ikele!</i> | ‘Good evening!’ ‘Good night!’ |

Table 12-4. Common greetings in Nalögo

- (12.221) *Nim=la*
 2MIN=DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘Hello! (*lit.* you there!)’
- (12.222) *Nimwe=la*
 2AUG=DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘Hello!’ (*lit.* you there!)
- (12.223) *Nim=la=pe*
 2MIN=DEM_{3.L}.NPROX=COS
 ‘Bye!’ (*lit.* you there now!)
- (12.224) *Obu kä i-kele*
 day LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Have a good day!’
- (12.225) *Ola kä i-kele*
 morning LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Good morning’
- (12.226) *Mwilëpu kä i-kele!*
 afternoon LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Good afternoon!’
- (12.227) *Nââbu kä ikele!*
 night LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Good night!’

13. VALENCY-CHANGING CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter, I describe the properties of valency-changing devices and constructions in Nalögo.

In §13.1, I discuss the main properties of canonical morphological causative constructions marked by the causative *(v)a-*. In §13.1.1, I summarize additional uses of the causative prefix attested in the data. In §13.2, I focus on applicative constructions, where peripheral roles (e.g. comitatives, instruments, locatives) are promoted to core function via verbal morphology. They include constructions marked by the following applicatives: *-ti* (§13.2.1), *-mi* (§13.2.2), *-neba* (§13.2.3), *-ulë* (§13.2.4) and *-ki* (§13.2.5). *=ngö* (§13.2.6). Section § 13.3 is devoted to patient-backgrounding constructions including those marked by the middle markers *=lëbu* (§13.3.1) and *(v)ö-* (§13.3.2). Finally, in §13.4, I describe the properties of a passive-like construction marked by the prefix *lë-*.

13.1 Causative constructions

Causativization, a common valency-changing operation, is characterized by the addition of a causer to the argument structure of the predicate. Following Haspelmath (2002: 211), causative constructions are viewed as ‘event-changing operations’, in that they “may change the conceptual structure (or event structure) of the verb in such a way that the argument structure is affected”. There are various ways to express semantic causation across languages. In Oceanic languages, including RSC languages, the most common way to express semantic causation is by morphological derivation through an affix. This is also the most common strategy attested in Nalögo, as well as some types of serial verb constructions (Chapter 8).

In Nalögo, morphological causatives involve the use of the prefix *(v)a-*, most likely a reflex from POc causative **pa-*. As mentioned in Chapter 11, the prefix *(v)a-* can occur with most types of intransitive verbs including U-verbs and A-verbs belonging to Classes II and III. Examples of U-verbs and A-verbs taking *(v)a-* are: *pü/(v)a-pü* ‘be hot/make s.t. hot’ (stative), *ku/(v)a-ku* ‘cook/cook s.t’ (process) and *gwa/(v)a-gwa* ‘run/make s.o. run’ (activity). In this respect, Evans (2003) argues that likely, the POc **pa[ka]-* did not occur with U-verbs encoding processes. However, more recent studies have suggested that **pa[ka]-* might have occurred with all three classes of intransitive verbs (Ross et al. 2016). Nalögo gives further evidence to this

second hypothesis. Along with intransitive verbs, *(v)a-* can also occur with ambitransitive verbs and even transitive verbs. Examples of causativized intransitive, ambitransitive and transitive verbs are shown below.

(13.1) *Charity a-tubü-ti-pä=le nuwi kâ*
 Charity CAUS-be.straight-TR-out=3MIN.SBJ rope DEM₁.DIST
 ‘As for Charity, she straightened out the rope.’ (nalogo059) (intransitive, Class II)

(13.2) *Nim va-(v)elya=ng ni*
 2MIN CAUS-dance=2MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘You made me dance.’ (nalogo1410_2015) (intransitive, Class III)

(13.3) *Laule obwe kâ a-mwa-tö=le obwe*
 mother child DEM₁.DIST CAUS-eat-in=3MIN.SBJ child
ne=de.
 general.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The mother fed her child.’ (nalogo1410_2015) (S=A ambitransitive)

(13.4) *A-pä-bö-tö=nga i-kâ can kâ.*
 CAUS-hit-be.crushed-in=1MIN.SBJ female-DEM₁.DIST can DEM₁.DIST
 ‘I make the girl hit the can.’ (nalogo043) (transitive)

Intransitive verbs of Class I do not have a causativized counterpart, they have suppletive transitive forms (e.g. *bwë* ‘die’ vs *nibü* ‘kill’). Example (13.4), which was given by a young speaker in her late twenties, is the only one attested in the data. Due to its low frequency, it is probably the result of an extension of use from intransitive to transitive verbs, but further data are required to investigate this marginal use in more depth.

13.1.1 Additional uses of causative *(v)a-*

The causative *(v)a-* displays some non-causative uses which are listed below:

- Derivation of verbs from nouns,
- Verb modifiers,
- Verbs with multiple transitive forms, and
- Fossilized form.

13.1.1.1 Derivation from nouns

The prefix *(v)a-* can be used to derive verbs from nouns. An example found with the noun *mölue* ‘woman’s brother’ which takes the causative prefix *(v)a-* to derive the transitive verb ‘respect, worship’. An example with the meaning of ‘respect’ is found below.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| (13.5) <i>I-pi=m=de</i> | <i>ba=nu</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ | PREP=1MIN.SBJ |
| <i>te=a-mölue=u=lü</i> | <i>nide</i> |
| NEG ₁ -CAUS-brother=2MIN.SBJ=NEG ₂ | 3MIN |
| ‘She said to me that you don’t respect her.’ (nalogo020_1) | |

This function is not unknown in Oceanic languages and in other Austronesian languages (e.g. Amis; Brill 2017). For instance, Naitoro (2019: 300-301) mentions it for some languages belonging to the South-East Solomonian group, like To’aba’ita (*fa’a-thata* ‘give a name to, bestow a name one (esp. a child)’ < causative *fa’a-* + *thata* ‘n. name; (Lichtenberk 2008: 110).

13.1.1.2 Verb modifiers in serial constructions

The causative prefix *(v)a-* is attested on verb modifiers in serialised constructions. However, this use does not look frequent. For instance, in nuclear serialization, manner can be expressed by stative verbs derived by *(v)a-*. The verb *vängi* can occur with the causativized form of the stative verb *tüka* in the nuclear serialisation *vängi-a-tüka* ‘feel bad’ (Chapter 8).

Evans (2003: 253-254) states that this function, which she labels as ‘attributive’, is displayed by reflexes of POc *pa[ka-] in some Oceanic languages. It is widespread in Fijian and Polynesian languages, but rare elsewhere, except for Teop. The reconstruction of an ‘attributive’ function for POc *pa[ka-] is doubtful. However, Evans (2003: 254) argues that it might have gone unnoticed due to its lack of recognition as a possible function of the causative prefix. More recently, Brill (2007: 273-274) has mentioned other languages showing similar patterns, including Tigak and Nalik in New Ireland, and Hoava in Western Solomons.

13.1.1.3 Verbs with two transitive forms

In Nalögo, the transitive verb of unaccompanied movement *glü* ‘carry s.t.’ and the verb *yëu* ‘begin, start’ have two transitive forms, one with the causative *(v)a-* and one without. With the verb *glü*, which belongs to Class II of transitive verbs, *(v)a-* forms a second transitive form *va-*

glü ‘carry s.t.’. According to one speaker, there is no semantic difference between the two forms *glü* and *(v)a-glü*. Two examples are shown in (13.6).

(13.6) a) *Jâ t(ü)-va-glü-nö=pe=ng.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-carry-DISP=COS=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Then, you carry (breadfruits) around.’ (transitive) (nalogo025)

b) *Lë-glü-nö-ëvë=kö* *mëlu*
 PFV.3AUG-carry-DISP-always=3AUG.SBJ *bag*
gö=gö.
 general.CLF=3AUG.POSS
 ‘They always carry around their bags.’ (transitive) (nalogo047)

An additional example is represented by the verb *yëu* ‘start’ which generally takes *(v)a-* as in (13.7). However, the same verb also displays a bare transitive form expressing the same function as in (13.7b).

(13.7) a) *Mö-kâ* *jâ* *tü-a-yëu-tö=pwe*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-start-in=DIR.thither
lë-ö-ta-ngö *po* *kâ.*
 NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-hit-NMLZ₂ pig DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The man is starting to hit the pig.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

b) *Kopyo* *nüinge* *you-tö=pwe=le*
 EXIST boy start-in=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
në-kö-ngö.
 NMLZ₁-sing-NMLZ₂
 ‘There is a boy, he started to sing...’

In some Oceanic languages, verbs showing two transitive forms with and without a reflex of POC *pa[ka-] are attested. The difference between the two forms can sometimes be explained in terms of increased effort vs. accidental action (Naitoro 2019: 298-300), while in some other cases, there may be no semantic difference between the forms. For instance, in Birao, causativized transitive forms can express: (i) accidental action (e.g. *bosa-* ‘break sth’ /*vagha-bosa-* ‘break sth (accidentally), (ii) increased effort (e.g. *hoto-si* ‘straighten sth up’ vs *vagha-hoto* ‘straighten sth up with increased effort, do it again’), and (iii) no difference in meaning compared to the other transitive form (e.g. *hale-* ‘praise s.o.’ vs *vagha-hale-* ‘praise s.o.’) (Naitoro 2019: 298-299). While in (13.7), the forms *va-yëu* vs *yëu* appear to be semantically identical, the notion of increased effort might be involved with the verb form *(v)a-glü*, since the

patients occurring with it are typically heavy (e.g. breadfruits, bags of dried breadfruit), thus, they might involve more effort from the agent. However, further data are required to investigate if this factor is relevant.

13.1.1.4 Fossilized prefix

On some verbs, the causative (*v*)*a-* seems to be a fossilized prefix. This is the case of the intransitive verb *vamwa* ‘rest’ and the transitive verb (*v*)*aeula* ‘show’ which does not appear to have an intransitive form. An example with the verb (*v*)*aeula* is shown in (13.8).

- (13.8) *Julia i-vaeula=m=de* *ba=nu*
 Julia PFV.N3AUG-CAUS.show=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=1MIN.OBJ
car gö=de.
 car general.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘Julia showed me her car.’ (nalogo1609_2015)

13.1.1.5 Cooccurrence of (*v*)*a-* with other valency-changing devices

The causative can occur on verbs hosting the transitive/applicative form *-ti*. With some verb forms, including (*v*)*a-wëli-ti döt wö* ‘think (lit. one’s neck think), *va-ta-ti* ‘ask for sth, s.o.’, (*v*)*a-molo-ti* ‘hug s.o.’, the presence of *-ti* is mandatory if (*v*)*a-* is present. With some other causativized verbs, the presence of *-ti* is optional and seems to correlate with a higher effort to perform the action and a higher level of object affectedness. An example is shown in (13.9).

- (13.9) a) *va-minga* *da* *la=ng!*
 CAUS-be.dry thing DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
 ‘Dry that thing!’ (nalogo059) (transitive)
- b) *va-minga-ti* *da* *la=ng!*
 CAUS-be.dry-TR thing DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL
 ‘Dry that thing!’ (nalogo059) (transitive)

The context of the command in (13.9a) involves a situation where there are some clothes hanging on a line. When it starts to rain, the speaker commands the hearer to take them inside for protection and dry them before it gets completely wet. By contrast, (13.9b) refers to a different situation where the clothes are already wet and the speaker commands the hearer to take them inside. According to one speaker, sentence (13.9b), where the causative occurs with *-ti* on the same root, involves a situation where more effort is needed to carry out the action.

The causative form can also cooccur with the applicative form *-sö* and the verb *mwe* ‘be afraid’ (13.10). However, the presence of the applicative in the causativized form is not mandatory since the form *(v)a-mwa* ‘frighten s.o.’ is also attested as in (13.11). There seems to be no difference in meaning between *(v)a-mwe-sö* and *(v)a-mwe*.

(13.10) *Mary a-mwe-sö=le John.*
 Mary CAUS-be.afraid-APPL=3MIN.SBJ John
 ‘Mary frightened John.’ (nalogo1909_2015)

(13.11) *Nünge kâ a-mwe=le obwe kâ.*
 boy DEM₁.DIST CAUS-be.afraid=3MIN.SBJ child DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The boy frightened the child.’ (transitive) (nalogo059)

13.2 Applicative constructions

“Applicative constructions are those in which an argument that is not otherwise subcategorised for by a verb is treated as the object of that verb. Typically the ‘new’ argument is a beneficiary, instrument or location, though other semantic roles are also found in some languages” (Donohue 2001: 217). Applicative constructions are characterized by overt morphology on the verb (Peterson 2007: 1), which expresses the semantic role of the applied object. Depending on the language, applicatives can attach to intransitive or transitive verbs, making them bivalent or trivalent, respectively, or to both. Some applicative constructions are the only obligatory strategy used to express a specific semantic role, while some others display alternative constructions with PPs. The most common function of applicatives is to promote peripheral roles to core direct function. The selection of one construction over the other is generally accounted for by pragmatic/syntactic factors, since applicatives make their objects accessible to processes like topicalization, coordination, relativization or extraction, which typically target direct arguments showing a privileged pragmatic status.

Oceanic languages tend to display a wide range of valency-changing devices (Ross 2004a). A common applicative form involves reflexes of POC *akin[i], which has been reconstructed as a bound form with some verbs and as free/unbound form with other verbs (Evans 2003; Naitoro 2019). Nalögo does not seem to have reflexes of *akin[i] functioning as applicatives. Most semantic roles, which in other Oceanic languages are expressed by reflexes of *akin[i], are conveyed in Nalögo by the applicative form =ngö .

In this section, I describe the properties of six applicatives in Nalögo: *-ti* (§13.2.1), *-mi* (§13.2.2), *-neba* (§13.2.3), *-ulë* (§13.2.4), *-ki* (§13.2.5) and *=ngö* (§13.2.6). The parameters taken into consideration for the analysis of each applicative form include: (i) the type of verb which is applicativized; (ii) the semantic roles of the applicative objects and their semantic and syntactic properties; (iii) obligatoriness of the applicative construction. Some diachronic observations are made, where possible, with regard to the origins of the applicatives.

13.2.1 Applicative construction with *-ti*

The form *-ti* can function as a transitive/applicative form, depending on the semantics of the verb to which it attaches. In terms of syntactic position inside the VC, *-ti* occurs inside the nucleus, right after the verb root to which it attaches.

The applicative *-ti* can promote to core function various peripheral roles, including locative, direction, goal, stimulus, content, beneficiary, direction, and time. It can involve animate or inanimate referents depending on the semantic role it encodes. Generally, the applicative can be replaced by an alternative construction with a PP.

13.2.1.1 Locative role

In (13.12), the applicative construction with *-ti* is used to promote a locative role to core function.

- (13.12) *Da kä yelü-ti-u=kom na=gom*
 thing LNK put-APPL-down=1AUG.SBJ food.CLF=1AUG.POSS
a, toplá.
 DEM₃.PROX basket
 ‘The thing in which we put our food is this one, the basket.’ (locative)

In (13.12), the applicative is attached to the verb *yelü* ‘put’ to allow the locative role to be relativized on. The transitive verb is made trivalent by the addition of the new locative argument. The subject-marking pattern on the verb is transitive. An additional example is shown in (13.13).

- (13.13) *Chair kâ të-(w)äbu-ti-u=m=gö*
 chair DEM₁.DIST IPFV.3AUG-sit-APPL-down=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ
i-mö-glâ.
 PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘The chair on which they are sitting broke.’ (locative) (nalogo051)

In (13.13), the applicative *-ti* is attached to the intransitive verb *wäbu* ‘sit’. The locative argument, promoted by the applicative, is fronted and relativized on. The subject-marking pattern is transitive. An additional example is shown in (13.14) where *-ti* allows the presence of a source role encoded as an applied object following the predicate.

(13.14) *Horse kâ* *jâ* *tii-gwa-delii-ti-le* *ni*
horse DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-run-be.away-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
‘The horse is running away from me.’ (locative) (nalogo2110_2015)

In (13.14), the applied object does not undergo any special syntactic operation. Locative roles can be also expressed by PPs introduced by the prepositions *mö* and *bä* (Chapter 12). These prepositions cannot be stranded. Two examples are shown in (13.15) and (13.16).

(13.15) *Nim la* *t(ü)-wäbu=pme=m* *mö chair.*
2MIN DEM_{1.L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-sit=COS=DIR.hither PREP chair
‘You are sitting on the chair.’ (nalogo051)

(13.16) *I-mno=nga* *bä mwetelya* *Nea*
PFV.N3AUG-live=1MIN.SBJ PREP village Nea
‘I live in Nea village.’

13.2.1.2 Goal role

The applicative *-ti* can also introduce goal roles as shown in (13.17) and (13.18).

(13.17) *Loole lë-ö-nibü* *po ä*
Noole.people PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill pig COORD
ya-ti-pä=bom .
paddle-APPL-out=1AUG.SBJ
‘Noole people killed a pig and we paddled for it (to get it).’ (goal) (nalogo051)

(13.18) *Ilaule=nu* *i-vë=m* *Lata ä*
mother=1MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither Lata COORD
tü-vë-ti=pmya *mo.*
IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.COS DEM₂.DIST
‘My mother came to Lata and I am going there for her (to pick her up).’ (goal)

Examples (13.17) and (13.18) show two coordinated clauses where the applicative *-ti* is used to promote the goal role to core function to allow its omission in coordination.

Two examples of *-ti* expressing goal roles are shown in (13.19) and (13.20).

- (13.19) *Pwöla* *kâ* *t(ü)-yagla-ti-pä=nga*
 sea DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-look-APPL-out=1MIN.SBJ
i-pwäluli.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.beautiful
 ‘The sea I am looking at is beautiful.’ (direction) (nalogo068)

- (13.20) *Mö-kâ* *i-wolö-mnö-ti=le* *i-kâ*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-look-try-APPL=3MIN.SBJ female-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The boy tried to look at the girl.’ (direction) (nalogo1609_2015)

In (13.19) and (13.20), the applicative *-ti* adds two goal arguments. The applied object can display either a privileged syntactic status as in (13.19), where the goal *pwela* functions as the head of a relative clause, or not as in (13.20), where the applied object follows the predicate.

The applicative construction can be replaced by a clause with a non-applicative verb where the direction is encoded by a PP as in (13.21), where the goal of the the action of looking is expressed by a PP introduced the preposition.

- (13.21) *Ni* *â* *tü-(y)ae-lë* *më* *boknawë...*
 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-look-up PREP sky
 ‘I was looking at the sky...’ (nalogo051)

13.2.1.3 Stimulus role

With verbs of emotion, the applicative *-ti* can be used to promote an argument with a stimulus role as in (13.22) and (13.23).

- (13.22) *Mö-kâ* *i-mya-ti=le* *ni*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.shy-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘The boy is shy of me.’ (stimulus) (nalogo068_1)

- (13.23) *Ni* *i-ngya-ti* *dötwö=nu*
 1MIN PFV.N3AUG-be.angry-APPL neck=1MIN.POSS
nge *müümü* *kâ=ng* *gö=m*
 PRAG.MRK behaviour DEM₁.DIST=PL general.CLF=2MIN.POSS
 ‘I was angry because of those behaviors of yours.’ (stimulus)

Applicative constructions are the only way to express stimulus roles with this type of verbs. However, in relation to the verb *ngya* ‘be angry’, one speaker mentioned the possibility to encode the stimulus role with a PP introduced by *ba* as in (13.24).

- (13.24) *I-kâ* *dötwö=de* *i-ngya=ba=nu.*
 female=DEM₁.DIST neck=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.angry=PREP=1MIN.OBJ
 ‘She is angry with me.’ (nalogo068_1)

13.2.1.4 ‘About’ role

The applicative *-ti* can express ‘aboutness’ with some verbs of cognition and verbs of speech. Three examples are shown below with the verbs *miblë*⁹² ‘dream’, *va-o-ti* ‘think’⁹³, *lä* ‘talk’ and *yöni* ‘cry’.

- (13.25) *I-miblë-ti-nga* *nim mveli ka*
 PFV.N3AUG-dream-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN time DEM₁.PROX
 ‘I dream about you.’ (nalogo051)

- (13.26) *Obwe olë kâ* *i-vao-ti*
 child girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-think-APPL
dötwö=de *blaite=de* *nubü.*
 neck=3MIN.POSS grandmother=3MIN.POSS yesterday
 ‘The young girl thought about her grandmother yesterday.’ (nalogo1609_2015)

- (13.27) *Tü-lâ-ti=nga* *nim.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I am talking about you.’ (nalogo058)

- (13.28) *Ti-yöni-ti=nga* *bäli gö=tu*
 IPFV.N3AUG-cry-APPL=1MIN.SBJ bag general.CLF =1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am crying for my bag (because I need it, but I cannot find it).’ (nalogo058_1)

- (13.29) *Ti-yöni-ti=nga* *mëlue=nu*
 IPFV.N3AUG-cry-APPL=1MIN.SBJ brother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am crying for my brother.’ (nalogo058_1)

⁹² When *miblë* ‘dream’ occurs with an ‘about’ argument, the verb root can take the applicative *-ti* or not.

⁹³ With the causativized verb form (*v*)*a-o* ‘think’, the presence of *-ti* to introduce an ‘about’ argument seems optional.

‘About’ roles are not typically expressed by PPs, at least according to the available data. There is only one example where the ‘about role’ seems to be expressed by a preposition *ngö* ‘about’ as in (13.30)⁹⁴. Like the preposition *ba* (Chapter 12), *ngö* seems to take pronominal objects. However, unlike *ba*, the 3MIN pronominal =*de* in (13.30) seems to agree with the following NP head.

- (13.30) *Olë* *kâ* *i-lâ=bwe=ba*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-talk=DIR.thither=PREP
obwe nünge kâ *ngö=de* *kuli*
 child boy DEM₁.DIST PREP=3MIN.OBJ dog
ne=de.
 animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The girl is talking the boy about her dog.’ (nalogo1609_2015)

In a few cases, the ‘about’ relation is expressed by the preposition *mö*.

13.2.1.5 Temporal role

The applicative *-ti* can be used to introduce temporal roles as core arguments as in (13.31).

- (13.31) *Ann yawe-ti=le* *lai* *nepi* *lë-li*
 Ann play-APPL=3MIN.SBJ side sun PFV.3AUG-be.two
nide ââtangyö.
 3MIN INTS
 ‘Ann played for two hours by herself.’

13.2.1.6 Notes on additional functions and origins of *-ti*

The transitive/applicative *-ti* appears to have two additional functions. With some transitive verb forms, *-ti* seems to express an affected object. In §13.1.1.5, *-ti* is applied to the causativized verb form (*v*)*a-minga* ‘dry s.t.’ to express this function. However, *-ti* can also occur on verb roots which are already transitive. This is the case of (*v*)*öblömi* (~ (*v*)*öblemi*) ‘make, do’. An example is shown in (13.32).

⁹⁴ Only one example of this type is attested in the data.

(13.32) a) *Öblemi âkö ile.*
do well sister
‘Do it well, sister.’ (nalogo039)

b) *Leplë kâ öblemi-ti=le boat kâ*
person DEM₁.DIST make-TR=3MIN.SBJ boat DEM₁.DIST
‘That person made the boat.’ (nalogo0211_2015)

The difference between the form *öblemi* and *öblemi-ti* seems to be similar to the distinction between the English verbs ‘do’ and ‘make’. In (13.32a), the 2MIN imperative form *öblemi* is translated with the English ‘do’. The speaker refers to the action that the hearer is performing at the moment of speech. In (13.32b), *öblemi-ti* is translated as ‘make’. The boat might be viewed as ‘effected object’, i.e. an object produced by the verbal action. However, there are also cases where this difference is not so evident. An example is shown in (13.33).

(13.33) *God öblemi=le heaven ä dötbö.*
God make=3MIN.SBJ heaven COORD earth
‘God made the heaven and the earth.’ (field notes 2018)

In this case, *öblemi* is translated with the English ‘make’ and the objects constitute the product of the action, but the verb form occurs without *-ti*.

An additional function expressed by *-ti* is to derive verbs with new meanings. For instance, the most common verbs of seeing is *mo* ‘see, look’. When the transitive/applicative *-ti* is attached to the verb, it derives the meaning ‘look for’. Two examples with the bare and derived verb forms are shown in (13.34) and (13.35).

(13.34) *I-mo=la böma ngö Nea*
PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ house ASS.MRK Nea
‘I saw the houses of Nea.’ (nalogo001_2015)

(13.35) *I-mo⁹⁵-ti-pä=ng mweli kâ=ng*
PFV.N3AUG-see-APPL-out=2MIN.SBJ time DEM₁.DIST=PL
nolâ tü-mwi-u=ngö=de...
world IPFV.N3AUG-sleep-down=APPL=3MIN.POSS
‘You look for those times in which the world sleeps down...’ (nalogo065)

⁹⁵ The verb *mâ* has a variant with the vowel /o/.

In terms of origins, the suffix *-ti* might be a reflex of POc *-i, but further historical analyses are in need to support this hypothesis. In Oceanic languages, reflexes of the POc suffix *-i are reflected with ‘thematic’ consonants. As Evans (2003) and Naitoro (2019: 252) write, in the Oceanic literature, there is a general consensus in assuming that thematic consonants originated in word-final POc consonants. Word-final consonants were lost in languages of various groups, including RSC languages (Ross & Næss 2007), but “preserved when the verb occurred with a transitive suffix”, leading to the reanalysis of the final consonants as part of the suffix rather than the verb root (Naitoro 2019: 252). However, in Nalögo, there are no other forms of the transitive suffix besides *-ti* with the consonant /t/. From a diachronic point of view, it can be hypothesized that only one thematic consonant was retained from POc and extended to all verb roots taking the applicative/transitive suffix, but this is speculative. However, the functions of *-ti* seems to point to this direction. In the available data, the applicative/transitive suffix *-ti* occurs with Class III of intransitive verbs to introduce peripheral arguments and with semitransitive verb forms to allow them to occur in transitive constructions (Chapter 11). The most common peripheral roles that *-ti* introduces are stimulus (e.g. *mya-ti* ‘be shy of s.o.’), goal (e.g. *vë-ti* ‘go for s.o.’), location (e.g. *wäbu-ti* ‘sit on’, *nguba-ti* ‘vomit on’), ‘aboutness’ (e.g. *lä-ti* ‘talk about’) and time (e.g. *mno-ti* ‘stay for (time)'). Reflexes of POc *-i encoding stimulus, goal, and location with bodily process and posture verbs are attested in Modern Oceanic languages (Evans 2003: 101-102). The ‘aboutness’ and temporal roles found in Nalögo might be some innovative uses.

13.2.2 Applicative construction with *-mi*

The applicative *-mi* is used to promote a peripheral comitative role to core function. Engdewu also displays a formally identical *-mi* that Vaa (2013: 137-138) labels as ‘comitative’. The applicative *-mi* is typically attached to intransitive verbs increasing their valency by one. It is regarded as part of the VC nucleus due to its position right after the verb. Generally, the applicative construction can be replaced by PPs introduced by the preposition *ba*. Along with comitative roles, *-mi* can also express ‘aboutness’, ‘content’ and ‘similative’ roles. Its function is also extended to function as a clause-linking device. Examples are given in the following sections.

13.2.2.1 Comitative role

The applicative *-mi* can express comitative roles as in (13.36) where it is applied to the intransitive verb *mno* ‘stay’, making it bivalent.

- (13.36) *Obwe* *kâ* *i-tâ*
child DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.small
i-mno-mi=pe=le *kâ* *leplë*
PFV.N3AUG-live-APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ QNT person
kä *i-pwö* *jâ*
LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big CONT₁
tü-(y)agla-tö=pe=käli *bä* *da* *kâ*.
IPFV.N3AUG-look-in=COS=next PREP thing DEM₁.DIST
‘The small child stays now with an adult. He is now looking through something.’

In (13.36), the applied comitative object does not have a special pragmatic/syntactic function. However, in many examples, *-mi* allows comitative participants to undergo as core arguments syntactic processes like coordination, relativization or extraction in *wh*-questions. Two examples are shown in (13.37) and (13.38).

- (13.37) *Obwe* *kâ* *jâ* *t(ü)-(y)aplö=le*
child DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-push=3MIN.SBJ
wheel *kâ* *jâ* *tü-gwa-mi=le*
wheel DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-run-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
‘The child is pushing the wheel and running with (it).’ (nalogo043)

- (13.38) *Nelö* *â* *tü-lâ-mi=le?*
who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
‘Whom is he talking with?’

(13.37) shows an example of two coordinated clauses through juxtaposition. The applicative *-mi*, which occurs on the verb *gwa* ‘run’, serves to promote the comitative role to core function to allow its omission in coordination. In (13.38), the interrogative word, which is extracted and fronted in the question, expresses a comitative role which, again, is promoted to core function by *-mi*.

From a semantic point of view, (13.37) and (13.38) shows a different type of situation. In (13.37), it is the subject, the child, who is involved in the activity of running, while the wheel is associated with it. By contrast, in (13.38), the action of ‘talking with s.o.’ involves at least

two participants which are both equally involved in the action. What is clear from these examples is that the type of involvement of comitative roles in the event expressed by the verb can be different. In this respect, from a crosslinguistic point of view, Arkhipov (2009) makes an interesting distinction between ‘genuine’ comitative constructions and ‘quasi-comitative’ constructions, the latter sharing only some properties with the former. Arkhipov (2009: 224) defines genuine comitative constructions as follows: “A (genuine) comitative construction [...] is a morphosyntactic construction used to express a non-obligatory participant set in a given situation S, such that:

- (i) the predicate denoting S is not repeated more than once;
- (ii) the individual participants making up the participant set are expressed separately;
- (iii) the expressions denoting these participants differ in structural rank.”

The definition of ‘participant set’ introduced by Maslova (2007: 337) refers to “two or more separate individuals [who] are ascribed the same type of participation in the event”. In this respect, (13.37) and (13.38) are different, since in (13.37) a participant set is involved, while in (13.38) the wheel is not. According to Arkhipov (2009: 237), sentence (13.37) can be regarded as a quasi-comitative construction, and more precisely, as expressing a ‘depictive’ function. In this analysis, I refer to the function that Arkhipov (2009) calls ‘depictive’ as ‘associative’, a more common established term in the literature. In Nalögo, the true comitative construction and the associative one are expressed in the same way.

The applicative construction displays an equivalent construction where the comitative role is expressed by a PP introduced by *ba*. Two examples are in (13.39) and (13.40).

(13.39) *Olë te=lë-mno-lü ba=gö nünge.*
 girl NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-live-NEG₂ PREP=3AUG.OBJ boy
 ‘Girls do not live with boys.’ (nalogo026)

(13.40) *Julia, tü-lâ=bwa ba mëlue=nu.*
 Julia IPFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP brother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘Julia, I am talking with my brother now.’

In (13.39) and (13.40), the prepositional object, be it a pronominal form as in (13.39) or a noun as in (13.40), follows the preposition. The form *ba* cannot be stranded, that is, its object cannot be fronted without being marked on the preposition by a pronoun. In addition to the preposition *ba*, the form *mwagö* ‘with’ is also found in the data as an elicited form.

13.2.2.2 ‘About’ role

The applicative *-mi* can also express ‘about’ roles with the verb of speech ‘cry’. The applicative *-mi* seems to be selected over *-ti* to express the action of crying over a dead person as in (13.41).

- (13.41) *Jâ t(ü)-yöni-mi=pe=le*
SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-cry-APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ
‘...then, she cried over (her).’ (nalogo001)

13.2.2.3 Content role

The applicative *-mi* can also express content roles with the verb of talking *mwapu* ‘whistle’ as in (13.42), where the subject is whistling the theme of a song that he has previously sung. Thus, the song theme is viewed as the content of the action of whistling.

- (13.42) *Nabwe kâ i-pi=le*
song DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-say=3MIN.SBJ
jâ tü-mwapu-mi=le.
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-whistle-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
‘As for the song he sang, now he is whistling it.’ (content) (nalogo2010_2015)

13.2.2.4 ‘Similative’ role

The applicative *-mi* can express a ‘similative role’ with the verb *vökikyö* ‘be similar, resemble’ as in (13.43) below.

- (13.43) ...*Aki te=i-vökikyö-mi=lü ka*
because NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.same-APPL=NEG2 DEM₁.PROX
‘...because it is not the same as this one.’ (nalogo062)

13.2.2.5 The clause-linking function of *-mi*

There are a few examples found in the data where the form *-mi* functions as a clause-linking device. In particular, the form *-mi* occurs on the verb of the main clause to link the event of the main clause to the one expressed by the subordinate clause. Two examples are shown in (13.44) and (13.45).

(13.44) *Jâ* *t(ü)-yebü-mi=le* *lä-(y)epwale=ngö*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-lie-APPL=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-laugh-NMLZ₂
mö *meitnö.*
PREP ground
‘He is lying while laughing on the ground (lit. he lies with laughing on the ground).’
(nalogo051)

(13.45) *Jâ* *t(ü)-yöbü-mi=le*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-lie-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
lä-gögi-mi=ngö *tü-gögi* *tü-gögi.*
NMLZ₁-mix-APPL-NMLZ₂ IPFV.N3AUG-smash IPFV.N3AUG-smash
‘He is lying while mixing it, he is smashing (and) smashing.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

In (13.44), the applicative *-mi* takes the clausal nominalization as its object, signalling that the action of lying down and laughing are simultaneous. Example (13.45) shows a similar construction with the same verb *yöbü* (~ *yebü*). In these examples, the intra-clausal functions of the applicative seem to have been extended to an inter-clausal one.

This behaviour of the applicative *-mi* is not unknown in Oceanic languages. For instance, Halia, a Northwest Solomonian language, among many other cases, displays an associative/transitive marker *-me* (Allen 1978: 74; 76), whose function is extended to mark propositional relations between clauses, including cause and time.

13.2.2.6 Notes on the origins of *-mi* and the evolution of *ba* as a comitative preposition

Comitative markers are attested in Oceanic languages. For instance, Ross (1982: 42) describes the functions of the ‘associative’ marker *-me-* in North Bougainville languages, which might be cognate with the Nalögo form *-mi*. The most likely origin of the suffix *-mi* is the POC comitative verb **mai-i* (or **me-i*) (Moyse-Faurie & Lynch 2004: 486). This is plausible, since verb serialization appears to be one of the most common sources for applicative constructions across languages (Peterson 2007: 201). This would also explain the position of *-mi* in the VC, which is found directly after the verb root. The same explanation might hold for the formally identical comitative suffixes *-mi* in Natügu and Engdewu.

As previously seen, the *mi*-construction has an alternative construction, in which the oblique role is encoded by a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *ba*. While the form *ba* is evidently unrelated to *-mi*, there are two forms whose functions are similar to those of *-mi*: the forms *mwagö* ‘with’ and *nigömwa* ‘with’. The former is analysed as a preposition involving

the form *mwa* ‘with’ and the 3AUG object form =gö (lit. ‘with them’), which is formally identical to the 3AUG possessive form =gö. The latter involves the 3AUG free form *nigö* ‘they’ and the form *mwa* ‘with’, which is attached to it. Except for these two elicited items in word lists, the form *mwa* is never found in comitative constructions across texts. In other RSC languages, the situation is different. For instance, in Engdewu, the comitative construction marked by *-mi* displays an alternative construction introduced by the preposition *ma* ‘with’, which is used “to form a comitative phrase that indicates an accompanee or co-actor of the agent” (Vaa 2013: 137). An example is shown in (13.46).

(13.46) Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 211).

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>I-va-gâ</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>myei</i> | <i>pedoo,</i> |
| PFV:N3AUG.S/A-go-1AUG.S/A | with | brother:1MIN.POSS | bush |
| <i>i-va-gâ</i> | <i>ma-e</i> | | <i>pedoo.</i> |
| PFV:N3AUG.S/A-go-1AUG.S/A | with-3MIN | | bush |

‘I went with my brother to the bush, we two went to the bush. /Mo go wetem brata blong mi long bus, mitufala go long bus.’ (TMA_B3:N02m)

In (13.46), two functions of the preposition *ma* in Engdewu are shown. In the first sentence, *ma* is followed by an NP; while, in the second sentence, the 3MIN form *-e* is suffixed to it. The first function of *ma* is the one of introducing a new referent; while the second one is used to refer back to it. The Engdewu this form can also follow a free pronoun as in *nigâ mae* ‘they two’ or *nimwe mae* ‘you (AUG) two’, which are referred to as ‘inclusory constructions’. The second function, where the preposition follows the independent pronoun, is similar to the one attested in Nalögo. The forms *mwa* in Nalögo and *ma* in Engdewu might be diachronically related. The most likely origin for these forms is the POc **ma* ‘coordinating conjunction: and, with’. Reflexes of POc **ma* are commonly found in Oceanic languages. While in Engdewu, the reflex of POc **ma* is still productive, it is not the case of the Nalögo preposition *mwa*, whose functions have probably been taken over by the preposition *ba*, which is used to encode various roles.

13.2.3 Applicative construction with *-neba*

The applicative *-neba* is used to promote beneficiary, recipient and addressee roles to core function. It can be applied to both intransitive and transitive verbs, making them bivalent and trivalent, respectively. There are only a few examples of this construction with intransitive

verbs in the available data. In (13.47), *-neba* is attached to the intransitive verb *lâ* ‘talk’, introducing an addressee participant in the clause.

- (13.47) *Kopyo* *leplë* *tii-lâ-neba=le* *obwe*
 EXIST person IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=3MIN.SBJ child
ne=nu.
 animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘There is someone talking to his child.’ (nalogo1509_2015)

The subject-marking pattern in (13.47) is transitive, as shown by the behaviour of the 3MIN person which is cross-referenced on the verb by the form *=le*. In (13.47), the applicative does not add an object showing a special syntactic/pragmatic status. However, the applicative is more common in contexts where it allows peripheral roles to undergo syntactic operations as core arguments. For instance, in (13.48), *-neba* is used to allow the addressee role to become the head of a relative clause.

- (13.48) *Topnö* *leplë* *kä* *tii-lâ-neba=nga*
 NEG.EXIST person LNK IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I didn’t talk to anyone.’ (nalogo033)

The *-neba* applicative construction has an alternative construction where beneficiary, addressee and recipient roles are expressed by a PP introduced by *ba*. As previously mentioned, *ba* cannot be stranded; thus, if the object is fronted for whatever pragmatic/syntactic reason, a resumptive pronominal form occurs on the preposition as in (13.49).

- (13.49) *Tonlü,* *ile=nu* *â* *i-lâ=kom*
no sister=1MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-talk=1AUG.SBJ
ba=de
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘No, it is my sister we talked to (*lit.* No, it is my sister we talked to her).’ (nalogo 007)

In (13.49), the addressee is fronted and cross-referenced on the preposition by the 3MIN form *=de*.

13.2.3.1 Applicative or oblique pro-form?

When the form *-neba* is attached to transitive verbs, allowing the fronting of the applicative object, its function is less straightforward. Two examples are shown in (13.50) and (13.51).

(13.50) *Nelö â i-ka-neba Vivian rice kâ?*
 who PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-give-OBL/APPL Vivian rice DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Whom did Vivian give rice to?’ (nalogo045)

(13.51) *Nünge kâ i-ka-neba=le*
 boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-give-OBL/APPL=3MIN.SBJ
töbao kâ i-kele.
 papaya DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘The boy to whom Julia gave the papaya is nice.’

In (13.50) and (13.51), the form *-neba* can have a double interpretation. Both sentences involve the transitive *ka* ‘give’ taking two core arguments in the clause. In (13.50), the recipient/beneficiary role is expressed by the fronted interrogative word. In (13.51), the recipient/beneficiary role is expressed by the fronted NP functioning as the head of the relative clause. Under an applicative interpretation, the form *-neba* in (13.50) and (13.51) would add a recipient/beneficiary participant to the argument structure of the verb, encoding it as a core direct object to allow it to undergo the fronting in (13.50) and (13.51). Since the verb *ka* is originally transitive, there would be no formal signs of the valency-increasing process at play, not even the subject-marking pattern which is already transitive by default. Under an oblique pro-form interpretation, *-neba* would function as a pro-form which is functionally equivalent to a preposition plus a resumptive pronoun ‘incorporated’ in the VC. In this case, the valency of the verb would remain unaltered with two core arguments and a third fronted oblique argument. The fronted interrogative form in (13.50) and the NP in (13.51) would be non-core arguments, whose semantic role is signalled by *-neba*. For examples, in (13.50) and (13.51), both interpretations are possible.

A similar situation is found in Vaeakau-Taumako, one of the Polynesian Outliers spoken in Temotu province. Næss and Hovdhaugen describe the functions of two oblique pro-forms in Vaeakau-Taumako, *ai* and *akinai/akina*, expressing a locative and a directional role (Næss & Hovdhaugen 2011: 219-221). In some contexts involving transitive verbs, the form *akina* can be interpreted either as an oblique pro-form or as an applicative. The behaviour of the form *akina* (most likely POc *akin[i]) parallels the one of *-neba* (Alfarano 2019b). Næss and Hovdhaugen (2011: 219-221) regard those contexts showing ambiguity as an instance of

‘bridging’ contexts (Heine 2002)⁹⁶, where the oblique pro-form *akina* in Vaeakau-Taumako might have been reanalysed as an applicative. Therefore, the oblique pro-form *akina* and the applicative are likely to be diachronically connected, as well as sharing the same POc origin. Likewise, (13.50) and (13.51) might be viewed as bridging contexts leading to the reanalysis of the oblique pro-form *neba* into an applicative. However, there are no examples in the data where the direct object of trivalent verbs applicativized by *-neba* is pronominal. In this respect, in §13.2.6.8, I discuss the function of the 3MIN object-marking pattern with trivalent verbs marked by the applicative *=ngö* as discriminating between two possible readings of the applicative as an oblique pro-form or as an applicative. Unfortunately, due to the lack of data, I cannot use the same argumentation for *-neba* to determine if it can be interpreted as an oblique pro-form.

In terms of origins, the form *neba*, which also occurs in Natügu with the meaning ‘to whom’, might be originally formed by two elements, the indefinite pronominal form *ne* ‘and the ‘dative’ base *ba* (Boerger p.c.). The form *ne* is also attested in the interrogative forms *ne-ke* ‘who’ and *ne-lö* ‘who’ (vs *nâ-lö* ‘what’) in Natügu and Nalögo, respectively. The form *ba* is homophonous with the reverse bound morpheme *-ba* and the preposition *ba*, which might share the same origin as mentioned in Chapter 9.

13.2.4 Applicative construction with *-ulë*

The applicative *-ulë* is typically applied to intransitive verbs, making them bivalent. It mainly promotes endpoint/goal roles with verbs like *yöpwale* ‘laugh’, *kâ* ‘scream’, and *kabo* ‘shout’. More generally, *-ulë* is applied to any verb allowing an applied object expressing the endpoint/goal of an action. An example with the verb *yöpwale* ‘laugh’ is shown in (13.52).

- (13.52) a) (Ni) *t(ü)-yöpwale=nga.*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-laugh=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am laughing.’ (intransitive) (nalogo2110_2015)
- b) (Ni) *t(ü)-yöpwale-ulë=nga* *nim*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-laugh-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘I am laughing at you.’ (applicative)

⁹⁶ The term ‘bridging context’ refers to those contexts which relate two functions, allowing the diachronic development of one function from the other.

In (13.52a), the verb is used intransitively with only one argument S. In (13.52b), the verb is applicativized by *-ulë*, which allows the presence of the applied object *nim* encoding the endpoint. The applicative turns the intransitive construction into a bivalent one, where the subject-marking pattern is also transitive. Evidence of this is given by the behaviour of the 3MIN/3AUG persons, which typically treat S and A_{TR} arguments differently (Chapter 3; Chapter 14). Example (13.53b) shows an applicative construction where the subject-marking pattern of the 3MIN subject differs from the one found in the intransitive clause in (13.53a).

- (13.53) a) *Mö-kâ* *i-kâ=∅*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-scream=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘The man screamed.’ (nalogo2309_2015)
- b) *Mö-kâ* *i-kâ-ulë=le* *ni*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-scream-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 1MIN
 ‘The man screamed at me.’

In (13.53a), the verb is intransitive with an S argument which is zero-marked, while in (13.53b), the same verb is applicativized by *-ulë*. The 3MIN subject in (13.53b) is marked on the verb by *=le*, while the applied object follows the predicate. The applicative *-ulë* can also promote beneficiary roles as in (13.54), where the applicative adds a beneficiary participant.

- (13.54) *Tü-köknga-ulë=te* *melä=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-pray-APPL=3MIN.SBJ son=3MIN.POSS
 ‘She is praying for her son.’ (nalogo045)

In terms of semantic properties, applied objects can express animate referents as in (13.53) or inanimate referents as in (13.55).

- (13.55) *T(ü)-yepwale-ulë=nga* *nepwë=m.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-laugh-APPL=1MIN.SBJ cloth=2MIN.POSS
 ‘I laughed at your clothes (the way you were dressing).’ (nalogo045)

In general, applied objects introduced by *-ulë* do not seem to display any semantic or syntactic restriction. Morphosyntactically, they can form NP heads and take modifiers. Like transitive objects, applicative objects can undergo syntactic processes. This is shown in (13.56), where the beneficiary participant is promoted to be relativized.

(13.56) *Leplē* *kä* *tü-köknga-ulë=te* *melä=je*.
 person LNK IPFV.N3AUG-pray-APPL=3MIN.SBJ son=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The person she is praying for is her son.’ (nalogo045)

In (13.56), *köknga* ‘pray’ is applicativized to allow the beneficiary to be relativized.

The applicative construction seems to be obligatory with certain verbs like *yöpwale* ‘laugh’, *kâ* ‘scream’, *kabo* ‘shout’ to express an endpoint/goal participant. However, to express beneficiaries, constructions with PPs can be used as in (13.57) where the preposition *ba* introduces a beneficiary argument.

(13.57) *I-wë-tö=pwa* *ba=de*.
 PFV.N3AUG-work-in=1MIN.SBJ PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘I work for him’. (nalogo047)

The beneficiary/recipient role can also be expressed by the applicative construction marked by *-neba*, which is analysed in §13.2.3.

In terms of origins, I regard the applicative *-ulë* as the result of a process of grammaticalization from verbal serialization to applicative. Among diachronic sources, verbs are well-known to grammaticalize into applicatives (Peterson 2007). This also holds for Oceanic languages, where there is a widespread tendency to develop prepositions or verbal affixes from serialized verbs (Durie 1988). In Nalögo, the origin of *-ulë* is most likely the transitive verb *ulë* ‘strike s.o. with a thrown object’. The verb is still used as an independent lexical item as in (13.58).

(13.58) *Tü-ulë=nga* *nim* *mö* *oplë* *ka*.
 IPFV.N3AUG-throw=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN PREP stone DEM₁.PROX
 ‘I am striking you with a stone.’

From a diachronic perspective, the verb *ulë* might be a reflex of POC **piri*(ŋ) ‘to throw a stone at’⁹⁷.

⁹⁷ POC **piri*(ŋ) ‘to throw a stone at’ > Proto-Temotu **li* > Proto-RSC **li* > NAL *u-lë*. In the diachronic process, the first syllable is dropped and the vowel *u-* is inserted. The phenomenon of vowel insertion (or epenthesis) is attested in RSC languages. However, at this stage, the factors conditioning this phenomenon are not established. As Ross and Næss (2007) write, “We shall not deal with the histories of vowels, other than to say that they are rather complex, involving deletion, epenthetic insertion, and harmony.”

13.2.5 Applicative construction with *-ki*

The applicative form *-ki*, homophonous with the bound morpheme *-ki* ‘path’ (Chapter 9), expresses direction, source, location and manner roles. They all involve a semantic component of ‘specific route’. It can be applied to intransitive and transitive verbs. Two examples are shown below where *-ki* promotes direction ‘to’ and source ‘from’.

(13.59) *Tü-(v)ë-ki=ki* *kâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST
 ‘We are going that way.’ (song)

(13.60) *Mwetelya* *kä* *i-vë-ki=mwa*
 village LNK PFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1 MIN.SBJ.hither
lade-kä-you.
 side-LNK-down
 ‘The village where I come from is uphill.’

(13.61) *Jar* *kâ* *i-wäbu-lë=m* *bä* *sink* *jâ*
 jar DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-sit-up=DIR.hither PREP sink CONT₁
tü-tali-ki-u *nuwe.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-flow-APPL-down water
 ‘The jar is sitting in the sink and the water is flowing into it.’

The applicative *-ki* can also express manner roles as in (13.62) and (13.63).

(13.62) *Ka* *i-wäbu-ki=le*
 DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL=3MIN.SBJ
laide ne *i-ka*
 side animate.CLF female-DEM₁.PROX
 ‘As for this one, it stays at the side of this girl (lit. this female one).’

(13.63) *Te=understand=wa=lü* *kâ*
 NEG₁=understand=1 MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ DEM₁.DIST
i-pi-ki=ng=le *mweli kâ* *ka*
 PFV.N3AUG-say-APPL=2MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX
 ‘I didn’t understand the way you said it before.’ (nalogo039)

In (13.62), the applicative introduces an argument which specifies the way in which the dish ‘sits’, i.e. at the side of a third participant; while in (13.63), it introduces a manner role,

specifying the way in which the hearer said something before. In (13.63), *-ki* attaches to an already transitive verb, making the whole construction trivalent⁹⁸.

In terms of origins, the applicative *-ki* is homophonous with the bound morpheme expressing direction *-ki* ‘path, specific direction’. In Chapter 9, the bound morpheme *-ki* is analysed as a potential reflex of POC **kini* ‘by, with (instrument)’ (Pawley 1973). This morpheme **ki* is reflected as a directional preposition in Eastern Fijian and in many Polynesian languages. Given the semantic and formal similarity and the fact that applicatives show prepositions as possible diachronic sources, the applicative and the morpheme expressing direction might share the same origin.

13.2.6 Applicative construction with *=ngö*

The applicative *=ngö* (~ *=nö*) is used to promote various peripheral roles to core function. It can be applied to intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ambitransitive verbs. Its position inside the VC is quite peripheral. As mentioned in Chapter 8, valency-changing morphemes are part of the VC nucleus, since they are typically prefixed and/or suffixed directly to the verb root. The periphery of the nucleus is made up of various modifiers, including topological and person deictic directionals, adverbs, etc. Unlike the other valency-changing devices, *=ngö* occurs after the nucleus. This is shown in (13.64) and (13.65), where I compare the positions of applicative *-ti* and *=ngö*.

(13.64) *Chair kâ* *tü-wäbu-ti-u=mwam*
 chair DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=2AUG.SBJ.hither
i-mö-glâ
 PFV.N3AUG-break-break
 ‘The chair on which you are sitting on broke.’ (nalogo045)

(13.65) *Ö-kâ-u=ngö=ng* *kâ* *dis*
 MIDD₁-scrape-down=APPL=2MIN.SBJ QNT dish
 ‘You scrape (coconut) down into a dish.’ (nalogo039)

In (13.64), the applicative occurs right after the verb root and before the topological directional *-u*. In (13.65), *=ngö* promotes a locative role to core function. The applicative *=ngö* occurs on

⁹⁸ As in *ngö*-applicative constructions based on transitive verbs, the base object is expressed by the enclitic *=le* (see §13.2.6.8).

the verb after the directional *-u* ‘down’ and is followed by the subject. Two additional examples are shown in (13.66) and (13.67), where the positions of the applicative *-mi* and *=ngö* are compared.

(13.66) *I-vë=bwe* *jâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither SEQ
i-vë-mi-pä=pme=m=de *mo* *böma*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-APPL-out=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ DEM2.DIST home
 ‘She goes and then she comes back home with her.’ (nalogo001)

(13.67) *Mâ* *i-wäbu-pä=ngö=m* *laptop kâ*
 place PFV.N3AUG-sit-out=APPL=DIR.hither laptop DEM1.DIST
 ‘The place where the laptop sits.’ (nalogo0910_2015)

In (13.66), the applicative *-mi* occurs right after the verb root and before the directional *-pä* ‘out’. In (13.67), *=ngö* occurs outside the nucleus, after the topological directional. The other directionals and morphemes expressing directions, such as *-tö* ‘in’ and *-nö* ‘around’, can also occur before *=ngö*, but after the other applicative forms.

In (13.65) and (13.67), *=ngö* can occur before person deictic directionals or subject forms conflating with them. However, the enclitic can also occur after person deictic directionals as shown in (13.68).

(13.68) *Obwe* *nüinge kâ* *vea=bwe=ngö=de*
 child boy DEM1.DIST ask=DIR.thither=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
töwa *ba* *ibu=de* *ä* *laule=je.*
 money PREP father=3MIN.POSS COORD mother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The young boy asked for money to her father and mother.’

In (13.68), *=ngö* occurs after *=bwe* ‘thither’. However, this is the only attested example where the applicative follows this type of directional. Further data are in need to investigate how frequent this position is.

The difference between *-ti/-mi* and *=ngö* in terms of position might suggest something on the origins of the form. The fact that *=ngö* is not part of the VC nucleus suggests that it might have originated in a more peripheral element.

The applicative *=ngö* can add a variety of peripheral roles as applied objects. The most common ones are stimulus, cause, ‘about’, content, goal, location, instrument and time. In terms of verb

types, =ngö can occur on intransitive, transitive and semitransitive verbs, depending on the semantic role it expresses, as shown in Table 13-1.

| SEMANTIC ROLE | INTRANSITIVE | SEMITRANSITIVE | TRANSITIVE | AMBITRANSITIVE |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| STIMULUS | ✓ | - | - | - |
| CONTENT | ✓ | - | - | - |
| REASON/CAUSE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| INSTRUMENT | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| LOCATIVE | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| TEMPORAL | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Table 13-1. Verbs types and semantic roles added by =ngö

Depending on the semantic role, the applicative construction with =ngö can be replaced by PPs. This is the case for locative, temporal and instrument roles, which can be expressed by PPs introduced by the prepositions *bä* and *mö*. By contrast, stimulus roles and content roles tend to be expressed by applicative constructions. Examples of the semantic roles mentioned in the table are shown in the following subsections.

13.2.6.1 Stimulus role

The applicative =ngö is applied to intransitive verbs of emotion to add an applied object expressing stimulus. An example with the applicativized form of the verb *ngya* ‘be angry’ is shown in (13.69).

- (13.69) *I-ngya=ngö* *dötwö=de* *ni*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.angry=APPL neck=3MIN.POSS 1MIN
 ‘He is angry with/because of me.’ (nalogo058)

The semantic role of the applied object could be interpreted as stimulus or cause. Applicativization through =ngö is the only strategy attested in the data to express stimulus with verbs of emotion.

13.2.6.2 Content and ‘about’ roles

The applicative =ngö can occur with verbs of talking to encode content and ‘about’ roles. Two examples of these two roles are shown in (13.70) and (13.71) with the intransitive verbs *lä* ‘talk’ and *kö* ‘sing’, respectively.

(13.70) *Tü-lâ=ngö=nom* *nim*
 IPFV.N3AUG-talk=APPL=1AUG.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘We are talking about you.’ (nalogo058)

(13.71) *Tü-kö=ngö=de* *kâ* *nabwä*
 IPFV.N3AUG-sing=APPL=3MIN.SBJ QNT song
 ‘He is singing a song.’ (nalogo055)

13.2.6.3 Reason/cause role

The applicative =ngö can be applied to all types of verbs when it promotes reason/cause roles. Two examples are shown in (13.72) and (13.73), where =ngö makes the two intransitive verbs bivalent.

(13.72) *Tü-ku=ngö=de* *ine=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call=APPL=3MIN.SBJ daughter=3MIN.POSS
 ‘She is calling because of her daughter.’ (nalogo058)

(13.73) *Loole* *lä-ö-nibü* *po, jâ*
 Noole.people PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-kill pig, DEM₄.DIST
t(ü)-ya-pä=ngö=bom.
 IPFV.N3AUG-paddle-out=APPL=1AUG.SBJ.thither
 ‘People from Noole killed a pig, that’s why we are paddling.’ (nalogo051)

In (13.74) and (13.75), =ngö makes two bivalent verbs trivalent.

(13.74) *Jâ* *t(ü)-ya-li-ti-pä=ngö=na=de.*
 DEM₄.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-split-be.two-PL-out=APPL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘That’s why I am splitting it.’ (nalogo062)

(13.75) *Te=i-klë=wa=lü*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
kä-i-vö-nibü=ngö=ng *nâ.*
 way-PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-kill=APPL=2MIN.SBJ fish
 ‘I do not know how you kill fish.’ (nalogo068)

In (13.74), the applicative attaches to the transitive complex nucleus *ya-li* ‘split in two’, adding a third, applied object, namely the demonstrative *jâ*, which expresses reason. The other two arguments, the A_{TR} and the base object O_{TR} , are encoded by pronominal bound forms. In (13.75), *=ngö* attaches to a semitransitive form prefixed with *(v)ö-*. The applied argument in (13.75) is the nominal bound form *kä-* ‘way’ heading the complex nominal construction. Further explanations for how *=ngö* functions with bivalent verbs are given in §13.2.6.8.

13.2.6.4 Instrument role

The applicative *=ngö* can add an applied object expressing instrument. When the applicative shows this function, it can attach to all types of verbs, as in (13.76), (13.77) and (13.78), where it occurs with an intransitive, semitransitive and transitive verb form, respectively.

(13.76) *Kâ* *tü-(w)o-nö=ngö* *Me-wë.*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-go-DISP=APPL male-work
 ‘The one that Mewë is driving.’ (nalogo039)

(13.77) *topnö* *nuwi* *kä* *nü-vö-pne=ngö=na*
 NEG.EXIST rope LNK IRR.N3AUG-MIDD₁-tie=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘...there is no rope to tie with.’ (nalogo013)

(13.78) *Nolö â* *i-pwä-ki-u=ngö=m*
 what PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-down=APPL=DIR.hither
olë *kâ* *no* *kâ* *mö* *timber?*
 woman DEM₁.DIST fish DEM₁.DIST PREP timber
 ‘What did the woman cut the fish on the timber with?’ (nalogo046)

13.2.6.5 Locative role

The applicative *=ngö* can encode a locative role as core argument with all types of verbs—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive—as shown in (13.79-13.81).

(13.79) *Nuwâ kä* *i-wo-lë=ngö* *mö-kâ.*
 tree DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-climb-up=APPL male-DEM₁.DIST
 ‘As for the tree, the man climbed on it.’ (nalogo043_notes)

(13.80) *Ö-kâ-u=ngö=ng* *kâ* *dis*
 MIDD₁-scrape-down=APPL=2MIN.SBJ QNT dish
 ‘You grate (coconuts) down into a dish.’ (locative) (nalogo039)

- (13.81) *Mâ a-ulö-mâ-ti=ngö=na nim obu kâ*
 place CAUS-finish-see-TR=APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN day DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The place where I met you that day.’ (nalogo003)

13.2.6.6 Temporal role

When =*ngö* is used to encode a temporal role, it can attach to intransitive, semitransitive and transitive verbs as shown in (13.82-13.84).

- (13.82) *Obu kä t(ü)-vë=ngö=ni ja*
 day LNK IPFV.N3AUG-go=APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ DEM₄.PROX
 ‘The day we are going is this one (lit. the day in which we are going is this one).’
 (nalogo039)

- (13.83) *Mweli kavlö i-vö-lawö-ti=ngö*
 time which PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cut-PL=APPL
mö-kâ nanö mö mölaö?
 male-DEM₁.DIST firewood PREP axe
 ‘When did the man cut firewood with an axe?’ (nalogo046)

- (13.84) *Olë kâ i-pä-bö=ngö=de can*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-hit-be.crushed=APPL=3MIN.SBJ can
kâ hour vöte⁹⁹.
 DEM₁.DIST hour be.one
 ‘The girl hit the can for one hour.’ (nalogo043_notes)

13.2.6.7 Argument-marking patterns

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the applicative =*ngö* can trigger specific subject-marking forms belonging to Set I and Set II, according to the person category involved. The forms are shown in Table 13-2 and discussed below.

⁹⁹ In this specific example, the speaker also attributed to =*ngö* some kind of continuous function. However, the topic, namely, the possible connection between the applicative and some aspectual meanings, is left for future research.

| PERSON | MIN | AUG |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | = <i>na</i> | = <i>go</i> |
| 1+2 | = <i>gi</i> (=ni) | = <i>gom</i> (=nom) |
| 2 | = <i>ng</i> | = <i>nam</i> |
| 3 | = <i>de</i> | = <i>dö</i> |

Table 13-2. Subject-marking forms occurring with the applicative =ngö

The 1MIN, 2MIN/AUG forms belong to Set I, that is, the set of forms regarded as the basic ones. The 1+2MIN/AUG, 1AUG and 3MIN show forms belonging to Set II, i.e. the set of forms which are formally identical to possessive forms. However, the 1+2MIN/AUG persons can also be expressed by =ni and =nom, perhaps two free variants. The 3AUG form =dö is most likely a borrowing from the set of Natügu possessive forms.

The forms belonging to Set II are replaced by those belonging to the other pronominal sets if some material intervenes between the applicative and the subject enclitic. The selection of the subject forms depend on the surrounding context. For instance, in (13.85), =p(m)e occurs between =ngö and the subject form, triggering the 3MIN subject =le belonging to Set I.

- (13.85) *Kopyo* *da* *ta-a-ulo-tö=ngö=pe=le* *toki*
 EXIST thing IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-push-in=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ knife
kâ.
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘There is something he is pushing the knife through.’

Typically, =p(m)e does not select subject forms belonging to Set II. An additional example in (13.86) shows a similar case where =p(m)e follows the applicative, triggering the 1AUG subject form =ko belonging to Set I instead of =go belonging to Set II.

- (13.86) *Nge* *obu* *kä* *t(ü)-velya=ngö=pe=ko*
 PRAG.MRK day LNK IPFV.N3AUG-dance=APPL=COS=1AUG.SBJ
a.
 DEM₃.PROX
 ‘...the day in which we dance is this one.’ (nalogo016)

The person deictic directionals =m ‘hither’ and =bwe ‘thither’ can also occur between the applicative and the subject forms. The form of the subject depends on the person category, since forms belonging to Set I and Set II can be used, depending on the person. For instance, in

(13.87) and (13.88), the applicative is followed by the 1MIN =*mwa* and the 1AUG =*bom*, respectively, which are the result of the conflation between subject forms, probably belonging to Set I, and person directionals. Example (13.88) is also an example of reason role in §13.2.6.3.

(13.87) *Bed kâ tü-mwi-u=ngö=mwa*
 bed DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sleep-down=APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘The bed where I sleep.’ (nalogo068)

(13.88) *Loole lë-ö-nibü po, jâ*
 Noole.people PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-kill pig, DEM₄.DIST
t(ü)-ya-pä=ngö=bom.
 IPFV.N3AUG-paddle-out=APPL=1AUG.SBJ.hither
 ‘People from Noole killed pig, that’s why we are paddling.’

In (13.89), the ‘hither’ directional =*m* triggers the 3MIN form =*de* belonging to Set II.

(13.89) *I-mögalö-ti=nga=pme year kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-forget-TR=1MIN.SBJ=COS year LNK
i-vë-tö=ngö=m=de
 PFV.N3AUG-go-in=APPL=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘I have forgotten the year in which they (dishes) came in (the island).’ (nalogo062)

This behaviour of the subject forms with =*ngö* clearly suggests that it is not the applicative function which triggers different person markers, but rather, the morpheme to which they attach.

13.2.6.8 Functions of =*ngö* with bivalent verbs

In the previous section, I showed that =*ngö* can attach to all types of verbs, depending on the semantic role that it encodes (Table 13-1, §13.2.6). In this section, I focus on the properties of the *ngö*=constructions based on transitive and semitransitive verb forms. An example with the derived verb form *ku-ti* ‘call for s.o.’ is shown in (13.90).

(13.90) *Nâ tü-ku-ti=ngö=de?*
 what IPFV.N3AUG-call-TR=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘Why is he calling (you)?’ (nalogo039)

Example (13.90) shows an interrogative clause where the interrogative pronoun *nâ* ‘what’ is fronted. The intransitive verb *ku* ‘call’ is transitivized by *-ti* adding a 2MIN base object to the clause, which is implied in the discourse. The form =*ngö* attaching to an already transitive base

has two possible readings: either it is viewed as an applicative or as an oblique pro-form. If =ngö is viewed as an applicative attaching to a bivalent verb, the interrogative word would be regarded as an applied object. By contrast, if =ngö is viewed as an oblique pro-form, the interrogative word would be regarded as a fronted oblique argument. Oblique pro-forms are sort of ‘VC-incorporated PPs’ made up of an oblique and a pronominal component. The presence of these anaphoric devices is attested in Oceanic languages, in particular, in Polynesian languages, where they are referred to in various ways including ‘anaphors’, ‘anaphoric pronouns’, etc. According to the oblique-pro-form interpretation, =ngö in (13.90) would function as an oblique anaphor referring back to the fronted interrogative word, without increasing the valency of the verb. There are potentially no formal properties which can help decide between one interpretation over the other. The subject-marking pattern of the 3MIN/AUG subject, which is often used as a way to differentiate between intransitive and applicative constructions, cannot be used as such in the context of (13.90), since the verb is already bivalent, taking the transitive subject-marking pattern by default. However, there is another way involving the marking of the object that can help us rule out the interpretation of =ngö as an oblique pro-form. In (13.90), the 2MIN base object introduced by -ti is omitted because easily retrievable from the context. When the base object encodes a 3MIN referent, the pronominal form =le occurs on the verb. An example is shown in (13.91).

- (13.91) *Yöpwi lëkö ka kâ*
 cut taro DEM₁.PROX DEM₁.DIST
i-pi=ngö=bwa=le
 PFV.N3AUG-say=APPL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Cut this taro the way I say it (Cut this taro the way in which I said it).’
 (nalogo003)

In (13.91), =ngö attaches to the transitive verb *pi* ‘say’. The applied object, the demonstrative *kâ*, expressing manner, is fronted to function as the head of a relative clause. The base object ‘it’ is encoded on the verb by the subject form =le.

The marking of the 3MIN object on trivalent verbs is a crucial point for the analysis of the applicative =ngö for two reasons. First, it shows that the applied object licensed by =ngö is selected as a ‘primary object’. Second, it gives us the possibility to rule out the interpretation of =ngö as an oblique pro-form.

Before getting into this topic, i.e. the reason why the applied object can be viewed as the ‘primary object’ and what that means, some typological observations are in order. Dryer (1986) makes a distinction between languages with direct objects and languages with ‘primary’ objects. This distinction is based on how the object of bivalent and trivalent verbs is treated. In some languages, the patient of bivalent verbs is treated in the same way as the patient of trivalent verbs, while the third participant, for instance the beneficiary/recipient participant, is treated differently. In other languages, the patient of bivalent verbs is treated in the same way as the beneficiary/recipient of trivalent verbs, while the patient is treated differently. This distinction is summarized in Figure 13-1 below, where Type 1 refers to ‘direct object’ systems and Type 2 refers to ‘primary object’ systems.

| TYPE 1 | | |
|-----------|---------|-----------------------|
| BIVALENT | patient | |
| TRIVALENT | patient | beneficiary/recipient |
| TYPE 2 | | |
| BIVALENT | patient | |
| TRIVALENT | patient | beneficiary/recipient |

Figure 13-1. ‘Direct object’ system vs ‘Primary object’ system based on Peterson’s schema (2007: 144)

With trivalent verbs in Nalögo, the new applied object encoding a peripheral role is treated in the same way as the patient of bivalent verbs, while the original patient is treated differently. An example is shown in (13.92).

- (13.92) a) *I-vë=m* *beipluwu*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither bush
i-wo-ti=le *bwebwe=de*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=3MIN.SBJ covering=3MIN.POSS
yabla-u=le *pwela.*
 soak-down=3MIN.SBJ sea
 ‘She went to the bush, she took her covering, she soaked it in the sea...’
 (nalogo2209_2015)
- b) *Lëikü* *kâ* *i-pwe-ti* *ile=je*
 yam DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-plant-TR sister=3MIN.POSS
i-kele.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘The yam that your sister planted is good.’

In (13.92a) and (13.92b), the patient functions as the privileged pragmatic and syntactic argument for coordination and relativization, respectively. In (13.92a), there are two coordinated clauses where the patient encoded as a transitive object is omitted. Typically, any argument can be omitted in coordination as shown in Chapter 14. Likewise, in (13.92b), the patient is the direct object functioning as the head of the relative clause. In (13.92a) and (13.92b), only the transitive subject is obligatorily encoded on the verb by the 3MIN =*le*: no object-marking form is required on the verb. This property, as well as the morphosyntactic differences between A_{TR} and O_{TR} arguments in transitive clauses, are described in Chapter 12 and Chapter 14.

An additional example is shown in and (13.93a).

- (13.93) a) *Nubü* *lë-vëpe=kö* *kâ* *toe* *ä*
 yesterday PFV.3AUG-buy=3AUG.SBJ QNT toy COORD
lë-(y)awe=ngö=dö.
 PFV.3AUG-play=APPL=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘Yesterday they bought a toy and played with it.’ (nalogo051)
- b) *Dat* *ne=de* *kâ* *tü-vë*
 devil animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-go
ba=de *tü-pi=m=de*
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ IPFV.N3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
kä-nü-ngo=ngö=de=le
 way-IRR.N3AUG-make=APPL=3MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘...his devil that was going to him to tell how to make it.’ (nalogo1109_2015)

Example (13.93a) shows an applicative construction where =*ngö* occurring on the intransitive verb *yawe* ‘play’ allows an instrument role to be omitted in coordination as a core argument. Only the transitive subject is marked on the verb by the 3AUG =*dö*. By contrast, (13.93b) shows a case of a complex nominal where =*ngö* allows the complex nominal head, the bound noun *kä-* ‘way’ expressing manner, to become a core argument. The subject, the man, is marked on the transitive verb by the form =*de*, while the base object, referring to the traditional money previously mentioned in the discourse, is encoded by the object form =*le* which follows the subject. In (13.93b), the argument promoted by =*ngö* does not take any verbal marking, since it functions as the pragmatic/syntactic privileged argument. Although in this analysis, I have taken peripheral roles other than beneficiary/ recipient into account, Nalögo can still be viewed as a ‘primary object’ language as shown in the schema below.

| | | |
|------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| BIVALENT | PATIENT (Ø) | |
| TRIVALENT | PATIENT (=le) | PERIPHERAL ROLE (Ø) |

Figure 13-2. 'Primary object' marking in Nalögo with trivalent verbs

To sum up, when =ngö is attached to bivalent transitive verbs, it has two functions: (i) it adds an applied object to the clause, and (ii) it makes the applied object 'primary', in that, it is the one between the two object arguments which is pragmatically and syntactically privileged. This behaviour of =ngö is in line with the discourse-based function of applicatives, according to which "the entity the construction refers to has a greater discourse salience or topic continuity than would otherwise be expected of it" (Peterson 2007: 83).

The second point of interest is that the treatment of the primary object with trivalent verbs rules out the interpretation of =ngö as an oblique pro-form. In (13.93), if =ngö were an oblique pro-form, we would not expect the patient to be marked on the predicate of the relative clause because the verb would be bivalent, not trivalent. As a consequence, the omitted object, the money, would be the only object in the clause as it is the case in (13.92).

In the last part of this section, I show some examples of =ngö occurring on semitransitive verbs. (13.94) is an example.

- (13.94) *Toki ja kä tē-ō-pwä=ngö=dö no.*
 knife DEM4.PROX LNK IPFV.3AUG-MIDD1-cut=APPL=3AUG.SBJ fish
 'The knife is here for them to cut the fish with (it)'. (nalogo045)

In (13.94), =ngö occurs on a semitransitive verb form to allow an instrument role to become the head of a relative clause. The semitransitive object *no* 'fish' follows the predicate. Unlike semitransitive constructions, applicative constructions based on semitransitive verbs are transitive, in that the subject marking follows a transitive pattern and the new applied object behaves like a 'primary' object. However, this type of construction differs from applicative constructions based on transitive verbs, because the base semitransitive object, which is typically low individuated as *no* 'fish' in (13.94), is not marked on the verb unlike the based transitive objects as in (13.92). Only highly individuated patients, like those occurring in applicative constructions based on transitive verbs, need to be marked on the verb to show that their pragmatic and syntactic status is less 'prominent' than the one of the applied object. In sentences like (13.95) below, the object is omitted, turning the whole construction into a

‘depatientive’ (§13.3.2.1). The depatientive construction is, in turn, made bivalent through the applicativizing process. The instrument role is promoted to become the head of the relative clause.

(13.95) *Topnö nuwi kä nü-vö-pne=ngö=na*
 NEG.EXIST rope LNK IRR.N3AUG-MIDD₁-tie=APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘There is no rope for me to tie with.’ (nalogo062)

In relation to applicative constructions like (13.95), it can be argued that the distinction between ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ objects shown for trivalent verbs based on transitive clauses is retained, but in a different way. It is the applied object which patterns more like a transitive object due to its ability to undergo syntactic operations as a core argument where it has a pragmatic/syntactic privileged status. As discussed in Chapter 12, semitransitive objects typically cannot be fronted and undergo syntactic operations. In §13.4, I show that =*ngö* can be applied even to passivized verb forms.

13.2.6.9 Some RSC comparative remarks

Natügu and Engdewu, two other RSC languages, display the morphemes *-ngö* and *-(n)ö*, respectively, which display an applicativizing function. Vaa (2013: 305) describes the functions of the applicative *-(n)ö* occurring on transitive, intransitive, and semitransitive verbs. The added participants can display various roles such as benefactive, locative, experiencer, and so forth. However, the participant is “not necessarily introduced as a core argument” (Vaa 2013: 305-306). Apparently, the applicative *(n)ö-* can occur on the verb without adding any object, which is regularly expressed obliquely through a prepositional phrase. Natügu has the applicative *-ngö*, which might be cognate with the Engdewu *-(n)ö*. Furthermore, both languages show a comitative form *-mi* (Næss & Boerger 2008; Vaa 2013), which could be regarded here as an applicative together with *-(n)ö/-ngö*. In Engdewu, *-(n)ö* can combine with the prefix *(v)ö-* and the transitive *-ti* (Vaa 2013: 262-264). Likewise, the Natügu *-ngö* can combine with the prefix *ö-* and the transitive suffix *-ti*. The affixes *(v)ö-* and *-ti* are most likely cognates with the middle prefix *(v)ö-* and the applicative/transitive suffix *-ti* in Nalögo. With regard to the combination of valency-changing affixes, Nalögo patterns like Natügu and Engdewu, in that the applicative =*ngö* can cooccur with the middle *(v)ö-* and the applicative/transitive *-ti*. In both cases, =*ngö* increases the valency, making bivalent constructions trivalent. However, as explained in §13.2.6.8, the applied object added by =*ngö* to already transitive verbs displays a more

‘prominent’ status. Interestingly, the functions of =ngö resemble those displayed by the circumstantial voice marker =Cä in Äiwoo, which shows characteristics of applicatives and symmetrical voice markers (Næss 2015b). Finally, in terms of origins, the diachronic source of =ngö is not well understood. Naitoro (2019: 43) states that the applicative -ngö in Natügu, which is very likely cognate with the form =ngö in Nalögo, might be reflex of POc *-ani. Reflexes of *-ani are also attested in Oceanic languages of the Admiralties group, in North New Guinea and Meso-Melanesian linkages of Western Oceania, in the North Vanuatu linkage and in some languages of the Southeast Solomonic group. However, further historical studies are needed to better understand the origin of -ngö/=ngö.

13.3 Patient-backgrounding constructions

In this section, I use the term ‘patient-backgrounding’ to refer to various types of constructions: deponentive, middle, reflexive and reciprocal constructions. The notion of ‘backgrounding’ can be interpreted in various ways, according to the type of construction.

In §13.3.1, I describe middle, reflexive and reciprocal constructions which are all marked by the middle marker =lëbu, glossed as ‘MIDD₂’, whose interpretation is contextual. §13.3.2 deals with deponentives and reciprocals marked by the middle prefix (v)ö- glossed as ‘MIDD₁’.

Reflexives and reciprocals are analysed here as ‘patient-backgrounding’ constructions as they have non-prototypical patients. In prototypical transitive constructions, agent and patient roles, realised as subject and object, encode two distinct roles: the agent is the initiator of the action, while the patient is its endpoint, the entity which is acted upon by the agent. In reflexives, the agent and patient participants are coreferential, thus, less distinguishable than those found in transitive clauses. In reciprocals, each participant involved in a relationship of reciprocity is the entity that acts and the one that is acted upon at the same time. In such constructions, the roles of agent and patient are not as distinct as in prototypical transitive clauses. In middle constructions, the affected entity is the subject. As Benveniste (1966: 172-173) wrote, in middle constructions, “[...] [l]e sujet effectue en s’affectant” (the subject acts by acting on itself). Finally, in deponentive constructions, the patient is pragmatically irrelevant, since the main function of the construction is to foreground the action.

13.3.1 The =*ləbu* marked constructions

The middle marker =*ləbu*, which display the free variant ~ =*dəbu*, can encode middle, reflexive and reciprocal situations. This morpheme is analysed as a valency-decreasing device because it allows object omission and triggers the intransitive subject-marking patterns. The morpheme =*ləbu* is a possible reflex of the POc verb **buli*(ŋ) ‘roll’.

13.3.1.1 Reflexive construction

Reflexives constructions are generally defined as encoding two-participant events, where the “the two participants happen to refer to the same entity” Kemmer (1993). This notion of ‘coreference’ is identified as the ‘essence’ of a reflexive (Faltz 1977). From a semantic point of view, reflexives can be regarded as intermediate between a one-participant and a two-participant construction. In some languages, this semantic characteristic of reflexives correlate with the presence of a mixed set of transitive and intransitive properties (Kemmer 1993). This does not seem to be the case for a number of Oceanic languages which tend to be syntactically transitive with a single participant encoded twice (Moyses-Faurie 2017).

In Nalögo, reflexive constructions are typologically interesting in the Oceanic context as they display both transitive and intransitive properties. When the middle marker =*ləbu* attaches to bivalent verbs, signalling the coreference between the two participants, the construction becomes syntactically intransitive and is marked by an intransitive subject marking. An example is shown in (13.96).

- (13.96) a) *Kopyo* *leplë* *i-të=le*
EXIST person PFV.N3AUG-hit=3MIN.SBJ
më-te=de
male-close.relation=3MIN.POSS
‘There is someone hitting his friend.’ (nalogo1509_2015)
- b) *Nünge* *kâ* *i-të=ləbu=Ø*
boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-hit=MIDD₂=3MIN.SBJ
‘The boy hit himself.’

In (13.96a), the transitive verb *të* ‘hit’ occurs in a transitive construction with two core arguments. The subject-marking pattern is transitive, as the 3MIN person is marked by =*le*. In (13.96b), =*ləbu* occurs on the verb signalling the coreference between the two participants and

marking the whole construction as intransitive where only one argument S is overtly expressed and indicated on the verb through the intransitive subject-marking pattern. In (13.97), the verb *yagla* ‘look’ is an intransitive verb applicativized by *-ti*.

- (13.97) a) *T(ü)-yagla-ti=le* *nim*
 IPFV.N3AUG-look-APPL=3MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘She is looking at you.’ (nalogo2310_2015)
- b) *T(ü)-yagla-ti=lëbu=Ø*
 IPFV.N3AUG-look-APPL=MIDD₂=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘She is looking at herself.’

In (13.97a), the construction is transitive, with two core arguments and the subject-marking is transitive. In the reflexive construction in (13.97b), the verb is still applicativized, allowing the presence of two participants. The middle marker signals the coreference between the subject and the object.

With 3MIN subjects as in (13.96b) and (13.97b), the constructions can only be interpreted as encoding a reflexive meaning. However, with any non-singular person, the interpretation can be ambiguous as in (13.98).

- (13.98) *I-pwä-ki=lëbu=ko* *mö* *toki.*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=MIDD₂=1+2AUG.SBJ PREP knife
 ‘We cut ourselves/each other with a knife.’ (nalogo050)

In (13.98), the construction can be interpreted either as reflexive or as reciprocal, depending on the context, which is typically enough to disambiguate between the two. However, the construction can be disambiguated by adding the reciprocal marker *-welo*.

So far, we have analysed reflexives involving transitive stems. However, it is also possible for the middle marker to attach to semitransitive verb forms. An example is shown in (13.99).

- (13.99) *Vö-ka=lëbu=nga* *present*
 MIDD₁-give=MIDD₂=1MIN.SBJ present
 ‘I gave myself a present.’

In (13.99), the verb *ka* ‘give’ is a transitive verb allowing two core arguments. The beneficiary is encoded by a PP introduced by the preposition *ba* as in (13.100).

- (13.100) *Nö-kâ* *jâ* *tü-ka=bwe=le*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ

| | | | | |
|------------|------------------------|--|-----------|-------------------------------|
| <i>can</i> | <i>kâ</i> | | <i>ba</i> | <i>i-kâ.</i> |
| can | DEM ₁ .DIST | | PREP | female-DEM ₁ .DIST |

‘The boy is giving the can to the girl.’ (nalogo043)

When the verb *ka* occurs in its semitransitive marked by (v)ö-, the semitransitive construction shifts the focus from the object to the verbal action as expected in a semitransitive construction. In (13.99), there are two arguments which are overtly expressed, the subject form =*nga* and the semitransitive object *present*. The two middle markers occurring on the verb perform two different functions. The prefix (v)ö- derives the semitransitive form of the verb, while the form =*lëbu* signals that the subject is coreferential with the oblique role of the beneficiary, which is omitted from the clause. In her typological study, Kemmer (1993: 74-77) refers to constructions like (13.99) as ‘indirect reflexives’. Indirect reflexives typically establish a coreference between the subject and an oblique role, such as beneficiary or recipient. In Nalögo, the main difference between direct and indirect reflexives is that while in the direct construction, there is only one overtly expressed S argument, in the indirect construction, there are two arguments, the subject and the semitransitive object.

In all the examples above, =*lëbu* attaches directly to the verb. With idiomatic combinations of psycho-collocation verbs, the marker *can* attach to the body-part term. This is the case of the verb of cognition *va-o(-ti)* ‘think’. (13.101) is an example.

- (13.101) a) *I-va-o-ti* *dötwö=nu* *nim*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-think-APPL neck=1MIN.POSS 2MIN
 ‘I thought about you.’ (transitive)
- b) *I-va-o-ti* *dötwö=lëbu=nga*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-think-APPL neck=MIDD₂=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I thought about myself.’ (reflexive)

Example (13.101a) shows an applicative construction with two overtly expressed arguments, the agent and the patient, which follow the verb. The form *o* always occurs with the causative prefix while the applicative *-ti* is optional. The verb is followed by the possessed body part *dötwö=nu* ‘my neck’ which functions as the subject. In (13.101b), =*lëbu* attaches directly to the body part term. In this case, the subject is no longer encoded by the possessive form, but by the subject form =*nga*.

13.3.1.2 Middle function

In Nalögo, middle situations are typically expressed lexically, but there are also cases of verbs marked by the marker =*lëbu*. An example is shown in below, where the marker occurs on the grooming verb *ngiobla* ‘get dressed’. An example is shown in (13.102).

- (13.102) a) *Olë* *kâ* *i-ngyobla*
 woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-get.dressed
 ‘The woman got dressed.’ (intransitive)
- b) *Ilaule* *olë* *kâ* *va-ngiobla=le*
 mother girl DEM₁.DIST CAUS-get.dressed=3MIN.SBJ
 ine=je
 daughter=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The mother dressed her daughter.’ (transitive)
- c) *Olë* *kâ* *i-va-ngiobla=lëbu*
 woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-get.dressed=MIDD₂
 ‘The woman dressed herself.’ (middle)

The verb *ngiobla* ‘dress’ is an intransitive verb as shown in (13.102a). In order to be used transitively, the verb takes the causative prefix as in (13.102b). The S argument in (13.102a) turns into the O_{TR} argument in (13.102b), since a causer participant is added to the clause as A_{TR} argument. In the middle construction in (13.102c), the verb occurs in its causativized version to allow two participants. The marker =*lëbu* follows the verb nucleus. The subject-marking pattern and the whole construction are intransitive. The difference between (13.102a) and (13.102c) might be explained in terms of emphasis or contrast: in (13.102c), it is herself (and not someone else) that the woman dressed.

Verbs of motion can also occur with the middle marker =*lëbu*. This is the case of the verb (*v*)*a-âno* ‘spin’ as shown in (13.103).

- (13.103) *Mö-kâ* *â*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PRAG.MRK
 tü-vë-nö-pä=m *jâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go-DISP-out=DIR.hither SEQ
 tü-vabwä=le
 IPFV.N3AUG-try=3MIN.SBJ
 kä-t(ü)-vaâno=dëbu=ngö=de *mö* *nabwä*
 way-IPFV.N3AUG-spin=MIDD₂=APPL=3MIN.SBJ PREP area

meitnö *kâ.*
ground DEM₁.DIST
‘The man is walking about easily, then trying to spin himself on an area in the ground.’ (middle) (nalogo043)

In (13.103), the verb form *vaâno* ‘spin’ is bivalent, allowing two participants in the event. The form =*dëbu* attaches to the verb signalling the coreference between the two participants and making the whole construction intransitive with only one argument S expressed by the pronoun =*de*.

Two additional examples with two verbs encoding spontaneous events are shown in (13.104) and (13.105).

(13.104) *Ka* *i-mwale-u-lë=lëbu.*
DEM₁.PROX PFV.N3AUG-hold-down-up=MIDD₂
‘This one stands by itself.’ (middle) (nalogo062)

(13.105) *Jâ* *tii-tekü-tö=lëbu=pme.*
CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-change-in=MIDD₂=COS
‘...but it (the daily village life) is changing now.’ (middle) (nalogo0809_2015)

In (13.104) and (13.105), the verbs *mwale* and *tekü* are transitive, but the whole constructions and person-marking patterns are intransitive.

13.3.1.3 Reciprocal function

In her typological study, Kemmer (1993: 96-97) defines the reciprocal event as a “simple event frame expressing a two-participant event in which there are two relations; each participant serves in the role of Initiator in one of those relations and Endpoint in the other”.

In Nalögo, reciprocal situations can be expressed in two ways: (i) with the light middle marker =*lëbu*, and (ii) with a heavy marker, that is, the combination of the middle marker =*lëbu* and the reciprocal marker *-welo*. The distinction between ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ constructions is proposed by Kemmer (1993), who defines ‘light’ constructions as those involving less morphological material by contrast with ‘heavy’ constructions. In this respect, strategy (i) is ‘lighter’ than strategy (ii).

Prototypical reciprocal constructions show the same set of properties described for reflexives (§13.3.1.1) and middles (§13.3.1.2). The verb is transitive allowing two participants in the

event. The marker =*lēbu* attaches to the verb to signal that the two participants are in a relationship of reciprocity, where each participant is the Initiator and the Endpoint at the same time. The construction is syntactically intransitive, as well as the subject marking. An example of light construction is shown in (13.106).

- (13.106) *Lë-pwä-ki=lēbu* *mö toki.*
 PFV.3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=MIDD₂ PREP knife
 ‘They cut themselves/each other with a knife.’ (nalogo050)

The verb *pwä* ‘cut’ is a transitive verb allowing two participants. The middle marker =*lēbu* signals that the plural referents are in a relationship of reciprocity. Only one argument, S, is realized and the person-marking is intransitive¹⁰⁰. As shown in the translation, the sentence is ambiguous between a reflexive and a reciprocal reading. Usually, the context is enough to disambiguate between the two. However, if needed for contrastive or emphatic purposes, the heavy construction can be used as in (13.107).

- (13.107) *Lë-pwäki-welo=lēbu*
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-RECP=MIDD₂
 ‘They cut each other.’

In (13.107), the combination of the two markers allows only a reciprocal reading. The marker *-welo* is semantically specialized, in that, it only occurs in constructions expressing a reciprocal semantics. Some examples are also attested where prototypical reciprocals are marked only by *-welo*. However, in elicitations, most examples contain the combination of the heavy marker. An example only with the marker *-welo* is shown in (13.108).

- (13.108) *Olë kâ=ng* *lë-pë-bö-welo*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-hit-be.crushed-RECP
 ‘The girls are hitting each other.’ (nalogo043_notes)

Example (13.108) has only a reciprocal reading. The complex verb nucleus *pëbö* is bivalent, allowing two participants. The marker *-welo* signals that the two participants are in a relationship of reciprocity. The subject-marking pattern and the syntax are intransitive.

¹⁰⁰ The 3AUG intransitive subject is only expressed by portmanteau prefixes as in the example.

While in the previous examples, *-welo* occurs in intransitive constructions, the same marker can also occur in reciprocal transitive constructions with two core arguments. In this case, the O_{TR} argument has to be possessed by the subject. An example is shown in (13.109) below.

- (13.109) *Ilaule=je* *ba* *ine=je*
 mother=3MIN.POSS PREP daughter=3MIN.POSS
të-mwale-welo=kö *nawë=gö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-touch-RECP=3AUG.SBJ head=3AUG.POSS
 ‘The mother and her daughter are touching each other’s heads.’ (nalogo029)

Reciprocal constructions like (13.109) cannot take the heavy marker *-welo* combined with *=läbu*, but are only marked by *-welo*. They only display a reciprocal reading. In (13.109), the two core arguments are overtly expressed and the coreference is established between the subject and the possessed object. The subject-marking is transitive, since the 3AUG subject is encoded by the subject form *=kö*. In (13.109), the O_{TR} argument involves a body-part term, but different types of possessions of the subject are allowed.

Along with prototypical reciprocals, additional types of associated reciprocal meanings can be expressed by the same strategies. This is the case of naturally reciprocal events and chaining situations. An example of a naturally reciprocal event is shown in (13.110).

- (13.110) a) *Janet* *ä* *Rayan* *të-ngângi=lëbu.*
 Janet COORD Rayan IPFV.3AUG-kiss=MIDD₂
 ‘Janet and Rayan are kissing.’ (nalogo029)
- b) *Janet* *ä* *Rayan* *të-ngângi-welo=lëbu*
 Janet COORD Rayan IPFV.3AUG-kiss-RECP=MIDD₂
 ‘Janet and Rayan are kissing each other.’

The action of ‘kissing’ is frequently reciprocal; thus, it tends to be interpreted as involving two participants performing the same action on one another. This is the case of sentences in (13.110). However, the two examples show a different marking pattern: while in (13.110a), the construction is marked by the light marker *=läbu*, in (13.110b), the construction is marked by the combination of *-welo* and *=läbu*. The reciprocity of the action is clear in both sentences. The heavy marker in (13.110b) does not have a disambiguating function as in examples like (13.107); rather, the difference between (13.110a) and (13.110b) might be explained in terms of simultaneity vs sequentiality. The event of kissing in (13.110a), as shown by the English

translation, suggests that the two participants are both involved in the action of kissing at the same time. No mention is made of the subevents making up the whole event. In example (13.110b), it would be easier to interpret the action of kissing as sequential, involving at least two kisses. In this case, the presence of the combination of *-welo* and *=lēbu* helps distinguish the temporal subcomponents of the whole event. Kemmer (1993: 112) refers to this property as ‘relative distinguishability of the events’.

The final example of this section involves a reciprocal construction expressing a chaining situation, where “the participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, B stands in the same relation to participant C, C to D, etc.” (Lichtenberk 2000a: 35). This meaning can be expressed by light and heavy reciprocal constructions as shown in (13.111).

- (13.111) a) *Obwe* *kä* *lē-kütâ* *të-mwa-nebliü=lēbu*
 child LNK PFV.3AUG-be.small IPFV.3AUG-go-follow=MIDD₂
 ‘The children are going in line.’ (nalogo029)
- b) *obwe* *kä* *lē-kütâ*
 child LNK PFV.3AUG-.be.small
 të-mwa-nebliü-welo=lēbü
 IPFV.3AUG-go-follow-RECP=MIDD₂
 ‘The children are following each other.’ (nalogo029)

The subevents of the action of following are more distinguishable in (13.111b) where the construction is marked by the heavy marker. In (13.111a), the verb is translated more as ‘go in line’, where the subevents of each participants following the other are less distinguished.

13.3.2 The (v)ö-marked constructions

The prefix (v)ö-, a proposed reflex of POc *paRi-, is analysed as a middle marker expressing a plurality of relations (including reciprocals). It can derive semitransitive forms from transitive verbs which occur in depatientive and semitransitive constructions. While examples of semitransitive constructions are found in Chapter 11 and Chapter 12, depatientive constructions are shown in §13.3.2.1.

The same prefix can also have a reciprocal function. As shown in §13.3.2.2, with the transitive verb *të* ‘hit’, the derived form (v)ö-*të* ‘hit s.t./fight each other’ can also express reciprocity. If (v)ö- is regarded as a reflex of *paRi-, its function of marking depatientive and reciprocal constructions is not surprising, as reflexes of POc *paRi- which are retained to different degrees

in Oceanic languages, generally express symmetrical and plural relations, including reciprocals, along with being involved in contexts of lower transitivity, such as depatientives (Bril 2005). However, in Nalögo, the use of (*v*)*ö-* to express reciprocal meanings is unfrequent, because relationships of reciprocity tend to be expressed by *=lëbu* and *-welo* analysed in the previous section. Diachronically, this suggests that in Nalögo, the potential reflex of *paRi- would have mainly retained from the source a ‘detransitivizing’ function in contexts of low transitivity. Examples of (*v*)*ö-*-marked reciprocals are shown in § 13.3.2.2.

13.3.2.1 Depatientive construction

Depatientives are intransitive constructions characterized by the omission of a patient which is pragmatically irrelevant. The term ‘depatientive’ is found in descriptions of Oceanic languages to designate a construction where the object is omitted and the verb is morphologically marked, typically, but not exclusively, by a reflex of POc *paRi- (Lichtenberk 2000a; Bril 2005). The omission of the patient correlates with the main function of the construction, that is, the encoding of a focus on the action. The person-marking pattern is also intransitive. An example of this sentence is found in (13.112).

(13.112) a) *T(ü)-vö-kobi=Ø*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-wrap=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘She is wrapping.’ (depatientive)

b) *I-mno=Ø*
 PFV.N3AUG-stay=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘She stays.’ (intransitive)

In (13.112a), the object is omitted and the 3MIN subject is zero-marked as it happens in intransitive clauses as shown in in (13.112b). The transitive verb *kobi* ‘wrap’ takes the prefix *vö-* to enter the depatientive construction. However, additional types of verbs can occur in depatientive constructions, including causativized forms of intransitive verbs as in (13.113) and semitransitive verbs as in (13.114).

(13.113) *I-va-ku=kë=wom* *obu* *kâ=pwö*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=ADD=1AUG.SBJ day DEM₁.DIST=same
 ‘We also cook (something) the same day.’ (intransitive)

- (13.114) *Mö-klä* *tü-wo*
 male-DEM_{1.L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-build
 ‘The man is building (houses).’ (depatientive)

As previously stated, depatientive constructions are characterized by the omission of pragmatically irrelevant objects. The syntactic backgrounding of the object tends to correlate with aspectual properties, such as habituality, generic imperfectivity, event-internal plurality and event-external plurality. Example (13.115) shows a case of habituality, where one single event is repeated on different occasions.

- (13.115) *Ö-velâ* *obu* *kaptengime* *kä* *atwö.*
 MIDD₁-read day sixth LNK every
 ‘She reads every Saturday (every sixth day).’ (nalogo055)

Depentive constructions can also encode situations expressing subject properties or gnomic truths. The depatientive construction in (13.116) is a good example of a situation expressing a property of the referent. A recurrent habitual situation, e.g. a grandmother being knowledgeable on many occasions on different topics, can turn a habitual property into a characteristic of the subject.

- (13.116) *Blaite=nu* *olë* *kä* *vö-klä*
 grandmother=1MIN.POSS woman LNK MIDD₁-know
 ‘My grandmother is a knowledgeable woman.’ (property of the referent)

In (13.117), the depatientive construction expresses a gnomic truth based on the speakers’ experience of the world, where it is common for mosquitos to bite.

- (13.117) *Mokilëla* *vö-mwa-kä*
 mosquito MIDD₁-bite-soft.obj
 ‘Mosquitos bite (people) (they are biters).’

The last two functions of depatientives can be defined as ‘event-internal’ and ‘event-external’ plurality. The notion of ‘event-internal’ plurality refers to one single event on a single occasion consisting of internal phases (Cusic 1981: 67). Sentence (13.118) shows an example.

- (13.118) *Bwale* *kâ* *vö-kâ*
 old.woman DEM₁.DIST MIDD₁-scrape
 ‘The old woman scraped out (coconut).’

The action of scraping implies internal phases made up of repetitive actions. In (13.118), this action made up of internal phases is performed in one single occasion. The plurality is ‘internal’ to the event, which is viewed as a whole¹⁰¹.

Finally, sentence (13.119) is an example of ‘event-external’ plurality. In this case, there is a single bounded event, which can be internally plural or not, which is repeated on a single occasion (Cusic 1981: 67).

- (13.119) *Nünge kâ* *pwöla* *ö-laki-ti*.
 boy DEM₁.DIST sea MIDD₁-cut-PL
 ‘The boy at the sea cuts.’ (nalogo029)

In (13.119), the construction expresses a single bounded event of cutting which is repeated on a single occasion. The plural marker *-ti*, implying a plurality of actions resulting in a plurality of pieces, provides further evidence to the repetition of the cutting event.

13.3.2.2 Reciprocal function

With the verb *të* ‘hit’, the prefix (*v*)*ö-* displays two functions. First, it functions as a depatientive, allowing the omission of the patient; second, it can turn the action of hitting into a naturally reciprocal event with the meaning ‘fight’. In both cases, shown in (13.120) and (13.121), the verb is used intransitively.

- (13.120) *John ö-ta*
 John MIDD₁-hit
 ‘John hit (something).’

- (13.121) *Nünge kâ=ng* *lë-li* *jâ*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-be.two CONT₁
 të-ö-të.
 IPFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-hit
 ‘The two boys are fighting.’

¹⁰¹ The function of viewing and presenting the event as a whole is typical of perfective prefixes. As explained in Chapter 2, the perfective prefix *i-* tends to be omitted before the prefix (*v*)*ö-*.

In (13.121), the action of hitting is viewed as less distinguishable in its subcomponents. The function expressed in (13.121) can be also expressed by a light reciprocal construction with the middle marker =*läbu* as shown in (13.122).

- (13.122) *Lë-të=läbu* *ëvë.*
 PFV.3AUG-hit=MIDD₂ always
 ‘They always fight.’

13.4 Passive-like construction

Before discussing the properties of the passive-like construction in Nalögo, I provide some background information on what is typically referred to as a ‘passive construction’. Siewierska (2005: 434) establishes five essential criteria to identify passive constructions across languages. They are summarized below:

- (i) The passive contrasts with its counterpart, the active;
- (ii) the subject of the active becomes a non-obligatory oblique phrase in the passive or it is omitted from the clause;
- (iii) the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
- (iv) the construction is pragmatically restricted compared to the active; and
- (v) the construction displays a special morphological marking on the verb.

An example of a passive-like construction in Nalögo is shown in (13.124), while its transitive counterpart is in (13.123).

- (13.123) *Lë-pë-bö* *olë* *kâ=ng* *can* *kâ*
 PFV.3AUG-hit-be.crushed girl DEM₁.DIST can DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The girls hit the can.’ (transitive) (nalogo043_notes)

- (13.124) *Can* *kâ* *lë-pë-bö=Ø* *mö* *nuwâ*
 can DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-hit-be.crushed=3MIN.SBJ PREP stick
 The can was hit with a stick.’ (passive-like)

In (13.123), the transitive clause displays two arguments, A_{TR} and O_{TR}, which occur after the predicate. The word order is VA_{TR}O_{TR}. The 3AUG/perfective prefix *lë-* agrees in number with the subject referent, while the transitive object is unmarked on the verb. The passive-like construction in (13.124) is syntactically and morphologically intransitive. First, there is only

one argument S, which corresponds to the patient of the transitive clause in (13.123), while the agent is obligatorily omitted from the clause. The prefix *lë-* (~ *të-*; ~ *në-*)¹⁰² occurring on the verb is analysed as a passivizing morpheme, simultaneously expressing perfectivity. This passive form also displays two variants, *të-* and *në-*, encoding imperfectivity and irrealis, respectively. Two examples are shown in (13.125) and (13.126).

(13.125) *Nöpwë* *të-psali* *ba=gom*
 cloth PASS.IPFV-break PREP=1AUG.OBJ
 ‘Clothes were broken for us.’ (nalogo0809_2015)

(13.126) *I-pi-pä* *Isaiah* *nge* *kopyo* *bonyö* *jä*
 PFV.N3AUG-say-out Isaiah COMP EXIST king FUT
në-(v)elo *mö* *nowidu* *lö* *Juda.*
 PASS.IRR-deliver PREP tribe ASS.MRK Juda
 ‘Isaiah prophesized that a king will be delivered in the tribe of Juda.’

Finally, in terms of contexts of use, the passive shows pragmatic restrictions compared to the active.

The passive-like constructions in (13.124), (13.125) and (13.126) meet criteria (i) to (iv) of Siewierska (2005)’s definition of passive constructions given above. By contrast, criterion (v) is only partially met, since these constructions do not exhibit a dedicated passive marker; rather, *lë-* (~ *të-*; ~ *në-*) is most likely related to the 3AUG/perfective prefix *lë-* (~ *të-*; ~ *në-*), which occurs with intransitive verbs as the only subject marker and with transitive verbs in combination with a subject enclitic¹⁰³. Examples of 3AUG subject forms in an intransitive and a transitive clause are provided in (13.127) and (13.128).

(13.127) *Jâ* *të-mno=pe.* *Lë-mno,* *lë-mno,*
 SEQ IPFV.3NAUG-stay=COS PFV.3AUG-stay PFV.N3AUG-stay
lë-mno...
 PFV.3AUG-stay
 ‘Then, the stayed. They stayed, stayed, stayed...’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(13.128) *Lë-nibü=kö* *nge* *nide.*
 PFV.3AUG-kill=3AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK 3MIN
 ‘They killed him.’ (nalogo039)

¹⁰² The passive prefix has the three allomorphs *lë-*, ~ *të-* and ~ *në-* encoding passive and perfective, imperfective and irrealis, respectively.

¹⁰³ The form *lë-* only is also homophonous with the nominalizer *lë-* (see Chapter 4).

The 3AUG prefix is the only pronominal subject marker of intransitive clauses as (13.127), while in transitive clauses, it cooccurs obligatorily with an enclitic. Example shows that the passive-like construction in (13.124) cannot be interpreted as a transitive clause with the meaning ‘They hit the can with a stick’, since in the same sentence, the presence of a 3AUG enclitic would be ungrammatical. In terms of subject-marking pattern, the 3MIN subject of the passive-like construction in (13.123) patterns like 3MIN intransitive subjects as the one in (13.129) below, i.e. they are both zero-marked.

(13.129) *Kopyo leplë* *aple* *tii-mwi=Ø*.
 EXIST person SIMIL.EPIST IPFV.N3AUG-sleep=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘There is someone probably sleeping (lit. there is someone it is like he is sleeping).’ (nalogo1509_2015)

In (13.124), *lë-* is applied to a bivalent complex nucleus. However, the prefix can also occur on derived transitive forms as in (13.130) and (13.131), where it is applied to a causativized form and an applicativized form, respectively.

(13.130) *Lopta* *ta -(v)a-ku* *mö* *oplë*
 cabbage PASS.IPFV-CAUS-be.cooked PREP stone
 ‘The cabbage is cooked with stones.’ (field notes 2018)

(13.131) *Obwe kâ* *lë-(v)ë-mi* *mö* *hospital*
 child DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-go-APPL PREP hospital
 ‘The child was taken to the hospital.’ (field notes 2018)

To sum up, based on the examples above, the passive-like construction in Nalögo shows the following properties:

- (i) The construction is syntactically intransitive (S argument is a patient);
- (ii) The agent is obligatorily omitted;
- (iii) The subject-marking pattern is intransitive;
- (iv) It is marked by the prefix *lë-* (~ *të-*; ~ *në-*);
- (v) It can be applied to basic and derived transitive forms, and
- (vi) It can occur in simple and complex clauses.

In the passive-like construction, the agent is omitted because unidentified or pragmatically irrelevant. For instance, in (13.124), the speaker knows who the agent is. Even though the agent is referential, the speaker construes the event around the can, omitting it due to its pragmatic irrelevance. By contrast, (13.131) shows a different case where the agent is unknown to the speaker. Finally, (13.132) below shows an additional case of passive-like construction where the agent is impersonal because it refers to Pijin or English speakers, in general.

- (13.132) *Bä Pijin lë-pi=bwe o English*
 PREP Pijin PASS.PFV-say=DIR.thither COORD English
lë-pi=bwe fruit.
 PASS.PFV-say=DIR.thither fruit
 ‘In Pijin it is called, or in English it is called ‘fruit.’ (nalogo032)

In the discussion above, I have shown how the passive-like construction differs from a typical transitive clause which has two core arguments and a transitive subject-marking pattern. However, the passive-like constructions above could be interpreted as expressing a defocused agent. For instance, the form *lë-* in the passive-like construction in (13.133) could be viewed as a 3AUG/perfective form expressing meaning ‘people/one’. The example with the two readings is provided again below.

- (13.133) *Can kâ lë-pë-bö=Ø mö nuwâ*
 can DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-hit-be.crushed=3MIN.SBJ PREP stick
 ‘The can was hit with a stick.’ or ‘As for the can, people hit (it) with a stick.’

Under the agent-defocusing analysis, (13.133) would be interpreted as a transitive clause, where the subject enclitic is simply missing because the agent is unidentified by the speaker. In this case, the patient would function as a transitive object. In (13.133), the construction is ambiguous. This ambiguity is mainly due to the syntactic function of the patient because 3MIN objects are unmarked on the verb in most contexts; thus, the patient in (13.133) could be regarded either an intransitive S or as a direct object. However, this is not the case of (13.134).

- (13.134) *La-a-kü-lë-u=nga mö kubu*
 PASS.PFV-CAUS-be.covered-up-down=1MIN.SBJ PREP blanket
 ‘I was covered with a blanket.’ (nalogo043_notes)

Example (13.134) shows no ambiguity in that the 1MIN =*nga* is the basic subject form belonging to Set I (Chapter 3) expressing S/A_{str}/A_{tr} arguments. In transitive clauses, 1MIN objects are never marked on the verb, but they are expressed by free forms.

The last topic of this section is the passivization of applicativized verbs. An example is shown in (13.135).

- (13.135) *Lë-yölë* *bä* *dry.* *Lë-dry-ti=le* *obu.*
 PASS.PFV-put.up PREP dryer PASS.PFV-dry-APPL=3MIN.SBJ day.
 ‘It is put up in the dryer. It is made dry for a day.’ (nalogo018)

(13.135) shows a sequence of a passive-like construction and an applicative construction where the subject previously mentioned in the discourse is *nubo*, dried breadfruit that Santa Cruz people use as a kind of snack. The sentence is taken from a text explaining the procedure to make this type of local food. The first sentence is a passive-like construction as the one in (13.133) where the 3MIN subject is unmarked on the verb and the transitive verb *yölë* ‘put up’ is passivized by *lë-*. In the second sentence, the passivized form *lë-dry* takes the applicative *-ti* which adds an applied object expressing a temporal role, making the construction bivalent. The patient, the original S of the passive-like construction, turns into the A argument of the applicative construction. Like any 3MIN transitive subject, it is marked on the verb by an enclitic like =*le* in. Therefore, in (13.135), the patient is the subject in both passive-like and the applicative constructions. Another example with a different applicative construction is shown in (13.136) taken from a procedural text. The English pronoun ‘it’ in the translation refers to the action of cleaning cabbage.

- (13.136) *I-mo=pe=ng* *kä-të-(v)öblemi=ngö=de*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=COS=2MIN.SBJ way-PASS.IPFV-make=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
Vali
Vali?
 ‘Have you seen how it is made, Vali?’ (nalogo039)

In this case, the passivized form, *të-(v)öblemi*, is part of a complex nominal where the bound noun *kä-* ‘way’ is the head. The applicative =*ngö* is attached to the passivized form to add an applied object expressing manner. Since a new participant is added to the clause, the construction becomes bivalent, with two core arguments, the manner bound noun *kä-* encoded as an object and the patient encoded as the subject. In (13.136), the 3MIN form =*de* occurring after the applicative can only refer to the action of cleaning cabbage which is carried out in a

specific manner (thus, the action is viewed as a patient-like argument). In applicative constructions marked by =ngö, the pronominal form =de refers to the 3MIN subject. An example is shown in (13.137) where the subject of the applicative construction is expressed by =de and the applied object is omitted in the process of coordination.

- (13.137) *Nubü* *i-vëpë* *ä* *yawe=ngö=de*
 yesterday PFV.N3AUG-buy COORD play=APPL=3MIN.SBJ
wheel kâ.
 wheel DEM₁.DIST
 ‘Yesterday he bought and played with a wheel.’ (nalogo051)

The process of the applicativization of passivized verb forms is summarized in the Figure 13-3 below. In the passive-like construction, there is only one argument S which is the patient. When the passivized verb enters the applicative construction, the S turns into the A argument and a new peripheral object is applied, making the construction bivalent.

| | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| PASSIVE | S (patient) | - |
| APPLICATIVE | S (patient) > A (patient) | O (applied, peripheral roles) |

Figure 13-3. Applicativization of passivized verbs

14. GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

In this chapter, I describe the properties of grammatical relations in Nalögo. When compared to the majority of Oceanic languages, RSC languages display an unusual typological profile in terms of clausal structure. On the one hand, Äiwoo, the RSC language spoken in the Reef Islands, displays a symmetrical voice system which is quite unusual for an Oceanic language, because voice systems are generally thought to have been lost by the time of POc (Næss 2015b). On the other hand, despite the fact that they belong to the same subgroup, SC languages spoken on Santa Cruz show more canonical transitivity-based systems with three types of main clauses—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive. In the light of this, the aim of this chapter is to investigate grammatical relations in Nalögo and understand whether and to which degree they are similar to those attested in the symmetrical systems in Äiwoo and, more generally, in Western Austronesian languages.

In §14.1, I provide a basic introduction to arguments and grammatical relations, following Bickel (2010)'s analysis. Grammatical relations are viewed as sets of arguments selected by specific constructions. In §14.2, I give some definitions of the basic five arguments types in Nalögo. In §14.3, I describe the properties of the main grammatical relations selected by the alignment of bound pronominal forms, verb phrase constructions and word order. In §14.4, I describe additional constructions which typically, but not necessarily, involve GRs in the languages of the world, including Western Austronesian languages, namely, quantifier floating, control, relativization and coordination. In §14.5, I provide an interim summary. Finally, in §14.6, I present the main properties of the voice systems found in Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages to show similarities and differences between them and the clausal patterns in Nalögo.

14.1 Defining arguments and grammatical relations

Traditionally, grammatical relations (GR) refer to the morphosyntactic properties relating arguments to clauses (Bickel 2010:1). Therefore, GRs differ from semantic roles (SRs) in that they are syntactic notions, not semantic. Traditionally, GRs include notions like 'subject' and 'object'. Bickel (2010:1) shows the clear difference between these two concepts through the English examples 'Sue killed the shark' vs 'Sue was killed by the shark'. In both clauses, the

NP ‘Sue’ is the subject of the clause, but in the first and second sentence, it bears the semantic roles of agent and patient, respectively.

Notions like ‘subject’ and ‘object’ have been challenged over the years, since the properties serving as ‘diagnostics’ (e.g. verbal agreement, case marking) to identify GRs in one language do not necessarily select the same set of GRs. Bickel (2010: 1-2) show an example from Nepali to illustrate the problem.

(14.1) Nepali (Bickel 2010: 1)

- a) *ma* *ga-ẽ*
1SG.NOM go-1ST.PST
‘I went.’
- b) *mai-le* *timro ghar* *dekhẽ*
1SG-ERG your house.NOM see-1SG.PST
‘I saw your house.’

In (14.1) and (14.1), the expression for ‘I’ is identified as the subject because it triggers verbal agreement. However, if we look at the property of case marking, the same expression shows two relations identified by the nominative case in (14.1a) and the ergative case in (14.1b). This problem, i.e. different properties selecting different set of GRs, show that notions like ‘subject’ or ‘objects’ can be viewed as ambiguous. Examples like the one in (14.1) challenge the traditional definition of GRs, according to which GRs are defined by the morphosyntactic properties which relate an argument to a clause, revealing that GRs display a construction/rule-specific nature. Thus, in (14.1), the expression for ‘I’ displays two GRs, one in relation to agreement construction and one in relation to case construction. Bickel (2010: 2) writes that “a GR is defined as a set of arguments that is selected by a construction for a particular syntactic purpose, for example, for agreement or case government”. Based on this definition, an argument “can bear as many GRs as it enters constructions in a given syntactic context, and these GRs need not be the same across constructions”.

As already mentioned, arguments are defined by their relational role (e.g. agent, theme) and their referential properties (e.g. animate, speaker, topic) (Bickel 2010: 3-4). They display specific-predicate roles, which typically merge into generalized roles, often called macroroles (Foley & Van Valin 1984; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, among many). Semantic macroroles, such as agent, patient, theme, etc., are semantic concepts, not syntactic, which are defined in relation to a predicate. The most valid way to define the set of macroroles which has proven to

capture typological variation, is the one defining the set as “the minimal set distinguished by numerical valence, i.e. by the distinction between intransitive (one-place), transitive (two-place) and ditransitive (three-place) verbs” (Bickel 2010: 3). This analysis is what has led to the creation of the labels A, S and O (Comrie 2005; Dixon 1994): S as the ‘sole argument of an intransitive verb’, A ‘most actor-like argument in a transitive verb’ and O ‘not most actor-like argument in a transitive verb’ (uses the label P rather than O). Along with A, S and O/P, additional labels have been coined.

GRs, which have been previously defined as a set of arguments selected for a specific syntactic construction, can consist of a subset made up of one (e.g. a GR selecting only S arguments) or more arguments. Table 14-1 is taken from Bickel (2010: 4) who summarizes the most common GRs, also referred to as ‘alignment’ in the literature

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| GRAMMATICAL RELATION | COMMONLY USED NAMES |
|----------------------|--|
| {S} | intransitive subject, nominative |
| {S A} | subject, nominative; accusative alignment |
| {A} | transitive subject, ergative |
| {O T} | direct object, accusative; indirective alignment |
| {O G} | primary object, dative; secundative alignment |
| {S O T} | absolutive; nominative; ergative alignment |
| {S O G} | absolutive; nominative; ergative alignment |

Table 14-1. Some common GRs defined as subsets of generalized argument roles (macroroles)

An additional term which is often found in the literature is the term ‘pivot’ (Dixon 1994; Foley and Van Valin 1984, among many), which is frequently used to describe the types of GRs selected by biclausal constructions, including, for example, switch-reference, control, and raising constructions (Bickel 2010: 4).

¹⁰⁴ For ditransitive constructions, Bickel (2010:3) uses the terms ‘G’ and ‘T’ to identify the two non-actor-like arguments. G to refer to the most ‘goal-like’ argument, that is, “the one who is given something, or the one to which something is applied”), while T is used to identify the most patient-like argument.

Along with the role, the referential properties of arguments which have an impact on the selection of GRs include parameters such as definiteness, specificity, topicality etc. In particular, referential properties are central in hierarchical systems. In hierarchical systems, all or nearly all arguments can compete for the same GR, since their selection is based on their referential properties (Bickel 2010: 8). Austronesian languages like Tagalog are representative examples of hierarchical systems where each voice selects for the main GR its argument encoding a specific semantic role. Potentially, any argument can enter the main GR, often called ‘pivot’, ‘subject’ or ‘topic’, depending on its pragmatic status (e.g. relative topicality). Examples of this type of system are shown in §14.6.1.

14.2 Argument types in Nalögo

In Nalögo, there are five types of arguments which are relevant for GRs. They are defined based on their role and referential properties. The first type of argument, S, is defined as the sole argument of an intransitive verb. The two arguments of a transitive verb are A_{TR} and O_{TR}, which, following Dixon (1994), are defined as most actor-like argument and the less actor-like argument, respectively. The two arguments of a semitransitive verb are A_{STR} and O_{STR}, which can also be defined as the most actor-like and the less actor-like arguments. However, although they bear a similar semantic role to the verb, O_{TR} and O_{STR} display different semantic and pragmatic properties. As mentioned in §12.1.3, O_{STR} is typically less individuated (generic, non-specific, plural). In terms of semantic properties, apparently, A_{TR} and A_{STR} do not show any difference. However, since in some specific constructions, they are grouped differently in GRs, they are treated separately.

14.3 Grammatical relations

14.3.1 Alignment of subject and object bound forms: {S A_{TR} A_{STR}}, {S A_{STR}}{A_{TR}}{O_{TR}/O_{STR}}

With intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses, with all the persons except for 3MIN/AUG, the bound pronouns occurring on verbs shows a {S A_{TR} A_{STR}} pattern, where S, A_{TR} and A_{STR} are treated in the same way, while O_{TR} and O_{STR} are treated differently because they are not expressed on the verb¹⁰⁵. By contrast, the 3MIN/AUG person displays a tripartite {S A_{STR}}{A_{TR}}{O_{TR}/O_{STR}} pattern where S and A_{STR} pattern together and differently from both

¹⁰⁵ However, there is a difference between O_{TR} and O_{STR}, in that, while the former can be expressed by free pronouns, the latter cannot.

A_{TR} and O_{TR}/O_{STR} . When Nalögo follows the first pattern, it behaves like many other Oceanic languages, where there is a ‘subject’ {S A} marked on the verb. Examples with the 1MIN and 3AUG persons are shown in (14.2) and (14.3).

(14.2) a) *Tü-mwi=nga.*

IPFV.N3AUG-sleep=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am sleeping.’ (S)

b) *Tü-kâ=nga*

IPFV.N3AUG-scrape=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am scraping these coconuts.’ (A_{TR})

nölu

coconut

ka=ng.

DEM₁.DIST=PL

c) *Tü-ö-bi=nga*

IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I am baking breadfruit.’ (A_{STR})

bia.

breadfruit

(14.3) a) *Lë-mwi*

PFV.3AUG-sleep
 ‘They slept.’ (S)

b) *Lë-të=kö*

PFV.3AUG-hit=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘They hit the cat.’ (A_{TR})

töputi kâ

cat

DEM₁.DIST

c) *Lë-ö-të*

PFV.3AUG-hit
 ‘They hit cats.’ (A_{STR})

töputi

cat

In (14.2), S, A_{TR} and A_{STR} are treated in the same way, since they are all marked by the subject enclitic =*nga*, while O_{TR} in (14.2b) and O_{STR} in (14.1c), are not marked on the verb. By contrast, in (14.3), S and A_{STR} pattern together, as they are both marked by the subject prefix *lë-*, while A_{TR} is marked by the enclitic =*kö* combining with the prefix¹⁰⁶. Again, O_{TR} and O_{STR} are unmarked on the verb in (14.3c) and (14.3c), respectively. Chapter 3 includes more examples of alignment strategies with the 3MIN person.

¹⁰⁶ In (14.3), =*kö* combines with the prefix *lë-*, but as explained in Chapter 3, it can also combine with the other aspect/mood prefixes, *të-* and *në-*, marking imperfective and irrealis, respectively.

14.3.2 Alignment of 3MIN object bound form: {O_{TR}}

The object marker *=le* selects the GR {O_{TR}}. This occurs in two contexts: applicative constructions marked by *=ngö* based on transitive verbs and nominalisations. In Chapter 13, I describe some applicative constructions based on transitive verbs¹⁰⁷, which allow three core arguments. In these constructions, verbs are marked by the applicative *=ngö*. When *=ngö* is attached to a transitive verb, a new applied object, which is syntactically and pragmatically salient, is added to the clause. In this context, the 3MIN bound pronoun construction selects the GR {O_{TR}}, in that the 3MIN base object is marked by the 3MIN enclitic *=le*. An example taken from Chapter 13, §13.2.6.8, is reported in (14.4) below.

- (14.4) *Yöpwí lëkö ka kâ*
 cut taro DEM₁.PROX DEM₁.DIST
i-pi=ngö=bwa=le.
 PFV.N3AUG-say=APPL=1MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Cut this taro the way I say it (Cut this taro, the way in which I said it).’ (nalogo003)

In (14.4), the applicative attaches to the transitive verb *pi* to add a new manner argument expressed by the demonstrative *kâ*. In these constructions, the manner role is obligatorily preverbal. The base object, ‘it’, is marked on the verb by *=le* occurring after the subject form *=bwa*.

Along with applicative constructions like (14.4), the same pattern {O_{TR}} with the 3MIN person occurs with a nominalisation, as shown in (14.5) taken from Chapter 3, §3.3.2.1. In this case, a nominalised form based on a transitive verb allows A_{TR} and O_{TR} to be marked by bound subject and object forms.

- (14.5) *Yökö-pä=bwe në-taaböu-gö=m=de=le,*
 finish-out=DIR.thither NMLZ₁-smash-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS=3MIN.OBJ
i-gë-lë=m=de kâ spun.
 PFV.N3AUG-pick-up=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST spoon
 ‘After smashing it, he picked up a spoon.’ (nalogo0910_2015)

14.3.3 Verb Phrase: {A_{TR} O_{STR}}

In Nalögo, there is some evidence to posit the existence of verb phrase (VP) constructions in transitive and semitransitive clauses selecting the {A_{TR} O_{STR}} pattern. In this analysis, the term

¹⁰⁷ This is the case of the applicative *=ngö* and the applicative *-ki*.

‘verb phrase’ is used in a fairly theory-neutral way, referring to a verb which forms a constituent with any argument. In this respect, the verb of a transitive clause seems to select A_{TR} , while the verb of a semitransitive clause O_{STR} . The criteria for identifying these VPs are based on person-marking strategies and word order: (i) the fixed postverbal positions of A_{TR} and O_{STR} ; (ii) the marking of 3MIN base objects on the verbs of applicative *ngö*-constructions (only for the VP in transitive clauses).

As discussed in Chapter 12, when A_{TR} arguments encoding 3MIN/AUG referents move away from their original postverbal position, they have to be marked on the verb by enclitics. In addition, apparently, no additional core arguments can intervene between the A_{TR} NP and the V argument as shown in (14.6).

- (14.6) *I-vi-ki* *butete kâ* *obwe nünge kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-chop-rigid.obj potato DEM₁.DIST child boy DEM₁.DIST
 *‘The boy chopped the potato.’
 ‘The potato chopped the boy.’ (nalogo036)

Sentence (14.6) was judged ungrammatical by one speaker, because the O_{TR} argument occurs between the verb and A_{TR} . In (14.6), the postverbal argument NP, *butete kâ*, could only be interpreted as A_{TR} argument as shown by the second translation, but in that case, the sentence would be semantically ill-formed. However, if the A_{TR} argument is marked on the verb, the A_{TR} NP can occur after the O_{TR} NP as shown in (14.7).

- (14.7) *I-ni-bü=le* *nide kuli kâ.*
 PFV.N3AUG-kill =3MIN.SBJ 3MIN dog DEM₁.DIST
 ‘He kills him, the dog.’ (nalogo036)

An additional piece of evidence for the existence of a VA_{TR} is given by the behaviour of the 3MIN enclitic *=le* expressing O_{TR} arguments. As mentioned in Chapter 3 and often throughout this work, the O_{TR} arguments of transitive clauses are not marked on the verb. However, with applicative constructions based on transitive verbs and marked by *=ngö*, objects encoding 3MIN referents are marked by the enclitic *=le*¹⁰⁸. As explained in detail in Chapter 13, in applicative constructions based on transitive verbs, the applicative adds an applied object which becomes the most privileged syntactic argument of the clause. In these constructions, if the base

¹⁰⁸ Only 3MIN objects show this pattern, while the other persons are unmarked.

object is pronominal, is encoded on the verb by =*le*. Two examples are shown in (14.8) and (14.9).

- (14.8) *Mweli kâ* *tü-pwä-ki=ngö=de=le*,
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj=APPL=3MIN.SBJ=3MIN.OBJ
toki kâ *i-mowi-pä=m*.
knife DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break-out=DIR.hither
‘When she was cutting it, the knife broke.’ (nalogo048)

- (14.9) *Mweli kâ* *t(ü)velalö=ngö* *manga=le...*
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-hear=APPL honey.eater=3MIN.OBJ
‘When the honey eater hears it...’ (nalogo025)

In (14.8), the 3MIN object enclitic =*le* encoding the base object occurs after the A_{TR} subject enclitic =*de*, while in (14.9), the bound object pronoun attaches to the A_{TR} argument, expressed by an overt NP which follows the predicate, showing that the A_{TR} NP forms a syntactic unit with the verb.

Finally, there is some evidence for the existence of a parallel VO_{STR} in semitransitive clauses based on word order restrictions, i.e. the fixed postverbal position of the O_{STR} argument. The second criterion used for A_{TR}, namely, the position of the 3MIN object =*le*, cannot be applied to applicative constructions based on semitransitive verbs because in this context, base objects are unmarked on the verb.

In terms of syntactic restrictions, (14.10), taken from Chapter 12, §12.1.3, shows that if the O_{STR} of a semitransitive clause moves away from its postverbal position, the sentence is ungrammatical. Likewise, as shown in (14.6) for the A_{TR} NP of a transitive clause, additional core arguments cannot intervene between the verb and the O_{TR} argument. Sentence in (14.11) where the A_{STR} NP intervenes between the verb and O_{STR} was judged ungrammatical by the speakers.

- (14.10) a) *Ö-vë=kom* *topla*
MIDD₁-weave=1AUG.SBJ basket
‘We weave baskets.’ (semitransitive, VO_{STR})

- b) **Topla* *ö-vë=kom*
basket MIDD₁-weave=1AUG.SBJ

- (14.11) **Vö-nibü mö-kâ po*
 MIDD-kill male-DEM₁.DIST pig
 ‘The man killed pigs.’

In (14.10), the pattern of O_{STR} might be influenced by the semantic properties of semitransitive objects which tend to be low in individuation (Chapter 12). The preverbal position is typically reserved for pragmatically prominent arguments which tend to be highly identifiable.

14.3.4 Word Order: {S A_{STR} O_{TR}} {S A_{TR} A_{STR}}

As mentioned in Chapter 12, the preferred word order of intransitive clauses is SV, but VS is also possible, even though it appears to be less frequent. Further data and analyses are necessary to determine the conditions triggering VS word order. As shown in Table 14-2¹⁰⁹, SV and VS word orders are grammatical when the S argument is a nominal NP. When the NP is pronominal (the head is a free pronoun), only SV word order is possible. Examples with free pronouns encoding S arguments are found in Chapter 12.

| S ARGUMENT | WORD ORDER VARIATIONS | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| NOMINAL S | S (3AUG) | 3AUGV | (S) |
| | S (3MIN) | V | (S) |
| PRONOMINAL S | S (3AUG) | 3AUGV | - |
| | S (3MIN) | V | - |
| | S (NON-THIRD PERSON) | V _(PM¹¹⁰) | - |

Table 14-2. Word order and subject alignment patterns in intransitive clauses

Based on Table 14-2, 3MIN/AUG person S arguments are not marked by an overt person enclitic, although a 3AUG S is always indicated through the form of the aspect/mood prefix. This means that nominal S arguments never cooccur with a person enclitic, whereas non-third person pronominal S arguments can but need not do so. Examples of these patterns are shown in Chapter 12.

¹⁰⁹ The symbol ‘-’ means that the S argument cannot be found in that position, while the brackets refer to the optionality of the subject marking.

¹¹⁰ ‘PM’ refers to person-marking.

The basic word order of transitive clauses is V A_{TR}O_{TR} with frequent fronting of A_{TR} and O_{TR} due to discourse purposes. When O_{TR} is expressed by nominal NPs, it can occur either preverbally or postverbally, and is not marked on the verb in either case. By contrast, when O_{TR} is expressed by free pronouns, it can only occur postverbally. This is shown in Table 14-3.

| A _{TR} /O _{TR} ARGUMENT | WORD ORDER VARIATIONS | | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| NOMINAL A _{TR} | (A _{TR} (3AUG)) | 3AUG V _{PM} | A _{TR} (3AUG) | O _{TR} |
| | (A _{TR} (3MIN)) | V _{PM} | A _{TR} (3MIN) | O _{TR} |
| NOMINAL O _{TR} | (O _{TR}) | V | A _{TR} | O _{TR} |
| PRONOMINAL A _{TR} | A _{TR} (3AUG) | 3AUG V _{PM} | - | O _{TR} |
| | A _{TR} (N3AUG) | V _{PM} | - | |
| PRONOMINAL O _{TR} | - | V | A _{TR} | O _{TR} |

Table 14-3. Word Order and subject-marking patterns with transitive clauses

An A_{TR} NP can occur preverbally and postverbally, but when it is preverbal, it has to be marked by a bound subject form. This holds for both nominal and pronominal NPs. As mentioned in Chapter 12, fronted A_{TR} NPs are analysed as having appositional function. With plural NPs and 3AUG free pronouns, the A_{TR} argument cooccurs with both the 3AUG form of the aspect/mood prefixes and a person enclitic. Table 14-3 summarizes all these properties. Again, the symbol ‘-’ means that an argument cannot occur in a specific position, while the brackets signals that an argument can optionally move from its original position.

Finally, in semitransitive clauses, the basic word order with nominal NPs is A_{STR} VO_{STR}, but VO_{STR} A_{STR} is also possible, albeit rare. The conditions triggering the latter word order need to be further investigated. A_{STR} NPs cooccur with bound subject forms on the verb. While plural NPs cooccur with 3AUG prefixes, all the other persons can, but need not, cooccur with subject enclitics. With pronominal A_{STR} arguments, the word order is A_{STR} VO_{STR}; free pronouns in A_{STR} function do not seem to occur postverbally. The O_{STR} argument can only occur in postverbal position and be encoded by nominal NPs. The behaviour of O_{STR} in semitransitive clauses is most likely influenced by the presence of an apparent VP which links the O_{STR} argument to the verb (§14.3.3) and the semantic and pragmatic properties of O_{STR}, such as low individuation and low pragmatic prominence. All these properties are summarized in Table 14-4.

| S ARGUMENT | WORD ORDER VARIATIONS | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| NOMINAL A _{STR} | A _{STR} (3AUG) | 3AUG V | O _{STR} | (A _{STR} (3AUG)) |
| | A _{STR} (3MIN) | V | O _{STR} | (A _{STR} (3MIN)) |
| PRONOMINAL A _{STR} | A _{STR} (3AUG) | 3AUG V | O _{STR} | - |
| | A _{STR} (3MIN) | V | O _{STR} | - |
| | A _{STR} (NON-THIRD PERSON) | V _(PM) | O _{STR} | - |

Table 14-4. Word order and subject-marking patterns in semitransitive clauses

In terms of subject-marking, the pattern is the one already analysed for intransitive clauses. With the third persons, nominal and pronominal A_{STR} arguments do not cooccur with person enclitics. However, the 3AUG person is always marked by subject prefixes. Non-third person pronominal A_{STR} arguments can cooccur with person enclitics, but need not do so.

Based on the summary above, there are two GRs selected by word order, depending on whether nominal NPs or pronominal NPs are taken into account. When arguments are expressed by nominal NPs, word order properties seem to select a {S, A_{STR}, O_{TR}} pattern, meaning that S, A_{STR} and O_{TR} are treated in the same way and differently from A_{TR} and O_{STR}. When looking at the tables above, it is clear that the first three arguments show some level of freedom, in that, they can occur in more than one position. The two other arguments, A_{TR} and O_{STR}, do not show the same behaviour. The word order pattern of these two arguments is likely to be influenced by the strong syntactic link they show with the verb. In the case of the O_{STR} argument, the syntactic restrictions are also strengthened by its semantic and pragmatic properties, in that it has generally low individuation and pragmatic prominence. Finally, with regard to pronominal NPs, they follow a kind of ‘subject’ pattern, {S A_{TR} A_{STR}}. All the three arguments occur preverbally and, in this regard, they differ from free pronominal objects which can either occur in postverbal position (transitive clauses), or cannot occur altogether (semitransitive clauses). The reason why free pronominal object forms cannot occur in semitransitive clauses is likely to be their referential properties, i.e. pronouns tend to be more salient both semantically and pragmatically.

Based on the analyses above, free pronouns encoding A_{TR} show a {S A_{TR} A_{STR}} pattern, as they occur preverbally in transitive, semitransitive and intransitive clauses. However, while in intransitive and semitransitive clauses, they can be the only representation of S and A_{STR} in the clause, this does not hold for the A_{TR} argument of transitive clauses which needs to cooccur

with a subject enclitic on the verb. Finally, the fact that free pronouns encoding S, A_{TR} and A_{STR} occur only preverbally in the three constructions is not surprising, because as mentioned in Chapters 3 and 12, free pronouns are mainly used for emphatic reasons and the preverbal position in Nalögo is a pragmatically salient one.

14.4 Additional constructions

In this section, I illustrate some constructions, which in the languages of the world, including many of those belonging to the Austronesian family, can select specific GRs. These constructions include phenomena like floated quantifiers, control, extraction and coordination reduction. In the literature, as mentioned in §14.1, GRs occurring in these contexts are typically referred to as ‘pivot’ (Dixon 1994).

As Ross (2004a: 533) writes, Oceanic languages typically lack a pivot, since they make use of pronominal subject marking to track referents across clauses. In this respect, RSC languages are no exception. However, in Nalögo, there is some evidence that quantifier floating selects the GR {S A_{STR} O_{TR}}, also referenced by word order. By contrast, in Äiwoo, there are no apparent GRs involved in processes such as coordination, control, raising, extraction and floated quantifiers. In this respect, Næss (2015a) argues that “[...] none of the constructions taken to involve pivots crosslinguistically show any evidence of a pivot in Äiwoo [...].”¹¹¹

In this section, I show examples of quantifier floating (§14.4.1), control (§14.4.2), relativization (§14.4.3) and coordination (§14.4.4) in Nalögo. Contexts of raising are not taken into account, since there are no attested examples of these phenomena.

14.4.1 Quantifier floating

Quantifier Floating refers to the ability of a quantifier to occur outside the NP it quantifies. The floated quantifier can only take specific NPs which bear a certain GR. The type of GR involved in these constructions varies considerably across languages (Bickel 2010).

In Nalögo the word *yökō* ‘all’ can function as a quantifier or as a verb meaning ‘finish’, which can occur as an independent form or in verb serialization (Chapter 8). It is important to mention here that most data presented here are based on one elicitation sessions with only one speaker. Therefore, more natural data are in need to support the claims made in this section. In addition,

¹¹¹ This holds for relativization. Even though the relativisation on O requires the undergoer voice and relativisation on A the actor voice, there are exceptions to this pattern as mentioned by Næss (2015b) showing that it is not a pivot condition.

the test is partial, as it involves only NPs; the behaviour of the quantifier with all the pronouns has not been investigated systematically in the field.

The quantifier *yökö* is attested either inside the NP as a post-head modifier, or outside it after the predicate. Two sentences are shown in (14.12) and (14.13) below.

(14.12) *La-a-mumu-pä=m=gö* *nuwâ kâ=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.collected-out=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ stick DEM₁.DIST=PL
yökö.
 all
 ‘They collect all those sticks.’ (nalogo038)

(14.13) *Da la=ng i-kele yökö*.
 thing DEM_{1,L}.NPROX=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.good all
 ‘Those things are all good.’ (nalogo032)

In (14.12), *yökö* is NP-internal and modifies the O_{TR} argument, while in (14.13), it is NP-external and modifies S.

The quantifier never occurs sentence initially. In the following analyses, I show that the floated quantifier *yökö* selects the GR {S A_{STR} O_{TR}}, meaning that only those arguments in intransitive, semitransitive and transitive clauses, respectively, are able to launch the quantifier outside its NP.

14.4.1.1 Quantifier Floating with intransitive clauses

The S argument can launch a floating quantifier. In (14.14), the quantifier is part of the NP encoding S in preverbal position, while in (14.15), the quantifier occurs outside the NP, sentence finally.

(14.14) *Olë kâ=ng yökö lë-mwi ma-ne*
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL all PFV.3AUG-sleep house-animate.CLF
 Julia.
Julia.
 ‘All the women slept in Julia’s house.’ (Q.T 2018)

(14.15) *Olë kâ=ng lë-mwi ma-ne Julia yökö*.
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-sleep house-animate.CLF Julia all
 ‘All the women slept in Julia’s house.’ (Q.T 2018)

Finally, (14.16) shows that the quantifier does not need to occur sentence finally, it can simply occur after the predicate.

- (14.16) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-mwi* *yökö* *ma-ne* *Julia.*
 woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.3AUG-sleep all house-animate.CLF Julia
 ‘All the women slept in Julia’s house.’ (Q.T 2018)

14.4.1.2 Quantifier Floating with transitive clauses

According to the Quantifier floating test, A_{TR} and O_{TR} can be both quantified inside the NP as shown in (14.17) and (14.18).

- (14.17) *Nünge* *kâ=ng* *lë-ku-ti* *olë*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-call-APPL woman
kâ=ng *yöko.*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL all
 ‘As for the boys, all the woman called for (them).’ (Q.T 2018)

- (14.18) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-ku-ti=kö* *nünge*
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-call-APPL=3AUG.SBJ boy
kâ=ng *yökö.*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL all
 ‘As for the women, they called for all the boys.’

In (14.17) and (14.18), the quantifier follows the A_{TR} NP, which occurs in postverbal position.

In (14.18), the quantifier follows the O_{TR} NP in postverbal position.

If the A_{TR} argument is fronted, the quantifier can follow it as shown in (14.19). Likewise, if the O_{TR} NP is fronted, the quantifier follows it as in (14.20).

- (14.19) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *yökö* *lë-ku-ti=kö*
 girl DEM₁.DIST=PL all PFV.3AUG-call-APPL=3AUG.SBJ
nünge *kâ=ng* *mâ* *bäipluwu.*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL DEM₂.DIST bush
 ‘All the girls called for the boys in the bush.’

- (14.20) *Nünge* *kâ=ng* *yökö* *lë-ku-ti* *olë*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL all PFV.3AUG-call-APPL girl
kâ=ng.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘As for all the boys, the women called (them).’

Finally, both A_{TR} and O_{TR} arguments can launch the quantifier outside the NP, but only the O_{TR} argument can launch it in sentence-final position. Two examples are shown in (14.21) and (14.22).

(14.21) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-ku-ti=kö* *yökö*
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-call-APPL=3AUG.SBJ all
nüinge *kâ=ng*.
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘As for the women, they all called for the boys.’

(14.22) *Nüinge* *kâ=ng* *lë-ku-ti* *olë*
 boy DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-call-APPL woman
kâ=ng *nubü* *yökö*.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL yesterday all
 ‘As for the boys, yesterday the women called them all.’
 ‘*As for the boys, the women all call them.’

In (14.21), the A_{TR} argument launches the quantifier outside the NP, right after the predicate; while according to one speaker, in (14.22), the quantifier occurring after the adverb *nubü* ‘yesterday’ in sentence-final position, could only refer to the O_{TR} argument. Two additional examples are in (14.23) and (14.24) where the quantifier occurring sentence finally can only be interpreted as modifying the O_{TR} argument.

(14.23) *Butete* *kâ=ng* *jä* *në-pwe-ti* *olë*
 potato DEM₁.DIST=PL FUT IRR.3AUG-plant-TR woman
kâ=ng *mâ* *bäipluwu* *yökö*.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL DEM₂.DIST bush all
 ‘As for the potatoes, the girls will plant them all in the bush.’
 ‘*As for the potatoes, the girls all will plant them.’

(14.24) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-ku-ti=kö* *nüinge*
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-call-APPL=3AUG.SBJ boy
kâ=ng *mâ* *bäipluwu* *yökö*.
 DEM₁.DIST=PL DEM₂.DIST bush all
 ‘As for the women, they called for all the boys in the bush.’
 ‘*As for the women, they all called the boys in the bush.’

To summarize, in transitive clauses: (i) both A_{TR} and O_{TR} can be quantified when the quantifier is NP-internal (ii) both A_{TR} and O_{TR} can launch the quantifier outside the NP, but only the O_{TR} argument can launch it in sentence-final position.

14.4.1.3 Quantifier Floating with semitransitive clauses

In semitransitive clauses, only A_{STR} can be quantified and launch the quantifier outside the NP. Examples are shown in (14.25), (14.26) and (14.27).

(14.25) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *yökö* *lë-wo*¹¹² *lemo*
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL all PFV.3AUG-take leaf
 ‘All the women took leaves.’

(14.26) *Lë-wo-tnyö* *kä-i-klu* *böma* *kä*
 PFV.3AUG-build-DISP one-PFV.N3AUG-be.many house LNK
i-klu *të-ö-bi=ngö* *po* *sökö*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.many IPFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=APPL pig all
 ‘They built around many, many houses to bake all the pigs in.’

(14.27) *Olë* *kâ=ng* *lë-wo* *lemo* *yökö*.
 woman DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.3AUG-take leaf all
 ‘All the women took leaves.’
 *The women took all the leaves

In (14.25), the quantifier quantifies the A_{STR} argument in preverbal position. In (14.26), the quantifier quantifies the O_{STR} argument inside the NP. In (14.27), the quantifier ‘floats’ outside the NP sentence finally. According to the speaker, the quantifier in (14.27) only be interpreted as referring to A_{STR} .

This test shows that first, in semitransitive clauses, A_{STR} is the main GR, launching the quantifier outside the NP like S, A_{TR} and O_{TR} of transitive clauses do. Second, the semitransitive object can be quantified, but only inside the NP.

14.2.1.4 Quantifier Floating in passive-like constructions

As described in Chapter 13, Nalögo has a type of passive-like construction marked by *lë-* (~ *të-*; ~ *në-*), where the agent is omitted from the clause. The Quantifier floating test shows that the patient S is the main GR, the one launching the quantifier. Examples (14.28) and (14.29) show two cases where *yökö* is NP-internal and NP-external, respectively.

¹¹² In this example, the form *-tnyö* seems to express the same function as the dispersive directional *-nö*. It is also formally similar to the form *-mö* ‘a bit far away’.

(14.28) *Âplë kâ=ng* *yökö la¹¹³-a-pü.*
stone DEM₁.DIST=PL all PASS.PFV-CAUS-be.hot
‘All the stones were made hot.’ (Q.F. 2018)

(14.29) *Âplë kâ=ng* *la-a-pu* *yökö.*
stone DEM₁.DIST=PL PASS.PFV-CAUS-be.hot all
‘All the stones were made hot.’ (Q.F. 2018)

14.4.2 Control

Nalögo, control constructions do not involve any specific GR. According to Bresnan (1982), within the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), control constructions show two types of control called ‘anaphoric’ and ‘functional’. The former involves a pronominal form in the controlled clause which is coreferent with another argument in the main clause. The latter refers to the relation between the functional structures (called ‘f-structures’) of the main clause and the controlled clause. In other words, it involves the sharing of a single argument between the main clause and the controlled clause. This single argument is generally referred to in the literature as ‘pivot’. Anaphoric control does not involve the notion of pivot, by contrast with functional control.

As mentioned above, Nalögo does not select any GR/pivot in control constructions because it displays a kind of anaphoric control. ‘Control’ verbs like *pi* ‘say, want’ as in (14.30) take complement clauses which can be introduced or not by the complementizer *nge* (Chapter 16).

(14.30) *Ö-pi=ö=nom* *nge t(ü)-vë-tö=pmo=kö=wom.*
?-want=QUOT.MRK=1AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=again=also=1AUG.SBJ
‘We want to go inside again too.’ (nalgoo2209_2015)

In (14.30), the subject referent of the main clause and controlled clause is identical and marked by the 1AUG subject forms =*nom* and =*wom*, respectively.

¹¹³ As explained in Chapter 2, the passive prefix *lë-*, likely related to the 3AUG/perfective prefix *lë-*, displays the allomorph *~ la-*, where the vowel assimilates to the vowel of the causative (*v*)*a-*.

14.4.3 Relativization

In Nalögo, relative clauses do not select any specific GR, which means that virtually any argument can be relativised, except for the semitransitive object function. The inability of the semitransitive object function to be relativized is most likely linked to the fact that relativization involves arguments which typically show a pragmatically prominent status and high degree of individuation. As previously mentioned, this is not the case for O_{STR} arguments. Four examples of relative clauses with relativized S, O_{TR}, A_{TR} and A_{STR} arguments are shown in (14.31), (14.32), (14.33), (14.34), respectively. The relative clause is indicated by squared brackets.

- (14.31) *Nuwe* *kâ* [*tü-ngu* *mo* *beipluwu*]
 water DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-flow DEM₂.DIST bush
i-bowi.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.long
 ‘The stream that flows in the bush is long.’ (relativized S) (nalogo008)

- (14.32) *Lëkö* *kâ=ng* [*tü-pwe-ti*
 taro DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-plant-TR
olë *kâ*] *i-kele*
 woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Those taros that the woman is planting are good.’ (relativized O_{TR}) (nalogo008)

- (14.33) *Olë* *la* [*i-pwe-ti=le*
 woman DEM_{1.L}.NPROX PFV.N3AUG-plant-TR=3MIN.SBJ
lëkö *la=ng*] *ilaule=nu.*
 taro DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘The woman who planted those taros is my mother.’ (relativized A_{TR}) (nalogo008)

- (14.34) *Olë* *la* [*tü-pwe* *lëkö*]
 mother DEM₁.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-plant taro
ilaule=nu.
 mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘The woman who is planting taros is my mother.’ (relativized A_{STR}) (nalogo008)

As described in detail in Chapter 17, Nalögo has two relativizing strategies labelled as ‘gap strategy’ and ‘resumptive’ strategy. Relativized S, O_{TR} and A_{STR} arguments in intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses, respectively, make use of the gap strategy, where the relativized argument leaves no trace in the relative clause. By contrast, relativized A_{TR} arguments make use of the resumptive strategy. This means that like relative oblique roles

(Chapter 17), the A_{TR} argument needs to leave a pronominal trace in the relative clause as in (14.33) where the 3MIN =*le* occurs on the verb of the relative clause.

An additional property to mention here is that the function of the relativized NP does not trigger a specific type of clause. Two examples explaining this concept are shown in (14.35) and (14.36).

(14.35) *Ola* *la* *tü-pwe-ti=le*
 woman DEM_{1.L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-plant-TR=3MIN.SBJ
lëkö *la=ng* *ilaule=nu*
 taro DEM_{1.L}.NPROX=PL mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘That woman that is planting those taros is my mother.’ (relativized A_{TR})

(14.36) *Olë* *la* *tü-pwe* *lëkö*
 mother DEM_{1.L}.NPROX IPFV.N3AUG-plant taro
ilaule=nu.
 mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘The woman that is planting taros is my mother.’ (relativized A_{STR})

In (14.35), the argument that is relativized on is A_{TR} , the most agentive one of a transitive clause. In (14.36), it is again the most agentive argument which is relativized, but in this case, the relativized argument is A_{STR} , the subject of a semitransitive construction. The difference between (14.35) and (14.36) cannot be explained in terms of which GR is picked out by the relative clause, because in both cases, the relativization picks out the subject, the more agentive argument of the two. Rather, the explanation is based on other properties of transitive and semitransitive clauses, in that, in (14.35), the O_{TR} is highly individuated, while in (14.36), it is generic.

To summarize, relative clauses show the following properties: (i) any argument can be relativized on, except for O_{STR} ; (ii) the A_{TR} argument is relativized on by using the resumptive strategy, by contrast with the other core arguments; and (iii) the function of the relativized NPs does not trigger specific constructions.

14.4.4 Coordination

In Nalögo, coordination allows the sharing of any two arguments across coordinated clauses, meaning that the construction does not select any specific GRs. For instance, in (14.37), (14.38) and (14.39), the constructions share two arguments, S-S, A_{TR} -S and A_{TR} - A_{TR} , respectively.

Arguments bearing a subject function to the predicate (S, A_{TR} and A_{STR}) can be tracked by anaphoric bound pronouns.

- (14.37) *Leplë* *i-velia=∅* *ä*
 people PFV.N3AUG-dance=3MIN.SBJ COORD
i-velya=∅
 PFV.N3AUG-dance=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘People danced and danced.’ (S – S)

- (14.38) *Nübü* *öblemi=le* *kâ* *trake ä*
 yesterday make=3MIN.SBJ QNT truck COORD
i-wäbu=m=∅ *ba=de.*
 PFV.N3AUG-sit=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘Yesterday he made a (small) truck and he sat on it.’ (A_{TR} – S)

- (14.39) *Yölü=ng* *ä* *i-wo-ti=ng* *dü* *dis.*
 put=2MIN.SBJ COORD PFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ QNT dish
 ‘You put (it) down and you take a dish.’ (A_{TR} – A_{TR})

Two additional examples of coordination where arguments bearing O-O and O_{STR}-O functions are omitted are shown in (14.40) and (14.41). Since O_{STR} and O_{TR} are not marked on the verb, the argument is simply omitted from the clause, while the A_{TR} argument is always expressed, either by an NP or by a bound subject enclitic on the verb.

- (14.40) *I-wo-ti=bwe=le* *nüglü* *kuli ä*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-TR=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ tail dog COORD
i-pwä-ki-pë=le.
 PFV.N3AUG-cut-rigid.obj-out=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘She took the dog’s tail and cut it.’ (O_{TR}-O_{TR})

- (14.41) *I-vö-ga=lë=m=gom* *âplë* *ä*
 PFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-pick-up=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ stone COORD
i-ulë=ngö=nom *nim.*
 PFV.N3AUG-throw=APPL=1AUG.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘We pick up stones and throw them at you.’ (O_{STR} - O_{TR})

14.5 Interim summary

Based on the presentation of the grammatical relations above, the first important observation to make is related to the fact that as expected, different constructions select different sets of GRs. They are all summarized in Table 14-5. Main patterns of grammatical relations in Nalögo

| GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS | CONSTRUCTIONS |
|--|---|
| {S, A _{TR} , A _{STR} } | person alignment (1, 1+2, 2) |
| {S, A _{STR} } | person alignment (3) |
| {A _{TR} } | person alignment (3) |
| {O _{TR} } | person alignment (in specific contexts) |
| {A _{TR} , O _{STR} } | verb phrase (VP) constructions |
| {S, O _{TR} , A _{STR} } {S, A _{TR} , A _{STR} } | word order properties (nominals & pronouns) |
| {S, O _{TR} , A _{TR} , A _{STR} } | quantifier floating |
| {S, O _{TR} , A _{TR} , A _{STR} }{S, O _{TR} , A _{STR} } | relativization |

Table 14-5. Main patterns of grammatical relations in Nalögo

In the main clauses, the alignment of pronominal forms on the verb points to a fairly typical Oceanic system where we can identify a kind of ‘subject’ pattern {S, A_{TR}, A_{STR}}. While this holds for most persons, the third person shows a different pattern {S, A_{STR}} where S and A_{TR} are grouped together, but are treated differently from {A_{TR}}. In this case, the system appears to follow a tripartite pattern where S, A_{TR} and O_{TR} are all treated differently. The O_{STR}/O_{TR} arguments differs from the aforementioned patterns because they are not marked on the verb. The GR {O_{TR}} is only selected by the 3MIN clitic =*le* in some specific contexts, i.e. applicative constructions marked by =*ngö* and based on transitive verbs, and nominalizations.

In addition to the alignment of subject and object bound forms, verb phrase constructions and word order appear to have preferences for specific GRs. The term ‘verb phrase’ refers to any argument forming a syntactic unit with a verb. In transitive and semitransitive clauses, there seem to be two VPs selecting the GR {A_{TR} O_{STR}} based on two criteria: (i) fixed word order of A_{TR} and O_{STR} arguments in their respective clauses, and (ii) marking of the 3MIN pronominal object which attaches to the A_{TR} argument (only for transitive clauses). At least for O_{STR}, this

pattern might be influenced by its semantic and pragmatic properties (low individuation and prominence).

By contrast with VP constructions, in semitransitive and transitive constructions, word order shows a preference for GR $\{A_{STR} O_{TR}\}$, a likely consequence of the existence of the two VPs. Those two core arguments, together with S, show more freedom in their syntactic position in the clauses. With free pronouns as NPs, the situation is different, in that, they show a ‘subject’ alignment $\{S, A_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$ similar to the one attested for pronominal bound forms.

In some additional constructions described in §14.4, the situation is different depending on the construction. Control and coordination do not seem to select any GR. Quantifier floating shows the pattern $\{S A_{TR} O_{TR} A_{STR}\}$ where the only excluded argument is O_{STR} . In addition, there is a difference between A_{TR} and O_{TR} arguments based on which both arguments can launch the quantifier outside the NP, but only O_{TR} arguments can launch it in sentence-final position.

Finally, the process of relativization selects the GR $\{S, O_{TR}, A_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$, in that all the arguments except for O_{STR} can be relativized on. However, in terms of strategy of relativization, the GR $\{S, O_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$ is selected by the gap strategy, while A_{TR} is relativized on through the resumptive strategy. Thus, in this respect, relativization select a specific GR, $\{S, O_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$.

14.6 Nalögo, Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages: a comparison

The aim of this section is to discuss some similarities and differences between Nalögo grammatical relations and those attested in Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages. First, in §14.6.1, I give an overview of the main properties of Western Austronesian voice systems which are relevant for our analysis here, while in §14.6.2, I describe the properties of the symmetrical voice system in Äiwoo. Finally, in §14.6.3, I provide a summary of the previous two sections and I attempt some generalizations based on the similarities and differences among these systems.

14.6.1 Western Austronesian voice systems

The label “Western Austronesian” refers to a geographically defined group of languages rather than a genealogically defined one. With this term, Himmelmann (2005a: 111-112) refers to Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar, together with Palauan and Chamorro, spoken in Micronesia. Oceanic languages are not part of this geographical subgroup.

Despite the typological diversity attested in Western Austronesian systems, two types of languages can be identified: ‘Symmetrical voice languages’ and ‘Preposed possessor languages’. The first type is the one that concerns us here. Symmetrical voice systems are characterized by at least two voices, an actor and an undergoer voice. Morphologically speaking, the verb is marked for the semantic role of the most prominent argument which functions as the grammatical ‘subject’ or ‘pivot’ (Schachter 1976). In other words, what Næss (2015b) calls the voice-selected argument, i.e. the one that correlates with the voice morphology on the verb, is typically the privileged one for inter-clausal processes, including coordination, relativization, raising, control and quantifier floating. In a number of symmetrical voice systems where the voice-selected argument works as the main participant in the discourse context, the notion of ‘pragmatic prominence’ is relevant. For instance, Himmelmann (2005b: 368) defines definite patients triggering the patient voice in Tagalog as “the major participants in the ongoing discourse”.

An example of a symmetrical voice alternation from Malay is provided in (14.42).

(14.42) Malay (Himmelmann 2005a: 112)¹¹⁴

- a) *Anak saya me-lihat orang itu.*
 child 1s AV-see person DIS
 ‘My child saw that person.’
- b) *Orang itu di-lihat anak saya.*
 person DIST PV-see child 1s
 ‘My child saw that person.’

Example (14.42a) highlights two essential characteristics of symmetrical voice systems. First of all, the constructions in (14.42b) are equally and overtly marked. The actor voice (14.42a) is marked by the prefix *me-*, whereas the undergoer voice in (14.42b) is marked by the prefix *di-*. Thus, morphologically speaking, neither of the verb forms can be seen as derived from the other. Moreover, in the actor voice in (14.42a), the voice-selected A argument *Anak saya* is in preverbal position. The second O argument *orang itu* is postverbal. In the undergoer voice (14.42b), it is the O argument *orang itu* which occurs in preverbal position, while the A argument *anak saya* is postverbal. Syntactically speaking, both (14.42a) and (14.42b) are transitive in that the verb forms take two argument NPs which do not display any further overt

¹¹⁴ Abbreviations: 1s, 1st person singular; AV, actor voice; DIST, distal; PV, patient voice.

marking by a preposition or a case marker. In the case of Malay, Himmelmann (2005a: 112) considers the voices to be equally transitive.

With regard to the properties described above, symmetrical voice systems differ from other types of voice alternations, such as the active/passive one that we can find, for instance, in European languages. A canonical passive construction is derived from its transitive counterpart through overt morphological marking. The agent is generally demoted to an oblique role, making the overall construction intransitive. Thus the active/passive alternation can be defined as involving a structural asymmetry. No such asymmetry is involved in symmetrical voice alternation.

As previously mentioned, Western Austronesian voice systems are typologically varied. There are three main types of voice that are typically identified: ‘Philippine-type system’, ‘Indonesian-type system’ and ‘Eastern Austronesian-type system’ (Arka & Ross 2005: 7-8). While systems of the third type lack voice alternations, ‘Philippine-type system’ and ‘Indonesian-type system’ have at least an actor/undergoer voice alternation. The Philippine-type system is found in languages that are spoken in the Philippines, Taiwan, northern Borneo, northern Sulawesi and Madagascar. These languages display multiple voice alternations where the verb in each voice is morphologically marked and NP arguments are often marked by case markers. These systems always include an actor voice and a group of undergoer voices allowing NPs with different semantic roles, such as patient, theme, location, instrument etc., to become pivot. An example from Tagalog, a Philippine-type language, is provided in (14.43).

(14.43) Tagalog (Schachter 1976: 494-495 quoted in Ross 2002: 26)¹¹⁵

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| a) | <i>Mag-alis</i> | <i>ang</i> | <i>babae</i> | <i>ng</i> | <i>bigas</i> | <i>sa</i> |
| | AV-take.out | SPEC | woman | NPIV | rice | LOC |
| | <i>sako</i> | <i>para</i> | <i>sa</i> | <i>bata.</i> | | |
| | sack | for | LOC | child | | |
- 'The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'

¹¹⁵ Abbreviations: AV, actor voice; CV, circumstantial voice; GEN, genitive; LOC, location; LV, locative voice; NPIV non-pivot (=neither pivot nor agent); SPEC, specific; PV, patient voice.

- b) *A-alis-in* *ng* *babae* *ang* *bigas* *sa* *sako*
 DUR-take.out-PV GEN woman SPEC rice LOC sack
para *sa* *bata.*
 for LOC child
 ‘A/the woman will take the rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.’
- c) *A-alis-an* *ng* *babae* *ng* *bigas* *ang*
 DUR-take.out-LV GEN woman NPIV rice SPEC
sako *para* *sa* *bata.*
 sack for LOC child
 ‘A/the woman will take some rice out the sack for/a the child.’
- d) *Ipag-alis* *ng* *babae* *ng* *bigas* *sa* *sako*
 CV-take.out GEN woman NPIV rice LOC sack
ang *bata.*
 SPEC child
 ‘A/the woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for the child.’

The sentences above show Tagalog voice alternations: actor voice (14.43), patient voice (14.43), locative voice (14.43) and circumstantial voice (14.43). The verb forms are marked by four affixes (*mag-*, *-in*, *-an*, *ipag-*), whose function is to specify the role of the NP preceded by the marker *ang*.

The “Indonesian-type system” includes languages spoken in Western Indonesia and Malaysia. Typically, this system involves two voices—actor and undergoer—to which applicative suffixes can be attached. When the applicative is attached to undergoer voices, the added argument becomes the voice-selected argument. By contrast, when the applicative is attached to an actor voice, the actor remains the voice-selected argument, whereas the added argument is only promoted to core status, without being selected by the voice. The main difference between the ‘Indonesian-type’ system and the ‘Philippine-type’ system relies on the fact that in the latter, arguments can only be promoted to voice-selected status.

Examples from Indonesian, which displays the applicatives *-i* and *-kan*, that can be applied to the two basic voices, are shown in (14.44). In the examples, the applicatives are attached to the unmarked undergoer voice to promote a locative (14.44), a goal (14.44) and an instrument role (14.44).

(14.44) Indonesian (Arka 2003: 3-4)¹¹⁶

- a) *Kursi itu dia Ø-duduk-i*
 chair that 3s UV-sit-APPL
 ‘The chair, (s)he sat on it.’ (locative)
- b) *Rumah itu mereka Ø-lempar-i dengan batu.*
 house that 3P UV-throw-APPL with stone
 ‘The house, they threw stones at it.’ (goal)
- c) *Batu itu mereka Ø-lempar-kan ke rumah itu.*
 stone that 3P UV-throw-APPL to house that
 ‘The stones, they threw them to the house.’ (instrument)

In some Western Austronesian languages like Tagalog, the notion of verb phrase is not relevant (Kroeger 1993); in some others, the postverbal argument of transitive clauses, the non-pivot argument, forms a unit with the verb. In this respect, Himmelmann (2005a: 142) writes: “In many western Austronesian languages there is, in fact, good evidence for a VP constituent which contains the predicate and all non-subject core arguments¹¹⁷. Non-subject core arguments generally have to occur in immediate post-predicate position.” In this respect, also Ross (2002: 54-55) claims: “Some languages have undergone a further syntactic innovation. The noun phrase immediately following the verb has become strongly bound to it so that verb + noun phrase forms a single constituent. The postverbal noun phrase is the patient with actor voice and the actor with patient voice, i.e. the voice system is symmetrical. Similar observations have been made about Balinese [...]” An example from Balinese, which according to Ross (2002), underwent syntactic innovation, is shown in (14.45), where the VPs are put in brackets.

(14.45) Balinese (Wechsler & Arka 1998: 388)

- a) *Tiang [numbas bawi-ne punika].*
 I AV.buy pig-DEF that
 ‘I bought the pig.’ (actor voice)
- b) *Bawi-ne punika [tumbas tiang].*
 pig-DEF that OV.buy I
 ‘I bought the pig.’ (object voice)

¹¹⁶ Abbreviations: 1s, 1st person singular pronoun; 3s/p, 3rd person singular/plural pronoun; APPL, applicative; UV, undergoer voice.

¹¹⁷ In this context, the ‘non-subject core argument’ refers to the ‘non-pivot’ or ‘non-focused’ core argument of the voice.

In (14.45a), in the actor voice, the VP includes the actor voice verb and the non-pivot argument, i.e. the undergoer. By contrast, in (14.45b), in the object (undergoer) voice, the non-pivot argument is the actor forming a VP with the undergoer voice verb. The actor and undergoer arguments function as pivots in actor and undergoer voices, respectively, i.e. they are singled out by the verb to undergo inter-clausal syntactic processes like raising, control or relativization. If the actor and the undergoer constitute the pivot arguments in Actor and Object voices, respectively, the Balinese verb phrase could be said to function accusatively or ergatively, according to the selected voice. However, criteria for the VP constituency are language-specific. For instance, in Toba Batak, the bonding of the verb and the non-pivot argument is detected through various criteria including pitch-accent behaviour, the impossibility for the non-pivot argument to front, the lack of intervening adverbs between the VP units, and so forth (Ross 2002: 54-55).

Historically, symmetrical voice systems where there is at least an actor/undergoer distinction have been reconstructed for PMP. This clausal organisation is thought to have been lost in an intermediate stage between PMP and POc, in which a transitivity-based system started to emerge (Lynch et al. 2002: 60-62). Oceanic languages typically lack a pivot, which was replaced over time by verbal subject marking (Ross 2004a: 533).

In Western Austronesian languages, the ability to ‘launch’ quantifiers outside NPs is viewed as a property of pivots (Schachter 1976; Kroeger 1993: 22-23). For instance, in Tagalog, only pivots can launch quantifiers outside the NPs to which they refer.

14.6.2 Symmetrical voice system in Äiwoo

Äiwoo displays a symmetrical voice system involving three types of clauses: actor voice, undergoer voice and circumstantial voice (Næss 2015b). Typologically, the Äiwoo clausal system shows a combination of ‘Philippine-type’ and ‘Indonesian-type’ characteristics (§14.6.1). This point is addressed later in this section. The main properties that the system in Äiwoo shares with those of Western Austronesian languages are: (i) a distinction between at least two voices, actor and undergoer voice, analysed as equally transitive and marked by dedicated verbal morphology, (ii) the argument selected by the voice is the most prominent one in the discourse context. Two examples of an actor and an undergoer voice as shown in (14.46).

(14.46) Äiwoo (Næss 2015b)

a) *Pe-sime-engâ* *li-epave=to* *sii=kâ*.
 COLL-person-DEM:DIST 3AUG-cook.A=CS fish=DEIC:DIST
 ‘The people cooked fish.’ (Actor voice; AVO)

b) *Sii* *lâ* *ki-epavi-i=to=wâ*.
 fish DEIC:DIST IPFV-cook.O-3AUG=CS=DEIC:DIST
 ‘They cooked the fish.’ (Undergoer; OVA clause)

The main characteristics of the actor voice are AVO word order and the use of actor prefixes. In (14.46a), the actor occurs in preverbal position and is marked on the verb by the prefix *li-*. The person-marking pattern in the actor voice is the same one used in intransitive clauses. The undergoer voice displays OVA word order and actor suffixes as in (14.46b). Under Næss (2015b)’s analysis, the actor voice in (14.46a) and the undergoer voice in (14.46b) are equally transitive with two core arguments and equally morphologically marked. By contrast, in (14.46b), it is the undergoer that occurs in preverbal position and the A argument is encoded by the suffix *-i*. Actor and undergoer voices differ not only in terms of word order and actor-marking patterns, but also in terms of verb forms. In (14.46a) and (14.46b), the same verb root displays two alternating forms ending in *-e* and *-i*, according to the type of voice. Næss (2015b) refers to the verb forms found in actor and undergoer clauses as ‘A-verbs’ and ‘O-verbs’, respectively. More recently, Roversi (2019: 29-31) has proposed to replace these language-specific terms, which were based on the fact that there are multiple patterns of alternation but no synchronically segmentable voice morphology, with the terms AV (actor voice) and UV (undergoer voice), and to analyse the different patterns of alternation as inflectional classes, as shown in Table 14-6.

| CLASS | ACTOR VOICE | UNDERGOER VOICE |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1a | <i>-e</i> | <i>-i</i> |
| 1b | <i>-ei/oi</i> | <i>-i</i> |
| 1c | <i>-∅</i> | <i>-i</i> |
| 2a | <i><o> (-u)</i> | <i><∅ > (-u)</i> |
| 2b | <i><âw> (-ââ)</i> | <i><∅ > (-ââ)</i> |
| 2c | <i><ow> (-e)</i> | <i><∅ > (-u)</i> |
| 3 | <i>(-ei)</i> | <i>(-i)li</i> |

Table 14-6. Inflectional classes of the Äiwoo voice system (from Roversi 2019:30)

The most interesting aspects of Äiwoo symmetrical voice are related to the historical origins of the voice morphology. The Äiwoo undergoer voice marker *-i*, the one occurring in pattern 1, might be a reflex of the PMP locative voice **-i* which later merged with the undergoer voice marker in **-a* into a single object voice (Lynch et al. 2002: 59-61). The new object voice marker was then reanalysed as a marker of transitivity in POc (Pawley & Reid 1979; Ross 2002). Likewise, among the AV affixes *-ou/-âw/-ow-*, *-âw/-ow-* are analysed as potential reflexes of the PMP actor-voice infix **<um>* (Næss 2013). This proposed historical analysis would suggest that in Äiwoo: i) the suffix *-i* retains an undergoer-voice function like the one found in PMP; ii) the infixes *-âw/-ow-* retain an actor-voice function directly inherited from the PMP infix **<um>*. This diachronic analysis of the verbal morphology supports the hypothesis of the classification of Äiwoo as a symmetrical voice language. Further evidence is also given by the morphological nature of the actor suffixes in OVA clauses reflecting POc possessive forms. Under a transitivity analysis, the diachronic origin of these forms is not straightforward (Ross & Næss 2007). By contrast, a voice-related analysis gives a plausible explanation for this unusual person-marking pattern, since the actor in non-actor voices in Proto-Austronesian and PMP has been reconstructed as being expressed by genitive forms (Næss 2013).

The alternation between AVO (actor voice) and OVA (undergoer voice) clauses is accounted for by the relative prominence of clausal constituents in the discourse, whereby “the most prominent element of the clause is the one that the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to” (Næss 2015b). In Äiwoo voice alternations, the actor voice is selected to express a prominence of the actor or of the verbal action, while the undergoer voice is selected when it is the undergoer which is the prominent argument. (14.47) shows two contrasting examples of actor voice and undergoer voice.

(14.47) a) *Kä=nä pako-pwâ nä-eamole-ee-pako-kä=nâ*
 say=CV good-SUFF IRR-look.A-go.up-good-dir.3=DEIC:DIST
lä sime eângâ.
 DEIC:DIST person DEM:DIST
 ‘He wanted very much to have a good look at that person.’

b) *Sime mi-doo=lâ i-eamoli-kâ-no=ngâ?*
 person.BN what=DEIC:DIST PFV-look.O-DIR:3-1MIN=DEIC:DIST
 ‘What kind of person was that I saw?’

While in (14.47a), the focus is on the action of looking that the agent has a strong desire to carry out, in (14.47b), it is the O argument that is pragmatically prominent. In terms of voice

morphology, the actor voice in (14.47a)(14.47) selects the form *eamole* (AV verb) and the undergoer voice in (14.47b) *eamoli* (UV verb).

So far, I have discussed the properties of Äiwoo actor and undergoer voices. There is a third type of clause labelled as ‘circumstantial’ voice, marked by the enclitic =*Cä*. The circumstantial voice marker =*Cä* can be attached to both actor voice and undergoer voice clauses. It displays two functions: (i) it alters the argument structure of the verb by adding a new participant expressing a peripheral semantic role; (ii) it promotes the new participant to core status. In this respect, Äiwoo resembles both Philippine-type languages and Indonesian-type languages. As it happens in Indonesian-type languages, the marker =*Cä* is applied to both actor and undergoer voices adding a new argument to the clause; but unlike those systems and similar to what happens in Philippine-type languages, =*Cä* promotes the peripheral roles it adds to the most pragmatically prominent argument, regardless of the voice of the base verb. Sentence (14.48) shows examples of a circumstantial voice clause marked by the enclitic =*Cä*.

(14.48) a) *Ko-kä=nä* *ku-tu-mu* *mo*
 say-DIR:3=CV IPFV-take-2MIN AND
ki-tei-mu=wä *sii=kâ*.
 IPFV-fish.A-2MIN=CV fish=DEIC:DIST
 ‘(The snake) said: Take it (=a fishing net) and catch fish with it.’

b) *Lâto* *i-luwa-kä* *i-konyipe=nä*
 thus PFV-take-DIR:3 PFV-wash.O=CV
nyibä=nâ
 eye.3MIN=DEIC:DIST
 ‘Then he took (the magic leaf) and rubbed his face with it.’

In (14.48a), the enclitic =*Cä* adds a peripheral participant, which can be, for instance, an instrument or a locative role, to the clause, promoting it to core status. (14.48a) is an example of coordination where the undergoer of the UV clause, which is unexpressed, is promoted to voice-selected status in the second clause with an instrument function. The second clause is an actor voice to which the circumstantial voice marker =*Cä* attaches to promote peripheral roles to core status. In (14.48b), the undergoer of the first UV clause is the voice-selected argument of the second clause with an instrument function. In this case, the circumstantial voice marker is attached to an undergoer voice to promote the instrument role. Clauses in the circumstantial voice pattern like undergoer-voice clauses, displaying OVA word order, where the voice-

selected argument is in preverbal position. Moreover, the circumstantial voice marker =Cä triggers actor suffixes, as in undergoer voices.

Diachronically, the marker =Cä may be cognate with the applicative suffixes of Indonesian-type languages. The voice marker is hypothesised to be a reflex of the POc preposition *akin[i] (*akən at some pre-POc stage) (Næss, to appear). The preposition *akən shows many reflexes in Indonesian languages, where it is used as an applicative promoting non-prominent arguments to core direct status. However, in terms of functions, the enclitic =Cä functions as a circumstantial voice marker rather than an applicative, since it promotes peripheral arguments to core status.

It is very interesting to notice that the behaviour of the circumstantial voice marker in Äiwoo is similar to the one of the applicative =ngö which can attach to both transitive and semitransitive predicates. In the case of =ngö, the voice-selected argument is also analysed as the most pragmatically and syntactically prominent one in the clause (Chapter 13).

14.6.3 Summary and comparison among systems

Based on the description above, Western Austronesian systems and Äiwoo share two main properties: (i) there is at least a distinction between two voices, actor and undergoer; (ii) the voices are equally morphologically marked. A third property which seems to be shared by both systems is the presence of a VP where an argument forms a syntactic constituent with the verb. In §14.3.1, I have briefly mentioned the case of Balinese where the non-pivot arguments in the actor and undergoer voices, i.e. the undergoer and the actor, respectively, form a VP with actor and undergoer verbs. In this respect, Äiwoo shows a similar structure where a postverbal A NP in the undergoer voice is analysed as forming a constituent with the verb, which Næss (2015a) refers to as a ‘verb phrase’. This topic has not been discussed in this chapter, since it is addressed in detail by Næss (2015a), where evidence for the existence of a VP in the undergoer voice is given by the behaviour of some clitics, such as the second negator in the bipartite negation, some tense/aspect clitics and floating quantifiers.

The main difference between Western Austronesian systems and Äiwoo is mainly related to the fact that in Äiwoo, the voice-selected argument does not function as a pivot, which means that it is not selected for certain syntactic processes, such as raising, control, coordination, and so forth. For instance, in Äiwoo, coordination and control constructions do not make use of pivot-based strategies, but participants are tracked across clauses by anaphoric devices (Næss 2015a).

In terms of their organisation of grammatical relations, Western Austronesian languages and Äiwoo show similar properties, in that both systems can be referred to as ‘proximative’. Following Bickel (2010), this term refers to systems where one NP is selected over the others as the main GR. The selection of the NP bearing the proximative GR depends on its referential properties and pragmatic status (i.e. it is the most topical argument in discourse). In Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages, the voices select one NP over the others as the main GR. Arguments bearing various semantic roles to the verb can be selected as proximative GRs depending on the morphology which appears on the verb. In some Western Austronesian languages, the element of topicality plays an important role. In this respect, Äiwoo differs from Bickel’s description of ‘proximative’ systems in Austronesian languages, in that, the most important role for the selection of the argument is not topicality, but a broader notion of prominence¹¹⁸. The main difference between the two systems is related to the types of constructions selecting the proximative GR, in that, in Western Austronesian languages, they can be extended to contexts involving, for instance, floated quantifiers, coordination reduction, and relativization, while this is not the case in Äiwoo.

When compared to Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages, Nalögo displays considerable differences in its clausal organisation. First of all, unlike Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages, Nalögo does not display a voice system with verbs morphologically marked for the role of the most prominent argument. As described in Chapter 11 on verb classes, Nalögo shows a quite complex system with a good number of valency-changing morphemes, but no voice morphology involved. In this respect, from an Oceanic perspective, the system is rather canonical. In addition, like the majority of Oceanic languages, the alignment of pronominal bound forms, at least the one including non-third persons, seems to point to a fairly regular ‘subject’ pattern where S and A_{TR} are grouped together. By contrast, the 3MIN/AUG persons show a different situation where the system can be viewed as tripartite. The presence of this ‘subject’ pattern also points to a canonical Oceanic system. The alignment of the 3MIN bound objects is also unusual, especially its behaviour with trivalent applicative constructions where the base object is marked differently from regular objects of transitive clauses.

However, there are some grammatical constructions which pattern in ways that are similar to a symmetrical voice system, in that they select the S of intransitives, the A_{STR} of semitransitives,

¹¹⁸ Næss (2015a) refers to prominence rather than topicality, since the participant selected by the voice is the one that “shows the highest degree of prominence in the discourse”.

and the O_{TR} of transitives. This is the case, for instance, of word order (with nominal arguments) and relativization (in terms of strategy of relativization) (§14.5). This has properties in common with voice alternations in that there is one two-argument construction where the A is grammatically most prominent, and one where the O is grammatically most prominent. In this respect, Nalögo shows some parallelisms with some Western Austronesian languages like Balinese, and with Äiwoo. A very interesting parallelism is the one between the applicative =*ngö* in Nalögo and the circumstantial voice marker =*Cä* in Äiwoo. As mentioned at the end of §14.6.2, their functions are similar. While in Äiwoo, the circumstantial voice marker attaches to both actor and undergoer voices to add a new argument which becomes the voice-selected one; in Nalögo, the applicative =*ngö* attaches to both transitive and semitransitive clauses to add a new peripheral argument which becomes the ‘primary’ argument, the most salient one pragmatically and syntactically (Chapter 13).

In terms of VP structure, Nalögo also shows some similarities with Äiwoo and Western Austronesian languages. In Nalögo, transitive clauses show a VP where the A_{TR} argument is syntactically linked to the verb. Likewise, Äiwoo and Balinese display a type of VP in the undergoer voice where the actor forms a unit with the verb. In addition, in Balinese, the undergoer of the actor voice also forms a VP with the actor verb. The VP attested in the actor voice in Balinese appears structurally similar to the one attested in Nalögo semitransitive clauses where the O_{STR} argument forms a unit with the verb. By contrast, the O in the actor voice in Äiwoo does not form a constituent with the verb (Næss 2015b). In Nalögo, there is also some evidence that the properties of the postverbal O argument in semitransitive clauses differ from those of the postverbal A in transitive clauses. In the case of the O_{STR} of semitransitive clauses, the argument has restrictions on word order (i.e. it cannot move from the postverbal position), quantifier floating (i.e. it cannot launch the quantifier) and in other processes targeting pragmatically salient arguments (e.g. relativisation). The A_{TR} argument of transitive clauses shows only limited restrictions in word order (the A_{TR} argument can be dislocated from its original postverbal position, but it needs to be marked on the verb). The arguments which do not form a unit with the verb in the VPs, namely, O_{TR} and A_{STR} in transitive and semitransitive clauses, respectively, can be regarded as proximate GRs, but in different ways compared to the voice-selected arguments in Balinese and Äiwoo. In Nalögo, the prominence of the A_{STR} argument correlates with the properties of the O_{STR} argument. In other words, given that the semitransitive O is syntactically and semantically less independent, A_{STR} displays a more prominent role in the clause. This is different from transitive clauses, where the syntactic

restrictions of the A_{TR} argument are less strict (e.g. the argument can move from its position). When compared with the A_{TR} argument, the O_{TR} argument can be viewed as more pragmatically prominent in two ways: (i) it is the only core argument launching the quantifier in sentence-final position¹¹⁹; and (ii) the O_{TR} can be relativised on without a resumptive pronoun, by contrast with the A_{TR} argument.

To conclude, Nalögo appears to be a fairly canonical Oceanic language in some respects (e.g. ‘subject’ marking pattern on verbs), but a rather unusual language in some others, especially in relation to the variations of GRs. When compared to Äiwoo, Nalögo is quite different in terms of clausal structure, but they also share a number of properties.

For future studies, it would be interesting to analyse the behaviour of applicatives in other Oceanic languages to see if there are languages showing a kind of ‘primary object’ system like the one attested in Nalögo with the applicative =*ngö* attaching to both transitive and semitransitive clauses. In this system, the applied object is the most prominent argument like voice-selected arguments in voice systems, at least in Äiwoo, where the added argument of the circumstantial voice marked by =*Cä* is also the central one in terms of discourse prominence.

¹¹⁹ The sentence-initial and sentence-final positions appear to be pragmatically salient positions in Nalögo. However, further studies are in need to analyse these aspects of the grammar in detail.

15. NEGATION

In this chapter, I describe how negation is expressed at NP and clausal level. Languages can show different types of negation according to the type of clause which is negated. In other words, the negation strategies attested in simple declarative clauses may differ from those attested in verbless clauses, imperative clauses, and so forth.

In §15.1, I show examples of negation at NP level involving the negative form *tonlü*. In §15.2, I describe how simple declarative verbal clauses are negated. §15.2.1 is devoted to the description of the negation attested in simple declarative clauses referred to as ‘standard negation’ (Miestamo 2007). This type of negation involves the use of the two discontinuous morphemes *te=...=lü* ‘not...not’. In §15.2.2, I describe a second type of negation of declarative verbal clauses involving the negator *te=* ‘not’ and the bound adverb *=ka* ‘yet’. In the remaining sections, I describe how negation is expressed with various types of clauses, such as imperatives (§15.3), a special type of constructions encoding deontic modality (§15.4), interrogative clauses (§15.5), predicate nominals (§15.6), locative clauses (§15.7), existential clauses (§15.8) and possessive clauses (§15.9). Finally, in §15.10 and §15.11, I provide a description of minor types of negation and a summary of the negative forms followed by a discussion on the diachronic origins of some of the markers.

15.1 Negation at NP level

NPs are negated by the negator *tonlü*, which also displays two additional functions: (i) it answers negative polar questions (Chapter 12), and (ii) it functions as a negator in predicate nominals (§15.6). When *tonlü* encodes negation at NP level, it precedes the NP which is under its scope. Sentence (15.1) is an example, where the NP under the negation scope is enclosed in the square brackets.

- (15.1) *I-pi=bwa* *ba=de* *kâ=ng* *natü*
PFV.N3AUG-tell=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ QNT=PL word
aa *tonlü* [*natü* *kâ* *i-klu*].
COORD NEG word LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many
‘I told her some words, but not many words.’ (nalogo033)

15.2 Negation with simple declarative clauses

The term ‘standard negation’, introduced for the first time by Payne (1985), refers to “the basic means that languages have for negating declarative verbal main clauses” (Miestamo 2007).

In Oceanic languages, the expression of negation is typically “closely related to the expression of subject and TAM categories” (Lynch et al. 2002: 51-52). If a language expresses subject and TAM categories by free forms, negation is most likely expressed by free forms as well. By contrast, if a language expresses subject and TAM categories by prefixes, it also tends to express negation by prefixes (ibid.). When negation is expressed by a prefix, the negator is typically separable from the other prefixes, occurring between subject and TAM markers. However, this is a general tendency shown by prefixal negators rather than a universal pattern, since various exceptions are attested¹²⁰. Finally, in Oceanic languages, negation is frequently expressed discontinuously: the first element is typically preverbal, while the second element occurs postverbally.

In Nalögo, standard negation is expressed by a discontinuous negation constructions involving the two negators *te=* and *=liü*. In terms of position of the two clitics, Nalögo constitutes an exception when compared to the systems outlined above, because the preverbal negator *te=* occurs before and not after the portmanteau prefixes simultaneously encoding subject number and mood/aspect. Among SC languages, Engdewu also displays negative particles which occupy the leftmost position inside the VC (Vaa 2013: 315). This topic is described in §15.2.1.

The second way in which simple declarative clauses are negated in Nalögo includes only the preverbal negator *te=* combining with the bound adverb *=ka* ‘yet’ on the same VC. When *=ka* is present, the occurrence of the postverbal negator *=liü* is ungrammatical. This topic is described in §15.2.2.

15.2.1 Standard Negation

The negators *te=* and *=liü* can occur with all types of basic and derived verb forms (intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ambitransitive). As mentioned in Chapter 8, the postverbal negator *=liü* occurs at the very end of the VC periphery. Two examples of standard negation with an intransitive (stative) and a transitive verb are shown in (15.2) and (15.3), respectively.

¹²⁰ For instance, in some Polynesian and PNG languages, negation tends to be expressed cause initially and clause finally, respectively (Lynch et al. 2002: 51-52).

(15.2) *Te=i-köle=Ø=lü*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.good=3MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
 ‘It was not good.’ (intransitive) (nalogo068)

(15.3) *Te=i-pnö=lü* *dötwö=nu* *lë-mwi-ngö.*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-want=NEG₂ neck=1MIN.POSS NMLZ₁-sleep-NMLZ₂
 ‘I don’t want to sleep.’ (transitive) (nalogo3010_2015)

In terms of TAM, standard negation can negate present, past and future events, occurring with both realis and irrealis moods. In (15.2), the event is located in the past, while the one in (15.3) is located in the present. In (15.4), the event is located in the future; thus, standard negation occurs with the irrealis prefix *në-* and the future marker *jä*.

(15.4) *Jä te=në-(y)öpwalu=po=p=lü.*
 FUT NEG₁=IRR.3AUG-return=again=DIR.hither=NEG₂
 ‘They will not return.’ (nalogo033)

The second negator *=lü* triggers some specific subject forms in the VC. This topic is analysed in Chapter 3. The potential diachronic sources of *te=* and *=lü* are discussed in §17.11.

15.2.2 Negation *te=...=ka* ‘not yet’

Simple verbal clauses can also be negated by the combination of the negator *te=* and the bound adverb *=ka* ‘yet’. Two examples are shown in (15.5) and (15.6). The bound adverb *=ka* occurs at the periphery of the VC, but before subject forms as shown in (15.6).

(15.5) *Te=i-kele=ka,* *olë=ng?*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.good=yet girl=PL
 ‘Is it not good yet, girls?’ (nalogo005)

(15.6) *Te-i-klë=ka=l.*
 NEG₁-PFV.N3AUG-know=yet=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘You don’t know (it) yet.’ (field notes 2017)

The form *=ka* ‘yet’ triggers some specific subject forms as mentioned in Chapter 3.

The second negator of standard negation *=lü* cannot cooccur when the adverb *=ka* is present on the VC. The behaviour of *=lü* in this context could be explained semantically, as an event

which has not happened yet may still take place in the future, whereas an event negated by the bipartite negation has no chance to happen in the future.

In Äiwoo, one of the ways to express the meaning ‘not yet’ is by using only the preverbal negator *ba*, which occurs in bipartite negation with the enclitic =*gu* to negate simple declarative clauses. Roversi and Næss (2019) account for this by claiming that the Äiwoo negator =*gu* originates in a morpheme encoding that the action is unachieved, whose absence, even when the bipartite negation grammaticalised as standard negation, was interpreted as encoding a momentarily unachieved event which may take place in the future.

In Nalögo, from a formal point of view, standard negation and the ‘not yet’ negation are both bipartite, involving the same negator *te*= ‘not’. However, while the presence of =*ka* in the ‘not yet’ negation suggests that the event may be negated only at the moment of speech, the negator =*lii* of standard negation seems to function emphatically.

15.3 Negation with imperative clauses

Crosslinguistically, imperative clauses are often negated in a different way than simple verbal clauses. Nalögo is no exception, as imperative clauses are negated by the form *bwë* which occurs in preverbal position. Unlike affirmative imperatives (Chapter 12), negative imperatives, also known as prohibitives, allow the presence of verbal inflections, including the N3AUG perfective prefix *i-* and 2MIN subject enclitics. Four examples are shown in (15.7-15.10) below. In (15.7) and (15.8), the affirmative imperative is also provided to show the differences between the two constructions.

(15.7) a) *Bwë i-mwi=ng!*
NEG PFV.N3AUG-sleep=2MIN.SBJ
‘Don’t sleep!’ (negative imperative)

b) *Mwi!*
sleep
‘Sleep!’ (affirmative imperative)

(15.8) a) *Bwë i-kele=ng!*
NEG PFV.N3AUG-be.good=2MIN.SBJ
‘Don’t be kind!’

b) *I-kele=ng!*
PFV.N3AUG-be.good=2MIN.SBJ
‘Be kind!’

(15.9) *Bwë i-va-ku=ng!*
 NEG PFV.N3AUG-CAUS -be.cooked=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Don’t cook!’

(15.10) *Bwë i-pwe-ti=ng butete*
 NEG PFV.3N3AUG-plant-TR=2MIN.SBJ potato
kâ=ng!
 DEM1.DIST=PL
 ‘Don’t plant those potatoes!’

In both affirmative and negative imperatives, the 2AUG addressee is marked on the verb. An example of 2AUG negative imperative is (15.11).

(15.11) *Bwë i-kö=ngam!*
 NEG PFV.N3AUG-sing=2AUG.SBJ
 ‘Don’t sing!’

15.4 Negation and deontic modality

Deontic modality expressing strong obligation is generally expressed by irrealis as described in Chapter 10 and shown in (15.12).

(15.12) *Leplë në-vë-nö meipluwu otengye.*
 people IRR.3AUG-go-DISP bush INTS
 ‘People must go to the bush alone.’ (affirmative)

To negate clauses expressing strong obligation, Nalögo does not make use of the bipartite standard negation as it happens with other types of clauses marked by irrealis. Rather, it displays a construction where the form *bwë*, which occurs as a negator with negative imperatives (§15.3), functions as an independent verb probably with the meaning ‘let it not be’. An example is shown in (15.13).

(15.13) *Leplë bwë lë-vë-nö-gö=gö*
 people let.it.not.be NMLZ₁-go-DISP-NMLZ₃=3AUG.POSS
meipluwu otengye.
 bush INTS
 ‘People must not go to the bush alone.’ (negative) (nalogo048)

An additional example with affirmative and negative versions of a deontic construction like the one in (15.13) is shown in (15.14) below.

(15.14) a) *Leplë* *në-vëpe* *gö=gö*
 people IRR.3AUG-buy general.CLF=3AUG.POSS
card.
 card
 ‘People must buy a card (for them).’ (affirmative) (nalogo048)

b) *Leplë* *bwë* *lë-vëpe-gö=gö*
 people let.it.not.be NMLZ₁-buy-NMLZ₃=3AUG.POSS
gö=gö *card.*
 general.CLF=3AUG.POSS card
 ‘People must not buy a card’ (negative)

15.5 Negation with predicate nominals

In Nalögo, predicate nominals make use of the negator *tonlü* which displays two additional functions: (i) negation of NPs (§15.1), and (ii) negative answer in polar questions. Examples of proper inclusion and equative clauses are shown in (15.15)(15.18).

(15.15) *Ni tonlü ilaule obwe.*
 1MIN NEG mother child
 ‘I am not a mother.’

(15.16) *Billy tonlü nide nünge lö lë-wë-ngö.*
 Billy NEG 3MIN man ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-work-NMLZ₂
 ‘Billy is not a worker (man that works).’

(15.17) *Kla tonlü olë ne=nu.*
 DEM_{1.L.NPROX} NEG girl animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘That one is not my daughter.’ (nalogo020)

(15.18) *Judi tonlü (nide) laule=n.u*
 Judi NEG (3MIN) mother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘Judi is not my mother.’

In (15.15) and (15.17), the negator *tonlü* occurs between the two NPs. If a 3MIN anaphoric pronoun is present as in (15.16) and (15.18), *tonlü* occurs right before it.

15.6 Negation with Locative clauses

The affirmative version of locative clauses includes the obligatory locative copula *jâ* (Chapter 12). In negative contexts, locative clauses be negated by a negative word; instead, they are replaced by simple verbal clause including verbs of posture negated by standard negation. Two examples are shown in (15.19) and (15.20).

- (15.19) *Buk gö=tu te-yâ=lü bä skol.*
 book general.CLF=1MIN.POSS NEG₁=stay=NEG₂ PREP school
 ‘My book is not at school.’ (nalogo033)

- (15.20) *Obyâng lo-kiütâ jâ=ng böma ka?*
 child.DEM₁.DIST.PL PFV.3AUG-be.little LOC.COP=PL house DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Are the children in this house? (speaker A)

- Tonlü, te=lë-mno=lü ma.*
 No NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-stay=NEG₂ DEM₁.PROX
 No, they are not here.’ (speaker B) (nalogo033)

15.7 Negation with existential clauses

Existential clauses are negated by the negator *topnö*, analysed as a verb meaning ‘not exist’. Two examples are shown in (15.21) and (15.22), where the verb is followed by the two subject NPs.

- (15.21) *Topnö olë böma.*
 NEG.EXIST girl house
 ‘There are/were no girls in the house.’ (nalogo2310_2015)

- (15.22) *Topnö nuwe.*
 NEG.EXIST water
 ‘There is no water.’ (nalogo033)

The form *topnö* does not take typical verbal inflections like mood/aspect prefixes or subject forms. However, in the available data, it is attested with the COS marker =*pme* as shown in (15.23) and (15.24).

(15.23) *Okay Tina, topnö=pe da*
 okay Tina NEG.EXIST=COS thing
ti-pi=bwa=ba=m.
 IPFV.N3AUG-tell=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘Okay Tina, there is nothing (more) that I am telling (to you).’ (nalogo032)

(15.24) *Topnö=pe?*
 EXIST=COS
 ‘Is there none now?’ (nalogo039)

In all examples above, the word order is VS. However, the subject NP can be topicalised as in (15.25).

(15.25) *Da kâ=ng topnö=pe yökö.*
 thing DEM₁.DIST=PL NEG.EXIST=COS QNT
 ‘As for all those things, none (of them) exist now.’ (nalogo012)

In (15.25), it is not the existence of the subject referent which is negated, rather, its existence at the time of utterance. Topics as *da kâ=ng* ‘those things’ in (15.25) are presupposed to exist. In this respect, (15.25) is different from (15.23) and (15.24) where it is the existence of the girl and the water which is negated.

Negative existential constructions can also express negative indefinite meanings like the English ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, ‘anyone’ and ‘anything’. Examples are shown in (15.26)(15.29).

(15.26) *Topnö kâ-i-wö*
 NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-swim
 ‘Nobody is swimming (lit. there is no swimmer)’ (nalogo033)

(15.27) *Topnö da i-tüka*
 NEG.EXIST thing PFV.N3AUG-be.bad
 ‘There is nothing bad (lit. there is no thing that is bad).’ (nalogo039)

(15.28) *Topnö leplë kâ i-lâ-neba=nga*
 NEG.EXIST person LNK PFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL/OBL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I didn’t talk to anyone.’ (nalogo033)

(15.29) *Topnö* *da* *kä* *vöblömi-tö=pwa* *bä* *lë-(y)elë-ngö*
 NEG.EXIST thing LNK make-in=1MIN.SBJ PREP NMLZ₁-marry-NMLZ₂
kâ.
 DEM₁.DIST

‘I didn’t do anything for the marriage.’ (nalogo033)

The negative existential clause with *topnö* can also express ‘negative partitive’ meanings as in (15.30) and (15.31).

(15.30) *Topnö* *nigö* *kä* *i-klë=le*
 NEG.EXIST 3AUG LNK PFV.N3AUG-know=3MIN.SBJ
lë-elya-ngö.
 NMLZ₁-dance-NMLZ₂

‘None of them knows how to dance.’

(15.31) *Topnö* *obwe* *kä* *lë-kütâ* *kä* *ngâ* *yawe*
 NEG.EXIST child LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small LNK be.like play
mâ *mö* *nivlyö* *pwöla.*
 DEM₁.DIST PREP surface sea

‘None of the children is playing there on the seashore.’

In (15.30) and (15.31), the partitive NPs, made up of a pronoun in (15.30) and a complex NP in (15.31), respectively, are modified by relative clauses. The verb of the relative clause is either marked by the 3MIN subject form =*le* as in (15.30), or unmarked as it happens in simple intransitive clauses as in (15.31).

15.8 Negation with possessive clauses

Like existential clauses, possessive clauses can be negated by the negative existential form *topnö* ‘not exist’ followed by the subject NP. Three examples are shown in (15.32), (15.33) and (15.34).

(15.32) *Topnö* *ne=nu* *obwe* *kä* *lë-pwä*
 NEG.EXIST animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS child LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.four
 ‘I didn’t have four children.’ (nalogo033)

(15.33) *Topnö* *mu=nu* *nuwe* *kä* *i-klu.*
 NEG.EXIST drink.CLF=1MIN.POSS water LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.much
 ‘I don’t have enough water.’ (nalogo028)

- (15.34) *Topnö gö=gom taol.*
 NEG.EXIST general.CLF=1AUG.POSS towel
 ‘We didn’t have towels.’ (nalogo001_2015)

15.9 Negation with interrogative clauses

In Nalögo, interro-negative clauses vary with clause types, in the sense that each clause type shows its own negation, parallel to what is found in declarative clauses. After all, as explained in Chapter 12, the structures of questions pattern like those of simple declarative clauses, although they show a different intonational profile.

When simple declarative verbal clauses are negated, they take the bipartite standard negation as shown in (15.35). In predicate nominals as sentence (15.36), the negator *tonlü* occurs, the one used to negate NPs (§15.1).

- (15.35) *Te-tü-twë=u=lü boat kâ Vanikoro*
 NEG₁-IPFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ boat DEM₁.DIST Vanikoro
nëgwa?
 today
 ‘Aren’t you taking the boat to Vanikoro today?’ (nalogo034)

- (15.36) *Tonlü¹²¹ nim ile Elizabeth?*
 NEG 2MIN sister Elizabeth
 ‘Aren’t you Elisabeth sister?’

The negative word *tonlü*, that negates equative constructions, is also used to negate a previous coordinated clause. When it expresses this function, the negative word is introduced by the disjunctive coordinator *o* ‘or’ as shown in (15.37).

- (15.37) *I-kati dötwö=m nökü ka o*
 PFV.3NAUG-like neck=2MIN.POSS shirt DEM₁.PROX COORD
tonlü?
 NEG
 ‘Do you like this shirt or not?’

The same function is performed by the negative word *tonapo* ‘not yet’ (§15.10), occurring after the disjunction as shown in (15.38).

¹²¹ Generally, in equative clauses, the negative word *tonlü* does not occur sentence initially (Chapter 12).

- (15.38) *T(ü)-vëpë=ng* *na=m* *kä*
 IPFV.N3AUG-buy=2MIN.SBJ food.CLF=2MIN.POSS LNK
lä-bwe=pme *o* *tonapo?*
 PASS.PFV-cook=COS COORD not.yet
 ‘Do you buy the one (to eat) that has been cooked or not yet?’ (nalogo039)

15.10 Other minor types of negation

In this section, I describe three minor types of negation attested in the data: *to* ‘not exist’, *tonapo* ‘not yet’, and *tone* ‘not be’. It is possible that more negative words exist in the language, but further data are required.

15.10.1 Negation *to* ‘not exist’

The negator *to* is an invariant form that originates in the verb *to* ‘not exist’. When it is used as a verb, *to* can take different pronominal forms as subjects depending on the person category. Examples of the negator *to* inflected for person are shown in the Table 15-1.

| PERSON | NEGATOR | EXAMPLE |
|------------|---------------------|--|
| MIN | | |
| 1 | <i>To=de ni</i> | <i>Tode ni ma</i> ‘I am not here’ |
| 1+2 | <i>To=de nigi</i> | <i>Tode nigi ma</i> ‘You and I are not here.’ |
| 2 | <i>To=de nim</i> | <i>Tode nim ma</i> ‘You are not here’ |
| 3 | <i>To=de (nide)</i> | <i>Tode (nide) ma</i> ‘He/She is not here.’ |
| AUG | | |
| 1 | <i>To=de nigom</i> | <i>Tode nigom ma</i> ‘We are not here’ |
| 1+2 | <i>To=de nigo</i> | <i>Tode nigo ma</i> ‘We (including you) are not here.’ |
| 2 | <i>To=de nimwi</i> | <i>Tode nimwi ma</i> ‘You (plural) are not here.’ |
| 3 | <i>To=gö (nigö)</i> | <i>Togö (nigö) ma</i> ‘They are not here.’ |

Table 15-1. Forms of the negator *to* ‘not exist’ inflected for person

The basic form is *to* ‘not exist’, to which subject forms of Set II are attached (Chapter 3). There is a distinction between the 3MIN and 3AUG persons, since the verb *to* takes the 3MIN form =*de* and the 3AUG form =*gö*, respectively. These negative forms can cooccur with the respective free pronouns, the 3MIN *nide* and 3AUG *nigö*, but their presence is optional.

Interestingly, the negator *tode* inflected for the 3MIN person functions as an invariant form for all the other persons (1MIN/AUG, 1+2MIN/AUG and 2MIN/AUG). It does not take any subject enclitic, but only subject free pronominal forms in postverbal position¹²².

15.10.2 Negation *tonapo* ‘not yet’

The negator *tonapo* ‘not yet’ is a common type of negation. In (15.39) and (15.40), it occurs in a polar question and in an answer of a polar question, respectively.

(15.39) *I-mo=pe-ng* *lopta* *kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=COS=2MIN.SBJ cabbage DEM₁.DIST
tü-pi=bwa? *tonapo?*
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither not.yet
 ‘Have you seen the cabbage I told you? Not yet?’ (nalogo039)

(15.40) *I-vë=ng* *mö* *stoa?*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ PREP store
 ‘Did you go to the store?’ (speaker A)

Tonapo
 not.yet
 ‘Not yet.’ (speaker B)

15.10.3 Negation *tone* ‘Not be (human referent)’

The verb *tone* ‘not be’ is attested only once in the available data. The example is shown in (15.41) where it seems to negate the existence of a human referent. Further examples are in need to better described the properties of this form.

(15.41) *Tone* *ni* *lö=ma.*
 not.be 1MIN.SBJ ASS.MRK=DEM₂.PROX
 ‘I am not a person from here.’ (narr_2015)

¹²² This case is interesting because pronominal free forms marking subjects are not attested in postverbal position with main clauses (Chapter 12; Chapter 14).

15.11 Summary of negation forms and some diachronic observations

The negative forms described in the previous sections are summarized in Table 15-2. **Error! Reference source not found.**

| NEGATION FORM | MEANING | PROPERTIES |
|--------------------|------------------------------|--|
| <i>bwë</i> | ‘not’, ‘let it not be’ | Negator (negative imperatives); Negative verb (with deontic modality expressing strong obligation) |
| <i>te=...=lï</i> | ‘not...not’ | Discontinuous negators occurring with simple verbal clauses |
| <i>te=...(=ka)</i> | ‘not...yet’ | Combination of the negator <i>te=</i> and adverb <i>=ka</i> ‘yet’ |
| <i>to</i> | ‘not exist’ | Negative verb |
| <i>tonapo</i> | ‘not yet’ | Negator |
| <i>tone</i> | ‘not exist (human referent)’ | Negative verb |
| <i>tonlï</i> | ‘not’ | Negator (with NPs); Negative answer to Polar Questions; Negator (with Predicate Nominals) |
| <i>topnö</i> | ‘not exist’ | Negative existential verb (with Existential and Possessive constructions) |

Table 15-2. Summary of Nalögo negative forms

In this section, I briefly discuss possible diachronic sources for the negators *te=* and *=lï* ‘not...not’, *topnö* ‘not exist’, *tonlï* ‘not’, *tone* ‘not exist’, *tonapo* ‘not yet’, and *bwë* ‘not’.

In terms of the diachrony of negation markers in Oceanic languages, it is worth pointing out that “Oceanic languages display a plethora of different forms, indicating that, like other morphemes associated with the verb phrase, they have been subject to replacement” (Lynch et al. 2002: 88). Given the premises, the diachronic observations proposed in this section are rather speculative.

With regard to standard negation, Lynch, Ross & Crowley (2002: 52) write that the bipartite markers “are generally quite different in shape from language to language, and the patterns are

scattered geographically, so these clearly represent parallel innovations”. However, in Nalögo, the two negators of standard negation, *te=* and *=lii*, might be related to the POc particle **ta* which preceded the verb phrase and the POc negative verb **b^wali* ‘not be so’, with the loss of the first syllable (Lynch et al. 2002: 88), respectively.

The negative word *bwě*, which functions as a negator with negative imperatives and as a verb with some deontic constructions (e.g. English ‘must not’), displays two possible sources: either it might be a reflex of POc **b(w)ali* or **bwa* (truncated form of **b(w)ali*), or alternatively, a reduction of the POc verb **tabu*, where only the second syllable would be retained in Nalögo.

All the other negative forms mentioned above involve a morpheme */to/*. This form is likely related to the negative verb *to* ‘not be’ described §15.10.1. The verb *to* might be related either to the POc form **tikai* (probably ‘not exist’) or **tabu*, an adjectival verb meaning ‘be forbidden’ used as a negator in prohibitions. When these verbs were used as negators in POc, they did not require subject proclitics. The negator *topnö* ‘not exist’, *tonapo* ‘not yet’, *tonlü* ‘not’, *tone* ‘not exist’ might be lexicalised forms involving */to/*. However, the origins of forms like */pnö/* in *topnö* and */napo/* in *tonapo* cannot be easily determined. The forms *tonlü* and *tone* might be connected, because *tonlü* might be a reduction of the form *tonelü* involving the verb *tone* ‘not exist’.

Further diachronic studies on this topic are required to investigate their origins.

16. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

This chapter is devoted to the description of complementation strategies in Nalögo. The two other types of subordinate clauses, namely, relative clauses and adverbial clauses, are described in Chapters 17 and 18, respectively. From a typological point of view, Dixon (2010: 370) defines a complement clause as involving the following three properties:

- i. “It has the internal structure of a clause, at least as far as core arguments are concerned.
- ii. It functions as core argument of another clause. The range of functions available to a complement clause always includes O (object in a transitive clause).
- iii. It describes a proposition, which can be a fact, an activity, or a state (not a place or a time).”

In Nalögo, complement clauses show the properties (i-iii) mentioned above. They can be finite or non-finite. Finite complement clauses can be introduced by complementizers. The most common complementizer is *nge*, but there are other types of complementizers: the form *kä* and some interrogative words introducing complement clauses. Non-finite clauses involve the use of nominalizations.

Table 16-1 below summarizes the two most common complementation strategies and the types of predicates with which they occur. Predicates of the matrix clauses can allow one or more strategies depending on the type.

| TYPES OF PREDICATES | COMPLEMENTIZERS | NOMINALIZATIONS |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| UTTERANCE | ✓ | - |
| KNOWLEDGE | ✓ | - |
| PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE | ✓ | - |
| FEARING | ✓ | ✓ |
| PERCEPTION | ✓ | - |
| ACHIEVEMENT | ✓ | ✓ |
| DESIDERATIVE | ✓ | ✓ |
| PHASAL | - | ✓ |
| MODAL (ABILITY) | - | ✓ |

Table 16-1. Complement strategies and predicate types

As shown in Table 16-1, verbs which show complementation with complementizers as their only strategy include utterance, knowledge, propositional attitude and perception; while verbs taking nominalizations only involve phasal and modal verbs. Achievement and desiderative verbs can take both strategies.

Finite complementation with complementizers is described in §16.1, while non-finite complementation with nominalizations is described in §16.2. The final section §16.3 provides some examples of reported speech.

16.1 Finite complement clauses

Finite complement clauses, referred to as ‘sentence-like complement’ by Noonan (2007: 59) “has roughly the same syntactic form as a main clause”, since “the predicate has the same syntactic relation to its subject and its other arguments that it has in syntactic main clauses [...]”. The complement predicate has its own verbal inflections, including TAM and subject-marking forms. There are no subject restrictions; thus, the subject of the complement can, but does not need to, be coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause. There are typically no restrictions for TAM.

In Nalögo, finite complement clauses follow the matrix clauses. The complementizer is simply defined here as “a word, particle, clitic or affix” whose function is “to identify the entity as a complement” (Noonan 2007: 55). In Nalögo, complementation with complementizers involve the forms *nge* ‘that, if’ (§16.1.1), *kä* ‘that, if’ (§16.1.2) and some interrogative words with a complementation function (§16.1.3).

16.1.1 Complementation with *nge*

Various types of predicates can show this type of complementation strategy, including utterance predicates (§16.1.1.1), knowledge predicates (§16.1.1.2), propositional attitude predicates (§16.1.1.3), fearing predicates (§16.1.1.4), achievement predicates (§16.1.1.5), desiderative predicates (§16.1.1.6) and perception predicates (§16.1.1.7). Engdewu displays a formally identical complementizer *nge*, but unlike the complementizer in Nalögo, it does not occur frequently (Vaa 2013: 463).

The complementizer introducing the complement clause is optional, even though it can always be added to the clause. An example with the utterance predicate *pi* ‘say’ is shown in (1), where the same verb form can appear without or with the complementizer *nge* as shown in (16.1).

- (16.1) *Lë-e-pi-ö=bwe=kö* *itö,* *“Nogwa*
 PFV.3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=3AUG.SBJ *grandmother today*
lëplë lë-e-pi=ö=dö nge
 people PFV.3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=3AUG.SBJ COMP
të-(v)elya=pmo Nedö”.
 IPFV.3AUG-dance=again Nedö
 ‘They said to their grandmother: “Today people said that they are going to dance in Nedö.”’
 (nalogo2209_2015)

16.1.1.1 Utterance predicates

Utterance predicates like the English verbs ‘say’, ‘ask’, ‘report’, etc., are defined as involving an agentive subject that transfers some information. The informational content is expressed by the complement clause (Noonan 2007: 121). The utterance predicate par excellence is the verb *pi*. This verb expresses a variety of meanings which in English are expressed by lexemes like ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘ask’, ‘inform’, ‘report’, etc. The verb *pi* can also function as a desiderative predicate meaning ‘want’ (§16.1.1.6). The addressee can be overtly expressed or not. When it is present, it is encoded by a PP introduced by the preposition *ba*. Sentences (16.2) and (16.3) show two examples of utterance predicates. In (16.3), the addressee is overtly expressed.

- (16.2) *Kopyo mweli lö-Nedö*
 EXIST time people-Nedö
lë-ö-pi=ö=dö nge të-(v)elya=pme.
 PFV.3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=3AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.3AUG-dance=COS
 ‘Once upon a time people of Nendö said that they wanted to dance.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

- (16.3) *E-pi-e=bwa=ba=m nge ni*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=1MIN.OBJ COMP 1MIN
ä n(ü)-yepwalu=po=p Nea
 FUT IRR.N3AUG-return-again=DIR.hither Nea
mweli kä i-vë=m.
 time LNK PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
 ‘I told you that I would have come back to Nea in the future.’ (field notes 2017)

The complement clauses follow the matrix clause. Verbal inflections on the matrix and complement predicates are independent and they do not need to coincide. For instance, in (16.3), while the matrix predicate is inflected for realis, the complement predicate is inflected for irrealis. In (16.2) and (16.3), the subject referents of matrix and complement clauses coincide. However, subject referents do not need to be coreferent as shown in (16.4). Verbal inflections are also independent as in (16.2) and (16.3).

(16.4) *I-pi-pä* *Isaiah* *nge* *kopyo*
PFV.N3AUG-say-out Isaiah COMP EXIST
bonyö *jä* *në-(v)elo* *mö* *nowidu* *lö*
king FUT PASS.IRR-deliver PREP tribe ASS.MRK
Juda.
Juda
‘Isaiah prophesied that a king would be born in the tribe of Juda.’ (field notes 2018)

There are additional predicates which show a similar complement structure, like the predicate *vatati* ‘ask’.

16.1.1.2 Knowledge predicates

According to Noonan (2007: 129), knowledge predicates “take experiencer subjects and describe the state, or the manner of acquisition, of knowledge”. In Nalögo, these predicates take complements with the complementizer *nge* ‘that, if’, as shown in (16.5) and (16.6) with the complements of the predicate *klë* ‘know’.

(16.5) *I-klë-ti=nga* *nge* *jä*
PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1MIN.SBJ COMP FUT
nü-vë *lëmapë.*
IRR.N3AUG-go tomorrow
‘I know that she will go tomorrow (to Lata).’ (field notes 2017)

(16.6) *Te=i-klë=wa=lü* *nge* *kopyo* *leplë*
NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ COMP EXIST person
böma.
house
‘I don’t know whether there is someone in the house.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

The verb *klë* can also function as a modal (ability) predicate when what is known is a skill rather than a piece of knowledge as it is in (16.5) and (16.6). In this case, the verb of knowledge takes a different construction involving a non-finite complement as described §16.2.2. Predicates meaning ‘dream’ are also considered as predicates of knowledge, although “the source of knowledge is not the real world” (Noonan 2007: 129). In Nalögo, *mible* ‘dream’ patterns like *klë* as shown in (16.7).

(16.7) *I-mible=nga* *nge* *nüinge kâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-dream=1MIN.SBJ COMP boy DEM₁.DIST
i-nibü=le *kâ no.*
 PFV.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ QNT fish
 ‘I dreamt that the boy caught a fish.’ (nalogo019)

Perception predicates can also act as knowledge predicates when they encode meanings other than immediate perception, where the events of the matrix and the complement show the same time reference. Examples (16.8) and (16.9) show two cases of the perception verbs (*v*)*elalö* ‘hear’ and *vëngi* ‘feel’ functioning as knowledge predicates. The time of the matrix event does not show the same time reference of the complement event.

(16.8) *Lë-(v)elalö-tö=p* *nötü* *nge* *leplë*
 hear-in-DIR.hither dolphin COMP people
të-(v)elya=pme *Nedö.*
 PFV.3AUG-dance=COS Nedö
 ‘The dolphins heard that people were going to dance in Nedö.’ (nalogo2209_2015)

(16.9) *I-vëngi-tö=wa* *nge*
 PFV.N3AUG-feel-in=1MIN.SBJ COMP
i-kele=ba=nu *nim.*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ 2MIN
 ‘I feel that I love you.’ (filed notes 2017)

16.1.1.3 Propositional attitude predicates

Propositional attitude predicates “express an attitude regarding the truth of the proposition expressed as their complement” (Noonan 2007: 124). The attitude can be either positive (‘think’, ‘assume’, ‘suppose’) or negative (‘not believe’, ‘doubt’, ‘deny’). In Nalögo, propositional attitude predicates take *nge*-complements. In (16.10), I show an example with the verb *lengiti* ‘believe, trust, assume’, expressing positive attitude.

(16.10) *I-lengi-ti=le* *nge*
 PFV.N3AUG-believe-TR=3MIN.SBJ COMP
tü-mno-wëli-ti=le *nat God.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-live-follow-TR=3MIN.SBJ word God
 ‘She believes to live according to the word of God.’ (positive attitude)
 (field notes 2017)

16.1.1.4 Fearing predicates

From a semantic point of view, predicates of fearing are characterized “by having experiencer subjects and expressing an attitude of fear or concern that the complement proposition will be or has been realized” (Noonan 2007: 130). Examples are the English verbs ‘worry’, ‘be afraid’, and ‘fear’. In Nalögo, predicates of fearing can take the complementizer *nge* as shown in (16.11) with the verb *mwe* ‘be afraid’¹²³.

- (16.11) *Ibu=de* *tü-mwe* *nge*
 father=3MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-fear COMP
melä=je *i-lu-ki-le* *po* *kâ*
 son=3MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-stab-rigid.obj=3MIN.SBJ pig DEM₁.DIST
ne *Joshua*.
 animate.CLF Joshua
 ‘The father is afraid that his son stabbed the pig of Joshua.’ (nalogo019)

16.1.1.5 Achievement predicates

Achievement predicates can be divided into two classes depending on the type of achievement they express, whether positive or negative (Noonan 2007: 139). Positive achievement refers to “the manner or realization of the achievement” (e.g. English verbs like ‘manage’, ‘chance’, ‘remember’); while negative achievement refers to “the manner of, or reason for, the lack of achievement in the complement predication” (e.g. English ‘forget’, ‘fail’, and ‘avoid’). (16.12) shows an example with the predicate *mögalö* ‘forget’.

- (16.12) *I-mögalö-ti=nga* *nge* *jä*
 PFV.N3AUG-forget-TR=1MIN.SBJ COMP FUT
n(ü)-yepwëlu=po=p.
 IRR.N3AUG-return-again=DIR.hither
 ‘I forgot that he would have come back.’ (field notes 2017)

It is possible that other achievement predicates show similar complement structures, but further data are necessary.

¹²³ The verb *mwe* ‘be afraid (of)’ in the example is used transitively, but it takes an intransitive person-marking in that the 3MIN subject occurs preverbally, but it is not marked on the verb as it would be expected.

16.1.1.6 Desiderative predicates

Desiderative predicates are “characterized by having experiencer subjects expressing a desire that the complement proposition be realized”. They are predicates expressing meanings like ‘want’, ‘wish’, ‘desire’, ‘hope’ (Noonan 2007: 132-135). In Nalögo, the utterance predicate *pi* ‘say’ can function as a desiderative predicate meaning ‘want’ and taking *nge*-complements. An example is shown in (16.13).

- (16.13) *Leplä* *tü-(v)elya* *Nedö* *aa*
 people IPFV.N3AUG-dance Nendö COORD
e-pi=e=nom *nge* *tu-wö-tö=ka=wom.*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=1AUG.SBJ COMP IPFV.N3AUG-swim-in=ADD=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘People are going to dance in Nedö, but we also want to swim in (to go there).’
 (nalogo2209_2015)

In (16.14), the verb *tuti* ‘want’ shows the same complement structure as the verb *pi*.

- (16.14) *Mweli* *kä* *i-tuti* *dötwö=m*
 time LNK PFV.N3AUG-think neck=2MIN.POSS
nge *tü-vë=mwe,* *vë=m!*
 COMP IPFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ.hither go=DIR.hither
 ‘Whenever you want to come, come!’ (nalogo047)

16.1.1.7 Perception predicates

‘Immediate’ perception verbs, namely verbs that name “the sensory mode by which the subject directly perceives the event coded in the complement” (Noonan 2007: 142), can take the complementizer *nge*, as shown in (16.15) and (16.16).

- (16.15) *I-vë-nö=ng* *beipluwu.* *I-velalö=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-DISP=2MIN.SBJ bush PFV.N3AUG-hear=2MIN.SBJ
nge *kopyo kio* *tü-knya...*
 COMP EXIST chicken IPFV.N3AUG-cry
 ‘You go around in the bush. You hear that there is a chicken crying...’ (nalogo013)
 (nalogo013)

- (16.16) *I-mâ=ng* *nge* *lopta* *kâ=ng*
 PFV.N3AUG-see=2MIN.SBJ COMP cabbage DEM₁.DIST=PL
i-ku=pe=le.
 PFV.N3AUG-cook=COS=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘(if/when) you see that the cabbage is cooked...’ (nalogo020)

However, this type of predicates occurs frequently without the complementizer as in (16.17).

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (16.17) <i>I-mo-la</i> | <i>kâ</i> | <i>nünge</i> | <i>jâ</i> | <i>tü-kö</i> |
| PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ | QNT | boy | CONT ₁ | PFV.N3AUG-sing |

‘I see a boy singing.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

Perception verbs can also behave as verbs of knowledge as shown in §16.1.1.2.

16.1.2 Complementation with *kä*

The morpheme *kä* ‘that, if’ can be used as a complementizer. In the data, it only occurs with the predicate of knowledge *klë*. Further examples are necessary to investigate how frequent this form is. An example is shown in (16.18).

| | | |
|---|-------------|-------------|
| (16.18) <i>Te=i-klë-ti=wa=lü</i> | <i>kä</i> | <i>ngâ</i> |
| NEG ₁ =PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1MIN.SBJ=NEG ₂ | COMP | be.like |
| <i>tü-vö-vë=ng</i> | <i>nini</i> | <i>nübü</i> |
| IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD ₁ -weave=2MIN.SBJ | mat | yesterday |

‘I don’t know if you wove mats yesterday.’

16.1.3 Interrogative complementizers

With the predicate of knowledge *klë* ‘know’, interrogative complementizers can introduce finite complement clauses. This type of complementation might occur with other types of predicates, but the only examples attested in the data are with the verb *klë*. In (16.19) and (16.20), the complement clauses are introduced by the interrogative words *nölö*¹²⁴ ‘what’ and *nelö* ‘who’, respectively.

| | | |
|---|--------------|----------|
| (16.19) <i>Te=i-klë-ti-wa=lü</i> | <i>nelö</i> | <i>â</i> |
| NEG ₁ =PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1SBJ=NEG ₂ | who | PRAG.MRK |
| <i>i-mo=l</i> | <i>nübu.</i> | |
| PFV.N3AUG-see=2MIN.SBJ | yesterday | |

‘I don’t know who you saw yesterday.’

¹²⁴ The variant *nälö* ‘what’ with the vowel /â/ is common.

(16.20) *Te=i-klë-ti=wa=lü* *nolë â*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ what PRAG.MRK
të-pi=kö.
 IPFV.3AUG-say=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘I don’t know what they are saying.’ (nalogo068)

The complementizer *nge* can cooccur with the interrogative form as shown in (16.21).

(16.21) *Te=i-klë-ti=wa=lü* *nge*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know-TR=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ COMP
nâ *të-nibü=ngö=dö* *po döle.*
 what IPFV.N3AUG-kill=APPL=3AUG.SBJ pig wild
 ‘I don’t know why they killed the wild pig.’

16.2 Non-finite complements

In Nalögo, non-finite complements involve nominalizations. Phasal and modal predicates (ability) take nominalizations only, while achievement, desiderative and fearing predicates also show complementation with *nge*.

16.2.1 Phasal predicates

Phasal predicates are those predicates focusing on different phases of an action or a state, such as its inception, continuation or termination (e.g. English ‘begin’, ‘keep’, ‘finish’) (Noonan 2007: 139). Crosslinguistically, phasal predicates tend to be associated with reduced complements (non-finite), the reason being that “the phase of the event must be the same of that of the event itself” (Noonan 2007: 139-140). In Nalögo, they typically occur with non-finite complements expressed by nominalizations. Examples with phasal predicates followed by nominalizations as their complements are shown in (16.22) and (16.23).

(16.22) *Melä=nu* *vaulö=pe=le* *lë-itna-ngö.*
 son=1MIN.POSS stop=COS=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-fish-NMLZ₂
 ‘My son stopped fishing.’ (nalogo019)

(16.23) *Mö-kâ* *jâ* *tü-a-yëu-tö=pwe*
 male-DEM₁.DIST CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-start-in=DIR.thither
lë-ö-ta-ngö *po kâ.*
 NMLZ₁-MIDD₁-hit-NMLZ₂ pig DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The man starts to hit the pig (to kill it).’ (nalogo2110_2015)

16.2.2 Modal (ability) predicate *klë* ‘know, be able to’

Modal predicates refer to any predicate expressing modality, be it ability, epistemic or deontic (Noonan 2007: 137-138). In English, modal predicates involve forms like ‘can’, ‘be able’, ‘ought’, ‘should’, forming a special syntactic class of auxiliary verbs. In Nalögo, there are no modal predicates. Modal meanings are expressed by specific morphemes or mood. There is only one predicate, *klë* ‘know’, which can express ability and occur with a nominalization as its complement. When it encodes this function, it is usually translated with the English modal verb ‘can’. Two examples are shown in (16.24) and (16.25).

- (16.24) *I-klë-kom* *lä-öblemi-ngö* *nablëu*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=1AUG.SBJ NMLZ₁-make-NMLZ₂ type
ngö *kai* *lä-li*.
 ASS.MRK pudding PFV.3AUG-be.two
 ‘We can make two types of pudding.’ (nalogo042)
- (16.25) *I-klë=kom* *lä-yöli-ngö* *nubo*
 PFV.N3AUG-know=1AUG.SBJ NMLZ₁-put-NMLZ₂ dried.breadfruit
kâ=ng *böma* *ne=gom* *temwö*
 DEM₁.DIST=PL house animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS moon
ptengime.
 six
 ‘We can put (aside) dried breadfruit at our house for six months.’ (nalogo057)

16.2.3 Achievement predicates

In Nalögo, some achievement predicates can take nominalizations as their complements. This behaviour is common crosslinguistically, since “the reference time of the achievement (or lack of achievement) of the event will have the same time reference of the event (or its non-occurrence)” (Noonan 2007: 139). Three examples are shown in (16.26), (16.27) and (16.28) with the verb *mögalö* ‘forget’ (negative achievement), *vötëpä* ‘remember’ (positive achievement) and *(v)abwä* ‘try’ (negative achievement).

- (16.26) *I-mgalö-ti=nga* *la-a-ngumwa-ngö* *necklace*
 PFV.N3AUG-forget-TR=1MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-CAUS-sell-NMLZ₂ necklace
ne=nu *mö* *market*.
 animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS PREP market
 ‘I forgot to sell my necklace at the market.’ (nalogo037)

(16.27) *Melä-nu* *vötëpë=le* *lë-nibü-ngö*
son=1MIN.POSS remember=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-kill-NMLZ₂
ne *kio* *la=ng.*
animate.CLF chicken DEM₁.L.NPROX
‘My son remembered to kill those chickens.’ (nalogo019)

(16.28) *Kopyo* *niunge tü-tu* *jâ*
EXIST boy IPFV.N3AUG-stand CONT₁
ta-abwä=le *n(ë)-oula-ngö*
IPFV.N3AUG-try=3MIN.SBJ NMLZ₁-shoot-NMLZ₂
‘There is a boy standing (and) trying to shoot.’ (asp_2015)

In (16.26), (16.27) and (16.28), the matrix and complement subjects are coreferential; and the subject is marked only once on the predicate of the matrix clause. When matrix and complement subjects are not coreferential, a finite complement is used. This holds for the predicate *mögalö* as shown §16.1.1.5.

16.2.4 Desiderative predicates

With some desiderative predicates, the complement is non-finite. This is the case of the three compound verbs *pnö dötว์ö* ‘want, desire’, *kati dötว์ö* ‘want’ and *tuti dötว์ö* ‘want’, which take non-finite complements expressed by nominalizations. Three examples are shown in (16.29), (16.30) and (16.31).

(16.29) *Nünge* *tü-pnö* *dötว์ö=de* *dongo*
boy IPFV.N3AUG-desire neck=3MIN.POSS a.lot
lë-mwa-gö=de *da* *kä* *i-kele.*
NMLZ₁-eat-NMLZ₃=3MIN.POSS thing LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
‘The boy has the desire to eat something good.’ (nalogo067)

(16.30) *I-kati* *döt��ö=gö* *lë-vëpe-ngö*
PFV.N3AUG-want neck=3AUG.POSS NMLZ₁-buy-NMLZ₂
dongo.
very.much
‘They want to buy (it) very much.’ (nalogo065)

(16.31) *I-tuti* *döt��ö=nu* *lë-mâ-ngö*
PFV.N3AUG-want neck=1MIN.POSS NMLZ₁-see-NMLZ₂
dü *leplë* *ngö* *Noole.*
QNT person ASS.MRK Noole
‘I want to see someone from Noole.’ (nalogo047)

command are shown in (16.35) and (16.36); while two examples of indirect quotes with a question and a command are shown in (16.37) and (16.38).

(16.35) *Ti-pi=pme=bwe* *olë* *kâ* *nge,*
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=COS=DIR.thither girl DEM₁.DIST QUOT
 “*E Melëke böloma ne=m*
 hey Melëke arm.band animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS
tü-ta-pä!”
 IPFV.N3AUG-fall-out
 ‘The girl said: “Hey Melëke, your traditional armband is falling out!”’ (nalogo060)

(16.36) *E-pi=ö=bwe=le* *ba* *olë*
 ?-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ PREP girl
kâ *nge,* “*Wo-ti=m!*”
 DEM₁.DIST QUOT take-TR=DIR.hither
 ‘He said to her: “Come (and) get it!”’

(16.37) *Vatati* *ibu=de* *nge* *melä=je*
 ask father=3MIN.POSS COMP son=3MIN.POSS
â *i-nibü=le* *ne* *kio*
 PRAG.MRK PFV.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ animate.CLF chicken
kâ
 DEM₁.DIST
 ‘The father asked if his son killed a chick.’ (nalogo019)

(16.38) *Ilaule=gom* *lë-pi=m=gö*
 mother=1AUG.POSS PFV.3AUG-say=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ
ba=gom *nge* *nü-mno-ângide=kom*
 PREP=1AUG.OBJ COMP IRR.N3AUG-live-well=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘Our mothers told us that we had to live well.’ (nalogo012)

17. RELATIVE CLAUSES

In this Chapter, I describe the properties of relative clauses (henceforth RCs) in Nalögo. In §17.1, I provide some typologically-informed definitions of RCs. In §17.2, I show the position of RCs within the NP. In §17.3, I describe the internal structure of RCs, which can be marked or unmarked. Section §17.4 is devoted to the description of two types of relative clauses: ‘headed’ and ‘headless’. Finally, in §17.5, I describe the external and internal functions of relativised NPs.

17.1 Definition

Andrews (2007: 206) gives the following definition of RC: “A relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC”. Cristofaro (2005: 39) gives a similar definition, according to which RCs are used to provide “some kind of specification” about a participant of the matrix clause, a participant which is “identified within a set of possible referents by mentioning some other SoA [state of affairs] in which he or she takes part”. Andrews (2007)’s and Cristofaro (2005)’s definitions match what is typically referred to as ‘restrictive’ RCs, i.e. relative clauses whose main function is to identify a referent within a set of possible referents. There is also a second type of RCs labelled as ‘non-restrictive’. This type provides additional information about a participant without identifying it within a set of possible referents (Keenan 1985: 168-169; Cristofaro 2005: 195). While some languages mark this distinction, this is not the case for Nalögo where other semantic factors, such as the identifiability of the relativised NP, play a role in the structuring of RCs.

17.2 Position of RCs

When RCs occur within NPs, they follow the head. An example is shown in (17.1), where the RC introduced by the linker *kä*, is delimited by the square brackets.

- (17.1) *I-mwa-nebliü=nga* *kio* [*kä*
PFV.N3AUG-go-follow=1MIN.SBJ chicken LNK
i-tâ.]RC
PFV.N3AUG-be.small
‘I follow a small chicken.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

(17.4) *Kopyo lomtangi nigö ba boe ne=de*
 EXIST white.person 3AUG PREP boy animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
 [*kä i-tâ*].RC
 LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small
 ‘There is a white person with his little boy.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(17.5) *Obwe nüinge kâ [i-tâ]RC tü-mwi.*
 child boy DEM₁.DIST PFV.3NAUG-be.small IPFV.N3AUG-sleep
 ‘The young boy is sleeping.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

In (17.6), the RC occurs after both modifiers.

(17.6) *Nübü i-ngu=nga nau kâ=ng*
 yesterday PFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ apple DEM₁.DIST=PL
na=nu kâ i-pwö-k lë-li.
 food.CLF=1MIN.POSS LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK PFV.3AUG-be.two
 ‘Yesterday I ate two big apples of mine.’ (nalogo009)

When the RC does not occur directly after the head noun modified by a demonstrative, the linker *kä* is obligatorily as in the example below. This is interesting, in that NP heads modified by demonstratives are followed by unmarked RCs as in (17.5). The function of RCs as NP modifiers is relevant for most Oceanic languages, since in general, these languages do not have a class of ‘true’ adjectives; or if they do, the members of the class are not many. In Nalögo, RCs involving stative verbs are often used to express characteristics of the referents. This topic is mentioned in Chapter 5.

17.3 Marked and unmarked RCs

In Nalögo, there is a distinction between marked and unmarked RCs. As previously mentioned, marked RCs are introduced by the linker *kä*, while unmarked RCs do not have any marker intervening between the head and the RC predicate. The difference between these two constructions is illustrated in (17.7).

(17.7) *Mweli kâ bia kâ=ng*
 time DEM₁.DIST breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL
tü-mweli=ngö=de, yelu-kali=wom mö belëm
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.soft=APPL=3MIN.SBJ put-next=1AUG.SBJ PREP bowl
 [*kä i-kütâ*].RC. *I-pmë-u=po=wom mö*
 LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.small PFV.N3AUG-soften-down=again=1AUG.SBJ PREP

belëm kâ=ng [*i-kütâ*]RC
 bowl DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.small
ä *jâ* *të-yelu=pe=bwe* *tenu* *ngö=de*.
 COORD SEQ PASS.IPFV-put=DIR.thither oil ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
 ‘When the breadfruits are ripe, we put them again in small bowls. We soften them in the small bowls and then we put its oil (in it).’ (nalogo042)

In (17.7), the first RC is marked by the linker, while the second one is unmarked. The difference between the two seems to be accounted for by the identifiability of the referent. In (17.7), when some small bowls are mentioned for the first time, the RC following the NP head is marked. From an informational point of view, the small bowls are new. In the following sentence, the small bowls are mentioned again, but in this case, the NP head is followed by an unmarked RC because the referent constitutes old information and is highly identifiable. A similar pragmatic distinction between marked and unmarked RCs exists in Engdewu (Vaa 2013: 456).

In Nalögo, the linker *kä* is not a relative pronoun, as it does not specify the relativized function of the NP, but it is only used to introduce NP modifiers. Engdewu shows a formally identical linker *kä* which Vaa (2013: 455-457) labels as ‘relativizer’. In Oceanic languages, RCs tend either to be unmarked or marked by a marker displaying “some kind of broad subordinating function” (Lynch et al. 2002: 43). In §17.3.1, I provide some observations on this form and its origins.

In terms of structural properties, unmarked RCs display some ambiguities when the NP head is modified by a demonstrative form acting as marker of definiteness. An example of this ambiguity and its possible interpretations is shown in (17.8).

- (17.8) a) *Yölu=bwe* [*âplë*]NP [[*kâ=ng*]H_{HEAD} [*i-pâ.*]RC]A_{PP}
 put=DIR.thither stone DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.red
 ‘You put the red stones (or stones, the ones that are red)
- b) *Yölu=bwe* [[*âplë*]H_{HEAD} [*kâ=ng*]M_{OD} [*i-pâ.*]RC]NP
 put=DIR.thither stone DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.red

The demonstrative form in (17.8) can show two possible interpretations: either it functions as the RC head in apposition to the noun *âplë* ‘stone’ as in (17.8a); or it functions as an NP modifier followed by an unmarked RC (17.8b). According to the translation given by the speaker, the most appropriate interpretation seems to be the second. Further evidence is given

by the fact that another demonstrative can be added between the NP modifier and the unmarked RC as shown in (17.9).

- (17.9) *Nünge kâ kâ*
 boy DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.DIST
 [*i-pla-glâ=le*]RC *nuwâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-break.with.hand-break=3MIN.SBJ stick
kâ tü-(y)awe-mi=pe=le.
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-play-APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘The boy, the one who broke the stick with hands, is now playing with it.’ (nalogo050)

When another demonstrative is added as in (17.9), it is interpreted as the head. The whole RC is in appositional function.

17.3.1 The linker *kä* and its formally related forms

The linker *kä* is formally identical to two forms, the medial nominal demonstrative form *kä* ‘that one’ and the bound noun *kä-* ‘one who/which...’. The aim of this section is to show that despite their formal similarity, these three forms serve different functions.

First of all, the linker *kä* displays different properties than the medial demonstrative form *kä* ‘that one’. Morphologically, the medial nominal demonstrative *kä* can be pluralized by =*ng* as shown in (17.10), while the linker is invariable. In terms of syntactic distribution, medial demonstrative forms can function as NP modifiers and as NP heads as in (17.10) and (17.11), respectively. When they function as heads, they can constitute NPs by themselves or be modified as in (17.11) where *kä=ng* is followed by an unmarked RC.

- (17.10) *Cup kä(=ng)*
 cup DEM₁.MED=PL
 ‘That/those cup(s).’ (field notes 2018)

- (17.11) *Kä=ng i-veplö te=i-ngü=wo=lü*
 DEM₁.MED=PL PFV.N3AUG-be.strong NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ=NEG₂
 ‘As for those that are strong, we do not eat them.’ (nalogo039)

This is not the case of the linker *kä* which cannot form NP heads by itself. In addition, if there is more than one RC which modifies the head noun, the linker has to be overtly expressed before each RC. This suggests that it forms a syntactic unit with the RC and does not function as a marker of definiteness as shown in (17.12), which is also found in §17.2.

(17.12) *Da kä i-klu kä i-ngü=kom*
 thing LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many LNK PFV.N3AUG-eat=1AUG.SBJ
mö Santa Cruz.
 PREP Santa Cruz
 ‘(There are) many things that we eat in Santa Cruz.’ (nalogo032)

The second formal and function distinction between the linker *kä* and the bound form *kä-* ‘one’ is less straightforward. One question that might arise is why the form *kä* in (17.12) is analysed as a linker rather than a bound form introducing a complex nominal as the one in (17.13), where *kä-* ‘one’ functions as RC head.

(17.13) *Topnö kä-i-wö.*
 NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-swim
 ‘There is no swimmer (lit. one that swims).’ (nalogo033)

The main reason to keep these two functions distinct is based on the fact that bound nouns other than *kä-* ‘one’, for instance, *mö-* ‘male’, can attach to RCs introduced by *kä-*. An example of this use taken from Chapter 4 is provided here in (17.14).

(17.14) *Mö-kä-i-nyga-ti-dötwö=de*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.angry-APPL-neck=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘His enemy (lit. the male one that he is angry with).’

Example (17.14) is analysed as a complex nominal made up of the bound noun *mö-* ‘male’ modified by a RC. If *kä-* was interpreted as a bound noun instead of a linker, the construction would be made up of two bound nouns both serving the same function, i.e. being the RC head. In addition, under this interpretation, there would be a semantic overlap, in that *mö-* already means ‘the male one who...’ as in (17.15).

(17.15) *Me-wë*
 Male-work
 ‘Male worker (lit. the male one who works)’

Since in the light of this, the interpretation of *kä-* in (17.14) as a bound form would not be felicitous semantically and syntactically, I have decided to consider *kä-* a linker rather than a bound form.

As mentioned above, the linker *kä* is formally identical to the medial demonstrative form *kä* ‘that one’, and most likely diachronically related. The existence of a relation between linkers

and demonstratives is well attested across languages (Diessel 1999). Himmelmann (1997: 172-188) claims that in some Austronesian languages, including Tagalog, the diachronic source of linkers are adnominal demonstratives, especially medial and distal forms. This is not surprising from an Oceanic perspective either, where RC markers “are often similar or identical in shape to demonstratives” (Lynch et al. 2002: 53).

17.4 Headed and headless RCs

In Nalögo, various grammatical elements can function as RC heads, including full nouns, bound nouns, demonstratives and quantifiers. In this analysis, I make a distinction between ‘headed’ (§17.4.1) and ‘headless’ RCs (§17.4.2). Headed RCs are of two types: ‘full-headed’ RCs and ‘light-headed’ RCs. The term ‘light-headed’ introduced by Citko (2004) refers to RCs displaying ‘lighter’ grammatical elements as their heads, such as bound nouns, indefinite pronouns and demonstratives.

17.4.1 Headed RCs

Full-headed RCs take full lexical nouns as their heads. Two examples with a lexical noun and a nominalization as RC heads are shown in (17.16) and (17.17).

(17.16) *Toki kâ i-pwö i-malo.*
 knife LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.big PFV.N3AUG-be.sharp
 ‘That big knife is sharp.’

(17.17) *Olë kâ yapwe-ti=bwe=le=ba obwe*
 girl DEM₁.DIST tell-APPL=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ=PREP child
nünge kâ dü lë-(y)apwe-ngö
 boy DEM₁.DIST QNT NMLZ₁-tell-NMLZ₂
kä lë-(y)epwale-ulë.
 LNK PASS.PFV-laugh-APPL
 ‘The girl told the boy a story to laugh at.’ (nalogo1609_2015)

Light-headed RCs take bound nouns, demonstratives and quantifiers as heads. As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, bound nouns like *mö-* ‘male’ and *ma-* ‘house’ can take various types of modifiers including RCs. Although they are not phonologically independent and need to take some kind of modifiers, they function as RC heads in the same way as full nouns do. This also holds for bound nouns in Äiwoo (Næss 2017). Two examples of bound nouns functioning as RC heads are shown in (17.18) and (17.19).

(17.18) *Ma-kä-i-tö*
 house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy
 ‘Church.’

(17.19) *Mö-kä-i-vë*
 male-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-walk
 ‘Wild man (lit. man that walks).’

Demonstratives can also function as RC light heads. This type of RCs encoding identifiable referents is unmarked, i.e. there is no linker occurring between the RC head and its predicate. An example of this construction is shown in (17.20).

(17.20) *Jâ tü-pne-tö=pe=ng* *bä nawë mo kätü*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-tie-in=COS=2MIN.SBJ PREP head tree betelnut
kâ=ng i-veleli-ti=ng
 DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-scrape-PL=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Then, you tie them to the top of the betelnut, those that you scrape.’ (nalogo065)

Finally, in RCs, the quantifier *dü* can also function as a light head as shown in (17.21) and (17.22).

(17.21) *Yöli=kai=pwe=dü* *kä i-pmi* *bä lewö*
 put=first=2MIN.SBJ.thither=QNT LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.little PREP leaf
böpi kâ=ng.
 banana DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘You put first put a small quantity on the leaves of the bananas.’ (nalogo066)

(17.22) *Dü kä i-tu* *i-vë=m,*
 QNT LNK PFV.N3AUG-stand PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
jâ tü-(w)äbu=pme *bä chair.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-sit=COS PREP chair
 ‘One who was standing came, then he sat on a chair.’ (nalogo1210_2015)

17.4.2 Headless RCs

Headless RCs, also referred to as ‘free’ relatives in the literature, lack an external nominal head associated with the missing constituent inside the RC. When describing free relatives, Caponigro (2020: 9) states that they “are introduced by *wh*-expressions that either are identical to those in *wh*-interrogative clauses or carry extra morphology”. In English, an example of free relative is ‘I will give you whatever you need’. In Nalögo, headless RCs are marked by

interrogative words which are identical to those used in questions. (17.23) and (17.24) show two examples where the interrogative forms *nelö* ‘who’ and *nölö* ‘what’, respectively, introduce the RCs.

(17.23) *Nelö kä vö-nibü lepelë i-vë më prison.*
 who LNK MIDD₁-kill people PFV.N3AUG-go PREP prison
 ‘Whoever kills people goes to prison.’ (nalogo047)

(17.24) *Nâlö kä i-vöblömi=ng, woka-tö=wa nim.*
 what LNK PFV.N3AUG-do=2MIN.SBJ help-in=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘Whatever you do, I help you.’ (nalogo047)

In (17.23), *nelö* is the A_{STR} argument of the semitransitive predicate inside the RC; while in (17.24), *nâlö* is the O_{TR} argument of the transitive predicate inside the RC.

17.5 Functions of relativized NPs

17.5.1 External function of relativized NPs

Relativized NPs display their own external function, that is, they display their own syntactic role in the main clause. Crosslinguistically, restrictions on the external functions of head nouns are very rare (Kroeger 2005: 238). In this respect, Nalögo makes no exception. Three examples are shown in (17.25), (17.26) and (17.27) where the external syntactic functions of the relativized NPs are transitive, semitransitive and intransitive subject, respectively.

(17.25) *Mö-kâ i-mo=la*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ
tü-pnö=le no kâ=ng
 IPFV.N3AUG-spear=3MIN.SBJ fish DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘The man that I saw is spearing those fishes.’ (transitive subject)

(17.26) *Bwale kâ i-mo=la*
 old.woman DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ
tü-ö-bi po.
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake pig
 ‘The woman that I saw is baking pigs.’ (semitransitive subject)

(17.27) *Nela* *nuwâ* *kâ* *tü-wäbu-ti-u=m*
 branch tree DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=DIR.hither
obwe *kâ* *i-luwu.*
 child DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.slippery
 ‘The branch of the three on which the child is sitting is slippery.’ (intransitive subject)

The functions of relativized NPs within RCs are shown in the following section.

17.5.2 Internal function of relativized NPs

RCs are typically associated with the notion of Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) shown in the schema below.

Accessibility Hierarchy

SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE > GENITIVE > OBJECT OF
 COMPARATIVE

The Accessibility Hierarchy, the formation of which is based on typological generalizations, has an implicational nature, in that, if in any language, a specific position on the hierarchy is relativizable, then, all the positions to its left are relativizable. In this respect, Oceanic languages “generally allow relativization of NPs well down the universal Accessibility Hierarchy” (Lynch et al. 2002: 43). In Nalögo, most grammatical functions can be relativised, with the possible exception of the object of comparative, which has not been tested, and the semitransitive object.

Depending on the type of function of the relativized NP, two strategies are attested: the ‘gap’ strategy and the ‘resumptive’ strategy.

As mentioned elsewhere, the linker *kä* does not express the syntactic function of the relativised NP, thus, it is not a relative pronoun. When the gap strategy is used, the RC missing argument is associated with the external head which is interpreted as filling the gap. An example of gap strategy is shown in (17.28).

(17.28) *leplë* [*kä* *i-gwa*]RC
 person LNK PFV.N3AUG-run
 ‘Runner (lit. person that runs).’

In (17.28), the RC has a missing S constituent associated with the external head *leplë*. Evidence of this is given by subject marking, in that, the RC predicate displays a subject-marking form which agrees in person and number with the head noun.

Examples of the resumptive strategy are in (17.29) and (17.30).

(17.29) *Olë* *la* [*i-mâ=le* *nim.*]RC
 woman DEM_{1.L}.NPROX PFV.N3AUG-see=3MIN.SBJ 2MIN
dõt=de *Elisabeth.*
 name=3MIN.POSS Elisabeth
 ‘The woman who saw you is called Elisabeth.’ (nalogo007)

(17.30) *I-kele=ba=nu* *olë*
 PFV.N3AUG-be.good=PREP=1MIN.OBJ girl
 [*i-wë=kom* *ba=de* *bäipluwu*]RC
 PFV.N3AUG-work=1+2MIN.SBJ PREP=3MIN.OBJ bush
 ‘I like the girl with whom I used to work in the bush.’ (field notes 2015)

In (17.29) and (17.30), the relativised NP, a transitive subject A_{TR} and an oblique argument expressing a comitative participant, respectively leave a trace in the RC. Unlike (17.28), the function of the relativised NP is specified by the pronominal bound subject *=le* in (17.29) and the PP *bade* in (17.30). The term ‘resumptive’ refers to the pronominal forms which appear obligatorily in the RCs. Typically, when the other core arguments—S, A_{STR} and the transitive object O_{TR} —are relativised, only the gap strategy is used. With peripheral roles, both strategies are attested. Finally, when possessor participants are relativized, only the resumptive strategy is allowed.

In the following sections, I present these two strategies with different types of relativized NPs. It is worth mentioning that semitransitive objects cannot be relativized because, as already mentioned in Chapter 14, relativization targets arguments which are pragmatically relevant.

17.5.2.1 Relativised S, A_{TR} and O_{TR}

Sentences (17.31), (17.32), and (17.33) show examples where S, A_{STR} and O_{TR} are relativized. All the examples contain unmarked RCs displaying the gap strategy.

(17.31) *Jâ* *t(ü)-vë-pä=bwe* *ba*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-go-out=DIR.thither PREP
kio *dölen kâ* [*tü-kngya*].RC
 chicken wild DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-cry
 ‘Then, he goes to the wild chicken that is crying.’ (nalogo013) (S)

(17.32) *Te=i-klë=wa=lü* *mö-kâ*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ male-DEM₁.DIST
 [*tü-(v)ö-kü* (*potna*).]RC
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-dig pana
 ‘I don’t know the man who is digging (pana).’ (A_{STR})

(17.33) *Olë kâ* [*i-mo=nga* *bä*
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ PREP
trak].RC *ile=m*.
 truck sister=2MIN.POSS
 ‘The girl I saw on the truck is your sister.’ (transitive O_{TR})

17.5.2.2 Relativised applied objects

Oblique roles can be marked by the resumptive strategy and/or by the gap one. Often, peripheral roles are promoted to core direct function to undergo syntactic processes, such as relativization (Chapter 13). This process of promotion is realized by applicatives. In the following sections, I show examples of the most common oblique roles, namely, comitative, endpoint/goal, locative, instrument, beneficiary/recipient and possessor, which undergo the process of relativization. With some of these roles, both gap and resumptive strategies are possible; while with other roles, they need to undergo applicativization to be relativized on.

17.5.2.2.1 Comitative role

The comitative role can be promoted to core function by the applicative *-mi* (Chapter 13), which occurs on the verb of the RC. The applicative is applied to intransitive verbs, making them bivalent. The behaviour of the applied object is similar to the one of the transitive object. An example of relativized applied object expressing a comitative participant is shown in (17.34).

(17.34) *Olë kâ* *tü-lâ-mi=nga* *Wendy*.
 woman DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=1MIN.SBJ Wendy
 ‘The woman I am taking with is Wendy.’ (nalogo045)

In (17.34), the RC modifies the NP *olë kâ*, which is promoted to core function by the applicative *-mi*. Along with the gap strategy, the resumptive one is also possible as shown in (17.35) where the PP *ba=de* is left as a trace in the RC to encode the oblique function of the relativized NP.

- (17.35) *Olë kâ* [i-lâ=bwa
 girl DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.SBJ.thither
ba=de]RC i-kele.
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘The girl I am talking with is nice.’ (nalogo007)

17.5.2.2.2 Endpoint/goal

The endpoint/goal role is promoted to core direct function by the applicative *-ulë* ‘at’, which marks the verb of the RC. An example is shown in (17.36).

- (17.36) *Obwe olë kâ* [t(ü)-yepwale-ulë=ko]_{RC}
 child girl DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-laugh-APPL=1+2AUG.SBJ
ile=nu.
 sister=1MIN.POSS
 ‘The young girl we are laughing at is my sister.’

The gap strategy in (17.36)(17.23) is the only one attested in the data to encode endpoint/goal roles.

17.5.2.2.3 Locative role

Locative roles can be promoted to core direct function by the applicatives *-ti*, *=ngö* and *-ki* (Chapter 13). When a locative role is expressed by an applied object, it can be relativized by the gap strategy as shown in (17.37).

- (17.37) *Chair kâ* [t(ü)-wäbu-ti-u=mwe]_{RC}
 chair DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=2MIN.SBJ.hither
ja.
 DEM₄.PROX
 ‘The chair you are sitting on is here.’ (nalogo045)

In (17.37), the applied object is promoted to direct core function by *-ti*; while in (17.38) *=ngö* encodes a similar function.

(17.38) *Mwetelya* *kä* *i-mno=ngö=na* *Nea.*
village LNK PFV.N3AUG-live=APPL=1MIN.SBJ Nea
‘The village where I live is Nea.’

There are no attested examples of the resumptive strategy for locative roles. A possible explanation might be that traces left in RCs have a pronominal nature, i.e. they are pronominal forms functioning as prepositional objects in PPs. The canonical locative prepositions in Nalögo, the two variants *bä* and *mö*, do not take pronominal objects. The absence of a resumptive strategy for a relativized locative NP might be connected to this.

However, the preposition *ba* can express locative meanings like ‘in, on’, occurring with pronominal objects with an anaphoric function. Thus, from the available data, it is not clear if the gap strategy is the only possible strategy in Nalögo or if the absence of a resumptive strategy (maybe with a PP headed by *ba* as a trace) is motivated by a lack of data.

The applicative *-ki*, which has a homophonous form expressing direction (Chapter 9), seems to promote locative roles with a semantic component of ‘specific route’. Two examples are shown in (17.39) and (17.40) where two different roles are relativized through the gap strategy.

(17.39) *Mwetelya* [*kä* *i-vë-ki=mwa*]RC
village LNK PFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
lade-kä-you.
side-LNK-down
‘The village where I come from is uphill.’ (nalogo068)

(17.40) *Mwetelya* [*i-vë-ki=nga*]RC *döt=de* *Nea.*
village PFV.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ name=3MIN.POSS Nea
‘The village where I go to is called Nea.’ (nalogo068)

In (17.39) and (17.40), the role of the relativised NP is encoded by the locative form *-ki* ‘from, to, in’. There are no attested examples of resumptive strategies using other anaphoric elements like PPs.

17.5.2.2.4 Instrument role

Instrument roles can also be expressed by applied objects through the applicative *=ngö* occurring on the RC verb to allow the instrument to undergo relativization as a core argument. (17.41) and (17.42) are two examples of the gap strategy.

(17.41) *Yelü-lë=bom* *nge* *oplë* *ngö=de*
 put-up=1AUG.SBJ PRAG.MRK stone ASS.MRK=3MIN.POSS
kâ=ng [*tü-vö-bwë=ngö=nom*]RC
 DEM1.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-cook-APPL=1AUG.SBJ
 ‘We put up its stones those we cooked with.’ (nalogo020)

(17.42) [*da* *të-pmau=ngö*]RC *kai* *jâ*
 thing PASS.IPFV-make=APPL pudding DEM₄.DIST
 ‘The thing to make pudding with is there.’ (nalogo016)

There are no attested examples in the data where instrument NPs are relativised through a resumptive strategy involving the prepositions *bä* and *mö*. These two variants can introduce oblique arguments including instruments, but they do not take pronominal objects. Given that a resumptive strategy requires a pronominal trace left in the RC, this would not be possible with PPs headed by these two prepositions. However, further data are required to provide a more fine-grained analysis.

17.5.2.2.5 Beneficiary/recipient/addressee role

Beneficiary/recipient/addressee roles can be expressed as applicative objects. In this case, the applicative *-neba* occurs on the predicate of the RC to allow the promotion of the indirect role to core function. An example is shown in (17.43) where it promotes an addressee role.

(17.43) *Topnö* *leplë* *kä* *i-lâ-neba=nga*
 EXIST person LNK PFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I didn’t talk to anyone.’ (nalogo033)

The functions and origins of the applicative *-neba* are described in Chapter 13, where I explained that in some contexts, including RCs, the bound form can be interpreted either as an applicative or as an oblique pro-form, when it occurs with transitive verbs. If we interpret *-neba* as an oblique pro-form, then beneficiary, recipient and addressee roles would display both gap and resumptive strategies in RCs, since oblique pro-forms are constituted by a combination of pronominal forms and an oblique element. However, there is another resumptive strategy available for this role as shown in (17.44).

(17.44) *Mwe-lë-kölö* *kâ* [*i-lâ=bwa*
 male-PFV.3AUG-be.old DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.SBJ.thither
ba=de]RC *käni=m.*
 PREP=3MIN.OBJ relative=2MIN.POSS
 ‘The old man I talked to is your relative.’ (nalogo045)

In (17.44), the PP *ba=de* functions as a trace in the RC.

17.5.2.2.6 Possessor role

Possessors are relativised on only by the resumptive strategy. In this case, to be relativised on, the possessor is obligatorily marked by a possessive form on the possessed noun. The resumptive form specifies the role of the possessor in the RC. Two examples are in (17.45) and (17.46).

(17.45) *Nunge* *kâ* [*ningu-de* *i-bëpö*]RC
 boy DEM₁.DIST tooth=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-be.rotten
döt=de *George.*
 name=3MIN.POSS George
 ‘The boy whose teeth are rotten is called George.’ (nalogo008)

(17.46) *Olë la* [*buk* *gö=de*
 girl DEM_{1,L}.NPROX book general.CLF=3MIN.POSS
t(ü)-yo-u-m *bä* *table*]RC
 IPFV.N3AUG-stay-down=DIR.hither PREP table
döt=de *Celima.*
 name=3MIN.POSS Celima
 ‘That girl whose book is on the table is called Celima.’ (nalogo008)

18. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

This chapter is devoted to the description of adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses are a subtype of subordinate clauses. The other two types of subordinate clauses, complement clauses and relative clauses, are described in Chapter 16 and Chapter 17, respectively. Adverbial clauses refer to those clauses which modify another one in the same way as “an adverb modifies a proposition” (Thompson et al. 2007: 237). They function as adjuncts, by contrast with complement clauses which function as arguments of predicates. While complement clauses are essential to the completion of a proposition, “adverbials attach to constructions that are already complete propositions” (Payne 1997: 317), providing additional information. Like adverbs or adverbial phrases, adverbial clauses can be classified on the basis of the semantic role they express. Depending on the semantic role, languages can show more than one subordinating strategy. In Nalögo, adverbial clauses can be finite or non-finite, that is, they can involve finite clauses with predicates carrying their own inflections, such as aspect and mood, or non-finite clauses expressed through nominalizations, which typically lack TAM inflections.

The adverbial clauses described in this chapter are the following: temporal clauses (§18.1), reason clauses (§18.2), purpose clauses (§18.3), manner clauses (§18.4), conditional clauses (§18.5), precautionary and apprehension-causing clauses (§18.6), concessive clauses (§18.7), substitutive clauses (§18.8) and additive clauses (§18.9).

18.1 Temporal clauses

Sections §18.1.1, §18.1.2, §18.1.3 are devoted to temporal clauses expressed by finite clauses introduced by some kind of subordinator. In §18.1.4, §18.1.5 and §18.1.6, I describe temporal clauses expressed by non-finite clauses, i.e. through nominalizations which can be introduced or not by subordinators.

18.1.1 Finite clause with *awi* ‘before’

Temporal ‘before’ clauses are introduced by the subordinator *awi* ‘before’. These clauses differ from other temporal clauses, in that, as Noonan (2007: 247) writes: “it is always the case that the event named in the ‘before’ clause has not yet happened by the time of the event named in the main clause. Examples are shown in (18.1) and (18.2).

(18.1) *I-ngü=na* *kâ=ng* *bia*
 PFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ QNT=PL breadfruit
awi *ni* *tü-vë=mwa.*
 before 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘I ate some breadfruits before coming here.’ (nalogo048)

(18.2) *Awi* *i-mo=la=nge* *Elsabeth,*
 before PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ=PRAG.MRK Elisabeth,
i-vë=kayö=nga *Neboi.*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=FIRST=1MIN.SBJ Nemboi
 ‘Before seeing Elisabeth, I went first to Nemboi.’ (nalogo003)

Examples (18.1) and (18.2) show that *awi*-clauses can occur before or after the main clause. In (18.1) and (18.2), the subjects of the main and subordinate clause encode the same referent. However, ‘before’ clauses can display a subject referent which differs from the one of the main clauses, as shown in (18.3) and (18.4).

(18.3) *Awi* *böma* *kâ* *yökö-pä,* *olëp*
 before house DEM₁.DIST finish-out woman
nalë=gö *ä* *dü=kë* *olë* *jâ*
 spouse=3AUG.POSS COORD QNT=DEM₁.DIST woman SEQ
të-ö-vë=pe *nanika* *ä* *nüni*
 IPFV.3AUG-MIDD-weave=COS mat COORD mat
ngö *böma* *kâ.*
 ASS.MRK house DEM₁.DIST

‘Before the house is completely finished, their wives and also other women, then they weave mats made of coconut leaves and mats made of pandanus for the house.’ (nalogo038)

(18.4) *Awi* *leplë* *i-mwa,* *i-vë=nga*
 before people PFV.N3AUG-eat PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ
mö *skul.*
 PREP school
 ‘Before people eat, I go to school.’ (nalogo003)

In terms of mood/aspect, examples (18.1-18.4) show that *awi*-clauses display predicates marked by imperfective prefixes as in (18.1) and realis/perfective prefixes as in all the other examples.

18.1.2 Finite clause with *kä* ‘when’

Temporal clauses can be introduced by the subordinator *kä*. Engdewu makes use of the morpheme *ka* to introduce time clauses (Vaa 1813: 466). The form is identical to the singular medial form *ka* of the demonstrative determiners. Likewise, the temporal subordinator *kä* in Nalögo is formally identical to the singular medial form *kä* of the pronominal demonstrative. Examples are in (18.5-18.7).

(18.5) *Kä* *i-wo-u=bwe=le*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-climb-down=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
e-p(i)=bwe=le *nge...*
 ?-say=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QUOT
 ‘When it climbed down, it said...’ (nalogo001)

(18.6) *Kä* *i-vë-bwe=le* *m̩la,*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither DEM_{2.L}.NPROX
tü-ku-ti-nö=de *ilaule=je.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-call-APPL-DISP=3MIN.SBJ mother=3MIN.POSS
 ‘When she went there, she called for her mother.’ (nalogo001)

(18.7) *Kä* *i-mwale=töpwö=le* *böloma* *kâ,*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-hold=just=3MIN.SBJ arm.band DEM₁.DIST
jâ *tü-wo-ti=pe-bwe*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-take-APPL/TR=COS=DIR.thither
Melëke *nümü* *olë* *kâ...*
 Melëke hand girl DEM₁.DIST
 ‘When she just holds the traditional armband, then Melëke takes the hand of the girl...’
 (nalogo060)

Finally, the *kä*-temporal subordinate clause can also be optionally delimited by the distal demonstrative form *kâ* as shown in (18.8) and (18.9). The property of being marked by demonstrative forms is also typical of temporal nominalizations (§18.1.6).

(18.8) *Kä* *i-vë-u=le* *kâ,*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-go-down=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST
tü-pi=pme=bwe...
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=COS=DIR.thither
 ‘When he went down (in the dancing circle), she said...’

- (18.9) *Kä lë-(v)elya=kö kâ, Melëke*
 SUBR PFV.3AUG-dance=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST Melëke
tü-gwa-u=pme...
 IPFV.N3AUG-run-down=COS
 ‘When they danced in the dancing circle, Melëke went down...’ (nalogo060)

The last topic discussed in this section pertains to 3MIN/AUG subject-marking patterns, which differ from those attested in simple clauses. In simple clauses, S and A_{STR} arguments are marked differently from the transitive subject A_{TR}. 3MIN subject S is zero-marked, while the 3AUG subject S is marked by prefixes. By contrast, in transitive clauses, the 3MIN subject A_{TR} is marked by an enclitic and the 3AUG subject A_{TR} is marked by a combination of prefixes and enclitics (Chapter 3). In this type of temporal clauses, the 3MIN/AUG S, A_{STR} and A_{TR} arguments are expressed in the same way, following the pattern attested in transitive clauses as shown in (18.8) and (18.9) where the 3MIN subject is marked by =*le* and the 3AUG is marked by the combination of the prefix *lë-* and the subject enclitic =*kö*, respectively.

If an S NP is present in the subordinate clause and fronted, it is obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb by a pronominal form as in (18.10).

- (18.10) *Mami ne=de, kâ i-vë=m=de*
 mother animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS SUBR PFV.N3AUG=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
böma, e-pi-e=bwe=le nge,
 home ?-say-APPL=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QUOT
 ‘Itö jele=pme Amoloti?’
 grandmother be.where=COS Amoloti?
 ‘As for her mother, when she came back home, she said: “Grandmother, where is Amoloti?’ (nalogo011)

The subject-marking pattern in (18.10) also parallels the one found in simple transitive clauses where if the A argument is fronted in preverbal position, it is obligatorily marked on the verb by a pronominal enclitic. A similar structure and subject-marking pattern is also found with action nominalizations as explained in Chapter 4.

18.1.3 Finite clause with temporal phrases ‘when’

‘When’ clauses are analysed as relative clauses where the head is a temporal NP promoted to core function by the applicative =*ngö*, which can be applied to all types of verbs. Temporal

phrases functioning as heads include NPs, such as *mweli kâ(=ng)* ‘that/those time’ and *mweli kâ ka* ‘that time (close)’¹²⁵, which are fronted to be relativized. An example is shown in (18.11).

- (18.11) *Mweli kâ* *tü-plâ=ngö* *nyö kâ*
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-burn=APPL fire DEM₁.DIST
bia *kâ=ng,* *jâ* *të-yelu-lë=pe*
breadfruit DEM₁.DIST=PL SEQ PASS.IPFV-put-up=COS
mö nyö kâ.
PREP fire DEM₁.DIST
‘When the fire is burning, then the breadfruits are put on the fire. (lit. the time during which the fire burns, the breadfruits are put up on the fire.)’

In (18.11), the temporal NP *mweli kâ* ‘that time’ is promoted to core function by *=ngö*, which increases the valency of the intransitive verb *plâ* ‘burn’. The A_{TR} argument *nyö* ‘fire’ occurs in postverbal position. The subordinate temporal clause expresses a background event during which the main event takes place. The predicate of the temporal clause is obligatorily marked by the imperfective prefix.

Two additional examples are shown in (18.12) and (18.13).

- (18.12) *Mweli* *kâ=ng* *tü-pmalu=ngö=ng*
time DEM₁.DIST=PL IPFV.N3AUG-light=APPL=2MIN.SBJ
i-gwa-ti=bwe *i-velu-pë=ng*
PFV.N3AUG-have.to-TR=DIR.thither PFV.N3AUG-put-out=2MIN.SBJ
dü mönga vöte.
QNT honey.eater be.one
‘When you make light, you have to put one honey-eater bird (lit. those times during which you make light, you put one honey-eater bird).’ (nalogo025)

- (18.13) *Mweli* *kâ* *ka*
time DEM₁.DIST DEM₁.PROX
t(ü)-ö-vë=ngö=ni, *e-p(i)=bwa,*
IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave-APPL=1+2MIN.SBJ ?-say=1MIN.SBJ
‘*Mwale-u-lë nge ka!*’
hold-down-up PRAG.MRK DEM₁.DIST
‘When we were weaving, I said: “Hold tight this one!”’

¹²⁵Some uses of this temporal expression with two combined demonstratives are shown in Chapter 7 on the functions of demonstratives.

t(iü)-yölë=ngö=pe=le.

IPFV.N3AUG-get.married=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ

‘When the boy grows up (and) wants to get married...’ (nalogo1709_2015)

In (18.16) and (18.17), the subject NP is fronted and obligatorily cross-referenced on the predicates through a pronominal form. (18.16) and (18.17) show that the subject NPs can occur before or after the temporal NP.

As previously mentioned, temporal clauses are analysed as relative clauses where the temporal role is added to the clause by =ngö. The temporal NP is obligatorily topicalized to become the head of the relative clause. An example of a temporal clause with an applicativized intransitive verb is shown in (18.11) above, where the A_{TR} argument follows the predicate and the applied object is fronted. Two additional examples with applicativized semitransitive and transitive verbs are shown in (18.18) and (18.19), where =ngö adds a third core argument encoding a peripheral temporal role.

(18.18) *Mweli* *kâ* *tü-vlëpä=ngö* *Juju nöwe,*
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-open=APPL Juju door,
yepwale-ulë=nga *nim.*
laugh-APPL=1MIN.SBJ 2MIN
‘When Juju opened the door, I laughed at you.’ (nalogo2309_2015)

(18.19) *Mweli* *kâ* *tü-(v)ö-bi=ngö* *bia*
time DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-bake=APPL breadfruit
itö=nu, *ni* *â* *tü-mwi=pe.*
grandmother=1MIN.POSS 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-sleep=COS
‘When my grandmother was baking breadfruit, I was sleeping.’ (field notes 2020)

The argument-marking pattern and forms are those triggered by the applicative =ngö (Chapter 3; Chapter 13).

18.1.4 Non-finite clause with *mö nibö* ‘after’

Temporal ‘after’ clauses refer to an event taking place after the event expressed by the main clause. In Nalögo, ‘after’ clauses are introduced by the subordinator *mö nibö*¹²⁶, which is made

¹²⁶ The noun *nibö* has a variant *nübö*. The alternation between /i/ and /ü/ is described in Chapter 2.

up of the preposition *mö* and the noun *nibö* ‘back’. The subordinator takes non-finite complements unmarked for aspect and mood. Two examples are shown in (18.20) and (18.21).

(18.20) *I-ngü=na* *kâ=ng* *bia* *mö*
 PFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ QNT=PL breadfruit PREP
nibö lë-vë-gö=mwa
 back NMLZ₁-go-NMLZ₃=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘I ate some breadfruit after coming (home).’ (nalogo048)

(18.21) *Më nibö lë-kökna-ngö,* *leplë* *jâ*
 PREP back NMLZ₁-pray-NMLZ₂ people SEQ
të-yöpwëlu=po=p *Honiara.*
 IPFV.3AUG-return=again=DIR.hither Honiara
 ‘After praying, people then went back to Honiara.’ (nalogo048)

Examples (18.20) and (18.21) show that ‘after’ clauses can occur before or after the main clause. Due to the diffusion of SI Pijin and English, some speakers can replace the subordinator *mö nibö* with the English ‘after’ as in (18.22), where it takes a non-finite complement.

(18.22) *Eu, lë-pi=bwe* *Noia. Okei, after*
 yes PASS.PFV-call=DIR.thither Noia okay after
lë-tabâ-ngö mönga, i-twë=mwe
 NMLZ₁-hunt-NMLZ₂ honeyeater PFV.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither
nge mönga kâ=ng.
 PRAG.MRK honey.eater DEM₁.DIST=PL
 ‘Yes, it is called Noia, okay, after hunting honey eaters, you bring home the honey eater birds.’ (nalogo065)

The expression *mö nibö* ‘after’ can also function as a complex preposition to introduce a temporal PP as in (18.23), where noun *temwe* functions as a prepositional object.

(18.23) *Mö nibö temwe* *kâ=ng* *ptengime*
 PREP back moon DEM₁.DIST=PL six
ä nigom â tü-mwa=pe nubo
 COORD 1AUG PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-eat=COS dried.breadfruit
 ‘After six months, we eat dried breadfruit.’ (nalogo057)

In addition, the body part *nibö* can function as a relational noun as discussed in Chapter 4.

18.1.5 Prepositions introducing non-finite clauses

Temporal meanings can be expressed by the prepositions *bä* ‘meaning?’ or *mö* ‘meaning?’ taking action nominalizations as their objects. The nominalizations, which are non-finite, encode events taking place simultaneously to the one expressed by the main clause. Two examples are shown in (18.24) and (18.25). The two non-finite temporal clauses can occur sentence initially or sentence finally.

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|-------------|
| (18.24) <i>bä</i> | <i>lë-(v)elya-ngö</i> | <i>bä</i> | |
| PREP | NMLZ ₁ -dance-NMLZ ₂ | PREP | |
| <i>nöwë,</i> | <i>kastom</i> | <i>lë-(v)elya-ngö,</i> | |
| dancing.circle | kastom | NMLZ ₁ -dance-NMLZ ₂ | |
| <i>lë-klë</i> | <i>lë-olu-ngö</i> | <i>ba=de</i> | <i>olë.</i> |
| 3AUG.PFV-know | NMLZ ₁ -pay-NMLZ ₂ | PREP=3MIN.OBJ | girl |

‘While dancing in the dancing circle, kastom dancing, people could pay girls with it (Noveapu).’

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---|
| (18.25) <i>Topla</i> | <i>kâ,</i> | <i>te=i-pwä-âkö-nö=lü</i> |
| basket | DEM ₁ .DIST | NEG ₁ =PFV.N3AUG-not.like-really-DISP=NEG ₂ |
| <i>nge</i> | <i>numwe=te</i> | <i>âkö</i> |
| PRAG.MRK | eye=3MIN.POSS | really |
| <i>mö</i> | <i>lë-ö-vë-ngö.</i> | |
| PREP | NMLZ ₁ -MIDD-weave-NMLZ ₂ | |

‘The basket, it’s not really pleasant for the eyes during the weaving.’

18.1.6 Non-finite clauses delimited by demonstratives

Non-finite clauses can express a temporal meaning. They are expressed by clausal nominalizations which are unmarked for TAM. Three examples are shown in (18.26), (18.27) and (18.28). While in (18.26), the temporal clause follows the main clause, in (18.27) and (18.28), it precedes it. In all examples, the nominalization is delimited by the distal demonstrative form *kâ*¹²⁷.

| | | |
|------------------------|--|-----------------|
| (18.26) <i>Tü-blâ,</i> | <i>tü-bl,â</i> | <i>tü-blâ,</i> |
| IPFV.N3AUG-jump | IPFV.N3AUG-jump | IPFV.N3AUG-jump |
| <i>tü-blâ.</i> | <i>Lë-blâ-gö=de</i> | |
| IPFV.N3AUG-jump | NMLZ ₁ -jump-NMLZ ₃ =3MIN.POSS | |
| <i>kâ,</i> | <i>kopyo</i> | <i>leplë</i> |
| | | <i>i-gwa=m.</i> |

¹²⁷ The form *kâ* has a variant *lâ* which is most likely due to dialectal variation.

DEM₁.DIST EXIST person PFV.N3AUG-run=DIR.hither
‘He is jumping, jumping, jumping (and) jumping. As he is jumping, someone runs.’
(nalogo2010_2015)

(18.27) *Lë-kuki-gö=de* *kâ,* *jâ*
NMLZ₁-cook-NMLZ₂=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST CONT₁
tü-kö *jâ* *tü-kö.*
IPFV.N3AUG-sing CONT₁ IPFV.N3AUG-sing
‘As he is cooking, he is singing (and) singing.’ (nalogo2010_2015)

(18.28) *Okei lë-(y)evlë-lë-gö-bom* *kâ,*
okay NMLZ₁-grow-up-NMLZ₂=1AUG.SBJ.thither DEM₁.DIST
i-mo=la *leplë* *kâ*
PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ people DEM₁.DIST
të-plei-nö=de *nöpwë* *du.*
IPFV.3AUG-wear-around=3MIN.SBJ cloth QNT
‘When I was growing up, I saw people wearing some clothes...’ (nalogo0809_2015)

Along with the demonstrative form *kâ*, another type of demonstrative found in this context is the hearer-anchored non-proximal form *la* which displays an anaphoric function. An example is shown in (18.29).

(18.29) *Okay, bä në-mno-gö=gö,*
okay PREP NMLZ₁-live-NMLZ₃=3AUG.POSS
topnö *kä-i-vë-bwe* *bä*
NEG.EXIST one-PFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither PREP
mwetelya kâ ä
village DEM₁.DIST COORD
në-mno-gö=gö *la,*
NMLZ₁-live-NMLZ₃=3AUG.POSS DEM₁.L.NPROX
të-mno=pme ä nësë=gö
IPFV.3AUG-live=COS COORD road=3AUG.POSS
yobwe kä-i-vë-tö bäipluwu.
have one-PFV.N3AUG-go-in bush
‘Okay, during their staying, there was no one going to another village and during that staying, they lived and had their roads that go to the bush...’ (nalogo026)

In (18.29), the second temporal clause expressed by the nominalization refers to the previous non-finite temporal clause introduced by the preposition *bä*, which provides a temporal background for the main events. It was exactly during the time people were staying and not moving to other villages that they started to settle in and build roads.

The temporal non-finite clauses above express temporal simultaneity, which means that the event expressed by the subordinate clause overlaps with the one of the main clause.

Since this type of temporal clauses involve nominalization, the argument-marking patterns follow the one typically found in action nominalizations (Chapter 4). In all the examples above, the subject expressed on the nominalization through pronominal forms would correspond to the S argument of those verbs which are nominalized. (18.30) shows a different case, where the verb of the nominalization contains an applicative marker allowing the presence of A_{TR} and O_{TR} arguments.

(18.30) *Jâ tü-wo-mi-u=pe=m=de.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-climb-APPL-down=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.POSS
Në-wo-mi-u-gö=m=de=le
 NMLZ1-climb-APPL-down-NMLZ3=DIR.hither=3MIN.POSS=3MIN.OBJ
kâ, gö-pe=bwe da kä ble.
 DEM₁.DIST take=COS=DIR.hither thing LNK be.different
I-wo-mi-u=m=de böma.
 PFV.N3AUG-climb-APPL-down=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ home
 ‘Then, he climbed down with it, while he was climbing down with it, he took something different. He climbed down with it back home.’

In (18.30), the A_{TR} and O_{TR} arguments are expressed by the pronominal forms =*de* and =*le*, respectively. The subject form =*de*, which refers to the man who climbed up the tree, is triggered by the hither directional =*m*. The object form =*le* refers to the bird.

18.2 Reason clauses

Reason clauses, as well as purpose clauses, share the function of providing “*explanations*, or *accounts*, for the occurrence of a given state or action” (Thompson et al. 2007: 250). Reason clauses express an event which may be realized at the time of the event expressed by the main clause. In Nalögo, reason clauses are expressed by four strategies: they can be introduced by the particle *aki* ‘because’ (§18.2.1), or they can be introduced by the NP *kâtde kâ* ‘its reason’ (§18.2.2), Another common strategy is the use of the complex expression *kâ tü-ngâ-ngö-de kâ* ‘because (lit. the way in which it is that one...)’ (§18.2.3). Finally, prepositions taking nominalizations can also express a reason role (§18.2.4).

In (18.33) and (18.34), the speaker is explaining to his wife what he intends to do. The realis/imperfective marker *tü-* encodes a present state that relates to an imminent future event. Reason clauses can also take irrealis mood, as in (18.35).

- (18.35) *N(ü)-ya-li-pë=te=po=pwa* *nge*
 IRR.N3AUG-split-be.two-out-INTS.MRK=again=1MIN.SBJ.thither PRAG.MRK
ka aki n(ü)-vel(ü)-tö=po=pwa bä
 DEM1.PROX because IRR.N3AUG-put-in=again=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP
kä.
 DEM1.MED
 ‘I am splitting this in again because I will put it again in this one.’ (nalogo005)

The particle *aki* can also be translated with the English ‘so that’ expressing purpose as in (18.36) and (18.37), where the predicates take both realis and irrealis markers.

- (18.36) *Nü-pi=pnö=ka=p=mwe*
 IRR.N3AUG-say=COMPL.PST=ADD=DIR.hither=2MIN.SBJ.hither
mâ aki nu-wâ-mi=mwa.
 DEM2.DIST so.that IRR.N3AUG-go-APPL=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘You should have said (it) at that time (at the beginning), so that I could have come with (it).’ (nalogo002)

- (18.37) *Vali ngâ nü-copy=ng aki*
 Vali be.like IRR.N3AUG-copy=2MIN.SBJ so.that
tü-mno=ng jâ i-pi=ng.
 IPFV.N3AUG-stay=2MIN.SBJ SEQ PFV.N3AUG-say=2MIN.SBJ
 ‘Vali, you should copy (the song I am singing), so that you stay, then you sing (lit. say (the song)).’ (nalogo039)

18.2.2 Finite clauses with *kât=de kâ* ‘its reason’

The expression *kât=de kâ*¹²⁸ ‘its reason’ is used to introduce finite Reason clauses, which typically follow the main clauses. The expression is made up of the possessed noun *kât=de* ‘its reason’ and the distal pronominal demonstrative form *kâ* ‘that one’. Examples are in (18.38-18.40).

- (18.38) *Nide â tē-pi=ngö=bwe=le nge*
 3MIN PRAG.MRK PASS.IPFV-say=APPL=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ PRAG.MRK
red center kât=de kâ nabwë=de

¹²⁸ In rapid speech, the form /kâtde kâ/ can be realized as [ka^hdo ka], where the consonant /t/ dropped and the /e/ is realized as [o] due to vowel assimilation.

red center reason=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST inside=3MIN.POSS
i-pâ=pâ=m.

PFV.N3AUG-be.red-out=DIR.hither

‘it is called red center because its inside is red (lit. it is that one for which it is called red center, its reason is that one, its inside is red.)’ (nalogo062)

- (18.39) *Nigom* *â* *tü-lu=ka*
 1AUG PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-be.alive=yet
kât=de *lâ*¹²⁹ *tü-lu-lë=ngö=gom*
 reason=3MIN.POSS DEIC IPFV.N3AUG-be.alive-up=APPL=1AUG.SBJ
naa nuwâ na=gom.
 fruit tree food.CLF=1AUG.POSS
 ‘We still live because we live on our fruits.’ (nalogo032)

- (18.40) *Wendy,* *i-vë=nga* *Nablawi,*
 Wendy PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ Nablawi
aa te=i-vë-tö=wa=lü *mö*
 but NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-go-in=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ PREP
skul kât=de *kâ* *Valentina*
 school reason=3MIN.POSS DEM₁.DIST Valentina
to=de *ä* *ni* *â* *tü-(v)ë-lë=nga*
 be.not=3MIN.POSS COORD 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ
Nablawi.
 Nablawi
 ‘Wendy, I went to Nablawi, but I didn’t go in the school area, because Valentina was not there and I went up to Nablawi.’

In all the examples above, the 3MIN possessive form *-de* which occurs on the possessed noun *kât-de* ‘its reason’ is analysed as displaying an anaphoric function, referring back to the content of the main clause. The demonstrative form could function as a modifier ‘its (that) reason’, or as a nominal predicate with a cataphoric function ‘its reason (is) that one...’. Besides, in all examples, the reason clauses express realized states of affairs.

18.2.3 Finite clauses with *kâ tü-ngâ-ngö-de kâ* ‘because’

The complex expression *kâ tü-ngâ-ngö-de kâ* ‘because’ can be used to introduce reason clauses. The literal translation of this expression would be something like ‘the reason why it is like that...’. An example is shown in (18.41).

¹²⁹ Dialectal variant of *kâ*.

(18.41) *Da kä yâ-ti-lë=m=dalëk i-mö-glâ*
 thing LNK stay-APPL-up-DIR.hither=food PFV.N3AUG-break-break
kâ tü-ngâ=ngö=de kâ
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-be.like=APPL=3MIN.SBJ DEM₁.DIST
i-wäbu-ti-u=mwa.
 PFV.N3AUG-sit-APPL-down=1MIN.SBJ.hither
 ‘The container (for food) broke because I sat down on it.’ (nalogo048)

The marker =*ngö* occurring on the predicate is analysed as an applicative. The 3MIN form =*de* triggered by =*ngö* refers to the situation expressed by the main clause. Likewise, the demonstrative *kâ* functioning as a predicate nominal refers to the content of the main clause: ‘the reason for which it (main clause situation) is like that (main clause propositional content)’. The predicate following the complex expression encodes the reason.

18.2.4 Prepositions taking non-finite clauses

Reason clauses can be introduced by prepositions taking nominalizations as their complements. An example with the preposition *mö* is shown in (18.42).

(18.42) *Awî Valentina mö lë-yapwe-ti-gö=bwa*
 thank Valentina PREP NMLZ₁-tell-APPL-NMLZ₃=1MIN.SBJ.thither
ba=m bwe ka.
 PREP=2MIN.POSS story DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Thank you, Valentina, for letting me telling to you this story.’ (nalogo042)

18.3 Purpose clauses

In Purpose clauses, the event justifying the occurrence of a given state or action must be unrealized at the time when the main event takes place (Thompson et al. 2007: 250). This is also the main difference between purpose and reason clauses, which can involve realized state of affairs. In Nalögo, purpose clauses are typically expressed by non-finite clauses introduced by the two prepositions *mö* and *bä*, and by the complex expression *da-lö*. These strategies are shown in §18.3.1 and §18.3.2.

18.3.1 Non-finite Purpose clauses with *mö* and *bä*

Purpose clauses can be expressed by the prepositions *mö* and *bä* followed by nominalizations. Four examples are shown in (18.43-18.46). In all the examples, the subject of the main and subordinate clauses coincides.

(18.43) *Melëke tii-gwa-u=pme mö nivliö nöwë*
 Melëke IPFV.N3AUG-run-down=COS PREP side dancing.circle
bä lä-omwauvle-ngö.
 PREP NMLZ₁-smoke-NMLZ₂
 ‘Melëke ran down at the side of the dancing circle to smoke.’ (nalogo060)

(18.44) *Të-(w)o-ti=pe=kö bä lä-maki-ngö.*
 IPFV.3AUG-go-APPL=COS=3AUG.SBJ PREP NMLZ₁-engage-NMLZ₂
 ‘They went to engage (her)/for the engagement.’ (nalogo012)

(18.45) *Awî, nigom i-vë meipluwu mö*
 before 1AUG PFV.N3AUG-go bush PREP
lä-ö-ni-ngö lopta.
 NMLZ₁-MIDD-pick-NMLZ₂ cabbage
 ‘Before, we go to the bush to pick cabbage.’ (nalogo020)

(18.46) *Te=i-vë-wa=lii mö lä-wö-ngö.*
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ PREP NMLZ₁-swim-NMLZ₂
 ‘We don’t go swimming.’ (nalogo033)

18.3.2 Non-finite clause with *da-lö*

The complex form *da=lö* means literally ‘thing from/belonging’. It is formed by the noun *da* ‘thing’ and the associative marker *lö* expressing associative relations between entities (Chapter 6). Among other functions, this form can be used to introduce non-finite purpose clauses as shown in examples (18-47-18.49).

(18.47) *Bëlumati kâ, i-do-ki-tö*
 basket DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-hang-APPL-in
nuwi kä i-klu da=lö
 rope LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.many thing=ASS.MRK
na-a-do-tö-ngö manga.
 NMLZ₁-CAUS-hang-in-NMLZ₂ honey.eater
 ‘As for the basket, many ropes hang in on it for hanging in the honey-eater birds.’
 (nalogo025)

(18.48) *Dry kâ la-a-ulëmu-ti=pe nge*
 dryer DEM₁.DIST PASS.PFV-CAUS-build-TR=COS PRAG.MRK
da=lö lä-na-ngö nubö.
 thing=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-dry-NMLZ₂ dried.breadfruit
 ‘The dryer is built just for drying nubö.’ (nalogo018)

(18.49) *Kâ* *t(ü)-ö-vë=ngö=gom* *nini*
 DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-weave=APPL=1AUG.SBJ mat
da=lö *la-a-mno=gö=gom* *leplë*
 thing=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-CAUS-stay-NMLZ₃=1AUG.SBJ people
ä *da=lö* *lë-mwi-ti-u-ngö=m*
 COORD thing=ASS.MRK NMLZ₁-sleep-APPL-down-NMLZ₂=DIR.hither
 ‘(This is why) we weave mats, for us to make people stay and sleep on it...’ (nalogo005)

18.4 Manner clauses

Subordinate clauses expressing manner are analysed as relative clauses where the head expressing manner seems to be promoted by the applicative =*ngö* as in (18.50).

(18.50) *Yöpwí* *lëkö* *ka* *kâ*
 cut taro DEM₁.PROX DEM₁.DIST
i-pi=ngö=bwa=le.
 PFV.N3AUG-say=APPL=1MIN.SBJ.thither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘Cut this taro the way I said (it).’ (nalogo003)

In (18.50), the fronted demonstrative *kâ* is promoted by the =*ngö* attaching to the transitive verb *pi* ‘say’, making it trivalent. The subject and base object are both marked on the verb by =*mwa* and =*le*, respectively. The functions of =*ngö* deriving trivalent verbs is explained in more detail in Chapter 13. Another example is shown in (18.51).

(18.51) *Leplë* *jâ* *të-(w)olü-ti=kö*
 people CONT₁ IPFV.3AUG-prepare-APPL=3AUG.SBJ
(nge) *ma-kä-i-tö* *bä*
 PRAG.MRK house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy PREP
lë-kökna-ngö *kâ* *ti-pi=ngö*
 NMLZ₁-pray-NMLZ₂ DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-say=APPL
pastor=le.
 pastor=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘People were preparing the church for praying the way the pastor said (it).’ (nalogo003)

In (18.51), the demonstrative *kâ* is promoted to core function by =*ngö* occurring on the verb *pi* ‘say’, making it trivalent. The A_{TR} argument, which is overtly expressed by an NP, follows the verb, while the base object is marked by =*le* attached to the agent NP.

18.5 Conditional clauses

From a typological point of view, in most languages, conditionals show morphosyntactic variation based on the following semantic parameters. According to Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 255-257), the first semantic distinction to consider is the one between ‘reality’ conditionals and ‘unreality’ conditionals. Reality conditionals encompass present, past and continuous events; while unreality conditionals are divided into two types: ‘imaginative’ and ‘predicative’. The imaginative type, in turn, shows a distinction between ‘hypothetical’ and ‘counterfactual’ events. Syntactically speaking, languages tend to encode conditionals through subordinating morphemes, with imaginative clauses often involving special marking. However, conditionals can be also expressed by other strategies including relative clauses and nominalizations. The basic properties of reality and unreality conditionals in Nalögo are described in §18.5.1 and §18.5.2.

18.5.1 Reality conditionals

According to the definition given in §18.5, reality conditionals include present, past, habitual/generic events and continuous events. In Nalögo, the condition (protasis) is introduced by the subordinator *kä*. Three examples are shown in (18.52-18.54).

- (18.52) *Nepi kä tü-pü=le yövë,*
 sun SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-be.hot=3MIN.SBJ outside,
nëpwë=m â tü-minga-nö=pe.
 cloth=2MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-dry-DISP=COS
 ‘If the sun is hot outside, your clothes are getting dry.’ (present) (nalogo003)

- (18.53) *Kä tü-tu=mwe mö numwö,*
 SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-stand=2MIN.SBJ.hithter PREP snake
jâ tü-mwa-ke=pe=le nim.
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-bite-soft.obj=COS=3MIN.SBJ 2MIN
 ‘If you stand on a snake, then it bites you. (generic) (nalogo003)

- (18.54) *Kä lë-pi=bwe=kö kâ,*
 SUBR PFV.3AUG-say=DIR.thither=3AUG.SBJ DEM₁.DIST
eu ä jâ të-(w)o-ti=pe=kö
 yes COORD SEQ IPFV.3AUG-take-APPL=COS=3AUG.SBJ
bä lë-maki-ngö.
 PREP NMLZ₁-engage-NMLZ₂
 ‘If they say yes, (and) then they go/take her for the engagement.’ (habitual)

Example (18.52) shows a present situation, where if the sun is hot at the speech moment, the clothes are getting dry. The subject of the protasis, the sun, is topicalized clause initially and cross-referenced on the verb by the 3MIN =*le*. Sentence (18.53) shows a case of gnomic imperfectivity, where the statement expresses a general truth. Finally, the conditional in (18.54) is taken from a text where the speaker is describing the habitual steps of getting married according to the Santa Cruz custom.

In all the examples, the protasis expressing the condition comes before the apodosis. As (18.53) and (18.54), the apodosis can be conjoined to the protasis through the sequential morpheme *jâ* or through a combination of the conjunction *ä* and the sequential marker *jâ*.

In terms of argument-marking pattern, subject-marking pattern found in the protasis resembles the one found in some types of temporal subordinate clauses shown in §18.1.2 and §18.1.3. This is shown only in (18.52) where the intransitive S argument is marked by the 3MIN form =*le*, by contrast with simple transitive clauses where the subject is zero-marked.

18.5.2 Unreality conditionals

Unreality conditionals are those expressing ‘unreal’ situations. Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007: 255) describe two types of unreal conditionals: ‘imaginative’ and ‘predictive’ conditionals. In imaginative conditionals, “we imagine what might be or what might have been”, while in predictive conditionals, “we predict what will be”. Examples of these two types of conditionals in Nalögo are shown in §18.5.2.1 and §18.5.2.2.

18.5.2.1 Predictive conditionals

In predictive conditionals, there is a prediction about what will happen in the future if a certain condition occurs. Three examples are shown in (18.55-18.57).

- (18.55) *Kä tü-vë=ki lade-kä-you*
 SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-go=1+2MIN.SBJ side-LNK-down
tü-pi=bwa ba=m.
 IPFV.N3AUG-say=1MIN.SBJ.thither PREP=2MIN.OBJ
 ‘If we go uphill, I will tell you.’ (nalogo039)

(18.56) *Töputi jä nü-kalue-le nim,*
 cat FUT IRR.N3AUG-scratch=3MIN.SBJ 2MIN
kä tü-yo-u-lë=bwe nuglü=de
 SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-pull-down-up=2MIN.SBJ.thither tail=3MIN.POSS
 ‘The cat will scratch you if you pull its tail.’ (nalogo048)

(18.57) *Leplë kä te=tâ-lâ-ulö=lü bä*
 people SUBR NEG₁=IPFV.3AUG-speak-finish=NEG₂ PREP
natü=gö, jä në-mgalö-ti=kö.
 word=3AUG.POSS FUT IRR.3AUG-forget-TR=3AUG.SBJ
 ‘If people don’t speak in their language, they will forget it.’ (nalogo1609_2015)

The protases in (18.56) and (18.57) are introduced by the subordinator *kä*. In (18.57), the subject of the protasis is topicalised clause initially, but it is cross-referenced on the predicate by the imperfective prefix. Example (18.57) also shows that there is no specific order for protasis and apodosis, in that they both can precede or follow the other one. Example (18.58) shows that the modal form *ngâ* can also occur clause initially before the subordinator *kä*.

(18.58) *Ngâ kä tü-gë-pë=mwam nge*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-take-out=2AUG.SBJ.hither PRAG.MRK
kä-i-lu=ngö=na, ni â
 one-PFV.N3AUG-be.alive=APPL=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN PRAG.MRK
tü-bwë=pe
 IPFV.N3AUG-die=COS
 ‘If you take out my heart, I will die.’ (nalogo002)

Along with the strategy shown in (18.55-18.58), there is a second strategy used to express predictive meanings. Three examples are shown in (18.59-18.61).

(18.59) *Ngâ nü-mwa=ng döta=m, nim â*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-eat=2MIN.SBJ food=2MIN.POSS 1MIN PRAG.MRK
tü-(v)ëplö.
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.strong
 ‘If you eat your food, you will be strong.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

(18.60) *Ngâ nü-tâ=mwe dü nâ, jâ*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-take=2MIN.SBJ.hither QNT fish SEQ
tü-va-ku=pya.
 IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.cooked=1MIN.SBJ.COS
 ‘If you bring some fish, I will cook it.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

(18.61) *Ngâ* *n(ü)-yöpwalu=mwe* *Nea,*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-return=2MIN.hither *Nea*
jä *nü-va-klë-tö=pwa=ba=m*
 FUT IRR.N3AUG-CAUS-know-in=1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ
natü=go
 language=1AUG.POSS
 ‘If you return to Nea, I will teach you our language.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

In (18.59-18.61), the predicate of the protasis is marked by the irrealis marker accompanied by the modal particle *ngâ*, while the predicate of the apodosis can show both realis and irrealis prefixes. The events of predictive conditionals can be presented as ‘real’ or ‘unreal’ (Thompson et al. 2007: 258-259). Thus, in terms of encoding properties, predictive conditionals can pattern with reality conditionals or with other unreality conditionals such as imaginative conditionals (§18.5.2.2). This behavior is most likely accounted for by the nature of predictive conditionals which “can be seen semantically either as ‘unreal’ or as ‘real’” (Thompson et al. 2007: 259). In Nalögo, both options are possible.

18.5.2.2 Imaginative conditionals

Imaginative conditionals are divided into two types: hypothetical and counterfactuals. Hypothetical conditionals express what might happen if a certain condition occurred. Three examples are shown in (18.62), (18.63) and (18.64).

(18.62) *Ngâ* *kä* *tü-mo=nga* *Elisabeth,*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ Elisabeth
ni *â* *tü-lâ=bwe* *ba=de.*
 1MIN PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-talk=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘If I saw Elisabeth, I would talk to her.’ (nalogo003)

(18.63) *Kä* *t(ü)-va-ngungu-ti=dü* *leplë* *ni,*
 SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-rob-APPL/TR=QNT person 1MIN
jä *nu-ku-ti=nga* *police.*
 FUT IRR.N3AUG-call-APPL/TR-1MIN.SBJ police
 ‘If someone robbed me, I would call the police.’ (nalogo048)

(18.64) *Ngâ* *kä* *tü-vë-tö=pmya*
 be.like SUBR IPFV.N3AUG-go-in=1MIN.SBJ.COS
ma-kä-i-tö, *ilaule=nu* *döt=de*
 house-LNK-PFV.N3AUG-be.holy mother=1MIN.POSS name=3MIN.POSS
i-wu.
 PFV.N3AUG-be.happy

‘If I went to the church, my mother would be happy.’ (nalogo048)

In the examples above, the protasis is introduced by the subordinating marker *kä*. The predicate of the protasis is marked by the imperfective prefix, which can be accompanied by *ngâ* as in (18.62) and (18.64). The predicate of the apodosis can be marked by realis or irrealis prefixes.

A possible second strategy is shown in examples (18.65) and (18.66), where the protasis is expressed by the particle *ngâ* and the irrealis mood. The apodosis displays a predicate marked by realis prefixes.

(18.65) *Ngâ* *ni-ngi* *ne=nu* *dü* *po,*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-be animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS QNT pig
jâ *tü-ngu=na.*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-eat=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘If I had a pig, then I would eat it.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

(18.66) *Ngâ* *nü-vë=nga* *meipluwu,* *ni* *â*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ bush 1MIN PRAG.MRK
tü-vö-kü *butete.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD1-dig potato
 ‘If I went to the bush, I would dig potatoes.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

Counterfactuals express what could not or did not happen. Three examples found in the data are shown in (18.67-18.69).

(18.67) *Ngâ* *nü-klë-ti=nga* *nge* *nim*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-know=TR=1MIN.SBJ COMP 2MIN
â *tü-vë=m,*
 PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
i-vë=pnö=mwa *Lata.*
 PFV.N3AUG-go-COMPL.PST-1MIN.SBJ.hither Lata
 ‘If I had known that you were coming, I would have come to Lata.’ (nalogo048)

(18.68) *Vale* *ngâ* *nü-wo-klu=mwe*
 Vale be.like IRR.N3AUG-go-be.much=2MIN.SBJ.hither
mweli *kâ* *ka* *i-kele*
 time DEM1.DIST DEM1.PROX PFV.N3AUG-be.good
 ‘Vale, if you had come quickly before, it would have been good.’ (nalogo039)

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (18.69) <i>Ngâ</i> | <i>ni-ngi</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>nüinge,</i> |
| be.like | IRR.N3AUG-be | 1MIN | man |
| <i>ngâ</i> | <i>i-driver=nga.</i> | | |
| be.like | PFV.N3AUG-be.driver=1MIN.SBJ | | |
| ‘If I were a man, I would be a driver.’ (nalogo003) | | | |

In (18.67-18.69), the predicates in the protasis are marked by the irrealis marker, along with the modal *ngâ*. In the apodosis, the predicates are marked by the realis (\emptyset). The occurrence of the irrealis marker in the protasis, which expresses the condition that did not or could not occur, does not come as a surprise as the irrealis by definition marks unrealized states of affairs (Chapter 10). In (18.69), the morpheme *ngâ* occurs also in the apodosis.

18.6 Precautionary and apprehension-causing clauses

Lichtenberk (1995: 298) makes a distinction between a ‘precautionary situation’ and an ‘apprehension-causing situation’, the former being brought about because of the possibility of the latter. In Nalögo, precautionary clauses precede apprehension-causing situations and are connected to them by the morpheme *mö* ‘in case’ which is homophonous with the preposition *mö*. Two examples are shown in (18.70) and (18.71).

| | | |
|--|-------------|---------------|
| (18.70) <i>Tü-twë-nö=na=dü</i> | <i>bäki</i> | <i>mö</i> |
| IPFV.N3AUG-take-DISP=1MIN.SBJ=QNT | bag | in.case |
| <i>tü-gë=nga</i> | <i>du</i> | <i>mübli.</i> |
| IPFV.N3AUG-collect=1MIN.SBJ | QNT | shells |
| ‘I am carrying a bag in case I collect some shells.’ (nalogo048) | | |

| | | |
|---|----------------|------------|
| (18.71) <i>Ni ä nü-vë-m</i> | <i>lëmapä,</i> | <i>mö</i> |
| 1MIN FUT IRR.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither | tomorrow | in.case |
| <i>tü-e-pi=ö=ng</i> | <i>ngâ</i> | |
| IPFV.N3AUG-?-say=QUOT.MRK=2MIN.SBJ | be.like | |
| <i>tü-öblemi-ti=bwa=du</i> | <i>ba=m</i> | <i>da.</i> |
| IPFV.N3AUG-do-TR=1MIN.SBJ.thither=QNT | PREP=2MIN.OBJ | thing |
| ‘I will come tomorrow in case you want me to do something for you.’ (nalogo048) | | |

18.7 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses express some concession, “against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted” (Thompson et al. 2007: 262; Haiman 1974). In Nalögo, two strategies are attested in §18.7.1 and §18.7.2.

18.7.1 Concessive clause with *kä i-ngâ=le öte* ‘even though, even if’

Concessive meanings can be expressed by a finite clause introduced by *kä i-ngâ=le öte* ‘even if, even though’, containing the form *ngâ* ‘be like’ used predicatively and the number *öte* ‘one’. Two examples are in (18.72) and (18.73).

(18.72) *Nide leplë kä i-kele,*
 3MIN person LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.good
kä i-ngâ=le öte
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ be.one
te=i-lâ=pwa=lü ba=de.
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.SBJ.thither=NEG₂ PREP=3MIN.OBJ
 ‘He is a good person, although I have never talked to him.’ (nalogo048)

(18.73) *Kä i-ngâ=le öte ipmü*
 SUBR PFV.N3AUG-be.like=3MIN.SBJ one rain
i-mu, aa tü-vë=nga
 PFV.N3AUG-come.down COORD IPFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ
mö airport.
 PREP airport
 ‘Even if it rains, I am going to the airport.’ (nalogo048)

Examples (18.72) and (18.73) show that the concessive clause can occur after or before the main clause. In (18.73), the idea of contrast is emphasized by the presence of the coordinator *aa* ‘but’. Engdewu shows a similar concessive construction introduced by the phrase *ka ingwe ka öte* ‘that is like one’. The phrase contains the verb *ngwe* ‘be like’ and the number *öte* ‘one’.

18.7.2 Concessive clause through juxtaposition

The concessive meaning in Nalögo can also be expressed by two juxtaposed clauses, the concession being introduced by the modal *ngâ* as in (18.74) and (18.75), where the concession precedes the main clause.

(18.74) *Ngâ n(i)-yagwe=nga, ni â*
 be.like IRR.N3AUG-be.sick=1MIN.SBJ 1MIN PRAG.MRK
i-wë=ka.
 PFV.N3AUG-work=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘Even if I am sick, I will work.’ (nalogo2110_2015)

(18.78) *Mö lë-vë-gö=m meipluwu, ngâ*
 PREP NMLZ₁-go-NMLZ₃=2MIN.POSS bush be.like
tü-pwe=ng böpmi.
 IPFV.N3AUG-plant=2MIN.SBJ banana
 ‘In addition to going to the bush, you should plant bananas.’ (nalogo048)

(18.79) *Ngâ mö lë-mwa-gö=m butete,*
 be.like PREP NMLZ₁-eat-NMLZ₃=2MIN.POSS potato
ngâ tü-vö-mnu=kë=u dü nuwe.
 be.like IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD₁-drink=ADD=2MIN.SBJ QNT water
 ‘In addition to eating potatoes, you should also drink some water.’

In (18.78), the modal *ngâ* occurs clause initially. The difference, if any, between (18.78) and (18.79), which does not display the modal *ngâ*, is unknown.

19. COORDINATION

In this chapter, I discuss the properties of coordination in Nalögo. Coordination can be ‘asyndetic’ or/and ‘syndetic’ (Haspelmath 2007). Asyndetic coordination lacks an overt coordinator, while syndetic coordination displays one or two coordinators, depending on the type of coordination (‘monosyndetic’ vs ‘bisyndetic’). There are three basic types of coordination: ‘conjunctive’, ‘disjunctive’ and ‘adversative’. Haspelmath (2007) refers to coordinated units as ‘coordinands’. Coordinands of conjunctive and disjunctive coordination are referred to as ‘conjuncts’ and ‘disjuncts’, respectively.

In Nalögo, coordination can be asyndetic (§19.1) or syndetic (§19.2). Examples of asyndetic coordination at NP level are given in §19.1.1 and at a clausal level in §19.1.2. Syndetic coordination is monosyndetic, marked by only one coordinator. In terms of number of coordinators, Nalögo is a typical Oceanic language, in that, it has only a small set of coordinators (Lynch et al. 2002: 53). Syndetic coordination at NP level is treated in §19.2.1, while syndetic coordination at clausal level is found in §19.2.2. In Nalögo, there are three main coordinators: the conjunction *ä* ‘and’, the disjunction *o* ‘or’ and the adversative coordinator *aa* ‘but’. The conjunction *ä* and the disjunction *o* can coordinate NPs and clauses, while the adversative coordinator does not seem to occur with NPs in the available data. There are also two additional coordinators. The coordinator *ba* ‘and, with’ which is found to coordinate mainly human NPs and the sequential coordinator *jâ* ‘then’, which can occur by itself or in combination with *ä* ‘and’ to coordinate clauses (§19.2.3). Finally, §19.3 is devoted to a type of coordination found in a number of Austronesian languages labelled ‘inclusory construction’.

19.1. Asyndetic coordination

19.1.1 Asyndetic coordination with NPs

With NPs, asyndetic coordination in Nalögo is typically used to group together items in lists. The coordinated NPs are always interpreted as being related through a conjunctive ‘and’-type relation. They are generally separated by a short pause. Three examples are shown in (19.1), (19.2) and (19.3).

(19.1) *Okay. Lopta, kilu, ayowe...*
 okay lopta kilu ayowe
 ‘Okay, lopta, kilu, ayowe [...]’ (nalogo039)

(19.2) *Lë-ö-la=kö molëö kä i-bwotö,*
 PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=ADD crossbeam LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.long
molëö kä i-bwoi, toka, nibi, nölü, lâ
 beam LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.long truss purlin coconut sago.palm
ä nuwi.
 COOR rope
 ‘They also cut long crossbeam, long beam, truss, purlin, coconut, sago palm and rope.’
 (nalogo038)

(19.3) *Nübu i-twë=mwa lëkö*
 yesterday PFV.N3AUG-take=1MIN.SBJ.hither taro
butete lopta ä lemon vöte.
 potato cabbage COOR lemon be.one
 ‘Yesterday I brought taros, potatoes, cabbage and one lemon.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

In (19.1), the speaker is listing different types of cabbage. Examples (19.2) and (19.3) show that asyndetic conjunction can combine with the syndetic one, since the last item of the lists is conjoined by the coordinator *ä* ‘and’.

19.1.2 Asyndetic coordination with clauses

Asyndetic coordination can combine clauses as shown in (19.4) and (19.5).

(19.4) *Dü nünge i-vë-tö=pwe*
 QNT boy PFV.N3AUG-go-in=DIR.thither
i-ka-bwe=le kâ soa o axo.
 PFV.N3AUG-give=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ QNT saw COORD axe
 ‘A boy goes in (and) gives (him) a saw or an axe.’ (nalogo1009_2015)

(19.5) *Nabwëtom kâ mweli kâ*
 oven DEM₁.DIST time DEM₁.DIST
tü-kele=ngö=de, jâ tü-bi=pme=ng.
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.good=APPL=3MIN.SBJ SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-bake=COS=2MIN.SBJ
I-tokoi i-gë-u=mwe âplë
 PFV.N3AUG-use.tongs PFV.N3AUG-take-down=2MIN.SBJ.hither stone
ngö nabwëtom kâ
 ASS.MRK oven DEM₁.DIST

‘As for the oven, when it is ready, then you bake (it), (and) you use the tongs (and) remove the stones from the oven.’ (nalogo017)

In (19.5), the first two clauses are coordinated through the sequential coordinator *jâ* ‘then’, while the following clauses are coordinated through asyndetic coordination.

Two additional examples are shown in (19.6) and (19.7).

(19.6) *Mö-kâ* *i-blâ* *i-wäbu*
 male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-jump PFV.N3AUG-sit.down
ma-ne=de *i-tu-lë=m...*
 house-animate.CLF=3MIN.SBJ PFV.N3AUG-stand-up=DIR.hither
 ‘The man who jumped sat down in his house, (then) he stood up...’
 (nalogo1009_2015)

(19.7) *Ötabö-nö-lë=bwe* *ötabö-nö-lë=bwe*
 search-DISP-up-DIR.thither search-DISP-up=DIR.thither
ötabö-nö-lë=bwe *i-velalö=bwe=le*
 search-DISP-up=DIR.thither PFV.N3AUG-hear=DIR.thither=3MIN.SBJ
mönga *kâ* *i-lâ-kiki=pme*
 honeyeater DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-say-say.kiki=COS
 ‘He searched up, searched up, searched up, (then) he heard the honey eater singing saying *kiki*.’
 (nalogo1109_2015)

Semantically speaking, the examples of asyndetic coordination above display a temporal meaning, expressing sequential events.

19.2 Syndetic coordination

19.2.1 Syndetic coordination with NPs

There are two possible types of coordination with NPs: conjunctive coordination (§19.2.1.1) and disjunctive coordination (§19.2.1.2).

19.2.1.1 Syndetic coordination with the conjunctive coordinator *ä* ‘and’

The conjunctive coordinator *ä* is the most common one attested in the data. Semantically, there are no restrictions on the types of conjuncts which can be coordinated by *ä*, as they can be animate or inanimate, common or proper. In some Oceanic languages, there a distinction

between ‘tight’ and ‘loose’ nominal coordination (Moyses-Faurie & Lynch 2004: 450), that is, conjuncts can be combined by different strategies depending on how closely associated the referents they encode are in the real world. In Nalögo, there are no specific coordinators for this function. Three examples of coordination are shown in (19.8), (19.9) and (19.10), where the conjuncts are common animate, inanimate and proper nouns, respectively.

(19.8) *Ilaule obwe kâ ä ibu=de*
 mother child DEM₁.DIST COORD father=3MIN.POSS
lë-pi=bwe=-kö=ba obwe kâ Anna
 PFV.N3AUG-call=DIR.thither=3AUG.SBJ=PREP child DEM₁.DIST Anna
 ‘The mother and the father called their child Anna.’ (animate)

(19.9) *Lë-ö-vë nanika ä nüni.*
 PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-weave mat COORD mat
 ‘They weave mats (made of sago palm leaves) and mats (made of pandanus)’
 (nalogo038) (inanimate)

(19.10) *Valentina ä Judi lë-klë-welo=lëbu.*
 Valentina COORD Judi PFV.3AUG-know-RECP=MIDD₂
 ‘Valentina and Judi know each other.’ (nalogo029)

Interestingly, in Nalögo, it is possible to coordinate a bound pronoun with a lexical noun as shown in (19.11). In this case, the coordinator combines two elements of different morphosyntactic categories.

(19.11) *I-ka=bwa kâ böpi*
 PFV.N3AUG-give=1MIN.SBJ.thither QNT banana
ba=m ä ile=m
 PREP=2MIN.OBJ CONJ sister-2MIN.POSS
 ‘I gave a banana to you and my sister.’ (nalogo3010_2015)

The example of coordination in (19.11) is grammatical in Nalögo, but probably very rare, given that it is only found in elicitations, but not attested in the available texts. Apparently, Äiwoo can use the same strategy, but it is not frequent (Næss p.c.).

In all the examples above, the conjuncts are contiguous, i.e. they occur one after the other. However, the coordinator *ä* can also link non-contiguous NPs as in (19.12) and (19.13).

(19.12) *Nawë no kâ i-bëki=pe ä*
 head fish DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-break=COS COORD
nuglu=de.
 tail-3MIN.POSS
 ‘The head of the fish and its tail break off.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

(19.13) *Onion kâ i-vi-ki=le ä*
 onion DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-chop-ridig.obj=3MIN.SBJ COORD
nüümü=de
 hand=3MIN.POSS
 ‘He chopped the onion and his hand.’ (nalogo2909_2015)

The conjunction *ä* can cooccur with the additive adverbial form *=kö* ‘also’ to express the meaning ‘...and X too’. The form *=kö* can attach to various heads, including free pronouns, nouns, and verbs. When it attaches to nominal elements, it extends its scope on the constituent on which it is attached as in (19.14) and (19.15).

(19.14) *I-kâ ino=de tü-nö. Jâ*
 female-DEM₁.DIST leg=3MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-hurt CONT₁
tü-wâpu-ti-le ä nibö=de=kö.
 IPFV.N3AUG-massage-TR=3MIN.SBJ COORD back-3MIN.POSS=ADD
 ‘The leg of the girl is hurting. She is massaging it and the back too.’ (nalogo043)

(19.15) *Kä-lë-mno-pä=m ba=de ä böma=kö*
 one-PFV.3AUG-live-out=DIR.hither PREP=3MIN.OBJ COORD house=ADD
 ‘Those that were living in it and in houses too...’ (nalogo0809_2015)

19.2.1.2 Syndetic coordination with the disjunctive coordinator *o* ‘or’

NPs can be coordinated by the disjunctive coordinator *o* ‘or’. The disjuncts do not have any semantic and syntactic restriction. Three examples are shown in (19.16), (19.17) and (19.18), where *o* combines disjuncts expressing animate/inanimate and common/proper referents.

(19.16) *Mö-kâ o leplë kâ*
 male-DEM₁.DIST COORD person DEM₁.DIST
te=i-köle=lü
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-be.good=NEG₂
 ‘The man or the person is not good.’ (nalogo020_1)

(19.17) *Obwe kâ=ng* *lë-klë=kö*
 child DEM₁.DIST=PL PFV.N3AUG-know=3AUG.SBJ
nat *la* *o* *bwe* *la.*
 word DEM₁.NPROX COORD story DEM_{1.L}.NPROX
 ‘The children know that word or story.’

(19.18) *Mo të-pi=e=bwe* *nge* *Mweng*
 place PASS.PFV-say=QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither PRAG.MRK Mweng
o *Nuwenilö.*
 COORD Nuwenilö
 ‘A place called Mweng or Nuwenilö.’ (nalogo001)

19.2.1.3 Syndetic coordination with the comitative coordinator *ba* ‘and, with’

In Nalögo, there is a comitative coordinator *ba* ‘and, with’ which is formally identical to the preposition *ba* encoding various peripheral roles including comitatives (Chapter 12). This coordinator, which seems to coordinate closely related animate referents, mostly human (mother/child, mother/father), is typically used in inclusory constructions (§19.3). An example is shown in (19.19).

(19.19) *Mweli* *kâ* *nünge*
 time DEM₁.DIST boy
tü-pwëtu-lë=ngö=pe=m=de
 IPFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS.MRK-up=APPL=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
e-pi-e=le=nge *t(ü)-yelë=ngö=pe=le,*
 ?-say-QUOT.MRK=3MIN.SBJ=COMP IPFVN3AUG-get.married=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ
jâ *ibu=de* *ba=gö* *ilaule=je* *â*
 SEQ father=3MIN.POSS CONJ=3AUG.POSS mother=3MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK
të-tagö=pe=bwe *nalë=de* *olë.*
 IPFV.3AUG-find=COS=DIR.thither spouse=3MIN.POSS girl
 ‘When the boy grows up (and) says that he wants to get married, then, his father and (or with) his mother finds a girl for him to marry.’ (nalogo1709_2015)

In (19.19), the 3AUG possessive form =*gö* occurring on the coordinator includes the two human referents, the mother and the father, both expressed by NPs, one preceding and one following the coordinator. The word *ba* combines the two NPs functioning as the subject of the following verb and cooccurring with the 3AUG verbal prefix *të-*. More examples of this coordinator are shown in (§19.3).

19.2.2 Syndetic coordination with VPs and clauses

Syndetic coordination is divided into conjunctive coordination (§19.2.1), disjunctive coordination (§19.2.2) and adversative coordination (§19.2.3).

19.2.2.1 Syndetic coordination with the conjunctive coordinator *ä* ‘and’

VPs and clauses can be coordinated by *ä* ‘and’. An example with coordinated VPs is shown in (19.20), where the subject of the coordinated units refers to the same referent.

- (19.20) *Wâ=kai=nom nanö i-tâ=m=gom*
 get-first=1AUG.SBJ firewood PFV.N3AUG-take=DIR.hither=1AUG.SBJ
mö kisin ne=gom ä
 PREP kitchen animate.CLF=1AUG.POSS COORD
i-wo=kë=wom nölu.
 PFV.N3AUG-take=ADD=1AUG.SBJ coconut
 ‘We get firewood first; we take it to our kitchen and also take coconuts.’ (nalogo021)

Sentences (19.21) and (19.22) show two examples of coordinated clauses displaying a different subject.

- (19.21) *Kâ ne=m t(ü)-vë=bwe*
 DEM₁.DIST animate.CLF=2MIN.POSS IPFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.thither
ä kio dölen kâ tü-vë=m.
 COORD chicken wild DEM₁.DIST IPFV.N3AUG-go=DIR.hither
 ‘Yours (the domesticated chicken) goes away and the wild chicken comes towards.’
 (≠ subject) (nalogo013)

- (19.22) ...*Aki pi=bwe ba Judi nge,*
 because say=DIR.hither PREP Judi QUOT

“Kä-i-vë=nga ja ä Judi
 one-PFV.N3AUG-weave=1MIN.SBJ DEM₄.PROX COORD Judi
te=i-klëu=le=lü lë-vë-ngö teglu.
 NEG₁=PFV.N3AUG-know=3MIN.SBJ=NEG₂ NMLZ₁-weave-NMLZ₂ fan
 ‘[...] because you say to Judi: “The one that I wove is here” and Judi doesn’t know how to weave a fan.’ (nalogo039)

19.2.2.2 Syndetic coordination with the disjunction coordinator *o* ‘or’

The disjunction *o* can combine NPs (§19.2.1.2) or VPs. In (19.23), the subject of the conjoined VPs refers to the same referent. There are no examples in the data of conjoined clauses showing different subjects.

- (19.23) *okay obwe kä lë-kiütâ*
 okay child LNK PFV.3AUG-be.small
të-(y)awe o të-kipü
 IPFV.3AUG-play COORD IPFV.3AUG-swim
 ‘Okay, small children were playing or swimming...’ (= subject)

Crosslinguistically, one of the most important distinctions is the difference between standard disjunction and interrogative disjunction (Haspelmath 2007: 25-26), since some languages display mark this distinction through different markers according to the type of clause. This is not the case in Nalögo, where the same morpheme is used in both cases.

- (19.24) *Tü-wo=ng Honiara o*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=2MIN.SBJ Honiara COORD
tü-mno=täpwe ma?
 IPFV.N3AUG-stay=2MIN.SBJ.just DEM₂.PROX
 ‘Are you going to Honiara or just stay here?’ (= subject) (nalogo020)

19.2.3 Syndetic coordination with the adversative coordinator *aa* ‘but’

Adversative coordination is used to express the denial of an expectation. In Nalögo, this type of relation is expressed by the adversative coordinator *aa* ‘but’, which is attested in combination with only two coordinands. The morpheme occurs before the second coordinand, combining VPs or clauses. Two examples are shown in (19.25) and (19.26), where the coordinator combines VPs and clauses involving subjects which express the same and different referents, respectively.

- (19.25) *I-vë=po-p-mwa böma,*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=again=DIR.hither=1MIN.SBJ.hither house
aa te-va-ku-wa-lii.
 COORD NEG₁=CAUS-cook=1MIN.SBJ=NEG₂
 ‘I went back home, but I didn’t cook.’ (= subject)

- (19.26) *I-vë-nga* *Nemya,* *aa* *topnö* *nâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-go=1MIN.SBJ *Nemia* COORD NEG.EXIST *fish*
kä i-mo=la.
 LNK PFV.N3AUG-see=1MIN.SBJ
 ‘I went to Nemia, but I didn’t see any fish (lit. I went to Nemia, but there is no fish that I saw).’ (≠ subject)

19.2.4 Syndetic coordination with the sequential coordinator *jâ* ‘then’

The sequential coordinator *jâ* ‘then’ combines VPs or clauses. It is used to express a sequence of actions with the same or different subjects. (19.27) shows an example where two VPs with the same subject referent are combined; while in (19.28), there are two combined clauses with two different subjects.

- (19.27) *Tü-kalue* *tü-kalue,* *jâ*
 IPFV.N3AUG-scratch IPFV.N3AUG-scratch SEQ
tü-kö=pe=käli *tü-kö* *tü-kö.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-sing=COS=next IPFV.N3AUG-sing IPFV.N3AUG-sing
 ‘He is scratching (and) scratching, then he sings again, he is singing and singing.’
 (=subject) (nalogo2010_2015)

- (19.28) *Mö-kâ* *i-köknga* *jâ*
 male-DEM1.DIST PFV.N3AUG-pray SEQ
t(ü)-vö-ka-pä=bwe *ba=de* *kâ da.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-MIDD1-give-out=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ QNT thing
 ‘The man prayed, then someone gave something to him.’ (≠ subject)

Finally, the coordinator *jâ* can combine with *ä* ‘and’ as in (19.29) and (19.30).

- (19.29) *I-kü-pä=m=de* *ä* *jâ*
 PFV.N3AUG-take-out=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ COORD SEQ
tü-wo-mi-u=pe=m=de
 IPFV.N3AUG-climb-APPL-down=COS=DIR.hither=3MIN.SBJ
 ‘He took it out and then, he climbed down with it.’ (= subject)

- (19.30) *I-mwa-lë-teipom* *bä nuwâ na=gom*
 PFV.N3AUG-eat-up=1AUG.SBJ.just PREP tree food.CLF=1AUG.POSS
naa nuwâ na=gom *ä*
 fruit tree food.CLF=1AUG.POSS COORD
jâ ti-pi=bwa=ba=m, *“Topnö*
 SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-say-1MIN.SBJ.thither=PREP=2MIN.OBJ NEG.EXIST

kä-i-tiika.”

one-PFV.N3AUG-be.bad

‘We eat from our trees, from our fruits, and then I am telling you: “There is no bad one.”’ (≠ subject) (nalogo032)

The coordinator *jâ* is formally identical and likely related to the distal form *jâ* ‘be there’ of the locative demonstrative and with the copula *jâ* occurring in locative constructions of the type ‘The bag is on the table’ (Chapter 7; Chapter 12).

19.3 Inclusive constructions

Inclusive constructions constitute a type of coordination where the conjuncts “stand in a relation of inclusion, typically between a superset pronoun which includes a subset NP in its reference” (Bril 2011: 236). In other words, inclusive constructions involve a pronoun conjoined with a noun, where the referent of the noun is not added to that of the pronoun, but rather included in it. An example in English would be ‘We and Elena’ meaning ‘Elena and I’, where the first-person plural ‘we’ includes both the first person singular and the proper noun ‘Elena’ in its reference. Lichtenberk (2000b) classifies inclusive constructions based on two “mutually intersecting” parameters: (i) whether the pronominal form and the included NP form a syntactic unit, a phrase, or not; and (ii) whether or not there is an overt marker between the pronominal form and the included NP.

Parameter (i) refers to the ability of the pronominal form and the included NP to form a syntactic phrase as in the English example above. While in some inclusive constructions, the pronoun and the included NP form a phrase as in ‘We and Elena’, in some other constructions labelled as ‘split’, they do not. In this respect, Lichtenberk (2000b) writes that “[...] the inclusive pronominal is typically (though not necessarily) some kind of dependent pronominal, such as an affix or a subject-marking particle”. Even though the pronominal form and the included NP do not form a phrase, “there is a kind of indexing relation between them”, since the dependent pronoun includes the referent encoded by the NP. An example from Toqabaqita, an Oceanic language from Malaita (Solomon Islands) is shown in (19.31)

(19.31) Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2000b)

Doqora-mu *mere* *ngata.*

brother-2SG.PERSON IDU(EXCL).NONFUT speak

‘Your brother and I spoke (to each other) (lit. You brother, we (=he and I) spoke.’

With regard to (ii), Lichtenberk (2000b) makes a further classification between ‘implicit’ and ‘explicit’ constructions, based on the presence or absence of a relational marker. The relational marker occurring between the pronoun and the included NP is “typically etymologically related either to the coordinate conjunction ‘and’ or to the comitative marker in the language”.

Nalögo displays two explicit inclusory constructions: phrasal inclusory constructions (§19.3.1) and split inclusory constructions (§19.3.2).

19.3.1 Explicit phrasal inclusory construction

In Nalögo, explicit phrasal inclusory constructions involve an independent pronoun and an NP, the referent of which is included in the pronominal form. The pronoun and the included NP form a syntactic phrase and are connected by the comitative coordinator *ba* mentioned in (§19.2.1.3). The presence of comitative conjunctions is frequent in Austronesian languages and is often restricted to animate NPs (Bril 2011: 258). In Nalögo, the preposition *ba* can express various roles, including comitative (Chapter 12).

Semantically, the participants tend to be human and animate. Two examples are shown in (19.32) and (19.33).

(19.32) *Nigom* *ba* *Tina* *i-vö-ga=kom* *mubli*.
 1AUG PREP Tina PFV.N3AUG-MIDD1-collect=1AUG.SBJ shell
 ‘Tina and I collected shells.’ (nalogo067) (lit. We including/with Tina) (nalogo067)

(19.33) *Kopyo* *olë* *nigö* *ba* *obwe* *ne=de* [...]
 EXIST woman 3AUG PREP child animate.CLF=3MIN.POSS
lë-mno *mâ* *të-e-pi-e=bwe*
 PFV.3AUG-stay place PASS.IPFV-?-say-QUOT.MRK=DIR.thither
Nuwenilö.
 Nuwenilö
 ‘There was a woman, she and her child [...] they lived in a place called *Nuwenilö*...’
 (nalogo001)

Constructions like (19.32) and (19.33) including a free inclusory pronoun and a comitative coordinator are attested in Austronesian languages (e.g. Atayal, Samoan) (Bril 2011: 241-242). In (19.32), the 1AUG free pronoun *nigom* includes the human referent *Tina* preceded by the prepositional coordinator. In (19.33) the 3AUG free pronoun *nigö* includes the preceding referent *olë* ‘woman’ and the following referent *obwe ne=de* preceded by *ba*. This type of coordination can also occur in appositional function as shown in (19.34)

(19.34) *Ryan i-nibü=le mädē=je, nigö ba John.*
 Ryan PFV.N3AUG-kill=3MIN.SBJ brother=3MIN.POSS 3AUG CONJ John
 ‘Ryan killed his brother, he and John [did it].’ (nalogo029)

The difference between the strategies used in (19.33) and (19.19) below is not fully understood, since there are only a couple of examples in the texts.

The use of this inclusory construction with free pronouns seems to also occur in pragmatically marked contexts as the one in (19.35).

(19.35) *Nelö â tü-(v)ë meipluwu?*
 who PRAG.MRK IPFV.N3AUG-go bush
 ‘Who goes to the bush? (speaker A)

Nigom ba ile=nu â
 1AUG COORD sister=1MIN.POSS PRAG.MRK
tü-vë meipluwu.
 IPFV.N3AUG-go bush
 ‘My sister and I are going to the bush.’ (speaker B)

In (19.35), the reply of speaker B involves an inclusory construction, in which the pronoun and the included NP are in focus, as they constitute the new information. In pragmatically unmarked contexts, explicit inclusory constructions (§19.3.2) expressing similar meanings seem to be preferred. However, more data on this topic are necessary to fully account for all the properties of these constructions.

19.3.2 Explicit split inclusory constructions

As mentioned in §19.3, split inclusory constructions involve some kind of dependent pronominal form which do not form a phrase with the included NP. Brill (2011: 244-246) refers to these constructions as ‘non-phrasal inclusory constructions’. In Nalögo, this type of construction involves verbal subject marking, where the subject bound form behaves as the superset, including the referent of the NP conjunct. In this type of inclusory constructions, there is no independent inclusory pronoun, but rather, a verbal subject form encoding the participants. In this construction, the pronoun and the included NP do not form a phrase. Semantically, this construction is used with human and animate referents. Four examples are shown below, where the included NP is preceded by the comitative marker/coordinator *ba*.

In (19.36) and (19.37), the 1AUG subject enclitic =*kom* encodes both human participants, the 1MIN referent and her brother and sister, respectively.

(19.36) (Ni) *tü-ngumwa=kom* *ba* *mëlue=nu.*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-hunt=1AUG.SBJ COORD brother=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am hunting with my brother.’

(19.37) (Ni) *tü-(v)a-ku=kom* *no* *ba* *ile=nu*
 1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1AUG.SBJ fish COORD sister=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am cooking fish with my sister.’

Examples (19.36) and (19.37) also show that the NP and the pronoun do not need to be contiguous to be coordinated. The 1MIN free pronominal forms *ni* were judged as optional by the speakers in the constructions. Two additional examples are attested in (19.38) and (19.39). In (19.38) below, the subject =*kom* includes the 1MIN referent and the 3AUG referent encoded by the object form =*gö* attached to the coordinator. Example (19.39), whose structure parallels the one in the previous example, shows different semantic properties, in that, the referents included in the reference of the 1AUG =*nom* are human and animate.

(19.38) *Tü-vë=kom* *ba=gö* *Lata.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-go=1AUG.SBJ COORD=3AUG.OBJ Lata
 ‘I am going to Lata with them.’

(19.39) *Tü-vë-nö=nom* *ba* *kuli* *ne=nu.*
 IPFV.N3AUG-walk-DISP=1AUG.SBJ COORD dog animate.CLF=1MIN.POSS
 ‘I am strolling with my dog.’

As previously mentioned, the coordinator *ba* is formally identical to the preposition *ba*, but the two forms display different functions. The difference between *ba* as a preposition and *ba* as a comitative coordinator are shown below.

(19.40) *Julia, tü-lâ=bwa* *ba* *mëlwe=nu*
 Julia IPFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.SBJ.hither prep brother=1min.poss
mweli *ka.*
 time DEM₁.PROX
 ‘Julia, I am talking with my brother now.’ (nalogo045)

(19.41) *Jâ* *të-vë=pe=m* *ba=de* *böma,*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-go=COS=DIR.hither COORD=3MIN.POSS home
jâ *të-mno=pe* *ba=de* *lë-mno*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-stay=cos COORD=3MIN.POSS PFV.N3AUG-stay
lë-mno *lë-mno...*
 PFV.3AUG-stay PFV.3AUG-stay

‘Then, they went home (the mother and her child), and then they stayed. They stayed (and) stayed...’

(nalogo2209_2015)

In (19.40) the word *ba* is analysed as a preposition introducing an oblique argument. There is only one core S argument in the clause expressed by the 1MIN bound form =*bwa*. By contrast, in (19.41), *ba* is analysed as a comitative coordinator in two inclusory constructions. In these cases, the verbal subject marker, the prefix *të-*, is a 3AUG form encoding two human referents, a mother and her child. The two referents are not overtly expressed in the clause by NPs, rather, they are encoded through bound forms. The mother and the child are both referentially part of the 3AUG prefix, but the child is also encoded by the 3MIN pronominal form =*de* occurring on the coordinator *ba*. The difference between (19.40) and (19.41) is clear because in (19.41), the verbal subject prefix *të-* subsumes the two participants, while this is not the case in (19.40).

Synthèse

1. Introduction

Cette thèse est une première description grammaticale du nalögo [nlz], une langue océanienne parlée sur l'île de Santa Cruz dans la province de Temotu (également connue sous le nom d'îles Santa Cruz) des îles Salomon. Le nalögo, qui comprend cinq variétés principales parlées dans les villages de Nea, Nemboi, Noole, Nonia, et Bibö, est parlé par environ 1 620 locuteurs (Lewis *et al.* 2009). Cette description est basée sur des données recueillies sur les variétés de nalögo parlées dans les villages de Nea et Nemboi.

La province de Temotu est la province la plus éloignée, située à environ 300 km de Makira, qui est l'île la plus proche des grandes îles Salomon. La plus grande île de l'archipel de Temotu est Santa Cruz ou Nedö qui mesure environ 40 km de long et 22 km de large et couvre une superficie d'environ 505 km². Le nalögo est parlé principalement dans la partie sud-ouest de Nedö. À environ 70 km au nord-est de Nedö se trouvent les îles Reef et 95 km plus à l'est se trouvent les îles Duff. Les îles d'Utupua et Vanikoro sont situées à environ 66 km et 118 km au sud-est de Nedö, et plus à l'est se trouvent les deux petites îles de Tikopia et Anuta. Enfin, à environ 250 km au sud de l'archipel de Santa Cruz se trouve l'archipel du Vanuatu.

Les îles Salomon sont divisées en neuf provinces. Chaque gouvernement provincial dispose de sa propre assemblée provinciale et d'un certain nombre de circonscriptions, qui sont établies en fonction de la taille de la population. Dans l'île de Santa Cruz, les villages de Nea et Nemboi forment une seule entité avec celles de Noole et Nonia. La population de Nea et Nemboi, bien que non connue précisément, pourrait être d'environ 200 individus. En termes d'ethnicité, la population est presque exclusivement d'origine mélanésienne.

La vie du village s'organise principalement autour des activités liées à l'église. Dans les villages de Nea et Nemboi, tout le monde est chrétien. En termes d'organisation sociale, les membres des villages de Nea et Nemboi sont divisés en cinq clans. Comme dans d'autres parties de la Mélanésie, le système d'héritage des terres est patrilinéaire, ce qui signifie que les enfants héritent des terres (y compris l'usage de la mer) par la lignée paternelle. Le noyau social le plus important dans les villages est le foyer où vit chaque famille. Hommes et femmes contribuent à la subsistance des membres de la famille, en travaillant dans les parcelles de jardin et en se rendant au marché de Lata, la capitale provinciale au nord de Santa Cruz, pour vendre leurs produits. Les hommes pratiquent la pêche et la chasse.

Le débat sur la classification génétique des langues Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) intéresse les études océaniques depuis de nombreuses années, tant en termes de classification interne qu'externe.

Selon la classification actuelle, les langues autochtones parlées dans la province de Temotu sont océaniques. Quatre langues sont parlées sur l'île de Santa Cruz : le natügu, parlé dans le nord, le nalögo et le noipä, parlés dans le sud-ouest, et l'engdewu, parlé dans le sud-est. Les îles Reef sont le lieu où l'on parle la langue äiwoo. Ces cinq langues font partie du groupe Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC), qui, avec le groupe UV (i.e., les langues utupua et vanikoro), forme le groupe Temotu, un sous-groupe classé comme primaire au sein de la famille océanique (Ross & Næss 2007).

L'affiliation génétique des langues RSC est débattue depuis plus de trente ans. Bien que les langues RSC aient d'abord été classées comme non austronésiennes par Stephen Wurm (1969, 1970), des études plus récentes les classent comme un sous-groupe du premier ordre non identifié auparavant au sein de la famille océanique (Ross & Næss 2007). Ross & Næss 2007 est considéré comme l'étude pionnière, qui a conduit à la classification des langues RSC en tant que langues austronésiennes du sous-groupe océanique. Dans ce travail, les auteurs établissent, entre autres, des correspondances consonantiques entre les langues RSC et le proto-océanique (POc).

En termes de classification interne, il existe sur l'île de Santa Cruz un continuum dialectal qui englobe la plupart des variétés du nord de l'île au sud-ouest (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012), les deux pôles opposés étant le natügu d'une part et le nalögo d'autre part. Ce continuum dialectal a compliqué la classification interne des langues de Santa Cruz, conduisant les chercheurs à ne pas être d'accord sur le nombre de langues parlées sur l'île. La classification du natügu et du nalögo, traditionnellement considérées comme des variétés de la même langue, en deux langues distinctes a été proposée par Boerger (2007), sur la base de trois critères principaux : l'intelligibilité mutuelle, la littérature commune et les identités ethnolinguistiques (Boerger *et al.* 2007).

Selon le dernier recensement de 2009, il y a environ 1 620 locuteurs du nalögo (Lewis *et al.* 2009). Le nalögo est classé 6a (Vigoureux) sur « l'échelle étendue de perturbation intergénérationnelle graduée » (EGIDS) (Boerger *et al.* 2012). Cette définition implique que la langue est utilisée par toutes les générations et que les enfants l'apprennent en même temps que les adultes. De l'avis de certains aînés et de ma propre expérience, bien que limitée, dans la communauté, la situation semble être tout à fait différente, en ce sens qu'il y a une perte

croissante de la langue, surtout parmi les jeunes générations. En général, même les personnes dans la trentaine, la quarantaine et la cinquantaine alternent l'usage des langues locales et du pidgin, car il y a un manque croissant de maîtrise des variétés locales.

La seule description détaillée d'une langue RSC est la grammaire engdewu écrite par Vaa (2013). Cependant, plusieurs travaux ont été publiés sur les langues RSC. Outre les publications de Wurm à la fin des années 1960, la dernière décennie a vu une production renouvelée d'études sur ces langues, en particulier sur l'äiwoo et le natügu. En particulier, les publications plus récentes de Næss (2012, 2013, 2015a, 2015b) se concentrent sur les structures verbales et l'organisation propositionnelle en äiwoo. Bien que des remarques sur divers aspects grammaticaux du nalögo puissent être trouvées dans un certain nombre d'ouvrages (Wurm 1969, 1972, Næss & Boerger 2008, Boerger & Zimmerman 2012), aucune description systématique n'a été produite à ce jour.

2. Phonologie et processus morpho-phonologiques

Le nalögo possède un système phonologique comprenant quinze consonnes /b d g p t k s v d̥ ʒ m n ŋ l w j/ et dix voyelles orales /i e ε a u ə ɜ u o ɒ/. Les plosives voisées /b d g/ et l'affriquée voisée /d̥ ʒ/ sont généralement prénasalisées, surtout en position intervocalique, mais la prénasalisation n'est pas phonémique dans la langue. En plus des voyelles orales mentionnées ci-dessus, il existe également des voyelles nasalisées, mais la nasalisation n'est pas phonémique car elle est prévisible en fonction du contexte. Il existe également un arrêt glottal non phonémique qui peut apparaître avant les voyelles. Par exemple, le mot /atwə/ « chaque » peut être réalisé phonétiquement comme [ʔatwə]. Enfin, il existe également des phénomènes d'alternance vocalique (notamment, /e/ ~ /ə/ ; /i/ ~ /ɨ/) ou consonantique (/l/ ~ /n/) dans certains mots.

En termes de structure syllabique, le noyau de la syllabe peut être formé par une voyelle courte, une voyelle longue ou une diphtongue. Le nalögo possède plusieurs diphtongues qui apparaissent au milieu du mot et en position finale. Des exemples de diphtongues sont /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /zi/, /ɛi/, /εə/, /vi/, /zu/, /əu/, /ae/, /ao/, /au/, /aʊ/, /eu/ et /ei/. Cependant, il existe également des cas où deux voyelles adjacentes ne sont pas analysées comme des diphtongues. L'attaque de la syllabe peut être simple ou complexe selon le nombre de consonnes, contrairement à la coda qui ne peut être formée que d'une seule consonne. Le schéma syllabique est (C)C(C)V(C) qui comprend les combinaisons suivantes : V, VC, CV, CCV, CCCV et CCVC. Les codas sont

généralement le résultat de la chute de certaines voyelles finales. À l'exception de quelques cas, le deuxième élément des attaques complexes est une consonne sonante.

Les quatre processus phonologiques les plus couramment attestés en nalögo sont la chute des voyelles, l'assimilation vocalique, la simplification des groupes de consonnes et la formation de glides.

En ce qui concerne la chute des voyelles, le nalögo montre une tendance à faire tomber certaines voyelles non accentuées. Dans les mots dissyllabiques et trisyllabiques, les voyelles V2 et V3, respectivement, peuvent tomber. Par exemple, les dissyllabes avec une structure CV1.CV2 sont réduits à CV1C (/na.tu/ « mot, voix » > /nat/), tandis que les mots trisyllabiques avec une structure CV1.CV2.CV3 sont réduits à CV1.CV2C (/vɜ.tə.pu/ « entre ! » > /vɜ.təp/). Dans certains cas, il est possible que des trisyllabes avec un schéma CV1.CV2.CV3 suppriment V2. L'assimilation vocalique implique un processus d'assimilation régressive à distance très courant dans le discours rapide. Ce phénomène peut se produire à l'intérieur des mots, à travers les frontières des morphèmes, ou entre les mots. La simplification des groupes de consonnes s'applique particulièrement aux plosives post-nalisées, conduisant à une consonne occlusive /p t k/ suivie d'une voyelle, qui peut être facultativement nasalisée (par exemple, le marqueur aspectuel /pme/ « changement d'état » peut être réalisé phonétiquement comme [pme] ou [pẽ]). Enfin, en termes de formation de glides, dans certains contextes, lorsque /i/, /e/ et /u/ apparaissent devant une autre voyelle, ils peuvent devenir des glides.

En termes de processus morpho-phonologiques, les processus les plus courants s'appliquent aux préfixes porte-manteaux marquant le sujet, l'aspect et le mode. Par exemple : (i) l'assimilation des voyelles de certains préfixes de sujet aux voyelles suivantes, (ii) la suppression de la voyelle /u/ des préfixes /tu-/ « realis ; N3AUG » et /nu-/ « irrealis ; N3AUG » dans certains contextes, (iii) la suppression de la voyelle /u/ du préfixe /tu-/ « realis ; N3AUG » devant une racine verbale commençant par /j/ et la spirantisation consécutive de /t/ devant /j/, (iv) l'abandon du préfixe /i-/ « perfectif ; N3AUG » dans des contextes spécifiques (p. ex. devant les racines verbales ou les préfixes commençant par /j/, /w/ et /v/).

Il existe également des processus morphophonologiques supplémentaires appliqués aux racines verbales commençant par /v/, /j/ et /w/ et aux morphèmes dérivés (v)θ- « moyen » et (v)a- « causatif », où la consonne initiale tombe dans certains contextes.

3. Pronoms

Le système pronominal des langues océaniques distingue généralement les nombres singulier, duel et pluriel, ainsi qu'une distinction inclusif/exclusif à la première personne non singulière. De nombreuses langues possèdent également un nombre paucal. Contrairement à de nombreuses langues océaniques, les pronoms nalögo suivent un modèle appelé « minimalaugmenté » (MIN/AUG). Le paradigme minimal consiste en quatre termes de base (1^{ère} personne, 1^{ère} plus 2^e personne, 2^e personne et 3^e personne), qui sont pluralisés dans le paradigme augmenté. Ce schéma n'est pas très fréquent dans les langues de la famille, à l'exception des langues RSC.

Il existe trois ensembles de pronoms en nalögo : les formes libres, les enclitiques possessifs et les formes sujet liées. Les formes sujet, qui sont divisées en deux ensembles, I et II, ont un grand nombre d'allomorphes et de variantes libres/dialectales. L'ensemble I est considéré comme l'ensemble de base contenant les formes sujet de base en raison de leur fréquence d'utilisation et de l'absence de facteurs de conditionnement. Les enclitiques sujets appartenant à l'ensemble II sont formellement identiques aux formes possesseurs et, dans de nombreux cas, ils sont morphologiquement conditionnés. En plus de ces formes sujet, il existe également des formes sujet supplémentaires qui résultent de la fusion entre les enclitiques sujet et des morphèmes tels que les directionnels et les marqueurs aspectuels.

Les enclitiques marquant le possesseur apparaissent principalement avec les constructions possessives et les nominalisations.

Les objets sont typiquement non marqués sur les verbes, sauf dans deux contextes où une forme enclitique 3MIN =*le* peut apparaître sur le verbe (par exemple dans les nominalisations et les constructions applicatives basées sur des verbes transitifs et marquées par l'applicatif =*ngö*). Cependant, le nalögo possède un ensemble d'enclitiques objet, formellement identiques aux enclitiques de possesseur, qui ne peuvent apparaître que sur la préposition *ba*.

Les formes libres sont constituées d'une base *ni* à laquelle s'attachent des enclitiques possessifs (sauf pour la 1^e personne minimale). Elles ont diverses fonctions. Lorsqu'elles apparaissent dans des propositions verbales simples, elles ont généralement une fonction emphatique. Enfin, le nalögo n'a pas de distinction de genre dans son système pronominal, à l'exception de deux formes innovantes, *i-kâ* « la femme, elle » et *mö-kâ* « l'homme, il », composées des noms liés *i-* et *mö-* « homme » et de la forme démonstrative distale *kâ* « celui-là ».

4. Noms et formation des noms

Les noms forment une classe ouverte en nalögo. Sur la base de leurs propriétés formelles, ils se divisent en noms communs, noms personnels, noms locaux, noms relationnels possédés et noms temporels.

Les noms communs comprennent généralement tous les référents d'une classe désignant des entités humaines, animées et inanimées et ils peuvent fonctionner comme prédicats, arguments et sujets aux niveaux du syntagme et du discours. Lorsqu'ils fonctionnent comme têtes de NP, ils peuvent prendre un grand nombre de modificateurs par comparaison avec les autres types de noms. La classe des noms personnels comprend les noms propres, dont les fonctions sont similaires à celles décrites pour les noms communs. Cependant, ils diffèrent des noms communs en ce sens qu'ils ne peuvent recevoir qu'un plus petit nombre de modificateurs. La classe des noms locatifs comprend les noms de lieux et d'endroits familiers qui sont pertinents dans la vie quotidienne des locuteurs. La principale caractéristique de la classe des noms locatifs est de n'avoir pas besoin d'être régis par des prépositions pour exprimer des rôles locatifs périphériques. Contrairement aux noms locatifs, les noms relationnels sont obligatoirement possédés et introduits par des prépositions. Enfin, les noms temporels partagent certaines propriétés avec les noms locatifs en ce qu'ils peuvent avoir des rôles périphériques sans prépositions.

La morphologie nominale du nalögo est assez pauvre. Seule la pluralité peut être marquée sur les têtes nominales ou, plus généralement, sur les modificateurs du GN en utilisant le pluralisateur =*ng*.

La formation des mots comprend des processus tels que les nominalisations lexicales, les constructions nominales complexes avec des noms liés et la composition nominale. Les noms dérivés par les nominalisateurs *lë...-ngö* ou *lë...-gö* expriment des événements ou des états et varient selon certaines propriétés telles que la présence ou non d'un sujet). Ce type de nominalisations a tendance à ne pas être marqué pour le temps, l'aspect ou le mode, tout en conservant d'autres propriétés verbales, comme les dispositifs de changement de valence et les directions.

En nalögo, il existe également quatre classes de noms liés. Le terme 'nom lié' fait référence aux formes nominales qui n'ont pas d'usage indépendant, mais qui coexistent avec d'autres éléments, qu'il s'agisse de noms, de verbes, de démonstratifs, de propositions relatives, etc. Le premier type de noms liés comprend ceux appelés « noms liés génériques », qui n'apparaissent jamais

en tant qu'éléments lexicaux indépendants. Ils fonctionnent comme des têtes syntaxiques prenant divers modificateurs (noms, démonstratifs, verbes nus et propositions relatives), avec lesquels ils forment des constructions nominales complexes. Le nombre et le type de modificateurs dépendent du type de nom lié. Les noms liés attestés dans les données sont : *i-* « femme », *mö-* « homme », *ma-* « maison », *lö-* « personnes », *mö-/bä-* « lieu », *kä-* « un », *kä-* « voie, raison ». Outre les noms liés génériques, il existe d'autres types de noms liés : les noms de plantes et de parties du corps, le nom lié *nalë* « conjoint » et les composés réduits. Les noms de parties de plantes et du corps sont considérés comme des formes liées parce qu'ils coexistent toujours avec un autre nom, tandis que la forme *nalë* « conjoint » fonctionne comme un nom lié qui s'attache à d'autres noms liés pour les classer. Les composés réduits peuvent impliquer des noms liés dont la forme est différente de celle qu'ils présentent en usage indépendant.

Enfin, les processus de composition du nom impliquent la combinaison de lexèmes indépendants.

5. Structure du syntagme nominal

En nalögo, les têtes de syntagme nominal les plus courantes sont les noms complets, les nominalisations, les pronoms libres et les démonstratifs, ainsi que les classificateurs, les quantificateurs et les numéraux. Selon la catégorie morphosyntaxique à laquelle elles appartiennent, ces têtes de syntagme nominal peuvent prendre différents types de modificateurs.

Lorsque les noms fonctionnent comme des têtes de GN, ils prennent des modificateurs de préet/ou post-têtes, le nombre et le type variant en fonction du type de nom. Alors que les noms personnels sont plus susceptibles de fonctionner comme des syntagmes nominaux nus, les noms communs ont tendance à se produire avec un grand nombre de modificateurs. En revanche, les nominalisations, les pronoms libres et les démonstratifs ont tendance à se produire avec un petit nombre de modificateurs.

Les modificateurs du GN sont deux types, « pré-tête » et « post-tête », selon qu'ils précèdent ou suivent la tête du syntagme nominal. Il existe deux modificateurs post-tête : le quantificateur *dü* « un, quelque » et le quantificateur *kâ(=ng)*. Le quantificateur *dü* est utilisé : (i) pour exprimer un référent indéfini introduit pour la première fois dans le discours, (ii) pour signifier « quelque » en référence à la quantité d'une entité, (iii) pour exprimer une fonction partitive, identifiant un membre d'un ensemble prédéfini. Le quantificateur *kâ(=ng)* semble exprimer des fonctions similaires, mais différemment de *dü* « un, quelque ». Son analyse nécessite des recherches supplémentaires. Les modificateurs post-tête sont plus courants que les

modificateurs pré-tête ; les plus fréquents sont : les démonstratifs nominaux, les classificateurs possessifs, les propositions relatives, les adjectifs, les numéraux et autres quantificateurs. Comme dans les autres langues océaniques, les propositions relatives avec des verbes statifs sont très fréquemment utilisées pour exprimer les propriétés d'un référent, tandis que l'utilisation des adjectifs est très limitée (il n'y a que deux lexèmes avec des propriétés de type adjectif dans le corpus). En termes de position dans le syntagme nominal, les démonstratifs ont tendance à se placer avant les classificateurs possessifs, les propositions relatives et les numéraux. Les numéraux ont tendance à se placer en position finale.

6. Constructions possessives et associatives

Dans les langues océaniques, il existe une distinction formelle entre les constructions possessives « directes » et « indirectes » (Lynch 1996, Palmer & Brown 2007, Palmer 2008, Lichtenberk 2009, 2011, entre autres). Les constructions directes impliquent typiquement un affixe, généralement un suffixe, qui s'attache directement à la tête du syntagme nominal codant le possesseur. Les constructions indirectes présentent des propriétés structurelles différentes, en ce sens que les affixes exprimant les possesseurs ne s'attachent pas directement à la tête du syntagme nominal, mais à des « marqueurs possessifs », également connus dans la littérature sous le nom de « particules possessives » ou « classificateurs possessifs » (Lichtenberk 1983). Les langues océaniques varient en termes de nombre de classificateurs dans les constructions indirectes, allant de trois ou quatre à plus de vingt classificateurs. En outre, les constructions directes et indirectes sont généralement associées aux notions d'inaliénabilité et d'aliénabilité, dans le sens où les constructions directes ont tendance à encoder plus souvent des relations inaliénables, tandis que les constructions indirectes sont aliénables. Deux notions souvent mentionnées en relation avec les classificateurs possessifs des langues océaniques sont les notions de « relation » et de « fluidité » (Lichtenberk 1983). La notion de relation renvoie au fait que les classificateurs possessifs, souvent qualifiés de « relationnels », sont choisis en fonction de l'usage que le possesseur entend faire du possédé. En revanche, la fluidité est une propriété des noms dits « fluides » parce qu'ils peuvent entrer dans plus d'une construction possessive.

En nalögo, les constructions directes présentent la même structure que celles attestées dans d'autres langues océaniques. Lorsque les possesseurs sont codés par des formes pronominales, les enclitiques de possesseur se placent directement après les têtes nominales. En revanche, lorsque les possesseurs sont codés par des nominaux, ces derniers sont juxtaposés aux noms

possédés sans qu'aucun morphème n'intervienne entre les deux. Comme dans d'autres langues océaniques, les constructions directes en nalögo ont tendance à être associées à des notions inaliénables. Elles encodent typiquement les relations suivantes : (i) parties du corps et relations partie-tout, (ii) produits du corps, (iii) organes, états et produits des processus mentaux, (iv) attributs du possesseur, (v) entités à la surface du corps du possesseur, (vi) termes de parenté, (vii) biens personnels.

Les constructions possessives indirectes en nalögo impliquent huit classificateurs possessifs. Le classificateur « nourriture » apparaît principalement avec de la nourriture ou des objets qui sont métaphoriquement associés à la nourriture, tels que des outils pour préparer ou manger de la nourriture. Le classificateur « boisson » est utilisé pour les liquides en général ou pour les fruits dont le jus peut être aspiré. Métaphoriquement, ce classificateur peut s'étendre aux outils liés à des référents buvables, comme les emprunts « bouilloire » ou « tasse ». Le classificateur « animé » *ne* s'applique typiquement aux référents animés, en particulier les humains, les animaux et les plantes. Cependant, d'autres types de référents appartenant à différents groupes sémantiques peuvent apparaître avec *ne*, tels que les référents liés à la terre, à la mer, aux corps célestes, etc. Le classificateur *ne* peut également servir aux termes de parenté empruntés. Le classificateur « bétel » *mwö* apparaît avec le mot pour « noix de bétel » ou avec des objets associés à l'activité de mâcher des noix de bétel. Cependant, il est également étendu aux objets liés au tabac. Le classificateur « feu » *mwilö* apparaît avec les noms *nyö* « feu » et *nanö* « bois de chauffage ». Par extension métaphorique, ce classificateur sert également aux nattes et aux couchages. Dans les données disponibles, le classificateur *nye* est attesté avec deux référents, les noms liés *bä-* « lieu » et *mö-* (ou *me-*) « lieu », tandis que le classificateur *nalë* « conjoint » est attesté uniquement avec *vei* « étoile » (*vei nalë temwö* « étoile de lune »). Enfin, le nalögo possède un classificateur par défaut *gö* encodant la possession « générale » sans contenu sémantique spécifique. Tous les classificateurs possessifs ne présentent pas le même degré de « relationnalité ».

En nalögo, deux stratégies sont utilisées pour exprimer les bénéficiaires. Dans un certain nombre de langues océaniques, les constructions possessives servent à encoder des relations où le bénéficiaire est interprété comme un possesseur intentionnel et prospectif (Lichtenberk 2002). À cet égard, le nalögo ne fait pas exception, dans la mesure où les possessifs peuvent remplir cette fonction. De plus, le classificateur « nourriture » *na* peut prendre le marqueur du bénéficiaire *-n* pour exprimer un possesseur potentiel.

Le nalögo possède également un type de constructions associatives impliquant les quatre marqueurs *ngö*, *ö*, *lö* et *wö*. Ces morphèmes expriment une relation d'association entre deux entités, dont aucune n'est un véritable possesseur « actif ». Ils sont principalement traduits par l'anglais « of, belonging to, from ». En nalögo, ils expriment diverses relations sémantiques, notamment les parties internes du corps, les organes et les fluides ; certaines relations partietout ; la collectivité, la mesure ou la quantité d'une entité ; la possession passive ; la désignation d'un type ; l'appartenance ; les sentiments abstraits ; les relations interpersonnelles ; l'emplacement et le but.

7. Démonstratifs

Le nalögo présente un système assez riche de démonstratifs impliquant les cinq ensembles suivants : (i) les démonstratifs nominaux, (ii) les démonstratifs adverbiaux, (iii) les identificateurs démonstratifs, (iv) les démonstratifs locatifs et (v) les démonstratifs existentiels.

L'ensemble (i) comprend les formes démonstratives nominales. Le terme « démonstratifs nominaux » a été introduit par Dixon (2003 : 65) qui utilise le terme « nominal » pour se référer à l'un des types les plus courants de démonstratifs, qui sont capables de fonctionner d'une part comme modificateurs de syntagme nominal, avec un nom ou un pronom, et d'autre part comme têtes de syntagme nominal « dans la plupart des langues ». Les démonstratifs nominaux peuvent être des arguments centraux de prédicats et de sujets au niveau du discours. Sur le plan fonctionnel, ce sont les démonstratifs les plus riches de la langue, étant donné que leurs fonctions vont du spatial au textuel.

L'ensemble (ii) comprend des démonstratifs adverbiaux du type « ici/là/au-dessus ». Ils ont principalement une fonction spatiale, mais ils peuvent également fonctionner comme adverbiaux ou arguments de prédicat, comme les démonstratifs nominaux.

L'ensemble (iii) comprend un ensemble d'identificateurs démonstratifs du type « être celui-ci ici/là/là-bas ». Ils sont principalement attestés dans des propositions sans verbe et leur fonction est d'introduire un nouveau référent dans le discours.

L'ensemble (iv) comprend des démonstratifs locatifs signifiant « être ici/ là/ là-bas », qui ont pour la plupart une fonction prédicative ; tandis que l'ensemble (v) compte des démonstratifs existentiels ayant une fonction prédicative.

Enfin, le nalögo présente des expressions très courantes impliquant les formes démonstratives et le verbe similatif *ngâ* « être comme ».

En plus de la syntaxe, les ensembles de démonstratifs mentionnés ci-dessus sont organisés selon un certain nombre de paramètres sémantiques, tels que les contrastes liés à la distance, la position des participants du discours et la notion de « centre de l'attention ». Alors que les deux premiers paramètres sont répandus et souvent attestés dans les langues océaniques, le troisième paramètre, la fonction *attention-directing* se réfère à l'utilisation des démonstratifs pour attirer l'attention de l'auditeur sur une entité ou un événement qui mérite l'attention en raison de sa pertinence pour la situation en cours. La notion d'« attraction de l'attention » n'est un paramètre sémantique que dans l'organisation des démonstratifs locatifs appartenant à l'ensemble (iv).

D'un point de vue pragmatique, les démonstratifs ont des fonctions « exophoriques » et « endophoriques ». La notion « exophorique » s'applique aux formes démonstratives qui se réfèrent à des entités présentes au moment du discours, tandis que les fonctions « endophoriques » comprennent tous les autres usages, y compris les fonctions anaphoriques, déictiques et de reconnaissance (Diessel 1999 : 91).

Toutes les formes démonstratives présentent des fonctions exophoriques. Les identificateurs nominaux, adverbiaux et démonstratifs présentent également des fonctions endophoriques. La fonction endophorique de reconnaissance n'est attestée qu'avec les démonstratifs nominaux. Les démonstratifs locatifs et existentiels semblent n'avoir que des fonctions exophoriques.

8. Complexe verbal

Le complexe verbal en nalögo est composé de trois éléments principaux : les modificateurs prénucléaires, le noyau et les modificateurs post-nucléaires. Il forme une unité phonologique, affichant un seul contour intonatif.

Les modificateurs pré-nucléaires incluent deux éléments : (i) le premier négateur *te=* de la négation bipartite, (ii) les préfixes sujet/aspect/mode. En revanche, le noyau, qui est analysé comme simple ou complexe en fonction du nombre de lexèmes présents, est composé : (i) de préfixes dérivatifs (le préfixe causatif (*v*)*a-* et (ii) le préfixe moyen (*v*)*ö-*), (ii) de suffixes dérivatifs (transitiviseur *-ti* et les applicatifs). Les modificateurs post-nucléaires comprennent divers éléments appartenant à différentes catégories morphosyntaxiques. La position de ces éléments à l'intérieur du complexe verbal tend à être fixe, bien que sur la base des données disponibles, la position exacte de chaque élément ne puisse être établie avec le même degré de certitude. Cependant, selon l'analyse actuelle, les modificateurs post-nucléaires impliquent principalement des morphèmes de changement de valence, des marqueurs de moyen et

réciprocité, des marqueurs de temps/aspect/mode, des éléments adverbiaux, des directionnels et des enclitiques sujet. Les éléments les plus courants apparaissant dans le complexe verbal attestés dans les données disponibles sont les suivants : (i) les marqueurs d'intensité *-k* et *-tu* ; (ii) le marqueur de pluralité/affectivité *-ti*, (iii) l'intensificateur *-te*, (iv) les morphèmes liés exprimant des directions, (v) le marqueur de réciprocité *-welo*, (vi) le marqueur de moyen *=lëbu* ; (vii) l'applicatif *=ngö* ; (viii) le marqueur aspectuel de changement d'état *=p(m)e* ; (ix) le marqueur citatif *=ö* ; (x) *=kayö* « premier » et *=kali* « deuxième » ; (xi) *=tëipwö* « juste, seulement » ; (xii) *=p(m)o* « encore » ; (xiii) *=bo* « encore » ; (xiv) *=kapwö* « aussi, trop » ; (xv) *=kälë* « plus tard », (xvi) le marqueur complétif/passé *=pnö* ; (xvii) les directionnels déictiques de personne ; (xviii) les formes liées au sujet et à l'objet ; (xix) *=kö* « aussi, trop » ; (xx) le marqueur désidératif *=ta* ; (xxi) le marqueur jussif *=na* ; (xxii) le marqueur continuatif *=tna* ; (xxiii) le second négateur *=lii*.

Le nalögo présente aussi différents types de constructions sérialisées. De manière générale, la sériation verbale fait référence à des séquences de verbes exprimant une seule prédication. Les langues océaniques montrent une grande variété de types et de fonctions dans les constructions sérialisées. Il existe des langues où ces structures sont très courantes, comme le paamais (Crowley 2002), et d'autres où les SVC sont quasiment absentes (Bril 2004). Formellement, il existe une distinction fondamentale entre les constructions verbales sérielles « nucléaires », qui font référence à des noyaux complexes contigus du type $sV_1V_2(o)$, et les constructions verbales sérielles « core », qui font référence à des noyaux non contigus du type $sV_1(o) sV_2(o)$. Le nalögo présente des constructions verbales sérielles de ces deux types. En outre, la langue présente de constructions dites à « coverbes ». Dans la littérature typologique et descriptive, le terme « coverbe » est généralement utilisé pour désigner les lexèmes non-verbaux inclus dans les noyaux complexes des constructions sérialisées. Les constructions à coverbes se trouvent surtout dans les langues d'Asie de l'Est et du Nord de l'Australie. Cependant, ce type de constructions est également attesté dans les langues océaniques, comme par exemple en ahamb, une langue parlée au Vanuatu (Rangelov 2020). Le nalögo comprend également une classe de coverbes qui ne se comportent pas comme des verbes canoniques.

Les verbes sériels nucléaires en nalögo impliquent une séquence de deux noyaux verbaux contigus qui peuvent soit être utilisés indépendamment comme verbes, soit se combiner pour former des noyaux complexes. Dans la construction sérielle, les deux verbes prennent un seul ensemble d'arguments et de marqueurs de temps/aspect/mode. En nalögo, les constructions

sérielles nucléaires peuvent exprimer diverses significations, telles que la manière, la direction, le but et le résultat.

Dans les constructions à coverbes, le noyau complexe peut être formé par un verbe indépendant et un coverbe, ou par deux coverbes. Les coverbes peuvent avoir un sémantisme verbal comme *-kipü* « cacher » ou un sémantisme adverbial comme *-taikü* « très » et *-läblö* « ensemble ». Un type spécial de constructions coverbales est représenté par celles qui impliquent des événements « Cut & Break » (C&B). Ils sont définis comme impliquant « des actes dirigés volitifs effectués par un agent avec l'intention de provoquer un changement d'état dans un objet » (Næss 2012). En nalögo, les constructions coverbales exprimant des événements C&B sont constituées de verbes ou de coverbes qui se trouvent dans deux positions : la première concerne le type d'action ou l'instrument utilisé, tandis que la seconde concerne les propriétés des objets ou la manière dont ils sont modifiés par l'action.

En nalögo, il y a quelques lexèmes supplémentaires qui apparaissent dans le complexe verbal et qui, contrairement aux coverbes, apparaissent dans la proposition de manière indépendante et remplissent des fonctions d'adverbes d'aspect, de degré et de manière. Pour cette raison, bien qu'ils se comportent comme des coverbes quant à leur position dans le complexe verbal, ils ne peuvent pas être définis comme tels. Les formes attestées le plus souvent dans les données sont, par exemple, *-dongo* « beaucoup », *-amu* « ensemble », *-(t)ëvë* « toujours ».

La sérialisation « core » comporte des noyaux non contigus du type sV(o)sV(o) (Bril 2004). En nalögo, la sérialisation « core » diffère de la sérialisation nucléaire car chaque verbe possède ses propres marques flexionnelles. Certaines fonctions communes à plusieurs constructions sérielles centrales incluent : (i) la manière ; (ii) la fonction de point final ; (iii) l'achèvement et (iv) l'intensification.

Enfin, l'intensification par la répétition de l'ensemble du complexe verbal est également attestée dans la langue.

9. Les directions au sein du complexe verbal

Le nalögo présente un ensemble de morphèmes liés exprimant des directions et qui se trouvent dans diverses positions du complexe verbal. Cet ensemble de formes comprend des directionnels principalement utilisés pour cadrer des événements dans l'espace, comme les directionnels « déictiques de personne » (= *m* 'vers le locuteur' / = *bwe* 'loin du locuteur') et topologiques (*-lä* 'haut' / *-tö* 'bas' ; *-pä* 'dehors' / *-tö* 'dans'), ainsi que des formes liées

supplémentaires exprimant des directions (*-nö* 'autour', *-o* 'de l'autre côté', *-plä* 'à travers', *-ki* 'trajet spécifique). Les directionnels sont très fréquents dans le complexe verbal, et cette fréquence élevée peut être expliquée par le vaste éventail de fonctions qu'ils couvrent, allant des significations spatiales primaires aux significations plus figurées. En nalögo, les directionnels comprennent les directionnels « déictiques de personne » et les directionnels topologiques.

Les directionnels déictiques comprennent une paire de coordonnées définies par rapport à un participant constituant le centre déictique. Ils sont exprimés par les morphèmes *=m* « vers le locuteur ; centre déictique » et *=bwe* « loin du locuteur ; centre déictique ». Le *=m* directionnel encode une direction « vers le locuteur, ou un groupe de personnes auquel le locuteur appartient, ou la portion d'espace où se trouve le locuteur » (François 2003). Selon la personne, *=m* peut déclencher des formes sujet spécifiques. Le déictique de personne directionnel *=bwe* peut également déclencher des formes sujet spécifiques. Les directionnels de personne « vers le locuteur » et « loin du locuteur » se placent à la périphérie du complexe verbal, juste avant les enclitiques de sujet. La fonction principale des directionnels déictiques de personne est de diriger l'événement « vers » ou « loin » du centre déictique, selon la forme. Le centre déictique peut être le locuteur, un groupe de personnes auquel le locuteur appartient ou le lieu où se trouve le locuteur. Le directionnel déictique de personne « vers le locuteur » peut avoir des fonctions étendues encodant une direction métaphorique ou physique en fonction des types de verbes sur lesquels il s'appuie. Par exemple, il peut apparaître avec des verbes de transfert, de parole ou, plus généralement, avec « toute activité qui serait dirigée vers (un groupe incluant) le locuteur ou le centre déictique » (François 2003). Des fonctions supplémentaires incluent : (i) la progression dans le temps (avec le directionnel *=m*) ; et (ii) l'arrivée à un point final (avec le directionnel *=bwe* dans les constructions verbales sérialisées).

Les directionnels topologiques encodent ce que François (2003) appelle des « coordonnées locales » exprimant « une caractéristique physique de la situation locale ». François fait une distinction entre deux types de ce qu'il appelle des « asymétries locales » : (i) l'axe vertical haut/bas, et (ii) l'axe dedans/dehors, qui repose sur la notion de « contenant ». En nalögo, ces notions sont exprimées par des directionnels organisés en deux paires : *-lë* « haut » et *-u* « bas », *-tö* « dans » et *-pä* « dehors ». Quant à leur position à l'intérieur du complexe verbal, les directionnels topologiques se placent juste après le noyau verbal. De plus, ces directionnels topologiques présentent ce que François (2003) appelle des usages « géocentriques », c'est-à-dire une orientation absolue ou relative. L'orientation géocentrique absolue implique des points de

référence fixes, divisant l'île approximativement du sud-ouest au nord-est. Cet axe, qui est très probablement basé sur la direction des vents, est codé par la paire de directionnels haut/bas. L'orientation géocentrique relative implique plutôt l'axe mer/terre qui est codé par la paire de directionnels entrée/sortie. L'existence de deux systèmes directionnels – un système relatif basé sur la topographie et un système absolu basé sur la direction des vents dominants – est courante dans les langues océaniques (Ozanne-Rivierre 1999 : 78).

Les directionnels topologiques peuvent également exprimer des fonctions supplémentaires : (i) ils peuvent être utilisés dans des constructions exprimant une comparaison ; (ii) le directionnel *-pä* « dehors » peut avoir une fonction de complément ; (iii) le directionnel *-tö* « dedans » peut exprimer une force accrue dans l'exécution d'une action. Enfin, les directionnels topologiques remplissent une fonction spéciale avec les verbes de posture exprimant des relations statiques.

Les directionnels topologiques peuvent apparaître avec les verbes de posture exprimant des relations statiques. Avec les verbes de posture, le directionnel *-lə* « haut » est utilisé dans les expressions signifiant « bas », et le directionnel *-u* « bas » dans les expressions signifiantes « haut ». De même, le directionnel *-pä* « dehors » est utilisé dans les expressions signifiant « dedans », et le directionnel *-tö* « dedans » dans les expressions signifiant « dehors » ou « contre, à côté de ». Les verbes de posture impliqués dans ces constructions sont des verbes comme *mno* « rester, vivre », *tu* « se tenir debout », etc. Lorsqu'ils remplissent ces fonctions, les directionnels topologiques peuvent se combiner avec les directionnels déictiques *=m* et *=bwe*. Une inversion semblable des sens directionnels dans les expressions statives se retrouve en äiwoo, la langue RSC parlée dans les îles Reef. Næss (2018b) analyse ces cas comme des manifestations d'un mouvement dit « fictif », « où la figure est interprétée comme se déplaçant métaphoriquement vers le sol ». La notion de « mouvement fictif » (Talmy 1983) fait référence aux relations statives qui sont interprétées comme impliquant un chemin métaphorique, sans qu'aucun mouvement physique réel ne soit impliqué. Par exemple, une relation stative comme « X est en dessous de Y » peut être interprétée comme impliquant un chemin métaphorique « où X est interprété comme se déplaçant vers le haut en direction de Y » (Næss 2018b). Une relation stative comme « X est au-dessus de Y », au contraire, peut être interprétée comme impliquant le chemin métaphorique opposé, où X se déplace vers le bas.

10. Temps, aspect et mode (TAM)

En termes de temps, d'aspect et de mode (TAM), le nalögo montre une distinction de base entre realis et irrealis comme beaucoup d'autres langues océaniques (Lynch et al. 2002 : 84, Ross

2004a : 500). En nalögo, le realis exprime des événements appartenant au « monde réel ». En tant que catégorie grammaticale, il n'y a pas de morphème spécifique de realis, contrairement à l'irrealis qui est exprimé par les morphèmes *nü-/në-*. Cette situation est parallèle à celle du POc où le realis n'était pas marqué (Lynch et al. 2002 : 84). Cependant, seul le contexte du realis montre une distinction aspectuelle entre les aspects perfectif et imperfectif qui est exprimée par les préfixes porte-manteau de sujet/aspect *i-/lë-* « PFV ; 3MIN/3AUG » et *tü-/të-* « IPFV ; 3MIN/3AUG ». Ces préfixes ne peuvent pas coexister dans le complexe verbal car ils occupent la même position.

En nalögo, le domaine realis est principalement utilisé pour des événements considérés comme appartenant au monde « réel », et exprimant les contextes suivants : (i) événements se déroulant dans le temps présent et passé ; (ii) aspect prospectif ; (iii) contextes hortatifs. En revanche, l'irréel est associé au monde « irréel » dans les contextes suivants : (i) événements potentiels, (ii) conditionnels (y compris les contrefactuels) ; (iii) événements qualifiés par la modalité. Lorsqu'il exprime le futur, l'irrealis peut coexister avec les formes du futur *jä/ä*, dont l'interaction dans les contextes futurs nécessite des études complémentaires. Le realis et l'irrealis peuvent apparaître dans des contextes négatifs, habituels et interrogatifs. Avec les conditionnels, la distribution des marqueurs de realis et d'irrealis nécessite des analyses plus fines.

En nalögo, il existe également des fonctions modales supplémentaires exprimées par les formes suivantes : le similatif/épistémique *apu* « probablement, peut-être », le verbe similatif *ngâ* « être comme », le marqueur déontique *-täpnö* « doit », le verbe *klë* « savoir » exprimant la capacité, les marqueurs jussifs et désidératifs *=na* et *=ta*.

En termes d'aspect, le domaine realis en nalögo montre une opposition entre perfectif et imperfectif. Le perfectif est utilisé pour encoder des significations aspectuelles comme l'habitualité, l'itérativité, la fréquentativité et l'aspect gnomique ; tandis que l'imperfectif est utilisé pour encoder des événements prospectifs. Dans la description de l'aspect en nalögo, une importance particulière est accordée au marqueur de changement d'état *=p(m)e*, analysé comme un enclitique, qui apparaît principalement à l'intérieur du complexe verbal, mais qui peut également s'appuyer sur des éléments supplémentaires utilisés de manière prédicative, tels que les classificateurs possessifs, les noms et les pronoms libres. Cette forme peut se combiner avec le perfectif ou l'imperfectif. Lorsqu'elle se combine avec le perfectif, elle peut exprimer deux types de changement d'état : soit elle exprime un changement d'état à partir d'un état négatif

antérieur (p. ex. non cuit > cuit) ; soit elle exprime un changement d'état conçu comme l'état résultant après la fin de l'événement (p. ex. mourir > être mort ; avec des verbes téliques dynamiques, des verbes d'accomplissement et de réalisation) ; soit elle exprime un événement achevé (p. ex. aller > est allé ; avec des verbes atéliques dynamiques, des verbes d'activité et des semelfactifs). Lorsqu'il se combine avec l'aspect imperfectif, $=p(m)e$ prend soit un sens ingressif (avec les états, les verbes atéliques et les verbes atéliques non ponctuels), soit un sens imminent (avec les verbes ponctuels téliques). Le marqueur $=p(m)e$ peut avoir des significations supplémentaires analogues à celle de l'anglais « already », ainsi que les significations « no longer, not ? anymore » dans des contextes négatifs. Enfin, ce marqueur est également utilisé pour exprimer un « changement de scène » au niveau du discours, pour introduire une nouvelle situation.

En plus du marqueur $=p(m)e$, il existe quelques significations aspectuelles supplémentaires exprimées par diverses formes. Par exemple, le marqueur continu $jâ$, qui n'apparaît qu'avec les sujets 3MIN/3AUG, peut coexister avec des verbes fléchis à l'aspect imperfectif afin d'exprimer une notion de « coïncidence », c'est-à-dire un événement conçu comme ayant lieu « au moment présent ». L'aspect complétif peut s'exprimer par la sérialisation du verbe intransitif $yökö$ « finir », tandis que l'enclitique $=pnö$, dont la présence dans le complexe verbal semble être optionnelle, exprime une fonction complétive/passée. Le nalögo possède également un marqueur continuatif $=ma$ exprimant le sens de « continuer à faire qqch », qui se trouve à la périphérie du complexe verbal, et les formes adverbiales aspectuelles $=p(m)o$ « encore » et $=bo$ « toujours » exprimant la répétition d'un événement et le fait qu'une action ayant eu lieu avant le moment du discours se poursuive dans le temps.

11. Classes de verbes

Comme d'autres langues SC, le nalögo présente un bon nombre de morphèmes de changement de valence, qui augmentent ou diminuent la valence de base du verbe. Les formes verbales en nalögo sont divisées en quatre classes principales selon leur comportement morphosyntaxique : intransitif, semitransitif, transitif et ambitransitif.

Les verbes intransitifs ont un seul argument S qui est typiquement préverbal. Ils sont divisés en trois classes : (i) les verbes intransitifs sans correspondant transitif ($bwë$ « mourir (INTR) »), (ii) les verbes intransitifs dont les formes transitives sont produites en ajoutant le préfixe causatif $(v)a-$ ($minga$ « être sec (INTR) » > $(v)a-minga$ « rendre sec (TR) ») ; (iii) les verbes

intransitifs avec des formes applicative et causative (*gwa* « courir (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-gwa* « faire courir (TR) », *gwa-mi* « courir avec (TR) »).

Sémantiquement, les verbes intransitifs appartenant à la sous-classe (ii) expriment généralement des propriétés du sujet (*minga* « être sec (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-minga* « faire (TR) »), des significations « affectées »¹ (*ku* « cuire (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-ku* « cuire (TR) »), un mouvement involontaire (*tau* « tomber (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-tau* « faire tomber (TR) »), une ouverture (*mwaku* « ouvrir (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-mwaku* « ouvrir (TR) ») ou un mouvement causé non accompagné (*ngabä* « couler (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-ngabä* « verser (TR) »). Les verbes intransitifs appartenant à la sous-classe (iii) sont principalement des verbes d'émotions (*vu* « être heureux (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-vu* « rendre heureux (TR) », *vu=ngö* « heureux pour/à propos de (TR) »), des verbes de parole (*yöpwale* « rire » > (*v*)*a-yöpwale* « faire rire (INTR) », *yöpwale-ulë* « rire de (TR) ») ou des verbes de mouvement et de posture (*vë* « aller » > (*v*)*a-vë* « faire aller (TR) », *vë-ti* « aller pour (TR) » ; *mno* « rester (INTR) » > (*v*)*a-mno* « rester (TR) », *mno-ti* « rester pour (TR) »).

Le nalögo présente également une classe de verbes semitransitifs apparaissant dans des constructions semitransitives et qui sont utilisées pour marquer une focalisation de l'action. Elles ont deux arguments comme les constructions à verbes transitifs, mais sont morphologiquement intransitives ; les propriétés des deux arguments, étiquetés A_{STR} et O_{STR} , diffèrent de celles attestées avec les arguments des verbes transitifs, en particulier l'objet semitransitif tend à être moins individué (par exemple, générique) et moins pragmatiquement pertinent. Un exemple de verbe semitransitif est *pwe* « planter ». Les verbes semitransitifs doivent être transitivés par *-ti* pour marquer des objets transitifs hautement individué dans des constructions transitives.

Le nalögo a une classe de verbes transitifs par défaut entrant dans des constructions transitives sans morphologie dérivationnelle. Ils comportent deux sous-classes : (i) les verbes transitifs sans formes dérivées intransitives/semitransitives, et (ii) les verbes transitifs avec des formes dérivées semitransitives. Les formes verbales semitransitives dérivées appartenant à la sous-classe (ii) sont dérivées par le préfixe de moyen (*v*)*ö-* (*kü* « dig (TR) » > (*v*)*ö-kü* « dig

¹ Le terme « verbes d'affect » est utilisé par Dixon (2005 : 110-119) pour désigner les verbes qui dénotent des événements où il y a quelque chose de déplacé ou de manipulé par l'agent « de sorte qu'il entre en contact avec une chose ou une personne [...] ».

(SEM) »). Alors que les verbes transitifs appartenant à la sous-classe (i) sont rares, les verbes transitifs appartenant à la sous-classe (ii) sont plus fréquents et appartiennent à des groupes

sémantiquement variés, tels que les verbes de processus corporels, les verbes d'« affect » et les verbes de mouvement provoqué.

Le nalögo possède une classe de verbes ambitransitifs qui peuvent être utilisés transitivement ou intransitivement sans morphologie supplémentaire. Typologiquement, il existe deux types distincts de verbes ambitransitifs que Dixon (2010 : 124) étiquette comme « S=A » et « S=O ». Avec les ambitransitifs S=A, le S est marqué comme le A des constructions transitives ; tandis qu'avec les ambitransitifs S=O, le S est marqué comme le O des constructions transitives. La plupart des verbes ambitransitifs en nalögo sont du type S=A (par exemple, *mwa* « manger (INTR/TR) »).

12. Les propositions simples

Le nalögo affiche une distinction entre les propositions simples verbales et les propositions sans verbe. Les propositions déclaratives simples impliquent un prédicat verbal et ses arguments de base obligatoires, qu'ils soient explicites ou implicites. En nalögo, les arguments de base sont généralement sous-entendus s'ils sont référentiels, leur fonction n'est pas indiquée par des cas ; les arguments périphériques et les circonstants sont introduits par des prépositions.

Les propositions intransitives n'ont qu'un seul argument étiqueté S. Lorsque S est exprimé par des nominaux, l'ordre des mots est SV et VS, SV étant l'ordre préféré. Si l'argument S est codé par un pronom libre, SV est le seul ordre des mots possible.

Les propositions transitives ont deux arguments principaux étiquetés A_{TR} et O_{TR}. L'argument A_{TR} est l'acteur, tandis que l'argument O_{TR} est le thème ou patient. Alors que A_{TR} est exprimé sur le verbe par des enclitiques sujet, O_{TR} est généralement exprimé par des pronoms libres survenant après le verbe. Selon la classe du verbe, les propositions transitives peuvent être marquées par le suffixe transitivisant *-ti*. Avec les arguments nominaux A_{TR}, l'ordre de base des mots est VA_{TR}O_{TR}. La dislocation des deux arguments de base est courante dans le discours en raison de facteurs pragmatiques. Ainsi, deux autres ordres des mots courants topicalisant l'un des deux arguments sont A_{TR}VO_{TR} et O_{TR}VA_{TR}. Avec les arguments pronominaux A_{TR}, le seul ordre de mots possible est A_{TR}VO_{TR}. Lorsque l'argument A_{TR} est disloqué, un enclitique sujet

apparaît obligatoirement sur le verbe pour signaler la position originale de l'acteur. Les arguments A_{TR} et les enclitiques sujets sont mutuellement exclusifs après le verbe, ils ne peuvent pas coexister en position postverbale.

Les constructions semi-transitives sont généralement utilisées pour focaliser l'action lorsque le patient est pragmatiquement non-pertinent. La notion de « focalisation de l'action » peut donner lieu à des interprétations aspectuellement non-bornées de l'événement (exprimant par exemple, l'habitude, les énoncés génériques, l'aspect gnomique). Syntaxiquement, ces constructions ont deux arguments, A_{STR} et O_{STR} , mais morphologiquement, elles sont intransitives et le sujet est marqué comme un sujet de verbe intransitif. Les constructions semitransitives peuvent impliquer des verbes marqués par le préfixe de moyen (ν) \ddot{o} -. Les propositions semitransitives diffèrent des propositions transitives de diverses manières. Premièrement, l'ordre de base de la construction semitransitive est $A_{STR}VO_{STR}$, avec l'argument A_{STR} en position préverbale. Lorsque l'argument A_{STR} est exprimé par des nominaux, l'ordre $VO_{STR}A_{STR}$ est également possible. Les objets semitransitifs sont différents des objets incorporés et des objets transitifs, bien qu'ils partagent certaines propriétés avec ces derniers. Contrairement aux objets incorporés, les objets des verbes semitransitifs : (i) ne forment pas une unité phonologique avec le verbe et (ii) se produisent en dehors du complexe verbal. Contrairement aux objets des verbes transitifs, (i) ils ne peuvent pas être disloqués, (ii) ils ne peuvent pas prendre un grand nombre de modificateurs, (iii) ils ne peuvent être quantifiés par exemple par le quantificateur *yökö* « tout » et (iv) ils ne peuvent pas être la cible d'opérations syntaxiques comme l'applicativisation ou la relativisation, car ce ne sont pas des arguments au même titre que les objets des verbes transitifs. Du point de vue sémantique, la plupart des objets semitransitifs sont faiblement individuéés (génériques, pluriels, non spécifiques) et ils ne sont pas pragmatiquement proéminents, contrairement aux objets transitifs.

Comme mentionné précédemment, alors que les arguments du noyau verbal ne sont pas marqués, les arguments périphériques sont introduits par des prépositions. La préposition *ba*, très courante, est utilisée pour introduire divers rôles sémantiques, tels que bénéficiaire, destinataire, interlocuteur, emplacement, direction, instrument et source. Deux autres prépositions, *mö* et *bä*, sont deux variantes dialectales, qui expriment également divers rôles, principalement locatifs. Dans les propositions simples, les syntagmes prépositionnels, les noms temporels et locatifs peuvent être utilisés comme circonstants. Les adverbes apparaissent également dans les propositions simples pour modifier le prédicat. Ils constituent une classe

ouverte, dont les membres expriment des significations telles que l'aspect, le temps, la manière, le lieu, etc.

Les propositions sans verbe ont des prédicats nominaux. Ils comprennent les propositions « équatives » (par exemple « Ann est ma sœur ») et les prédications « d'inclusion » (par exemple « Marguerite est écrivaine »). En nalögo, les constructions équatives et d'inclusion sont principalement exprimées par juxtaposition.

Outre les prédicats nominaux, il existe également des constructions locatives, existentielles et possessives en nalögo. Dans les constructions locatives (par exemple, « Mon sac est à l'école »), l'entité localisée fonctionne comme le sujet de la construction, tandis que la copule locative *jâ* et le lieu, généralement exprimé par un syntagme prépositionnel, constituent la prédication. La copule est obligatoire dans cette construction. Les propositions existentielles (par exemple, « Il y a des filles dans la maison ») impliquent trois composants structurels : (i) l'élément prédicatif *kopyo(=ng)* « il y a », (ii) le syntagme nominal exprimant le sujet, et (iii) un circonstant locatif/temporel facultatif. Enfin, la prédication possessive du type « j'ai/je possède X » peut être exprimée par trois stratégies : (i) par une prédication possessive complexe ; (ii) par le prédicat possessif hybride *vöngi* (~ (*v*)*ängi*) « avoir » ; (iii) par un prédicat possessif existentiel *yobwe* « exister ».

Outre les propositions déclaratives avec ou sans verbe, il existe d'autres types de propositions simples en nalögo, notamment les questions « polaires » et « de contenu », les *tag questions*, les *echo questions*, les impératifs, les hortatifs et les exclamations. En nalögo, les questions polaires n'ont pas de marqueurs ou de particules spéciales et sont structurellement similaires aux propositions déclaratives simples, le verbe prenant tous les types communs d'inflexions et de dérivations. Cependant, les questions polaires présentent un schéma intonatif différent. En revanche, les questions de contenu impliquent un certain nombre de mots interrogatifs. Un autre type attesté de propositions interrogatives est celui des *tag questions*, où la présence de « tag » interrogatif suscite des attentes quant au type de réponse – positive ou négative – à la question. En nalögo, il existe un « tag » *nge* qui est utilisé indépendamment de la polarité attendue de la réponse. Cela semble suggérer qu'en nalögo, la polarité de la réponse dépend dans une large mesure de la polarité de la proposition déclarative sur laquelle l'interrogative est basée. Les *echo questions*, qui sont les questions utilisées pour demander « une clarification sur un énoncé précédent » (König & Siemund 2007 : 318), présentent la même structure que les propositions

interrogatives régulières, mais le mot interrogatif est exprimé dans la position canonique de l'argument sur lequel porte l'interrogation.

Les impératifs affirmatifs ne peuvent comporter qu'une racine verbale. En termes de marquage du sujet, les sujets 2MIN ne sont pas exprimés, tandis que les sujets 2AUG sont exprimés par des enclitiques. En nalögo, les formes impératives peuvent prendre certaines inflexions de temps, d'aspect et de mode, même si elles sont moins nombreuses que celles attestées dans les autres formes verbales. Par exemple, avec les verbes statifs, les formes impératives peuvent prendre le préfixe perfectif N3AUG *i-* ou le marqueur de « changement d'état » =*p(m)e*. Les propositions irrealis des sujets 1MIN et 3MIN/AUG peuvent présenter une fonction hortative. Le sens de cette construction est « que X fasse Y ! ». En revanche, les hortatifs avec la personne 1AUG sont obligatoirement exprimés par des préfixes imperfectifs et le marqueur de « changement d'état » =*pme*. Ces formes verbales sont infléchies pour le mode et l'aspect et prennent des enclitiques de sujet 1AUG.

Les exclamations en nalögo peuvent être exprimées par deux stratégies : (i) les propositions déclaratives simples et (ii) les questions « de contenu ».

Enfin, il n'y a pas de morphèmes dédiés codant les constructions comparatives et superlatives. Les directionnels apparaissant dans le complexe verbal semblent entrer dans les constructions exprimant des comparatifs.

13. Constructions modifiant la valence

Le nalögo a un grand nombre de morphèmes de changement de valence apparaissant sur des verbes appartenant à différentes classes.

La causativisation est exprimée par le préfixe causatif (*v*)*a-*, très probablement issu du préfixe causatif POc **pa[ka]*-. Ce préfixe peut s'appliquer à la plupart des types de verbes intransitifs. Les verbes intransitifs qui ne présentent pas de forme causativisée ont une forme transitive distincte (par exemple *bwë* « mourir », *nibü* « tuer »). En plus des verbes intransitifs, (*v*)*a-* peut également changer la valence des verbes ambitransitifs et même transitifs. L'occurrence du causatif avec des verbes transitifs est rare et nécessite des recherches supplémentaires. Le préfixe causatif (*v*)*a-* présente également quelques utilisations non causatives, notamment : (i) la dérivation de verbes à partir de noms (*mëlue* « frère » > *a-mëlue* « respect, adoration ») ; (ii) l'occurrence sur des modificateurs de verbes dans des constructions sérialisées (*vängi-a-tüka* « se sentir mal », formé par *vängi* « se sentir » et la forme causativisée du verbe statif *tüka* « être

mal ») ; (iii) l'occurrence sur des verbes déjà transitifs (*glü* « porter », (*v*)*a-glü* « porter ») ; (iv) des formes fossilisées (*vamwa* « se reposer », *vaeula* « montrer »).

Le processus d'applicativisation en nalögo est également très courant. Les langues océaniques ont tendance à présenter un large éventail de morphèmes de changement de valence (Ross 2004a). Cela vaut également pour le nalögo, qui a six formes applicatives : *-ti*, *-neba*, *-ulë*, *-mi* et *=ngö*. La forme *-ti* peut fonctionner comme une forme transitive/applicative, selon le sens du verbe auquel elle s'attache. En termes de position syntaxique à l'intérieur du syntagme verbal, le suffixe se place à l'intérieur du noyau verbal. Sa fonction principale est de promouvoir à la fonction argumentale divers rôles périphériques, notamment locatif, directionnel, but, stimulus, contenu, bénéficiaire, direction et temps. L'applicatif *-mi* est utilisé pour promouvoir un rôle comitatif périphérique à une fonction d'argument. Il s'attache typiquement aux verbes intransitifs en augmentant leur valence. Il est considéré comme faisant partie du complexe verbal en raison de sa position juste après le verbe. En plus des rôles comitatifs, *-mi* peut aussi exprimer des rôles d'« aboutness », de « contenu » et de « similitude ». Sa fonction est également étendue pour fonctionner comme un morphème de liaison entre propositions. L'origine la plus probable du suffixe *-mi* est le verbe comitatif POc **mai-i* (ou **me-i*) (MoysseFaurie & Lynch 2004 : 486). Ceci est plausible, puisque la sérialisation verbale semble être l'une des sources les plus communes des constructions applicatives dans les langues (Peterson 2007 : 201). L'applicatif *-neba* est utilisé pour promouvoir les rôles de bénéficiaire, de destinataire et d'allocutaire à la fonction d'argument. Il peut se placer sur des verbes intransitifs et transitifs, les rendant respectivement bivalents et trivalents. Avec les verbes transitifs, la forme *-neba* peut être interprétée soit comme un applicatif, soit comme une forme oblique. Les origines de *-neba* ne sont actuellement pas entièrement comprises. L'applicatif *-ulë* est typiquement suffixé aux verbes intransitifs, les rendant bivalents. Il promeut principalement les rôles de point final/objectif avec des verbes comme *yöpwale* « rire » et *kâ* « hurler ». Plus généralement, *-ulë* s'utilise avec tous les verbes qui admettent un objet applicatif exprimant le point final ou le but d'une action. En nalögo, l'origine de *-ulë* est très probablement le verbe transitif *ulë* « frapper qqn avec un objet lancé ». Enfin, la forme applicative *-ki* exprime les rôles sémantiques de direction, source, emplacement et manière. Ils ont tous une composante sémantique de « trajet spécifique ». Le suffixe *-ki* se place sur les verbes intransitifs et transitifs. L'applicatif *=ngö* (~ *=nö*) est utilisé pour promouvoir divers rôles périphériques à la fonction d'argument. Il s'emploie avec des verbes intransitifs, semitransitifs, transitifs ou ambitransitifs. Sa position à l'intérieur du complexe verbal est périphérique, après le noyau. L'applicatif *=ngö*

peut ajouter une variété de rôles périphériques en tant qu'objets applicatifs. Les plus courants sont le stimulus, la cause, « à propos de », le contenu, le but, le lieu, l'instrument et le temps. Lorsque =ngö est utilisé dans des constructions bivalentes basées sur des verbes transitifs et semitransitifs, il a deux fonctions: (i) il ajoute un objet applicatif à la proposition ; (ii) il donne à l'objet applicatif le statut d'objet « primaire », en ce sens que c'est celui des deux objets qui est privilégié pragmatiquement et syntaxiquement. En termes d'origine, Naitoro (2019 : 43) pense que l'applicatif -ngö en natügu (qui est très probablement apparenté à la forme =ngö en nalögo) pourrait être un reflet de POc *-ani. Bien que des reflets de *-ani soient également attestés dans des langues océaniques appartenant à d'autres groupes, des études historiques supplémentaires sont nécessaires pour mieux comprendre l'origine de -ngö/=ngö.

En nalögo, il y a également trois constructions de type *patient-backgrounding* : les moyens, les réfléchis et les réciproques, qui sont tous marqués par le marqueur de moyen =lëbu, un cognat possible du verbe POc *buli(ŋ) « rouler ». En nalögo, les situations de voix moyenne sont typiquement exprimées lexicalement, mais il existe quelques verbes marqués par le morphème de moyen =lëbu. En revanche, les constructions réfléchies sont toujours marquées par =lëbu. Typologiquement, les réfléchis en nalögo sont intéressants car ils ont à la fois des propriétés transitives et intransitives. Lorsque =lëbu s'attache à des verbes bivalents, signalant la coréférence entre les deux participants, la construction devient syntaxiquement intransitive et le sujet est marqué comme un sujet de verbe intransitif. Les constructions réciproques peuvent être exprimées de deux manières : (i) avec le marqueur de moyen =lëbu ; (ii) avec une construction plus lourde, combinant =lëbu et le marqueur de réciprocité plus spécialisé -welo. Dans certaines constructions, -welo peut également apparaître dans le complexe verbal comme seul marqueur de réciprocité. Avec certains verbes, le réciproque peut être exprimé par le préfixe de voix moyenne (v)ö- (par exemple, të « frapper » > (v)ö-të « se frapper l'un l'autre »), qui, comme mentionné précédemment, peut également s'attacher à une sous-classe de verbes transitifs pour dériver des formes verbales semitransitives. Cette stratégie pour exprimer des réciproques est très rare. Le préfixe de moyen (v)ö- est également attesté dans des constructions dépatientives (Lichtenberk 2000 ; Brill 2005) où le patient est omis. Ces constructions sont morphologiquement et syntaxiquement intransitives.

Enfin, le nalögo présente une construction de type passif, dont le marqueur lë- (të-, në-) est homophone et très probablement lié au préfixe 3AUG lë- (të-, në-). En général, les constructions passives sont assez rares dans les langues océaniques.

14. Les relations grammaticales

Comparées à la majorité des langues océaniques, les langues RSC présentent un profil typologique inhabituel en termes de structure propositionnelle. D'une part, l'äiwoo, la langue RSC parlée dans les îles Reef, présente un système de voix symétrique, ce qui est assez inhabituel pour une langue océanique, car on pense généralement que les systèmes de voix ont été perdus à l'époque du POc (Næss 2015b). D'autre part, bien qu'elles appartiennent au même sous-groupe, les langues SC parlées à Santa Cruz ont des systèmes plus canoniques basés sur la transitivité avec trois types de constructions principales – transitif, transitif et semitransitif.

Les relations grammaticales (RG) du nalögo varient en fonction de ces constructions et de leur valence. Les relations grammaticales analysées dans la grammaire sont les suivantes : (i) l'ordre des termes référant au sujet et à l'objet, i.e., $\{A_{TR}, A_{STR}, S\}$; (ii) la présence de syntagmes verbaux (VP) dans les constructions transitives et semitransitives sélectionnant respectivement la RG $\{A_{TR}\}$ et $\{O_{STR}\}$; (iii) l'ordre des arguments nominaux dans les constructions intransitives, semitransitives et transitives, sélectionnant respectivement la RG $\{S\}$, $\{A_{STR}\}$, et $\{O_{TR}\}$; (iv) le fait que le quantificateur flottant sélectionne les RG $\{S, A_{TR}, O_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$, mais exclut O_{STR} puisque ce dernier ne peut être quantifié du fait de sa faible individuation (réfèrent générique, pluriel, non spécifique); (v) le processus de relativisation sélectionne aussi tous les RG $\{S, O_{TR}, A_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$, sauf O_{STR} pour les mêmes raisons. Cependant, en termes de stratégie de relativisation, la RG $\{S, O_{TR}, A_{STR}\}$ est sélectionnée par la stratégie « gap », tandis que A_{TR} est relativisé par la stratégie résomptive.

Dans les propositions simples, l'ordre des formes pronominales sur le verbe indique un système océanien assez typique où nous pouvons identifier une sorte de modèle « sujet » où S , A_{STR} et A_{TR} sont regroupés et marqués différemment de O_{TR} . Bien que cela soit valable pour la plupart des personnes, les troisièmes personnes minimale et augmentée montrent un schéma différent où les arguments S , A_{STR} sont traités différemment de A_{TR} et O_{TR} . Dans ce cas, le système semble suivre un schéma tripartite. Les arguments O_{STR}/O_{TR} diffèrent des schémas précédents, car ils ne sont pas marqués sur le verbe, à l'exception de la forme sujet 3MIN =*le* qui apparaît dans certains contextes spécifiques, tels que les nominalisations et les constructions applicatives marquées par =*ngö*.

En plus de l'ordre des pronoms sujet et objet, les constructions des syntagmes verbaux et l'ordre des mots semblent avoir des préférences pour des relations grammaticales spécifiques. Dans les propositions transitives et semitransitives, il semble y avoir deux syntagmes verbaux (VP), le

premier est suivi du sujet des verbes transitifs {V A_{TR}}, l'autre est suivi de l'objet des verbes semi-transitifs {V O_{STR}} ; l'ordre de O_{STR} est toujours post-verbal, tandis que A_{TR} peut être antéposé pour des raisons pragmatiques. Dans cette analyse, la notion de VP est utilisée de manière théoriquement neutre pour indiquer que le verbe forme une unité syntaxique avec un argument.

Les deux arguments A_{STR} des verbes semi-transitifs et O_{TR} des verbes transitifs, ainsi que S, montrent plus de liberté de position en lien avec la pragmatique. Avec les pronoms libres, la situation est différente, dans la mesure où en fonction sujet, qu'ils soient {S, A_{TR}, A_{STR}}, leur encodage est similaire à celui des formes pronominales liées.

Les constructions « à contrôle » et la coordination ne semblent sélectionner aucune RG, tandis que le quantificateur flottant sélectionne les arguments en fonction {S A_{TR} O_{TR} A_{STR}} où le seul argument exclu est O_{STR}. De plus, il y a une différence entre les arguments A_{TR} et O_{TR} : les deux arguments sont compatibles avec le quantificateur « flottant » en dehors du syntagme nominal, mais seul l'argument O_{TR} peut être quantifié par le quantificateur flottant en position finale de phrase.

Comparé à l'äiwoo et aux langues austronésiennes occidentales, le nalögo présente des différences considérables dans son organisation propositionnelle. Tout d'abord, le nalögo n'a pas un système de voix avec des verbes morphologiquement marqués pour le rôle de l'argument le plus proéminent. Le nalögo montre un système assez complexe avec de nombreux morphèmes changeant la valence, mais aucune morphologie de voix. À cet égard, d'un point de vue océanien, le système est plutôt canonique. En outre, comme dans la majorité des langues océaniques, les pronoms « sujets » marquent S et A_{TR} de la même façon.

Cependant, il existe certaines constructions grammaticales dont le schéma est similaire à un système de voix symétrique, en ce sens qu'elles sélectionnent le S des intransitifs, l'A_{STR} des semitransitifs et l'O_{TR} des transitifs. C'est le cas, par exemple, de l'ordre des mots (avec des arguments nominaux) et de la relativisation (en termes de stratégie de relativisation). Ce sont autant de propriétés communes avec les alternances de voix, dans la mesure où il existe une construction à deux arguments où le A post-verbal est le plus proche du verbe et une autre construction où le O_{STR} post-verbal est le plus proche du verbe sans être incorporé. À cet égard, le nalögo présente certains parallélismes avec certaines langues austronésiennes occidentales comme le balinaï, et avec l'äiwoo. En termes de structure de VP, le nalögo montre également quelques similitudes avec l'äiwoo et les langues austronésiennes occidentales. Les propositions

transitives présentent un VP où l'argument A_{TR} est syntaxiquement plus proche du verbe. De même, l'äiwoo et le balinaïse présentent un type de VP à la voix *undergoer* où l'acteur forme une unité avec le verbe. De plus, en balinaïse, le thème/patient de la voix acteur forme également un VP avec le verbe. Le VP attesté à la voix acteur en balinaïse semble structurellement similaire à celui attesté dans les propositions semitransitives du nalögo où l'argument O_{STR} forme une unité avec le verbe.

15. Négation

Le nalögo déploie différentes stratégies de négation.

Tout d'abord, les syntagmes nominaux sont niés par le négateur *tonlii* « ne pas », qui a deux fonctions supplémentaires : (i) il fonctionne comme une réponse négative signifiant « non » dans les questions polaires et (ii) il fonctionne comme un négateur dans les propositions sans verbe.

En revanche, dans les propositions déclaratives verbales, le nalögo utilise la négation bipartite *te=...=lii*. La seconde façon dont les propositions déclaratives simples sont niées comporte uniquement le négateur préverbal *te=* qui se combine avec l'adverbe lié *=ka* « encore ». L'adverbe lié ne peut pas coexister avec le second négateur *=lii* mentionné ci-dessus.

Les impératifs négatifs sont marqués par la négation *bwë* en position préverbale. Contrairement aux impératifs affirmatifs, les impératifs négatifs, également connus sous le nom de prohibitifs, permettent la présence d'inflexions verbales. La même forme *bwë* peut fonctionner comme un prédicat signifiant « que cela ne soit pas » pour nier certaines constructions modales exprimant une forte obligation. Les constructions locatives n'ont pas de construction négative ; au lieu de cela, elles sont remplacées par de simples propositions verbales comprenant des verbes de posture niés par la négation bipartite. Les propositions existentielles négatives sont marquées par le verbe *topnö* « ne pas exister ». Ce même verbe négatif apparaît aussi dans les propositions possessives. Enfin, la stratégie de négation utilisée dans les propositions interrogatives varie selon les types de propositions, dans le sens où chaque proposition a sa propre négation, à l'instar de ce que l'on trouve dans les propositions déclaratives.

16. Propositions complétives

En nalögo, les propositions complétives peuvent être « finies » ou « non-finies ». En termes de position syntaxique, les propositions complétives à verbe fini/conjugué suivent toujours les

propositions principales. Les complétives finies peuvent être introduites par des complémenteurs. Le complémenteur le plus courant est *nge*, mais il existe d'autres types de complémenteurs, comme le complémenteur *kä* et certains complémenteurs interrogatifs. La forme *kä* et les complémenteurs interrogatifs ne sont attestés dans le corpus qu'avec le prédicat de connaissance *klë* « savoir ». Les propositions non-finies font usage de nominalisations.

Les types de prédicats dont la complétive est obligatoirement introduite par un complémenteur comprennent les prédicats d'énonciation, de connaissance, d'attitude propositionnelle et de perception. Les prédicats autorisant des complétives non-finies incluent les prédicats de phases et modaux. Les prédicats d'accomplissement et désidératifs utilisent les deux stratégies.

Enfin, le discours rapporté direct et indirect fonctionne comme compléments d'une proposition principale dont le prédicat est un prédicat d'énonciation.

17. Propositions relatives

En nalögo, les propositions relatives modifient la tête du syntagme nominal. Lorsque d'autres modificateurs apparaissent, les propositions relatives se placent généralement après les démonstratifs et les classificateurs possessifs, mais avant les numéraux. La position des propositions relatives n'est pas surprenante, étant donné que le nalögo est une langue VO où la majorité des modificateurs suivent la tête du syntagme nominal. Dans les langues océaniques, les propositions relatives suivant la tête sont couramment attestées (Lynch *et al.* 2002 : 43). Les propositions relatives en nalögo sont introduites par un relateur *kä*, ou sont juxtaposées à la tête du syntagme nominal sans aucun morphème, selon le degré d'identifiabilité du référent exprimé par l'argument relativisé. La forme *kä* n'est pas analysée comme un pronom relatif, car il ne spécifie pas la fonction du syntagme nominal relativisé.

Divers éléments grammaticaux peuvent fonctionner comme têtes des propositions relatives, notamment les noms pleins, les noms liés, les démonstratifs et les quantificateurs. Les propositions relatives ayant pour tête un nom complet sont définies comme étant « à tête complète », tandis que les propositions relatives ayant pour tête des éléments grammaticaux « plus légers », comme les démonstratifs, les quantificateurs et les noms liés, sont définies comme étant « à tête légère ». Le terme « à tête légère » a été introduit par Citko (2004). Les propositions relatives « sans tête », également appelées relatives « libres » dans la littérature, n'ont pas de tête nominale. En nalögo, les propositions relatives « sans tête » peuvent être marquées par des mots interrogatifs.

Les syntagmes nominaux relativisés marquent leur propre fonction externe, c'est-à-dire qu'ils marquent leur propre rôle syntaxique dans la proposition principale. En nalögo, il n'y a pas de restrictions sur les fonctions externes des noms principaux.

Les propositions relatives sont généralement associées à la « hiérarchie d'accessibilité » (Keenan & Comrie 1977) : SUJET > OBJET DIRECT > OBJET INDIRECT > OBLIQUE > GÉNITIF > OBJET DU COMPARATIF. La hiérarchie d'accessibilité, dont l'ordre est fondé sur des généralisations typologiques, a une nature implicative, en ce sens que, si dans une langue quelconque, une position spécifique sur la hiérarchie est relativisable, alors, toutes les positions à sa gauche sont aussi relativisables. À cet égard, les langues océaniques « permettent généralement la relativisation des syntagmes nominaux tout en bas de la hiérarchie universelle d'accessibilité » (Lynch *et al.* 2002 : 43). En nalögo, la plupart des fonctions grammaticales peuvent être relativisées, à l'exception de l'objet semitransitif. La possibilité pour l'objet du comparatif d'être relativisé n'a pas été testée.

Selon le type de fonction du syntagme nominal relativisé, deux stratégies sont attestées : la stratégie à place vide (*gap*) et la stratégie avec pronom de rappel (*resumptive*). Quand la stratégie *gap* est utilisée, l'argument manquant de la proposition relative est associé à la tête externe qui est alors interprétée comme comblant la place vide. Le terme *resumptive* fait référence aux formes pronominales qui apparaissent obligatoirement dans la proposition relative. Avec les arguments relativisés S, A_{STR} et O_{TR}, seule la stratégie *gap* est utilisée. Avec les rôles périphériques, les deux stratégies sont attestées. Enfin, avec l'argument A_{TR} et les référents possesseurs, seule la stratégie résomptive est permise.

18. Propositions adverbiales

En nalögo, les propositions subordonnées adverbiales peuvent être finies ou non-finies, c'est-à-dire qu'elles peuvent impliquer soit des propositions finies avec des prédicats portant leurs propres inflexions (telles que l'aspect et le mode), soit des propositions non-finies exprimées par des nominalisations, qui n'ont typiquement d'inflexion ni de temps ni d'aspect ni de mode. Les propositions adverbiales les plus couramment attestées dans le corpus sont : (i) les propositions temporelles ; (ii) les propositions exprimant la raison ; (iii) les propositions de but, (iv) les propositions de manière ; (v) les propositions conditionnelles ; (vi) les propositions de précaution et d'appréhension ; (vii) les propositions concessives ; (viii) les propositions substitutives ; (ix) les propositions additives.

Les propositions temporelles sont des propositions finies qui peuvent être introduites par divers subordonnants, selon leur sens : *awi* « avant », *kä* « quand » et *mö nibö* « après ». Les propositions temporelles du type « Quand j'allais à l'école, Marie est arrivée » sont analysées comme des propositions relatives dont la tête est un syntagme nominal exprimant un rôle temporel, *mweli kä* « cette fois », promu à la fonction principale par l'applicatif =*ngö* attaché au verbe de la proposition temporelle. Les significations temporelles peuvent être également exprimées par des nominalisations fonctionnant comme les objets des prépositions *bä* et *mö*. Enfin, les propositions non-finies exprimées par des nominalisations peuvent être utilisées pour exprimer des significations temporelles.

Les propositions exprimant la raison peuvent être exprimées par quatre stratégies utilisant des propositions finies ou non-finies. Les propositions finies peuvent être introduites soit par le morphème *aki* « parce que », soit par le syntagme nominal *kât=de kä* « sa raison », soit par l'expression complexe *kä tü-ngâ=ngö=de kä* « parce que (*lit.* la manière dont il est que...) ». En outre, le rôle sémantique de raison peut être également encodé par des prépositions prenant des nominalisations pour objets.

Les propositions de but sont généralement exprimées par des nominalisations introduites soit par les deux prépositions *mö* et *bä*, soit par l'expression complexe *da-lö* « pour ».

Les propositions de manière sont analysées comme des propositions relatives dont la tête est l'argument relativisé fonctionnant comme un argument central promu par l'applicatif =*ngö* et exprimant un rôle sémantique de manière.

Les propositions conditionnelles présentent différentes stratégies selon leur signification. Il y a une subordonnée *kä* qui introduit les protases de certains conditionnels (« réalité », « imaginaire » et « prédicatif »). Avec d'autres conditionnels, comme par exemple les contrefactuels, aucune subordonnée n'est utilisée.

Comme le dit Lichtenberk (1995 : 298), les propositions de précaution impliquent deux événements codant une « situation de précaution » et une « situation causant l'appréhension », la première étant provoquée par la possibilité de la seconde. En nalögo, les propositions de précaution précèdent les situations d'appréhension et sont reliées à celles-ci par le morphème *mö* « au cas où ».

Les significations concessives sont exprimées par une proposition finie introduite par l'expression *kä i-ngâ=le öte* « même si », composée de la forme verbale *ngâ* « être comme » et du nombre *öte* « un ».

Les significations substitutives impliquant un événement attendu remplacé par un événement inattendu (Thompson *et al.* 2007) sont exprimées en nalögo par deux propositions coordonnées, dont la première contient la forme modale *ngâ* et la seconde est introduite par le coordinateur adversatif *aa* « mais ».

Enfin, les significations additives impliquant « un état de choses en plus d'un autre » (Thompson *et al.* 2007 : 264) sont introduites par les prépositions *mö* ou *bä* signifiant « avec », suivies d'une nominalisation.

19. Coordination

En nalögo, la coordination peut être syndétique ou asyndétique. La coordination syndétique est monosyndétique, marquée par un seul coordinateur. En termes de nombre de coordinateurs, le nalögo est une langue océanienne typique, en ce sens qu'elle ne possède qu'un petit ensemble de coordinateurs (Lynch *et al.* 2002 : 53). Il existe trois coordinateurs principaux : le coordinateur conjonctif *ä* « et », le coordinateur disjonctif *o* « ou » et le coordinateur adversatif *aa* « mais ». Le coordinateur conjonctif *ä* et le coordinateur disjonctif *o* peuvent coordonner des syntagmes nominaux ou des propositions, tandis que le coordinateur adversatif *aa* ne semble pas compatible avec des NP, du moins selon les données disponibles. Il existe également deux coordinateurs supplémentaires : le coordinateur comitatif *ba* « et, avec » et le coordinateur séquentiel *jâ* « alors ». Le coordinateur comitatif *ba* apparaît typiquement avec des syntagmes nominaux exprimant des référents humains. Il est principalement attesté dans un type spécifique de construction coordonnée appelé « inclusif », qui est attesté dans d'autres langues océaniques. Le coordinateur séquentiel *jâ* peut apparaître seul ou en combinaison avec le coordinateur conjonctif *ä* « et ».

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APPENDIX: NALÖGO SHORT TEXT

Bwe ngö kälëwângö böma ‘How to build houses’ (nalogo038)

1. *Ka* *kä-lë-wâ=ngö* *ibu=gom* *böma*
 DEM₁.PROX way-PFV.3AUG-build=APPL father=1AUG.POSS house
 This is how our fathers built houses.

2. *Da* *kä-lë-wâ-ti=bwe* *ibu=gom,*
 thing way-PFV.3AUG-do-TR=DIR.thither father=1AUG.POSS
 What other fathers used to do,

3. *lë-ö-la* *motopo* *ä* *lë-glii=kö*
 PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-cut post COORD PFV.3AUG-carry=3AUG.SBJ
 they used to cut posts and carry them

4. *mö* *mwetelya.* *lë-ö-la=kö* *ä*
 PREP village PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=ADD COORD
 to the village. They also cut and

5. *lë-ö-la=kö* *molëö* *kä* *i-bwotö*
 PFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-cut=ADD crossbeam LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.long
 and cut long crossbeam,

6. *molëö* *kä* *i-bwoi* *toka* *nibi* *nölii* *lä*
 beam LNK PFV.N3AUG-be.long truss purlin coconut sago.palm
 long beam, truss, purlin, coconut, sago palm,

7. *ä* *nuwi.* *La-a-mumu-pä=m=gö*
 COORD rope. PFV.3AUG-CAUS-be.collected-out=DIR.hither=3AUG.SBJ
 and ropes. They collected

8. *nuwâ* *kâ=ng* *yökö* *ä* *jâ* *të-wâ.*
 stick DEM₁.DIST=PL all COORD SEQ IPFV.3AUG-build
 all those sticks and then they were building

9. *Jâ* *awi* *të-yëu-ti=pe=kö* *lë-wo-ngö* *böma*
 SEQ before IPFV.3AUG-start-TR=COS=3AUG.SBJ NMLZ₁-build-nmlz₂ house
 then, before they started to build houses (modern houses),

10. *ibu=gom* *lë-wâ* *böma* *mö* *nuwi.*
 father=1AUG.POSS PFV.3AUG-build house PREP rope
 our fathers used to build houses with ropes.

11. *Topnö* *të-pne=ngö=dö* *nuwâ* *ngö* *böma*
 NEG.EXIST I PFV.3AUG-tie=APPL=3AUG.SBJ stick ASS.MRK house
 There was nothing to tie the sticks of the house,
12. *Te=lë-wâ=lü* *böma* *bä* *nilë.*
 NEG₁=PFV.3AUG-build=NEG₂ house PREP nails
 they didn't build houses with nails.
13. *Awî* *böma kâ* *yökö-pä,* *olëp nalë=gö*
 Before house DEM₁.DIST finish-out female spouse=3aug.poss
 Before the house was complete, their wives
14. *ä* *dü=kä* *olë* *jâ* *të-ö-vë=pe*
 COORD QNT=DEM₁.MED girl SEQ IPFV.3AUG-MIDD₁-weave=COS
 and other women used to weave
15. *nanika* *ä* *nüni* *ngö* *böma* *kâ.*
 mat COORD mat ASS.MRK house DEM₁.DIST
 mats made by coconut leaves and mats made by pandanus for the house.
16. *Ibu=gom* *lë-büvlë-tö=kö* *nodök ngö* *böma*
 father=1AUG.POSS PFV.3AUG-shut-in=3AUG.SBJ wall ASS.MRK house
 Our fathers shut the wall of the house
17. *kâ* *mö* *motea.* *Mweli kâ* *böma kâ*
 DEM₁.DIST PREP fern time DEM₁.DIST house DEM₁.DIST
 with fern. When the house
18. *t(ü)yökö-pä=ngö=pe=le* *angidö,* *olë* *kâ=ng*
 IPFV.N3AUG-finish-out=APPL=COS=3MIN.SBJ fully girl DEM₁.DIST=PL
 was fully complete, the women
19. *jâ* *të-pweleulë-ti=pe=kö* *böma kâ=ng* *mö*
 SEQ IPFV.3AUG-wallpaper-TR=COS=3AUG.SBJ house DEM₁.DIST=PL PREP
 then wallpapered the houses with
20. *nanika* *nüni* *ä* *leplë* *â*
 mat mat COORD people PRAG.MRK
 mats made of coconut and pandanus leaves and people
21. *të-mwi-pä=pe=m* *ba=de.* *ilue=nu*
 IPFV.3AUG-sleep-out=COS=DIR.thither PREP=3MIN.OBJ sister=1MIN.POSS
 were sleeping in them. Sister
22. *Valentina, bwe* *ne=gi* *t(ü)-yökö-pä=pe* *ma*
 Valentina story animate.CLF=1+2POSS IPFV.N3AUG-finish-out=cos DEM₂.PROX
 Valentina, our story is finished here.

23. Awi
thank
Thank you.

Valentina ALFARANO

A GRAMMAR OF NALÖGO, AN OCEANIC LANGUAGE OF SANTA CRUZ ISLAND

Résumé

Cette thèse est la première description de la langue nalögo, parlée sur l'île Santa Cruz (Province Temotu, aux îles Salomon). C'est une langue océanienne du groupe Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC). Les données analysées ont été collectées par l'auteure dans les villages de Nea et Nemboi lors d'une enquête de terrain d'environ six mois.

Les langues du groupe RSC sont qualifiées d'«aberrantes» au sein de la famille océanienne. Après de longs débats sur leur origine, elles sont maintenant reconnues comme des langues océaniques faisant partie de la grande famille austronésienne. Les langues RSC présentent des traits grammaticaux inhabituels, surtout dans la structure de la phrase. L'äiwoo, l'une des langues RSC, parlée sur les îles Reef, a un système de voix symétriques, qui a ensuite disparu quand le proto-océanien s'est séparé du reste de la famille austronésienne.

L'objet de cette thèse est de décrire les caractéristiques essentielles phonologiques, morphologiques et syntaxiques du nalögo, d'analyser la structure de la phrase et les relations grammaticales de cette langue. Le nalögo a un système fondé sur des variations de transitivité et montre un grand nombre de procédés de changements de valence. Malgré des différences notables entre les deux systèmes, le nalögo partage toutefois certains traits avec la langue äiwoo, et plus généralement avec les langues austronésiennes occidentales.

Mots-clés : langues océaniques, langues du groupe de Reefs-Santa Cruz, description grammaticale, relations grammaticales, changement de valence

Résumé en anglais

This thesis provides the first description of Nalögo, a language spoken on Santa Cruz Island (Temotu Province, Solomon Islands). Nalögo is an Oceanic language belonging to the Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) group. This thesis is based on primary data collected by the author in the villages of Nea and Nemboi during approximately six months of fieldwork.

RSC languages are regarded as 'aberrant' within the Oceanic family. Their origins have been debated for years before being finally classified as belonging to the Austronesian family. RSC languages show some unusual grammatical features, especially in terms of clausal structure. Äiwoo, one of the RSC languages spoken in the Reef Islands, displays a symmetrical voice system, which is thought to have been lost by the time the Proto-Oceanic broke off the rest of the Austronesian family.

The goal of this thesis is to describe the main phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics of Nalögo, as well as analysing its clausal structure and grammatical relations. Nalögo has a transitivity-based system with a good number of valency-changing devices. Despite the considerable differences between the two systems, Nalögo shows some properties in common with Äiwoo, and more generally, with Western Austronesian languages.

Keywords: Oceanic languages, Reefs-Santa Cruz languages, grammatical description, grammatical relations, valency-changing operations