Reduplication with Glo Oxenham and Frank Tuke  
Roviana reduplication examples by coda  
Generalizations:

- /h/ cannot be coda, CVh results in CV reduplication
- Pre-nasalized, voiced stops, /b, d, g/ are reduced to nasal in coda position CVD->CVN
- Many times, if a coda and onset would create a homorganic sequence in reduplication, the coda is deleted. But not every homorganic sequence is banned... (see homorganic cluster doc for discussion)
- For some reason t cannot precede η (*tŋ)
- Two nasal sequences are “ambiguous” [ŋn] and [mŋ] when the [m] is reduced from /b/, BUT /mŋ/ seems to be OK (ambiguous means that the nasal coda is hard to hear, but speakers agree it is there, we can still count it as CVC reduplication)

Note on high frequency form
- huve to huhuve is lexicalized and not dealt with in the grammar

Key:
- banned homorganic sequence (resulting in CV reduplication)
- permitted homorganic sequence (resulting in CVC reduplication)
- banned heterorganic sequence (resulting in CV reduplication)

Organization:
- Labial codas
- Alveolar codas
- Velar codas
- /h/

“Alphabetical order”:
- arranged by place/sonority
- p, b, t, d, k, g, v, s, z, y, h, m, n, η, r, l

Examples start on PAGE 2

p: cannot precede labial
| PP: | N/A |
| PB: | *bupara* | brown | *bubupara* | be/make brown |
| PT: | *tepa* | ask | *teptepa* | beg |
| PD: | *dopala* | death spirit | *dopdopala* | (nonce word) |
| PK: | *kopu* | take care | *kopkopu* | taking care |
| PG: | *gopu* | t.o. canoe | *gopgopu* | ??? |
| PV: | *tepa* | (nonce word) | *teptepa* | (nonce word) |
| PS: | *sipu* | wave, beckon | *sipsipu* | waving, beckoning |
| PZ: | *zipe* | 'to clear as a bulldozer' | *zipezipe* | 'a pile of dirt from clearing' |
| PY: | *wepe* | to scratch or claw | *wepewepe* | scratching, clawing |
| PH: | *hupala* | to gut fish or animal | *huphupala* | gutting |
| PM: | *mupi* | (nonce word) | *mupmupi* | (nonce word) |
| PN: | *nipaha* | bail out, as canoe | *niphnipaha* | bailing out |
| PR: | *nupatu* | close as shellfish | *nupnapatu* | closing as shellfish |
| PL: | *nupi* | play | *nupnupi* | playing, sport |

b: cannot precede labial

| BP: | *pebili* | bend tree branch down | *pebelepebili* | bending down tree branch |
| BB: | N/A |
| BT: | *tebo ehara* | bruise | *temtebo ehara* | bruising |
| BD: | *dubu* | (nonce word) | *dumdubu* | (nonce word) |
| BK: | *kebo* | complain piteously | *kenkebo* | complaining piteously |
| BG: | *gibi* | (nonce word) | *gimgibi* | (nonce word) |
| BW: | *sibi* | break loose | *simsimba* | walk with hands swaying |
| BR: | *zebi* | (nonce word) | *zemzembibi* | (nonce word) |
| BH: | *yoba* | to wall | *yomyoba* | a wall |
| BB: | *habu* | to fish | *hamhabu* | fishing |
| BM: | *mabo* | tired | *manmabo* | being tired |
| BN: | *nebe* | to fan | *nemmbe* | a fan, fanning |
| BP: | *niburu* | howl, rage, as wind | *nimbiburu* | howling, raging, as wind |
| BR: | *rabake* | to pick and choose | *ramrabake* | picking and choosing |
| BL: | *lobiti* | to pluck or pick out | *lomlobiti* | plucking or picking out |

v: can only precede /b/… (no generalization?)

| VP: | *pavo* | visit the sick | *papavo* | visiting the sick |
| VV: | *bava* | (nonce word) | *bavbava* | (nonce word) |
| VT: | *tavete* | work | *tavtavete* | working |
| VB: | *divi* | strike water to stun fish | *divdivi* | striking water… |
| KV: | *kivara* | fasten a line | *kikivara* | fastening a line |
| VV: | N/A |
| VS: | *suva* | go under water | *suvusuvu* | going underwater |
| VZ: | *zeva* | (nonce word) | *zevezeva* | (nonce word) |
| VY: | *gavoro* | acquire precious item | *gavgavoro* | acquiring… |

Commented [PS1]: *niburu*, the m is hard to hear, but speakers agree it could be/is there
### h: hova stab hovhova stabbing

- **vm:** mava yawn mamaha yawning
- **vn:** neve spread as clouds nevneve spreading as clouds
- **vp:** ṣava a fathom ṣavṣava ??
- **vr:** rove lace together rorovrove hoping or thinking
- **vl:** lave a shield lavlavve guard with shield

### m: cannot precede voiced labial

- **mp:** pamanpato respect pampaman respect
- **mb:** buma green babumabe/make green
- **mt:** tome hide tomtome hiding
- **md:** doma daydream domdoma daydreaming
- **mk:** komolo smile komkomolo cheeks
- **mg:** gimata mouth words without noise gimigimatu mouthing words as...
- **mv:** vima (nonce word) vivima (nonce word)
- **ms:** somana gather, join, attend somosoma gathering, joining, attending
- **mh:** hamu chew hamhamu chewing
- **mm:** N/A
- **mn:** nama-na preparation va-namnamama prepare
- **mj:** ṣame crawl ṣamṣame crawling
- **mr:** rimata sun rimrimata bask in sun
- **ml:** lemese pick bones clean lemlemeso to picking bones clean

### t: cannot precede alveolar and, for some reason, η

- **tp:** petu mangrove petpetu a place with mangroves
- **tb:** butu strike water with open hand butbutu striking water with...
- **tt:** N/A
- **td:** duta collide dutudata colliding
- **tk:** kito distract, disturb kikito distracting or disturbing
- **tg:** getu happy getgetu being happy
- **tv:** vate to plait with straw vatvate plaiting with...
- **ts:** sute comb susutu combing
- **tz:** zuta condemn, judge zazuta condemning, judging
- **ty:** yotu ???, ceremonial stone yotyotu t.o. side by side, as fingers
- **th:** hite little hithite slowly
- **tm:** mātua make appointment mumatua making an appointment
- **tn:** neti trample upon neneti trampling upon
- **τj:** ṣotu broken as tree with fruit ṣosphatino break straight
- **τr:** rita hook a fish riritu hooking a fish
- **τl:** lete to plant lelelele a planter

### d: cannot precede alveolar

- **dp:** pada measure panpada ‘measuring’
- **db:** bada (nonce word) banbada (nonce word)
- **dt:** tedoro glide tedotedoro skip stones
- **dd:** N/A

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**Commented [PS2]:** NOTE: *huve* ‘to swim’ *hahuye* ‘swimming’, this is a very high frequency word, other vh sequences were fine. Other high frequency words resulted in CV reduplication such as dodooro (looking), despite the fact the yd is an acceptable sequence in many other words.

**Commented [PS3]:** NOTE: *satala* startle satsatala startling multiple examples are CV, not sure how to explain ambiguity but seems CV is used but CVC is deemed "also acceptable".

**Commented [PS4]:** Extra examples

- *kidu* village in Muda *kinkidu* t.o. mullet fish
- *vede* (no meaning) *venvede* to make flat vertical
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dk:</th>
<th>kudu</th>
<th>small island name</th>
<th>kunkudu</th>
<th>bigger island near kudu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dg:</td>
<td>gado</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>gangado</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dv:</td>
<td>vide</td>
<td>split in half</td>
<td>vinide</td>
<td>splitting in half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ds:</td>
<td>sada</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>sasada</td>
<td>an entrance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz:</td>
<td>zade</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>zaada</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dy:</td>
<td>yede</td>
<td>left (direction)</td>
<td>yengede</td>
<td>left handed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh:</td>
<td>hodu</td>
<td>walking stick</td>
<td>honhodu</td>
<td>strike down as with w. stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dm:</td>
<td>madi</td>
<td>to abstain</td>
<td>manmadi</td>
<td>abstaining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dn:</td>
<td>nideke</td>
<td>walk slowly</td>
<td>ninideke</td>
<td>walking slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dr:</td>
<td>rida</td>
<td>faded, grey, dull</td>
<td>ririda</td>
<td>being faded, grey, ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl:</td>
<td>lodu</td>
<td>sink</td>
<td>lolodu</td>
<td>sinking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commented [PS5]: kukudu is a village on kolombangara, so three separate items

s: cannot precede t, z, n, r; but can precede d and l

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sp:</th>
<th>pisi</th>
<th>fart</th>
<th>pisipisi</th>
<th>farting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sb:</td>
<td>besu</td>
<td>mourn</td>
<td>besbesumourning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st:</td>
<td>tasa</td>
<td>counting particle</td>
<td>tatasa</td>
<td>to ration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd:</td>
<td>dusi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>dusdusi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk:</td>
<td>kasolo</td>
<td>???</td>
<td>kususolo</td>
<td>immature squid stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg:</td>
<td>gusa</td>
<td>to graze, as a stone on canoe</td>
<td>gusgusa</td>
<td>grazing as…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sv:</td>
<td>visu</td>
<td>???, small sea shell</td>
<td>visvisu</td>
<td>fingernail, claw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss:</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sz:</td>
<td>zes</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>zezesi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy:</td>
<td>yasi</td>
<td>make or scratch a mark</td>
<td>yasyasi</td>
<td>making or scratching a…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh:</td>
<td>hesi</td>
<td>(ungrammatical without va-)</td>
<td>heshesi</td>
<td>(ungrammatical…)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm:</td>
<td>masa</td>
<td>beach or shore</td>
<td>massama</td>
<td>shallow or shallows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sn:</td>
<td>noso</td>
<td>quiet or patient</td>
<td>nonoso</td>
<td>be quiet or patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp:</td>
<td>nisili</td>
<td>giggle</td>
<td>nisisisi</td>
<td>giggling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st:</td>
<td>resti</td>
<td>split pandanus leaves</td>
<td>reresti</td>
<td>splitting pandanus leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sl:</td>
<td>losovo</td>
<td>doze when laying</td>
<td>loslosovo</td>
<td>dozing while laying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commented [PS6]: probably: place with qizo trees

z: cannot precede non-lateral alveolars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>zp:</th>
<th>pizo</th>
<th>???</th>
<th>pizpizo</th>
<th>shell bracelet or anklet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zb:</td>
<td>bija</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>bijbija</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zt:</td>
<td>tozi</td>
<td>tell</td>
<td>totozi</td>
<td>telling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zd:</td>
<td>duzi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>duduzi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zk:</td>
<td>kiza</td>
<td>beat a tattoo</td>
<td>kikizika</td>
<td>beating a tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zg:</td>
<td>gizo</td>
<td>t.o. tree</td>
<td>gizgizo</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zv:</td>
<td>vizopo</td>
<td>curly, to curl</td>
<td>vizvizopo</td>
<td>curling or twisting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zs:</td>
<td>sizu</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>sizisu</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zz:</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zx:</td>
<td>yizo</td>
<td>t.o. tree</td>
<td>yizyiza</td>
<td>t.o. weed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zh:</td>
<td>hezi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>hechezi</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zm:</td>
<td>muzi</td>
<td>rotten, decayed</td>
<td>muzmuzi</td>
<td>be rotten or decayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zn:</td>
<td>nuziki</td>
<td>to put/lie under to hide</td>
<td>tinoa nuziki</td>
<td>life of former native people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zn:</td>
<td>nizu</td>
<td>beak</td>
<td>nuzuzutomoko</td>
<td>prow carving statue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zz:</td>
<td>rizu</td>
<td>move</td>
<td>ririzu</td>
<td>moving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sound</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zl:</td>
<td>shed skin as a snake, shedding skin as snake</td>
<td>lozoko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

n: n cannot precede alveolar stops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>np:</td>
<td>star, firefly</td>
<td>pinpino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb:</td>
<td>raft</td>
<td>banbana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:</td>
<td>swimming</td>
<td>tuturu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd:</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>duduru (nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk:</td>
<td>cooking</td>
<td>kinkina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng:</td>
<td>call, laugh, talk to opposite sex</td>
<td>gengena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nv:</td>
<td>swill or wash pot</td>
<td>vanvanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns:</td>
<td>pricking, injecting</td>
<td>sunsunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nγ:</td>
<td>going down, descending</td>
<td>γarγore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nr:</td>
<td>relying, depending upon</td>
<td>ronronu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl:</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td>lunluna (nonce word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r:</td>
<td>can only precede nasal stop segments ([n] and [d]) or voiced oral closures?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rp:</td>
<td>enter, take by force</td>
<td>peraperaring, taking by…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb:</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>birbirir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt:</td>
<td>pity</td>
<td>tataru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rd:</td>
<td>looking intently but not</td>
<td>dordoroko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rk:</td>
<td>being shy</td>
<td>Karkure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rg:</td>
<td>betray</td>
<td>gorgora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rv:</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>ververu t.o. precious clam shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs:</td>
<td>joke</td>
<td>sistre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rz:</td>
<td>shaking down as fruit from tree</td>
<td>zogora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ry:</td>
<td>going down, descending</td>
<td>yaryore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh:</td>
<td>breeding, of lower animals</td>
<td>birbirir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rm:</td>
<td>heirloom, inheritance</td>
<td>memeru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn:</td>
<td>shaving</td>
<td>nmeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rγ:</td>
<td></td>
<td>garegora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr:</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rl:</td>
<td>spitting, expectorating</td>
<td>loloro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

l: NO GENERALIZATION?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lp:</td>
<td>returning</td>
<td>pulpule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb:</td>
<td>sand bank or sand pit</td>
<td>bolboloe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt:</td>
<td>watching or supervising</td>
<td>totoli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Commented [PS7]: Waterhouse/Jones has roronu, but this was tested as well as nonce word and nr is acceptable sequence.

Commented [PS8]: can be used to refer to the English word 'lunatic'.

Commented [PS9]: NOTE: similar but distinct lexical item, ta’taru 'pitying' vs ‘tataru ‘love’.

Commented [PS10]: NOTE: ŋira 'strong' to ŋiŋira 'be strong', but ŋorŋoro 'bubbles,' seems CVC is dominant pattern. Not sure if there is some high vowel pattern or if ŋiŋira is such a high frequency word it is deleted because frequency and predictability.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ld:</th>
<th>dalo</th>
<th>wash face</th>
<th>dalalalo washing face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lk:</td>
<td>kolol</td>
<td>raise or up with piece of wood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lg:</td>
<td>gelu</td>
<td>roll or a log</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lv:</td>
<td>velu</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ls:</td>
<td>silava</td>
<td>be restless with pain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lr:</td>
<td>zalo</td>
<td>taking or destroying...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly:</td>
<td>yeli</td>
<td>digging</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lh:</td>
<td>halo</td>
<td>catching as a ball</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lm:</td>
<td>mila</td>
<td>chewing betelnut, lime and noi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln:</td>
<td>noolo</td>
<td>falling as ripe fruit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln:</td>
<td>nali</td>
<td>be insidious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lr:</td>
<td>relu</td>
<td>(nonce word)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll:</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

k: k cannot precede velar

kp: peka dance pekepeka dancing
kb: bekolo paddle in woman’s style bekoko paddling in woman’s style
kt: toka help tokotoka helping
kd: diki ??? diki diki variety of potato
kk: N/A

kg: goki (nonce word) gogoki (nonce word)
kv: veko put down vekokoline-fishing
ks: sekei ??? seksekei subtle, deceitful
kk: N/A

ky: yaki (nonce word) yayaki (nonce word)
kh: hiko steal, rob hikkiko stealing, robbing
km: moko stop crying mokomoko being quiet, hush
kn: nekele stumble, overbalance neknekele stumbling, overbalancing
kp: yaki (nonce word) yajaki (nonce word)
kr: ruku rain rukuru???, raining
kl: loku ??? lokoloku t.o. tree

g: g cannot precede velars

gp: pega to gather at funeral penpega a wake at a funeral
gb: boga (nonce word) bapbaga (nonce word)

gt: tugge to hold/grasp tugtuge holding/grasping
gd: digi dingy (loan) dindighi using a dingy

gk: kagi crust kakagi ???

gg: N/A

gv: vigo anal yaws viavigo to walk in awkward manner

gs: sugamu t.o. frond baskets sugumu t.o. frond basket, ???

gz: zoga (nonce word) zurzoga (nonce word)

ey: yagu (nonce word) yaŋya (nonce word)

gb: hagala run hahagala running

gm: mago ghost/spirit maynagogo Holy Spirit/picture

gx: nigi ?? anqani frond mat

gq: naqo (nonce word) naŋago (nonce word)

gr: rigiŋi hook a fish rigiŋi hooking a fish

gl: logu covered load loŋlogu move a covered load

y: cannot precede velars

yp: payala noise of breaking sticks payalala ???, be...

yb: biyo ?? biyi biyo rainbow

yt: tayo have, possess taytao rich

d: duyala sound of stomping, striking duyadlaya ???, be...

yk: kayamu pineapple/banana shoot kayakayamu ???, place with kayamu

yg: geŋa desert/part cooked motu food geŋa ???, be partially cooked in motu

yy: vaŋi get, obtain, capture vaŋi getting, obtaining, capturing

ys: tsiyti pain biyi yiti being painful

yz: zeʃara sit inappropriately, as child zeʃara sitting inappropriately...

y: N/A

yh: heyere laugh heyerey laugh

ym: mayu cut mayumatu cutting

yn: nay i reach for a person nainay reaching for a person

yn: noya (nonce word) noŋqo (nonce word)

yr: rayi choppy waves rayai ???, waves being choppy

yl: leyi sing out badly lelyeiyi singing out badly

ŋ: can only precede voiceless velar

ŋp: ponga soak in water pongonga plant taro or maseda

ŋb: banu cross piece at top of paddle banbangu breaking cross piece of paddle

ŋt: tanini to touch, take hold of tanantini touching or taking hold of

ŋd: donu look dondu looking

ŋk: kana drink poured water overhead kankaŋ drinking poured water...

ŋg: ganzi (nonce word) gaŋangi (nonce word)

ŋv: vaŋunu wake up vaŋvaŋunu waking up
Hi Peter,

Here are the nine sentences 😊. As you can see, I have used ele for some. Sometimes it is not necessary to use ‘ele’ at the front. You can still see that the sentence is a past tense by reading it (context). Having said that, I think it will still be ok to put ‘ele’ at the start of sentences 1, then you can say: Ele kamo mae si rau totoso lopu ele taloa se Bili, then it will mean, I have already arrived before Bill left. I have used the word ‘mae’ just an indication that I have arrived ‘at’. Let me know if you have question on these. Leana.

9 sentences I am after:

1. I arrived before Bill left.
   - Kamo mae si rau totoso lopu ele taloa se Bili.
2. I arrived before you hugged Bill.
   - Ele kamo mae si rau totoso lopu ele ngaza ia goi se Bili.

3. You arrived before Bill hugged me.
   - Ele kamo si goi totoso lopu ele ngaza au Bili.

4. I arrived after Bill left.
   - Kamo mae si rau mudina taloa se Bili.

5. I arrived after you hugged Bill.
   - Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza ia goi se Bili.

6. You arrived after Bill hugged me.
   - Ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza au Bili.

7. I left because Bill cried.
   - Taloa si rau sina kabo se Bili.

8. I left because you kicked Bill.
   - Taloa si rau sina la goi taka ia se Bili.

9. I left because Bill kicked you.
   - Taloa si rau sina la Bili taka igo.

June 2018 with Frank
Frank Tuke Principle
(collected in cell phone notes and re-written into word doc)

Principle C examples
AVO word order

a. \( asa, ngaza=i, sa, siki, \text{te Bili}_{\text{obj}} \text{.} \)
   \( 3\text{SG} \text{ hug}=3\text{SG.OBJ} \text{ ART dog of Bill} \)
   ‘She/he, hugged Bill\text{\textsubscript{obj}}’s dog.’

VAO word order

b. \( ngaza=i, sa, sa, siki, \text{te Bili}_{\text{obj}} \text{.} \)
   \( \text{hug}=3\text{SG.OBJ} \text{ 3SG.ERG ART dog of Bill} \)
   ‘She/he, hugged Bill\text{\textsubscript{obj}}’s dog.’

AVO word order

c. \( e, Bili, seke=, \text{sa, tasi-na}_{\text{obj}}, \text{koreo} \text{.} \)
   \( \text{PERS Bill hit}=3\text{SG.OBJ} \text{ ART sibling-3SG.POSS S male} \)
   ‘Bill, hit his\text{\textsubscript{obj}} brother.’

VAO word order

d. \( seke=, Bili, \text{sa, tasi-na}_{\text{obj}}, \text{koreo} \text{.} \)
   \( \text{hit}=3\text{SG.OBJ} \text{ Bill ART sibling-3SG.POSS S male} \)
   ‘Bill, hit his\text{\textsubscript{obj}} brother.’

Grammaticality judgements with Glo

Can you say sentences like these in Roviana? If so, what do they look like?

1. Who do you think Mary said left?
   - Esei balabala nia goi si taloa gunia Mere?

2. Who do you think Mary said ate the mango?
   - Esei balabala nia goi gani/hena ia sa rereke gunia Mere?

3. Who do you think Mary said Bill kicked?
   - Esei balabala nia agoi si taka ia Bili gunia Mere?

3. Esei balabala=nia agoi si taka=ia
   who think-think=appl=3sg.obj 2sg si kick=3sg.obj

se Bili gu=n=ia Mere?
abs Bill say=appl=3sg.obj Mary

Who do you think Mary said kicked Bill?

I also wanted to check that a certain kind of sentence is bad (if it is good that is important too!). I predict that 4-6 are not grammatical for the interpretation “Who do you think ate the mango?”

I have written in blue the correct grammar for the questions. I see the word ‘is’ in each. Are they just typos and meant for ‘ia’?

4. Esei si balabalana agoi hena is sa rereke?
"who do you think ate the mango?
  • Esei balabala nia agoi hena ia sa rereke?

5. Esei balabalania agoi si hena is sa rereke?
   "who do you think ate the mango?"
   • Esei balabala nia agoi hena ia sa rereke?

6. Esei si balabalania agoi si hena is sa rereke?
   "who do you think ate the mango?"
   • Esei balabala nia agoi hena ia sa rereke

Finally, I was wondering if you could give me the Roviana version for the following sentences?

7. Who of us do you think slept?
   • Esei gita balabalania agoi si puta?

8. Who of them do you think cried?
   • Esei arini balabalania agoi si kabo?

9. Who of you do they think left?
   • Esei gamu balabala nia arini si taloa?
   You can also say, "Esei gamu balabalania arini si ele taloa?"

10. Who of you kicked the dog?
    • Esei gamu taka ia sa siki?

11. Who of us do you think ate the mango?
    • Esei gita balabalalia nia agoi hena ia sa rereke?

12. Who of you do they think helped us?
    • Esei gamu balabalalia nia arini tokani gita?

13. Who of y’all do they think were bitten by the dog?
    • Esei gamu doduru balabalalia ni arini si garati sa siki?

14. Who of us do you think were kicked by Bill?
    • Esei gita balabalalia nia goi si ta taka koe Bili?

15. Who of them do you think I helped?
    • Esei arini balabalalia nia agoi si toka ni arau?
Continued island grammaticality judgments with Glo

Hi Peter, sorry for the slow response to these.

I have marked whether if the sentence is grammatical or ungrammatical (below in red). As you can see, apart from the original sentences 4-6 yes you are correct the sentences you have created are ungrammatical except for the questions 4a, 5a and 6a which are. The three need to have the ‘se’ before the question ‘esei?’.

Because the question is asking for a specific person perhaps?

4. Kamo mae si rau mudina taloa se Bili.
   arrive come abs 1sg after leave abs Bill
   I arrived after Bill left.
   Grammatical

4a. Kamo mae si rau mudina taloa esei?
   arrive come abs 1sg after leave who
   *I arrived after who left?
   Grammatical – you need to have ‘se’ before ‘esei?’

4b. Esei kamo mae si rau mudina taloa?
   who arrive come abs 1sg after leave
   *Who did I arrive after left?
   Ungrammatical

4c. Esei si kamo mae si rau mudina taloa?
   who foc arrive come abs 1sg after leave
   *Who did I arrive after left?
   Ungrammatical

4d. Esei kamo mae si rau si mudina taloa?
   who arrive come abs 1sg foc after leave
   *Who did I arrive after left?
   Ungrammatical

4e. Esei kamo mae si rau mudina si taloa?
   who arrive come abs 1sg foc after leave
   *Who did I arrive after left?
   Ungrammatical

5. Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi se Bili.
   pft arrive abs 1sg after hug=3sg.obj 2sg abs Bill
   I arrived after you hugged Bill.
   Grammatical

5a. Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi esei?
   pft arrive abs 1sg after hug=3sg.obj 2sg who
   *I arrived after you hugged who?
   Grammatical with ‘se’ before ‘esei’. So “Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza ia goi se esei?

5b. Esei ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi?
   who pft arrive abs 1sg after hug=3sg.obj 2sg
   *Who did I arrive after you hugged?
   Ungrammatical
5c. **Esei si ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi?**
who si pft arrive abs 1sg after hug=3sg.obj 2sg
*Who did I arrive after you hugged?*

Ungrammatical

5d. **Esei ele kamo si rau si mudina ngaza=ia goi?**
who pft arrive abs 1sg foc after hug=3sg.obj 2sg
*Who did I arrive after you hugged?*

Ungrammatical

5e. **Esei ele kamo si rau mudina si ngaza=ia goi?**
who pft arrive abs 1sg after hug=3sg.obj 2sg
*Who did I arrive after you hugged?*

Ungrammatical

6. **Ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au Bili.**
pft arrive abs 2sg after hug=1sg Bill
You arrived after Bill hugged me.
Grammatical

6a. **Ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au esei?**
pft arrive abs 2sg after hug=1sg who
*You arrived after who hugged me?*
Grammatical – here now you do not need to have the ‘se’ before ‘esei?’ and still is grammatical.

6b. **Esei ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au?**
who pft arrive abs 2sg after hug=1sg
*Who did you arrived after hugged me?*
Ungrammatical

6c. **Esei si ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au?**
who foc pft arrive abs 2sg after hug=1sg
*Who did you arrived after hugged me?*
Ungrammatical

6d. **Esei ele kamo si goi si mudina ngaza=au?**
who pft arrive abs 2sg foc after hug=1sg
*Who did you arrived after hugged me?*
Ungrammatical

6e. **Esei ele kamo si goi mudina si ngaza=au?**
who pft arrive abs 2sg after foc hug=1sg
*Who did you arrived after hugged me?*
Ungrammatical

**ROVIANA ADJUNCT ISLANDS: EVIDENCE FROM WH-QUESTIONS**
Frank Tuke and Glo Oxenham
1. Wh-question formation in Roviana

- Roviana shows a syntactically ergative pattern of wh-question formation
- The fronting particle *si* precedes the clause from which Wh-S and Wh-P are extracted (VAP word order)
- WH-A is extracted without the fronting particle *si* in the AVP word order

(1) WH-S extracted from VS word order (“PV”)

a. WH-S Main Clause
   `esei si taloa?` who FOC leave
   Who left?

b. WH-S from Dependent Clause
   `esei balabala=n=ia agoi si taloa?` who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG FOC leave
   Who do you think left?

(2) WH-P extracted from VAP word order (“PV”)

a. WH-P Main Clause
   `esei si taka=ia Bill?` who FOC kick=3SG.OBJ Bill
   Who did Bill kick?
   NOTE: lack of marking on agent helps distinguish WH-A from WH-O when both are same person and number.

b. WH-P from Dependent Clause
   `esei balabala=n=ia agoi si taka=ia Bill?` who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG FOC kick=3SG.OBJ Bill
   Who do you think Bill kicked?

(3) WH-A extracted from AVP word order (“AV”)

a. WH-A Main Clause
   `esei hena=ia sa rereke?` who eat=3SG.OBJ ART mango
   Who ate the mango?

b. WH-A from Dependent Clause
   `esei balabala=n=ia agoi hena=ia sa rereke?` who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG eat=3SG.OBJ ART mango
   Who do you think ate the mango?

2. WH-A can only extract from AVP word order and WH-P can only extract from VAP word order

(5) AVP WH-A: Can A extract from “AV”? YES

a. WH-A Main Clause (AVP word order): A__VP?
b. WH-A from Dependent Clause (AVP word order): AVA[__VP]?  
\[ \text{esei} \ \text{balabala}=\text{nia} \ \text{agoi} \ \text{hena}=\text{ia} \ \text{sa} \ \text{rereke} \? \]
Who do you think ate the mango?

(6) AVP WH-P: Can P extract from “AV”? NO  
a. WH-P extracted from main clause (AVP word order): PsiAV__?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ e \ Bili \ \text{taka}=\text{ia} \ ? \]
who ART.PERS Bill kick=3SG.OBJ  
Who did Bill kick?

b. WH-P extracted from Dependent Clause (AVP word order): PVA[AV__]?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ \text{balabala}=\text{nia} \ \text{agoi} \ e \ \text{Bili} \ \text{taka}=\text{ia} \ ? \]
who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG who ART.PERS Bill kick=3SG.OBJ  
Who do you think Bill kicked?

(7) VAP WH-A: Can A extract from “PV”? NO  
a. WH-A Main Clause (VAP word order): A\text{si}V\text{__P}?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ \text{si} \ \text{hena}=\text{ia} \ \text{sa} \ \text{rereke} \? \]
who FOC eat=3SG.OBJ ART mango  
Who ate the mango?  
Note: illogical interpretation would be “who did the mango eat?”

b. WH-A from Dependent Clause (VAP word order): A\text{si}V\text{[AV__P]}?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ \text{balabala}=\text{nia} \ \text{agoi} \ \text{si} \ \text{hena}=\text{ia} \ \text{sa} \ \text{rereke} \? \]
who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG FOC eat=3SG.OBJ ART mango  
Who do you think ate the mango?

(8) VAP WH-P: Can P extract from “PV”? YES  
a. WH-O Main Clause (VAP word order): PsiVA__?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ \text{si} \ \text{taka}=\text{ia} \ Bili \ ? \]
who FOC kicks=3SG.OBJ Bill  
Who did Bill kick?  
NOTE: lack of marking on agent helps distinguish WH-A from WH-O when both are same person and number.

b. WH-O from Dependent Clause: PVA[siVA__]?  
\[ ^{*}\text{esei} \ \text{balabala}=\text{nia} \ \text{agoi} \ \text{si} \ \text{taka}=\text{ia} \ \text{Bili} \ ? \]
who think=APPL=3SG.OBJ 2SG FOC kick=3SG.OBJ Bill  
Who do you think Bill kicked?

Summary:  
- A can only extract from AVO word order without si-introduction  
- P can only extract from VAO word order, must be si-introduced

3. Testing for movement with adjunct islands

Commented [PS25]: Try: Who of us, who of them, who of you  
Commented [PS26R25]: Who of us do you think slept?  
Who of them do you think cried?  
Who of you do they think left?

Commented [PS27R25]: Who of you kicked the dog?  
Who of us do you think ate the mango?  
Who of them do you think helped us?

Commented [PS28R25]: Who of you do they think were bitten by the dog?  
Who of us do you think were kicked by Bill?  
Who of them do you think I helped?
• One possible interpretation of the wh-data presented so far is that the wh-phrase is base generated as a predicate, similar to Malagasy (Potsdam 200).
• Island effects should not be present if the wh-phrase is base generated.
• However; adjunct island effects are observed for wh-questions in Roviana, suggesting that wh-fronting involves movement.
• Wh-words that are in an adjunct island are only grammatical if they are left in-situ.

(9) Wh-S adjunct island paradigm
a. kamo mae si rau mudina taloa se Bili.
arrive come ABS 1SG after leave ABS Bill
I arrived after Bill left.

b. Kamo mae si rau mudina taloa se esei?
arrive come ABS 1SG after leave ABS who
I arrived after who left?

(10) Wh-P adjunct island paradigm
a. Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi se Bili.
PFT arrive ABS 1SG after hug=3SG.OBJ 2SG ABS Bill
I arrived after you hugged Bill.

b. Ele kamo si rau mudina ngaza=ia goi se esei?
PFT arrive ABS 1SG after hug=3SG.OBJ 2SG ABS who
I arrived after you hugged who?

(11) Wh-A adjunct island paradigm
a. Ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au Bili.
PFT arrive ABS 2SG after hug=1SG Bill
You arrived after Bill hugged me.

b. Ele kamo si goi mudina ngaza=au esei?
PFT arrive ABS 2SG after hug=1SG who
You arrived after who hugged me?

• Fronted wh-adjunct sentences were tested with all possible combinations of si-introduction and fronted without si-introduction.
• All wh-words fronted out of adjuncts were deemed ungrammatical regardless of placement or lack of si-introduction.
• Wh-words in adjuncts are only grammatical if left in-situ.
• This can be taken as evidence that the syntactically ergative pattern of wh-fronting in Roviana is the result of movement.
• Note: in-situ wh-S and wh-P are marked absolutive. in-situ wh-A is null marked (indicating ergative status of proper noun ‘who’).

Munmunu leana Glo,
I have a few follow up questions in case you have time. Hopefully this won't take too long. I just need to check if some sentences are bad.

I know that you can say a sentence like (you told me this sentence):

1. koe Pita ele vala ia Zone sa heta. "As for Peter, John gave betelnut to him"
   This is correct

I am wondering if other arrangements of this sentence are grammatical, again, I predict that all of these variations will be bad. If they are good, or could be good with a small change, please let me know.

1a. sa heta ele vala ia Zone koe Pita. “John gave betelnut to Peter”
   This can be good provided it is written as “Sa heta, ele vala ia Zone koe Pita”.
1b. koa sa heta ele vala ia Zone koe Pita. “John gave betelnut to Peter”
   This is ungrammatical
1c. e Pita ele vala ia Zone sa heta. “John gave betelnut to Peter”
   This is ungrammatical

I am also interested in passives again. I know that 2a is OK, but what about 2b?

2a. ta taka sa siki koe Bili. “The dog was kicked by Bill”
2b. koe Bili ta taka sa siki. “The dog was kicked by Bill”
   Yes, it is ok to say this and you can also say “Sa siki si ta taka koe Bili”.

I have a feeling 2b is bad as well, but I need to double check!

We are going to be headed to Brazil in about 2 weeks. Quite a bit of travel to get there! Hopefully I can get some work done and also relax while I am there. Hope all is well with you and Brett

Tataru,

Peter