## 2016 Digital Fieldnotes for Roviana Peter Schuelke

#### 1. Coordination 1 GLO

na puta sa siki meke sa pusi. moku sari sea meke tevolo. na henahena sari Zone e Bili. karua sea meke karua tevolo si moku. ka ngeta sari igana riqihi gami kara Mere. ele raroi gami kara Mere si ka ngeta igana. ka made sari koburu tadi Mere meke Bili. na igana meke talo si ele henai Bili. karua igana meke ka ngeta biskiti si ele henai Mere. na kukuasa garata au. va mate ia rau si keke kukuasa. karua kukuasa garat igo. va matei goi si karua kukuasa. kaiqa kukuasa garat au. sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi va matei si kaiqa kukuasa. kaiqa tie tokani sari ka ngeta koburu. sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi si ta tokae koari kaiqa tie. sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi tokani si kaiqa tie. kaiqa tie si ta tokae koari ka ngeta koburu hiroi. kaiqa tie va matei sari karua kukuasa. kaiqa tie si hegere. keke tie si hegere si keke tie. na kukuasa garati si kaiqa tie. keke kukuasa si va mati ia ri kaiqa tie.

#### GLO.

Coordination 1

The dog and the cat are sleeping.

Na puta sari siki meke sa pusi. ← GLO

The dog and the cat are sleeping.

Na puta sa siki meke sa pusi. ←-GLO

The chair and the table are broken.

Moku sari Sea/Chair) meke tevolo. (kaleadi meaning 'no good/bad). Broken has many words for different things in Roviana. For example, broken (bottle) is poraka, wood (viqala meaning split or moku for broken) and kumata for stings/bag handle).

(Just some context for this, chair is often refer to as habohabotuana (seat) and tevolo the transliteration of table as hakehakeana (loosely meaning a place to put things on. So shelves are also called hakehakeana. (I will be using the 'sea' and 'tevolo').

John and Bill are eating.

Na hen'hena sari Zone e Bili.

Two chairs and two tables are broken.

Karua sea meke karua tevolo si moku.

Mary and I caught three fish.

Ka ngeta sari igana riqihi gami kara Mere.

Mary and I cooked three fish.

Ele raroi gami kara Mere si ka ngeta igana.

Mary and Bill have 4 children.

Ka made sari koburu tadi Mere meke Bili.

Bill ate fish and taro.

Na igana meke talo si ele hanai Bili.

Mary ate 2 fish and 3 cookies.

Karua igana meke ka ngeta biskiti si ele henai Mere.

Indefinite.

A centipede bit me.

Na kukuasa garata au.

I killed a centipede.

Va mate ia rau si keke kukuasa.

Two centipedes bit you.

Karua kukuasa garata igo.

You killed two centipedes.

Va matei goi si karua kukuasa.

Some centipede bit me.

Kaiqa kukuasa garata au.

Those three kids killed some centipede.

Sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi va matei si kaiqa kukuasa.

Some man helped those three kids.

Kaiqa tie tokani sari ka ngeta koburu.

Those three kids were helped by some man.

Sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi si ta tokae koari kaiqa tie.

Those three kids helped some man.

Sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi tokani si kaiqa tie.

Some man was helped by those three kids.

Kaiqa tie si ta tokae koari ka ngeta koburu hiroi.

Some man killed the two centipede.

Kaiqa tie va matei sari karua kukuasa.

Some man laughed.

Kaiqa tie si hegere.

A man laughed.

keke tie si hegere

A centipede bit some man.

Na kukuasa garati si kaiqa tie.

A centipede was killed by some man.

Keke kukuasa si va mate ia ri kaiga tie.

All of these indefinite like in English can be used in a another way ie, Keke tie si hegere can be switched to say Hegere si keke tie.

#### GLO questions

# 1. Yes/No Question

To demonstrate some differences between the two chosen language, here are two examples of yes/no questions. Given below them are their Roviana translation.

a) Is Zelda selling her house?

Korapa holuholu nia Zelda sa nana vetu?

b) Has the girl gone?

Ele taloa sa vineki?

In English "yes/no questions are usually formed by placing the operator before the subject and giving the sentence a rising intonation" (Quirk, Randolph et al. 1985:807). However, in Roviana a yes/no question can also be a declarative statement, thus, the Roviana question in (a) becomes a declarative statement when the intonation is dropped.

#### 2. WH-Questions

As I propose to explain some differences in my discussion, it is appropriate that I outline some examples of the types of Wh-questions. The following words are used when forming a question in the Roviana language.

- Visoroi? (When past)
- Panavisa (When future)
- Nasa? (What is it?)
- Vea/ Vea gua/Vegua (What? Or Yes?)
- Nasa ri kara/karua? (Which of two things)
- Esei ri kara/karua? (Who/which of two -people).
- Na vegua? (This is often used when more clarification is needed (Why?
- Veagugua? (How exactly, like what?)
- Avei? (Where?) Where is Lisa?
- Pavei? (To where?) Where is it? Or where are you going?

Asking wh-questions in Roviana is different to English. In Roviana interrogative "does not differ from the affirmative unless an interrogative pronoun or adverb is used" (Roviana Dictionary, The Grammar of Roviana Language, 1920:245. The following wh-question demonstrates this.

English: (c) When did they get married?

Roviana: (d) Visoroi si varihaba sarini?

The answer to the question (d) would be:

English: They got married yesterday.

Roviana: Ele norae tu si varihaba sarini.

(Already yesterday they married).

The question (d) is merely repeated with 'ele norae tu' added in front of the sentence in the place of the word 'visoroi' (when). However, as in English, answers in Roviana to such question can be one worded, 'norae' (yesterday). In Roviana the work 'ele' indicates a past or perfect tense. It would still be acceptable to say 'varihaba sarini norae', as 'norae (yesterday) indicates the past.

Another type of wh-questions is 'vegua/veagua'. 'Veagua is translated as 'what?' and sometimes 'why' depending on the prefix. Here are some examples:

(e) Veagua si agoi? — How are you?

(f) Na veagua? - What happened?

(g) 'Sa gua sig goi?' -What do you say?

The interrogative force lies in 've', which may be separated from 'gua'. The latter means 'like' and may be from a noun – ve-a ke taloa nana? -why did he go away?

#### 3. DECLARATIVE STATEMENTS

In English the form of a YES/NO question (a) is different from the declarative statement:

English: (h) Zelda is selling her house.

Roviana: (i) Korapa holuholunia Zelda sa nana vetu.

<u>Declarative</u>

Question

English: (j) The girl has gone.

~ Has the girl gone?

Roviana: (k) Ele taloa sa vineki.

~ Ele taloa sa vineki?

Already/gone/the girl

~ Already gone the girl?

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The English declarative statement (j) shows that when changed into a question the subject comes after the operator, whereas in the Roviana statement (k) it does not change except that an intonation is used when the question is being asked.

#### 3.1 Distinctive word forms

There are distinctive word forms in the Roviana language. In the sentence 'na holuholunia Zelda sa nana vetu', nia is added to the word 'holuholu'. "The separable prepositional verb 'in' with the pronominal suffix is very frequent, and is written joined to the verbal word base or separately" (Roviana dictionary 1920:241). For example, holuholu-ni (sell them), holuholu-ni-a (sell it), 'a' is the affix.

#### 3.2 Sentence Word Orders

The structure of the sentence (j) when turned into a question shows that although it is still looks the same, the Auxiliary verb has now moved to the front. As both the declarative statement and question have the same structure, I will look at the sentence. As the Roviana sentence (k) and its word-for-word translation show, the movement of the structure from the English: Determiner/Subject/Aux/Verb to Roviana: Perfect/Verb/Determiner/Subject.

Structures of Roviana wh-questions are different from the English. I have already discussed under 'Wh=questions' that in Roviana there is no difference between an interrogative and affirmative. Some interrogative questions in Roviana can be complicated, depending on how they are asked.

In the Yes/No question the English question (a) when translated into Roviana (b) changes its structure as follows:

- Is Zelda selling her house?
- Korapa holuholunia Zelda/ sa/ nana/ vetu?
   Current selling/ Zelda/ the/ her/ house?

Thus, Yes/No questions in Roviana have the verb coming before subject and object.

The interrogative 'vegua/veagua' is put in front of the sentence to indicate that a question is being asked.

The rising intonation is present at the end of the question.

Visoroi: when (past)

Si: demonstrative pro-noun

Varihaba getting married

Sarini: they/them

As already pointed out, structures of Roviana questions do not change but words like 'korapa' (present) or 'kote' which is derived from the word 'kohite' meaning (will, later/future tense) is put in front as a form of question marker, for example:

English: Where will you go

Roviana: Kote/pavei/la/si agoi?

- Future tense/to where/go/you?

The order shown here is Auxiliary V/Interrogative pronoun/verb/subject.

From the examples already given of the structures/word orders, it is clear that in Roviana sentence word orders of Yes/No questions, Wh-questions and declarative statements are different.

#### Frank Tuke PNI 1

- (1) ka lima ngohara si poni =igo Mere. FOC NUM five coconut =2SG.OBJ give Mary Mere gave five coconuts to you. agr-goal, ?ap
- (2) Mere poni =igo ka lima ngohara.

  Mary give =2SG.OBJ NUM five coconuts

  Mere gave you five coconuts. agr-goal, ?ap
- (3) zutu la =nia gami sa vevehe koari kuru-kuru. blame go =APPL.3SG.OBJ 1PL.EXC.OBJ DEF noise OBL.PL bird-bird We blamed the noise on the birds. agr-theme, ap
- (4) zutu=i gami sari kuru-kuru koasa vevehe. blame=3PL.OBJ 1PL.EXC DEF.PL bird-bird OBL.DEF noise

We blamed the birds for the noise. agr-goal

- (5) va- garunu vala=i rau ka manege -puta leta koa.rini CAUS- send give=3PL.OBJ 1SG NUM ten letter OBL.3PL I sent 10 letters to them. agr-??
- (6) garunu vala=ni koarini ka varau manege-puta leta. CAUS- send give=APPL.3PL.OBJ 1SG OBL.3PL NUM ten letter I sent them 10 letters. agr-??, ap
- (7) valopi mae =nia rini sa kera koa rau. CAUS come =APPL.3SG.OBJ 3PL DEF OBL play song 1SG They played the song to me. agr-theme, ap
- (8) koa rau valopi mae =nia rini kera. sa OBL 1SG CAUS- play come =APPL.3SG.OBJ 3PL DEF song They played me the song, agr-theme, ap
- (9) lopi va-la=nia kera koarini koasa mike. rau sa qua CAUS-go=APPL.3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF song OBL.3PL OBL.DEF my mike play I played the song for them on my mike (bamboo instrument). agr-theme, ap
- (10)lopi mike. poni rau sa kera koasa aua play give=3PL.OBJ 1SG DEF song **OBL.DEF** my mike I played them the song on my mike. agr=theme, ?ap
- (11) arau si ta- poni karua buka.

  1SG.FOC FOC PASS- give=3PL.OBJ NUM-two book
  I was given two books. agr-theme, ?ap
- (12) karua buka si ta- poni =ni rau.

  NUM-two book FOC PASS- give =APPL.3PL.OBJ 1SG

  Two books were given to me. agr-theme, ap

Let's say a group of students came asking for people to donate books. Someone might ask (13) and then answer as in (14) and so on until (21).

- koari koburu sikulu? (13)ka visa buka si taponi la "many" PASSbook FOC give=3PL.OBJ OBL.PL child school NUM go How many books were given to the students? (NOTE: kavisa is 'how many') agr-??
- (14) soku buka si ta- vala. many book FOC PASS- give Many books were given.
- (15) ka hiokona lima buka si ta- vala. NUM twenty five book FOC PASS- give

Twenty-five books were given.

- (16) esei poni buka sari koburu sikulu? who give=3PL.OBJ book DEF.PL child school Who gave books to the students? agr-??
- (17) esei poni sari koburu sikulu sari buka? who give=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL child school DEF.PL book Who gave the students books? agr-??
- (18) va-la=nia Mere si keke buka koari koburu sikulu.

  CAUS-go=APPL.SG.OBJ Mary ABS one book OBL.PL child school

  Mare gave one book to the students. agr-theme, ap
- (19a) Bili poni=a keke koburu sikulu ka ngeta buka.

  Bill give=3SG.OBJ one child school NUM three book

  Bill gave a student three books. agr-goal Note: nothing absolutive marked...
- b. poni=a ngeta buka Bili si keke koburu give=3SG.OBJ three book Bill ABS one child Bill gave a student (child) three books. agr-goal
- (20)lopu keke buka si koburu sikulu koa vaq=ia ri rau. NEG one book FOC capture=3SG.OBJ 3PL.ERG child school OBL 1SG The students did not get any books from me. agr-theme
- (21)lopu keke buka si koari koburu sikulu. poni rau FOC NEG one book give=3PL.OBJ 1SG OBL.PL child school I did not give the students any books. agr-goal

## PNI 2 FRANK TUKE

- Mere gave five coconuts to you.
   Ka lima ngohara si poni igo Mere.
- Mere gave you five coconuts.Mere poni igo ka lima ngohara.
- 3. We blamed the noise on the birds.

  Zutu la nia gami sa vevehe koari kurukuru.
- 4. We blamed the birds for the noise. Zutui gami sari kurukuru koasa vevehe.
- 5. I sent 10 letters to them.

Va garunu valai rau ka manege puta leta koarini.

6. I sent them 10 letters.

Va garunu valani rau koarini ka manege puta leta.

7. They played the song to me.

Va lopi mae nia rini sa kera koa rau.

8. They played me the song.

Koa rau va lopi mae nia rini sa kera.

Do you know the name for the tubes instrument played with flip-flops?

9. I played the song for them on my guitar.

Lopi valania rau sa kera koarini koasa qua mike.

10. I played them the song on my guitar.

Lopi poni rau sa kera koasa qua mike.

11. I was given two books.

Arau si ta poni karua buka.

12. Two books were given to me.

Karua buka si ta poni ni rau.

Let's say a group of students came asking for people to donate books. Someone might ask (13) and then answer as in (14) and so on until (21).

13. How many books were given to the students?

Ka visa buka si ta poni la koari koburu sikulu?

14. Many books were given.

Soku buka si ta vala.

15. Twenty-five books were given.

Ka hiokona lima buka si ta vala.

16. Who gave books to the students?

Esei poni buka sari koburu sikulu?

17. Who gave the students books?

Esei poni sari koburu sikulu sari buka?

18. Mare gave one book to the students.

Valania Mere si keke buka koari koburu sikulu.

19. Bill gave a student three books.

Bili ponia keke koburu sikulu ka ngeta buka./Ponia ngeta buka Bili si keke koburu.

- 20. The students did not get any books from me. Lopu keke buka si vagia ri koburu sikulu koa rau.
- 21. I did not give the students any books.

  Lopu keke buka si poni rau koari koburu sikulu.

- (1) ka lima ngohara si Mere. poni =igo give NUM five coconut FOC =2SG.OBJ Mary Mere gave five coconuts to you. agr-goal, ?ap
- (2) Mere poni =igo ka lima ngohara.

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- (8) koa valopi rau mae =nia rini sa kera. OBL 1SG CAUS- play come =APPL.3SG.OBJ 3PL DEF song They played me the song. agr-theme, ap
- (9) koarini koasa lopi va-la=nia rau kera mike. sa qua CAUS-go=APPL.3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF OBL.3PL OBL.DEF my mike play song I played the song for them on my mike (bamboo instrument). agr-theme, ap
- (10)lopi mike. poni rau sa kera koasa qua play give=3PL.OBJ 1SG DEF song **OBL.DEF** mike my I played them the song on my mike. agr=theme, ?ap
- (11) arau si ta- poni karua buka. 1SG.FOC FOC PASS- give=3PL.OBJ NUM-two book I was given two books. agr-theme, ?ap
- (12) karua buka si ta- poni =ni rau.

  NUM-two book FOC PASS- give =APPL.3PL.OBJ 1SG

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Let's say a group of students came asking for people to donate books. Someone might ask (13) and then answer as in (14) and so on until (21).

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- (20)buka si ri koburu sikulu koa lopu keke vag=ia rau. NEG one book **FOC** capture=3SG.OBJ 3PL.ERG child school OBL 1SG The students did not get any books from me. agr-theme
- (21)lopu keke buka si poni rau koari koburu sikulu. NEG one book FOC give=3PL.OBJ 1SG OBL.PL child school I did not give the students any books. agr-goal

#### Frank Tuke "contracted words"

- 1. Balabala bal'bala
- 2. Balubalu bal'balu
- 3. Basobaso bas'baso
- 4. Bigobigo big'bigo
- 5. Bikubiku bik'biku
- 6. Bilabilasa bil'bilasa
- 7. Biribiri bir'biri
- 8. Bulibuli bul'buli
- 9. Busabusa bus'busa
- 10. Dakudaku dak'daku
- 11. Dikidiki dik'diki
- 12. Dongodongo dong'dongo
- 13. Duviduvili duv'duvili
- 14. Gabigabihi gab'gabihi
- 15. Galegalearane gal'galearane
- 16. Ganigani gan'gani

- 17. Garugarunu gar'garunu
- 18. Gerogero ger'gero
- 19. Gelegele gel'gele
- 20. Geligeli 'gel'geli
- 21. Giligili gil'gili
- 22. Gologolo gol'golo
- 23. Gulegulea gul'gulea
- 24. Gulogulou gul'gulou
- 25. Habohabotuana hab'habotuana
- 26. Habuhabu hab'habu
- 27. Hakehakei hak'hakei
- 28. Hakehakeana hak'hakeana
- 29. Hakohako hak'hako
- 30. Halehaleana hal'haleana
- 31. Halohalo hal'halo
- 32. Haluhalue hal'halue
- 33. Haqahaqala haq'haqala
- 34. Hegehegere heg'hegere
- 35. Henahena hen'hena
- 36. Herahera her'hera
- 37. Hidihidi hid'hidi
- 38. Hikohiko hik'hiko
- 39. Hiqohiqo hiq'hiqo
- 40. Hirihiri hir'hiri
- 41. Hiruhiru hir'hiru
- 42. Hitehite hit'hite
- 43. Holuholu hol'holu
- 44. Horehore hor'hore
- 45. Horuhoru hor'horu
- 46. Huruhurungu hur'hurungu
- 47. Ngalongaloso ngal'ngaloso
- 48. Ngazangaza ngaz'ngaza
- 49. Ngazangazapa ngaz'ngazapa
- 50. Ngedangedala nged'ngedala
- 51. Ngiringirisi ngir'ngirisi
- 52. Nginirangira nginir'ngira
- 53. Nguzunguzu nguz'nguzu
- 54. Nguzanguzapa nguz'nguzapa
- 55. Kabokabo kab'kabo
- 56. Kabukabu kab'kabu
- 57. Kalekaleana kal'kaleana
- 58. Karikari kar'kari
- 59. Kasokasopo kas'kasopo
- 60. Kasukasuru kas'kasuru
- 61. Kedakeda keď keda
- 62. Kerakera ker'kera
- 63. Kilukilu- kil'kilu
- 64. Kimikimiti kim'kimiti

- 65. Kinakina kin'kina
- 66. Kisokiso kis'kiso
- 67. Komokomlo kom'komolo
- 68. Kosikosiri kos'kosiri
- 69. Kubekubere kub'kubere
- 70. Kulikuli kul'kuli
- 71. Labelabe lab'labe
- 72. Labelabete lab'labete
- 73. Lemelemese lem'lemese
- 74. Limalimana lim'limana
- 75. Livolivo liv'livo
- 76. Lopilopi lop'lopi
- 77. Lumulumu lum'lumu
- 78. Magamagasa mag'magasa
- 79. Manamanasa man'manasa
- 80. Masamasa mas'masa
- 81. Mikemike mik'mike
- 82. Mizimizikala miz'mizikala
- 83. Molamola mol'mola
- 84. Munamunala mun'munala
- 85. Munomuno mun'muno
- 86. Munumunu mun'munu
- 87. Murimuri mur'muri
- 88. Namanama nam'nama
- 89. Namunamu nam'namu
- 90. Naponapo nap'napo
- 91. Nebenebe neb'nebe
- 92. Neveneve nev'neve
- 93. Pakepakete pak'pakete
- 94. Palepaleke pal'paleke
- 95. Patupatu pat'patu
- 96. Pekipeki pek'peki
- 97. Petupetu pet'petu
- 98. Pitipiti pit'piti
- 99. Pizopizo piz'pizo
- 100. Pokipoki- pok'poki
- 101. Pokopoko- pok'poko
- 102. Poniponi- pon'pon
- 103. Pudipudiki pud'pudiki
- 104. Puripuri pur'puri
- 105. Putaputa put'puta
- 106. Puripuri pur'puri
- 107. Puzapuza puz'puza
- 108. Qarogaro gar'garo
- 109. Qetuqetu qet'qetu
- 110. Qoragora qor'qora
- 111. Qumiqumi qum'qumi
- 112. Rakirakihi rak'rakihi

- 113. Repirepi rep'repi
- 114. Resiresi res'resi/reresi
- 115. Roparopa rop'ropa
- 116. Rubaruba rub'ruba
- 117. Sabisabiri sab'sabiri
- 118. Singosingo sing'singo
- 119. Suvusuvu suv'suv
- 120. Takataka tak'taka
- 121. Tavetavete tav'tavete
- 122. Tekoteko tek'teko
- 123. Tepetepe tep'tepe
- 124. Vanuvanu van'vanu
- 125. Valevalei val'valei
- 126. Varavara var'vara
- 127. Vaqavaqasa vaq'vaqasa
- 128. Vedevede veď vede
- 129. Velavela veľvela
- 130. Veluvelu veľvelu
- 131. Videvide viďvide
- 132. Vilovilorae vil'vilorae
- 133. Visoviso vis'viso
- 134. Vitovitoe viť vitoe
- 135. Vizovizongo viz'vizongo
- 136. Vosevose vos'vose
- 137. Zapazapa zap'zapa
- 138. Zikazika zik'zika
- 139. Zomuzomue zom'zomue
- 140. Zopuzopu zop'zopu
- 141. Zotizoti zot'zoti
- 142. Zukazuka zuk'zuka

PES: sovutsovut - sovusovutu, huvehuve - huhuve, koakoa - kokoa

Roviana Reference grammar: Examples are primarily drawn from a FLEx file created with Frank and Glo during 2016 fieldwork. The FLEx file was accidentally destroyed before it could be archived, this draft sketch now acts as the primary documentation:

# A Grammatical Sketch of Zinama Roviana

Peter Schuelke University of Hawai'i at Manoa 2016

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#### XX. Introduction

Roviana is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 5,000-6,000 people (Oxenham et al. 2005:34) around the Roviana lagoon area in the New Georgia Island group of the Western Solomon Islands. Roviana is an Oceanic language which is a subgroup of Austronesian. Appendix 1 demonstrates Roviana's position within Austronesian.

Roviana is an underdescribed language for which no proper grammar has been written. Previous work on Roviana has been conducted in some capacity by Ray (1925), Waterhouse (1949), Todd (1978), Ross (1988), Corson-(Oliver) (1996, 2002, 2003), and Oxenham (2005). Todd (1978) was the first to observe ergative patterning in Roviana and these observations were refined by Corston (1996).

While the health of the Roviana language is not immediately in danger, the indigenous languages of the Solomon Islands are threatened by the spreading use of Solomon Pijin, an English Creole. In addition, all educational materials are only available in English which further threatens the continued transmission of the Roviana language. While it is true that Roviana is not an endangered language, its future is future is far from certain.

The purpose of this sketch is to broadly introduce the grammatical phenomena of Roviana. It is not comprehensive; nonetheless, it should serve as a tool with which the reader can use to gain access to Roviana corpus materials.

#### XX.Y Methodology

This sketch is part of a three part, "Boasian," language documentation on Roviana. That is, the sketch is accompanied by a wordlist and a corpus of data. Though the sketch is based mostly on elicited examples, it should aide one in accessing the texts.

The data for this sketch comes from primarilly from fieldwork conducted over the summer of 2016. The data was not collected in situ, where the language is spoken natively, rather, it was collected from Roviana speakers living abroad in New Zealand and Australia.

The data collection was conducted through a variety of techniques. First, the SIL Grammar and Basic Vocabular in Oceanic Austronesian Languages elicitation schedule was collected for each speaker. This elicitation schedule acted not only as a sample of various syntactic phenemonon and basic vocabulary, it acted as a control to ensure that different speakers were indeed speaking the same language and indeed the same variety. The next technique employed was to collect the SIL Semantic Domain list, which is available online. Working through the semantic domains ensured that a semantic variety of words informs the wordlist. Next the speakers were shown two videos for which they retold the story in Roviana. The first story was a "Pear Story," a wordless video designed by linguists for data collection. The next video was one of me, the author, in a student film during my undergraduate. The reason this film was chosen is that the speakers were instructed to retell the story to me, about me. In Roviana there is no gendered agreement, so the pear story would give a lot of sentences which 3SG acting upon 3SG and are thus ambigious for object agreement in Roviana. The video about me, told about me, ensured that there was a 2SG actor in

sentences with 3SG participants, thus disambiguating agreement in those sentences. Finally, I collected a custom story from each speaker which was transcribed during fieldwork. The translation of these documents is sill in process, however the wordlist and the sketch should provide insight into the texts even without a free translation.

Finally, I collected a historical story of John F. Kennedy's rescue by a Roviana person when his ship was sunk during World War 2. This story has not been transcribed however two version are recorded and the speaker retold the same story in English afterward to aide the researcher in transcription and translation. Perhaps this represents the first academic account of JFK's rescue in the Solomon Islands from the perspective of the Roviana people, spefically, from a grand niece of one of the rescuers.

In addition to fieldwork, some of the data that informs this sketch has been collected over the past two years via social media, specifically Facebook. Facebook also aided me in finding Roviana speakers who were willing to teach me and help me. Facebook elicitation has been useful for collecting grammaticality judgements and filling out paradigms. One drawback is that I am able to observe lots of natural Roviana conversation, but as this is a new technique I have errored on the side of ethics and not recorded any of this data. Therefore, I have some insights into Roviana grammar which cannot be demonstrated with examples as it is likely unethical to take screen shots of conversations until there is a method to seek consent in these situations.

# XX. Phonology

This section introduces the sound system of Roviana.

#### **XX.Y.** Consonants

Roviana has 16 consonant phonemes which are displayed in figure XX.

Figure XX. Roviana Consonants

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
stop [-voi]	p	t	d	
stop [+voi]	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d	ŋg	
fricative [-voi]		S		h
fricative [+voi]	β	Z	γ	
nasal	m	n	ŋ	
central liquid		r		
lateral liquid		1		

#### **STOPS**

Roviana has a two way stop distinction. The distinction is best characterized as one of pre-nasalized and not prenasalized. The pre-nazalized series, /mb, nd, ng/, is inherently voiced. The non-nasal series, /p, t, k/ is phonemically voiceless, although it seems that they may occaisionally be voiced in fast speech as the primary distinction is prenasalization.

#### **FRICATIVES**

Roviana has two voiceless fricatives phonemes, /s, h/, and three voiced fricative phonemes, / $\beta$ , z,  $\gamma$ /. It is typologically uncommon to have voiced fricatives without a voiceless counterpart; however the explanation is likely historical. That is, the voiced fricative series likely descend from former voiceless fricatives. For example the PAN/POC pronouns \*kamu '2PL' and \*kita '1PL.INC' are reflected in Roviana as  $\gamma amu$  and  $\gamma ita$ , respectively. Further comparative work needs to be done to confirm this observation.

#### **NASALS**

Roviana has three nasal stop phonemes, /m, n,  $\eta/$ .

#### LIQUIDS

Roviana has both a central liquid, /r/, and a lateral liquid, /l/. The central liquid is realized as a trill word initially and a tap otherwisel. The initial trill is often reduced to a tap in fast speech.

#### XX.Y. Vowels

Roviana has five vowels demonstrated in figure XX.

Figure XX. Roviana Vowels

		+high		
	i		u	
+front	e		0	+back
		a		
		+low		

The back vowels, /u,o/, are rounded while the other vowels, /i, e, a/ are unrounded. There is potentially some sort of vowel harmony as words like  $/ko^mburu/$  are often pronounced as  $[ko^mboro]$  in fast speech. More data collection and analysis is required to further investigate these patterns, although it is likely triggered by rounding.

#### XX.Y Orthography

The Roviana orthography which is now used by the community was largely set in place by the early missionaries who learned Roviana for the purpose of Bible translating. Few changes have been made except for the velar nasal which was previously indicated by a little line under an 'n' or else it was italic when other characters were not, or it was not italic when others were, as is the case with the Waterhouse dictionary. The orothography adopted for this sketch was the one which is used by speakers on social media, it is displayed in figure XX.

Figure XX. Roviana Orthography

Tigure AA. Koviana Otmography						
	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal		
stop [-voi]	p = p	t =t	d =d			
stop [+voi]	$^{m}b = b$	$^{n}d = d$	<sup>ŋ</sup> g =q			
fricative [-voi]		s =s		h =h		
fricative [+voi]	$\beta = v$	z =z	γ =g			
nasal	m =m	n =n	ŋ =ng			
central liquid		r =r				
lateral liquid		1 =1				

The orthography has a one to one representation except for the velar nasal which is represented with 'ng.' In addition the voiced velar fricative is represented as 'g,' while the voiced velar stop is represented with a 'q.'

#### **XX.Y Phonotactics**

This section breifly introduces Roviana phonotactics. While this sketch describes the syllable in Roviana it is also possible to analyze Roviana as having a moraic system. Indeed, when examining vowel reduction through reduplication it is possible to hypothesize about an interaction between syllable and mora.

#### XX.Y.Z The Syllable

In an ordinary setting Roviana can have a V or maximally a CV syllable. An example of a word which consists only of a V syllable is *e* the definite article used for people. An example of a word which is a CV syllable is the definite article *sa*.

# **XX.Y.Z Shortening and Lengthening Processes**

There appears to be at least one process of vowel deletion and another process of vowel insertion. A full description of these phenomena is beyond the scope of this sketch, nonetheless they are worth noting.

One deletion process has been observed so far. In the case of reduplication which reduplicates the first two syllables the vowel of the second syllable deletes. For example the word  $/hi^{\eta}gohi^{\eta}go/$  'forest' is pronounced  $[hi\eta hi^{\eta}go]$  in fast speech.

One lengthening process has also been observed, which is that of "echo vowels." That is, roots which might otherwise end in a final consonant have a final vowel inserted which is a copy of whatever vowel preceded it. So for a root like /yarat/ 'to bite' an [a] is inserted word final when the word stands alone, [yarata]. However; in fast speech the object agreement enclitic can take its place, as in [yaratia] 'to bite a 3SG.OBJ.' This is likely related to a similar phenomenon in other Oceanic languages of "thematic consonants," consonants which only appear when the root is suffixed, thus indicating that both languages dispreffered final consonants and there were two routes of avoidance: echo vowels or thematic consonants.

#### XX.Y Prosody

Acoustic analysis of Roviana is yet to be completed, however preliminarilly it seems that stress in Roviana correlates with pitch and intensity. There is potential that length is another acoustic correlate of stress.

#### **XX.Y.Z Lexical Stress**

Lexical stress appears is initial for the majority of two and three syllable words. For example ['tomoko] 'war canoe' and ['hena] 'eat.' There are exceptions to this however many of the exceptions are derived forms, that is, it appears the Roviana preserves stress form the underived root. For example the word ['yani] 'to eat' has the form [yi'nani] when nominalized through the infix -in-. More analysis of Roviana stress needs to be performed before a more thorough description can be provided.

#### **XX.Y Phrasal Intonation**

Initially, Roviana appears to have a falling tone at the end of phrases for declarative sentences. Interogatives are formed through a final rising tone on phrases. Yes/no questions are formed entirely through a final rising tone as there is no question particle for yes/no questions.

# XX. Morphology

This section addresses the morphology of Roviana. It introduces the observed derivational processes in Roviana as well as providing insight into both number and pronoun formation. It concludes with a review of the different types of reduplication and their functions.

#### **XX.Y Numerals**

This section introduces the numerical system of Roviana. Figure XX demonstrates basic cardinal number formation. The modern Roviana word for number is *naba*, which is an English loan word.

Figure XX. Cardinal Numbers in Roviana

keke one two karua three ngeta four made five lima six onomo seven zиара eight vesu nine sia

ten mane puta

eleven manege eke twelve manege rua

thirteen manege ngeta

fourteen manege made

twenty hiokona puta twenty one hiokona eke twenty two hiokona rua twenty seven hiokona zuapa

thirty tolonga ngavulu puta
forty made ngavulu puta
fifty lima ngavulu puta
sixty onomo ngavulu puta

seventy zuapa ngavulu puta

eighty vesu ngavulu puta ninety sia ngavulu puta

one hundred keke gogoto

one hundred one keke gogoto keke, keke gogoto eke

one hundred twenty keke gogoto hiokona puta

one hundred twenty one keke gogoto hiokona eke

one hundred seventy keke gogoto zuapa ngavulu puta

four hundred made gogoto

one thousand keke tina

one thousand two hundred keke tina karua gogoto puta

Figure XX, below, demonstrates what is known about the formation of ordinal numbers in Roviana.

# Figure XX. Ordinal Numbers in Roviana

sa vina keke 'first one' sa vina rua 'second one'

totoso kekenu 'first time' totoso vina rua 'second time' totoso vina ngeta 'third time'

#### **XX.Y Pronouns**

This section breifly introduces the free pronouns of Roviana. The basic pronouns are shown in figure XX.

Figure XX. Roviana Pronouns

1 iguie 12.1. Noviana i ronouns					
	Citation Form	Fast Speech	Ergative Form	Absolutive Form	
1SG	arau	rau			
2SG	agoi	goi			
3SG	asa		sa		
1PL.INC	gita				
1PL.EXC	gami				
2PL	gamu				
3PL	arini/ari		ri	sarini	

The citation form displayed in figure XX, above, is the mental target, that is, it is the form the speaker will give you if you ask for clarification. In typical post-verbal the initial vowel of 1SG and 2SG is elided. Due to this morphophonemic process the full forms *arau* and *agoi* typically only occur sentence initial in fast speech.

In addition to the citation form, the 3SG pronoun has an optional ergative form. That is, when a 3SG is ergative ittypically manifest as sa, though this phenomenon is present there are also instances of speakers saying asa for a transitive subject, thus indicating that sa is not an obligatory ergative form.

3PL has a somehwat more obligatory ergative form ri, that is, there are not examples of 3PL transitive subjects which use only a pronoun that do not manifest as ri. In addition the 3PL pronoun has an optional absolutive form, sarini, which is a blend between the absolutive marker, si, and the 3PL pronouns, arini.

#### XX.Y Derivational Morphology

This section introduces the morphological methods in which Roviana derives verbs and nouns.

#### **XX.Y Lexical Category**

Word class in Roviana is much more flexible than in a European language such as English. Virtually anything may act as a predicate, including adjectives and prepositional phrases. Dileneating lexical category in Roviana is beyond the scope of this document, rather the purpose of this section is to mention that the terms used for word classes in this description of Roviana do not line up with their prototypical referents in European languages.

#### **XXY Nominal Derivation**

Roviana has a variety of techniques with which it can derive nouns.

The first technique discussed here is that of "full reduplication." For a more thorough description of full and partial reduplication, refer to the reduplication section.

Figure XX. Nominalization through full reduplication

ROOT REDUPLICATED FORM DERIVATION nebe 'to fan' nebenebe 'a fan' v-> n ngira 'strong'ngirangira 'strength' adj->n

```
titisi
        'to pour'
                         tititisi
                                         'a waterfall'
                                                          v->n
        'to fruit'
                                         'a fruit' v->n
vua
                         vuvua
komolo 'smile' komokomolo
                                 'cheek'
                                                  n->n
visu 'to rip a nail off'
                         visuvisu
                                         'finger nail'
                                                          v->n
```

The next technique for deriving nouns is through the addition of genitive morphology, as demonstrated in example YY, below.

```
(YY) -na SUFFIXATION sasara 'to sweep' sasarana 'broom'
```

In some cases -na suffixation may be combined with reduplication, as demonstrated in the example below.

```
(YY) -na SUFFIXATION + REDUPLICATION voi 'to put in' vovoina'container'
```

Nouns may also be derived through the infixation of -in-, a reflex of the proto Austronesian passive perfect voice morphology. Figure XX demosntrates a variety of roots which can employ this method of nominalization.

Figure XX. Nominalization through -in- Infixation

ROOT	NOMINAL FO	DRM	DERIVATION
maho 'to cut'	minaho	'a clearing	v/n->n
mate 'to die/dead'	minate	'death'	v/adj->n
singo 'to breathe'	siningo	'a breath'	v->n
dongo 'to look'	dinongo	'appearance'	v->n
kera 'to sing'	kinera	'song'	v->n
varihaba 'to marry'	vinarihaba	'marriage'	v->n
gona 'to shoot'	ginona	'a shot' v->n	
balabala 'to think'	binalabala	'a thought'	v->n
tasuna 'difficult'	tinasuna	'danger/trouble	' adj->n
mataqara 'confident'	minataqara	'confidence'	adj->n
zama 'to speak'	zinama	'language'	v->n
vekala 'to speak'	vinekala	'langauge'	v->n
baere 'friend' binaere	e 'friend	ship' n->n	
bule 'calm'	pinule	'peace'	adj->n
varipera 'to fight'	vinaripera	'war'	v->n
paqaha 'to divide'	vinaripaqaha	'division'	v->n
evanga 'make happen'	inevanga	'feast'	v->n
hegere 'to laugh'	hinegere	ʻa laugh'	v->n
vasari 'to decorate'	vinasuri'decora	ation' v->n	
gani 'to eat'	ginani	'food'	v->n
ene 'to walk'	inene	'journey'	v->n
votikaena 'different'	vinotikaena	'difference'	adj->n
podalae 'to start'	pinodalae	'beginning'	v->n
varipera 'to fight'	pinodalae vinaripera	'beginning' 'war'	v->n v->n

In some cases, -in- infixation is combined with reduplication, as demonstrated in figure XX, below.

Figure XX.Nominalization Through -in- Infixation + Causitive va=

ROOT NOMINAL FORM		DERIVATION		
turu 'to	o stand'	vinaturu	'a suggestion'	v->n
nonoga 'to	o feel'vinanor	noga 'feeling	s' v->n	

In addition infixation may be combined with reduplication to derive a nominal, as demosntrated by figure XX, below.

Figure XX. Nominalization Through -in- Infixation + Reduplication

ROOT		NOMINAL FO	)RM	<b>DERIVATION</b>
via	'to clean'	vinivia	'a clearing'	v->n
lete	'to plant'	linetelete	ʻa plant'	v->n
gani	'to eat'	ginani	'food'	v->n
tumae	'to know'	tinumatumae	'wisdom'	v->n
gilana	'to know'	ginilagilana	'understanding'	v->n
peka	'to dance'	pinekapeka	'a dance'	v->n
lopi	'to play'	linopilopi	'a game'	v->n
koa	'to live' kinoko	a'living (n.)'	v->n	

Example (YY), below, demonstrates a word which starts as an adjective and then is partially reduplicated to derive a verb and then undergoes *-in-* infixation to derive a noun. This is the only token which has been observed, so it is possible that *sire* undergoes full reduplication to form *sisire*, but due to morphophonemic constraints the *r* is deleted.

```
(YY) PARTIAL REDUPLICATION + -in- INFIXATION sire 'different' sisire 'joke' vinasisire 'point of fun'
```

Finally, it is worth noting that many nouns and verbs share the same form, one perspective would be that the nouns are formed through zero derivation. Figure XX demonstrates several words which have an invariant form regardless of word class, that is, the nominal form is derived through zero derivation.

Figure XX. Nominals Formed Through Zero Derivation

ROOT		NOMI	NAL FO	RM		<b>DERIVATION</b>
maho	'to cut'	maho		'an axe	e'v->n	
mea	'to lick' mea		'tongue	·'	v->n	
lua	'to vomit'	linua		'vomit	,	v->n
loro	'to spit' loro		'spit'		v->n	
magu	'to cut'	magu		'knife'		v->n
sipata	'to trap'sipata		'a trap'		v->n	
vaqara	'to net'	vaqara		'a net'		v->n
vose	'to paddle'	vose		'a pado	lle'	v->n

Agent nominalization is a process by which a a nominal which performs the action of a particular verb is derived from the verb itself. In English an example is the a *driver* is one who *drives*. Figure XX displays several such examples from Roviana. They are formed through the full reduplication of the verb and then compounding *tie*, 'person,' to the front of the word.

Figure XX. Agent Nominalization

ROOT		AGENT NOMINAL			
tavete	'to work'	tietavetavete	'worker'		
kera	'to sing'	tiekerakera	'singer'		
mike	'to strum'	tiemikemike	'musician'		

```
rararo 'to cook' tierararo 'a cook'
```

#### **XX.Y Verbal Derivation**

Roviana has much looser lexical category than a typical European language, and indeed virtually any kind of constituent can act as a predicate.

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrates a word that is similar to what would be considered an adjective, which acts as a predicate, a verb, without any morphological modification, not unlike "zero derivation".

```
(YY) rerege si goi.
fast ABS 2SG
You are fast.
(YY) rerege se Bili.
fast ABS.PERS Bill
Bill is fast.
```

There seems to be a class of verbs that is derived through partial reduplication of the root, as demonstrated by figure XX.

Figure XX. Verbal Derivation Through Partial Reduplication

ROOT		REDUPLIC	REDUPLICATED FORM			
soi	'dick'	sosoi	'masterbate'			
pea	'explosion'	pepea	'to poop (fiercely)			
raro	'pot'	rararo	'to cook'			

It is unclear how productive verbal derivation through partial reduplication is.

#### **XX.Y Reduplication**

Roviana uses reduplication for a variety of functions including derivation, inflection, and emphasis. There are two basic types of reduplication, full reduplication which takes the first to mora of a word and attaches it to the front of the root, or partial reduplication which takes the first mora of the word and attaches it to the front of the root.

The motivation for refering to the section reduplicated in terms of mora rather than syllable comes from the observation that in full reduplication the vowel of the second syllable is only pronounced in careful speech. So a word like *komolo* 'smile' will be reduplicated as *|komokomolo|* 'cheek,' yet it will be pronounced as *[komkomolo]*, thus preserving the moraic unit by converting the onset of the second syllable to a coda of the first syllable by deleting the second syllable vowel.

#### **FULL REDUPLICATION**

Thus far two primary functions for full reduplication have been observed. The first is that of nominal derivation through full resuplication, demonstrated by the examples in figure XX.

Figure XX. Nominalization through full reduplication

ROOT		REDUI	PLICAT	ED FOR	ĽΜ	DERIVATION
nebe	'to fan'	nebene	be	'a fan'		v-> n
ngira	'strong' ngirang	gira	'strengt	h'	adj->n	
titisi	'to pour'	tititisi		'a water	rfall'	v->n
vua	'to fruit'	vuvua		'a fruit'	v->n	
komolo	'smile' komok	omolo	'cheek'		n->n	

```
visu 'to rip a nail off' visuvisu 'finger nail' v->n
```

The second function is inflectional in nauture. Progressive aspect can be expressed through full reduplication. It is unlear if this is limited to certain verbs or if this is productive across the entire language. Examples of progressive aspect inflected through full reduplication are shown in figure XX.

Figure XX. Progressive Aspect Inflected Through Full Reduplication

ROOT		REDUPLICATED FORM	
gani	'eat'	ganigani	'eat.PROG'
hamu	'chew'	hamuhamu	'chew.PROG'
hena	'eat'	henahena	'eat.PROG'
huve	'bathe'	huhuve	'bathing'
kina	'cook'	kinakina	'cook.PROG'
koa	'live'	kokoa	'live.PROG'
lopi	'play'	lopilopi 'play.F	PROG'
peka	'dance'	pekapeka	'dance.PROG'
tavetav	ete 'work'	tavetavete	'work.PROG'

#### PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Thus far partial reduplication seems to be two types of apparent partial reduplication, either the result of morphophonemic deletions of full reduplications or a process which derives verbs.

The morphophonemic processes which cause full reduplication to manifest as partial reduplication are not entirely understood. Figure (XX prog) contained two such examples which are repodroduced in example (YY). It is likely that fully reduplicated forms when there is either two vowels touching as in *kokoa* or when there are two fricatives touching, such as in *huhuve*, suggesting that there may be a constraint which prohibits sequential continuants, at least in the environment of reduplication.

(YY)	ROOT		REDUPLICATED FORM	
	koa	'to live'kokoa	ʻliv	ve.PROG'
	huve	'to bathe'	huhuve	'bathe.PROG'

The second type of partial reduplication which has been observed is used to derive verbs. Examples of this type of derivation are provided in figure XX, below. Few tokens if this kind of derivation have been observed, so it is unclear how productive it is.

Figure XX. Verbal Derivation Through Partial Reduplication

ROOT		REDUPLICATED FORM	
soi	'dick'	sosoi	'masterbate'
pea	'explosion'	pepea	'to poop (fiercely)'
raro	'pot'	rararo	'to cook'

# XX. Morpho-Syntax

This section describes the morphosyntax of Roviana in regards to grammatical relations and voice. Roviana displays grammatical relations and symmetric voice which are both highly typologically peculiar.

#### **XX.Y Grammatical Relations**

To begin a discussion on grammatical relations it is essential to first establish the three core syntactic roles that distinguish the different systems. In simple terms the three roles are the subject of an intransitive

sentence (henceforth, S), the subject of a transitive sentence henceforth (A), and the object of an transitive sentence (henceforth O). Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate S, A, and O.

```
S = Subject of Intransitive
(YY)
       puta
              sa
                      siki.
       sleep
              DEF
                      dog.
       The dog slept.
A = Subject of Transitive
       tupa=ia
(YY)
                             Mere
                                            Bili.
                                     se
       punch=3SG.OBJ
                             Mary ABS
                                            Bill
       Mary hit (punch) Bill
O = Object of Transitive
       toka=ni=gamu
                             gita
(YY)
                                            si
                                                    gamu.
       help=APPL=2PL.OBJ
                                     1PL.INC
                                                    ABS
                                                           2PL
       We (inclusive) helped y'all.
```

There are various different categories that a language can be placed in depending on its treatment of S, A and O. The most common classification is called (nominative)-accusative marking (Mallinson and Blake 1981:47-48), in which S and A are treated as equal, forming the nominative case, while O is marked differently and called the accusative case. The accusative type is the most common for both case marking (Comrie 2013a, Comrie 2013b) and verbal agreement (Siewierska 2013) amongst the world's languages. Another possible type, discussed in Mallinson and Blake (1981:49-50), is called ergative-(absolutive), in which S and O are treated as equal forming the absolutive, while A is marked differently and called the ergative. It is convention to refer to the classification by the case which is treated differently. Figure XX demonstrates the contrast between accusative and ergative languages.

Figure XX.



Onishi (2001:4) describes the three "coding properties" which establish S, A, and O in a language:

- A. Case marking on the noun phrase (henceforth NP)
- B. Verbal agreement
- C. Constituent order of core NP's (S, A and O)

The subsections of this chapter will discuss the grammatical relations in Roviana in regards to case marking (section XX.Y.Z), verbal object indexing (section XX.Y.Z), and constituent order (section XX.Y.Z). Roviana displays a marked absolutive system of case marking, that is an ergative pattern in which the absolutive argument is the one which is overtly marked. The Roviana verb indexes the object through an

enclitic which agrees in person on number with the object, thus displaying an accusative system of verbal reference. In regards to constituent order, Roviana has one intransitive word default word order, VS, and two transitive canonical transitive word orders VAO, and AVO. The absolutive arguments are treated the same in both word orders and the ergative argument is distinct from the absolutive in both transitive constituent orders.

#### XX.Y.Z Case Marking

Roviana is an ergative language, that is, the intransitive subject and the transitive object pattern together while the intransitive subject is treated differently. The grouping of the intransitive subject (S) and the object (O) is called absolutive, while the transitive subject (A) is called ergative. For comparison, many languages with case marking, such as English, tend to mark the intransitive subject (S) and the transitive subject (A) nominative while they mark the object (O) as accusative.

Figure XX summarizes the case marking patterns in Roviana.

Figure XX. Roviana Case Marking

Person/Number	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal A	Post-verbal-O	Post-verbal S
	(ERG/ABS)			
1SG	arau	rau	si rau	si rau
2SG	agoi	goi	si goi	si goi
3SG	sa/asa	sa	si asa	si asa
1PL.INC	gita	gita	si gita	si gita
1PL.EXC	gami	gami	si gami	si gami
2PL	gamu	gamu	si gamu	si gamu
3PL	ri/arini	ri	si arini/	si arini/
			sarini	sarini
Proper Nouns	*e/se PropN	PropN	se PropN	se PropN
Numerical NP's	NumP	NumP	si NumP	si NumP
Common Nouns	DP	NP	DP	DP

<sup>\*</sup>All proper nouns may occur pre-verbally preceded by e, however only S and O may occur preverbally preceded by se.

The above chart indicates a difference between preverbal and post-verbal 1SG and 2SG pronouns. This difference is largely phonological and is not tied to case or focus, nonetheless it seems to be in the process of grammaticalization so the observation of their distribution was included in the chart. Speakers will still use the full forms *arau* and *agoi* post-verbally in careful speech, regardless of grammatical or syntactic role.

Third person pronouns have a special ergative form which is also used when fronted, in addition sometimes absolutive case marking appears on fronted proper nouns, otherwise fronted noun phrases lose case marking.

Overt absolutive case marking occurs on all NP types, except common nouns. In a post-verbal environment, all transitive subjects are "null" marked as ergative, that is, they cannot occur with a determiner and definiteness is implied, as indefinite transitive subject must occur in the preverbal slot reserved for transitive subjects (the Actor Voice see section YY.X.Z). Thus, there are two ways of indicating the ergative: post-verbally it is lacking a determiner and preverbally it occurs in a preverbally without *si*-introduction (see section YY.X.Z), a position reserved for the transitive subject.

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the first person singular.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 1SG

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	arau	si (a)rau
Transitive Subject (A)	arau	(a)rau
Transitive Object (O)	arau	si (a)rau

The preverbal first person singular (1SG) pronoun always manifests as *arau*, while the post-verbal 1SG typically uses *rau* although *arau* can be used in careful speech.. Post-verbal 1SG-S and 1SG-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) arau si hegere. 1SG FOC laughed. I laughed.

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) arau taka=ia si asa. 1SG kick=3SG.OBJ ABS 3SG I kicked him.

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) arau si taka=au sa 1SG FOC kick=3SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG He kicked me.

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) hegere si rau. laugh ABS 1SG I laughed.

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) taka=ia rau si asa. kick=3SG.OBJ 1SG ABS 3SG I kicked him.

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) taka=au sa si rau. kick=1SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG ABS 1SG He kicked me.

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the second person singular.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 2SG

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	agoi	si goi
Transitive Subject (A)	agoi	goi
Transitive Object (O)	agoi	si goi

The preverbal second person singular (2SG) pronoun always manifests as *agoi*, while the post-verbal 2SG typically manifests as *goi* although it may manifest as *agoi* in careful speech. Post-verbal 2SG-S and 2SG-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

```
Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)
```

(YY) agoi si hegere. 2SG FOC laugh You laughed.

#### Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) agoi toka=ni =gami. 2SG help=APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ You helped us.

#### Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) agoi si taka=igo sa. 1SG FOC kick=2SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG He kicked you.

# Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) hoqa si goi. fall ABS 2SG You fell.

#### Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) taka=au goi si rau. kick=3SG.OBJ 2SG ABS 1SG You kicked me.

#### Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) taka=igo rau si goi. kick=2SG.OBJ 1SG ABS 2SG I kicked you

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the third person singular.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 3SG

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	asa	si asa
Transitive Subject (A)	(la) sa	sa
Transitive Object (O)	asa	si asa

The third person singular (3SG) transitive subject (A) pronoun manifests in the form sa, whether pre-verbal or post-verbal, although sometimes a speaker may say asa in careful speech. The preverbal A may optionally be preceded by the agentive particle la. 3SG-S and 3SG-O always manifest as asa, whether appearing pre-verbally or post-verbally. Post-verbal 3SG-S and 3SG-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle si.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the first person plural inclusive.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 1PL.INC

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	gita	si gita
Transitive Subject (A)	gita	gita
Transitive Object (O)	gita	si gita

The first person plural inclusive (1PL.INC) pronoun manifests as *gita* in all position. Post-verbal 3PL.INC-S and 3PL.INC-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) gita toka=n =i sari doduru. 1PL.INC help=APPL=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL all We helped you (them) all.

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) gita si toka=ni =gita sa. 1PL.INC FOC help=APPL=1PL.INC.OBJ 3SG.ERG He helped us (exclusive).

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) hegere si gita. laugh ABS 1PL.INC We laughed.

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) toka=ni = gamu gita si gamu. help=APPL=2PL.OBJ 1PL.INC ABS 2PL We (inclusive) helped y'all.

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) toka=ni = gita gamu si gita. help=APPL=1PL.INC.OBJ 2PL ABS 1PL.INC Y'all helped us (inclusive)

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the first person plural exclusive.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 1PL.EXC

1 18 0110 1 11 11 0 0100 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1				
	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal		
Intransitive Subject (S)	gami	si gami		
Transitive Subject (A)	gami	gami		
Transitive Object (O)	gami	si gami		

The first person plural exclusive (1PL.EXC) pronoun manifests as *gami* in all position. Post-verbal 3PL.EXC-S and 3PL.EXC-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) gami si hegere. 1PL.EXC FOC laugh We laughed

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) gami toka=n =i sari doduru. 1PL.EXC help=APPL=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL all We helped you (them) all.

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) gami si toka=ni =gami sa. 1PL.EXC FOC help=APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ 3SG.ERG He helped us(exc). Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the second person plural.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 2PL

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	gamu	si gamu
Transitive Subject (A)	gamu	gamu
Transitive Object (O)	gamu	si gamu

The second person plural (2PL) pronoun manifests as *gamu* in all position. Post-verbal 2PL-S and 2PL-O are always preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Figure XX summarizes the case marking and pronominal forms of the third person plural.

Figure XX. Case Marking of 3PL

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	arini	si arini/ sarini
Transitive Subject (A)	arini	ri
Transitive Object (O)	arini	si arini/ sarini

The third person plural (3PL) pronoun manifests as *arini* pre-verbally, regardless of case. The post-verbal 3PL-A typically manifests as *ri*. Post-verbal 3PL-S and 3PL-O are always either preceded by the absolutive particle *si* or combined with the particle to produce the form *sarini*.

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) haqala sarini.

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} (YY) & toka=n & =i & goi & sarini. \\ & \text{help=APPL=3PL.OBJ} & 2SG & 3PL.ABS \\ & You \text{ helped them} & \end{array}$$

Figure XX summarizes the case marking of proper nouns.

Figure XX. Case Marking of Proper Noun

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	e/se/Ø PropN	se PropN
Transitive Subject (A)	e/la PropN	PropN
Transitive Object (O)	e/se PropN	se PropN

There is great variation in the preverbal marking of proper noun phrases. Pre-verbal proper nouns can all be preceded by the definite article reserved for proper nouns, e. Only pre-verbal Proper-S and Proper-O may be preceded by se, and only the pre-verbal Proper-A may be optionally preceded by the agentive particle la. Post-verbal Proper-A is unaccompanied by a determiner, while post-verbal Proper-S and Proper-O are preceded by the particle se, which is a blend between the absolutive particle se, and the person article se

Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) tupa=ia Mere se Bili. punch=3SG.OBJ Mary ABS Bill Mary hit (punch) Bill.

Figure XX. summarizes the case marking of quantified phrases. In the case of Roviana, the term quantifier phrase includes counted nouns or quantified noun phrases preceded by a quantifier such as *kaiqa*, 'some.' Quantified phrases are eligible for absolutive marking.

Figure XX. Case Marking of Quantified Phrases

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	QP	si QP
Transitive Subject (A)	QP	QP
Transitive Object (O)	QP	si QP

Quantified phrases (QP) are not marked differently pre-verbally. Post-verbal QP-S and QP-O are preceded by *si*, while the post-verbal QP-A is unaccompanied by a determiner.

# Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) karua koburu si puta.

two baby FOC sleep

Two babies slept.

## Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) ka <u>n</u>geta tie tavet=ia sa vetu.

NUM three person build=3SG.OBJDEF house

Three men built the house

## Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) ka zuapa igana si riqih=i Bili. NUM seven fish FOC angle=3PL.OBJBill Bill caught 7 fish.

## Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)

(YY) puta si karua koburu. sleep ABS two baby Two babies slept.

## Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) tavet=ia ka ngeta tie sa vetu. build=3SG.OBJNUM three person DEF house Three men built the house

## Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) riqih=i Bili si ka zuapa igana. angle=3PL.OBJBill ABS NUM seven fish Bill caught seven fish. It's worth noting that absolutive marking on numerical phrases is somewhat inconsistent, as demonstrated by example (YY), below.

In examples (YY above) the object "three kids" is indeed a numerical phrase, yet it is preceded by the definite plural article *sari*. It is unclear if this inconsistency on case marking of numerical phrases is due to a change in progress or potentially dialectal/idiolectal variation; however noun phrases modified by a quantifier, such as *kaiga*, are consistently marked absolutive if they are an A or an O.

Figure XX summarizes the case marking of common nouns.

Figure XX. Case Marking of Common Nouns

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
Intransitive Subject (S)	DP	DP
Transitive Subject (A)	la/Ø DP	NP
Transitive Object (O)	DP	DP

The term "NP" refers to a "noun phrase," that is a noun and its accompanying modifiers, but not a determiner. The term "DP" referrers to "determiner phrase," which is a phrase headed by a determiner, such as an article, which contains an NP. Common nouns manifest as a DP in all environments except as the postverbal transitive subject (A). The case of the post-verbal A is indicated by the lack of a determiner. Post-verbal transitive subjects are always definite, indefinite transitive subjects must be expressed in the pre-verbal slot reserved for transitive subjects.

```
Pre-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)
```

Pre-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

```
(YY) la sa siki garat=ia sa pusi.

AGT DEF dog bite=3SG.OBJ DEF cat

The dog bit the cat.
```

Pre-verbal Transitive Object (O)

```
Post-verbal Intransitive Subject (S)
```

Post-verbal Transitive Subject (A)

(YY) garat=ia siki sa pusi. bite=3SG.OBJ dog DEF cat The dog bit the cat.

Post-verbal Transitive Object (O)

(YY) garat=ia siki sa pusi. bite=3SG.OBJ dog DEF cat The dog bit the cat.

Indefinite nouns are also eligible for absolutive marking. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate that postverbal indefinite O's, and both 'one' and 'some' are preceded by the absolutive particle *si*.

Post-verbal Indefinite Object (O) keke and kaiqa:

- (YY) va-mate=ia rau si keke kukuasa. CAUS-die=3SG.OBJ 1SG ABS one centipede I killed a centipede.
- (YY) na kukuasa garat=i si kaiqa tie. INDF centipede bite =PL.OBJ ABS some man A centipede bit some man.

Preverbal indefinite objects are not preceded by any case marking, as show in example (YY).

Pre-verbal Indefinite Object (O)

(YY) keke kukuasa si va-mate=iarikaiga tie. centipede **FOC** CAUS-die=3SG.OBJ 3PL.ERG some one man "A centipede was killed by some men"

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate indefinite intransitive subjects (S). In example (YYfirst) the preverbal intransitive subject is not marked for case, while in (YYsecond) it is.

Indefinite Intransitive Subject (S)

- (YY) keke tie si hegere. one man FOC laugh A man laughed.
- (YY) hegere si keke tie. laugh ABS one man A man laughed.

Indefinite transitive subjects (A) are limited to occurring in their special pre-verbal slot, as demonstrated by examples (YY) and (YY).

- (YY) na kukuasa garata=au. INDF centipede bite=1SG.OBJ A centipede bit me.
- (YY) kaiqa kukuasa garat au.

some centipede bite 1SG.OBJ Some centipede bit me.

A post-verbal transitive subject (A) may not occur with a determiner, because of this it is always interpreted as definite, therefore an indefinite transitive subject must occur in its pre-verbal position.

## XX.Y.Z Agreement

In Roviana the verb must agree with the object in a transitive construction. That is, in a transitive construction there is an enclitic which attaches to the end of the verb and references the person and number of the object. There is no agreement in intransitive constructions. Agreement is obligatory and is not affected by definiteness.

Figure XX summarizes the agreement clitics in Roviana.

Figure XX. Verbal Object Indexing

	1 Inclusive	1 Exclusive	2	3
SG		=au	=igo	=ia
PL	=gita	=gami	=gamu	=Ø/=i

As displayed in Figure 13, the agreement markers for 1PL.INC, 1PL.EXC, and 2PL are the same form as their respective independent pronouns.

Examples (YY)-(YY) show a complete paradigm of object indexes in transitive clauses for all types of number and person. In many cases the agreement enclitic may optionally replace the final vowel of the verb.

#### 1SG.OBJ

## 2SG.OBJ

#### 3SG.OBJ

#### 1PL.INC.OBJ

see =1PL.INC.OBJ See us (inc).

## 1PL.EXC.OBJ

(YY) dogoro = gami see = 1PL.EXC.OBJ See us (exc.)

#### 2PL.OBJ

(YY) dogoro = gamu see = 2PL.OBJ See y'all.

## 3PL.OBJ

(YY) dogoro =i see 3PL.OBJ See them.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate the verbal object agreement enclitics in the context of a sentence

# TRANSITIVE (Object Cross-Referenced)

1SG.OBJ

(YY) taka=au sa si rau. kick=1SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG ABS 1SG He kicked me.

## 2SG.OBJ

(YY) taka =igo rau si goi. kick=2SG.OBJ 1SG ABS 2SG I kicked you.

#### 3SG.OBJ

(YY) taka=ia rau si asa. kick=3SG.OBJ 1SG ABS 3SG I kicked him.

### 1P.INC.OBJ

(YY) toka=ni =gita gamu si gita. help=APPL=1PL.INC.OBJ 2PL ABS 1PL.INC Y'all helped us (inclusive).

## 1PL.EXC.OBJ

(YY) toka=ni **=gami** gamu si gami. help-APPL**=1PL.EXC.OBJ** 2PL ABS 1PL.EXC Y'all helped us (inclusive).

# 2PL.OBJ

(YY) toka=ni =gamu gita si gamu. help=APPL=2PL.OBJ 1PL.INC ABS 2PL We (inclusive) helped y'all. 3PL.OBJ (-i)

(YY) Sovusovut=i gami sarini pude toka beto=ni=gamu.
persuade=3PL.OBJ 1PL.EXC 3PL.ABS IFTV help finish=APPL=2PL.OBJ
We persuaded them to help you all.

Applicative morphology often occurs between verb roots and the object index. It manifests as either =ni or =n depending on if the agreement which follows begins with a consonant or a vowel. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the alternation.

APPLICATIVE =ni/=n

- (YY) hohou mae = n = au sa siki. bark come=APPL=1SG.OBJDEF dog The dog barked at me.
- (YY) *hiva=ni* = gami ri. like =APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ 3PL.ERG They like us.

In ditransitive constructions the verb typically agrees with the goal, unless applicative morphology is added to indicate that the verb agrees with the theme. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the function of the applicative clitic in ditransitive constructions.

## APPLICTIVE IN DITRANSITIVE

- (82) zutu la =nia gami [sa vevehe] [koari kuru-kuru].
  blame go =APPL.3SG.OBJ PL.EXC.OBJ [DEF noise] [OBL.PL bird-bird]
  SUBJ THEME GOAL
  We blamed the noise on the birds. (agree-theme)
- (83) zutu=i gami [sari kuru-kuru] [koasa vevehe].
  blame=3PL.OBJ 1PL.EXC [DEF.PL bird-bird] [OBL.DEF noise]
  SUBJ GOAL THEME
  We blamed the birds for the noise. (agree-goal)

In example (YYagrtheme) the verb has both the applicative morphology and third person singular object agreement, indicating that the applicative morphology has selected the theme, 'the noise,' as the noun phrase which the verb agrees with. In addition it has the directional verb la, which gmay have an effect on which argument is chosen for agreement. In (YYagrgoal) there is no applicative morphology and the verb agrees with the goal, 'the birds' by default. It is worth noting that the verb agrees with the argument which immediately follows the subject and the other argument is marked as oblique, just as it is in the English glosses. This is likely a property of the verb zutu 'blame.'

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the applicative use in a different ditransitive context.

(YY)lopi [koasa mike]. pon=i rau [sa kera] qua play give=3PL.OBJ 1SG [DEF song] [OBL.DEF my mike] **THEME ADJUNCT SUBJ** I played them the song on my mike. (agree-goal) Note: goal NP dropped

```
(YY)
      lopi
             vala=nia
                                         rau
             send=APPL.3SG.OBJ
                                         1SG
      play
                                         SUBJ
       sa
             kera] [koa-rini]
                                  [koa-sa
                                                       mike1.
                                                qua
      [DEF song] [OBL-3PL]
                                  [OBL-DEF
                                                my
                                                       mike]
      THEME
                    GOAL
                                  ADJUNCT
      I played the song for them on my mike (bamboo instrument). (agree-theme)
```

In example (YYponi), without applicative morphology the verb agrees with the goal 'them' even though it is not expressed in pronoun in the sentence. In example (YYvala), the verb has applicative morphology and instead agrees with the theme *sa kera* 'the song.'

Applicatives seem to be required by some verbs while adding them to other verbs changes the meaning of the sentence. A more thorough investigation into the funtioning of applicative morphology is necessary to provide a full description of its function.

Verbs of transitive constructions agree with indefinite objects as demonstrated by example (YY). INDEFINITE

```
(YY) sari ka ngeta koburu hiroi va-mate=i
DEF.PL NUM three child those CAUS-die=3PL.OBJ
si kaiqa kukuasa.
ABS some centipede
Those three kids killed some centipede.
```

In example (YY) the verb expresses 3PL object agreement. The English translation 'some centipede' has a singular or partitive interpretation, however in Roviana singular indefinite is typically expressed through the numeral *keke* 'one,' thus adding a presupposition to *kaiqa* 'some' that it is not singular.

Finally, it is worth noting that there is variation in the object agreement enclitics which is due to morphophonemic processes and fast versus careful speech. Consider the two examples below which are equivalent in meaning, however the 3SG.OBJ agreement enclitic manifests as either =ia or =a, as it can be reduced next to certain sounds in fast speech.

#### MORPHOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS

```
/ia/ -> [ia, a]
(YY) ele
                                            huda.
              hale=ia
                                     sa
                             asa
              climb=3SG.OBJ
                                            DEF
                                     3SG
                                                   tree
       3SG climbed the tree.
(YY)
       ele
              hale=a
                                                   huda.
                                     agoi
                                            sa
                                     2SG
              climb=3SG.OBJ
       PFT
                                            DEF
                                                   tree
       You climbed the tree.
```

# **XX.Y.Z** Constituent Order

Roviana has two basic word orders: AVO and VAO. Section XX.Y.Z "Voice" discusses the form and function of the two default transitive word orders in depth. This section addresses how Roviana establishes grammatical roles through constituent orders in both default word orders. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the two default word orders called "Undergoer Voice" and "Actor Voice."

```
Transitive Subject Alternations
VAO -Undergoer Voice (UV)
(YY)
       taka=ia
                      Bili
                                     siki.
                             sa
       kick=3SG.OBJ Bill
                             DEF
                                     dog
       Bill kicked the dog.
AVO - Actor Voice (AV)
(YY) e/la
                      Bili
                             taka=ia
                                                    siki.
                                            sa
       PERS/AGT
                      Bill
                             kick=3SG.OBJ DEF
                                                    dog
       Bill kicked the dog.
```

It is worth mentioning that while O and S may occur pre-verbally they are always followed by the focus particle si, which is homophonous but distinct from the absolutive case marker si. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate that neither the object nor intransitive subject have access to the preverbal slot reserved for the transitive subject.

```
*OVS
                                      Bili.
(YY)
       *sa
               siki
                       taka=ia
       DEF
               dog
                       kick=3SO
                                      Bill
       *Bill kicked the dog.
*SV
(YY)
       *asa
                       puta.
       3SG
                       sleep
       *He/She slept.
```

In (YY OVS) the sentence is ungrammatical because the object is not followed by the particle *si*. Example (YY SV) is also ungrammatical because the intransitive subject is not followed by the particle *si*.

In the UV word order, VAO or OVA, the transitive subject always follows the verb and it is morphologically distinct as it is unaccompanied by a determiner. While in the AV order the transitive subject is distinct as it occupies a slot in the syntax which the intransitive subject and the transitive object do not have access to.

### **XX.Y Voice Alternations**

There is a method of apparent fronting in transitive clauses which does not employ any particle. This method of fronting without *si*-introduction is reserved for the transitive subject (A) to the exclusion of the object (O) and intransitive subject (S).

Examples (30) and (31) show the contrast between a transitive subject in its post-verbal position and in its fronted position.

```
VAO
                                     siki.
(YY)
       taka=ia
                      Bili
                             sa
       kick=3SG.OBJ Bill
                             DEF
                                    dog
       Bill kicked the dog.
AVO
(YY)
       e/la
                      Bili
                             taka=ia
                                                   siki.
                                            sa
       PERS/AGT
                      Bill
                             kick=3SG.OBJ DEF
                                                   dog
```

Bill kicked the dog.

In example (YY VAO) the transitive subject is not accompanied by any determiners, however in (YY AVO) the transitive subject is accompanied by the person article e or an optional agentive marker la. Both examples are also transitive as indicated by the presence of the object index enclitis, =ia.

Objects and intransitive subjects may not front without *si*-introduction. Examples (YY) and (YY) show grammaticality judgements from native speakers which confirm that S and O do not have access to this method of apparent fronting.

```
*OVS
(YY)
       *sa
               siki
                       taka=ia
                                      Bili.
                       kick=3SO
                                      Bill
       DEF
               dog
       *Bill kicked the dog.
*SV
(YY)
       *asa
                       puta.
       3SG
                       sleep
       *He/She slept.
```

The transitive subject alternations observed in (YY VAO) and (YY AVO) are not the result of "movement" at all, rather they are indicating voice changes, as suggested from the current understanding of the function of these alternations. The fact that object is indexed whether the transitive subject is post-verbal or occurring before the noun without *si*-introduction indicates that both alternations are transitive. This would suggest that the transitive subject alternations observed in Roviana are best analyzed as symmetric voice alternations, as often proposed for Philippine type languages (Himmelman 2002, Erlewine et al2015, Foley 2007 XXXX).

Symmetric voice is characterized by valency neutral alternations which are also associated with definiteness effects and extraction restrictions based on voice selection. In Roviana voice selection is indicated through constituent order, as already mentioned, there is a preverbal slot in the syntax which is reserved for the transitive subject in simple transitive clauses. When the transitive subject manifests in its preverbal position, unaccompanied by a clefting particle si, it forms the actor voice, called AV. The undergoer voice, called UV, is indicated by the transitive subject appearing post-verbally where it may not be accompanied by determiners. The AV and UV alternation are demonstrated again in examples (YY) and (YY)

## **UV/AV PARADIGM**

3SG weaves the basket.

```
(YY)
      tigisi = ia
                                          sa
                                                 huneke.
       weave =3SG.OBJ
                            3SG.ERG
                                          DEF
                                                 hand bag
       3SG weaves the basket.
(YY)
                                          huneke.
      asa
              tigisi
                     =ia
                                   sa
       3SG
              weave =3SG.OBJ
                                   DEF
                                          hand bag
```

In the AV, the A occurs preverbally accompanied by its determiners. In the UV, the A occurs postverbally and, as it is a non-pivot subject, it is marked differently than it would be in AV as it is not accompanied by any determiners. When a transitive subject appears in the UV definiteness is entailed, therefore indefinite transitive subjects can only be expressed in the AV. The examples below demonstrate indefinite transitive subjects in the AV.

#### **DEFINITENESS**

Indefinite Transitive Subject (A) (must be in AV)

- (YY) na kukuasa garata=au.
  INDF centipede bit me.
- (YY) kaiqa kukuasa garat=au. some centipede bite=1SG.OBJ Some centipede bit me.
- (YY) kaiqa tie toka=ni sari ka ngeta koburu . some man help=APPL.3PL.OBJ DEF.PL NUM three child Some man helped those three kids.

In addition to the AV and UV another voice is available in ditransitive constructions, locative voice, called LV. LV is indicated by the indirect object manifesting in the preverbal position otherwise reserved for the transitive subject in transitive constructions.

#### LV

(YY) koe Pita ele vala=ia Zone sa heta.

OBL.PERS Peter PFT give=3SG.OBJ John DEF betelnut
As for Peter, John gave betelnut to him. (lit. To Peter John gave betelnut.)

Roviana wh-questions are formed through wh-fronting. Wh-questions are formed in the voice of the fronted argument, that is, a wh-A must be expressed in AV and the wh-O must be expressed in UV. The examples below demonstrate wh-question formation for S, A, and O, note the voice selection for each.

## WH QUESTIONS AND VOICE SELECTION

Wh-S - UV

(40) esei si puta? who FOC sleep who is sleeping?

Wh-O - UV

(YY) esei si taka=ia Ø Bili? who FOC kick=3S.O ERG Bill Who did Bill kick?

Wh-A - AV

(YY) esei taka=ia se Bili? who kick=3S.O ABS Bill Who kicked Bill?

In addition to definiteness effects and wh-question formation, preliminary data collection reveals that voice selection also interacts with quantifier scope. The examples below demonstrate that an object quantified with *doduru*, 'all,' must be expressed in the AV.

QUANTIFIERS AND VOICE SELECTION VOICE SELECTION

- (YY) agoi riqihi=i sari doduru igana. 2SG hook=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL all fish You caught all the fish.
- (YY) \*riqihi=i agoi sari doduru igana. hook=3PL.OBJ 2SG DEF.PL all fish \*You caught all the fish. (ungrammatical)

It is worth noting that in a typical symmetric voice language transitive subjects are usually indefinite in the UV, the opposite of what is observed in Roviana. In addition, typicall the quantifier is limited to the voice of the argument it is modifying, that is, if there is a restriction on quantifying an O, it is typically restricted to the UV, in Roviana the opposite has been observed, that the quantified O must be in AV. A theoretical treatment of the symmetric voice phenomena in Roviana is beyond the scope and outside of the purpose of this paper, nonetheless it is worth mentioning the typological inconsistencies observed in Roviana as they counter-intuitive to linguists who specialize in this area.

# XX. Syntax

This section introduces the syntax of Roviana. Beginning with noun phrases and possession before moving onto basic sentence types. After basic sentences types, transitivity altering devices, tense, mood, aspect, serial verbs, quantifiers, adverbial phrases and complex sentences are discussed. This treatment of Roviana syntax is far from complete, rather it is intended to make Roviana data more accessible.

#### **XX.Y Noun Phrases**

This section will serve as a preliminary treatment of the noun phrase structure in Roviana. Full paradigms are yet to be collected, however this section should offer enough description to give the reader sufficient access to other aspects of Roviana grammar.

Figure XX demonstrates the likely noun phrase structure of Roviana.

```
Figure XX. Noun Phrase structure: [PREP [DET [(ADJ) [NOUN] (ADJ-na)] POS] DEM]
```

Example YY demonstrates that the determiner precedes the noun head and the demonstrative follows the noun, and both can occur in the same phrase.

```
DEM Ex
```

```
(YY) sa vineki hie si na mari hakohako-na.

DEF female this FOC INDF very lazy.EMPH-3SG.GEN
This girl was very lazy.
```

Example YY shows that the preposition precedes the noun and its modifiers. In addition it show that the possesor, in this case, follows the noun and can have its own internal structure.

```
PP/POS Ex
```

```
(YY)
       kote
              la
                      pa
                             hore
                                    noma-na
                                                   tanisa
                                                                  tie
                                                                                gita.
                                                                         si
                      LOC
                             canoe big-3SG.GEN his/hers person ABS
       FUT
              go
                                                                         1PL.INC
       We will go in the man's big canoe.
```

At least some adjectives may occur either before or after the noun with a difference in morphology.

Figure XX: Adjective Order Variation

	Pre-nominal	Post-nominal
different person	votiki tie	tie votikaena
different beer	votiki bia	bia votikaena

Plurality is not indicated directly on the noun, rathe plurality is indicated on the determiner and the adjective. Example YY (sa/sari) demonstrates the plural agreement on a determiner.

(YY)

a. sa tie 'the person'b. sari tie 'the people'

The examples in (YY)(sg/pl) demonstrate the adjective as being either marked as singular or plural.

(YY)

Singular

a. vetu koa-na 'old house'b. tie koa-na 'old person'

Plural

c. poko boboso-di 'wet clothes'

Contrast

d. poko poa-nae. poko poa-di'dry cloth''dry clothes'

Excess of a quality, that is 'very,' is expressed by the word *hola* following the adjective, as demonstrated byt the examples in (YY).

(YY) Very:

a. vetu hitekena hola 'very small house'
b. ginani leadi hola 'very good food'
c. ginani kaleadi hola 'very bad food'

#### **XX.Y Posession**

There are three classes of possession in Roviana, alienable, inalienable, and edible. Alienable items include things which can change ownership or possession. Inalienable items include things which may not change possession, for example one's parents or body parts. Interestingly, father and mother are marked with inalienable possession while children are marked with alienable possession. The third class consists of edible items. This class is flexible, as something like *kolo* 'water' may be either alienable or edible depending if it is intended for drinking.

Figure XX: Three Classes of Roviana Possession

	Alienable: house	Inalienable: father	Edible: taro
1SG	qua vetu	tamaqu	gequ talo
2SG	mua vetu	tamamu	gemu talo
3SG	nana vetu	tamana	gana talo
1.PL.INC	nada vetu	tamada	gada talo
1.PL.EXC	mami vetu	tamamami	gemami talo
2PL	mia vetu	tamamia	gemi talo

	3PL	dia vetu	tamadia	gedi talo
--	-----	----------	---------	-----------

Alienable possesions may be indicated through either a pre-nominal or post-nominal method. The alternation is demonstrated in figure XX.

Figure XX: Pre-nominal and Post-nominal Alienable Possession

	Pre-nominal	Post-nominal
1SG	qua hore	hore taqarau
2SG	mua hore	hore tamugoi
3SG	nana hore	hore tanisa
1.PL.INC	nada hore	hore tadigita
1.PL.EXC	mami hore	hore tamigami
2PL	mia hore	hore tamugamu
3PL	dia hore	hore tadirini

Common nouns and proper nouns may only express possession through a post nominal method, not so different from "of" in English, as in "The son of Peter." Figure XX demonstrates possession by common and proper nouns across all three classes.

Figure XX: Common and Proper Noun Possession

	Alienable: house	Inalienable: father	Edible: taro
Common: chief	vetu tanisa bangara	tamana sa bangara	gana talo sa bangara
Proper: Peter	vetu te Pita	tamana e Pita	gana talo e Pita

#### **XX.Y Basic Sentences**

The section introduces basic sentence formation in Roviana. It begins with intransitive sentences and moves onto transitives, ditransitives, clefting, negation, imperatives, questions, comparison, reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

### **XX.Y.Z Intransitive Clauses**

Intransitive sentences consist of a verb and a single core argument. This sketch assumes that words that function as adjectives when modifying a noun, serve as a verb when they are the predicate of a clause. In addition sentences with a sole core argument and one oblique argument are also considered intransitive.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate simple intransitives. There is only one intransitive constituent order, Verb Subject.

# SIMPLE INTRANSITIVES

- (YY) habotu si asa. sit ABS 3SG 3SG sits.
- (YY) turu si asa. stand ABS 3SG 3SG stands.
- (YY) mae si asa. come ABS 3SG 3SG comes.

- (YY) puta si asa. sleep ABS 3SG 3SG sleeps.
- (YY) eko puta si asa. lay down sleep ABS 3SG 3SG sleeps laying down.
- (YY) *ele mate si asa.* PFT die ABS 3SG 3SG died.
- (YY) mate si asa. die ABS 3SG 3SG is dead.
- (YY) hegere si asa. laugh ABS 3SG 3SG laughs.
- (YY) sulu si asa. burn ABS 3SG 3SG is on fire.
- (YY) sulu sa vetu. burn DEF house The house is on fire.
- (YY) toa sa nika. live DEF fire The fire is alive.
- (YY) hoqa si asa. fall ABS 3SG 3Sg falls down.
- (YY) hoqa sa vetu. fall DEF house The house collapses.
- (YY) hoqa sa huda. fall DEF tree The tree fell down.
- (YY) taloa si asa. leave ABS 3SG 3SG goes.
- (YY) *ele taloa si asa.* PFT leave ABS 3SG

3SG went.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate adjectival intrasitive sentences, that is, intransitive sentences in which the predicate is formed on a head which acts as an adjective to a noun in other contexts. These adjectival predicates are analyzed as verbs.

## **ADJECTIVAL**

- (YY) pekipeki hola se Pita. stupid pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is silly.
- (YY) ititu hola se Pita. crazy pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is crazy.
- (YY) bugoro hola se Pita. angry pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is angry.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate inransitive sentences in which there is a sole core argument, the intransitive subject, and a predicate which consists of a location as indicated by the locative preposition *pa*. In the SV (YY) example the subject has been clefted to the front and does not demonstrate the default constituent order, rather, it serves to demonstrate that *pa kauruna sa vetu* in the VS example (YY), is a constituent. Both the VS (YY) and the SV (YY) examples have the same translation in English.

### LOCATIVE

SV

(YY)sa boko sipa kauruna sa vetu. qua 1SG.GEN **FOC** LOC under 3SG.GEN **DEF DEF** pig house My pig is under the house.

VS

- (YY) pa kauruna sa vetu sa qua boko. LOC under 3SG.GEN DEF house DEF 1SG.GEN pig My pig is under the house.
- (YY) tata pa leana se Pita. almost LOC good ABS.PERS Peter Peter is near the river.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate intransitive sentences in which there is an oblique argument in addition to the sole core argument. This oblique argument does not affect the transitivity of the clause which is evident by the absolutive marking on *gita* in example (YY).

# INTRANSITIVE + OBLIQUE

(YY) ele la koa agoi sa qua boko.

PFT go OBL 2SG DEF 1SG.GEN pig My pig went to you.

- (YY) elekoa boko Zone. mae rau sa te **PFT** OBL **DEF** of.PERS John come 1SG pig John's pig came to me.
- (YY) elemae koa rau sa nana boko Zone. PERS **PFT** OBL **DEF** 3SG.GEN John come 1SG pig John's pig came to me.
- (YY) kote la hore tanisa siрa noma-na tie gita. person ABS **FUT** go LOC canoe big-3SG.GEN his/hers 1PL.INC We will go in the man's big canoe.

## **XX.Y.Z** Transitive Clauses

Roviana displays two transitive word orders, VAO and AVO. These alternations are discussed in more detail in section YY "Voice Alternation." The VAO order is the Undergoer Voice, UV, and the AVO order is the Actor Voice, AV.

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the alternation with the same sentence "3SG weaves the basket."

#### UV/AV PARADIGM

- (YY) tigisi =ia sa sa huneke. weave =3SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG DEF hand bag 3SG weaves the basket.
- (YY) asa tigisi =ia sa huneke. 3SG weave =3SG.OBJ DEF hand bag 3SG weaves the basket.

Dropping the object is common in Roviana as the object is indexed on the verb. Object drop is particularly common when the object is first or second person. Example YY demonstrates object drop in a UV sentence.

# OBJECT DROP-UV

(YY) avoso =au asa. hear=1SG.OBJ 3SG 3SG hears me.

The UV can only be used when the transitive subject is definite, otherwise an indefinite transitive subject must be expressed in the AV. Due to these definiteness effects it is more common to see dropping of the first and second person objects in transitive sentences when the transitive subject is indefinite as demonstrated by examples (YY) and (YY) below.

## OBJECT DROP-AV (OLD EXAMPLES)

- (71) na kukuasa garata=au.
  INDF centipede bite=1SG.OBJ
  A centipede bit me.
- (72) kaiqa kukuasa garat au.

some centipede bite 1SG.OBJ Some centipede bit me.

#### **XX.Y.Z Ditransitive Clauses**

Roviana displays a variety of ditransitive patterns. Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate typical ditransitives in the undergoer voice. It is worth noting that the direct object (DO) and the indirect object (IO) can scramble post verbally, that is the the post verbal order of DO and IO can be either IO DO or DO IO. It's worth noting that example (YY I give bask to you)) shows that the verbal object agreement enclitic indexes the direct object.

#### UV

#### V A DO IO

- (YY) vuatu=n=ia arau sa huneke koa goi. give=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF hand bag OBL 2SG I give the basket to you. V-AGR-DO
- (YY) vala=n=ia arau sa pili koa asa. give=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF basket OBL 3SG I give the basket to 3SG.
- (YY) ele vala=iaZone sa heta koe Pita.
  PFT give3SG.OBJ John DEF betelnutOBL.PERS Peter
  John gave betelnut to Peter.
- (YY) vuatu=n=ia arau sa huneke koa goi.
  give=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF hand bag OBL 2SG
  I give the basket to you.

### V A IO DO

(YY)	vuatu=n=ia		arau	koa	goi	sa	huneke.
	give=APPL=3SG.OBJ	1SG	OBL	2SG	DEF	hand ba	ag
	I give the basket to you.						

Ditransitive sentences can also be expressed in the actor voice, as demonstrated by examples (YY) and (YY). In addition, (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the IO and DO can scamble post-verbally in the AV as well as the UV.

## $\mathbf{AV}$

# A V DO IO

(YY) *e* Zone vala=ia sa heta koe Pita.

PERS John give=3SG.OBJ DEF betelnutOBL.PERS Peter
John gave betelnut to Peter.

#### A V IO DO

(YY) *e* Zone vala=ia koe Pita sa heta.

PERS John give=3SG.OBJ OBL.PERS Peter DEF betelnut
John gave Peter betelnut.

In addition to AV and UV, another voice may be used in ditransitve, one which focuses on the goal (IO) of the construction. This voice is the Locative Voice, LV, and only oblique marked IO's may employ this

voice. The LV is demonstrated in example (YY) in which the goal, Peter, has moved to the preverbal slot typically reserved for transitive subjects.

```
LV
IO V A DO
```

```
(YY) koe Pita ele vala=ia Zone sa heta.

OBL.PERS Peter PFT give=3SG.OBJ John DEF betelnut

As for Peter, John gave betelnut to him. (lit. To Peter John gave betelnut.)
```

Example (YY) displays a ditransitive with an additional constituent, a benificiary. The beneficiary is indicated with the particle *pude*, which has a variety of syntactic functions, but typically has a meaning similar to 'in order to' or 'for the purpose of.'

```
DT + Benificiary
```

```
(YY)
       vala=i
                                                                            Pita
                      Zone
                              sari
                                             heta
                                                             koe
                                             betelnutOBL.PERS
       give3PL.OBJ
                      John
                              DEF.PL
                                                                    Peter
       pude
               tadi
                              koburu.
       SO
               of.1/3PL
                              child
       John gave betelnut to Peter for the children.
```

A notionally ditransitive construction can be expressed in a syntactically transitive construction as displayed in example (YY below). In YY, the goal is expressed using the post-nominal possesive modifer reserved for proper nouns, *te*. In this case the goal and the theme are part of the same constituent.

```
EXCEPTIONS: Goal expressed with Genitive Morphology
```

```
(YY) va=taloa=ia arau sa leta te Frank.

CAUS=leave=3SG.OBJ1SG DEF letter of.PERS Frank

I sent a letter to Frank.
```

# SI FRONTED (see clefting section)

DO V A IO

(YY) na heta si ele vala=ia Zone koe Pita. INDF betelnutFOC PFT give=3SG.OBJ John OBL.PERS Peter John gave Peter betelnut (lit. it was betelnut that John gave to Peter).

## **IO-CLEFT**

```
(YY)
                      Pita
       koe
                             si
                                     ele
                                            vala=ia
                                                           Zone
                                                                          heta.
                                                                  sa
       OBL.PERS
                      Peter FOC
                                    PFT
                                            give=3SG.OBJ John
                                                                  DEF
                                                                          betelnut
       To Peter John gave the betelnut.
```

#### XX.Y.Z Clefting (si-introduction)

Roviana employs a method of clefting which involves moving a consituent to the front of the sentence and following the fronted argument with a focus particle, si. This type of movement can be referref to as "si-introduction." This focus particle si is homophonous but distinct from the absolutive particle which is used to mark pronouns.

Fronting through *si*-introduction is best analyzed as a type of clefting operation; however the preverbal *si* used for this operation is glossed as FOC, as there is a pragmatic focus function to the clefting.

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the alternation between a default UV sentence, example (YY), and a sentence with the same English translation but an object which has been clefted, example (YY). Though this example only demonstrates the UV, indeed both the UV and AV may have clefted constituents.

VAO - Default

(28) *ele toz=ia rau sa vivinei*.

PFT tell=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF story
I already told the story.

OVA - si-introduction

(29) sa vivinei si ele toz=ia rau.

DEF story FOC PFT tell=3SG.OBJ 1SG
I already told the story.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate a clefted object in the UV.

### OBJECT CLEFT IN UNDERGOER VOICE OVA

(YY) na punga si moho=n=ia Pita.
PROG cold FOC sick=APPL=3SG.OBJ Peter
Peter is sick with a cold.

(YY) na maho si maho=n=ia huda Zone.

INDF axe FOC cut=APPL=3SG.OBJ tree John
John cut a tree with an axe (lit. it was an axe that John tree-cut (with)).

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate natural examples of object clefting in the AV. Object clefting is more common in the UV as the AV also focuses the transitive subject. Nonetheless it is grammatical and natural to cleft an object in AV.

## OBJECT CLEFT IN ACTOR VOICE

(YY) *ari doduru si gami toka=n=i*. 3PL all FOC 1PL.EXC help-APPL-3PL.OBJ We helped them all.

(YY) gami si gamu doduru toka=ni=gami. 1PL.EXC FOC 2PL all help=APPL=1PL.EXC.OBJ You all helped us.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate the alternation by default and clefted intransitive subjects. As with other core arguments, the intransitive subject clefts to the front of the sentence and is followed by the particle *si*.

#### S-CLEFT

VS

(YY) pa kauru -na sa huda se Zone. LOC under 3SG.GEN DEF tree ABS.PERS John John is under the tree (specific tree).

SV

(YY) se Zone si pa kauru-na sa huda.

ABS.PERS John FOC LOC under-3SG.GEN DEF tree

John is under the tree (specific tree).

VS

(YY)kauru-na boko. рa sa vetu sa qua LOC under-3SG.GEN **DEF** house DEF 1SG.GEN pig My pig is under the house.

SV

(YY)boko si kauru-na sa qua рa sa vetu. LOC DEF 1SG.GEN pig **FOC** under-3SG.GEN **DEF** house My pig is under the house.

Example (YY) demonstrates a clefted transitive subject. Indeed clefted transitive subjects are more rare than clefted object or intransitive subjects as the AV naturally focuses the intransitive subject and there is less pragmatic need to cleft the transitive subject. Nonetheless; such constructions do occur naturally in speech.

## A-CLEFT

eBilisikorapararo=asaginani.PERSBillFOCIMPERFcook=3SG.OBJ DEFfoodBill is cooking the food.

Ditransitive sentences may also employ clefting. Example (YY) demonstrates a clefted direct object.

## DO-CLEFT (DO V A IO)

(YY) na heta si ele vala=ia Zone koe Pita.

INDF betelnutFOC PFT give=3SG.OBJ John OBL.PERS Peter

John gave Peter betelnut (lit. it was betelnut that John gave to Peter).

Example (YY) demonstrates a clefted indirect object. Clefted indirect objects are uncommon as the LV is typically employed to bring focus to the IO.

## IO-CLEFT (IO V A DO)

(YY) koe Pita si ele vala=ia Zone sa heta. **FOC PFT DEF OBL.PERS** Peter give=3SG.OBJ John betelnut To Peter John gave the betelnut.

Example (YY) demonstrates a clefted oblique constituent in a transitive sentence.

#### **OBLIQUE-CLEFT**

(YY) koa sa tama-na si haqala se Pita.

OBL DEF father-3SG.GEN FOC run ABS.PERS Peter

Peter ran towards his father (lit. towards his father Peter ran). {ITX, XVS, SI}

Adjuncts also have access to clefting, as demonstrated by examples (YY)-(YY). That is, the examples below have clefted constituents which are not core arguments, rather they address time and setting.

#### ADJUNCT-CLEFT

si (YY) puke rane hoke *varipera=i* tie sari long ago **FOC** always fight=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL person pule=i meke vari=gani tugo. and DIST=eat again=3PL.OBJ also

Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other.

- (YY) kohite tu si kote hore suranga pa nana FOC later **FUT** LOC 3SG.GEN already sit canoe se Pita. ABS.PERS Peter Later Peter will board his canoe.
- (YY) kote si suranga hore vugo pa nana **FUT FOC** LOC 3SG.GEN tomorrow sit dug-out canoe Pita. se ABS.PERS Peter Tomorrow Peter will board his canoe.
- (YY) elenorae tu sihore suranga nana pa **PFT** already FOC dug-out canoe vesterday sit LOC 3SG.GEN se Pita. ABS.PERS Peter Yesterday Peter boarded his canoe.

# XX.Y.Z Negation

Roviana indicates sentential negation through the preverbal particle *lopu*. Examples (YY) shows the position of *lopu* among the preverbal aspect particles.

## LOPU PREVERBAL POSITION

(YY) korapa lopu ele beto henahena korapa-rane se Mere.

IPFT NEG PFT finish eat.PROG mid-day ABS.PERS Mary

Mary still hasn't finished eating lunch.

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate typical negation.

## **LOPU**

- (YY) lopu peka se Magoreti. NEG dance ABS.PERS Margaret Margaret did not dance.
- (YY) lopu boka haele=ia Zone sa toqere.

  NEG can climb=3SG.OBJ John DEF mountain

  John is not able to climb the mountain.

It is worth noting that the examples above, (YY)-(YY), are both in undergoer voice. Actor voice is rarely used for negation, nonetheless it is grammatical. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate negation in UV and AV.

#### LOPU ACTOR VOICE/UNDERGOER VOICE ALTERNATION

(YY) *e Pita lopu suranga=ia sa nana hore*.

PERS Peter NEG sit=3SG.OBJ DEF 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe

Peter did not board his canoe.

(YY) lopu suranga=ia Pita sa nana hore.

NEG sit=3SG.OBJ Peter DEF 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe
Peter did not board his canoe.

It is not clear why speakers prefer UV for sentential negation.

## **XX.Y.Z** Imperatives

The imperative is formed through typical sentence structure with the omission of the agent. The agent of an imperative is typically either a second person singular or a second person plural. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the structure of typical imperatives.

#### **IMPERATIVE**

- (YY) suranga pa hore!
  sit LOC dug-out canoe
  (You) board the canoe!
- (YY) *pule mae*! again come Come back!

Insults also often take the form of imperatives as demonstrated by examples (YY).

#### **INSULTS**

(YY) gani tae! eat poop Eat shit!

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate imperatives in reported speech. The structure internal to the reported speech is the same as that of typical imperatives.

#### REPORTED IMPERATIVES

- (YY) zama =au sa "taloa!" speak 1SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG leave 3SG said to me "Go away!"

## XX.Y.Z Questions

This section introduces question formation in Roviana. The full complexity of question formation in Roviana is in need of further investigation as this section acts merely as an introduction.

#### YES/NO QUESTIONS

There is no syntactic difference between a declarative sentence and a yes/no question. Rather, there is a rise in final intonation instead of a fall, indicating that the statement is interrogative. Examples (YY) demonstrates a typical yes/no question.

(YY) na nana hore si suranga=ia Pita?
INDF 3SG.GEN canoe FOC sit=3SG.OBJ Peter
Did Peter board his canoe?

The following sentences demonstrate two ways to form the same question, "Are you hungry."

- (YY) ovia mua? hungry 2SG.GEN Are you hungry?
- (YY) ovia si agoi? hungry ABS 2SG Are you hungry?

Both sentences employ a rising final intonation to indicate that they are a question. The first sentence uses possesive morphology to give a meaning "Do you have hunger," similar to Spanish; whereas the second sentence asks about a state of hunger.

# WH-QUESTIONS

Figure XX displays a summary of the wh-words used in Roviana.

## Figure XX. Roviana WH-Words

WORD GLOSS visoroi when past?

panavisa when.future? nasa what?/what is it? vea/ vea gua/vegua what? yes?

nasa ri kara/karua which? (of two things) esei ri kara/karua who/which? (of two people).

na vegua why?

veagugua how exactly? like what?

avei where?

pavei? to where? where is it? where are you going?

## WH QUESTIONS AND VOICE SELECTION

Roviana uses wh-fronting to ask wh-questions. The wh-word must be the pivot in order to front. A paradigm is presented in examples (YY)-(YY).

```
Wh-S - UV
(YY)
      esei
              si
                     puta?
              FOC
       who
                     sleep
       who is sleeping?
Wh-O - UV
(YY)
              si
                     taka=ia
                                    Ø
                                           Bili?
      esei
       who
              FOC
                     kick=3S.O
                                   ERG
                                          Bill
       Who did Bill kick?
Wh-A - AV
(YY)
      esei
              taka=ia
                                   Bili?
                            se
       who
              kick=3S.O
                            ABS
                                   Bill
       Who kicked Bill?
```

A wh-object must be asked in UV, while a wh-transitive subject must be asked in AV. A ditransitive goal is asked in LV.

#### WH-IO - LV

(YY) pavei veko=ia agoi sa qua buka? where put=3SG.OBJ 2SG DEF 1SG.GEN book Where did you put my book?

#### WH-ADJUNCT

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate adjucnt wh-questions. Adjuncts, like all wh-questions undergo fronting.

- (YY) totoso sa si kote mae si agoi? what time ABS FUT come ABS 2SG When will you come?
- (YY) panavisa si kote mae si agoi? when ABS FUT come ABS 2SG When will you come? (general time, what day)

## PAVEI/AVEI

Roviana has two seperate wh-words for "where." One, *avei*, is used for general location, while *pavei*, is used for specific locations. The contrast is demonstrated in the examples below.

- (YY) avei sarini?
  where 3PL.ABS
  Where are they? (not specific, e.g. answer: on choiseul)
- (YY) pavei sarini?
  where 3PL.ABS
  Where are they? (specific, e.g. answer: in the car)

## XX.Y.Z Comparison

This section addresses comparative constructions, that is, equative, comparative, and superlative.

#### ADJECTIVAL VERBS

Words that describe qualities can act as predicates in Roviana, that is, adjective can also act as verbs. The following sentences demonstrate basic "adjectival" or "stative" sentences, which have the stucture of [predicate][subject].

- (YY) qetu se Pita. happy ABS.PERS Peter Peter is happy.
- (YY) rerege si rau. fast ABS 1SG I am fast.
- (YY) rerege si goi. fast ABS 2SG You are fast.

- (YY) rerege se Bili. fast ABS.PERS Bill Bill is fast.
- (YY) gele si rau. long ABS 1SG I am tall.

#### **EXCEED SENTENCES**

The word *hola* means to pass or exceed, and is used as "very" in adjectival sentences. The following examples demonstrate adjectival sentences which express excess of the quality.

- (YY) pekipeki hola se Pita. stupid pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is very silly.
- (YY) ititu hola se Pita. crazy pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is very crazy.
- (YY) bugoro hola se Pita. angry pass ABS.PERS Peter Peter is very angry.

#### **EOUATIVE**

Equative sentences are those which compare a quality in two participants as being equally present for both participants. In Roviana they take the structure [quality][standard][subject], in this case the subject is the thing being compared.

- (YY) rerege gua Bili si rau. fast as Bill ABS 1SG I am as fast as Bill.
- (YY) e Bili si rerege gua arau. PERS Bill FOC fast as 1SG Bill is as fast as me.
- (YY) rerege gua arau se Bili. fast as 1SG ABS.PERS Bill Bill is as fast as me.
- (YY) rerege gua agoi si arau. fast as 2SG ABS 1SG I am as fast as you.
- (YY) rerege gua Bili si goi. fast as Bill ABS 2SG You are as fast as Bill.
- (YY) gele gua Bili si rau. long as Bill ABS 1SG

I am as tall as Bill.

#### **COMPARATIVE**

Comparative sentences are those which express a meaning in which the subject exceeds the standard in the quality which is being compared. In Roviana the structure is [quality+exceed][subject][standard]. Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate comparative sentences in Roviana.

- (YY) rerege hola=n =ia arau se Bili. fast pass=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG ABS.PERS Bill I am faster than Bill.
- (YY) rerege hola=n =igo Bili si goi. fast pass=APPL=2SG.OBJ Bill ABS 2SG Bill is faster than you.
- (YY) rerege hola=n =ia Bili sa siki. fast pass=APPL=3SG.OBJ Bill DEF dog Bill is faster than the dog.
- (YY) gele hola=n =ia arau se Bili. long pass=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG ABS.PERS Bill I am taller than Bill.
- (YY) gele hola=n =au Bili si rau. long pass=APPL=1SG.OBJ Bill ABS 1SG Bill is taller than me.
- (YY) gele hola=n=au Bili si rau. long pass=APPL=1SG.OBJ Bill ABS 1SG Bill is taller than me.

## **SUPERLATIVE**

Superlative sentences express that the subject has the most in a certain quality, such as the English sentence "Bill is the fastest."

Examples (YY) and (YY) demosntrate typical superlative in Roviana. These sentences are ambigious with the exceed meaning, that is, sentence (YY) could mean either that "Bill is the fastest" or that "Bill is very fast." For the superlative meaning the speaker can use either *hola* or *sigiti* to express excess.

It is worth noting that in the simple superaltive sentences, the speaker chose to cleft the intransitive subject, suggesting that focus may emphasize the subjects excessiveness in the quality and therefore may offer some imformation to the listener to disambiguate the exceed meaning and the superlative meaning. Further investigation is required to verify this hypothesis.

(YY) e Bili si rerege hola.

```
PERS Bill FOC fast pass
```

- 1) Bill is the fastest.
- 2) Bill is very fast.
- (YY) e Bili si rerege sisigiti.

  PERS Bill FOC fast a lot
  Bill is very fast.

Examples (YY) and (YY), below, demonstrate superlative in the context of picking the best from a group. The structure of the superlative in the subordinate clause is the similar to the simple superlative in that it has the quality followed by an exceed word; however these are transitive. In the transitive superlatice the comparison in that the predicate is [quality+exceed], however the standard of comparison is in the matrix clause and the object in the subordinate clause is the item of comparison.

- (YY) hiva kurukuru si rau **ABS** like animal 1SG ba na siki sihiva sisigiti=n=iaarau. INDF dog a lot=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG but **FOC** want I like animals but I like dogs the most.
- (YY) hiva kurukuru si rau 1SG want animal **ABS** hola=n=iaba na siki si arau. INDF dog **FOC** but pass=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG I like animals but I like dogs the most.

## XX.Y.Z Reflexive

Two classes of reflexives have been observed in Roviana.

The first class has the structure [VERB+pule+OBJ<sub>i</sub>][SUBJECT<sub>i</sub>], demonstrated by examples (YY)-(YY).

- (YY) hiva pule=n=au si rau. desire return=APPL=1SG.OBJABS 1SG I like myself.
- (YY) hiva pule=n=igo si goi. desire return=APPL=2SG.OBJABS 2SG You like yourself.
- (YY) hiva pule=n=ia si asa. desire return=APPL=3SG.OBJABS 3SG She likes herself.

The second type of reflexive has the same structure except that they are preceded by the particle na. It is unclear what the function of na is in these sentences, as it usually indicates that an event has not finished yet, as discussed in the section on progressives. However; in the examples below it seems unlikely that they are events in progess, rather some consultants have suggested that there may be a definiteness to reflexives that are preceded by na. This is surprising as na is also homophonous with the indefinite article. More investigation is required to delineate the function of na in reflexive constructions.

$$(YY)$$
 na magu pule=n =au.

\*\*\* knife again=APPL=1SG.OBJ I cut myself .

- (YY) na va=mate pule=n =ia sa tie.

  \*\*\* CAUS=die again=APPL=3SG.OBJ DEF person
  The man killed himself.
- (YY) na va=mate pule=n =ia tele-na sa tie.

  \*\*\* CAUS=die again=APPL=3SG.OBJ self-3SG.GEN DEF person
  The man killed himself.

It's worth noting that in (YYicutmyself) the subject is omitted as it is clear that the sentence is reflexive and the object agreement, in this case, also indexes the subject.

# XX.Y.Z Reciprocal

Roviana has a distributive prefix *vari*-, which is used for reciprical and distributed actions. *Vari*- is also used in derivation, a look at the derivations from *vari*- hint at its distributive function.

Figure XX. Words derived with vari-

Root		vari-ROOT	
pada	'to measure'	varipada	'to compare'
heni	'to mix'	variheni 'to m	ix together'
		varigara	'to assemble'
soto	'stuck'	varisoto	'to attach together'
		varihaba	'to marry/marriage'
nuli	'deaf'	varivanuli	'noisey' (va is causative)
		varipera	'to fight'

The meaning of *vari* is not strictly reciprocal; however it does function as reciprocal as well. The examples below demonstrate typical reciprocals in Roviana.

- (YY) na varitokae sari tie pa inuma.
  PROG help each other DEF.PL person LOC garden
  The men help each other in the garden.
- (YY) puke rane si hoke varipera=i sari tie **FOC** fight=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL long ago always person meke vari-gani pule=i tugo. again=3PL.OBJ also and DIST-eat Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other.

## **XX.Y Transitivity Altering Devices**

This section discusses phenomena which either increases or decreases the transitivity of the clause. In addition the section concludes by discussing ambivalent verbs.

## XX.Y.Z Causative

The causitive in Roviana is expressed through the addition of the proclitic va=, to the front of a verbal root. While va= is treated as a proclitic in this description, its morphological status is still uncertain, however it is treated as a proclitic because it often receives stress and seems to be a seperate word in some cases and as part of the word in other case. More investigation is required to comfirm the morphological status of va=.

In some cases *va*=has been grammaticalized, as is the case with the pair *mate* 'to die' and *vamate* 'to kill.' Example (YY below) demonstraes *vamate* used in a sentence.

(YY) kote boka va=mate=ia Pita sa boko. FUT can CAUS=die=3SG.OBJ Peter DEF pig Peter can kill the pig.

In other cases va= acts as a more straighforward causitive. Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate some typical causitives in Roviana.

- (YY) na ruku va=toa =ia sa inuma. INDF rain CAUS=live=3SG.OBJ DEF garden The rain made the garden grow.
- (YY) *va=katu=ia* asa sa nika. CAUS=ignite=3SG.OBJ 3SG DEF fire She/he started the fire.
- (YY) [va=paleke =n =ia ginani tama -na Mary se Mary CAUS-carry=APPL=3SG.OBJ food father-3S.GEN Mary ABS Mary la pa inevanga.
  go LOC party.
  Mary's father made her bring the food to the party. Causative
- (YY) va=rizu=ia rau sa sea. CAUS=transfer=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF chair I moved the chair.

The following causitive (Example YY) potentially demonstrates a nominal cause, "my good return."

(YY) na meresena va=leana pule-qu.

INDF medicine CAUS=good again-1SG.GEN

The medicine made me well again. (PES: This medicine caused my good return)

It is not clear if this is indeed a nominalization or if the genitive morphology is acting as the object agreement in this case.

## XX.Y.Z Anticausitive

Roviana has a detransitivizing process which is best analyzed as a type of anticausitive. The process has both semantic and syntactic implications.

Example (YY) demonstrates the alternation between a typical transitive root, *titisi* 'to pour,' and its anticausitive form *titisae* 'spill,' *titisi* is a transitive action which requires an agent, whereas *titisae* is an intransitive action which does not require a definite agent.

(YY) ROOT ANTICAUSITIVE titisia 'to pour' titisae 'to spill'

The anticausitive form replaces the final vowel, typically an echo vowel, with the suffix -ae.

Examples, (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the difference between the transitive form of help, *toka*, and the anticausitive form, *tokae*. Note that there is no object agreement enclitic in the *tokae* form, thus indicating its status as intransitive.

#### HELP:

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{(YY)} & \textit{Toka} = n = i & \textit{goi.} \\ & \text{help} = \text{APPL} = 3 \text{PL.OBJ} & 2 \text{SG} \\ & \text{You helped them.} \end{array}$ 

#### **HELP AC**

(YY) vari-tokae si gami.
DIST-help.AC ABS 1PL.EXC
We help each other.

It is likely that anticausitive morphology is limited to specific verbs. Further investigation is required to map out which verbs are eligibe for anticausitive morphology.

### XX.Y.Z Passive

Roviana has a morphological passive which is formed by adding the passive prefix *ta*- to the front of the verb, as demosntrated in examples (YY). In example (YY) the subject is the undergoer and the by-phrase contains the agent, 'my sister.'

(YY) ta-tupa si rau koasa tasi-qu vineki.

PASS-punch ABS 1SG OBL.3SG sibling-1SG.GEN female
I was punched by my sister.

The Roviana passive may optionally be accompanied by an oblique marked by-phrase. Examples (YY) and (YY) below demonstrate a passive construction without a by-phrase and the same construction with a by-phrase.

(YY) ta-taka sa siki.

PASS-kick DEF dog
The dog was kicked.

(YY) ta-taka sa siki koe Bili.

PASS-kick DEF dog OBL Bill
The dog was kicked by Bill.

#### **XX.Y.Z Pseudo Noun Incorporation**

Pseudo noun incorporation (henceforth PNI) is very productive in Roviana and reduces the transitivity of the clause in which it is used. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the alternation between a typical transitive sentence and an intransitive version of the same sentence which has undergone PNI.

#### PNI PARADIGM

(YY) matagutu=n=ia rau sa basioto. fear=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF crocodile I fear the crocodile.

(YY) [matagutu basioto] si rau. fear crocodile ABS 1SG I crocodile-fear. The same basic meaning is expressed in both of the examples above, however (YY PNI) is intransitive, as is evidenced by the absolutive marker preceding the subject.

What makes PNI distinct from regular noun incorporation is that in typical incorporation only a bare noun is incorporated, such as the English word *babysit*. In PNI, a noun and its modifiers may be "incorporated." Example (YY below) demonstrates PNI in which both the object and its quantifier have been "incorporated."

#### PNI+ADJ

```
(YY) [riqihi soku igana] se Kesoko.
hook many fish ABS.PERS Kesoko
Kesoko catches many fish.
```

PNI can occur in the same clause as object agreement in a three participant event. Example (YY) demonstrates a construction which has both agreement and PNI. Agreement preceds the pseudo incorporated object.

#### PNI+AGR

```
(YY) na maho si [maho=n=ia huda] Zone.

INDF axe FOC cut=APPL=3SG.OBJ tree John
John cut a tree with an axe (lit. it was an axe that John tree-cut (with)).
```

#### XX.Y.Z Ambivalent Verbs

Roviana has a class of verbs which are ambivalent even without transitivity modifying devices, that is verbs that may appear in transitive or intransitive constructions without any morphological modification, aside from object agreement which indicates transitivity.

Examples (YY) and (YY) below demonstrate an intransitive and a transitive construction which both use the same verb *vose*, 'paddle.'

## **VOSE INTRANSITIVE**

```
(YY) ele vose si arau.
PFT paddle ABS 1SG
I paddled.
```

# **VOSE TRANSITIVE**

```
(YY) ele vose=ia arau sa hore.

PFT paddle=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF dug-out canoe
I paddled the canoe.
```

It is clear that ambivalence is limited to certain verbs as demonstrated by the different words for 'break.' Examples (YY moku) and (YY moku) demonstrate the verb *moku* which means 'break' but is used specifically for wooden things, such as a canoe paddle.

#### **MOKU INTRANSITIVE**

```
(YY) moku sa vose.
break DEF paddle
The paddle broke.
```

## **MOKU TRANSITIVE**

(YY) moku=a Bili sa vose. break=3SG.OBJ Bill DEF paddle Bill broke the paddle.

A different word for break *poraka*, is inherently anticausitive and requires the addition of the causitive prefix to form a transitive, as demonstrated by examples (YY poraka) and (YY poraka).

(YY) poraka sa vuida broke DEF window The window broke.

(YY) *e Bili va- porakia sa vuida*.

PERS Bill CAUS-break-TR-3SO DEF window
Bill broke the window.

The difference between *poraka* and *moku* is evidence that verbs in Roviana have either inherent valence or ambivalence, depending on the individual verb. More investigation is required to map out the class of ambivalent verbs in Roviana.

# XX.Y Tense, Aspect, Mood

This section introduces tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) in Roviana. Roviana employs a series of TAM particles, most of which occur preverbally.

### XX.Y.Z Unmarked Present/Past

Clauses unmkarked for tense in Roviana are either simple present, recent past, or simple past tense. Context will generally provide the accurate tense of an unmarked phrase. People often tell stories about things that have happened in the past in unmarked tense.

Examples (YY)-(YY), below, demonstrate sentences which are unmarked for tense and have a simple present reading.

## SIMPLE PRESENT

- (YY) habotu si asa. sit ABS 3SG 3SG sits.
- (YY) turu si asa. stand ABS 3SG 3SG stands.
- (YY) mae si asa. come ABS 3SG 3SG comes.
- (YY) puta si asa. sleep ABS 3SG 3SG sleeps.

The same sentences could have a recent past meaning, or a simple past meaning in the context of a story. Example (YY below) demonstrates an unmarked sentence which had a simple past reading in it's original context.

#### SIMPLE PAST

(YY) hoqa sa huda. fall DEF tree The tree fell down.

It is worth noting that voice selection has no interaction with tense mood or aspect. Example (YY) and (YY) below demonstrate a simple present reading of an AV/UV alternation.

## **UV/AV PARADIGM**

- (YY) tigisi =ia sa sa huneke. weave =3SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG DEF hand bag 3SG weaves the basket.
- (YY) asa tigisi =ia sa huneke. 3SG weave =3SG.OBJ DEF hand bag 3SG weaves the basket.

### XX.Y.Z Future

Future tense is expressed through the addition of a preverbal particle. There are two preverbal particles which inflect future tense.

The first particle is *kote*, examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate sentences which are inflected for future tense with *kote*.

### **KOTE**

- (YY) lopu kote peka se Magoreti.

  NEG FUT dance ABS.PERS Margaret

  Margaret will not dance.
- (YY) kote boka va=mate=ia Pita sa boko. FUT can CAUS=die=3SG.OBJ Peter DEF pig Peter can kill the pig.
- (YY) kote hena=i rau **FUT** eat=3PL.OBJ 1SG sari karua igana leana-di hire taqarau. DEF.PL two fish good-3PL.GEN these mine I will eat these two good fish of mine.
- (YY) kote la hore tanisa pa noma-na tie sigita. **FUT** go LOC canoe big-3SG.GEN his/hers person ABS 1PL.INC We will go in the man's big canoe.
- (YY) pude koa sa baere si kote koa sirau. qua **DEF** 1SG.GEN friend FOC so that stay **FUT** stay **ABS** 1SG If my friend stays I will stay.

(YY)pude taloa baere si kote taloa sa qua si rau. if leave **DEF** 1SG.GEN friend FOC **FUT** leave **ABS** 1SG If my friend goes (leaves) I will go (leave).

Example (YY), below, demonstrates the use of *kaqu* to inflect future tense. *Kaqu* is less common in the corpus consulted for this description.

## **KAQU**

(YY) lopu kaqu peka se Magoreti. NEG will dance ABS.PERS Margaret Margaret will not dance.

#### XX.Y.Z Perfect

Roviana inflects perfect aspect through the preverbal particle *ele*. There is no dedicated past tense particle in Roviana, thus *ele* is sometimes used to clarify that the event has already happened.

Tokens of *ele* are provided below.

- (YY) eleboko. atu koa agoi qua sa **PFT** OBL **DEF** 1SG.GEN 2SG pig gο My pig went to you.
- (YY) ele hale=a agoi sa huda. PFT climb=3SG.OBJ 2SG DEF tree You climbed the tree.
- (YY) *ele vose si arau.* PFT paddle ABS 1SG I paddled.
- (YY) *ele vose=ia arau sa hore.*PFT paddle=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF dug-out canoe I paddled the canoe.
- (YY) ele taloa si asa. PFT leave ABS 3SG 3SG went. {IT, PFT}
- (YY) *ele mate si asa.* PFT die ABS 3SG 3SG died.

The examples are generally not free translated with the English perfect, nonetheless *ele* functions as indicating that an even is completed, for example *ele mate si asa* may also be translated as "3SG has died."

# XX.Y.Z Imperfect

The particle *korapa* is also used as the word for "middle" as in *korapa rane* "mididay" or "lunch." This function sheds light on it's aspectual function which is better compared to Englsih "still." There is interaction between imperfect and progressive aspect, thus there is some overlap between the description of the imperfect and progressive aspects.

#### **KORAPA**

*Korapa* by itself is similar to English "still," however it used slightly differently, but this difference seems to be stylistic. The example below demonstrates a sentence which is inflected only with *korapa*, the sentence expresses an action which has not yet been completed. Indeed a deeper look at Roviana aspect reveals that *korapa* expresses that an event has ended, similar to English progressive, which is why *korapa* sentences are often translated with the English progressive.

(YY) korapa kera se Mere.

IPFT sing ABS.PERS Mary
Mary is singing. PES: "Mary still sings"

As noted in the free translation, though both "Mary is singing" and "Mary still sings" indicate that the action has not yet been completed, the translation "Mary still sings" is perhaps more transparent in regards to the typical functioning of *korapa*.

## **KORAPA + REDUPLICATION**

*Korapa* can be combined with reduplication, which is typically used to express progressive. According to Waterhouse (XXXX:244) the reduplicated verb is more definite with the addition of korapa. It is better compared to English "still," which can combine with the progressive "-ing" ending, such as "*Mary is still eating lunch*."

(YY) korapa henahena korapa rane se Mere.
IPFT eat.PROG middle-day ABS.PERS Mary
Mary is still eating lunch.

The example above (YY) was given by two different speakers, one translated it as "Mary is still eating" and the other simply as "Mary is eating," this anecdote demonstrates the limitations of using free translations to diagnose aspect.

#### STILL HASN'T KORAPA+LOPU

*Korapa* precedes negation and perfect morphology when combined for a meaning such as "still hasn't". Example (YY below) demonstrates the position of *korapa* among other aspect particles.

(YY) korapa lopu ele rararo veluvelu se Bili.

IPFT NEG PFT cook dinner ABS.PERS Bill

Bill still hasn't cooked his dinner. (NOTE: rararo is the verbal form of raro 'pot,' it is not full reduplication and thus is not inflecting progressive.)

The example (YY) below demosntrates the "still hasn't" meaning with progressive reduplication.

(YY) korapa lopu ele beto henahena korapa-rane se Mere. IPFT NEG PFT finish eat.PROG mid-day ABS.PERS Mary Mary still hasn't finished eating lunch.

# XX.Y.Z Progressive

As mentioned in the previous section on *korapa*, the imperfect aspect particle, there is quite a bit of functional overlap between the imperfect and the progressive. The examples below, (YY)-(YY), demonstrate a paradigm of sentences which illuminate the aspectual distinctions of unmarked, progressive, and imperfect.

- (YY) peka se Pita. dance ABS.PERS Peter Peter dances.
- (YY) pekapeka se Pita. dance.PROG ABS.PERS Peter Peter is dancing.
- (YY) korapa peka se Pita.

  IPFT dance ABS.PERS Peter
  Peter is still dancing.

#### REDUPLICATION

The progressive aspect is expressed through full reduplication. As discussed in the Morphology section, there are two types of reduplication in Roviana, full and partial. The "full" reduplication is not fully reduplicated, however the first two mora are preserved, while in partial reduplication only the first mora is reduplicated.

Examples (YY) demonstrates a sentence which inflects progressive aspect through reduplication.

(YY) kerakera se Mere. sing.PROG ABS.PERS Mary Mary is singing.

#### ROOTS AND REDUPLICATION PARADIGMS

The examples in figure XX demonstrate several roots which have been inflected for progressive aspect.

Figure XX. Roviana Progressive Reduplication Examples

ROOT			REDUPLICATED FORM		
gani	'eat'		ganigani	'eat.PROG'	
hamu	'chew'		hamuhamu	'chew.PROG'	
hena	'eat'		henahena	'eat.PROG'	
huve	'bathe'		huhuve	'bathing'	
kina	'cook'		kinakina	'cook.PROG'	
koa	'live'		kokoa	'live.PROG'	
lopi 'play'		lopilopi 'play.PROG'			
peka	'dance'		pekapeka	'dance.PROG'	
tavetav	ete	'work'	tavetavete	'work.PROG'	

It is worth noting that words such as *huve* reduplicate to *huhuve* rather than *huvehuve*, which would be the expected form. The reason for this is likely morphophonemic in nature, not syntactic.

## **KORAPA + REDUPLICATION**

*Korapa* can be combined with reduplication, which is typically used to express progressive. According to Waterhouse (XXXX:244) the reduplicated verb is more definite with the addition of korapa. It is better compared to English "still," which can combine with the progressive "-ing" ending, such as "*Mary is still eating lunch*."

(YY) korapa henahena korapa rane se Mere.
IPFT eat.PROG middle-day ABS.PERS Mary
Mary is still eating lunch.

The example above (YY) was given by two different speakers, one translated it as "Mary is still eating" and the other simply as "Mary is eating," this anecdote demonstrates the limitations of using free translations to diagnose aspect.

### NA

In addition progressive aspect may be expressed through the preverbal particle na, at least for some roots. The preverbal particle na is homophonous with the indefinite article na. Perhaps the reason that there are two methods of inflecting progressive aspect is that some roots do not have access to reduplication, or perhaps na and reduplication have overlapping but distinct functions which require more investigation to accurately describe.

- (YY) *na tigisi huneke si asa.* PROG weave hand bag ABS 3SG 3SG is weaving a basket (huneke).
- (YY) na hena neka si asa. PROG eat t.o. cabbage ABS 3SG 3SG eats vegetables (cabbage).
- (YY) na puta sari Pita meke Zone.
  PROG sleep DEF.PL Peter and John
  Peter and John are sleeping.
- (YY) na puta sari kara.

  PROG sleep DEF.PL two
  The two are sleeping.
- (YY) na puta se Pita.

  PROG sleep ABS.PERS Peter

  Peter is sleeping.
- (YY) na moho se Pita.

  PROG sick ABS.PERS Peter

  Peter is sick. {IT, PROG}

Thusfar, the roots in the examples above have not been observed expressing progressive aspect through resuplication. This is not to say that it is not possible as it has not been tested; nonetheless it suggests that, at least historically, not all roots had access to reduplication, thus motivating two methods of inflecting the same aspect.

### NA + REDUPLICATION

Reduplication can be combined with *na* as demosntrated in the example below.

(YY) na kerakera sarini.
PROG sing.PROG 3PL.ABS
They are singing"

According to a consultant (YY ask her if she would like creditYY) "having the "na" in front is like confirming that the "kerakera" is the focus," that is, the addition of *na* to a reduplications focuses the verb. More investigation is required to accurately describe the interaction of redplication and *na*.

### XX.Y.Z Already

For lack of a more accurate term, this aspect has been called "already."

"Already" is expressed through the combination of the preverbal perfect particle *ele* and the postverbal particle *tu*. There is no evidence to suggest that the particles are clitics or suffixes; nonetheless the formation of "already" acts much as a circumfix would, in that it is inflected on both sides of the root.

### ELE+TU

The combination of ele and tu is demonstrated in the examples below. The particle tu is glossed as "already," but the meaning comes from the combination of ele and tu.

- (YY) elepodalaepeka Zone tu se **PFT** start dance already ABS.PERS John meke sari tasi-na koreo. DEF.PL sibling-3SG.GEN and male John and his brothers have already begun to dance.
- (YY) *ele peka tu se Maikolo*.

  PFT dance already ABS.PERS Michael Michal has already danced.

The example below demonstrates that the two particles manifest outside of the serial verb chain.

(YY)govete taloa hiqohiqo Pita. ele tupa se **PFT** leave forest flee already LOC ABS.PERS Peter Peter ran away to the forest.

The example below demonstrates that *ele* and *tu* go outside of a pseudo noun incorporated object, in this case *korapa rane*, 'lunch.'

(YY) ele henahena korapa rane tu se Mere. PFT eat.PROG middle day ALREADY ABS.PERS Mary Mary already ate lunch.

The tu in "already" precedes dependent clauses, as demonstrated in the example below.

(YY) elebeto tu **ALREADY PFT** finish tavetavete inuma Mere. pa nana se work.PROG LOC 3SG.GEN garden **ABS.PERS** Mary Mary already finished working in her garden.

# XX.Y.Z Might

This section has been labelled "might," as the author is still in search of a better term. Potential action, "might," is expressed through the combination of the future aspect particle, *kote*, and a particle best glossed as "maybe," *gina*.

### GINA + KOTE

The examples below demosntrate examples of the potential aspect, "might."

- (YY) gina kote suranga=ia Pita sa nana hore. maybe FUT sit=3SG.OBJ Peter DEF 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe Peter might board his canoe.
- (YY) gina kote hore Pita. suranga pa nana se maybe FUT sit LOC 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe ABS.PERS Peter Peter might board his canoe.

### GINA + LOPU + KOTU

In a sentence which expresses the meaning "might not," the negating particle, *lopu*, occurs inbetween *gina* and *kote*, as demonstrated by examples (YY).

(YY) gina lopu kote suranga pa nana hore Pita se maybe NEG **FUT** sit LOC 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe ABS.PERS Peter Peter might not board his canoe.

# XX.Y.Z Soon

An aspect which carries the same meaning as English "soon," is expressed through the combination of the future particle *kote* and the word for 'close,' 'almost' or 'nearby,' *tata*.

Examples (YY), below, demosntrates tata functioning as 'close.'

(YY) tata pa leana se Pita. almost LOC good ABS.PERS Peter Peter is near the river.

### KOTE + TATA

The example below demosntrates how "soon" is expressed through the combination of *kote* and *tata*.

(YY) kote tata suranga hore Pita. pa nana se LOC canoe ABS.PERS **FUT** almost sit 3SG.GEN Peter Peter will board his canoe soon.

# XX.Y.Z Always

Roviana has three methods with which to inflect the "always" meaning.

### HOKE

One way in which "always" can be expressed is through the use of the pre-verbal particle hoke.

- (YY) hoke peka va=leana se Pita. always dance CAUS good ABS.PERS Peter Peter always dances well.
- (YY) puke rane hoke varipera=i si tie sari fight=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL long ago FOC always person meke vari-gani pule=i tugo. DIST-eat again=3PL.OBJ also and Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other.

It is likely that *hoke* is also used for habitual activity.

### **KOBA**

Another way in which "always" can be expressed is through the pre-verbal particle *koba*.

(YY) koba henahena korapa rane always eat.PROG middle day

> turanga lamo=ia mo Mere se Bili. lead always=3SG.OBJ only Mary ABS.PERS Bill.

Mary always eats lunch with Bill.(NOTE: the meaning of *lamo* is unclear, and when asked for clarification about its meaning in this sentence, a speaker suggested that *lamo* means "always.")

(YY) koba henahena korapa rane always eat.PROG middle day

turang=ia Mere se Bili.

lead=3SG.OBJ Mary ABS.PERS Bill

Mary always eats lunch with Bill.

Koba holds the meaning "always" with or without the addition of the particle *lamo*, whose meaning is unclear. As mentioned in the translation, a speaker suggested that *lamo* contributes to the meaning of "always" in example (YY lamo).

### DODURU TOTOSO, HOKE, KOBA

In addition to the two particles, always may also be expressed through the combination of *doduru* 'all' and *totoso* 'time.' The example below demosntrates "always" expressed through the adverbial *doduru totoso*.

(YY) doduru totoso si henahena korapa rane all time FOC eat.PROG middle day

turang=ia Mere se Bili.

lead=3SG.OBJ Mary ABS.PERS Bill

Mary always eats lunch with Bill.

### XX.Y.Z Abilitive

Ability is expressed through the addition of a preverbal particle, boka, similar to English 'can.'

### **BOKA**

The example below demonstrate the use of *boka* to express abilitive. *Boka* precedes the verb.

Peter can kill the pig.

#### LOPU + BOKA

When negated, the negating particle, *lopu*, precedes the abilitive, *boka*. The example below demonstrates such an example.

John is not able to climb the mountain.

### **XX.Y Serial Verbs**

Roviana employs serial verbs to express complex actions. That is, Roviana may have more than one verb in a row in a single "verb complex," that is, the serial verbs and the aspectual particles.

Several examples of serial verb constructions are provided below. It is unclear what the limits of verb serialization are; however most serial verb constructions have only two verbs.

- (YY) hiva peka pule se Maikolo. want dance again ABS.PERS Michael Michael wants to dance again.
- (YY) korona peka se Magoreti. refuse dance ABS.PERS Margaret Margaret refuses to dance.
- (YY) eko puta si asa. lay down sleep ABS 3SG 3SG sleeps laying down.
- (YY) ele govete taloa tu pa hiqohiqo se Pita.

  PFT flee leave already LOC forest ABS.PERS Peter

  Peter ran away to the forest.
- (YY) haqala la koa sa tama-na se Pita. run go OBL DEF father-3SG.GEN ABS.PERS Peter Peter ran towards his father.
- (YY) hiva la hu-huve si rau. want go RED-bathe ABS 1SG I want to go swimming.

### **NEGATION**

Negation preceds the serial verbs, as indicated by the example below.

(YY) lopu hiva peka se Magoreti NEG want dance ABS.PERS Margaret Margaret does not want to dance.

Further investigation is required to provide a more thorough description of serial verb constructions.

### **XX.Y Quantifiers**

Quantifiers in Roviana require much more detailed investigation to accurately describe their functioning across the language; nonetheless this section summarizes some preliminary observations.

### **VOICE SELECTION**

It is possible that there is an interaction of voice selection and quantifiers. Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate the interaction, that is, that quantifying the object in UV was deemed ungrammatical.

(YY) agoi riqihi=i sari doduru igana. 2SG hook=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL all fish You caught all the fish.

\*UV

(YY) \*riqihi=i agoi sari doduru igana. hook=3PL.OBJ 2SG DEF.PL all fish \*You caught all the fish. (ungrammatical)

If the examples above are representative of the interaction bewtween quantification and voice selection, then the facts about Roviana voice are the opposite of what would be predicted based on the observations of other symmetric voice languages. Typically, if there is a limit on quantification it is limited to the pivot, but, in Roviana quantification of the object is limited to the actor voice. This observation raises questions about both the nature of symmetric voice and indeed, the accuracy of the voice analysis in Roviana.

#### ALL

A floating quantifier has not been observed in Roviana. Therefore, voice selection does not interact with the scope of the floating quantifier. Perhaps because of this fact, some quantification in Roviana is simply ambigious, as demonstrated by the example below.

(YY) Zone meke peka sari tasi-na koreo si doduru bongi. John and DEF.PL sibling-3SG.GEN male FOC dance all night John and his brother dances all/every night (ambigious).

### **OBJ+ QUANTIFICATION**

Object quantification with the meaning "all" is demonstrated in the example below.

(YY) ele hena beto=i ari koburu sari ginani.

PFT eat finish=3PL.OBJPL child DEF.PL food

The kids ate all of the food.

In the example above the object is expressed with an "all" meaning; however *doduru*, 'all,' is not used. Rather *beto* 'finish' is added to the verb *hena* 'eat,' and the quantification modifies the object, this is likely due to voice selection. If this example is representative than it appears that quantification expressed on the verb modifies the object if the sentence is in undergoer voice (UV).

### TRANSITIVE SUBJECT + QUANTIFICATION

The following sentence demonstrates quantification of the transitive subject with the meaning "all." In this case the quantifier *doruru*, 'all,' is used.

doduru koburu (YY) hena beto ari =isari ginani. finish 3PL.OBJ PL. a11 child eat DEF.PL food All of the kids ate the food.

The sentence above is similar to (YY the kids ate all the food); however it uses the quantifier *doduru*. Indeed the quantified transitive subject manifests in AV in the above example; nonetheless quantification of the transitive subject with *doduru* is available in either the AV or UV.

Examples (YY) and (YY), below, demonstrate the alternation between UV and AV for a transitive subject which is quantified with *doduru*.

UV

(YY) taka=ia ari doduru koburu sa siki. kick=3SG.OBJ PL all child DEF dog All the kids kicked the dog.

ΑV

(YY) ari doduru koburu taka=ia sa siki.
PL all child kick=3SG.OBJ DEF dog
All the kids kicked the dog.

It is worth noting that the transitive subject in UV is precede by *ari*, which indicates that the NP is plural. This suggests that perhaps *ari* does not indicate definiteness, as definiteness is entailed for transitive subjects in UV.

### INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT + QUANTIFICATION

The following examples demonstrate an intransitive subject quantified with *doduru*. It is unclear if there is any interaction between voice and quantification in intransitive sentences as they are ambigious for voice in Roviana, save that intransitive subjects may not occur in the preverbal slot reserved for the transitive subject, or the indirect object in LV.

The examples below demonstrate a quantified transitive subject in both the default post-verbal position and fronted through *si*-clefting.

(YY) hena luzuvaka sari doduru koburu. eat sweet potato DEF.PL all child All of the kids ate sweet potato.

(YY) sari doduru koburu si hena luzuvaka.

DEF.PL all child FOC eat sweet potato

All the kids ate sweet potato.

### LOKETONGA NOTHING

"Nothing" is expressed through the word *loketonga*. In the following example *loketonga* acts as the object and appears *si*-clefted in UV. Perhaps *loketonga* is not acting as a quantifier in this example, or perhaps the voice requirements for *doruru* do not apply to *loketonga*.

(YY) loketonga si riqihi =ia rau nothing FOC hook 3SG.OBJ 1SG I didn't catch anything.

### **EVERY/EACH**

A dedicated word for "every" or "each" has not been observed in Roviana. Speakers negotiate this meaning, as demosntrated by the example below which uses a sentence close to "one child can recieve only one sweet potato."

(YY) keke luzuvaka mo boka ade=ia keke koburu.
one sweet potato only can recieve=3SG.OBJ one child
Each child can have one sweet potato.

This example is worth noting because it appears that the object, "only one sweet potato," is fronted without the clefting particle *si*. Perhaps this indicates that the DO may have access to LV in some circumstances, or perhaps this is simply a speaker error. Regardless, this raises questions about voice alternations in Roviana and requires further investigation.

### XX.Y Adverbial Phrases

This section is intended to introduce the form and function of adverbial phrases in Roviana.

#### TOMORROW MOVEMENT PARADIGM

Adverbs such as *vugo* 'tomorrow' have access to many positions in the syntax, as evidenced by the examples below.

### SENTENCE FINAL

(YY) kote haqala meke tunuru si rau **vugo**. FUT run and swim ABS 1SG tomorrow I will run and swim tomorrow.

### SENTENCE INITIAL

(YY) vugo kote haqala meke tunuru si rau. tomorrow FUT run and swim ABS 1SG Tomorrow I will run and swim.

### **POST-VERBAL**

(YY) kote haqala meke tunuru vugo si rau. FUT run and swim tomorrow ABS 1SG I will run and swim tomorrow.

### PRE-VERBAL

(YY) kote vugo haqala meke tunuru si rau.

FUT tomorrow run and swim ABS 1SG
I will run and swim tomorrow.

Indeed an adjective like *vugo* can accor sentence final, sentence intial, after the verb, or before the verb. It is worth noting that in the above examples *vugo* occurs both directly before and directly after the aspect particle *kote*.

### YESTERDAY

Adverbs such as *norae*, may occur inbetween aspectual particles in an adverbial phrase which is clefted with *si*.

(YY) elesuranga norae tu si already **FOC PFT** yesterday sit hore Pita. ра nana se LOC 3SG.GEN canoe ABS.PERS Peter Free Yesterday Peter boarded his canoe.

Adverbs that were derived from adjectives commonly occur post-verbally, that is, directly following the verb. The examples below demosntrate just such adverbs.

- (YY) ene tuture se Maikolo. walk quick ABS.PERS Michael Michael walks quickly.
- (YY) zama sisigiti se Pita. speak a lot ABS.PERS Peter Peter talks a lot.
- (YY) ene hitehite se Mama. walk slow ABS.PERS Mama Mother walks slowly.

Some adjectives have undergone partial reduplication, such as *tuture* and *sisigiti*, however it is not clear if this is part of adjectival derifvation or adverbial derivation. In addition *hiteke*, which often manifests as *hite*, is fully reduplicated. These facts suggest that there is no special derivation for adverbs, what is more likely is that there was some historic derivation process for adjectives, which is no longer active adjectives can otherwise act as verbs in synchronic Roviana. Further investigation is required to full understand and describe the functioning of adverbs in Roviana.

#### WELL

The adverb *valeana* "well" (literally CAUSE-good), follows the verb similar to the adjective-like adverbs. The examples below demonstrate several examples.

- (YY) hoke peka va=leana se Pita. always dance CAUS good ABS.PERS Peter Peter always dances well.
- (YY) kopu va=leana=ni=gita sa tina-qu. keep CAUS=good=APPL=1PL.INC.OBJ DEF mother-1SG.GEN Mother looked after us very well.
- (YY)Zone gilana va=leana=ia know CAUS=good=3SG.OBJ John sapu gua tozi=n=iatitisa. nana sa REL tell=APPL=3SG.OBJ DEF 3SG.GEN teacher John understood completely what his teacher said.

### **ALSO**

"Also is typically expressed through the particle *tugo*, as in example (YY), below.

(YY) puke rane si hoke *varipera=i* sari tie **FOC** always fight=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL long ago person meke pule=ivari-gani tugo. again=3PL.OBJ also and **DIST-eat** Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other too.

The adverb "also" can also be expressed through the combination of *ba* and *tugo* which go before and after the verb, respectively. An example is demonstrated below in (YY).

(YY) e Pita ba peka tugo.

PERS Peter but dance also
Peter is dancing too.

This particular example is not well understood. The intransitive subject is fronted without an clefting, thus suggesting that it is either not really fronted or perhaps this is an example of an intransitive subject in actor voice. Either way this phenomenon merits further investigation.

### **AGAIN PULE**

"Again" is expressed through the use of the word *pule*, the same word which is means "return" as a verb and is employed in reflexive constructions.

(YY) hiva peka pule se Maikolo. want dance again ABS.PERS Michael Michael wants to dance again.

*Pule* follows the serial verb and precedes the intransitive subject.

### ADV.P + SI

Adverbs that comment on setting often appear in a clefted construction preceding the particle *si*. Examples (YY)-(YY), below, demonstrate several such examples.

- (YY) puke rane sihoke varipera=i tie sari **FOC** always fight=3PL.OBJ DEF.PL long ago person meke vari-gani pule=itugo. DIST-eat again=3PL.OBJ also and Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other too.
- (YY)kohite tu si kote suranga later already **FOC FUT** sit nana hore Pita. pa se3SG.GEN dug-out canoe ABS.PERS Peter Later Peter will board his canoe.
- (YY) kote vugo sisuranga **FUT FOC** tomorrow sit hore Pita. pa nana se LOC 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe ABS.PERS Peter Tomorrow Peter will board his canoe.
- (YY) elesisuranga norae tu**PFT** yesterday already FOC sit ра nana hore Pita. se 3SG.GEN dug-out canoe ABS.PERS LOC Peter Yesterday Peter boarded his canoe.

### **XX.Y Complex Sentences**

This section introduces complex sentences. The discussion is limited to conditionals, coordination, and dependent clauses. Much more investigation is required to describe the array of complex sentence structures in Roviana, including issues such as islands, control, and raising.

# **XX.Y.Z** Conditionals

Though this section is intended to describe the functioning of conditionals in Roviana, the only conditionals that have been observed thusfar have been "if-then" conditionals.

## IF-THEN pude

The word *pude* has a meaning similar to "in order to," or "so;" however, it also functions as "if" when sentence initial and in a conditional context. Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate if-then conditionals.

- (YY)pude koa sa baere si kote koa si rau. aua **ABS** if stay DEF 1SG.GEN friend FOC **FUT** stay 1SG If my friend stays I will stay.
- (YY)pude taloa sa qua baere si kote taloa si rau. if leave DEF 1SG.GEN friend FOC **FUT** leave ABS 1SG If my friend goes (leaves) I will go (leave).
- (YY) pude guana ele taloa baere si sa qua if **DEF** friend FOC seem **PFT** leave 1SG.GEN ele taloa sikote tugo arau. **FUT PFT** leave **ABS** also 1SG If my friend had gone I would have gone.

The condition is preceded by *pude* and clefted in front of *si*. The resulting state, or potential resulting state, follows the *si*.

### XX.Y.Z Coordination

Coordination in Roviana is generally expressed with either meke "and" or ba "and/or."

#### COORDINATED ACTIONS

Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate actions coordinated with *meke*.

- (YY) habotu se Pita meke hena=ia sa hakua. sit ABS.PERS Peter and eat=3SG.OBJ DEF banana Peter sat and ate a banana.
- (YY) puke rane si hoke varipera=i FOC fight=3PL.OBJ long ago always sari tie meke vari-gani pule=i tugo. person and DIST-eat again=3PL.OBJ also Long ago the men would fight each other and eat each other.

### COORDINATED ACTORS (SAME ACTION)

Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate the same action coordinated with *meke*.

- (YY) na puta sari Pita meke Zone.
  PROG sleep DEF.PL Peter and John
  Peter and John are sleeping.
- (YY) Zone meke tasi-na doduru bongi. sari koreo peka siDEF.PL sibling-3SG.GEN **FOC** night John and male dance all John and his brother dances all/every night (ambigious).
- (YY)elepodalaepeka tu Zone **PFT** start dance already ABS.PERS John meke sari tasi-na koreo. sibling-3SG.GEN and DEF.PL male John and his brothers have already begun to dance.

### COORDINATED ACTORS (DIFFERENT ACTIONS)

Example (YY) demonstrates the coordination of two seperate actions with different actions with meke.

(YY) talo hena=ia Pita na si PROG taro **FOC** eat=3SG.OBJ Peter meke marihi si na hena=ia arau. **FOC** eat=3SG.OBJ and PROG vam 1SG Peter ate taro and I ate yam.

# SEQUENTIAL (SAME ACTOR)

In addition *meke* can have a sequential implicature, much as 'and' in the English sentence "The child fell down and hurt her knee." Examples (YY) and (YY) demonstrate sequential actions coordinated with *meke*.

- vetu (YY) pule Zone mae se ра ABS.PERS John LOC again come house meke hena=isari gana ginani. asa DEF.PL and eat=3PL.OBJ 3SG 3SG.GEN.FD food John came home to eat his food (lit. John came home and ate his food).
- Pita hakua (YY) hena=ia sa eat=3SG.OBJ Peter DEF banana meke pule la nana vetu si pa asa. and again LOC 3SG.GEN house ABS go 3SG Peter ate a banana and then went to his house.

### SEQUENTIAL (DIFFERENT ACTORS)

The following examples demonstrate sequential actions coordinated with *meke* which have different actors.

(YY) na hakua si hena=ia Pita **PROG** banana **FOC** eat=3SG.OBJ Peter meke tige tioko=ia agoi si asa. then call=3SG.OBJ 2SG ABS 3SG Peter ate a banana and then you called him.

(YY) hena=ia Pita hakua sa eat=3SG.OBJ Peter **DEF** banana meke tige tioko=ia agoi siasa. and then call=3SG.OBJ 2SG ABS 3SG Peter ate a banana and then you called him.

### BUT ba

The particle *ba* can coordinate with the meaning of either "but" or "or." Examples (YY)-(YY) demonstrate examples in which *ba* coordinates with the meaning "but."

- hiva (YY)siki si rau ba lopu pusi. want dog **ABS** 1SG but **NEG** cat I like dogs but not cats.
- (YY)si hiva siki rau ba lopu hiva si rau. pusi ABS want dog **ABS** 1SG but NEG want 1SG cat I like dog's but I don't like cats.
- (YY)zama si goi kote va=via=iaagoi sa vetu speak **ABS** 2SG **FUT** CAUS=clean=3SG.OBJ2SG **DEF** house ba lopu hite mo. but **NEG** small **DWTNR** You said you would clean the house but you didn't.
- (YY)hiva Buni si Bilila ра want LOC Buni **ABS** Bill go ba sihiva ра Rarumana. arau 1SG **FOC** LOC Rarumana but want Bill wants to go to Buni but I want to go to Rarumana.

#### OR ba

The following examples demonstrate ba coordinating as "or."

- (YY)nanasa Pita vegua ABS.PERS Peter how ask sapu boka sigoi ba locari. kote mae **FUT REL** can come **ABS** 2SG but no Peter asked whether you had come or not.
- (YY) hiva la si goi ba locari. want go ABS 2SG but no Do you want to go or not?
- (YY) hiva talo si goi ba luzuvaka.
  want taro ABS 2SG but sweet potato
  Do you want taro or sweet potato?

### EITHER BABE

The particle *babe* can express the meaning of "either," examples (YY) demonstrates one such token.

(YY) boka hena agoi sa talo babe sa luzuvaka.

can eat 2SG DEF taro or DEF sweet potato

You can eat either taro or sweet potato.

## XX.Y.Z Dependendent Clauses

Dependent clauses in Roviana are not well understood. This section attempts to identify some nominal subordinate clauses as well as introduce and describe the basic functioning of adverbial subordinate clauses and relative clauses. It concluded with a small section on reported speech.

#### XX.Y.Z Nominal Subordinate Clauses

Only two potential examples of nominal dependent clauses have been observed, they are shown in example (YY) and (YY).

#### **KNOW**

Examples (YY) below demonsrates a sentence with "know." A sentence like "The man know how to fight" may be a nominal dependent clause in English, however the classification of the example below is less clear. Another possible analysis is that *varipera* has been pseudo noun incorporated.

(YY) tumae -na varipera sa tie know 3SG.GEN fight DEF person

The man knows how to fight.

### **FINISH**

The example below shows a potential nominal subordinate clause with verb *beto* 'finish' as the verb of the matrix clause.

(YY) ele beto tu

PFT finish ALREADY

tavetavete pa nana inuma se Mere. work.PROG LOC 3SG.GEN garden ABS.PERS Mary

Mary already finished working in her garden.

One reason to suspect that this is a bonafide nominal subordinate clause is that the aspectual circumparticles *ele* and *tu*, "already," seperate *beto* from the next verb. In a serial verb construction the aspectual circum-particles go outside of the all of the verbs in the chain.

### XX.Y.Z Adverbial Subordinate Clauses

This section briefly introduces adverbial subordinate clauses.

The following two examples demonstrate adverbial subordinate clauses headed by *sipu*, 'while.'

# SIPU

- (YY) kera se Mere sipu peka se Bili. sing ABS.PERS Mary while dance ABS.PERS Bill Mary sings while Bill dances.
- korapa henahena korapa rane (YY) Mere se **IPFT** eat.PROG middle day **ABS.PERS** Mary Bili. sipu kamo pule vetu pa Bill while reach return LOC house ABS.PERS Mary was eating lunch when Bill came home.

The adverbial subordinate clauses above have the form [MATRIX CLAUSE] [sipu SUBORDINATE CLAUSE], and both clauses are full sentences.

In addition, it is possible that some of the *si*-clefted adverbs may be analyzed as adverbial suboordiante clauses, one such example is provided below.

### **CLEFTED ADVERBIAL**

(YY) keke keke hoke Mere. totoso pa rane sikera se one time LOC one day FOC always sing ABS.PERS Mary Mary sings for one hour every day.

#### XX.Y.Z Relative Clauses

This section introduces relative clause formation in Roviana.

Roviana relativizes with an invariant particle, *sapu*. Examples (YY) demonstrates a typical relative clause in Roviana. The relative clause modifies the object "the man," who is the intransitive subject of the relative clause, "who is sleeping." Indeed the relativized NP, the man, is gapped in the sentence. In this example, the relativized NP is the intransitive subject of the relative sentence, thus it is labeled REL-S.

### **REL-S**

(YY) hiva=n=ia rau sa tie [sapu korapa puta].
like=APPL=3SG.OBJ 1SG DEF person REL PROG sleep
I like the man who is sleeping

Examples (YY), below, demonstrates a relative clause in which the relativized NP is the object of the relative sentence. Similar to the REL-S, the relativized NP is gapped, however it is still indexed by the verbal object agreement inside of the relative sentence.

### **REL-O**

(YY) hie sa siki [sapu taka=ia Bili]. this DEF dog REL kick=3SG.OBJ Bill This is the dog that Bill kicked.

The sentence below, example (YY), demonstrates sentences in which the relativized NP acts as a transitive subject in the relative sentence. The relativized NP is gapped in each sentence and the object of the relative sentence is indexed on the verb of the relative sentence.

### **REL-A With Normal Object Index**

(YY) *e Bili si asa sapu taka-au*. PERS Bill TOP 3SG REL kick-1SO Bill is the one who kicked me.

(YY) *e Bili si asa sapu taka -igo*. PERS Bill TOP 3SG REL kick-2SO Bill is the one who kicked you.

The sentences below, examples (YY) and (YY), are similar in content to the two sentences given above. The primary difference in meaning is that the two sentences below have 3SG acting on 3SG, while the sentences above have 3SG acting on 1SG or 2SG. Despite the similkarity of the content, the relative

sentences below are not introduced with a relative particle, and the object is indexed with genetive morphology in the relative sentence.

# **REL-A Genitive Object Index**

- (YY) e Bili si asa taka-na se Mere.

  PERS Bill TOP 3SG kick-3SG.GEN ABS Mary
  Bill is the one who kicked Mary.
- (YY) *e Bili si asa taka-na sa siki*.

  PERS Bill TOP 3SG kick-3SG.GEN DEF dog
  Bill is the one who kicked the dog.

Previous work on Roviana has suggested that this phenomenon was an example of syntactic ergativity. Some linguists (e.g. Ross 1988) claimed that the genetive morphology attached to the verb is indexing the subject and not the object, which was an easy mistake to make given that the examples they used were all 3SG acting upon 3SG. Nonetheless, Corston (1996) provides an example of 3SG acting upon 1SG to disambiguate.

## REL-A 3SG Acting on 1SG (adapted from Corston 1996)

Corston's example confirms that the genetive morphology inside the relative clause is indeed indexing the object. While Corston presents this as typical for relative agents, the phenomenon has been observed to be inconsistent as demonstrated above.

The example (YY), below, demonstrates a transitive sentence in which the subject has been relativized "The man, who left..." In the matrix clause, "Took my book" the verb indexes the object with genetive morphology.

### **REL-A + GEN INDEX in MATRIX**

```
(YY) Sa tie sapu taloa vagi -na sa qua buka.

DEF person REL leave capture-3GEN.O DEF 'my' book.

The man who left took my book.
```

This unusual case of object indexing is surely connected to the fact that there is a relativized agent in the sentence. The peculiar marking associated with relative agents in Roviana certainly warrants further investigation.

In addition to core arguments, Roviana may relativize adjunct arguments, as demonstrated by the examples below.

### **REL-ADJUNCT**

```
see=3SG.OBJ
                       1SG
                              DEF
                                      tree
                              koa
                                             siki.
sapu
       seke
               sa
                      tie
                                      sa
REL
               DEF
                      person OBL
                                      DEF
       hit
                                              dog
I saw the stick with which the man hit the dog.
```

The examples above demonstrate that there are at least two ways to form relative adjuncts. In the first sentence, example (YY), *siki*, 'dog,' is unmodified by a determiner, yet *siki* is the object of the hitting, not the man, the relativized NP, "the stick" is gapped, as is typical with relative clauses. In the second sentence the relative clause is intransitive and the object of the relative clause is marked as oblique. These two examples raise additional questions about the form and function of relative clauses in Roviana.

### XX.Y.Z Reported Speech

This section introduces reported speech in Roviana.

### RELATIVE REPORTED SPEECH

The first method of reporting speech is to put the message in a relative clause. The examples below demonstrate this technique.

(YY) Zone zama sapu ele tige goi. se mae si ABS speak ABS.PERS John **REL PFT** then come 2SG John said that you had come.

(YY)nanasa Pita vegua se **ABS.PERS** Peter how ask kote boka silocari. sapu mae goi ba REL FUT 2SG can come ABS but no Peter asked whether you had come or not.

In this technique the reported message is introduced with the invariant particle *sapu*.

### ZAMA vs. TOZI

Reported speech can also be expressed with either *zama* 'say' or *tozi* 'tell. *Zama* takes regular object agreement to indicate who was the recipient of the message, and the speaker is treated as the transitive subject. The structure of *tozi* reported speech is similar except that *tozi* requires applicative morphology with the object agreement.

(YY) zama=au sa taloa. speak=1SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG leave 3SG said to me "Go away!"

(YY) tozi=n=au sa taloa tell=APPL=1SG.OBJ 3SG.ERG leave. 3SG told me to "Go away!"

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