KOLUWAWA GRAMMAR
ESSENTIALS

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SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
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8.3.2 laut

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Abbreviations</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person M modality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person MOD modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person N noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>aspect NCOMP NounComplement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>adjectival NEG negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFIRM</td>
<td>affirmation NOM nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>alienable possessive NP noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>augmentative NUM number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive O object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant OBL oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative PL plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>clause PP postpositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>complementizer POST postposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>condition PRO pronoun formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction QUANT quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous QUES question word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative RC relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive RDUP reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasis REAL realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>edible/passive possessive REFL reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclusive S subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>genitive alienable Se Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive SG singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GI</td>
<td>genitive inalienable SRC source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>genitive semi-alienable TAG-Q tag question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>inclusive V verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDET</td>
<td>indefinite determiner V vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intentional VOC vocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTENSIF</td>
<td>intensifier VP verb phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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0. INTRODUCTION

Koluwawa is an Austronesian language and a member of the Papuan Tip cluster of the Bwaidoga network. It is an SOV language. The Ethnologue code is KLX. Koluwawa is located on West Fergusson Island in Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea.

The data in this paper were collected between 1993 and 2002. More than 5.6mb of locally authored written text in 94 stories of different types has been used to analyze the language as well as numerous hours of listening to mother-tongue speakers and recorded oral stories.

We could not have written this paper without the assistance of a number of individuals. James Hafford guided us through the process of analyzing and describing the data, and then presenting it in an organized form. Bob Bugenhagen was very helpful in the early stages of our learning to understand the grammar of Koluwawa. Most of all we wish to thank our many Koluwawa friends who patiently teach us the language, especially the four who left the warm comfort of Fergusson Island to spend six weeks in the cold highlands as our mother-tongue consultants.

This paper is organized as follows. After a brief description of the phonology we will start by describing the word classes. Then we will describe phrase structure, clauses, complex sentence structure, direct and indirect speech, and illocutionary force.

Koluwawa is spoken by approximately 1000 speakers in about 30 villages or hamlets located along the west coast of the northwest tip of Fergusson Island. The villages range in population from less than ten people to more than ninety, most of which are either right on the coast or very close to it. The few that are inland are not significantly far inland due to the mountains rising steeply only a short distance from the sea. Our house is located near Debaiya village at E105°26′ S9°25.6′.
1. OVERVIEW OF PHONOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

For more information, refer to the Organized Phonology Data of Koluwawa, (Guderian:1999).

1.2 Phonemes

1.2.1 Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosiv</th>
<th>Bilab</th>
<th>Ldent</th>
<th>Dent</th>
<th>Alveo</th>
<th>Post Alveo</th>
<th>Retrof</th>
<th>Palat</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvul</th>
<th>Phary</th>
<th>Glott</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2 Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Phonemes

/a b bw d e f fw g gw i k kw l m mw n o s t u v w j/

<a b bw d e f fw g gw i k kw l m mw n o s t,s u v w y>
1.3 Syllable Patterns

Two main syllable patterns occur in Koluwawa: CV and V. At this stage of our analysis we are claiming that CVV and VV patterns do not occur in the language. Our basis for this decision is twofold: first, where diphthongs occur, we are considering the diphthong VV as a filler of V in the syllable. Second, we have never heard a word pronounced slowly or carefully which has more than one vowel in a syllable.

Closed syllables do not occur, with the exception of high vowels being dropped when immediately following a nasal or /s/:

/kamukamu/ [kam.kam] ‘chicken’
/kamuke/ [kam.ke] 2SG
/yakanikani/ [ya.‘kan.kan] ‘I’m eating’
/kwasikwasi/ [‘kwas.kwas] ‘bushknife’
/kasikasi/ [‘kas.kas] ‘mangroves’
/tamu/ [tam] indefinite article: ‘one’, ‘some’

We have observed that both forms of open and closed syllables appear among writings by Koluwawa authors and translators. We do not see a tendency to use one form over the other; rather, preferences appear in specific cases. In Koluwawa writing, we have observed that the dropping of post-nasal high vowels isn’t consistent. For example, kamkam and tam appear more often than kamukamu and tamu, but kamuke is more common than kamke. We need more feedback from Koluwawa speakers before we can even speculate as to whether we will apply an overriding rule or use preferred spellings on an individual basis in our own publications and translation work.

1.4 Vowel Clusters/Diphthongs

Six vowel combinations form diphthongs, and the fact that penultimate stress patterns apply to cases where these combinations occur supports our contention that they are diphthongs. The following vowel clusters are pronounced as diphthongs:

/ai/ [‘kai.wa] ‘thank you’
/au/ [wa.'lau.ya] ‘(type of) yam’
/ei/ [‘mei.na] ‘here’
/eu/ [‘seu.seu] ‘rainwater on the ground’
/oi/ [ka.'doi] ‘again, more’
/ou/ [‘kou.kou] ‘dog’
Although diphthongs are pronounced as a single syllable in regular speech, Koluwawa speakers consistently pronounce each vowel as separate syllables in very careful or ‘artificial’ speech (eg. when helping us to better hear the word).

The following pairs are the only other vowel clusters which appear in our data. They are all pronounced as separate syllables, and the majority of speakers at various literacy levels insist upon the placement of an approximate between them:

- [ea] /ufeya/ ‘at the water’
- [ia] /miya/ ‘stay, sit’
- [ua] /nuwa/ ‘want, think’
- [ui] /nuwi/ ‘squid’
- [oa] /towa/ ‘bathe’

### 1.5 Speech Conventions

/e/ is sometimes pronounced as [ɛ], but only infrequently and in free variation.

/g/ intervocalic is pronounced as [ɣ ] by some individuals.

/ʃ/ varies freely between [f], [p], and [ʃ] depending on the speaker and his or her rate of speech. Allophones may also be labialized in the environment /ʃ V -high, -back, but occurrences are rare.

/tafalolo/ ‘church’ [tafalolo]
- [tafalolo]
- [tafalolo] (infrequent)
- [tapalolo]
- [taʃalolo] (infrequent)
- [taʃalolo] (infrequent)

/a/ is in free variation between [a] and [ə] in rapid or relaxed speech:

/kamuke/ 2nd person singular [kamke]
- [kəmke]

/kumiyamiya/ ‘you stay’ [kumiamia]
- [kumiamia]

Stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable.
This penultimate stress pattern applies to more than 90% of the language. A greater understanding of Koluwawa is required before explaining exceptions such as the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{ufa}/ & \quad ['u/fa] \quad \text{‘water’} \\
/\text{fose}/ & \quad ['fo/se] \quad \text{‘basket’} \\
/\text{bebewa}/ & \quad [be.'be.wa] \quad \text{‘butterfly’} \\
/\text{bwaneneta}/ & \quad [bwa.ne.'ne.ta] \quad \text{‘gecko’} \\
/\text{kwasikwasi}/ & \quad ['kwas.kwas] \quad \text{‘bush knife’} \\
/\text{yanago}/ & \quad [ya.'na.go] \quad \text{‘I went’} \\
/\text{yananago}/ & \quad [ya.na.'na.go] \quad \text{‘I will go’} \\
/\text{yanagonago}/ & \quad [ya.na.go.'na.go] \quad \text{‘I’m going’}
\end{align*}
\]

1.6 Orthographic Conventions

1.6.1 <t> and <s>

In ‘pure’ Koluwawa, i.e. words not borrowed from other languages, [t] and [s] are not contrastive. But a number of words and names have been adopted into the language without assuming all of the phonological constraints, and this is especially true of [t] and [s].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[s]} & \rightarrow [t] / _V[-\text{front}] \\
\text{[t]} & \rightarrow [s] / _V[+\text{front}]
\end{align*}
\]

Some of the borrowed terms that violate the rule are as follows:

- **ti** ‘tea’
- **sopu** ‘soap’
- **tiwisiti** ‘Twisties®’
- **Soama** (proper name)  **Saulo** (proper name, from ‘Saul’)
- **Keliso** ‘Christ' (from Dobu)  **Yudas** ‘Judas’
- **Sisa** ‘Caesar’
- **Yemesa** ‘James’
1.6.2 <f> versus <p>

Since both [f] and [p] are employed by many speakers of Koluwawa, and because of borrowings and influence from English, we are keeping an open mind for now regarding which one to use as a grapheme. The possibility of using both of them seems remote for two reasons: First, none of the neighboring languages use both graphemes. Second, we have tentatively “outlawed” the use of <p>, and no one seems opposed to that, not even Pelesi and Pateliaki, whose names must now be spelled with <f>. The prohibition against using <p> is only an experiment to help us see if in fact it is unnecessary to employ both <f> and <p> in the orthography. We are still open to the possibility of using both in the orthography, although it seems very unlikely that both would justifiably be present in an approved orthography.

1.7 Morphophonemic Processes

1.7.1 Coalescence with -ye

When the locative morpheme -ye is suffixed to /a/ the underlying /aye/ sequence is reduced to /e/.

\[ a\# + -ye \rightarrow e \]

1) waiyan \(\rightarrow\) waiyagye
   waiya \(\rightarrow\) na ye
   to/at \(\rightarrow\) 3SG LOC
   ‘to/at it/him/her’

2) gamo\(\rightarrow\) gamode
   gamo \(\rightarrow\) mu ye
   stomach \(\rightarrow\) 2SG LOC
   ‘in your stomach’

3) Debaiya
   Debaiya \(\rightarrow\) ye
   Debaiya \(\rightarrow\) LOC
   ‘to/at Debaiya’

1.7.2 /u/ Constriction

A consonant followed by /u/ contracts to a labialized consonant when followed by the plural morpheme –avo:

\[ Cu \rightarrow Cw / _-avo \]
The following process is probably what is really in effect, but insufficient data has been observed to be conclusive:

\[ \text{Cu} \rightarrow \text{Cw / } \_ \_V[-\text{back}] \]

4) \text{natugwavo} \quad \text{natudiavo}  
   natu gu avo \quad natu di avo  
   child 1SG PL \quad child 3PL PL  
   ‘my children’ \quad ‘their children’

5) \text{natumwavo}  
   natu mu avo  
   child 2SG PL  
   ‘your(SG) children’

6) \text{yagwavodi} \quad \text{yadiavodi}  
   yagu avo di \quad yadi avo di  
   1SG PL friend \quad 3PLS PL friend  
   ‘my friends’ \quad ‘their friends’

7) \text{yamwavodi}  
   yamu avo di  
   2SG PL friend  
   ‘your friends’

1.7.3 Same Vowel Coalescence

When identical vowels meet at a morpheme boundary they coalesce into one, with the exception of /e/ in which case both vowels are retained. (The apostrophe between the two e’s is an orthographic convention with no phonological significance.)

8) \text{yadavodi}  
   yada avo di  
   1PL.IN PL friend  
   ‘our(IN) friends’

9) \text{Thomas ifuifufu}  
   Thomas i ifu ifufu  
   Thomas i RDUP ifufu  
   ‘Thomas is talking.’
10) *ienenegeya*

\[ \text{ien} \ \ \text{ene} \ \ \text{ene} \ \ \text{ya} \]

3 RDUP listen 3SG

‘He is listening to him.’

2. WORD CLASSES DISTINGUISHED IN THE LANGUAGE

2.1 Noun Class

A member of the noun class is any word that can fall into one of the slots below in a 3rd person singular genitive phrase. The reason for using the 3rd person singular as the criterion for determining membership in the noun class is that the object suffixes on verbs are identical to the corresponding inalienable possession suffixes in all cases except for the 3rd person singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td><em>yana</em>_____</td>
<td>(possessive classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-alienable</td>
<td><em>kana</em>_____</td>
<td>(possessive classifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td>_____-<em>na</em></td>
<td>(3SG possessive suffix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

11) *yana manuwa*  
3SG house  
‘his house’

12) *kana wagava*  
3SG name  
‘his name’

13) *mata-*na*  
eye-3SG  
‘his eyes’

Nouns encode persons, places, things, and concepts and can be distinguished syntactically by their distribution in a clause. In addition to filling the roles of subjects, verbal objects and objects of prepositions, nouns in Koluwawa also function as attributive modifiers within the noun phrase. Finally, it should be noted that some forms appear to be bi-categorial, having the potential to function both as nouns and adverbs.
As subject:

14) **Bawe inago masikwane**
   
   bawe i-nago masikwana-ye
   
   pig 3-go under-LOC
   
   ‘The pig went under the house.’

As an object:

15) **Yadi gweda iyogoniya**

   yadi gweda i-yogoni-ya

   3PL food.house 3SG-build-3SG

   ‘They built their food house.’

As an attributive modifier:

16) **Tamu taudiga natuna kidona ivoneya.**

   tam taudiga natu-na kido-na i-vone-ya

   INDET man offspring -3SG small-3SG 3SG-say-3SG

   ‘A man said to his small son,’

As an object of a postposition:

17) **Nimana iobu ikewaya bolu inagene idodogiya.**

   Nima-na i-obu i-kewa–ya bolu inaga-na-ye i-dodogi-ya

   hand-3SG 3go.down 3-gather -3SG cup in-3SG-LOC 3-put in-3SG

   ‘He put his hand down to get it and put it in his cup.’

### 2.1.1 BiCategorical, Derived, and Reduplicated Nouns

#### 2.1.1.1 Bi-Categorical Forms

Many noun and verb stems are phonologically identical, with no added nominalizing or verbalizing morphology to indicate a change in category. The catagorization of bi-categorical stems depends upon affixation and/or syntactic distribution.
Table 4. Bi-categorial Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>toli</td>
<td>toli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘question’</td>
<td>‘to ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei</td>
<td>kwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>‘to rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagula</td>
<td>bagula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘garden’</td>
<td>‘to garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lewa</td>
<td>lewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swing’</td>
<td>‘to swing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folova</td>
<td>folova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>‘to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewa</td>
<td>dewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘something’</td>
<td>‘to do’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18) Yanadi yana toli itutuliya ivonaga yauke yanago.
Yana-di yana toli i-tutuli-ya i-vona-ga yauk ya-nago
3SG-friend 3SG question 3-answer-3SG 3-say-SRC 1SG 1SG-go

‘He answered his friend’s question, he said, "I went."’

19) Tovainago itoli Nawaleta waiyane
Tovainago i-toli Nawaleta waiya-na-ye
Tovainago 3-ask Nawaleta to/at-3SG-LOC

‘Tovainago asked Nawaleta.’

20) Tamu kaiyeta waiyane imiyamiya kwei ielamu ikweikwei.
Tamu kaiyeta waiya-ne i-miya-miya kwei i-elamu i-kwei-kwei
INDET day to-3SG-LOC 3-stay-CONT rain 3-begin 3SG-rain-CONT

‘One day he was staying and rain began to fall.’

2.1.1.2 Derived Nouns

Many verbs undergo derivation with the prefix to- ‘the one who…’ to form Actor nominalizations:

21) Inago ibagubagula walagiya
i-nago i-bagu-bagula walagiya
3-go 3-RDUP-garden bandicoot

‘Bandicoot went gardening.’

22) Yauke tobagula dewanana yafolofolova bagula inagene.
Yauke to-bagula dewa-nana ya-folofolova bagula inaga-na-ye
1SG NOM-garden thing.that 1SG- CONT-work garden in-3SG-LOC

‘I am a gardener, that’s why I work in the garden.’
23) Kamu fata kunakaiveiveigu?
   kamu fata ku-na-kaivei-vei-gu
   2SG able 2SG-INT-help-1SG
   ‘Can you help me?’
24) Wilson tokaiiveivaita
    Wilson to-kaiveivita
    Wilson NOM-help
    ‘Wilson is a helper’
25) Ilaga koyeye yana bagula inafolova faina.
    i-laga koya-ye yana bagula i-na-folova faina
    3-go.up mountain-LOC 3SG garden 3-INT-work CAUS
    ‘He went to the mountain to work in his garden.’
26) Kadi kaibwevu yadi folova kama bikwa kana tofolova.
    kadi kaibwevu yadi folova kama bikwa kana to-folova
    3PL two 3PL work 1PL.EX taro 3SG NOM-work
    ‘The work of these two is (harvesting/planting) taro.’

2.1.1.3 Reduplicated Nouns

Reduplication of a noun generally shows some sort of similarity with the original meaning, although we have not yet discovered if there is any kind of a consistent semantic relationship involved:

27) bolu bolubolu
    ‘cup’ ‘skull’
28) mwata mwatamwata
    ‘snake’ ‘(type of) caterpillar’

Reduplication occurs in some descriptive nouns, in which case it has an intensifying function:

29) kidona kidokidona
    ‘its smallness’ ‘its extreme smallness’
30) kogana kogakogana
    ‘its crookedness’ ‘its extreme crookedness’
2.1.2 Possessives/Genitives

There are three different genitive constructions which are used to express relationships between nouns: Inalienable, Semi-alienable, and Alienable. Inalienable genitive constructions consist of a suffix on the possessed noun, while alienable and semi-alienable consist of a suffixed stem which acts as a possessive pronoun preceding the possessed noun. The semi-alienable stem is ka; the alienable is ya.1

Table 5. Genitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inalienable</th>
<th>Semi-alienable</th>
<th>Alienable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>Incl Excl</td>
<td>ka-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-da -ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-da ka-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mu -mi</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-mu ka-mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-na -di</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-na ka-di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the possessor is a woman who is known or assumed to have had at least one child, the plural form is used:

31) Yauke yagu vavine kadi wagava Kelestin.
   1SG GA-1SG woman GS-3PL name Christine
   ‘My wife’s name is Christine.’

32) A Nemiyavola yadi tova ilaulatugeya be inaenatuna.
   a Nemiyavola ya-di tova i-laulatuge-ya be i-na-enatu-na
   CONJ Nemiyavola GA-3PL time 3-at.the.time-3SG CONJ 3-INT-give.birth-3SG
   ‘Nemiyavola’s time of giving birth was very near and was expecting to give birth.’

33) Nemafamogiyai gege idakenokeno
    Nemafamogiyai gege i-da-RDUP-keno
    Nemafamogiyai neg 3-IR-CONT-sleep
    natudi taiga yana folova.
    natu-di tai-ga ya-na folova
    offspring-3PL cry-SRC GA-3SG work
    ‘Nemafamogiyai doesn't sleep very well because her child cries every now and then.’

1 Although alienable and semi-alienable genitives are comprised of two morphemes, they will be treated as single-morpheme units following this section for the sake of simplicity.
The form -avo is a pluralizer affixed after the inalienable genitive suffix. A couple of morphophonemic processes operate to cause –u-avo to become –wavo and a-avo to become –avo. See Section 1.7 for more on morphophonemics.

Table 6. Pluralizer -avo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-gwavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incl  -davo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excl  -mavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-mwavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-navo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2.1 Inalienable Genitives

The inalienable genitive construction expresses relationships which are somehow inherent and over which the possessor has very little or no control, such as kinship and part-whole. In this type of construction, a genitive suffix indicating the person and number of the genitive referent is directly attached to the head noun. In order to further specify the identity of the genitive’s referent or to place some sort of pragmatic emphases on it, a noun phrase can be added preceding the head noun.

2.1.2.1.1 Kinship Relations

34) natugu
    natu-gu
    offspring -GI.1SG
    ‘my child’

35) inamu
    ina-mu
    mother-GI.2SG
    ‘your mother’

36) (kadikevodi) tamadi
    (kadikevodi) tama-di
    3PL father-GI.3PL
    ‘their fathers’
2.1.2.1.2 Inherent Relationships/Parts of a Whole

37) nimagu
   nima –gu
   hand–GI.1SG
   ‘my hand’

38) kagen
   kage–na
   leg–GI.3SG
   ‘his/her/its leg’

39) tolama tabwana
    tolama tabwa-na
    table top –GI.3SG
    ‘table top’

40) manuwa kawana
    manuwa kawa-na
    house mouth–GI.3SG
    ‘door of a house’

2.1.2.2 Semi-Alienable Genitives: Edible/Passive Genitives

The semi-alienable genitive construction is used to express: 1) ownership of something intended for consumption and 2) non-inherent, less-controlled relationships. In this construction the genitive suffixes occur on the inalienable morpheme ka- which functions as a kind of genitive ‘auxiliary’ and has a meaning something like “something intended to be eaten by or closely associated with something else.” A following noun identifies exactly what the associated thing is. As was the case with the inalienable genitives, a noun phrase can be added before the head noun ka- to further specify or emphasize the referent of the genitive.

41) kagu kawakiki
    ka-gu kawakiki
    GS-1SG food
    ‘my food’

42) kadi kaleko
    ka-di kaleko
    GS-3PL clothes
    ‘their clothes’
2.1.2.3 Alienable Genitives

The alienable genitive construction is used when the genitive’s referent has more control over or semantic distance from the referent of the head noun. In this construction, a different inalienable noun, ya, functions as the genitive auxiliary.

43) **kamu wagava**  
    ka-mu wagava  
    GS-2SG name  
    ‘your name’

44) **kana kolo**  
    ka-na kolo  
    GS-3SG beard, mustache  
    ‘his beard and/or mustache’

45) **kagu kivi**  
    ka-gu kivi  
    GS-1SG bed  
    ‘my bed’

46) **kagu kavakita**  
    ka-gu kavakita  
    GS-1SG dream  
    ‘my dream’

47) **Tomas kana bolu**  
    Tomas ka-na bolu  
    Tomas GS-3SG cup  
    ‘Tomas’s cup’

48) **yagu manuwa**  
    ya-gu manuwa  
    GA-1SG house  
    ‘my house’

49) **yana bagula**  
    ya-na bagula  
    GA-3SG garden  
    ‘his/her garden’
The interplay of how closely associated the genitive referent is to the referent of the head noun and the degree of control it exercises over it is illustrated by the different classes into which certain bodily secretions fall. Fluids such as nasal mucus and tears originate from a specific body part, and they are something over which an individual has little or no control. Accordingly, they fall under inalienable possession. Urine, feces, and spittle also originate from specific body parts, but their time and place of expulsion can be controlled. Therefore nouns encoding such notions occur in the alienable genitive construction. Sweat, however, which is uncontrolled but not associated with a specific part of the body, falls under the edible/passive classification.

50) matailugu ‘my tears’
51) yagu silolo ‘my urine’
52) yagu giwala ‘my spittle’
53) kagu ibala ‘my sweat’

One kinship term takes alienable possession rather than inalienable. The term for wife is the same as ‘woman’; vavine. ‘My wife’ is yagu vavine – not *vavinegu or even *kagu vavine. The term for husband, however, is inalienable: moganegu ‘my husband.’ There is no corresponding inalienable term for ‘my wife’; nor is it acceptable to use the alienable form as in yagu tomo ‘my man’ to mean ‘my husband.’ Kinship relations gained through marriage to a woman are also inalienable, for example: kwainagu ‘my same-sex sibling-in-law’ is what a man calls the brother of the woman he calls yagu vavine.

2.1.3 Plurals

2.1.3.1 Determining Number from Context

Frequently there is no overt marking of plurality on noun phrases. Instead, the number of a noun phrase’s referent must be determined from the larger context. Consider the following example:

54) Made Tomas Libai? Bagule.
   made Tomas Libai bagula –ye
   where Tomas Levi garden –LOC

   ‘Where are Tomas and Levi? In the garden(s).’

Here, if Tomas and Libai have separate gardens and the answer to the inquiry of their whereabouts is ‘bagule,’ then it is understood that the meaning is ‘in their gardens’. On the other hand, if they are known to share a garden, then the referent of bagule would be understood as being singular in number.

A plural possessive genitive modifier often implies that the referent of the head noun is non-singular in number as well.
Since it is not very common for an individual to own more than one canoe, the preferred interpretation for yana kaiyevu in isolation would be ‘his canoe.’ It is also uncommon to share ownership of a canoe, so the preferred interpretation of yadi kaiyevu in isolation is ‘their canoes.’ In both instances, however, it is possible for kaiyevu to have a singular or plural interpretation.

2.1.3.2 Quantifiers and Demonstratives

To disambiguate the number interpretation of a noun’s referent, various numeric and non-numeric quantifiers can be used. For more on demonstratives and quantifiers see sections 2.5 and 2.6.

56) Limoga boudi
mosquito many
‘many mosquitoes’

57) Kaibwevu sifu
two cat
‘two cats’

58) sifu kaibwevu
cat two
‘two cats’

Demonstratives have singular and plural forms as well.

59) Wakeke dina
cockatoo those/these
‘those/these cockatoos’

60) giyabu nana
mushroom that/this
‘That/this mushroom’

2.1.3.3 Attributive Nouns

Where a head noun is modified by an attributive noun, the genitive suffix on the attributive noun will indicate singularity versus non-singularity.
2.1.3.4 The Pluralizing Morpheme b/vo

The morpheme b/vo functions as both a quantifier and as a pluralizing suffix. As a free-standing quantifier it takes the form bo(u)\(^2\) and is inflected with the genitive suffixes:

- bouna ‘much’ PL + 3SG = lots of it
- boudi ‘many’ PL + 3PL = lots of them

The pluralizing suffix –vo seems to mainly co-occur with nouns having animate referents. There also seems to be some sort of requirement or preference that it occurs in conjunction with a possessive.

- bawe ‘pig’
- koukou ‘dog’
- kaiyaya ‘animal protein’
- vevine ‘women’

- yana bawevo ‘his pigs’
- yana koukouvo ‘his dogs’
- kaiyayavo ‘animals’
- yagu vevinevo ‘my wives’

Occurrence of the pluralizer on many nouns is optional. When it is absent, a noun phrase’s referent can have either a singular or non-singular interpretation. For example: yagu bawe can mean ‘my pig’ or ‘my pigs.’ Thus –vo is more likely to be used when there is focus on the plurality of the referent.

Some nouns, on the other hand, require the presence of –vo when they are plural. Two examples that we are aware of are ‘child’ and ‘friend.’

Much of the data suggests that –vo has the allomorph –avo when following a genitive morpheme:

- natugu ‘my child’
- tamadi ‘their father’

- natugwavo ‘my children’
- tamadiavo ‘their fathers’

---

\(^2\) We have no explanation for the presence of /u/. Possibly it resulted from the off-glide that can occur when some speakers add extra emphasis to an /o/, such as when stressing that there is a lot or many of something.
As a rule, -vo affixes to the end of an alienable or semi-alienable stem while –avo affixes to the inalienable possessive suffix. One exception is the noun stem di ‘friend.’ The alienable form is used, but phonologically it is a prefix rather than a separate word. The –avo is affixed to the possessive morpheme rather than as a suffix on di.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yagudi</th>
<th>‘my friend’</th>
<th>yagwavodi</th>
<th>‘my friends’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yamudi</td>
<td>‘your friend’</td>
<td>yamwavodi</td>
<td>‘your friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamidi</td>
<td>‘your(pl) friend’</td>
<td>yamiyavodi</td>
<td>‘your(pl) friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanadi</td>
<td>‘his friend’</td>
<td>yanavodi</td>
<td>‘his friends’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3.5 Irregular Plurals

We are aware of two irregular plural forms. The term vavine ‘woman’ is pluralized as vevine. The term vavine is never used to refer to more than one woman. While the phonological similarity of these two forms is readily apparent, the other irregular plural is much more divergent from the corresponding singular form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gwamana</th>
<th>‘child’</th>
<th>buyabuyama</th>
<th>‘children’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vavine</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>vevine</td>
<td>‘women’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3.6 Reduplication

One function of reduplication with nouns is that it sometimes indicates plurality, often—but not always—in conjunction with diminution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>guwa</th>
<th>‘stone’</th>
<th>guwaguwa</th>
<th>‘gravel’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mwata</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td>mwatemwata</td>
<td>‘worms’ (insect larvae)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have encountered only two examples of reduplication functioning solely as a pluralizer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>takula</th>
<th>‘bowl’</th>
<th>takutakula</th>
<th>‘bowls’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biyala</td>
<td>‘flag’</td>
<td>biyabiyala</td>
<td>‘flags’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4 Other Functions Of Nouns

Inalienable nouns inflected with genitive suffixes also can function as attributive modifiers within noun phrases and as adverbial modifiers within clauses.

2.1.4.1 Nouns Functioning Attributively
62) Kawakawai giyamaina
kawakawai giyamai-na
morning good-3SG
‘good morning’

63) bawe kidodi
bawe kido-di
pig small-3 PL
‘small pigs’

2.1.4.1.1 Intensification

Nouns functioning as attributive modifiers can be intensified by reduplication and/or addition of the morpheme -goi.

giyamaina ‘good one’
kiyamai-ona ‘very good one’
kidona ‘small one’
kiyomaidona ‘very small one’

Another way to express emphasis is to add the morpheme -gota. There are only two occurrences of this morpheme that we have found.

64) Kukewaya? Gebuwagota.
ku-kewa-ya gebuwa-gota
2SG-take-3SG nothing-EMPH
‘Did you take it?’ ‘No!’

65) taunigungota
tauni-gu-gota
REFL-1SG-EMPH
‘I myself’
2.1.4.2 Inalienable Nouns Functioning Adverbially in the Clause

66) Yamiyana e ufa ikanitugya e
    ya-miya-na e ufa i-kanitugu-ya e
    1SG-stay-3SG CONJ water 3-lessen-3SG CONJ
    ekama mainuwagu yaobuobuma.
    ekama mainuwa-gu ya-RDUP-obu-ma
    and.then careful,slow-1SG 1SG-CONT-go.down-come

    ‘I stayed until the river went down and then I came down slowly.’

2.1.5 Locative Nouns

The locative postposition –ye affixes to a noun to give the meaning of “close proximity” such as ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘touching’, etc. When affixed to a word ending in a the underlying sequence a-ye becomes –e.

67) Koya gabunine
    Koya gabuni-na -ye
    Mountain nose-3SG -LOC

    ‘at the top of the mountain’

68) Yananago bagule
    Ya-INT-nago bagula-ye
    1SG-INT-go garden-LOC

    ‘I am going to the garden.’

69) Tomas manuwe.
    Tomas manuwa-ye
    Tomas house-LOC

    ‘Tomas is at the house.’

70) kageguye
    kage-gu-ye
    foot-1SG-LOC

    ‘near my foot’

2.2 Pronoun Class

Free-standing pronouns in the language distinguish person and number. In addition, the first person plural forms distinguish whether or not the hearer is included.
Table 7. Free-Standing Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya-u-ke</td>
<td>da-ke-vo-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ka-mu-ke</td>
<td>ka-mi-ke-vo-di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ka-di-ke</td>
<td>ka-di-ke-vo-di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the free-standing pronouns consist of the formative *ke* affixed by mophemes indicating person and number. Most of the morphemes are recognizable, and their formations are logical. The first and third person singulars pose the most problems. Possible definitions or explanations for the morphemes are as follows:

- **ke**: Pronoun formative (PRO)
- **ya-**: 1SG (or possibly alienable suffix)
- **u-**: From *gu*, 1SG genitive
- **Or yau-**: 1SG
- **da-**: First person inclusive
- **ma-**: First person exclusive
- **mu-**: Second person singular
- **mi-**: Second person plural
- **kadi-**: Third person
- **Or ka-**: Non-first person (or possibly semi-alienable suffix)
- **-di**: Third person (*kadike, kadikevodi*) and third person plural (*kadikevodi, makevodi, dakevodi*)
- **vo-**: Plural
- **vo-di**: ‘plural of them’

71) E i-vona, “*Kamuke a mwaganegu, aiyoi?*
    e i-vona kamuke a mwaganegu aiyoi
    and 3-say 2SG CONJ husband -1SG TAG-Q

    ‘And she said, "You are my husband, right?"’

2.2.1 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns consist of the morpheme *tauni* ‘self’ with an inalienable genitive suffix. Plural forms optionally take the pluralizing suffix –avo.
Table 8. Reflexive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tauni-gu</td>
<td>tauni-da(vo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tauni-ma(vo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tauni-mu</td>
<td>tauni-mi(avo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tauni-na</td>
<td>tauni-di(avo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72) Taunina italagiya kwasikwasi waiyanega.  
tauni-na i-talagi-ya kwasikwasi waiya-na-ye-ga  
REFL-3SG 3-cut-3SG bush.knife to/at-3SG-LOC-SRC  
‘He cut himself with a bush knife.’

73) Kadike taunina waiwai tabwane ilaga.  
kadike tauni-na waiwai tabwana-ye i-laga  
3SG REFL-3SG mango top-LOC 3 go.up  
‘She (herself) climbed up to the top of the mango tree.’

The noun kaise is related to kaitamoga ‘one’ and is often used as a reflexive. But it has a more restrictive meaning of ‘alone’ or ‘only.’

74) Kadike kaisena waiwai tabwane ilaga.  
kadike kaise-na waiwai tabwa-na-ye i-laga  
3SG REFL-3SG mango top-3SG-LOC 3-go.up  
‘She herself (only) climbed up to the top of the mango tree.’

2.3 Verb Class

2.3.1 Bi-Categorical

In many cases the same phonological form can function either as a noun or a verb, with no additional derivational morphology occurring to signal a change in category.
Table 9. Bi-Categorial Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folova</td>
<td>folova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘work’</td>
<td>‘to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwei</td>
<td>kwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>‘to rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagula</td>
<td>bagula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘garden’</td>
<td>‘to garden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lewa</td>
<td>lewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘swing’</td>
<td>‘to swing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toli</td>
<td>toli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘question’</td>
<td>‘to ask’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dewa</td>
<td>dewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘something’</td>
<td>‘to do’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See section 2.1.1.1 for examples.

2.3.2 Verb Structure

Koluwawa verbs are inflected for subject agreement and for object agreement in transitive predications.

\[ \pm \text{Subject Prefix}, \pm \text{Modality}, \pm \text{RDUP}, \text{Stem}, \pm \text{-Object Suffix} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
S + \text{Stem} & \quad \text{ya-nago} & \quad \text{‘I went’} \\
S + \text{RDUP} + \text{Stem} & \quad \text{i-nago-nago} & \quad \text{‘He is going’} \\
S + \text{M} + \text{Stem} & \quad \text{ya-na-nago} & \quad \text{‘I will go’} \\
S + \text{M} + \text{RDUP} + \text{Stem} & \quad \text{ya-na-nagonago} & \quad \text{‘I will be going’} \\
S + \text{Stem} + \text{O} & \quad \text{ya-kise-ya} & \quad \text{‘I saw it’} \\
S + \text{M} + \text{Stem} + \text{O} & \quad \text{ku-na-kise-di} & \quad \text{‘You will see them’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs are usually required to have a subject prefix, but the prefix may occasionally be omitted in a narrative for discourse reasons.

\[ 75) \text{Nigenigedi} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{gabugabudi} \quad \text{kedamodi} \]
\[ \text{DUP-nige-di} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{DUP-gabu-di} \quad \text{kedamodi} \]
\[ \text{CONT-kill/hit-3PL} \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{CONT-burn-3PL} \quad \text{there} \]

‘They beat and burned them there.’

Reduplication occurs in the first two syllables of the verb stem. Since the majority of verb stems consist of two syllables, this means that the whole stem is usually reduplicated. But where the stem consists of three syllables (or a diphthong plus a syllable) only the first two syllables are copied:
2.3.3 Subject/Object Affixes Occurring on Verbs

Table 10. Subject/Object Affixes on Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject prefix</th>
<th>Object suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples below illustrate that plural forms are used instead of singular when the referent is a woman who is known or assumed to have had at least one child or is pregnant. (Pronouns for such a referent can be singular or plural.)
79) Tomo yana vavine ivonedi,
tomo yana vavine i-vone-di
man 3SG woman 3-say-3PL

"Kamike kwanamiyamiya yada melewe
kamike kwa-na-miya-DUP yada melewe
2PL 2PL-INT-RDUP-stay 1PL.IN village
be kada banilavi kwanaetaetago."
be kada banilavi kwa-na-RDUP-etago
CONJ 1PL.IN evening.meal 2PL-INT-CONT-cook

‘A man told his wife, "You stay in our village, and cook some food for our dinner."’

80) E yagu vavine inagoma e ivonegu yauke kananago
e yagu vavine i-nagoma e i-vone-gu yauke ka-na-nago
CONJ 1SG woman 3-come CONJ 3-say-1SG 1SG 1PL.EX-INT-go

bagule be kawakiki kanakewa.
bagula -ye be kawakiki ka-na-kewa
garden –LOC CONJ food 3-INT-gather

‘And my wife came and told me, “I will go to the garden and get food.”’

81) A yana vavine ivonedi vaka banikodi
a yana vavine i-vone-di vaka baniko-di
and 3SG woman 3-say-3PL what like-3PL

iyaufila natudi waiyane.
i-yaufila natu-di waiya-na-ye
3-arrive offspring-3PL to-3SG-LOC

‘And he told his wife about what had happened to their son.’

2.3.4 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs have a subject prefix and usually have an object suffix which agrees in person and number with the direct object, and in some cases, the indirect object. The object may appear as an overt nominal in the clause, or may be absent if understood from context and/or pragmatics.

82) Kamukamu yawkavinidi
kamukamu ya-kwavini-di
chicken 1SG-chase-3PL

‘I chased (the) chickens.’
Some transitive verbs commonly appear with no object marking. But we do not consider them examples of true object incorporation, since the suffix is optional, albeit infrequent.

83) Kuvi katavitavi. Kuvi katavitaviya. kuvi ka-tavi-tavi yam 1PL.EX-harvest yam 1PL.EX-harvest-3SG
   ‘We are harvesting yams.’ ‘We are harvesting yams.’

   ‘I ate banana(s).’ ‘I ate bananas.’

In the case of ‘bananas,’ ‘yams,’ and other objects that are eaten or harvested, the object has some sense of ‘vagueness’ similar to a non-countable noun, and the focus is more on the activity as a whole than on the thing that was eaten or harvested.

The suffix is also commonly dropped in a negative transitive clause, especially when the object is a third person singular.

85) Gege yadakise. Gege yadakiseya gege ya-da-kise gege ya-da-kise-ya NEG 1SG-IR-see NEG 1SG-IR-see-3SG
   ‘I didn’t see (it/him/her).’ ‘I didn’t see it/him/her.’

86) Gege yadakisemu. Gege ya-da-kise-mu NEG 1SG-IR-see-2SG
   ‘I didn’t see you(SG).’

2.3.5 Intransitive Verbs

Verbs with no object are inflected for subject only.

87) Koukou ikenokeno. Koukou ikenokeno dog 3-RDUP-sleep
   ‘The dog is sleeping/lying.’

Some verbs can function in both a transitive and intransitive predication.
88) Moke yakanidi.
  moke ya-kani-di
banana 1SG-eat-3PL

‘I ate bananas.’

89) Yauke yakani.
  yauke ya-kani
1SG 1SG-eat

‘I ate.’

90) Kunaboda!
  ku-na-boda
2SG-int-wait

‘You(SG) wait!’

91) Inada be tamada tanabodadi.
  ina-da be tama-da ta-na-boda-di
mother-1PL.IN CONJ father-1PL.IN 1PL.IN-int-wait-3PL

‘We will wait for our mother and our father.’

2.3.6 Ditransitive Verbs

The verb vele ‘give’ appears to be the only verb that is inflected for an indirect object. In this case, the indirect object can be “promoted” so that the object marker position (which typically agrees in person and number of the direct object of a transitive verb) agrees with the indirect object of the verb. See section 3.2.4 for more on this. Other semantically ditransitive verbs such as bring, send, throw, etc. are expressed by a postpositional phrase with the locative waiya ‘to/at’ indicating the indirect object.

92) Kadike buyabuyama niula iveledi.
  kadike buyabuyama niula i-vele-di
3SG children coconut 3-give-3PL

S IO DO (S) V (IO)

‘She gave the children the coconut.’

93) (Kamuke) givi kunakewaya kunanauwedima yauke waiyaguye.
(kamuke) givi ku-na-kewa-ya ku-na-nauwedima yauke waiya-gu-ye
(2SG) chestnut 2SG-int-gather-3SG 2sg-int-bring 1SG to/at-1SG-LOC

S O (S) V (O) (S) V PP (IO LOC)

‘(You) Get the chestnut and bring it to me.’
In the following example the locative noun \textit{waiya} has a plural inflection because Helen is a woman who has given birth:

\begin{verbatim}
94) Bolo yataweya Helen waityadiye.
bolo ya-tawe-ya Helen waiya-di-ye
ball 1SG-throw-3SG Helen to/at-3SG-LOC
O (S) V (O) PP(IO LOC)
\end{verbatim}

‘I threw the ball to Helen.’

\subsection*{2.3.7 Modality}

Koluwawa verbs are not inflected for tense. Rather, events are located in relation to time by the use of modality and aspect systems, as well as temporal obliques such as \textit{boginai} ‘yesterday,’ \textit{kawakawai} ‘morning,’ and \textit{kaimoseyamo} ‘right now’. Three possible moods are expressed by verb prefixing, with realis as the unmarked default mood.

\begin{verbatim}
realis ø-
intentive na-
irrealis da-
\end{verbatim}

\subsubsection*{2.3.7.1 Realis}

Realis expresses events that have happened or are presently happening. Realis is never negative; intentive and irrealis are used in negative past events, negative present events, negative future expectations, and negative commands.

\begin{verbatim}
95) Yoki bwaigina ilekwa.
yoko bwaigi-na i-ø-lekwa
crowd big-3SG 3-ø-arrive
\end{verbatim}

‘A big crowd arrived.’

\begin{verbatim}
96) Kasiya iemuemu.
kasiya i-ø-emu-emu
cigarette 3-ø-rdup-smoke
\end{verbatim}

‘He is smoking tobacco/cigarette.’
2.3.7.2 Intentive

Intentional mood is used to indicate a high degree of certainty that events in the future will or will not occur, to express intention of what will be done or not done, to express expectation that something will or will not happen, and to command or prohibit actions.

2.3.7.2.1 Future Events

97) Kamaidi tanaewada melewe.
   kamaidi ta-na-ewa-da melewa-ye.
tomorrow 1PL.IN-return-1PL.IN place-LOC

‘Tomorrow we(IN) will return home.’

98) Gege inakwei.
   gege i-na-kwei
   NEG 3-INT-rain

‘It isn’t going to rain.’

2.3.7.2.2 Intention

   tai-na i-vone-ya gege ta-na-yave-obu kaumane
   sibling-3SG 3-say-3SG NEG 1PL.IN-INT-fly-down NEG
   kai tabwane ta-namiyamiya.”
   kai tabwana-ye ta-na-miya-miya
   tree top-3SG 1PL.IN-INT-RDUPstay

‘He told his younger brother, “We won’t fly down; never mind doing that, we will wait.”’

100) Mulieta be kwananago kadike kwanaobuma
     mulieta be kwa-na-nago kadike kwa-na-obsu-ma
     following CONJ 2PL-INT-go 3SG 2PL-INT-down-come

     kana-vonemi yoi.
     ka-na-vone-mi yoi
     1PL.EX-SAY-2PL if.you.will.oblige

‘But come down before you go and I will tell you something, if you’ll please allow me to.’
101) Lagigi tomo goyona, vaka tanadewa waiyane?
Lagigi tomo goyo-na vaka ta-na-dewa waiyana-ye
Lagigi man bad-3SG what 1PL.IN-INT-do to/at-LOC

‘Lagigi is a bad person—what shall we do to him?’

2.3.7.2.3 Expectation

102) Tubumavo tobagula tova inabagula
tubu-mavo to-bagula tova i-na-bagula
big-1PL.EX NOM-garden time 3-INT-garden
kunakaiveiveidi inadouwemu kunakani.
ku-na-kaiveivei-di i-na-douwe-mu ku-na-kani
2SG-INT-help-3PL 3-INT-call-2SG 2SG-INT-eat

O gebuka, gege inadouwemu.
o gebuka gege i-na-douwe-mu
CONJ nothing NEG 3-INT-call-2SG

‘Our grand parents are farmers, when they are gardening (and if) you will help then, they will call you and you will eat. Or (else) nothing (will happen), they will not call you.’

In the following example, the first use of intensive is expectational, while the other two are intentions of future progressive events.

103) Kadi kaibwevu inamiyamiya melewe be dakevodi
kadi kaibwevu i-na-miya-miya melewa-ye be dakevodi
3PL two 3-INT-RDUP-stay village-LOC CONJ 1PL.IN

tanagonago yada bagule tanafolofolova.
ta-na-nago-nago yada bagula-ye ta-na-folo-folova
1PL.IN-INT-RDUP-go 1PL.IN garden-LOC 1PL.IN-INT-RDUP-work

‘The two of them will be staying in the village while we will be going to the garden and working.’

Although intensive mood usually signals a future event, it can also mark intentions or expectations occurring within the past:
‘When evening came it was time for Nemiyavola and her husband to return to the village.’

‘And their mother arrived and went up to the house to cook their food.’

‘You stay at the house!’

‘His friend Butterfly said, “Lice, don’t pass gas or the bottom of the canoe will split open!”’

**2.3.7.3 Irrealis**

Irrealis mood expresses past negative events, frustrated intention, uncertain intention, possibilities/hypothetical events/situations, a sense of obligation, sudden/unexpected events, and almost-occurring events.
2.3.7.3.1 Past Negative Event

108) Tomo nana gege yana bagula *ida*folova.

tomo nana gege yana bagula *i-da*folova

man DEM NEG 3SG garden 3-IR-work

‘That man did not work in his garden.’

2.3.7.3.2 Frustrated Intention

The word *vaita* ‘like that’ usually occurs with an irrealis verb expressing an intended action that was prevented from occurring.

109) Taugamwanega kadoi inago e ietaulaga *vaita* *idasikoniya*

taugamwana-ega kadoi i-nago e i-e-taulu-ga *vaita* *i-da-sikoni-ya*

middle.sister-SRC again 3-go CONJ 3-become-leave-SRC should 3-IR-touch-3SG

`a bulalewalewa ikauta ilaga kai tabwane.

a bulalewalewa *i-kauta* i-laga kai tabwana-ye

CONJ string.swing 3-gather 3-go.up tree top-LOC`

‘The middle sister did the same to touch the string-swing, (but) it gathered and went up into the tree.’

2.3.7.3.3 Possibility and Uncertain Intention

110) E *Nibwayake* *ikisekiseya* made *idanago be*

e *nibwayake* *i-kise-kise-ya* made *i-da-nago be*

CONJ red.ant 3-RDUP-see-3SG where 3-IR-go CONJ

D*igwai* *idalaga be yanadi kana idakaniya.

digwai *i-da-laga be yana-di kana i-da-kani-ya*

grasshopper 3-IR-go.up CONJ 3SG-friend 3SG 3-IR-eat-3SG

‘And looking at where Red Ant might go, then Grasshopper will go up and eat his (food).’

2.3.7.3.4 Almost-Occurring Event

111) Gege sikona *yadabeku.*

genge siko-na *ya-da-beku*

NEG touch-3SG 1SG-IR-fall

‘I almost fell.’
2.3.7.3.5 Sudden Event

112) Iewaya tanoge idalekwa matatabuna ikakaviya.
   i-ewa-ya tanoge i-da-lekwa matatabuna i-kakavi-ya
3-return-3SG clearing 3-IR-arrive everything 3-finish-3SG

‘He returned to the clearing and immediately as he arrived he saw that everything had been finished.’

2.3.7.3.6 Obligation

The same construction used to express frustrated intention is also used for obligation: vaita ‘like,that/as’ with a verb in irrealis mood. The distinction between the two is known by context.

113) Vaita yadanago yadaekabela.
   vaita ya-da-nago ya-da-ekabela
like/as 1SG-IR-go 1SG-IR-fish

‘I should go and fish.’

114) A gumaga ivonaga, “Vaita yadakisemu be
a gumaga i-vona-ga vaita ya-da-kise-mu be
CONJ hermit.crab 3s-say-SRC like/as IPL.IN-IR-see-2SG CONJ
   yadatolikayawemu be yamu nuwanuwa
   ya-da-tolikayawe-mu be yamu nuwanuwa
SG-IR-ask.question-2s CONJ 2SG think
   yadalauwalamaneya.”
   ya-da-lauwalame-ya
1SG-IR-know-3SG

‘And crab said, “I wanted to see you and ask you so I might know what you think about it.”’

2.3.8 Aspect

The aspects we have observed are completed, continuous, habitual, inceptive, and iterative. Continuous aspect is marked by reduplication, inceptive aspect is conveyed by the causative morpheme e-, and other aspects are expressed lexically and/or contextually.
2.3.8.1 Completed

Completed events are expressed by non-repduplicated verbs in the realis mood. The word *kamena* ‘already’ often occurs as well functioning similarly to an auxiliary accentuating the completeness of the event:

115) Tova Luguveyagova bonana gege kunanogali *kamena*
    tova Luguveyagova bonana gege ku-na-nogali kamena
    time Luguveyagova voice NEG 2SG-INT-hear before.now

    yawaina iikakaviya.
    yawai -na i-kakavi-ya
    breath -3SG 3-finish-3SG

‘When you don’t hear Luguveyagova’s voice (then) you will know she has died.’

116) Ivonaga, "Yagudi, natudiavo
    i-vona-ga yagu-di natu-di-avo
    3-say-SRC 1SG-friend offspring-1 PL.IN-PL

    kamena iebwaiga be kadoi nuvadi imagaiya.
    kamena i-ebwaiga be kadoi nuwa-di imagaiya
    before.now 3-grow.big CONJ again want-3 PL clear.mind

‘She said, "My friend, our children have matured, and their minds are clear as well.”’

2.3.8.2 Continuous

Continuous aspect is expressed by reduplication of the first two syllables of the verb stem.

117) Yanagonago manuwa tafwalolo.
    ya-nago-nago manuwa tafwalolo
    1SG-RDUP-go house church

‘I am going to church.’

118) Boginai yanagonago manuwa tafwalolo kede ye mwata yakiseya.
    boginai ya-RDUP-nago manuwa tafwalolo keda-ye mwata ya-kise-ya
    yesterday 1SG-CONT-go house church path-LOC snake 1SG-see-3SG

‘Yesterday as I was walking to church I saw a snake on the path.’

119) Manuga kidona kai tabwane *igweligweli.*
    manuga kido-na kai tabwa-na-ye i-gweli-gweli
    bird small tree-3SG top-3SG-LOC 3-RDUP-sing

‘A little bird up in a tree is singing.’
120) *Iyauyaubani.*

\[i\text{-}ya\text{-}yaubani\]

3-RDUP-hunt/fish

‘He is hunting/fishing.’

Reduplication can occur in another part of a compound verb, giving some sort of continuational sense to the semantic content of the verb. But the aspect is not continuous unless the first two syllables of the first verb are reduplicated.

121) *Igiyadewedeweya*  
\[i\text{-}giya\text{-}dewedewe\text{-}ya\]

3-?-do-3SG  
3-CONT-?-do-3SG

‘he prepared it’  
‘he is preparing it’

2.3.8.3 Habitual

Habitual aspect can be expressed by the reduplicated form or without reduplication, depending on how frequently the action is repeated. The distinction between habitual actions versus continuous or completed is often dependent upon context, although adverbial phrases can also be used, especially in association with reduplication.

122) *Moke*  
\[moke\]

3-eat

‘He ate banana(s).’ OR ‘He eats bananas.’  
‘He is eating bananas’ OR ‘He eats bananas.’

123) *Tova*  
\[tova\]

all-3SG

‘He eats bananas all of the time.’  
‘He frequently eats bananas.’
124) E mwaganena kadoi banikovedana tovanana inanago 
    e mwagane-na kadoi baniko-veda-na tova-nana i-na-nago 
CONJ husband-3SG again like-???-3SG time-DEM 3-INT-go 
    walakaiye e inalaulau nago e tovanana 
    walakai-ye e i-na-lau-lau-nago e tova-nana 
bush-LOC CONJ 3-INT-RDUP-hunt-go CONJ time-DEM 
    vagitau inavunugiya e inaewaya melewe. 
    vagitau i-na-vunugi-ya e i-na-ewa-ya melewa-ye 
cuscus 3-INT-catch-3SG CONJ 3-INT-return-3SG village-LOC

'So her husband always went to hunt in the bush and when he caught cuscus returned home.'

2.3.8.4 Inceptive

Inceptive aspect is expressed with the causative morpheme e- inflecting the verb lamu 'start/origin' or butu ‘begin’ occurring sentence initially with the main topical verb in its normal, sentence-final position.

125) Ielamu yana bwalogu igiyadewadewa. 
    i-e-lamu yana bwalogu i-giyadewadewa 
3- CAUS- origin 3 SG things 3-prepare 

'He began to get his things ready.'

126) E iebutu kadoi idoulaubwa. 
    e i-e-butu kadoi i-dou-laubwa 
CONJ 3-CAUS-begin again 3-call-look.for 

'And again they started calling out for them.'

2.3.8.5 Iterative

Iterative aspect is expressed on the verb nige ‘hit’ by compounding with the morpheme vuvuwa, conveying a constant and somewhat rapid repetition of the action toward one patient.

127) Koukou inigevuvuweya. 
    koukou i-nige-vuvuwe-ya 
dog 3-hit-repetitive-3SG 

'He hit the dog over and over again.'
128) Koukou inigeniveauweya.
    koukou i-RDUP-nige-vuvuwe-ya
dog 3-CONT-hit-repetitive-3SG

‘He is/was hitting the dog over and over again.’

129) Ivona, “Vaita tanagimu kunigiveauveda
    i-vona vaita ta-nagi-mu ku-nigiveauwe-da
3-say like/as 1PL.IN-marry-2SG 2SG-hit.continually-1PL.IN
    gege giyamaida faina matamu yamoyamoi-na.”
    gege giyamai-da fai-na mata-mu yamoyamoi-na
NEG good-1 PL.IN for-3 SG eye-2 SG red-3 SG

‘She said, "If I marry you, you will beat me because you have red eyes."’

But vuvuwa mainly occurs as a fossilized form meaning ‘to go wandering/walking around’ functioning as a semantic unit rather than an aspecual unit.

130) Yananauvuva. (Possibly from nago-vuvuva?)
    ya-na-nau-vuvuwa
1SG-INT-?-around

‘I will go walking around.’

131) tomadu vuvuwa
    to-madu-vuvuwa
NOM-hurry-around

‘person who hurries around’

Vuvuwa also compounds with vona ‘say/talk’ and dewa ‘do/thing.’ The element of repetition is present in those forms as well, but in a lexical sense rather than aspecual. These forms appear rarely, and the only examples we have are from translated material.

vonavuvuwa ‘talk about, gossip’
dewavuvuwa ‘make fun of, ridicule’ ‘mistreat’

132) Ekama Yeisu ivonedi ivona,
    ekama Yeisu i-vona-di i-vona
CONJ Jesus 3-say-3PL 3-say

“Vaka faina vavine meina kwavonavonavuvuwe?”
    vaka fai-na vavine meina kwa-rdup-vona-vuvuwe
what for-3SG woman here 2PL-RDUP-say-repetitive

‘And so Jesus asked them, “Why are you ridiculing her?”’
...and they hit him on his head and mistreated him, and they sent him back with his shyness.

2.3.9 Serial Verbs

Koluuwawa has many occurrences of what Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (forthcoming) term ‘verb serialization’ in their typology of Austronesian languages:

Serial verb constructions are more easily recognizable in languages that have inflectional suffixes and prefixes, as the initial verb construction is the one which typically carries the prefixed markers, while the final verb is the one which typically carries the suffixed markers. They can be recognized as serial verb constructions by the fact that they share nominal arguments, and a single set of tense-aspect-mood as well as often having meanings that are not completely predictable from the meanings of their constituent verbs.

All of the above is true of the following examples:

134) Itavuyawaiyawaiya.
   i-tavu-yawaiyawai-ya
   3-bury-breath-3S
   ‘He buried him alive.’

135) Ivagadobwaya.
   i-vaga-dobwa-ya
   3-step-break-3S
   ‘He broke it by stepping on it.’

136) Inuwagoyo.
   i-nuwa-goyo
   3-think-bad
   ‘He became angry.’

137) Ikitalaga.
   i-kita-laga
   3-look-go.up
   ‘He looked up.’
In the previous examples, the verb stems are all words that can occur as stand-alone verbs or nouns. But the following contain morphemes that are never observed as root morphemes and are possibly functioning as a derivational prefix:

138)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i-giya-kafu} & \quad *\text{igiya} \\
\text{i-\text{giy}-kafu} & \\
3\text{-do. with. hands\-handle(NOUN)} & \\
\text{‘steal’}
\end{align*}
\]

139)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ilaunago} & \quad *\text{ilau} \\
\text{i-\text{lau}-nago} & \\
3\text{-somewhat(?)\-go} & \\
\text{‘hunt’}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs can also rarely appear in a series without any subject prefixing. But it is possible that this is not a type of verb serialization, since it can also occur on single-root forms and with conjunctions between verbs.

140)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nigenigedi} & \quad \text{be} \quad \text{gabugabudi} \quad \text{kedamodi}. \\
\text{RDUP\-nige-di} & \quad \text{be} \quad \text{RDUP\-gabu-di} \quad \text{kedamo-di} \\
\text{CONT\-hit-3PL} & \quad \text{CONJ} \quad \text{CONT\-burn-3PL} \quad \text{there-3PL} \\
\text{‘They beat and burned them right there.’}
\end{align*}
\]

141)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kuloga} & \quad \text{kaikainina} \quad \text{kaikaoge-ya} \quad \text{i\-kitu}. \\
\text{kuloga} & \quad \text{kaikaini-\text{na}} \quad \text{kaikaoge-ya} \quad \text{i\-\text{e-kitu}} \\
\text{prawn} & \quad \text{cheek\-3SG} \quad \text{bump\-3SG} \quad 3\text{-CAUS\-sore, boil, knot} \\
\text{‘Prawn fell against something and hit his cheek and got a sore/knot.’}
\end{align*}
\]

From the few examples in the data, it appears that the subject marker can be dropped when the event is something that involves actions like striking something or occurring with an element of quickness.

2.3.10 Derived Verbs

The prefix e- added to a noun stem results in a derived verb meaning ‘to become N.’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{V} & \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{+ noun}
\end{align*}
\]

bwaigina ‘big one, bigness’
And then the wind got strong.

Older brother became a bird and younger brother stayed the same.

2.4 Postpositions

Two types of postpositionals occur: Postpositional nouns and postpositional suffixes.

2.4.1 Postpositional Nouns

Postpositional nouns have specific meanings such as ‘top,’ ‘underside,’ ‘inside,’ etc., and they are always affixed with the inalienable genitive suffix.

Two of the postpositional nouns have a more general and broader meaning and are very productive and common as a result: Fai conveys cause, purpose, and benefactive, and waiya is a locative noun meaning ‘at’ or ‘to.’ The following are examples of postpositional noun stems and how they operate in the language:

fai  ‘reason, cause, purpose’

Thank you very much for the food.

tabwa  ‘top’

‘top of the table’

masikwa  ‘underside’
2.4.2 Postpositional Suffixes

Postpositional suffixes are less distinct in meaning than postpositional nouns. There are two “true postpositions” that we have identified. The most common one is –ye, the locativizer, which has a meaning similar to ‘at’ or simply ‘location.’ The second one is –ga and has a basic meaning similar to ‘from’ or ‘source.’

2.4.2.1 Locative

A morphophonemic rule requires that when –ye is affixed to a stem ending in a, the underlying aye becomes e. Since it is most commonly affixed following the 3SG –na affix on a postpositional noun, and since many ordinary nouns and proper nouns end with an a, the underlying form occurs infrequently on the surface.

147) Tolama tabwan
tolama tabwa-na-ye
table top-3SG-LOC
‘on top of the table’

148) Manuwa masikwana
manuwa masikwa-na-ye
house underside-3SG-LOC
‘under the house’

149) Manuwemanuwa-ye
house-LOC
‘in/at the house’

150) DebaiyeDebaiya-ye
Debaiya-LOC
‘at Debaiya’
151) Yanagonago yagwavodi waiyadiye
Ya-DUP-nago yagu-avo-di waiya-di-ye
1SG-CONT-go 1SG-pl-friend to/at-3PL-LOC
‘I’m going to my friends.’

2.4.2.2 Source/Instrumental

The second most common postposition is -ga, which denotes source/origin or instrumental and has a meaning similar to ‘from.’ When affixed to waiya-ye ‘to/at (that) location’, the meaning becomes ‘from (that) location’ Postpositional -ga only affixes to the locativeizer -ye.³

152) Manuwega
manuwa-ye-ga
house-LOC-SRC
‘from the house’

153) kwasikwasi-ye-ga
kwasikwasi-ye-ga
bush.knife-LOC-SRC
‘with a bush knife

154) Debaiyega
Debaiya-ye-ga
Debaiya-LOC-SRC
‘from Debaiya’

155) Bolu ibeku tolama waiyanega.
bolu i-beku tolama waiya-na-ye-ga
cup 3-fall table to/at-3SG-LOC-SRC
‘The cup fell from the table.’

156) Saulo inagoma Kubowa waiyanega.
Saulo i-nagoma Kubowa waiya-na-ye-ga
Saulo 3-come Kubowa to/at-3SG-LOC-SRC
‘Saulo came from Kubowa.’

³ There are other occurrences of words ending in –ga. At this stage of our analysis we are not equating them with the -ga postposition. One such homophone appears to be a demonstrative and often occurs at the end of a noun phrase preceded by vaka ‘what.’ Another is its affixation to vona ‘say.’ In this occurrence we are unclear whether it is an object cross reference or if it is related to the demonstrative. In other words, does ivonaga mean ‘he said to him/he told him’ or ‘he said this’ or ‘that thing he said’? And many occurrences of ga are simply the final syllable of a morpheme, e.g. maduga ‘go quickly.’
2.5 Demonstratives and Locatives

The two demonstratives occurring in Koluwawa consist of the third person singular genitive morpheme suffixed with itself again or with itself or the third person plural genitive, depending on whether the referent is singular or plural. Demonstratives follow the noun phrase referent and have no proximity value.

157) Iewadi inagoma kadoi keda nana waiyane.
   i-ewa-di i-nagoma kadoi keda nana waiya-na-ye
   3-return-3PL 3-come again path DEM to/at-3SG-LOC

   ‘They came back to that road.’

158) Ebe buyabuyama dina kadikaibwevu
   ebe buyabuyama dina ka- kaibwevo -di-
   CONJ children DEM 1PL.EX-two-3PL

   imiyamiya Guwakunu waiyane
   i-RDUP-miya Guwakunu waiya-na-ye
   3-CONT-stay Guwakunu PREP -3SG-LOC

   ‘And those children both lived at Guwakunu village.’

   The pluralizer –avo commonly affixes to both di and dina to form the plural demonstrative diavodina.

159) tomo di-avodina
   tomo di-avo-dina
   man 3PL-PL-DEM

   ‘those people’

160) Vevine di-avodina kadi wagava Lisefa be Fetilisa.
   vevine di-avo-dina kadi wagava Lisefa be Fetilisa
   women 3PL-PL-PL-DEM 3PL name Lisefa CONJ Fetilisa

   ‘Those women’s names were Lisefa and Fetilisa.’

   When the referent is a woman who is known or assumed to have had at least one child, the plural demonstrative is used:
‘The medico came going around looking for sick people and that lady heard about him.’

When proximity is indicated, a locative is used as well. The main locatives are meina ‘here, near’ and bweina ‘there, distant.’ A third word, neina, is used less extensively as a secondary distant locative referring to something in a nearer proximity than bweina.

Locatives can also function as determiners when a referent is being focused on without being contrasted to another like referent, or when proximity is only peripheral information. In fact, meina occurs more often functioning as a determiner than as a focus on proximity. In our corpus of narrative, descriptive, and instructive writings, meina accounts for about 75% of the locatives, bweina about 22%, and neina less than 2%.

We are not certain how the morphemes should be broken, but it seems reasonable to us that the -ei- portion of the forms might be related to the locative suffix –ye. Since neina occurs primarily as a contrast to the more distant bweina, we chose ‘pre-distal’ as a term that reflects that relationship. The initial consonant marks proximity value, and the third person singular genitive is suffixed to the demonstrative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximity value</th>
<th>Locative (ye?)</th>
<th>3SG morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>-ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-distal</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>bw-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

162) bweina kaiyevu nana

‘that canoe over there.’

163) bweina kaiyevu

‘that canoe’

164) meina kaiyevu

‘this canoe’
2.6 Quantifiers

2.6.1 Numerals

2.6.1.1 Cardinal

The most commonly used numbers are one through five. Other numbers are expressed with combined forms: ‘five-one,’ ‘five-two,’ etc., but speakers typically use a modified form of English for numbers greater than five.

The morpheme at the beginning of ‘one,’ ‘two,’ and ‘three,’ is kai. Kai can mean ‘tree,’ ‘wood,’ or ‘fire.’ But it also occurs in some formations that seem to have no connection to wood or fire, and we suspect that those occurrences may be homophones. To determine whether the numerical kai is a homophone or a vestige of sticks being used for counting at one time is beyond the scope of this study.

The morpheme tamo in kaitamoga ‘one’ might be related to the indefinite determiner tamu. The only meanings we have observed for bwevu, tonu, and laufuli are their respective numerical values. Why -na suffixes ‘one’ and ‘four’ but not ‘two’ or ‘three’ is also beyond our understanding, as well as why the source/instrumental postposition appears on ‘one’ as well in some usages/idioms. The following pattern might be in effect on the first three numbers (if three data points are sufficient to establish a pattern):

kai-X-na = singular  kai-X-u = plural

The morphemes that comprise ‘five’ are easily understood: count five fingers and you’re finished counting the hand.

167) kai-tamo-na (also kai-tamo-ga)  ‘one’
168) kai-bwevu  ‘two’
169) kai-tonu  ‘three’
170) laufuli-na  ‘four’
171) nima-yavai (hand-finish)  ‘five’
172) nima-yavai-kaitamona or sikisi  ‘six’
173) *nima-yavai-kaibwevu* or *seveni* ‘seven’

174) *nima-kai-bwevu-yavai* or *teni* ‘ten’

To express distribution a numeral can be said twice.

175) *kaitamona kaitamona*

one one

‘one by one; one each; each one’

176) *kaibwevu kaibwevu*

two two

‘two each; two by two’

2.6.1.2 Ordinal

Ordinal numbers do not have much of a role in Koluwawa culture. Hence there are few of them, and they occur infrequently. The only ordinals we have encountered have been for the first five numbers.

The ordinal form of ‘one’ is a fossilized form derived from the verb *kedamuga* ‘go first, precede.’ *Kedamuga* compounds the word *keda* ‘path’ with what is probably a shortened form of *maduga* ‘run/hurry.’ The ordinal is formed by reduplicating *keda* and nominalization by the third person singular genitive suffix.

177) Wilson *kuna kedamuga kunanago Toni waiyane, yauke yanaetaulu.*

Wilson 2 SG-INT-first 2 SG-INT-go Toni to/at-3 SG-LOC 1 SG 1 SG-INT-come.behind

‘Wilson, you go to Toni first, I’ll follow.’

178) Tovanana *ilekwa e kedakedamugina inago tunugina tova-nana i-lekwa e kedakedamugi-na i-nago tunugi-na*

time-that 3-arrive CONJ first-3 SG 3-go straight-3 SG

*ligwagwa igiyabai*

*ligwagwa igiyabai.*

sea 3-fetch

‘When he arrived, first he went straight to the sea and fetched (salt water).’

The only other ordinals are two through five. All four occur with the third person singular semi-alienable genitive. The causative morpheme *e* is prefixed to the root morpheme of ‘two,’ ‘three,’ and ‘four,’ replacing both occurrences of *kai-*.

179) *ka-na e-bwevu* ‘second’

180) *ka-na e-tonu* ‘third’
181) ka-na e-laualuli  ‘fourth’

182) ka-na nima-yavai  ‘fifth’

183) Tomo kana ebwevu inagoma.
Tomo ka-na e-bwevu i-nago-na
man 2SG.GS CAUS-two 3-go-come

‘The man was second to arrive.’

184) Kaiyeta kana etonu waiyane  Yeisu itovoi kavakavaluga.
Kaiyeta kana etonu waiya-na-ye Yeisu i-tovoi kava-kava-lu-ga
day 3SG third to/at-3SG-LOC Jesus 3-stand only-only-??-SRC

‘On the third day, Jesus rose again.’

2.6.2 Non-Numeric

Diminutive, augmentative, and total amounts are formed by root morphemes suffixed by plural genitive morphemes, or by the singular third person genitive when the referent noun phrase is non-countable.

The plural morpheme allophone bou suffixed with a third person genitive forms the words for ‘much’ or ‘many.’

We are uncertain where the morpheme(s) meaning ‘all’ should be broken. Manuwa means ‘house,’ but we have not observed a fo morpheme other than fou ‘egg(s).’

The morpheme for ‘few’ or ‘some’ poses a problem as well. There is either some deletion on the non-countable form or insertion on the countable forms, and there is the possibility of vowel harmonization as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bouna  ‘much’</td>
<td>boudi  ‘many’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bou-na</td>
<td>bou-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aug/AUG-3s</td>
<td>AUG-3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuwafona  ‘all (of it)’</td>
<td>manuwafodi  ‘all (of them)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuwa(-?)fo-na</td>
<td>manuwa(-?)fo-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all-3SG</td>
<td>all-3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufwana  ‘some (of it)’</td>
<td>tufwanidi  ‘few’ ‘some (of them)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufwa(-?)(na/ni?-)na</td>
<td>tufwa(-?)(na/ni?-)-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM-3SG</td>
<td>DIM-3PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First and second person plural suffixes are applicable as well, although these forms occur less frequently:

- **boumi** ‘many (of you)’
- **bouma** ‘many (of us-EX)’
- **bouda** ‘many (of us-IN)’

- **manuwafomi** ‘all (of you)’
- **manuwafoma** ‘all (of us-EX)’
- **manuwafoda** ‘all (of us-IN)’

- **tufwanimi** ‘few/some (of you)’
- **tufwanima** ‘few/some (of us-EX)’
- **tufwanida** ‘few/some (of us-IN)’

185) Uliuli    **boudi**   inagwagwadi.

uliuli    bou-di   i-na-gwagwa-di
water shell  many-3 PL    3-INT-collect-3PL

‘They will collect many water shells.’

186) Tova **bouna** bagula gebuwa.

tova  bou-na bagula  gebuwa
time  many  garden  NEG

‘Much of the time he didn’t go to the garden’

187) Kawakiki **manuwafona** inakani kovoya.

kawakiki   manuwafo-na i-na-kani kovoya
food       all-3SG       3-INT-eat    all.of.it

‘They will finish all the food’

188) A **manuga** **manuwafodi** ilaufoudi.

a   manuga manuwafo-di   i-laufoudi
CONJ  bird     all-3PL   3-invite

‘And all the birds were invited’

189) **Manuwafoma** kavatukautama ebe kanago talaga nana inagene.

manuwafo-ma ka-vatukautama ebe ka-nago talaga nana inagene
all-1PL.  1PL.EX-gather.together CONJ 1PL.EX  field  DEM  in-LOC

‘We all gathered together and went into the field.’
That orange tree helped him (buy) a little bit of soap and a little bit of kerosene or (other) white things like that.

They met some of their friends at Kavataliya.

The term *kaibwevodi* ‘two of them’ also occurs in speech meaning ‘few’ rather than ‘two’ specifically. Interestingly, this looser application of a term for ‘two’ is similar to the informal use of ‘a couple’ in English meaning something like ‘two or three or maybe four or so.’

### 2.7 Question Words

Kuluwawa has 4 question words:

- `waito` ‘who’
- `made` ‘where’
- `vaka` ‘what’
- `kaiviya` ‘how many’

*Who gave us the food?*

*Where did you go?*
194) **Vaka** kukiseya masikwane?
    vaka ku-kise-ya masikwa-na-ye
    what 2SG-see-3SG underneath-3SG-LOC
    ‘What did you see underneath?’

195) **Kaiviya** buyabuyama manuwe ikenokeno?
    kaivi-ya buyabuyama manuwa-ye i-RDUP-keno
    how many children house-LOC 3-RDUP-sleep
    ‘How many children are sleeping in the house?’

*Made* functions as ‘which’ as well:

196) **Made** moke giyamaina?
    made moke giyamai-na
    where banana good-3SG
    ‘Which banana is good?/Where is the good banana?’

*Made* frequently occurs in isolation meaning ‘Where are you going?’ or ‘Where did you go?’ depending on whether the addressee is going to or from his or her village.

197) **Made**?
    where
    ‘Where (are you going/did you go)?’

*Vaka* ‘what’ combines with *baniko* ‘like/as’ to form *vakaniko* meaning ‘how.’ *Vaka* combines with *tova* ‘time’ to form ‘when,’ and with *faina* ‘for/because’ to form ‘why’.

198) **Vakaniko** yanafolova?
    vaka-baniko ya-na-folova
    what-like 1SG-INT-work
    ‘How will I do/build/work?’

199) **Vaka tova** kunanagoma?
    vaka tova ku-na-nagoma
    what time 2SG-INT-come
    ‘When will you come?’
200) **Vaka faina** itaitaiga?
   *vaka fai-na i-RDUP-taiga*
   what for/because 3-CONT-cry
   ‘Why is she crying?’

   *Aiyo* functions as a tag question marker and means ‘isn’t it true?/right?/okay?.’

201) **Tananago tananewala, aiyo?**
   *ta-na-nago ta-na-newala, aiyo*
   1PL.IN-INT-go 1PL.IN-INT-play TAG.Q?
   ‘Let’s go play, shall we?’

202) **Kuewaewamu yamu manuwe, aiyo?**
   *ku-RDUP-ewa-mu yamu manuwa-ye aiyo*
   2SG-CONT-return-2SG 2SG house-LOC TAG.Q
   ‘You are going back to your house. right?’

### 2.8 Negation

The negative morpheme *ge* reduplicated forms the negative word *gege* ‘not/no.’

203) **Tomo boudi guwa nana gege idasikosikoni.**
   *tomo bou-di guwa nana gege i-da-sikoni*
   man many-3PL stone DEM NEG 3-IR-touch
   ‘Many people did not touch that stone.’

204) **Be gege kana fata vaka inafolovi.**
   *be gege kana fata vaka i-na-folovi*
   CONJ NEG 3SG ability what 3-INT-work.
   ‘So he is not able to work.’

   The meaning ‘no’ is most often conveyed by the word *gebuwa* ‘no/nothing.’ We do not know what *buwa* is. It bears scant resemblance to *guwa* ‘stone’ or to *bweina* ‘there.’ It bears no semantic resemblance to the homophone *buwa* ‘frangipani.’
205) Nibwayake iewaya towega, e
   nibwayake i-ewa-ya towa-ega e
   red.ant 3-LOC-3SG wash-SRC CONJ
   ilaga yana manuwe kana ikiseya gebuwa.
   i-laga yana manuwa-ye kana i-kise-ya gebuwa
   3-go.up 3SG house-LOC 3SG 3-see-3SG neg
   ‘And ant came back from his bath and went up to his house and found no food.’

206) Nagaida Koluwawa waiyane tomo gebuwa.
    nagaida koluwawa waiya-na-ye tomo gebuwa
    early.times Koluwawa to/at-3SG-LOC man NEG
    ‘In the early times in Koluwawa there were no men.’

2.8.1 Negative Answers to Questions

_Gebuwa_ ‘nothing’ is the most common negative answer to a question but _gege_ ‘NEG’ can also be used.

207) Tomas itowatowa ufeye? Gebuwa.
    Tomas i-towa-towa ufeya-ye gebuwa
    Tomas 3-DUP-wash river-LOC nothing
    ‘Is Tomas washing at the river?’ ‘No.’

208) Kaimose kunanago bagula? Gege.
    kaimose ku-na-nago bagula gege
    today 2SG-IR-go garden NEG
    ‘Today are you going to the garden?’ ‘No.’

If there is a negation in a question the answer ‘yes’ indicates agreement with the question as a statement; ‘no’ indicates disagreement.

    tomo gebuwa manuwa-ye ika
    man nothing house-LOC AFFIRM
    ‘Is there no one in the house?’ ‘Yes. (No one is in the house.)’

    tomo gebuwa manuwa-ye gebuwa tomo manuwa-ye
    man nothing house-LOC nothing man house-LOC
    ‘Is there no one in the house?’ ‘No, someone is in the house.’
   gege ku-da-kan gebuwa kamena ya-kani
   NEG 2SG-IR-eat nothing already 1SG-eat
   ‘Didn’t you eat?’ ‘No, I already ate.’

212) Gege kudakan? Ika, gege yadakani
   gege ku-da-kan ika gege ya-da-kan
   NEG 2SG-IR-eat AFFIRM NEG 1SG-IR-eat
   ‘Didn’t you eat?’ ‘Yes, I didn’t eat.’

The meaning ‘nothing’ is also expressed by negating the indefinite determiner tamu.

213) Vaka kufolova? Gege tamu vaka.
   vaka ku-folova gege tamu vaka
   what 2SG-work NEG INDET what
   ‘What did you make? ‘Nothing’

Other negative answers to questions are formed by gege tamu followed by a question word.

   waito i-nago maketi gege tamu waito
   who 3-go market NEG INDET who
   ‘Who went to the market?’ ‘No one’

   made kwa-na-nago kamaidi gege tamu made
   where 2PL-INT-go tomorrow NEG INDET where
   ‘Where are you(pl) going tomorrow?’ ‘Nowhere.’

216) Vaka faina kunuwagoyo? Gege tamu vaka faina.
   vaka fai-na ku-nuwa-goyo gege tamu vaka fai-na
   what for-3SG 2SG-mind-bad NEG INDET what for-3SG
   ‘Why were you angry?’ ‘No reason.’

217) Vaka tova kunanago Alotau? Gege tamu tova.
   vaka tova ku-na-nago Alotau gege tamu tova
   what time 2sg-INT-go Alotau NEG INDET time
   ‘When are you going to Alotau?’ ‘Never.’
2.8.2 Other Uses of Negatives

If the negation occurs after a noun it negates the noun.

218) Tomoyabayaba ikitao bu ufa gebuwa.
Tomoyabayaba i- kita - obu ufa gebuwa
Tomoyabayaba 3-look-go. down water nothing
‘Tomoyabayaba looked down and saw no water (to wash in).’

219) ilaga yana manuwe ikiseya kana kawakiki gebuwa.
i- laga yana manuwa -ye i-kise-ya kana kawakiki gebuwa
3-go.up 3 SG house-LOC 3-see-3 SG 3 SG food nothing
‘He went up to his house and found no food.’

Negation always precedes the negated verb, and the verb is never in realis mode.

220) Gege i danagoma.
gege i-da-nagoma
NEG 3-IR-come
‘He didn’t come.’

221) Gege i nanagoma.
gege i-na-nagoma
NEG 3-INT-come
‘He won’t come.’

Gege often appears in the idiomatic construction meaning ‘almost.’
gege sikona ‘not touching’

222) Gege sikona yadakaliga.
gege sikona ya-da-kaliga
NEG touch 1 SG-IR-die
‘I almost died.’

223) Gesikona tutuya be Lagutau inaewaya manuwe.
ge- sikona tutuya be Lagutau i-na-ewa-ya manuwa-ye
NEG-touch time CONJ Lagutau 3-INT-return-3 SG house-LOC
‘It was almost time for Lagutau to return home.’
2.8.3 Prohibitive

In prohibitive constructions, the intention marker na- optionally occurs on the verb and the negative is obligatory. The directive is generally more forceful without the intention marker.

224) Gege kukan.
   gege ku-kan
   NEG 2SG-eat
   ‘Don’t eat.’

225) Gege kunasikoniya.
   gege ku-na-sikoni-ya
   NEG 2SG-INT-touch-3SG
   ‘Don’t touch it.’

2.9 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses, and to introduce sentences and paragraphs. There are 7 main conjunctions. Here is a breakdown of their approximate meanings and uses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>Connects clauses and introduces new sentences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>Similar to e, but occurs less frequently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>‘and,’ ‘and then,’ ‘so’</td>
<td>Connects noun phrases, sequential events, some purpose clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-be</td>
<td>‘and’, ‘then’, ‘and then’ ‘so then’</td>
<td>Mainly connects sequential events. Connects some purpose clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-kama</td>
<td>‘and then,’ ‘and then’ ‘so’</td>
<td>Introduces and connects sequential events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-di-ke</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
<td>Connects contrasting clauses. Introduces alternatives and contraexpectational clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
<td>Connects words, phrases, clauses representing alternatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘And he thought and thought (but) it was not enough, and so he said, "I will stop fishing, but I will go back and look for my son."’

‘When the tree fruits are ripe, they go first and collect chestnuts, mangos or okari nuts.’

‘He chopped down the tree for the outrigger and then got the strings and then tied the canoe together.’
While she was there she saw that the mango had some fruit, and then she started to eat some fruit and stayed there.

3. Phrase Structure

3.1 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase is any word, phrase, or clause which can function to fill the subject or object slot in a clause. A noun phrase can be as simple as a single word or as complicated as the following formula illustrates.

\[
NP \rightarrow NP(\text{GEN}) N^2 \\
N^2 \rightarrow N^1 (\text{DET}) \ [(\text{QUANT}) \sim (N)] \ (\text{PP}) \ (\text{RC}) \ (\text{NP})\text{obliques} \\
N^1 \rightarrow N \ (\text{Ncomp})
\]

A tree presents the overall structure as follows:

3.1.1 Genitive Noun Phrase
In a genitive noun phrase, the possessive suffix is cross-referenced to the genitive, which may be implied or overt. For alienable and edible/passive possessions, the suffix attaches to ya or ka respectively and then functions similarly to a possessive pronoun preceding that which is possessed. For inalienable constructions, the suffix attaches directly to the possessed noun. (AP = alienable possessive, EP = edible/passive possessive)

230) (yauke) yagu manuwa
   yau-ke ya-gu manuwa
   1SG-PRO AP -1SG house
   ‘my house’

231) Tomas kana bolu
   Tomas ka-na bolu
   Tomas EP -3SG cup
   ‘Tomas’s cup’

232) (kadikevodi) tamadi
    (ka-di-ke-vo-di) tama-di
    3PL-PRO-PL-3PL father-3PL
    ‘their fathers’

3.1.2 Determiners

The determiner slot may be filled by the pluralizing suffix –vo, by a demonstrative, or by both.

233) yagu bawevo
    Ya-gu bawe-vo
    AP-1SG pig-PL
    ‘my pigs’

234) yagu bawe nana
    Yagu bawe nana
    1SG pig DEM
    ‘that pig of mine’

235) Yagu bawe diavodina
    yagu bawe di-avo-dina
    1SG pig 3PL-PL-DEM
    ‘Those pigs of mine.’
236) buyabuyama dina
   children  DEM
   ‘those children.’

237) buyabuyama diavodina
   buyabuyama di-avo-dina
   children  3PL-PL-DEM
   ‘those children’

The -vo morpheme is discussed in Sec.2.1.3.4

A Koluwawa demonstrative consists of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person singular morpheme \textit{na} prefixed by either another \textit{na-} for singular ‘one of that’ or by the 3\textsuperscript{rd} person plural \textit{di-} for ‘plural of that.’

There is not an available slot between the determiner and its head noun for another constituent of the noun phrase.

‘that white pig’

238) bawe nana laukovuna
   bawe nana laukovu-na
   pig  DEM white-3SG

239) *bawe laukovuna nana
   pig white DEM
   ‘those big pigs’

240) bawe diyavodina bwaigidi
   bawe di-avo-dina bwaigi-di
   pig  3PL-PL-DEM big-3PL

241) *bawe bwaigidi diyavodina
   pig big-3PL PL-DEM
   ‘those many pigs’

242) bawedinaboudi
   bawe-dina boudi
   pig-those many

243) *bawe boudi nana
   pig many DEM
3.1.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include numbers and less-specific quantifying nouns such as boudi ‘many of them’ or bouna ‘much of it.’ The quantifier ordinarily follows the head. If there is an attributive noun modifier, the quantifier usually follows it, but it is also acceptable for the quantifier to fall between the head and attributive modifier.

244) manuwa kaibwevu

    house  two

   ‘two houses’

245) manuwa kidodi kaibwevu
    manuwa kido-di kaibwebu

    house small-3PL  two

   ‘two small houses.’

246) manuwa kaibwevu kidodi
    manuwa kaibwevu kido-di

    house  two  small-3PL

   ‘two small houses.’

3.1.4 Attributive Modifiers in the Noun Phrase

Nouns functioning as attributive modifiers follow the N\(^1\) and do not exhibit a rigid ordering, although there seems to be some preferences such as size preceding color.

247) Yagu kai manamanawena kogana laukowina.
    Yagu kai manamanawe-na koga-na laukowi-na

    1SG wood  long-3SG  crooked-3SG black-3SG

   ‘My long, crooked, black stick.’

The following rearrangements of the preceding noun phrase are all acceptable constructions and have the same basic meaning. The choice of ordering would probably depend on the attribute most in focus. (Or possibly the dominate attribute? E.g., is the stick very long and sort of dark and crooked? Or is it very black and somewhat crooked?)

248) Yagu kai kogana laukowina manamanawena

249) Yagu kai kogana manamanawena laukowina

250) Yagu kai manamanawena laukowina kogana

251) Yagu kai laukowina kogana manamanawena

252) Yagu kai laukowina manamanawena kogana.
3.1.5 Relative Clause

A relative clause is no different than a regular predication in construction, but speech patterns and context mark the difference between the two. A short pause or hesitation generally occurs between a relative clause in a noun phrase and the main predication.

253) Manuga igwageg wage kwalala tabwane.

Manuga i-DUP-gwage kwalala tabwa-na-ye
Bird 3-CONT-sing roof top-3SG-LOC

‘The bird is singing on the roof.’

254) Made manuga nana igwageg wage?  

Manuga igwageg wage [pause]
Made manuga nana i-RDUP-gwage manuga i-RDUP-gwage
where bird DEM 3-CONT-sing bird 3-CONT-sing
kwalala tabwane.
kwalala tabwa-na-ye
roof on-3SG-LOC

‘Where is the bird that is singing? The bird that is singing is on the roof.’

It is very common for a demonstrative noun to be inserted following the head noun, although speech patterns and context are still important factors in distinguishing a relative clause from an independent clause.

255) Manuga nana igwageg wage kwalala tabwane.

Manuga nana i-DUP-gwage kwalala tabwa-na-ye
Bird DEM 3-CONT-sing roof top-3SG-LOC

‘The bird that is singing is on the roof.’ (Or ‘That bird is singing on the roof,’ depending on context and/or speech patterns.)

In such instances, we believe that the demonstrative is not functioning as a relative pronoun in the relative clause because determiners are so tightly connected to the head of a noun phrase. Rather, it is putting focus on the head noun: ‘That bird (that) is singing.’

3.1.5.1 Role of Head Noun in a Relative Clause

The above example demonstrates a relative clause in which the head is the subject of the sentence, as does the following:

256) Molikeke nana igiyagiyaegolologu tkaliga kaimoseyamo.

Molikeke nana i-giyagiyaegololo-gu i-tkaliga kaimose-yamo
Millipede DEM 3-frighten-1SG 3-die now-INTENSIF

‘The millipede that frightened me is dead now.’
The head may also serve in the role of direct object within the relative clause.

257) **Bawe nana yagwaneya yakaniya.**

Bawe nana ya-gwane-ya ya-kani-ya
Pig DEM 1SG-spear-3SG 1SG-eat-3SG

‘I ate the pig that I speared.’ (This can also be glossed as ‘I speared the pig that I ate’ or ‘I speared and ate the pig.’ depending on context.)

The head noun may also function as the object of a postpositional phrase:

258) **Gwamana yagu manuwa masikwane koukou igololoeya**

Gwamana yagu manuwa masikwa-na-ye koukou i-gololo-e-ya
child 1SG house under-3SG-LOC dog 3-afraid-LOC-3SG

‘The child under my house is afraid of dogs.’

### 3.2 Verb Phrase Structure

The verb phrase unit VP consists of a verb plus its complements. Nominal complements precede the verbal head, while postpositional phrases and sentential complements follow it. Up to two nominal complements may precede the verb, one of which is cross-referenced by an object-indexing suffix. If the identity of the object is contextually understood, then no overt object NP occurs.

\[ VP \rightarrow (NP) (NP) V (PP) (S) \]

\[
\text{VP} \quad \text{(NP)} \quad \text{(NP)} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{(NP)} \quad \text{(PP)} \quad \text{(Se)}
\]

\( (NP) \ V \)

259) **Kamukamu digwai ikanikani.**

Kamukamu digwai i-RDUP-kani
chicken grasshopper 3-CONT-eat
S (NP) V

‘The chicken is eating a grasshopper.’
(NP) (NP) V

260) Lesili natugu faleda iveleya.
Lesili natu-gu faleda i-vele-ya
Lesily offspring-1SG green.coconut 3-give-3SG
S (NP) (NP) V

‘Lesily gave my child a green coconut.’

V (PP)

261) Soama inago manuwe
Soama i-nago manuwa-ye
Soama 3-go house-LOC
S V (PP)

‘Soama went to the house.’

V (Se)

262) Yalauwalamaneya Brad inagoma Amerika waiyanega.
ya-lauwalaman-ye Brad i-nago-ma Amerika waiya-na-ye-ga
1SG-know-3SG Brad 3-go-come America to/at-3SG-LOC-SRC
V [Se (NP) V (NP) (PP)]

‘I know Brad comes from America.’

3.2.1 Verb-less Predication

Descriptive, equative, and ambient predications consist of two noun phrases, since there is no linking verb.

263) Manuwa kidona.
manuwa kido-na
House small-3SG

‘(The) house (is) small.’

264) Soama Tomas yana vavine.
Soama Tomas 3PL woman

‘Soama (is) Tomas’ wife.’

265) Imeki yayata.
This hot

‘It’s hot.’ (weather)
Locative predications consist of a noun phrase followed by a post-positional phrase with no linking copula.

266) Toni ufa waiyane
   Toni ufa waiya-na-ye
   Toni river to-3SG-LOC
   ‘Toni is at the river.’

267) Koukou manuwa masikwanine
   Koukou manuwa makikwana-ye
   Dog house under-LOC
   ‘The dog is under the house.’

Because of the lack of an overt copula, an equative clause may be identical to a predicated noun phrase:

268) Bawe bwaigina
    bawe bwaigi-na
    Pig big-3sg
    ‘The pig is big.’

269) Bawe bwaigina bagula igiyavegoyoya.
    bawe bwaigi-na bagula i-giyaveyago-ya
    Pig big-3sg garden 3-mess up-3sg
    ‘The big pig messed up the garden.’

270) Ninigala kedeye
    Ninigala keda-ye
    Centipede path-LOC
    ‘A centipede is on the path.’

271) Ninigala kedeye inaovamu
    Ninigala kede-ye i-na-ova-mu
    Centipede path-LOC 3-INT-sting-2SG
    ‘The centipede on the path is going to sting you.’

3.2.2 Intransitive Predications

Intransitive verbal predications may express stative, experiential, and active states of affairs. The subjects in such predications are always indexed by a prefix on the verb.
3.2.2.1 Stative

272) *Yauke yatovotovoi
   yauke ya-RDUP-tovoi
   1SG  1SG-CONT-stand

   ‘I’m standing.’

273) Tomas imiyamiya yana manuwe
   Tomas i-RDUP-miya yana manuwa-ye
   Tomas 3-CONT-stay 3PL house- LOC

   ‘Tomas is staying in his house.’

274) *Tomas miyamiya yana manuwe.

3.2.2.2 Experiential

275) Vivian ikaliga.
    Vivian i-kaliga
    Vivian 3-die

    ‘Vivian died.’

276) Yauke yadogudogula.
    Yauke ya-RDUP-dogula
    1SG  1SG-CONT-cough

    ‘I’m coughing.’

277) Gwamana itaitaiga.
    Gwamana i-RDUP-taiga
    Child 3-CONT-cry

    ‘The child is crying.’

3.2.2.3 Active

278) Wilson ikanikani.
    Wilson i-RDUP-kani
    Wilson 3-CONT-eat

    ‘Wilson is eating.’
279) **Soama** inanago.
   **Soama i-na-nago**
   Soama 1SG-INT-go
   ‘Soama will go.’

280) **Yauke** kuvi yatavitavi.
   **Yauke kuvi ya-RDUP –tavi**
   1SG yam 1SG-CONT-dig
   ‘I’m digging yams.’

281) **Yanagonago** Debaiya waiyne.
   **Ya-nago-nago Debaiya waiya-ne**
   1SG-DUP-go Debaiya to-LOC
   ‘I’m going to Debaiya.’

282) **Saulo inagoma** Kubowa waiyanega.
   **Saulo i-nagoma Kubowa waiya-ne-ega**
   Saulo3-come Kubowa to-LOC-SRC
   ‘Saulo came from Kubowa.’

283) **Niula neina kuyatobuwe bidala tabwane.**
   **Niula nei-na ku-yato-obu-we bidala tabwana-ne**
   Coconut here-3SG 2s-put-go.down-3SG ground on-3-LOC
   ‘Put the coconut here on the ground.’

### 3.2.3 Transitive Predications

In transitive predications, both the subject and object are indexed on the verb by affixation. The identity of the subject is indicated by a prefix, as is the case with intransitive predications. Objects are indexed by a suffix on the verb. The basic word order is SOV, but one or both noun phrases may be omitted depending on context.

284) **Linosi kaiyevu ikiseya.**
   **Linosi kaiyevu i-kise-ya**
   Linosi canoe 3-see-3SG
   ‘Linosi sees the canoe.’

285) **Linosi ikisegu.**
   **Linosi i-kise-gu**
   Linosi 3-see-1SG
   ‘Linosi sees me.’
286) Kaiyevu ikiseya.
   Kaiyevu i-kise-ya
   Canoe 3-see-3SG
   ‘She sees the canoe.’

287) Ikiseya.
   i- kise-ya
   3-see-3SG
   ‘She sees it.’

The above also illustrate an experiential transitive, as do the following:

288) Koukou bwaigina yagololoeya.
    Koukou bwaigi-na ya-golo-lo-ye-ya
    Dog bigness-3SG 1SG-fear-LOC-3SG
    ‘I fear the big dog.’

289) Yanogaliya manuga igwagegwage.
    Ya-nogali-ya manuga i-DUP-gwage
    1SG-hear-3SG bird 3-CONT-sing
    ‘I hear the bird singing.’

290) Gweli yatotowaneya.
    Gweli ya-totowa-na-ya
    Sing 1SG-happy-3SG
    ‘I enjoy singing.’

3.2.3.1 Locative Complements

The most common placement of a locative complement is sentence-final, although it can appear in other slots as well.

Locatives indicating source or goal have a tendency to occur at the end of the sentence.

291) Mwata nana itaweya bidala tabwane.
    Mwata nana i-tawe-ya bidala tabwana-ye
    Snake DEM 3-throw-3SG ground on-LOC
    ‘He threw that snake to the ground.’
292) *Kaimoseyamo vavine gwamana ikwaviniya manuwega.*

*Kaimose-yamo vavine gwamana i-kwavina-ya manuwa-ega*

Today-just.now woman child 3-chase-3SG house-from

‘Just now the woman chased the child from the house.’

When both a source and a goal locative occur in a sentence, the source ordinarily precedes the goal.

293) *Vavine manuwega mwata itaweya keda waiyane.*

*Vavine manuwa-ega mwata i-tawe-ya keda waiya-ne*

Woman house-from snake 3-throw-3SG path to-LOC

‘The woman threw the snake from the house onto the path.’

3.2.4 Ditransitive Predications

The indirect object of the ditransitive verb *vele* ‘give’ can be “promoted” in such a way that the object marker position (which typically agrees in person and number with the direct object of a transitive verb) actually agrees with the indirect object of the verb. In the following examples, the direct object noun phrase is in its expected position in the SOV order, but the verb agreement is with an indirect object not overtly present in the clause:

294) *Yauke igana kaibwevu yaveleya.*  

Yauke igana kaitamona yavele-di

Yauke igana kaibwevu ya-vele-ya  yauke igana kaitamona ya-vele-di

1SG fish two 1SG-give-3SG 1SG fish one 1SG-give-3PL

S O (S) V (IO) S O (S) V (IO)

‘I gave (her) two fish.’  ‘I gave (them)one fish.’

One of the Koluwawa strategies for indicating an indirect object (IO) is to place it in a postpositional phrase using the postposition *waiya* ‘to/at.’

295) *Makevodi nainaiya kanaifsuyeya waiyadiye.*

Makevodi nainaiya ka-na-ifufu-ye-ya waiya-di-ye

1PL.EX story 1PL.EX-talk-LOC-3SG to/at-3PL-LOC

S O (S) V (O) PP[ P IO ]

‘We will tell the story to them.’
4. Clause

4.1 Overview of Clause Structure

The basic constituent order of a Koluwawa clause is subject-object-verb (SOV), although major constituents may be reordered for pragmatic purposes.

4.2 Direct Object

Since Koluwawa is an SOV language, the object ordinarily occurs after the subject and directly before the verb.

297) Taito guwa itaweya.

Taito guwa i-tawe-ya
Taito stone 3-throw-3SG
S O (S) V (O)

‘Taito threw the stone’

Because the identity of the subject and object are indicated by indexing morphology on the verb, it is not necessary for a rigid SOV order to be maintained. Depending on context or focus, the positions of the subject and object may be transposed. In infrequent cases it is also possible for one or the other to follow the verb, but no instances of both occurring post-verbally have been observed.

298) Guwa yataweya yauke.

Guwa ya-tawe-ya yauke
Stone 1SG-throw-3SG 1SG
O (S) V (O) (S)

‘I threw the stone’

299) Yauke yataweya guwa.

yauke ya-tawe-ya guwa
1SG 1SG-throw-3SG stone

‘I threw the stone.’
It is very common for the subject and/or the object to be omitted when understood from context/pragmatics.

302) Guwa yataweya. ‘(I) threw the stone’
303) Yauke yataweya. ‘I threw (it)’
304) Yataweya. ‘(I) threw (it)’

If there is no overt subject NP, the object NP very rarely occurs following the verb. If there is no overt object, it is not possible for the subject to occur post-verbally.

305) Yataweya guwa.
ya-tawe-ya guwa
1SG-throw-ya stone
‘I threw the stone.’

306) *Yataweya yauke.
ya-tawe-ya yauke
1SG-throw-3SG 1SG

4.3 Obliques

An oblique is considered to be any information which is peripheral to the core clausal argument. The basic structure of a sentence would look like this:

```
Se
   /\   /\   /\   /\   /\   /\   /\  
(OBL) (OBL) SOV (OBL) (OBL)
```

In the following example, every ordering of the phrases is acceptable. One exception to the listed orderings is that if the object follows the verb then the two cannot be split.
‘Yesterday, I quickly killed a snake on the path with a bush knife.’

4.3.1 Clausal Obliques

Sometimes obliques can occur as independent clauses.

308) Ikaliga oka ikaniya faina.
   i-kaliga oka i-kani-ya fai-na
   3-die puffer.fish 3-eat-3 SG for-3 SG

‘He died because he ate pufferfish.’

4.3.2 Purpose/Reason/Cause

The noun stem fai which expresses purpose, reason, or cause often appears at the beginning rather than the end of an oblique clause. It appears to be acting as a postposition or a causal conjunction in such cases, but possibly the noun phrase faina ‘its cause’ is actually being linked to the result in a genitive sense. Consider the following example:

309) Oka ikaniya faina, ikaliga.
    oka i-kani-ya fai-na i-kaliga
    puffer.fish 3-eat-3SG for-3SG 3-die

‘Because he ate pufferfish, he died.’

---

4 We have no evidence that the clause oka ikaniya faina ‘because he ate a pufferfish’ is a dependent clause in Koluwa. (Refer to section 5. Complex Sentences for further discussion.)
310) Getamu kawakiki yadakewa faina bawe yagu
   Ge-tamu kawakiki ya-da-kewa fai-na bawe yagu
NEG-some food 1SG-IR-get cause-3SG pig 1SG

   bagula igiyavegoyoya.
   bagula i-giyavegoyo-ya
garden 3-mess.up-3SG

‘I didn’t get any food because the pig ruined the garden.’

The most natural English gloss is probably ‘I didn’t get any food because a pig (or pigs) messed up my garden.’ Rather than equating faina with ‘because,’ a better understanding may be gained by translating faina as ‘its cause’ or ‘its reason’ and glossing the sentence in a way that reflects the genitive relationship as ‘I didn’t get any food, its reason being that pigs messed up my garden.’

Other examples follow:

311) Dumo iyuveya faina yadivodi mwali
   Dumo i-yuve-ya fai-na yadi-vo-di mwali
Bamboo.flute 3-blow-3SG for-3SG 3PL-PL-friend shell.armlet

   inawedima e inaveledi.
   i-na-wedima e i-na-vele-di
3-INT-bring CONJ 3-INT-give-3PL

‘They blew the bamboo flute because their friends brought shell armlets to give them.’

312) Boginai gwamana manuga ikwaviniya bagulega
   Boginai gwamana manuga i-kwavini-ya bagula-ega
Yesterday child bird 3-chase-3SG garden-from

   faina moke ikaniya.
   fai-na moke i-kani-ya
for-3SG banana 3-eat-3SG

‘Yesterday the child chased the bird from the garden because it was eating the bananas.’

The pre-positioning of fai is the most common construction when its object is a clause, but post-positioning fai is also acceptable.
313) *Boginai gwamana manuga ikwavinya bagulega
Boginai gwamana manuga i-kwavini-ya bagula-ega
Yesterday child bird 3-chase-3SG garden-from

moke ikaniya faina
moke i-kani-ya fai-na
banana 3-eat-3SG for-3SG

‘Yesterday the child chased the bird from the garden because it was eating the bananas.’

Pre-positioning *fai is only acceptable with a clause. It cannot be pre-positioned with a noun phrase in a postpositional phrase.

314) Kaiwa bwaigina kawakiki *faina.
Kaiwa bwaiga-na kawakiki fai-na
Thank,you big-3SG food for-3SG

‘Thank you very much for the food.’

315) *Kaiwa bwaigina faina kawakiki.

316) Kaiwa bwaigina *faina kawakiki kuvelegu
Thank,you big-3SG for-3SG food 2s.give.1SG

‘Thank you very much for the food you gave me.’

Or: ‘Thank you very much for giving me food.’

317) Kaiwa bwaigina kawakiki kuvelegu *faina.

Purpose clauses can also be expressed with *fai. The noun stem can be present or not and express the same thing.

318) Yanago bagule kawakiki yakewa *faina.
 ya-nago bagula-ye kawakiki ya-kewa faina
1SG-go garden-LOC food 1SG-gather for-3SG

‘I went to the garden (in order) to get food.’

319) Yanago bagule kawakiki *faina.
 ya-nago bagula-ye kawakiki fai-na
1SG-go garden-LOC food for-3SG

‘I went to the garden (in order) to get food.’

4.3.3 Benefactive and Reference Obliques

*fai is also used in benefactive and reference obliques, having the meaning ‘for’ or ‘about.’
320) Yanago bagule kawakiki yakewa yauke faigu.
yah-nago bagula-ye kawakiki ya-kewa yauke fai-gu
1SG-go garden-LOC food 1SG-gather 1SG for-1SG
‘I went to the garden to get food (for myself)’

321) Yanago Banaba waiyane yaifufu waga faina.
1SG-go Banaba to/at-3SG-LOC 1SG-talk boat for-3SG
‘I went to Banaba’s to talk about the boat.’

4.3.4 Temporal Obliques

Temporal obliques indicating the time of an event can occur either at the beginning or end of a sentence. The most common position is sentence-initial.

322) Kawakawai ne vavine mwata madumadugina inigeya
Kawakawai-ne vavine mwata madu-maduga-na i-nige-ya
Morning-LOC womansnake DUP-run-3SG 3-kill-3SG
  guwayega keda waiyane.
  guwa-ega keda waiya-ne
  Stone-LOC path to-LOC
‘This morning, a woman quickly killed a snake with a stone on the path.’

323) Boginai bawe koukou kaigabu manuwa inagene manuga i-kani-ya.
Boginai bawe koukou kaigabu manuwa inagene manuga i-kani-ya
Yesterday pig dog together house PREP bird 3-eat-3SG
‘Yesterday, the pig and dog together ate a bird in the house.’

324) Vavine kawakawai ne kikilayega makainuwana mwata ikwaviniya.
Vavine kawakawai-ne kikila-ega makainuwa-na mwata i-kwavina-ya
Woman morning-LOC broom-from slow-3SG snake 3-chase-3SG
‘This morning the woman carefully chased the snake away with a broom.’

325) Boginai kawakawai ne yakenotovoi kwei bwaigina.
Boginai kawakawai-ne ya-keno-tovoi kwei bwaig-na
Yesterday morning-LOC 1SG-sleep-stand rain big-3SG
‘Yesterday morning, when I woke up, it was raining heavily.’

They infrequently may occur at the end of a sentence.
326) *Gwamana moke ikaniya kaimoseyamo.
\[\text{Child banana 3-eat-3SG today-just.now}\]
‘The child ate a banana just now.’

327) Yanago tafalolo boginai.
\[\text{ya-nago tafalolo yesterday}\]
‘I went to church yesterday’

328) Yanatowa kaimoseyamo
\[\text{Ya-na-towa kaimose-yamo}\]
‘I will bathe right now.’

Speakers of the language claim that it is acceptable for temporal information to be interposed between core constituents of the clause; however, we have not observed this in any of the data.

Some temporal phrases are more restricted than others. The phrase tovatova ‘all the time’ may occur clause-initial, medial, or final, but the phrase tamu tova ‘sometimes’ can only occur post-verbally:

329) Wilson tovatova ikalakalata.
\[\text{Wilson tova-tova i-RDUP-kalata}\]
‘Wilson sings all the time.’

330) Tovatova Wilson ikalakalata.

331) Wilson ikalakalata tovatova.

332) Wilson tamu tova ikalakalata.
\[\text{Wilson tamu tova i-RDUP-kalata}\]
‘Wilson sings sometimes.

333) Tamu tova Wilson ikalakalata.

334) *Wilson ikalakalata tamu tova.

335) Tamu tova labiya bobolumana yakanikani.
\[\text{Sometimes sago grub 1SG-CONT-eat}\]
‘Sometimes I eat sago grubs.’
Temporal clausal obliques are even more restricted.

*Tovanana* *inalovaniya* nuwi tanatainidi.

tova-nana i-na-lovana-ya nuwi ta-na-taini-di
time-that 3SG-INT-dark-3SG squid 1pi-INT-catch-3PL

‘When it gets dark we catch squid.’

*Nuwi* *tovanana* *inalovaniya* tanatainidi.

4.3.5 Manner

Adverbial nouns indicating manner may occur in nearly any position relative to other sentence constituents, although they are rare in sentence-initial or sentence-final position.

‘I carried the baby up the ladder carefully.’

*Makainuwagu* gwamana yakewaya lauvekewai waiyane yalaga.
makai-nuwa-gu gwamana ya-kewa-ya lauvekewaiu waiya-na-ye ya-laga
Careful-mind-1SG child 1SG-carry-3SG ladder to/at-3SG-LOC 1SG-go.up

Gwamana *makainuwagu* yakewaya lauvekewai waiyane yalaga.

Gwamana yakewaya *makainuwagu* lauvekewai waiyane yalaga.

Gwamana yakewaya lauvekewai waiyane *makainuwagu* yalaga.

Gwamana yakewaya lauvekewai waiyane yalaga *makainuwagu*.

4.3.6 Accompaniment

The forms *kaigabu*, *kaigabuda*, *kabuda*, and *kabudagi* express accompaniment. Their meanings are very close, and they are often used interchangeably. *Kaigabu* seems to mean ‘with,’ while *kabuda* has more of a sense of ‘together,’ but our analysis is still in progress.

We are also unclear in many instances—as the glosses indicate—whether the accompaniment phrase is an oblique or part of a complement noun phrase.
346) E kalakai inaetagoviya, ebe
e kalakai i-na-eto-vo-ya ebe
CONJ fig.tree 3-INT-cook***-3SG CONJ

mwaganedi kaigabu inakanidi.
mwaganedi kaigabu i-na-kani-di
husband-3PL both.of.us 3-INT-eat-3PL

‘And she will cook the figs, and she eat them with her husband’
Or ‘And she will cook the figs, and she and her husband together will eat them.’

347) e kadi kalakai be kadi vagitau kaigabuda inaetagovidi
e kadi kalakai be kadi vagitau kaigabuda i-na-eto-vo-di
CONJ 3 PL fig.tree CONJ 3 PL cuscus with 3-INT-cook?-3PL

‘and she will cook her possum along with her figs’
Or ‘and she will cook her possum and her figs together’

348) E tamu taudiga be natuna kaigabuda
e tamu taudiga be natu-na kaigabuda
CONJ INDET man CONJ offspring-3 SG with

itauya inago yaubani kavigina.
i-tauya i-nago yaubani kavigi-na
3-depart 3-go fish for-3SG

‘And a man and his son together went off to fish.’
Or ‘And a man went off to fish with his son.’

349) Be tawagana ibodaboda e lavilavi sikulu
be tawaga-na i-RDUP-boda e lavilavi sikulu
CONJ brother-3SG 3–CONT-wait CONJ afternoon school

waiyanega iewaewinga e novuna
waiy-na-yo-e-ya i-RDUP-ewa-ya e novu-na
to-3SG-LOC-from 3-CONT-return-3SG CONJ sibling-3SG

kaigabuda inewanewala.
kaigabuda i-RDUP-newala
with 3-CONT-play

‘So older brother is waiting and in the afternoon his sister will return from school and he will play with her.’
Or ‘So older brother is waiting and in the afternoon his sister will return from school and they will play together.’
‘A man and his wife lived together on the mountain with their son.’

4.3.7 Instrument

The same post-positional morpheme –ega that is used to express locative ‘from’ is also used to express instrumental ‘with.’ The instrumental phrase normally follows the verb, but it can occur elsewhere depending on contextual factors.

‘He killed the snake with a bushknife.’

4.3.8 Locative Obliques

Goal and source are expressed by locative complements and discussed in the verb prime section 3.2.3.1. The only real locative oblique specifies where an event takes place. These clauses can be expressed in two ways; both are acceptable, but the first is more common.

‘Livai is cutting trees in the bush.’ ‘Livai is in the bush cutting trees.’

‘Soama is working in the garden.’ ‘Soama is working in the garden.’
5. COMPLEX SENTENCES

Subordination in Koluwawa can often occur without any overt grammatical marking. In such cases, the subordinate and main clauses are juxtaposed and there is falling intonation between the two clauses. Consider the following examples:

357) *Tovanana* **yakenokeno**.
   *tova-nana* ya-*RDUP-keno*
   time-DEM 1SG-CONT-sleep

   ‘I was sleeping then.’

358) *Tovanana* **yakenokeno** *wagilita iovagu*.
   *tova-nana* ya-*RDUP-keno* wagilita i-*ova-gu*
   time-DEM 1sg-CONT-sleep rat 3-bite-1SG

   ‘While I was sleeping a rat bit me.’

359) *Kanuwa* yagu koukou kunalauekaligayya
   *kanuwa* yagu koukou ku-na-lauekaliga-ya
   if 1SG dog 2SG-INT-kill-3SG

   ‘Maybe you will kill my dog.’

360) *Kanuwa* yagu koukou kunalauekaligayya
   *kanuwa* yagu koukou ku-na-lauekaliga-ya
   if 1SG dog 2SG-INT-kill-3SG

   **yauke kadoi yamu bawe yanalauekaligayya.**
   1SG again 2SG pig 1sg-INT-kill-3SG
   **yauke kadoi yamu bawe ya-na-lauekaliga-ya**
   1SG again 2SG pig 1sg-INT-kill-3SG

   ‘If you kill my dog, then also I’ll kill your pig.’

It is tempting to consider the underlined words subordinators, but they do not parallel the English subordinators ‘when’ or ‘if’ in that they do not subordinate the clause they introduce. *Kanuwa* has a hypothetical/possible sense closer to ‘maybe’ or ‘possibly, and *tovanana* (as well as the similar phrase *tutuya nana*) simply means ‘that time.’

Subordination in these constructions is indicated only by intonation on the final (bold) syllable of the first verb, falling lower as the final syllable of the sentence than it does at the end of a subordinate clause.

When cause or purpose is expressed along with its result, a linking word similar to ‘because’ often—but not always—signifies the relationship within the construction:
It is very difficult for us, as speakers of English, to conceive that a structure meaning ‘Because the boat was bad’ might be an independent clause. But dependence is not inherent to the meaning: The same meaning can be conveyed by ‘The reason is the boat was bad.’ In a study of a related language, Minaveha, Lovell (1993:207) cites a reason clause as an independent sentence “which to English speakers would be a dependent clause.”

5.1 Addition/Coordination

Clauses in a complex sentence can be conjoined by the use of a connecting word or can occur with no overt connector. In most coordinating structures, the connecting word is a conjunction, but other types of words are used as well to signal certain types of relationships between clauses.

A pair or series of event clauses can occur either as a simple coordination with overt conjunctions or as a parataxis construction with no overt link.

5.1.1 Simple Coordination

The conjunctions $e$ and $be$ can connect simultaneous events or sequential events when there is not a strong focus on the order in which they happen.

362) $A$ inadi ifila $e$ ilaga manuwe $be$ ietagova kadi kawakiki
$a$ ina-di $i$-fila $e$ i-laga manuwa-ye $be$ i-etagova kadi kawakiki
CONJ mother-3PL 3-arrive CONJ 3-go.up house-LOC CONJ 3-cook 3PL food

‘And their mother arrived and she went up into the house and cooked for them.’

5.1.2 Parataxis

“Paratactic constructions [are those] of equal status which are linked solely through juxtaposition and punctuation/intonation.”(Crystal, 1991:250). We have observed that in Koluwawa paratactic constructions the intonation of the first clause does not fall as much as usual clause-final intonation, and the initial intonation of the second clause is lower than usual clause-initial intonation.

363) Tuyega imiyamiyana yana kaiyevu iitala-giya.
Tuyega imiya-RDUP-na yana kaiyevu i-talagi-ya
Tuyega 3-stay-CONT-3SG 3SG canoe 3-carve-3SG

‘Tuyega stayed and he carved his canoe.’
5.2 Contrastive

Contrastive clauses can be joined by *kadike* ‘but’ or juxtaposed with no overt link.

Niki i-totowana *kadike* Deiti i-rdup-taiga
Niki 3-happy CONJ Jette 3-CONT-cry

‘Niki is happy, but Jette is crying.’

365) Tova be tova yanagonago manuwa tafwalolo, Toni imiyamiya manuwe.
Tova be tova ya-RDUP-nago manuwa tafwalolo Toni i-RDUP-miya manuwa-ye
time CONJ time 1SG-CONT-go house church Toni 3-CONT-stay house-LOC

‘I always go to church, (but) Toni stays home.’

5.3 Contraexpectation

A clause contrary to the expectation or intention of the previous clause is linked by the use of *kadike* ‘but.’

366) Boginai vaita yadanagoma *kadike* kwei ilaubodegu be gege yadanagoma.
boginai vaita ya-da-nagoma kadike kwei i-laubode-gu be gege ya-da-nagoma
yesterday should 1SG-IR-come 3SG rain 3-stop-1SG CONJ NEG 1SG-IR-come

‘Yesterday I should’ve come, but the rain stopped me and I didn’t come.’

5.4 Alternative

Alternative possibilities expressed as clauses are linked by *o* ‘or.’

367) Kunanago *o* kunamiya?
ku-na-nago o ku-na-miya
2SG-INT-go CONJ 2SG-INT-stay

‘Will you go or will you stay?’

5.5 Temporal Sequential

While the events in a simple coordination may occur sequentially, *ekama* and *ebe* are the most common conjunctions connecting events when there is some emphasis on the sequence of their occurrence. Either word may also be employed to convey a sense of result in a sequence as well.
368) Bebewa yanakaiyevu italagiya ebe itaiya ikakaviya
bebewa ya-na-kaiyevu i-talagi-ya e-be i-tai-ya i-kakavi-ya
butterfly 1SG-INT-canoe 3-cut-3SG CONJ-CONJ 3-carve-3SG 3-finish-3SG

‘Butterfly chopped down the tree for his canoe, and then he carved it and finished it.’

369) E gabunagi ikakaviya ekama kana gweda iyogoniya
e gabunagi i-ka-kavi-ya e-kama kana gweda i-yogon-ya
CONJ clean.area 3-finish-3SG CONJ-?? 3 SG food.house 3-build-3SG

yadi kaba laukatukai.
yadi kaba laukatukai
3PL for storing.crops

‘And they finished clearing the land so then they made the house of feast.’

5.6 Temporal Simultaneous

The phrase tutuya nana ‘that time’ coupled with a reduplicated verb signifies an event taking place while a simultaneous event occurs.

370) Tutuya nana tanagonago Bolubolu faina kedeye bosima takiseya.
tutuya nana ta-RDUP-nago Bolubolu fai-na keda-ye bosima ta-kise-ya
time DEM 1PL.IN-CONT-go Bolubolu for-3SG road-LOC whale 1PL.IN-see-3SG

‘While we were going to Bolubolu we saw a whale on the way.’

371) Bosima takiseya tutuya nana tanagonago Bolubolu faina.
bosima ta-kise-ya tutuya nana ta- RDUP-nago Bolubolu fai-na
whale 1PL.IN-see-3SG time DEM PL.IN-CONT-go Bolubolu for-3SG

‘We saw a whale while we were going to Bolubolu.’

372) Tutuya nana yakenokenova kagu kiviya e yabeku.
tutuya nana ya- RDUP-keno-va kagu kiviya e ya-beku.
time DEM 1SG-CONT-sleep-? 1SG bed CONJ 1SG-fall

‘While I was sleeping I fell out of bed.’

5.7 Reason Clauses
5.7.1 Reason-Result

There are different ways to conjoin a result or consequence to its cause. The causal noun *faina* and the compound *dewanana* ‘that thing’ can occur together or separately. *Faina* is associated with reason and is similar to ‘because,’ while *dewanana* has a closer association with result and functions similarly to ‘therefore.’

The following three possible expressions of ‘The boat was bad so he didn’t go to Alotau’ are given with additional glosses conveying more accurately the possible focus or different shades of meaning.

373) *Waga igoyo faina gege idanago Alotau.*
\[\text{waga i-goyo fai-na gege i-da-nago Alotau} \]
\[\text{boat 3-bad for-3SG NEG 3-IR-go Alotau} \]
‘Because the boat was bad he didn’t go to Alotau.’

374) *Waga igoyo dewanana gege idanago Alotau.*
\[\text{waga i-goyo dewa-nana gege i-da-nago Alotau} \]
\[\text{boat 3-bad thing-DEM NEG 3-IR-go Alotau} \]
‘The boat was bad, so he didn’t go to Alotau.’

375) *Waga igoyo dewanana faina gege idanago Alotau.*
\[\text{waga i-goyo dewa-nana fai-na gege i-da-nago Alotau} \]
\[\text{boat 3-bad thing-DEM for-3SG NEG 3-IR-go Alotau} \]
‘The boat was bad, because of that he didn’t go to Alotau.’

*Faina* and its reason clause are less-restricted as to where they may occur than is *dewanana*:

376) *Faina waga igoyo gege idanago Alotau.*
\[\text{Fai-na waga i-goyo gege i-da-nago Alotau} \]
\[\text{for-3SG boat 3-bad NEG 3-IR-go Alotau} \]
‘Because the boat was bad he didn’t go to Alotau.’

377) *Gege idanago Alotau faina waga igoyo.*
\[\text{gege i-da-nago Alotau fai-na waga i-goyo} \]
\[\text{NEG 3-IR-go Alotau for-3SG boat 3-bad} \]
‘He didn’t go to Alotau because the boat was bad.’

378) *Gege idanago Alotau waga igoyo faina.*
\[\text{gege i-da-nago Alotau waga i-goyo fai-na} \]
\[\text{NEG 3-IR-go Alotau boat 3-bad for-3SG} \]
‘He didn’t go to Alotau because the boat was bad.’
379) *Dewanana waga igoyo gege idanago Alotau.

380) * Gege idanago Alotau waga igoyo dewanana.

Conjunctions can also work as reason-result links, functioning similarly to dewanana: They are associated with the result and restricted to their position. The following have essentially the same meaning as the above constructions:

381) Waga igoyo ekama gege idanago Alotau.

waga i-goyo ekama gege i-da-nago Alotau
boat 3-bad so.then NEG 3-IR-go Alotau

‘The boat was bad, so then he didn’t go to Alotau.’

382) Waga igoyo be gege idanago Alotau.

waga i-goyo be gege i-da-nago Alotau
boat 3-bad CONJ NEG 3-IR-go Alotau

‘The boat was bad, so he didn’t go to Alotau.’

5.7.2 Frustrated Intent

The conjunction be also occurs as a frustrated intent morpheme meaning something like ‘because that prohibited it.’ It usually extends to bei in such cases, possibly as a result of added emphasis or the fact that it usually occurs sentence finally. The added [i] does not appear to be a morpheme, since it is not always present in such cases.

383) Gege yadanagoma kwei bei.

gege ya-da-nagoma kwei bei
NEG 1SG-IR-come rain because

‘I didn’t come because it rained.’

384) Gege idanago Alotau waga igoyo bei.

gege i-da-nago Alotau waga i-goyo bei
NEG 3-IR-go Alotau boat 3-bad because

‘He didn’t go to Alotau because the boat was bad.’

5.7.3 Purpose-Means

Purpose clauses use the same type of construction as cause clauses:

385) Bawe yavunugiya faina nuwanuwagu yanaeigmwaneyeya.

bawe ya-vunugi-ya fai-na nuwanuwa-gu ya-na-eigmwaneye-ya
pig 1SG-catch-3SG for-3SG want-1SG 1sg-INT-sell-3SG

‘I caught the pig because I wanted to sell it.’
5.8 Hypothetical Conditional Protases

The hypothetical/conditional word *kanuwa* ‘if/maybe’ signals the conditional clause, and the ‘main’ clause may be unmarked or preceded by a conjunction.

386) **Nuwanuwagu** bawe yanaegimwaneyeya dewanana yavunugiya
RDUP-nuwa-gu bawe ya-na-egimwane-ye-ya dewa-nana ya-vunugi-ya
CONT-want-1SG pig 1SG-INT-sell-LOC-3SG thing-DEM 1SG-catch-3SG

‘I wanted to sell the pig, so I caught it.’

5.8.1 Counterfactual Conditional Protases

The word *kanuwa* is also used to express counterfactual relationships:

389) **Kanuwa** waga idanagoma e makevodi kadanago Alotau.
kanuwa waga i-da-nagoma e makevodi ka-da-nago Alotau
if boat 3-IR-come CONJ 1PL.EX 1PL.EX-IR-go Alotau

‘If the boat had come we would have gone to Alotau.’

390) **Kanuwa** yana gali idafoloviya e yana bawe idaelaubabaledi.
kanuwa yana gali i-da-folovi-ya e yana bawe i-da-elaubabale-di
if 3SG fence 3-IR-make-3SG CONJ 3SG pig 3-IR-keep.fenced-3PL

‘If he had built a fence, he could’ve kept his pig.’

5.8.2 Concession Clauses

391) **Kanuwa** waga igoyo kadike kananago Debaiya.
kanuwa waga i-goyo kadike ka-na-nago Debaiya
if boat 3-bad CONJ 3PL.EX-INT-go Debaiya

‘Even though the boat is bad we will still go to Debaiya.’
5.9 Relative Clauses

A relative clause can modify a noun phrase within a sentence. A demonstrative follows the head noun and functions as the relativizer, and the predication of the relative clause follows the demonstrative. A locative functioning as a demonstrative can also serve as a relativizer.

393) Koukou nana italatalabwaubwau tkaikainuwagoyogu.
    koukou nana i-RDUP-talabwaubwau i-RDUP-kaimuwagoyo-gu
dog DEM DEM 3-CONT-bark 3-CONT-make.angry-1SG

‘The dog that is barking is making me angry.’

394) Tomo bweina ikalakalata inagonago Kubowa.
    tomo bweina i-RDUP-kalata i-RDUP-nago Kubowa
man LOC 3-CONT-sing 3-CONT-go Kubowa

‘That man over there singing is going to Kubowa.’

When the referent of a relative clause is the object of a sentence, it ordinarily is fronted from its normal position in the SOV order:

395) Koukou nana italatalabwaubwau tomo inigeya
    koukou nana i-RDUP-talabwaubwau tomo i-nige-ya
dog DEM 3-CONT-bark man 3-hit-3SG

‘The man hit the dog that was barking.’

When the referent of a relative clause is the object of a sentence, it ordinarily is fronted from its normal position in the SOV order:

396) Waiwai kai tabwanega ibeku gwamana ikewaya ikaniya
    waiwai kai tabwa-na-ega i-beku gwamana i-kewa-ya i-kani-ya
mango tree top-3SG-LOC 3-fall child 3-gather-3SG 3-eat-3SG

‘The child got the mango that fell from the tree and ate it.’ or ‘The mango fell from the tree, (and) the child got it and ate it.’

In all of the above examples, the domain noun is the subject of the relative clause, but it can also be the object or the indirect object/recipient of the relative clause, as these examples illustrate:
5.10 Complement Clauses

The only occurrences of complement clauses we have observed have been as objects of verbs encoding cognition and perception. When the complement clause fills the role of object, the construction usually diverges from the SOV norm and the object moves to a post-verbal position. The word *vaita* or *vaitadi* ‘like/as’ often appears as a complementizer.

5.10.1 Cognitive Complements

401) Taunina ilauwalamaneya vaitadi ivilele sikulu faina.
   taunin-a ilauwalaman-e-ya vaitadi-di ivilele sikulu fai-na
   REFL-3SG 3-know-3SG COMPL-3PL 3-late/slow school for-3SG
   ‘She realized she was late for school.’

In the following examples of *nuwa* ‘think’ (lit. ‘heart’) *vaita* appears to be functioning as a complementizer and the following predication as the object complement. But we have not conclusively ascertained that the predication is indeed an object, since the verb does not take an object suffix.
402) Yanuwanuwa vaita yadakisemu be yadatolikayawemu
    ya-RDUP-nuwa vaita ya-da-kise-mu be ya-da-toli-kayawe-mu
    1SG-CONT-think should 1SG-IR-see-2SG CONJ 1SG-IR-ask-???-2SG
    be yamu nuwanuwa yadalauwalamaneya.
    be yamu nuwanuwa ya-da-lauwalamane-ya
    CONJ 2SG thinking 1SG-IR-know-3SG

    ‘I was thinking I could see you and ask you about my idea and then find out your thoughts.’

403) Wilson yana nuwanuwana vaitadi yana vavine kawakiki inaetagova.
    Wilson yana nuwanuwa-na vaita-di yana vavine kawakiki i-na-etagova
    Wilson 3SG want/idea-3SG should-3PL 3SG woman food 3-INT-cook

    ‘Wilson wants his wife to cook food.’

But these constructions might be more accurately represented by the following free-translations:

    ‘I was thinking like this: I could ask you about my idea and then find out your thoughts.’

    ‘Wilson’s thoughts are like this: he wants his wife to cook food.’

    In the second example it is also possible that *vaita* is serving as a link rather than a complementizer:

    ‘Wilson’s thoughts are that he wants his wife to cook food.’

5.10.2 Perceptual Complements

Since verbs are inflected for subject and object agreement, and since an overt subject and/or object is often optional, it is sometimes difficult to state conclusively whether a second verb is a verbal complement or a sentence in its own right. Consider the following example:

404) Yauke yakiseya tomo koukou inigenigeya.
    yauke ya-kise-ya tomo koukou i-RDUP-nige-ya
    1SG 1SG-see-3SG man dog 3-CONT-hit-3SG

    ‘I saw a man hitting a dog.’

    Although this appears to be a fairly straightforward case of *tomo koukou inigenigeya* ‘a man hitting a dog’ being the object of *Yauke yakiseya* ‘I saw’, the preferred form of expressing the idea fronts the ‘man’ before the verb:
‘I saw a man—he was hitting a dog.’

Confusion is compounded by the fact that the third person singular suffix –ya can be in agreement with the object as the event that was seen or with the man only as the object. The next example makes it clear that ‘two men’ is the referent of the object suffix:

‘Two men hitting a dog—I saw them.’

The data suggests that a predication might not take the role of a complement, but that what looks and acts like a complement clause is possibly an independent clause. Though we have presented two potential types of complements in this section, further analysis should lead to a more definite conclusion about complementization within the language.

5.11 Serial Clauses

Serial clauses often occur in narrative discourse. These involve a sequence of fully inflected verbs which describe a single complex event. All the clauses in the series have the same subject and are inflected with the same subject, object, and aspect/modality markers. The subject for all the clauses may be stated as a free standing NP only once at the very beginning of the series. Scope of negation applies to one clause. However, if the series of clauses are all negated, the NEG gege needs only said once and all following clauses will need to have the irrealis da-marker

‘Tuyega was staying and he carved his canoe. He tied it, (he) decorated it, and (he) finished it.’
6. DIRECT AND INDIRECT SPEECH

There are several speech act words in Koluwawa. In a sentence, the speech act formation consists of a speech word which may or may not be followed by the word vona (or vonaga) ‘say/talk.’ The speech act formation is followed directly by the quote. When both a speech act word and vona are present, the quote is direct. When only one word is present, the quote may be direct or indirect.

Some of the speech words we have observed are as follows:

vona  ‘say/talk’
toli  ‘ask, inquire’
tutula  ‘answer, reply’
matakau  ‘remind, announce’
wamagamagatala  ‘report’
lauveyakama  ‘ask, plead, beg, pray’
Lagigi ivona, “Yauke nuwanuwagu tavola.” ‘Lagigi said, “I want to dance.”’

Lagigi ivonedi, ivona, “Yauke nuwanuwagu tavola.” ‘Lagigi told them, he said, “I want to dance.”’

Lagigi ivonedi, ivonaga, “Yauke nuwanuwagu tavola.” ‘Lagigi told them, he said, “I want to dance.”’

Lagigi ivonedi nuwanuwana inatavola. ‘Lagigi told them he wants to dance.’

Lagigi ivona nuwanuwana tavola. ‘Lagigi said he wants to dance.’

Lagigi ivona, “Nuwanuwana tavola.” ‘Lagigi said, “He wants to dance.”’

Lagigi itoliyedi, ivona, “Nuwanuwami tavola?” ‘Lagigi asked them, he said, “Do you want to dance?”’

Lagigi itoliyedi, “Nuwanuwami tavola?” ‘Lagigi asked them, “Do you want to dance?”’

Lagigi itutulidi, “Ika, tanatavola.” ‘Lagigi answered them, “Yes, let’s dance.”’

Lagigi iwamagamagatala, ivona, “Nuwanuwadi tavola.” ‘Lagigi reported to them, he said, “They want to dance.”’

Lagigi imatakau kamaidi tanatavola. ‘Lagigi reminded them, tomorrow we will dance.’

Sometimes a person’s thoughts may be treated as a quote as well:

409) Lagigi yanunuwanuwa ivona bawe be kana kawakiki
Lagigi ya-na-RDUP-nuwa i-vona bawe be kana kawakiki
Lagigi 1sg-INT-CONT-mind 3-say pig CONJ 3SG food
  bikwa itomwa yavuyavuleya kai lamune.
  bikwa i-tomwa RDUP-yavule-ya kai lamuna-ye
  taro 3-break.into.pieces CONT-throw-3SG tree under-LOC

‘Lagigi thought that they were pigs so he broke his taro into pieces and threw them under the tree.’ Or ‘Lagigi thought, “There are pigs.” So he broke his taro into pieces and threw them under the tree.’
7. ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE

Nearly any Koluwawa statement can be transformed into a question by the use of intonation and/or an interrogative phrase. Commands consist of second-person statements in the perfective aspect.

7.1 Content Questions

The following interrogative phrases are used to make a content question. These phrases ordinarily occur initially but are not restricted to that position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocab</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vaka</td>
<td>‘what?’</td>
<td><em>Vaka kamu wagava?</em></td>
<td>‘What’s your name?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waito</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
<td><em>Waito inago bagule?</em></td>
<td>‘Who went to the garden?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
<td><em>Made kunagonago</em></td>
<td>‘Where are you going?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakaniko</td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
<td><em>Vakanikoveda kufolovedi?</em></td>
<td>‘How did you make that?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaka tova</td>
<td>‘when?’</td>
<td><em>Vaka tova inaewa?</em></td>
<td>‘When will he return?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaka faina</td>
<td>‘why?’</td>
<td><em>Vaka faina kutaitaiga?</em></td>
<td>‘Why are you crying?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes an interrogative phrase is spoken in isolation and the rest of the sentence is implied by the context. Here are some common possibilities:

*Made?* ‘where?’ ‘Where are you going?’ or ‘Where did you go?’

*Waito?* ‘who?’ ‘Who’s there?’

*Vaka?* ‘what?’ ‘What do you want?’

There is no obligatory grammatical marking on question sentences. It is possible to not use a question word, in which case rising intonation and context indicate that the sentence is a question.

410) *Kunago?* ‘You went?’ ‘Did you go?’

411) *Kukeno?* ‘You slept?’ ‘Did you sleep?’
7.2 Yes-No Questions

While the distinction between statements and content questions is quite clear, there is not as clear a distinction between statements and yes-no questions. Sometimes rising intonation marks the difference in a yes-no question, but oftentimes the intonation is similar to that of a statement. Sometimes a yes-no question is essentially a ‘weak’ statement with which the speaker expects some sort of acknowledgement of agreement or disagreement. The most overt difference between a statement and a yes-no question is the use of the personal pronoun. Although the personal pronoun may optionally appear in a statement, and although it is not absolutely required in a yes-no question, as a general rule it is present in the question and absent in a statement. Again the question words are not necessary to form a question.

412) Kamuke kunago Kubowa? Kamuke ku-nago Kubowa
   2SG 2SG-go Kubowa
   ‘Did you go to Kubowa?’ ‘You went to Kubowa.’

413) Kadike ikani? Ikani.
    kadike i-kani i-kani
    3SG 3-EAT 3-eat
    ‘Did he eat?’ ‘He ate’

414) Meina kamuke? Meina kamuke.
    this 2SG this 2SG
    ‘Is this yours?’ ‘This is yours.’

7.2.1 Negative Questions

If there is a negation in a question the answer ‘yes’ means ‘Yes, I agree with what you said.’ The answer ‘no’ means, ‘No, I don’t agree with what you said.’ The following phrase of answer is optional.
7.2.2 Alternative Questions

When asking a question with alternatives there are two ways of asking the question: (a) using the word or ‘or’ between the alternatives, or (b) using or followed by a clause-final negative as the alternative. The structure of alternative questions and Yes-No questions are basically the same except the Yes-No question has only one clause and the alternative question has two. It is not possible to answer ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to an alternative question.

417) Kunanago o kunamiya?
ku-na-nago o ku-na-miya
2SG-INT-go CONJ 2SG-INT-stay
‘Will you go or will you stay?’

418) Kunanago o gebuwa?
ku-na-nago o gebuwa
2SG-INT-go CONJ NEG
‘Are you going or not?’

7.3 Tag Questions

Tag questions occur quite frequently and the speaker usually expects confirmation from the listener. The tag word aiyo ‘Isn’t it true?/Right?/Okay?’ only occurs clause finally.

419) Ivona, “Kamuke a mwaganegu aiyo?
i- vona kamuke a mwagane-gu aiyo
3-say 2SG CONJ husband-1SG TAG.Q
‘She said, "You are my husband, right?"
7.4 Commands

A command uses a second person subject (plural or singular) and is in either realis or intentional aspect. The subject may be overt or indicated solely via the verb morphology, or it may be omitted. The verb form is most commonly perfective. When the intentional prefix and the pronoun are not present then the intonation alone differentiates between a command and a past action. All five of the following examples are acceptable ways to express a command:

420) *Kukikila.*
   *Ku-kikila*
   2s-sweep
   ‘(You) sweep!’

421) *Kamuke*  *kukikila.*
   *Kamuke  ku-kikila*
   2SG  2s-sweep
   ‘You sweep!’

422) *Kunakikila.*
   *Ku-na-kikila*
   2s-INT-sweep
   ‘(You) will sweep!’

423) *Kamuke*  *kunakikila.*
   *Kamuke  ku-na-kikila*
   2SG  2s-INT-sweep
   ‘You will sweep!’

424) *Kikila!*
   *kikila*
   sweep
   ‘Sweep!’

We suspect that the lack of the *na-* morpheme may indicate a stronger imperative, but we have insufficient data to conclude one way or the other.
8. RESIDUE

8.1 Discourse Features

Some of the questions and issues we will address in regard to discourse-level grammar are as follows:

What are the functions of the various conjunctions at the discourse level?
What genres of discourse are there?
How are foreground and background information treated?

8.2 Words and Morphemes Requiring Further Analysis

8.2.1 What is se?

Se is used infrequently, so we do not have very much data from which to make an educated conjecture as to its meaning and/or function. These are some of our guesses at this stage:

Another conjunction?
Limited-use copula?
‘Exist’?
A combination of the above?

425) E Nekalakaiye ivona ‘Ineki se tanagonago e Nekalakaiye i-vona ineki se ta-RDUP-nago
CONJ Nekalakaiye 3-say DET ?? 1PL.IN-CONT-go
kalakai lamudiye, e tavagavaga
kalakai lamudi-ye e ta-RDUP-vaga
fig.tree stump-LOC CONJ 1PL.IN-CONT-stand
be kalakai vuwadi tagolugoludi.
be kalakai vuwa-di ta-golu-RDUP-di
CONJ fig.tree fruit-3PL 1PL.IN-CONT -pick -3PL

‘Nekalakaiye said, “Let’s go to the base of this fig tree and step around collecting its fruit.”’
426) **Se** dewanana kaitamona yauke tabwane kalaga be

se dewanana kaitamona yauke tabwa-na-ye ka-laga be

?? that's why one 1SG top-3SG-LOC 1PL.EX-GO.UP CONJ

kalakai vuwana kagolu ikakaviya, be vaita
kalakai vuwana ka-golu i-kaka-viya be vaita

fig.tree fruit.seeds 1PL.EX-pick 3-finish-3SG CONJ like/as

kadataweobuwema e wayona kidona,
kada-tawe-obu-we-va e wayo-na kido-na
1PL.IN-throw-down-self-come CONJ taro.seed-3sg small-3sg

kavatudobwa-ya
ka-vatudobwa-ya
PL.EX-step.break-3SG

'So that I went on top one fig tree and pick fruit, I was about to go down and break the small taro seeds.'

427) **A** se kana tova inauwagaya muka, a

a se kana tova i-nauwaga-ya muka a
CONJ ??? 3SG time 3-find-3SG ripe CONJ

mwaiseu nana se imukaya.
mwaiseu nana se i-muka-ya
a.fruit DET ??? 3-ripe-3SG

'When the time came for the mwaiseu to ripen, it did.'

428) **A** ne gege tova manamanawena, waitabu nana ifila

a ne gege tova manamanawe-na waitabu nana i-fila
CONJ ??? NEG time long-3SG spirit DET 3-appear

waiyadiye a se ne waitabu nana itakala.
waiya-di-ye a se ne waitabu nana i-takala
to/at-3PL-LOC and exist and spirit DET 3-scream

'Not long after a spirit came to them and he looked up and screamed.'

429) **Kadi** ivona yauke se tobagula.

kadi i-vona yauke se to-bagula
3PL 3-say 1SG ??? NOM-garden

'Bandicoot said, I am the gardener.'
8.2.2 What is me?

Me often appears to be a shortened form of meina ‘here/this/these,’ but sometimes it seems to be filling the role of a conjunction. While it is possible that it might function as a conjunction while still maintaining the same basic meaning of meina, the phonological similarity to be causes us to wonder if it might be a close relative or dialectal variation of be in some cases.

Short form of meina?
Another conjunction?
Both? (homophones?)

430) E  bikwa dina kadi ifufu me baniko yaifufu-yedi.
e  bikwa dina kadi ifufu me baniko ya-ifufu-ye-di
CONJ  taro DET 3PL talk ??? like 1SG-talk-LOC-3PL

‘And I talked about the story of these taros.’

431) E  kadikevodi waiyadiyega makevodi kafilama,
e  kadikevodi waiya-di-ye-ega makevodi ka-fila-ma
CONJ  3PL to/at-3PL-LOC-from 1PL.EX 1PL.EX-appear-come

be  tova kaimose me  kadamo kamiyamiya.
be  tova kaimose me  kadamo ka-RDUP-miya
CONJ  time today ??? here 1PL.EX-CONT-stay

‘We came out from them and now we are living here.’

432) A  me  gwaitu luguna inagene ilugu.
a  me  gwaitu luguna inagene i-lugu
CONJ  ??? sugarcane leaf in 3-go.in

‘And then he went in the sugarcane.’

433) A  me  idakita vonu nana ikaukauvilaya,  a
a  me  i-da-kita vonu nana i-RDUP-kauvili-ya  a
CONJ  ??? 3-IR-look turtle DET 3-CONT-lie.down-3SG CONJ

waitabu nimana iobu vonu ikavaliya.
waitabu nima-na i-obu vonu i-kavali-ya
spirit hand-3SG 3-go.down turtle 3-carry-3SG

‘Later he saw the turtle lying down and his hand went down and picked the turtle up.’

434) Ivonaga,  ‘Gege  me  kamo kwanagabugu.
i-vona-ga gege me kamo kwa-na-gabu-gu
3-say-SRC NEG ??? here 2PL-INT-burn-SG

‘He said, "Don't try to burn me here."’
8.2.3 What is *ne*?

*Ne* is another word that appears very infrequently and seems to be another conjunction, but could also be related to the pre-distal word *neina*.

435) *E e taidi ne ivonavona ufaufa*
   *e e tai-di ne i-RDUP-vona RDUP-ufa*
   CONJ CONJ young.brother-3PL ??? 3-CONT-say CONT-water
   
   kadikedi kado ilagalaga.
   kadikevodi kado i-RDUP-laga
   3PL also 3-CONT-go.up
   
   ‘And then their brother said, water, water, and then they went up again.’

436) *E e wagilita nuwana iegiyagiymai kadike ne*
   *e e wagilita nuwa-na i-e-RDUPgiyamai kadike ne*
   CONJ CONJ rat mind-3SG 3-CAUS-CONT-good 3sg ???
   wagilita nana ne taunina vaita gamokuku nana idavainagoya.
   wagilita nana ne taunina vaita gamokuku nana i-da-vainago-ya
   rat DET ??? 3 SG like orange.tree DET 3-IR-steal-3SG
   
   ‘The rat was happy and that rat was trying to steal those oranges.’

437) *A se ne kadi mwaiseu ikanikani.*
   *a se ne kadi mwaiseu i-RDUP-kani*
   CONJ ??? ??? 3pl. a.fruit 3-CONT-eat
   
   ‘And they all were eating mwaiseu.’

438) *A ne gege tova manamanawena, waitabu nana ifila*
   *a ne gege tova manamanawe-na waitabu nana i-fila*
   CONJ ??? NEG time long-3SG spirit that 3-appear
   waiyadiye a se ne waitabu nana itakala.
   waiya-di-ye a se ne waitabu nana i-takala
   to/at-3PL-LOC CONJ ??? ??? spirit that 3-scream
   
   ‘Not long after a spirit came to them and he looked up and screamed.’

439) *Yadidi ne vonu gege kana fata dega.*
   *yadi-di ne vonu gege kana fata dega*
   3PL-friend ??? turtle neg 3SG able run.away
   
   ‘Their friend turtle wasn’t able to run.’
440) Ne kamo kai iekaogiya.
ne kamo kai i-ekaogi-ya
??? here fire 3-make.fire-3SG

‘On that sand they made a fire.’

441) A ne kama vonu nana iluluva vagata.
a ne kama vonu nana i-luluva vagata
CONJ ??? CONJ turtle that 3-dive forever

‘Then the turtle went back into the ocean forever.’

8.3 Derivational Affixes(?) and/or Causatives

Giya and lau are both very productive in the language, but neither ever occurs as a root morpheme with only inflectional affixation. Most words containing giya seem to have something to do with hand action, but in some cases it is quite a stretch to make that association.

8.3.1 giya ‘with hands/manually(?)’

talagiya ‘cut/cut.down’
giyaguwalidi ‘crack open’
giyafoledi ‘break’
giyuvilaya ‘turn around’ ‘translate’
giyudewadewa ‘prepare’
giyulagaiya ‘lift.up’
giyeegoyoaya ‘spoil, ruin’
giyawawa ‘read, count’
giyakawamagai ‘meaning’ kawamagai ‘light’

8.3.2 lau

It has been suggested by colleagues working in a related language that lau (as well as some other problem morphemes) might be a causitive. We have heard it used as a prefix on a color word to describe another color that is similar:

yamoyamoina ‘red’ lauyamoyamoina ‘purple’
kovukovuna ‘yellow’ laukovukovuna ‘tan/brown’
**8.4 Interjections**

We want two look into Koluwa interjections more in the future—what different ones mean, how they fit into discourse, etc.

**8.5 Residual Morphophonemics**

There is a process which is possibly some sort of vowel harmony going on which we need to look further into. When –ya is suffixed to a root ending in /a/, the /a/ becomes /e/ or /i/, but we have not been able to recognize a rule to describe the process which it becomes.

<table>
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<th>a# -ya</th>
<th>eya</th>
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<td>ifila</td>
<td>ifileya</td>
<td>ifolova</td>
<td>ifoloviya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Koluwawa text: *Manuga Wakeke Nainaiya* ‘Story of a Cockatoo bird.’
(t-text; m-morpheme breaks; g-gloss; f-free translation)

\ref Cockatoo - Levai 001
\texttt{\textit{Manuga wakeke nainaiyan.}}
\texttt{\textit{manuga wakeke nainaiya-na}}
\texttt{bird cockatoo story-3SG}

\f A story of a bird called Cockatoo.

\ref Cockatoo - Levai 002
\texttt{\textit{A tamu tova vavine kadi wagava Nemiyavola be moganedi}}
\texttt{\textit{a tamu tova vavine kadi wagava Nemiyavola be moganedi}}
\texttt{CONJ INDET time woman 3PL name Nemiyavola CONJ husband}

\f One day a lady, by the name of Nemiyavola and the husband were staying together when Nemiyavola was pregnant.

\ref Cockatoo - Levai 003
\texttt{\textit{A Nemiyavola yadi tova ilaulatugeya be inaenatuna.}}
\texttt{\textit{a Nemiyavola yadi tova i-laulatuge-ya be i-na-enatuna}}
\texttt{CONJ Nemiyavola 3 PL time 3-at.the.time-3SG CONJ 3-INT-give.birth}

\f Nemiyavola's time of giving birth was very near and was expecting to give birth.

\ref Cockatoo - Levai 004
\texttt{\textit{A kaiyeta inauwagaya be tovanana waiyane}}
\texttt{\textit{a kaiyeta i-nauwagaya be tova-nana waiya-na-ye}}
\texttt{CONJ day 3-find CONJ time-that to-3SG-LOC}

\f Nemiyavola, natudivo kadi kaibwevu.

\f Nemiyavola's time of giving birth was very near and was expecting to give birth.
When the day came for Nemiyavola to give birth she gave birth to twins.

The twins were birds, called cockatoos, the elder son and the younger son.

And both parents looked after the kids very well.

Every now and then the parents looked after them well till the birds grew big and wanted to be left alone.
And from that time when Nemiyavola saw that her children were big, she told her husband,

She said, "My friend, our children are already big enough and also came to senses of thinking.

It is alright for them that we should inform them so that both of them will be staying in the village while we will be going to the garden."
On the other day, when they finished informing their children, Nemiyavola and the husband went to the garden and did some jobs throughout the day.

Both cockatoos were playing while staying in their house.

Within the game, the cockatoos younger brother ran up to the ashes and dug out the ashes.

When evening came, that is the time for Nemiyaovla and the husband to go back to the village.

A  inadi ifila e ilaga
A  ina-di i-fila e i-laga

manuwe be inaetago kadi kawakiki.
manuwa-ye be i-na-etago kadi kawakiki
As soon as their mother arrived, she went up to the house to cook for them.

But first, she looked around inside the house.

When looking around inside the house, she found that the ashes were dug out, so she got angry.

That is why, the mother called to both cockatoos and said, "Come to me."

And so both cockatoos came to their mother and she questioned them, she said, "Who dug out these ashes?"
The elder cockatoo answered his mother's question saying, "I am not but my brother has done it."

And so the mother got angry and scolded her sons.

At the same time, the elder cockatoo started thinking of what to do for he and his younger brother.
From his thoughts he found one of the ways but he didn't inform his brother about it.

So one day, the mother and the husband decided to go back to the garden again.

From that time, the elder cockatoo said to his brother, he said, "My brother you stay in the house but remember to not spoil anything."
The elder cockatoo told his younger brother, "You are the one digging out the ashes and so our mother is always scolding us.

You must stay in the house while I go up on top of a tree"

And so the elder son flew up on top of a tree and started making a hole on a tree for himself.

When he saw the time was late in the afternoon, he flew back down to his brother and was staying with him before their mother and father arrived from the garden.
Every day now the elder cockatoo's job is this, until he finished his own hole and then started the new one for his younger brother.

When he finished making holes for he and his brother

They both flew up on the tree and tried to fit themselves in their holes.
As soon as the cockatoos finished fitting themselves in their holes, the elder son said to his younger brother, “We must not fly down but stay on top of a tree and wait for our mother and father.”

When the mother and the father returned back from the garden, they started looking in and around the house but could not find their children.

And so both started calling out for them. The two cockatoos answered their parents call from the top of a tree.
Their mother heard the voices of her children on top of a tree and when she looked up at the
top she saw them and said, “Why did you climb to the top of a tree?”

And the elder cockatoo said to their mother, he said, “Our mother, we climbed up here on top
of a tree that is because you scolded us before when my brother dug out the ashes and so from
here we will go somewhere.”

So the two cockatoos had a trial flying to the top of a tree.
The mother started crying while calling to her children. She called them and said, “Before you go, come down and I will tell you something first.”

And so both cockatoos flew back down to their mother. The mother reminded her kids, she said, “It is good for you to go away, but one thing, do not eat food from other people's gardens.”
But if you want to eat food, you must get your food from the fruits of the trees and that is good.

And when their mother finished talking, they both flew up and went.

Their mother cried for her children for a very long time and then changed from a cockatoo to a stone.

So nowadays the stone is called a cockatoo stone.

It normally stays at the mountain called Koya Yavola.
Nainaiya kana fata.

That is our story.

Yauke Rebecca Kawagoyo.

I am Rebecca Kawagoyo.
Bibliography


