

Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Preface.....	iv
Acknowledgments.....	v
Contents.....	vi
List of tables.....	xvi
List of figures and maps.....	xvii
List of abbreviations.....	xviii
A note on the orthographic representation of Kokota data.....	xx
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Kokota language community and its locus.....	1
1.2 Previous work on other languages of Santa Isabel.....	2
1.3 Previous work on Kokota.....	3
1.4 The present study.....	3
1.5 Isabel languages in the Austronesian family.....	4
1.6 Redrawing the language map of Santa Isabel.....	7
1.6.1 Losing Laghu.....	7
1.6.2 Rethinking Blablanga and Zazao.....	9
1.6.3 A revised language map of Santa Isabel.....	10
Chapter 2: Segmental phonology.....	12
2.1 Consonants.....	12
2.1.1 Consonant phoneme inventory.....	12
2.1.1.1 Consonant phoneme feature matrices.....	12
2.1.1.2 Evidence for consonant phoneme status.....	12
2.1.1.3 Consonant phoneme frequencies.....	13
2.1.1.3.1 Proportion of consonant phonemes by place and manner of articulation.....	14
2.1.1.3.2 Proportion of consonant phonemes by voicing and sonority.....	14
2.1.1.3.3 Summary of consonant phoneme frequency proportions.....	14
2.1.2 Consonant phonemes.....	14
2.1.2.1 Sonorants.....	14
2.1.2.2 Plosives.....	15
2.1.2.3 Fricatives.....	15
2.1.2.3.1 Labial fricatives.....	15
2.1.2.3.2 Coronal fricatives.....	15
2.1.2.3.3 Non-labial non-coronal fricatives.....	16
2.1.2.3.3.1 Phonetic deletion.....	16
2.1.2.3.3.2 Morphophonemic deletion.....	17
2.1.2.3.3.3 Diachronic factors.....	17
2.1.3 Phonological processes involving consonants.....	18
2.1.3.1 Labialisation and velarisation.....	18
2.1.3.2 Palatalisation.....	18
2.1.3.3 Glottal epenthesis.....	19
2.1.3.4 Glides.....	19
2.2 Vowels.....	20
2.2.1 Vowel phoneme inventory.....	20
2.2.2 Evidence for phoneme status - vowels.....	20
2.2.3 Vowel phoneme frequencies.....	21
2.2.4 Phonological processes involving vowels.....	21
2.2.4.1 Diphthong formation.....	21
2.2.4.1.1 Eligible sequences.....	21
2.2.4.1.2 Diphthong frequencies.....	22
2.2.4.1.3 Restrictions on diphthong formation.....	22

2.2.4.2 Diphthong reduction.....	22
2.2.4.3 Glide formation.....	23
2.2.4.4 Interconsonantal vowel devoicing.....	24
2.2.4.5 A [+low, +voice] transition matrix in the sequence /h/ + /o/.....	24
2.3 Syllable structure.....	25
2.3.1 Onsets.....	25
2.3.1.1 Syllables with no onset.....	25
2.3.1.2 Consonant clusters.....	25
2.3.1.2.1 Violations of cluster constraints in loan words.....	27
2.3.1.2.1.1 A coronal C1.....	27
2.3.1.2.1.2 Obstruent plus obstruent clusters.....	27
2.3.1.2.2 Absence of /h/ and voiceless sonorants in clusters.....	28
2.3.2 Nuclei.....	31
2.3.3 Codas.....	31
2.3.4 Word level syllable structure tendencies.....	31
2.3.5 Word minimality.....	33
2.4 Reduplication.....	33
2.4.1 Partial reduplication.....	33
2.4.1.1 Function of partial reduplication.....	33
2.4.1.2 Formal characteristics of partial reduplication.....	34
2.4.1.3 Non-synchronic echo syllables.....	35
2.4.2 Full reduplication.....	35
2.5 Local orthography.....	36
Chapter 3: Stress and prosody.....	38
3.1 Stress.....	38
3.1.1 Metrical stress and moraic theory.....	38
3.1.2 Overview of regular stress assignment regime.....	38
3.1.3 Moraic trochees versus syllabic trochees.....	40
3.1.4 Irregular stress assignment in roots with light syllables only.....	42
3.1.5 The effect of suffixes and enclitics on stress assignment.....	43
3.1.6 The effect of prefixes and proclitics on stress assignment.....	47
3.1.6.1 Stress implications of reduplication.....	47
3.1.6.2 Stress implications of the causative particle <i>fa</i>	48
3.1.6.3 Stress implications of the preposition <i>ka</i>	49
3.1.6.4 Stress implications of the subordinator <i>ta</i>	50
3.2 Prosodic processes.....	50
3.2.1 Word final vowel syncope.....	50
3.2.1.1 Word final syncope before consonants.....	50
3.2.1.2 Word final syncope before vowels.....	51
3.2.2 Vowel syncope in compounds.....	52
3.2.3 Vowel syncope and cliticisation.....	53
3.2.3.1 Syncope with enclitics.....	53
3.2.3.2 Syncope with proclitics.....	53
3.2.4 Suffixed demonstrative vowel syncope.....	54
3.2.5 Word internal syncope between non-identical consonants.....	55
3.2.6 Geminate consonant formation.....	55
3.2.6.1 Geminates in suffixes and enclitics.....	55
3.2.6.2 Geminates in synchronic reduplication.....	56
3.2.6.3 Geminates in non-synchronic reduplication.....	57
3.2.7 Compensatory lengthening.....	58
3.2.8 Reduction of diphthong weight by V2 deletion.....	58
3.2.9 Vowel coalescence.....	59
3.2.10 Glide formation.....	59

Chapter 4: Nominals and noun phrases.....	62
4.1 Nominal forms.....	62
4.1.1 Nominal derivation.....	62
4.1.1.1 Nominal compounding.....	62
4.1.1.1.1 Endocentric compounds.....	62
4.1.1.1.2 Exocentric compounds.....	63
4.1.1.2 Nominal derivation by reduplication.....	64
4.1.2 Pronouns.....	65
4.1.2.1 Non-independent pronominal categories.....	65
4.1.2.2 Independent pronouns.....	65
4.1.2.2.1 Pronominal number marking.....	66
4.1.2.2.2 Third person singular gender distinctions.....	67
4.1.2.2.3 Indefinite pronoun <i>ihei</i> ~ <i>hei</i>	67
4.1.2.3 Reflexive forms.....	68
4.1.3 Demonstratives.....	68
4.1.3.1 Demonstrative forms and categories.....	68
4.1.3.2 Temporal distance.....	69
4.1.3.3 Clausal demonstratives.....	70
4.1.4 Deictic suffixes.....	71
4.1.4.1 Emphatic <i>-hi</i>	71
4.1.4.2 Specifier <i>-lau</i>	72
4.1.5 Proper nouns.....	73
4.2 Adnominal modifiers.....	74
4.2.1 Markers of specificity and definiteness.....	74
4.2.1.1 Adnominal demonstratives.....	74
4.2.1.2 Articles.....	74
4.2.1.3 Cooccurrence of articles and demonstratives.....	75
4.2.1.4 Nonspecific marker <i>keha</i>	75
4.2.2 Quantification.....	77
4.2.2.1 Number marking.....	77
4.2.2.2 Quantifiers.....	78
4.2.2.2.1 Numbers.....	78
4.2.2.2.1.1 Numerals and complex number forms.....	78
4.2.2.2.1.2 Adnominal numeric quantifiers.....	79
4.2.2.2.1.3 Ordinal numbers.....	80
4.2.2.2.1.4 Cardinal numbers.....	80
4.2.2.2.1.5 Small indeterminate number specification.....	82
4.2.2.2.1.6 A lexicalised phrase.....	82
4.2.2.2.2 Non-numerical quantifiers.....	82
4.2.2.2.2.1 <i>Huḡru</i> 'all'.....	82
4.2.2.2.2.2 <i>Legu</i> and <i>lelegu</i> 'every'.....	83
4.2.2.3 "Multitude" markers <i>tehi</i> and <i>togatehi</i>	83
4.2.2.4 <i>Gudu</i> 'Exhaustive'.....	84
4.2.3 Adjectives.....	84
4.2.3.1 Formally underived adjectives.....	85
4.2.3.1.1 <i>Mata</i> 'bush'.....	86
4.2.3.1.2 <i>Ohai</i> 'tame'.....	86
4.2.3.1.3 <i>Tove</i> 'old'.....	87
4.2.3.2 Possessor indexed adjectival forms.....	87
4.2.3.2.1 Gender.....	88
4.2.3.2.2 Alive and dead.....	88
4.2.3.2.3 <i>Foforu-na</i> 'new'.....	88
4.2.3.2.4 <i>Kenu-na</i> 'first'.....	89
4.3 Noun phrase structure.....	89
4.3.1 NP core.....	89
4.3.1.1 Pre-head core modifiers <i>tehi</i> 'many' and <i>togatehi</i> 'very many'.....	89

4.3.1.2 Post-head core modifiers.....	90
4.3.1.2.1 Nouns as post-head core modifier.....	90
4.3.1.2.2 Personal name core modifiers.....	91
4.3.1.2.3 Location name core modifiers.....	92
4.3.1.2.4 Local nouns as core modifiers.....	92
4.3.1.2.5 Stative verb core modifiers.....	92
4.3.1.2.6 Adjectives.....	93
4.3.1.2.7 Reflexive core modifiers.....	93
4.3.1.3 Possessor indexing.....	93
4.3.1.3.1 Alienable possessor indexing by possessive base.....	93
4.3.1.3.2 Inalienable possessor indexing by enclitic.....	93
4.3.1.4 NP core structure.....	94
4.3.2 NP non-core modifier structure.....	94
4.3.2.1 Pre-core modifier structure.....	94
4.3.2.2 Post-core modifiers.....	95
4.3.2.2.1 Post-core outer modifiers.....	95
4.3.2.2.2 Possessor complement.....	96
4.3.2.2.3 Adnominal adjuncts.....	96
4.3.2.2.3.1 Adnominal prepositional adjuncts.....	96
4.3.2.2.3.2 Deictic locatives as adnominal adjunct.....	97
4.3.2.2.3.3 Location names as adnominal adjunct.....	97
4.3.2.2.3.4 Local noun adjuncts.....	97
4.3.2.2.3.5 Personal name adjuncts.....	98
4.3.2.2.3.6 Relative clauses.....	98
4.3.2.2.4 Post-core modifier structure.....	99
4.3.3 Multiple head NPs.....	100
4.3.4 Summary of NP structure.....	101
4.4 Minor NP types.....	101
4.4.1 Pronominal Phrases.....	101
4.4.1.1 Pronominal head.....	101
4.4.1.2 Pronominal number specification.....	101
4.4.1.3 Exhaustive marking.....	102
4.4.1.4 NP specification of pronouns.....	102
4.4.1.5 Personal name specification of pronouns.....	102
4.4.1.6 Locative specification of pronouns.....	103
4.4.1.7 Pronominal Phrase structure.....	103
4.4.2 NPs with reflexive head.....	103
4.4.3 Demonstratives as nominal head.....	104
4.4.4 NPs with personal name as head.....	104
4.4.5 NPs with numeral head.....	105
Chapter 5: Minor argument types.....	107
5.1 Prepositional phrases.....	107
5.2 Deictic spatial locatives.....	108
5.3 Location names.....	109
5.4 Local nouns.....	110
5.4.1 Intrinsic locatives.....	110
5.4.2 Absolute locatives.....	113
5.5 Deictic temporal locatives.....	115
5.6 Contextualising nouns.....	117
5.7 Associative noun.....	119

Chapter 6: Possession.....	121
6.1 Overview of possession.....	121
6.2 Possessor indexing forms.....	121
6.3 Inalienable possession.....	122
6.3.1 Inalienably possessed entities.....	122
6.3.1.1 Inalienable kin.....	122
6.3.1.2 Physical part-whole relationships.....	123
6.3.1.2.1 Body parts and bodily matter.....	123
6.3.1.2.2 Bodily states.....	124
6.3.1.2.3 Inanimate part-whole relationships.....	124
6.3.1.3 Impressions of parts.....	124
6.3.1.4 Possession of non-physical 'parts'.....	124
6.3.1.5 Divisions of time and stages in temporal frames.....	125
6.3.1.6 Intrinsic characteristics.....	126
6.3.1.7 Possession of adjectives.....	128
6.3.1.8 Possession of local nouns.....	128
6.3.1.9 Possession of contextualising and associative nouns.....	128
6.3.1.10 Possession by location names.....	129
6.3.1.11 Possession of events.....	129
6.3.2 Optional nature of inalienable possessor indexing.....	130
6.4 Alienable possession.....	131
6.4.1 Possession of consumable entities.....	131
6.4.2 Non-consumable alienable possession.....	132
6.4.2.1 Alienable possessed kin.....	132
6.4.2.2 Other alienably possessed entities.....	132
6.5 Semantic bases of possessive categories.....	133
6.5.1 Variability in possessor indexing choice.....	133
6.5.2 Systematic variation between possessor indexing strategies.....	134
6.5.2.1 Consumable and general alienable possessive variation.....	134
6.5.2.2 Inalienable and alienable possessive variation.....	134
6.5.2.2.1 Intrinsic characteristics possessable by others.....	134
6.5.2.2.2 Intrinsic ways and temporary plans.....	136
6.5.2.2.3 Possession of children.....	136
6.5.2.2.4 Multiple possessor indexing.....	136
6.5.3 Indexing variation without apparent contextual variation.....	136
6.5.3.1 Variable possession in human relationships.....	137
6.5.3.2 Non-intrinsic characteristics.....	137
6.6 Pseudo-locative possession.....	138
6.6.1 Pseudo-locative possession by prepositional phrase.....	138
6.6.2 Pseudo-locative possession by location name.....	140
6.7 Zero marked possession within prepositional phrases.....	140
6.8 Structure of possessive NPs.....	141
6.8.1 Possessum as head.....	141
6.8.2 Possessor as complement.....	141
6.8.3 Recursion.....	142
6.9 Predicative possession.....	142
6.9.1 Non-verbal predicative possession.....	142
6.9.2 Verbs of possession.....	143
6.10 Possessive marking in the verb complex.....	143

Chapter 7: Argument structure.....	145
7.1 Argument indexing.....	145
7.1.1 Argument role hierarchy.....	145
7.1.2 Argument agreement indexing.....	146
7.1.2.1 Preverbal agreement.....	146
7.1.2.2 Postverbal agreement.....	146
7.1.2.2.1 Postverbal agreement enclitic allomorphy.....	147
7.1.2.2.2 Postverbal agreement as clitic.....	147
7.1.3 The assignment of agreement.....	148
7.1.3.1 Agreement assignment mapping.....	149
7.1.3.1.1 Monovalent verbs.....	149
7.1.3.1.2 Bivalent verbs.....	150
7.1.3.1.3 Trivalent verbs.....	151
7.1.3.2 Middle voice - agreement assignment resulting in coreferential indexing.....	152
7.1.3.2.1 Involuntary bodily actions.....	153
7.1.3.2.2 Verbs of illness.....	154
7.1.3.2.3 Negative sensory states.....	155
7.1.3.2.4 Verbs of possession.....	156
7.1.3.2.5 Verbs of pleasure and displeasure.....	158
7.2 Permissible subject roles.....	158
7.3 Valency alteration.....	160
7.3.1 Valency altering reduplication.....	160
7.3.1.1 Valency reducing reduplication.....	160
7.3.1.1.1 Unergative derivation.....	160
7.3.1.1.2 Unaccusative derivation.....	161
7.3.1.2 Valency augmenting reduplication.....	161
7.3.2 Valency augmentation by the transitivity suffix.....	162
7.3.2.1 Arguments raised by the transitivity suffix.....	163
7.3.2.1.1 Augmentation of unergative verbs.....	163
7.3.2.1.2 Augmentation of unaccusative verbs.....	165
7.3.3 Valency augmentation by causative marking.....	165
7.3.3.1 Causative marking of monovalent stative verbs.....	166
7.3.3.2 Causative marking of monovalent active verbs.....	166
7.3.3.3 Causative marking restriction to monovalent verbs.....	167
7.4 Incorporation.....	168
7.4.1 Incorporation verb forms.....	168
7.4.2 Incorporated nominals.....	169
7.4.3 Structure of incorporating verb complexes.....	170
7.4.4 Object agreement indexing on incorporating verb complexes.....	171
7.5 Verb serialisation.....	171
7.5.1 V ₁ + V ₂ series.....	172
7.5.2 V ₂ + V ₃ series.....	174
7.5.3 Three verb series.....	176
7.5.4 The argument structure of serial predications.....	177
7.6 Existential predications.....	177
7.6.1 Positive existential verb <i>au</i>	177
7.6.2 Negative existential verb <i>teo</i>	179
7.6.3 Structure of existential clauses.....	180
7.6.4 Causative marked existential verbs.....	180
7.6.5 <i>Teo</i> as a verb proform.....	181
7.7 Oblique arguments.....	181
7.7.1 Prepositional phrases.....	181
7.7.1.1 Spatial locatives.....	181
7.7.1.2 Source and goal.....	183
7.7.1.3 Temporal locatives.....	186
7.7.1.4 Cause.....	186

7.7.1.5 Instrument.....	187
7.7.1.6 Benefactive.....	188
7.7.1.7 Comitative.....	188
7.7.2 Semantic roles of other oblique argument types.....	190
7.7.2.1 Deictics and local nouns.....	190
7.7.2.2 Location names.....	190
7.7.2.3 Contextualising and associative nouns.....	191
Chapter 8: The verb complex.....	192
8.1 Overview of verb complex.....	192
8.2 Verb derivation.....	192
8.2.1 Verb compounding.....	192
8.2.2 Reduplicated verbs.....	192
8.2.3 Causative derivation.....	192
8.2.4 Derivation with the 'mutual' marker <i>fari</i>	193
8.2.5 Comparative suffix <i>-ia ~ -a</i>	193
8.3 Causative and mutual marking.....	195
8.4 Adverbial-like functions of verb serialisation.....	195
8.5 Pre-head verb modifiers.....	197
8.5.1 Modality, aspect and tense overview.....	197
8.5.2 Auxiliaries.....	197
8.5.2.1 Auxiliary forms and structure.....	197
8.5.2.2 Modal and subject agreement forms.....	197
8.5.2.3 Modal categories.....	198
8.5.2.3.1 Irrealis.....	198
8.5.2.3.2 Realis.....	199
8.5.2.3.3 Neutral.....	199
8.5.2.4 Competing auxiliaries unmarked for subject.....	201
8.5.2.5 Auxiliary deletion.....	202
8.5.2.6 Negative marker <i>ti</i>	202
8.5.2.7 Perfective aspect marker <i>ke</i>	203
8.5.2.8 Present tense marker <i>ge</i>	204
8.5.3 Abilitative <i>boka</i> 'be able to'.....	204
8.5.4 Desideratives.....	205
8.5.4.1 Desiderative verb <i>manahagi</i>	205
8.5.4.2 Desiderative marker <i>g̃roi</i>	207
8.5.4.3 The general possessive base as a preverbal desiderative modifier.....	207
8.5.5 Unitative <i>kaike</i>	209
8.5.6 Purposive <i>mala</i>	209
8.5.7 Definite marker <i>torai</i>	210
8.5.8 Future tense marker <i>ginai</i>	211
8.5.9 Frequency markers <i>fani</i> and <i>tuma</i>	211
8.6 Post-head modifiers and agreement markers.....	212
8.6.1 The general possessive base as post-head immediacy marker.....	212
8.6.2 Transitivity suffix.....	215
8.6.3 Postverbal argument indexing.....	215
8.6.4 Demonstrative agreement enclitics.....	215
8.6.5 Incorporated arguments.....	216
8.6.6 Progressive marker <i>-gu ~ -u</i>	216
8.6.7 Completive aspect marker <i>nhigo</i>	217
8.6.8 <i>Fakamo</i> 'always'.....	218
8.6.9 Exhaustive marker <i>gudu</i>	218
8.6.10 Intensifier <i>g̃lehe</i>	218
8.7 Verb complex structure.....	220
8.7.1 Verb complex core structure.....	220
8.7.2 Verb complex outer modifier structure.....	221

Chapter 9: Clause structure.....	222
9.1 Verbless clauses.....	222
9.1.1 Equative predicates.....	222
9.1.1.1 Basic equative clauses.....	222
9.1.1.2 Possession of predicate by subject.....	223
9.1.1.3 Subject-predicate constituent order in equative clauses.....	223
9.1.1.4 Equative clause information weighting.....	223
9.1.1.5 Telling the time.....	224
9.1.1.6 Equative naming predication.....	224
9.1.1.6.1 Main clause naming equatives.....	224
9.1.1.6.2 Naming equatives as relative clauses.....	225
9.1.2 Possessive predicates.....	225
9.2 Declarative verbal main clauses - pragmatically unmarked structure.....	226
9.2.1 Pragmatically unmarked core argument structure.....	226
9.2.2 Pragmatically unmarked oblique argument structure.....	227
9.3 Zero mentions.....	228
9.4 Topicalisation.....	231
9.5 Focused constructions.....	234
9.5.1 Clause foregrounding.....	235
9.5.1.1 Clauses foregrounded with <i>si</i>	235
9.5.1.2 <i>Si</i> marking constituents other than main clauses.....	235
9.5.1.3 Clause final focus marker <i>sini</i>	236
9.5.1.4 Sentence initial extra-clausal occurrence of <i>sini</i>	237
9.5.2 Foregrounding of arguments.....	238
9.5.2.1 Focused forms.....	238
9.5.2.2 Focus and constituent modifiers.....	239
9.5.2.3 Focused dummy argument <i>-ia</i>	239
9.5.2.4 Focus politeness in imperatives.....	240
9.5.2.5 Focus marking in equative and possessive predicates.....	240
9.6 Peripheral arguments.....	240
9.6.1 Contextual arguments.....	241
9.6.2 Locative and associative arguments.....	242
9.6.2.1 Locatives and associatives as outermost arguments.....	242
9.6.2.2 Non-outermost locatives and associatives with core arguments.....	243
9.6.2.3 Order of multiple peripheral arguments.....	244
9.7 Negation.....	246
9.7.1 Negation by the negative particle <i>ti</i>	247
9.7.2 Subordinating negation.....	248
9.7.3 Negation and modality.....	250
9.8 Constituent modifiers.....	250
9.8.1 <i>Ba</i> Alternative marker.....	251
9.8.2 <i>Bo</i> Contrastive.....	254
9.8.3 <i>Bla(u)</i> Limiter.....	256
9.8.4 <i>Bai(u)</i> Possibilitative.....	257
9.8.5 <i>Na</i> Immediacy marker.....	258
9.8.6 <i>Fea</i> 'initially'.....	260
9.8.7 The particle <i>la</i>	261
9.9 Vocative particle <i>nogoi</i> ~ <i>goi</i>	261
Chapter 10: Imperative and interrogative constructions.....	263
10.1 Imperative clauses.....	263
10.1.1 Positive imperatives.....	263
10.1.2 Negative imperatives.....	264
10.1.3 Politeness in imperatives.....	264

10.2 Interrogation.....	264
10.2.1 Polar and option interrogatives.....	265
10.2.2 Constituent interrogatives.....	266
10.2.2.1 Identity interrogation.....	266
10.2.2.1.1 Argument identity interrogation.....	266
10.2.2.1.1.1 <i>Hei</i> 'who'.....	266
10.2.2.1.1.2 <i>Heve</i> 'what' (referring to arguments).....	267
10.2.2.1.1.3 <i>Niha-</i> 'when'.....	268
10.2.2.1.1.4 <i>Hae</i> 'where'.....	269
10.2.2.1.2 Event identification.....	271
10.2.2.2 Supplementary detail interrogation.....	272
10.2.2.2.1 <i>Heve</i> 'which' questions.....	272
10.2.2.2.2 <i>Ĝ-e-la heve</i> 'in what manner/to what extent' questions.....	273
10.2.2.2.3 <i>Niha</i> 'how many/much' questions.....	273
10.2.3 Contextual interrogation.....	274
10.2.3.1 Manner questions.....	274
10.2.3.2 Cause questions.....	275
Chapter 11: Complex sentences.....	276
11.1 Coordination.....	276
11.1.1 Particles <i>ge</i> and <i>age</i>	276
11.1.1.1 <i>Ge</i> and <i>age</i> as clause sequencing particles.....	276
11.1.1.2 <i>Ge</i> as a sub-clause level conjunction.....	279
11.1.2 Contrasting conjunction <i>n̄a</i>	280
11.1.3 Zero conjunction.....	281
11.1.4 <i>N-e-u</i> 'it is thus' as conjunction.....	281
11.1.5 Presentation of alternatives.....	283
11.2 Subordination.....	283
11.2.1 Realis versus irrealis subordination.....	283
11.2.2 Constituent order possibilities in relative and complement clauses.....	287
11.2.2.1 Topicalisation in relative and complement clauses.....	287
11.2.2.2 Focus in relative and complement clauses.....	288
11.2.3 Relative clauses.....	289
11.2.3.1 Main clause arguments modified.....	289
11.2.3.2 Relative clause argument roles.....	290
11.2.3.3 Relative clause argument role tendencies.....	291
11.2.3.4 Relative clause structure.....	291
11.2.3.5 Relative clause recursion.....	292
11.2.3.6 Relative clause demonstrative enclitics.....	292
11.2.4 Subordinate clauses as arguments.....	293
11.2.4.1 Subordinate clauses as subjects.....	293
11.2.4.2 Complement clauses.....	294
11.2.4.2.1 Complement clause grammatical relations and interclausal argument coreference.....	294
11.2.4.2.2 Main clause position of complement clauses.....	297
11.2.4.3 Nominalised clauses as peripheral arguments.....	297
11.2.4.4 Subordinate clause recursion.....	298
11.2.5 Adverbial subordination.....	298
11.2.5.1 Contextual clauses.....	299
11.2.5.1.1 Zero marked contextual clauses.....	299
11.2.5.1.2 Contextual clauses governed by contextualising nouns.....	299
11.2.5.2 Temporal adjuncts governed by local nouns.....	301
11.2.5.3 Temporal adjuncts governed by <i>gilai</i> 'until'.....	302
11.2.5.4 Affective clauses.....	303
11.2.6 Conditional clauses.....	303
11.2.7 Purposive subordinate clauses.....	306
11.2.7.1 Main clause possibilities of purposive subordinates.....	306

11.2.7.2 Modal and tense/aspect status of purposive subordinates.....	307
11.2.7.3 Internal structure of purposive subordinates.....	309
11.3 Recapping.....	310
11.3.1 Demonstrative recapping.....	310
11.3.2 Oblique demonstrative recapping.....	311
11.3.3 Reduced clause recapping.....	311
11.3.4 'Completion' clause recapping.....	312
11.4 'Be thus' clauses.....	314
11.4.1 Exclamatory tag clauses.....	314
11.4.2 Sentence initial 'be thus' clauses.....	316
11.4.3 Quotative 'be thus' clauses.....	316
References.....	318
Appendix 1: Calculating speaker numbers.....	320
Appendix 2: Phoneme, onset, cluster, nucleus and diphthong type frequencies; and source word list.....	321
Appendix 3: Stress data.....	327
1 Lexemes of three light syllables.....	327
1.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots.....	327
1.2 Identifiable loan words.....	329
1.3 Nonce words.....	330
1.4 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the POc article <i>*na</i>	330
1.5 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the causative particle <i>fa</i>	330
1.6 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate.....	331
1.7 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists.....	333
2 Lexemes with three moras in two syllables - first syllable heavy, second syllable light.....	334
2.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots.....	335
2.2 Identifiable loan words.....	335
2.3 Lexemes demonstrably or possibly reflecting accretion of the POc article <i>*na</i>	335
3 Disyllables with a heavy second syllable.....	335
3.1 Historically monomorphemic Kokota roots.....	335
3.2 Lexeme demonstrably reflecting accretion of the POc article <i>*na</i>	336
3.3 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate.....	336
3.4 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists.....	336
3.5 Lexeme reflecting accretion of the causative particle <i>fa</i>	337
3.6 Lexeme displaying other historical morphological complexity.....	337
4 Trisyllables with a heavy first syllable and light second and third syllables.....	337
4.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots.....	337
4.2 Synchronic compounds.....	337
5 Trisyllables with light first and third syllables and a heavy second syllable.....	337
5.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots.....	337
5.2 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate.....	338
5.3 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists.....	338
5.4 Identifiable loan words.....	338

6 Trisyllables with light first and second syllables and a heavy third syllable.....	338
6.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots.....	338
6.2 Lexemes with an initial echo syllable for which there is no synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate.....	339
6.3 Reduplicated lexemes for which a synchronic semantically related unreduplicated cognate exists.....	339
6.4 Synchronic compounds.....	339
7 Disyllables of two heavy syllables.....	339
7.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots.....	339
8 Quadrasyllables with a heavy third syllable.....	339
8.1 Synchronically monomorphemic roots.....	339
8.2 Identifiable loan words.....	340
Appendix 4: Gestures.....	341

Figures

1.1 The diversification of Austronesian languages.....	4
1.2 The Meso-Melanesian genetic tree.....	5
1.3 The North-West Solomonian genetic tree.....	6
5.1 Kokota absolute directional schema, drawn in Goveo.....	114

Maps

1 The Solomon Islands.....	xxi
2 Santa Isabel.....	xxii
3 The standard language map of Santa Isabel.....	8
4 A tentative revised language map for Santa Isabel.....	11

Tables

2.1 Consonant phoneme inventory.....	12
2.2 Consonant feature matrices.....	12
2.3 Contrastive sets demonstrating voicing and manner of articulation distinctions.....	13
2.4 Contrastive sets demonstrating place of articulation distinctions.....	13
2.5 Proportion of consonant phoneme tokens by manner of articulation.....	14
2.6 Proportion by place class and proportion of obstruents to sonorants.....	14
2.7 Proportion by voicing and sonority.....	14
2.8 Vowel phonemes.....	20
2.9 Vowel phoneme frequencies.....	21
2.10 Relative frequencies by height features.....	21
2.11 Relative frequencies on the front-back parameter.....	21
2.12 Diphthong frequencies.....	22
2.13 Attested non-loan cluster combinations.....	26
2.14 Cluster frequencies.....	26
2.15 Cluster frequencies by sonority.....	27
2.16 Distribution of onset types across syllables.....	32
2.17 Kokota orthography.....	37
3.1 Trimoraic trisyllables by historical morphological complexity.....	43
4.1 Subject indexing.....	65
4.2 Object indexing.....	65
4.3 Possessor indexing.....	65
4.4 Independent pronouns.....	65
4.5 Reflexive forms.....	68
4.6 Demonstrative forms.....	68
4.7 Numeral roots.....	78
4.8 Multiples of ten with and without <i>-ai</i>	79
4.9 Cardinal forms.....	81
4.10 Counting system.....	81
4.11 Verbs of existential status.....	88
5.1 "Ascending" and "descending" on horizontal axes.....	115
6.1 Inalienable possessor indexing enclitics.....	121
6.2 Indexed alienable general possessive base.....	121
6.3 Indexed alienable consumable possessive base.....	122
7.1 Preverbal argument agreement.....	146
7.2 Postverbal argument indexing.....	146
7.3 Verb form and argument indexing for most verbs without the final vowel /i/.....	162
7.4 Verb form and argument indexing for most verbs with the final vowel /i/.....	162
7.5 Verb form and argument indexing for verbs which take the transitivity suffix.....	162
8.1 Subject indexing.....	197
8.2 Modal auxiliary forms.....	198
8.3 Competing subject-unmarked auxiliaries.....	201
9.1 Proportion of overt to zero mentions in a typical narrative text.....	231
9.2 Proportion of arguments in preverbal, focused, and pragmatically unmarked position.....	232
9.3 Number of first and second person pronouns topicalised.....	234
11.1 The semantics of direct and indirect object complement clauses.....	295
Appendix 2 Table 1: Phoneme frequencies found in list.....	321
Appendix 2 Table 2: Onset types.....	321
Appendix 2 Table 3: Distribution of onset types across syllables.....	321
Appendix 2 Table 4: Breakdown of possible underlying onset clusters present in list.....	322
Appendix 2 Table 5: Nucleus types.....	322
Appendix 2 Table 6: Breakdown of possible diphthongs found in the list.....	322