

Frantisek Lichtenberk

A Grammar of Toqabaqita



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Volume 1

by

Frantisek Lichtenberk

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Contents

Volume 1

List of tables, maps, and figures.....	xxiii
Abbreviations and conventions	xxv

Chapter 1

Introduction	1
1.1. The language and the people.....	1
1.2. Previous studies of the language.....	3
1.3. The present grammar.....	4

Chapter 2

Phonology.....	7
2.1. The phoneme inventory.....	7
2.1.1. The consonants.....	7
2.1.2. Prenasalization	8
2.1.3. The vowels	10
2.2. Phonotactics	12
2.2.1. Syllable structure.....	12
2.2.2. Morpheme structure	13
2.2.3. Occurrence of segments	14
2.3. Stress	19
2.4. Reduplication	28
2.5. Cliticization and fusion	33
2.6. Orthographic conventions	39

Chapter 3

Grammatical profile	43
3.1. Morphosyntactic patterns.....	43
3.2. Word classes	52

Chapter 4

The verb phrase	54
4.1. The basic structure of the verb phrase	54
4.2. Types of verbs.....	56
4.2.1. Stative vs. nonstative verbs	56
4.2.2. Intransitive verbs.....	60

4.2.2.1.	Basic properties.....	60
4.2.2.2.	Intransitive verbs formed by reduplication.....	61
4.2.2.3.	Proprietary verbs.....	62
4.2.2.4.	Intransitive verbs formed by subject-incorporation and by object-incorporation.....	68
4.2.2.5.	Syntactically intransitive verbs that contain transitive suffixes.....	69
4.2.3.	Transitive verbs.....	70
4.2.3.1	Introduction.....	70
4.2.3.2.	Class 1 transitive verbs.....	71
4.2.3.2.1.	The object suffixes and the object positions.....	71
4.2.3.2.2.	The structures of Class 1 transitive verbs.....	75
4.2.3.2.3.	The thematic consonants.....	85
4.2.3.2.3.1.	The range of the thematic consonants.....	85
4.2.3.2.3.2.	Identity of, and variation in, the thematic consonants.....	87
4.2.3.2.3.3.	The morphological status of the thematic consonants.....	90
4.2.3.2.3.4.	Associations between thematic consonants and meanings.....	97
4.2.3.2.4.	Applicative and causative verbs.....	100
4.2.3.2.5.	Causative verbs formed by means of <i>faqa</i> -.....	107
4.2.3.3.	Class 2 transitive verbs.....	114
4.2.3.3.1.	The object suffixes.....	114
4.2.3.3.2.	The structures of Class 2 transitive verbs.....	117
4.2.3.3.2.1.	Class 2 transitive verbs that are verb-noun compounds.....	117
4.2.3.3.2.2.	Class 2 transitive verbs that contain the TEST suffix.....	117
4.2.3.3.2.3.	Other Class 2 transitive verbs.....	121
4.3.	Valency rearrangement.....	123
4.3.1.	Introduction.....	123
4.3.2.	Valency rearrangement between different types of Class 1 transitive verbs involving direct objects.....	123
4.3.3.	Valency rearrangement with single transitive verbs involving direct objects.....	126
4.3.4.	Valency rearrangement involving subjects.....	129
4.4.	Cognate direct objects and cognate subjects.....	130
4.5.	Verbs that take empty subjects.....	131
4.6.	The detransitivized variants of transitive verbs.....	135
4.7.	Pseudo-verbs.....	137
4.8.	The subject markers.....	143
4.9.	Number agreement and lack of number agreement in verb phrases.....	149
4.10.	Integrative use of the inclusive forms.....	159
4.11.	The adverb phrase.....	161

Chapter 5

The particles in the verb complex	164
5.1. The preverbal particles.....	164
5.1.1. Introduction	164
5.1.2. <i>Biqi</i> , etc. immediate past, immediate future.....	165
5.1.3. <i>Makafa</i> ‘briefly’	168
5.1.4. <i>Suka</i> , etc. attenuative.....	168
5.1.5. <i>Marungeqe</i> ineffectuality	169
5.1.6. <i>Tala</i> self-containedness of situations	170
5.1.7. <i>Ota</i> avertive	170
5.1.8. <i>Tona</i> , <i>tofa</i> , etc. restrictive	171
5.2. The postverbal particles	173
5.2.1. Introduction	173
5.2.2. <i>Fasi</i> , <i>si</i> precedentive	175
5.2.3. <i>Quu</i> anterior, anterior-continuing	177
5.2.4. <i>Sui</i> completive, exhaustive; <i>danga</i> completive.....	180
5.2.5. <i>Laqu</i> additive, restitutive.....	185
5.2.6. <i>Qasia</i> intensifier	191
5.2.7. <i>Toqo</i> obligation	193
5.2.8. <i>Boqo</i> assertive, intensifier	193
5.2.9. <i>Mena</i> concessive	197
5.2.10. <i>Qa-</i> self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive	197
5.2.10.1. Introduction	197
5.2.10.2. The self-benefactive construction	199
5.2.10.3. The recipient-benefactive construction.....	202
5.2.11. <i>Ba-</i> limiter	204
5.2.12. <i>Naqa</i> perfect, intensifier.....	208
5.2.13. <i>Feteqi</i> intensifier	211
5.2.14. <i>Mai</i> ventive and <i>kau</i> andative	212
5.2.14.1. The basic properties	212
5.2.14.2. Establishing a deictic centre.....	213
5.2.14.3. Directional uses.....	217
5.2.14.4. Displaced directionality	220
5.2.14.5. States of affairs extended in time.....	223
5.2.14.6. <i>Mai</i> with an ingressive function.....	224
5.2.14.7. <i>Mai</i> as a marker of distance	225

Chapter 6

The noun phrase	228
6.1. The basic type of lexical noun phrase.....	228
6.2. Classes of nouns.....	232
6.3. The independent personal pronouns	243

6.3.1.	The forms	243
6.3.2.	The functions.....	244
6.4.	<i>Tha</i> and <i>ni</i> person markers	250
6.5.	<i>Nga</i> identifier	254
6.6.	<i>Si</i> partitive, diminutive	259
6.7.	The classifiers	264
6.7.1.	Introduction	264
6.7.2.	The classifier <i>fa</i>	266
6.7.3.	The classifier <i>gwa</i>	275
6.7.4.	The classifiers <i>maqe</i> and <i>maqa</i>	281
6.7.5.	The classifier <i>si</i>	287
6.7.6.	The classifier <i>noniqi</i>	289
6.7.7.	Summary	289
6.8.	Noun phrase quantification	291
6.8.1.	The cardinal numerals	292
6.8.2.	Other uses and meanings of <i>teqe</i>	297
6.8.3.	Nouns designating numerically specific sets	299
6.8.4.	The ordinal numerals	302
6.8.5.	<i>Fita</i> and <i>fita-na</i> interrogative quantifiers	307
6.8.6.	<i>Ta</i> and <i>tai</i> indefinite quantifiers	308
6.8.7.	<i>Tooteqe</i> ‘each’, <i>tootoqe</i> ‘some’	316
6.8.8.	<i>Toqo</i> distributive	317
6.8.9.	Quantification by means of verbs and by means of an adjective	318
6.8.10.	<i>Sui</i> quantifying particle	319
6.8.11.	Quantification by means of heads of phrases.....	321
6.9.	<i>Ki</i> plural marker	325
6.10.	Modification of nouns by verb complexes.....	327
6.11.	Modification of nouns by nouns	334
6.12.	Modification of nouns by the adjective	339
6.13.	Modification of nouns by prepositional phrases.....	342
6.13.1.	Direct prepositional-phrase modification	342
6.13.2.	Relative prepositional-phrase modification	344
6.14.	Modification of nouns by a noun phrase.....	347
6.15.	Modification of nouns by ligature phrases.....	348
6.16.	The vocative phrase	348
 Chapter 7		
	The noun-phrase internal particle group	351
7.1.	Introduction	351
7.2.	<i>Tona</i> , <i>toneqe</i> ‘of little significance, etc.’	353
7.3.	<i>Quu</i> distal, restrictive	353

7.4.	<i>Sui</i> exhaustive	355
7.5.	<i>Laqu</i> additive.....	356
7.6.	<i>Boqo</i> assertive, intensifier	358
7.7.	<i>Bana</i> limiter.....	361
7.8.	<i>Naqa</i> perfect, intensifier.....	365
7.9.	<i>Feteqi</i> intensifier	369
7.10.	<i>Qana</i> intensifier.....	370
7.11.	<i>Mai</i> ventive and <i>kau</i> andative	371

Chapter 8

Possessive and associative noun phrases		375
8.1.	Possessive noun phrases.....	375
8.1.1.	Introduction	375
8.1.2.	Suffixing possessive noun phrases.....	376
8.1.3.	Bare possessive noun phrases	383
8.1.4.	Recursiveness in possessive constructions	387
8.1.5.	The semantics of possessive noun phrases	388
8.1.6.	Fluidity in the possessive system	394
8.1.7.	Individuation of the possessum.....	398
8.2.	The associative noun phrase	407
8.2.1.	The form.....	407
8.2.2.	The semantics.....	415

Chapter 9

Nominalizations and deverbal nouns		421
9.1.	Nominalizations	421
9.1.1.	Formation of nominalizations	421
9.1.2.	Double nominalizations	429
9.1.3.	Nominal and verbal properties of nominalizations	431
9.2.	Deverbal nouns.....	444

Chapter 10

The prepositional phrase		450
10.1.	Introduction.....	450
10.2.	The bare prepositions.....	451
10.2.1.	<i>Qi</i> general locative	451
10.2.2.	Prepositional phrases with the locative pro-form	454
10.2.3.	<i>Laa</i> inessive.....	460
10.2.4.	<i>Mala</i> equative.....	463
10.3.	The verb-like prepositions	465
10.3.1.	The full and the reduced forms	465
10.3.2.	<i>Uri</i> allative, purpose, reason	471

10.3.3.	<i>Fasi</i> ablative.....	475
10.3.4.	<i>Suli</i> prolative, reason.....	478
10.3.5.	<i>Faafi</i> superessive, connective, ‘concerning’	481
10.3.6.	<i>Bii</i> comitative	486
10.3.7.	<i>Qani</i> general preposition, instrumental.....	488
10.4.	The noun-like prepositions.....	493
10.4.1.	Introduction	493
10.4.2.	<i>Fa-</i> and <i>a-</i> recipient, benefactive	495
10.4.3.	<i>Sa</i> goal, adjacency.....	497
10.5.	Stacked prepositional phrases	499
10.6.	Preposition stranding.....	502
10.7.	Instrument inversion.....	508
10.8.	The locational nouns	516
10.8.1.	Introduction	516
10.8.2.	<i>Naqo</i> , <i>naqofa</i> and <i>maa</i> ‘in front of’	516
10.8.3.	<i>Buri</i> , <i>buria</i> , <i>buringa</i> ‘behind’, ‘after’	519
10.8.4.	<i>Ninima</i> ‘beside’	522
10.8.5.	<i>Fafo</i> ‘on, on top of’	523
10.8.6.	<i>Fara</i> , <i>faara</i> ‘below, under’	524
10.8.7.	<i>Maqaluta</i> ‘between, among’, ‘in the midst of’	526
10.8.8.	<i>Qinitoqo</i> ‘in the centre of, in the middle of’	529
10.8.9.	<i>Laal-a</i> ‘inside’	531

Chapter 11

Coordination of noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Apposition

of noun phrases and prepositional phrases.....	534	
11.1.	Introduction	534
11.2.	Noun-phrase coordination.....	534
11.2.1.	Conjunctive noun-phrase coordination	534
11.2.1.1.	The basic structure	534
11.2.1.2.	The three conjunctive coordinators <i>ma</i> , <i>bia</i> , and <i>bii</i>	538
11.2.1.3.	More on conjunctive coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases.....	542
11.2.2.	Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination	545
11.3.	Prepositional-phrase coordination	547
11.4.	Noun-phrase apposition and prepositional-phrase apposition.	549

Chapter 12

Compounding	551	
12.1.	Introduction	551
12.2.	[noun noun] compounds.....	552
12.3.	[noun verb] compounds.....	553

12.3.1.	Root [noun verb] compounds.....	553
12.3.2.	Subject-incorporating [noun verb] compounds.....	554
12.3.3.	Object-incorporating [noun verb] compounds.....	559
12.4.	Object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds.....	561
12.4.1.	Introduction.....	561
12.4.2.	Object-incorporating compounds that are intransitive verbs ...	569
12.4.3.	Object-incorporating compounds that are transitive verbs	572
12.4.4.	Object-incorporating compounds that are nouns	576
12.5.	[verb verb] compounds	577
12.6.	[verb <i>teqefau</i>] compounds.....	589
12.7.	Minor compounding types	592
12.8.	Lexicalized phrases.....	595

Chapter 13

	The demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs.....	603
13.1.	Introduction.....	603
13.2.	The speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere	604
13.3.	The determiner demonstratives.....	606
13.3.1.	Introduction.....	606
13.3.2.	The exophoric functions of the determiner demonstratives.....	606
13.3.2.1.	The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives.....	606
13.3.2.2.	The addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative	610
13.3.2.3.	The distal determiner demonstratives	613
13.3.2.4.	The determiner demonstrative of absence	614
13.4.	The qualifying demonstratives.....	616
13.5.	The endophoric functions of the demonstratives	622
13.5.1.	The anaphoric functions of <i>qeri</i> , <i>baa</i> , and <i>fuu</i>	622
13.5.2.	The cataphoric function of <i>qeri</i>	630
13.6.	The locative demonstrative adverbs.....	631
13.6.1.	Introduction.....	631
13.6.2.	The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs	632
13.6.3.	The general locative demonstrative adverbs	637
13.7.	The situational demonstrative adverbs.....	639
13.8.	The reiterative demonstrative pronominals.....	649

Chapter 14

	Constructions with inclusory pronominals.....	655
14.1.	Two basic types.....	655
14.2.	Phrasal inclusory constructions.....	657
14.2.1.	The structure	657
14.2.2.	In the subject position	658

14.2.3. In the direct-object position with Class 1 transitive verbs and in the oblique-object position with the verb-like prepositions 659

14.2.4. In the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verbs, in the oblique-object position with the noun-like prepositions, and in the possessor position in the suffixing possessive noun phrase 662

14.2.5. In the object position with the bare prepositions and in the possessor position in the bare possessive noun phrase 665

14.2.6. The proximity principle 666

14.2.7. Variation in the order of the inclusory pronoun and the included NP 667

14.3. Split inclusory constructions 669

14.3.1. Positions of occurrence 669

14.3.2. Mismatch in features 672

Notes 674

Volume 2

Abbreviations and conventions xxi

Chapter 15

Tense and aspect 677

15.1. The tenses 677

15.1.1. Introduction 677

15.1.2. The future tense 678

15.1.2.1. (General) future 678

15.1.2.2. Immediate future 679

15.1.2.3. Near future 681

15.1.2.3.1. Introduction 681

15.1.2.3.2. Open near future 681

15.1.2.3.3. Counterfactual near future in the past: avertive 689

15.1.3. The nonfuture tense 691

15.1.4. Past-in-the-past 694

15.2. The aspects 699

15.2.1. Introduction 699

15.2.2. The imperfective aspect 699

15.2.3. The continuative/iterative aspect 702

15.2.4.	The frequentative aspect	706
15.3.	The perfect	709

Chapter 16

The sequential subject markers	719	
16.1.	The central function	719
16.2.	Other uses of the sequential markers in positive clauses	727
16.3.	Sequential clauses of negation	731

Chapter 17

Negation	734	
17.1.	Introduction	734
17.2.	The simple negative construction	735
17.3.	The negative verb	738
17.4.	The double negative construction	741
17.5.	Emphatic negation	747
17.6.	Negation and disabling conditions	751

Chapter 18

Mood	754	
18.1.	Introduction	754
18.2.	Relatively high degrees of irrealis	754
18.3.	Low degree of expectation and counterfactuality	756
18.4.	Evidential hedges and related counterfactuals	760
18.4.1.	Introduction	760
18.4.2.	The simplest construction	760
18.4.3.	Using the verb <i>quri</i> 'look like'	763
18.5.	Other expressions of uncertainty	771
18.5.1.	<i>Toqo</i> 'perhaps', 'probably', 'possibly', 'I think', 'I guess'	771
18.5.2.	<i>Takona</i> 'most likely', 'certainly'; surprise	774
18.5.3.	<i>Mada</i> 'or'	776
18.5.4.	<i>Botaena, botaqana</i> 'perhaps', 'possibly', 'don't know'	779
18.6.	The timitive mood	780
18.6.1.	Introduction	780
18.6.2.	Fear contexts	783
18.6.3.	Precautionary contexts	784
18.6.4.	The apprehensional-epistemic function	787

Chapter 19

Interrogatives	790	
19.1.	Introduction	790
19.2.	Closed interrogatives	790

19.2.1.	Polar interrogatives	790
19.2.2.	Alternative interrogatives.....	793
19.3.	Open interrogatives	795
19.3.1.	Introduction	795
19.3.2.	Fronting and non-fronting of interrogative phrases, and other properties of open interrogatives	795
19.3.3.	<i>Tei</i> ‘who?’	802
19.3.4.	<i>Taa</i> ‘what?’, ‘which?’	807
19.3.5.	<i>Qufita</i> ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’; <i>qufita-a</i> ‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’	813
19.3.6.	<i>Fita</i> ‘how many?, how much?’, <i>fita-na</i> ‘how manieth?’	818
19.3.7.	<i>Fei, fania, fana</i> ‘where?’	819
19.3.8.	<i>Nii fania ade-la-na, nii fana ade-la-na</i> ‘how come?’	824
19.3.9.	<i>Angita</i> ‘when?’	826
19.3.10.	<i>Tafa</i> ‘which part of person’s or animal’s body?’	826
19.3.11.	Emphatic open interrogatives.....	827
19.4.	Answers to questions	829
19.4.1.	Answers to polar questions	829
19.4.2.	Answers to alternative questions	834
19.4.3.	Answers to open questions.....	835
19.5.	Complex interrogatives	838
19.6.	Dependent interrogatives	840

Chapter 20

Imperatives	842	
20.1.	Introduction	842
20.2.	Positive imperatives	843
20.2.1.	Positive imperatives with nonfuture subject markers or no subject marker	843
20.2.1.1.	Introduction	843
20.2.1.2.	Second-person singular imperatives	843
20.2.1.3.	Second-person dual imperatives	844
20.2.1.4.	Second-person plural imperatives	845
20.2.1.5.	Dual and plural inclusive imperatives.....	846
20.2.2.	Positive imperatives with imperative subject markers.....	847
20.2.3.	Positive imperatives with sequential subject markers	848
20.2.4.	Imperatives with future subject markers	850
20.3.	Negative imperatives.....	851
20.3.1.	Negative imperatives in present-day Toqabaqita	852
20.3.2.	Archaic dehortatives	854
20.4.	Other properties of imperatives.....	855
20.4.1.	Terms of address	855

20.4.2.	Immediate imperatives	856
20.4.3.	Purpose imperatives with the verb <i>lae</i> 'go' in the first clause	857
20.4.4.	Verbless imperatives	858
20.4.5.	Indirect imperatives.....	859

Chapter 21

Low-individuation-of participants derivations.....	860	
21.1.	Two low-individuation-of-participants prefixes	860
21.2.	Low individuation of participants	860
21.3.	The formal properties of verbal LIP derivations.....	862
21.4.	Depatientive verbs.....	864
21.5.	Irregular instances of derivation by means of <i>kwai-</i> ... (-i).....	866
21.6.	Noun derivations by means of the prefix <i>wai-</i>	868

Chapter 22

Reciprocal and related situation types	872	
22.1.	Introduction	872
22.2.	Reciprocal situations	874
22.2.1.	LIP reciprocals and pronominal reciprocals	874
22.2.2.	The uses of the reciprocal constructions.....	879
22.3.	Other situation types	883

Chapter 23

Self-contained situations	888	
23.1.	Types of self-contained situations	888
23.2.	Self-generated, spontaneous situations	890
23.3.	Self-directed, reflexive situations	891
23.4.	Emphasizing the identity of a participant in situations other than self-generated and self-directed	898

Chapter 24

Unrestricted choice.....	900	
24.1.	Introduction	900
24.2.	Unrestricted choice expressed by means of interrogative words	900
24.3.	Unrestricted choice expressed by means of <i>mamalana</i> or <i>qatona</i>	903

Chapter 25

Comparison of inequality	908
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Chapter 26

Locational, existential, and possessive sentences 914

26.1. Locational and existential sentences 914

26.1.1. Introduction 914

26.1.2. Verbal locational and existential sentences 914

26.1.2.1. Grammatically positive locational and existential sentences... 914

26.1.2.2. Grammatically negative locational and existential sentences.. 918

26.1.3. Verbless locational and existential sentences 925

26.2. Possessive sentences 925

26.2.1. Existential possessive sentences 925

26.2.1.1. Grammatically positive existential possessive sentences 925

26.2.1.2. Grammatically negative existential possessive sentences 929

26.2.2. Verbal possessive sentences with the possessor in the subject position..... 931

Chapter 27

Verbless sentences 934

27.1. Major and minor verbless sentence types 934

27.2. Major verbless sentence types 934

27.2.1. Introduction 934

27.2.2. Grammatically positive identificational sentences 935

27.2.2.1. Equational identificational sentences..... 935

27.2.2.2. Presentational identificational sentences 936

27.2.3. Grammatically positive ascriptive sentences 937

27.2.4. Absence of subjects in the major verbless sentence types 940

27.2.5. Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences 942

27.3. Minor verbless sentence types 945

27.3.1. Verbless sentences with reduced predicates 945

27.3.2. Verbless utterances without a subject-predicate structure 946

Chapter 28

Coordination of clauses 952

28.1. Introduction 952

28.2. Conjunctive coordination 952

28.2.1. The coordinators 952

28.2.2. *Ma* 953

28.2.3. *Bii* and *bia* 963

28.3. Contrast, unexpectedness 964

28.4. Disjunctive coordination 969

28.5. Asyndetic coordination 971

28.6. Foregrounded additiveness 974

Chapter 29

Complement clauses.....	981
29.1. Introduction.....	981
29.2. Types of complements.....	982
29.2.1. Complement clauses.....	982
29.2.2. Nominalizations.....	987
29.2.3. Complex complementation structures.....	988
29.3. The complementizer.....	990
29.4. Complement-taking verbs.....	992
29.4.1. Introduction.....	992
29.4.2. Modal verbs.....	992
29.4.3. The phasal verb.....	999
29.4.4. Desiderative verbs.....	1001
29.4.5. Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge.....	1010
29.4.6. Immediate-perception verbs.....	1016
29.4.7. Locutionary verbs.....	1020
29.4.8. Propositional-attitude verbs.....	1026
29.4.9. Manipulative verbs.....	1034
29.4.9.1. The periphrastic causative construction.....	1034
29.4.9.2. Other manipulative verbs.....	1036
29.4.10. Achievement verbs.....	1043
29.4.11. Pretence verb.....	1050
29.4.12. Commentative verbs.....	1052
29.5. The inceptive, desiderative, and undesirative particles.....	1054
29.6. Complement clauses in noun phrases.....	1059

Chapter 30

Relative clauses.....	1062
30.1. The basic characteristics.....	1062
30.2. The functions of relative clauses.....	1064
30.3. Relative clauses and plural marking.....	1067
30.4. Absence of the relative-clause marker.....	1071
30.5. Types of heads of relative clauses.....	1078
30.6. Positions relativized.....	1087
30.6.1. Relativization on subjects.....	1087
30.6.2. Relativization on direct objects.....	1090
30.6.3. Relativization on oblique objects.....	1092
30.6.4. Relativization on possessors.....	1096
30.7. Separation of a head noun and its relative clause.....	1098
30.7.1. Long-distance relativization.....	1099
30.7.2. Detachment of head nouns and their relative clauses.....	1103

Chapter 31

Conditional sentences..... 1106
 31.1. The protasis and the apodosis 1106
 31.1.1. The structures 1106
 31.1.2. Ordering of the protasis and the apodosis..... 1115
 31.2. The semantics of conditional sentences 1117

Chapter 32

Concessive clauses 1127
 32.1. The concessive constructions..... 1127
 32.2. The semantics of the concessive constructions..... 1129

Chapter 33

Reason clauses, purpose clauses, and purpose nominalizations 1135
 33.1. Introduction 1135
 33.2. Reason clauses 1139
 33.2.1. Non-focused reason clauses 1139
 33.2.2. Focused reason clauses 1144
 33.3. Purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations 1145
 33.3.1. Introduction 1145
 33.3.2. Positive-purpose clauses 1146
 33.3.3. Constructions implying purpose when the verb in the
 first clause is ‘go’ 1153
 33.3.4. Negative-purpose clauses 1160
 33.3.5. Purpose nominalizations 1162

Chapter 34

Consequence clauses 1167

Chapter 35

Temporal relations 1172
 35.1. Introduction 1172
 35.2. Constructions that express ‘time when’ relations
 between states of affairs 1172
 35.2.1. Temporal noun phrases with relative clauses 1172
 35.2.2. Temporal adverbial clauses with *laalae* ‘when’ 1179
 35.3. Coordinate clauses 1181
 35.3.1. Non-sequential relations between states of affairs 1181
 35.3.2. Sequential relations between states of affairs 1182
 35.3.2.1. Sequentiality signalled only by means of sequential subject
 markers 1182

35.3.2.2.	Sequentiality signalled by more elaborate and more explicit strategies.....	1183
35.3.2.2.1.	Temporal adjunct phrases	1183
35.3.2.2.2.	Particles in the verb complex	1185
35.3.2.2.3.	The verb <i>sui</i> and the sequencer <i>sui</i>	1186
35.3.2.2.4.	Long intervals between states of affairs.....	1192
35.3.2.3.	Culmination or termination of an extended state of affairs ...	1199

Chapter 36

Deranked subordinate clauses	1213
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Chapter 37

Direct speech.....	1223	
37.1.	Introduction.....	1223
37.2.	Direct speech is not necessarily direct quotation.....	1223
37.3.	Clauses of direct speech are not direct objects	1226
37.4.	A noun phrase that functions as a pseudo-verb of speaking ..	1230
37.5.	Combinations of clauses introducing direct speech.....	1232
37.6.	Direct speech introduced by a clause that contains a verb other than a verb of speaking	1233
37.7.	Direct speech introduced by clauses without any verb and without the pseudo-verb	1235

Chapter 38

Topicalization.....	1237	
38.1.	Subjects as default topics	1237
38.2.	Topicalization: general characteristics.....	1238
38.3.	Linked topics.....	1241
38.3.1.	Introduction.....	1241
38.3.2.	Subject topicalization.....	1242
38.3.3.	Direct-object topicalization.....	1246
38.3.4.	Oblique-object topicalization.....	1249
38.3.5.	Possessor topicalization	1253
38.4.	Long-distance topicalization	1258
38.5.	Unlinked topics	1260
38.6.	Double topicalization	1262
38.7.	Affect topics.....	1265
38.8.	Topic participants after their introduction into discourse.....	1267

Chapter 39

Focusing 1270
39.1. Introduction 1270
39.2. The formal properties 1272
39.3. The functions 1282

Chapter 40

Toqabaqita, Solomon Islands Pijin, and English 1291
40.1. Introduction 1291
40.2. Borrowing and phonological accommodation 1292
40.3. Code-mixing 1299

Appendix

Texts 1305
Text 1: A young man and an ancestral spirit 1305
Text 2: Man called Liliqa 1322

Notes 1331
References 1333
Index 1345

List of tables, maps, and figures

Tables

- 2.1 Consonant phonemes
- 2.2 Vowel phonemes
- 2.3 Orthographic symbols for phonemes
- 2.4 Additional orthographic symbols and their sound values
- 4.1 Stative and nonstative verbs, and the future/imperfective and the nonfuture subject markers
- 4.2 Object-indexing suffixes used with Class 1 transitive verbs
- 4.3 Thematic consonants
- 4.4 Object-indexing suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs
- 4.5 Subject markers
- 5.1 Preverbal particles
- 5.2 Postverbal particles
- 6.1 Independent personal pronouns
- 6.2 Examples of contrastively functioning classifiers
- 6.3 Basic cardinal numerals
- 6.4 Ordinal numerals 1–10
- 7.1 Membership of the noun-phrase internal particle group
- 8.1 Personal suffixes
- 8.2 Kinship terms as possessums in the suffixing and in the bare possessive constructions
- 9.1 Nominalizations in the possessum position
- 10.1 Full and reduced forms of the verb-like prepositions
- 10.2 Relative frequencies of use of the reduced and the full forms of four of the verb-like prepositions in a corpus of texts, in environments where both variants are grammatical
- 10.3 Structural differences in object inversion
- 10.4 Locational nouns
- 11.1 Distribution of *ma* and *bia* in a corpus of texts
- 12.1 Possible combinations of verbs in [verb verb] compounds and the transitivity statuses of compound types
- 13.1 Demonstrative forms
- 13.2 Determiner demonstratives
- 13.3 Qualifying demonstratives
- 13.4 Locative demonstrative adverbs
- 13.5 Reiterative demonstrative pronominals

19.1 Interrogative words

29.1 Basic complementation types

33.1 Functions of *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* with clauses as complements and with noun phrases as complements

Maps

1.1 The location of the Solomon Islands in the Western Pacific

1.2 The location of Malaita in the Solomon Islands (the Santa Cruz area is not shown)

1.3 The languages of North Malaita

Figures

1.1 The position of the Oceanic subgroup within Austronesian (Blust 1977)

1.2 The position of Toqabaqita within Oceanic (after Pawley 1972, Lichtenberk 1988a, Lynch *et al.* 2002)

Abbreviations and conventions

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ADD	additive
ADJC	adjacency
AFFTOP	affect topic
ALL	allative
AND	andative
ANT	anterior
ANTCONT	anterior-continuing
arch.	archaic
ASRT	assertive
ASSOC	associative
ATTN	attenuative
AVRT	avertive
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CHAIN	chaining
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
CONF	confective
CONS	consequence
CONT	continuative
DEHORT	dehortative
depat.	depatientive
DES	desiderative
DETR	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DO	direct object

DSTR	distributive
DU	dual
DVN	deverbal noun
EQT	equative
EXCL	exclusive
EXHST	exhaustive
EXT	(stem) extender
FADD	foregrounding-additive
FILLER	(semantically empty) filler
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GENP	general preposition
GOAL	goal
HESIT	hesitation
IDENT	identifier
IMM	immediate past, immediate future
IMP	imperative
IN	inessive
INCEP	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INEFF	ineffectuality
INS	instrumental
intr.	intransitive (verb)
INTS	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
k.o.	kind of
LIG	ligature
LIM	limiter
LIP	low individuation of participants
lit	literally
LOC	(general) locative
LOCPRO	locative proform
n.	noun
NEG	negative
NEGV	negative verb
NFUT	nonfuture
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NPAST.HERE	nonpast.here
NPAST.THERE	nonpast.there

O	direct object
OBJ	object
os.	oneself
P	preposition
PAST.THEN	past.then
PERS	personal
PERSMKR	person marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PREC	precedentive
PRF	perfect
PROFORE	pronominal foregrounder
PROL	prolative
PROP	propriative
PRTT	partitive
PURP	purpose
RC	relative clause
RDP	reduplication
REAS	reason
REC	recipient
RECBEN	recipient-benefactive
RECP, recp	reciprocal
REL	relative clause/phrase marker
REPAIR	(conversational) repair
REST	restitutive
RESTR	restrictive
S	intransitive subject
sb.	somebody
SBEN	self-benefactive
SELFC	self-contained
SEQ	sequential
Sent	sentence
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SoF	state of affairs
sp., spp.	species (singular, plural)
st.	something
suff	suffix
SUPER	superessive
SURPR	surprise
TEST	test

TIM	timitive
ToR	time of reference
TR	transitive (suffix)
tr.	transitive (verb)
UNDES	undesiderative
V	(i) vowel; (ii) verb, in the formulae SVX and AVOX
v.	verb
VENT	ventive
VIVID	vivid
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Word-internal morpheme boundaries are designated by hyphens. The equal sign (=) signifies cliticization.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The language and the people

Toqabaqita is an Austronesian language spoken at the north-western tip of the island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands (maps 1.1 and 1.2). Tryon and Hackman (1983) consider Toqabaqita to be a dialect of a “North Malaitan” language, together with Baegu, Baelelea, and Fataleka (map 1.3 in section 1.3). They say that Lau could also have been included as another dialect, but they have chosen to consider it “a separate entity”, for reasons of “tradition” (Tryon and Hackman 1983: 27, fn 1). There are a number of other closely related languages spoken on Malaita. To my knowledge, there is no conception among the Toqabaqita people of a single language of which Toqabaqita, Baegu, Baelelea, Fataleka, and Lau would be dialects. They do, of course, recognize the similarities between Toqabaqita on the one hand and the other languages/dialects on the other, just as they recognize the similarities between Toqabaqita and other languages spoken on Malaita.

Ethnologue gives the number of speakers of Toqabaqita as 12,572 in 1999 (Gordon 2005), which is a high number in the Solomon Islands context. (*Ethnologue* gives the name of the language as To’abaita.). Although bilingualism in Toqabaqita and Solomon Islands Pijin is the norm (see chapter 40), it is Toqabaqita that is the language of daily life. And although children are exposed to Solomon Islands Pijin at an early age, it is Toqabaqita that they acquire as their first language. At present the viability of the language is not under threat.

The Toqabaqita people are primarily subsistence gardeners and practice swidden agriculture. The main crops are sweet potatoes, taro, slippery cabbage (*Hibiscus manihot*), bananas, sugar cane, and cassava. Yam and pana (*Dioscorea esculenta*) are of secondary importance as food crops. Tomatoes, spring onions, snake beans, and a few other vegetables are also cultivated. The main tree crops are coconuts, breadfruit, canarium nuts, areca nuts, cutnuts (*Barringtonia* sp.), mangoes, pawpaws, guava, and Malay apples. Raising of chickens and pigs is a common practice. Possums and flying foxes are hunted for meat. There is some fishing, both in the sea and in the rivers and streams. Tinned tuna and imported rice feature importantly in the diet of those who can readily afford them. The gardens are usually located some walking distance from the villages,

2 Introduction

many of them on hill sides and mountain sides. Copra and cocoa are the primary sources of cash.



Map 1.1 The location of the Solomon Islands in the Western Pacific



Map 1.2 The location of Malaita in the Solomon Islands (the Santa Cruz area is not shown). Honiara is the capital of the Solomon Islands. Auki is the capital of Malaita Province.

Traditional social organization was relatively non-hierarchical. Leadership was an acquired, not a hereditary, position and on a relatively restricted scale. According to Hogbin (1939 [1970]: 62), “[t]here [was] no recognized supreme ruler over even a small territorial group”, and “[n]o one ever [held] sway over more than at a maximum 200 followers”. Residential units were small. People lived primarily in hamlets in the bush in the interior, but after the arrival of the British colonial government and Christian missions into the Solomon Islands, people were encouraged to move down to or near the coast and to live in relatively large villages. Much of the social hierarchy today derives from the modern political structures and from church structures.

Most Toqabaqita people are Christians today, the primary denominations being the Church of Melanesia (Anglican) and the South Sea Evangelical Church.

Schooling is in English. In the Toqabaqita area, schooling is only at the primary level. Post-primary schooling requires attendance at residential schools elsewhere.

Bilingualism in Solomon Islands Pijin is the norm, and many people also have some knowledge of English.

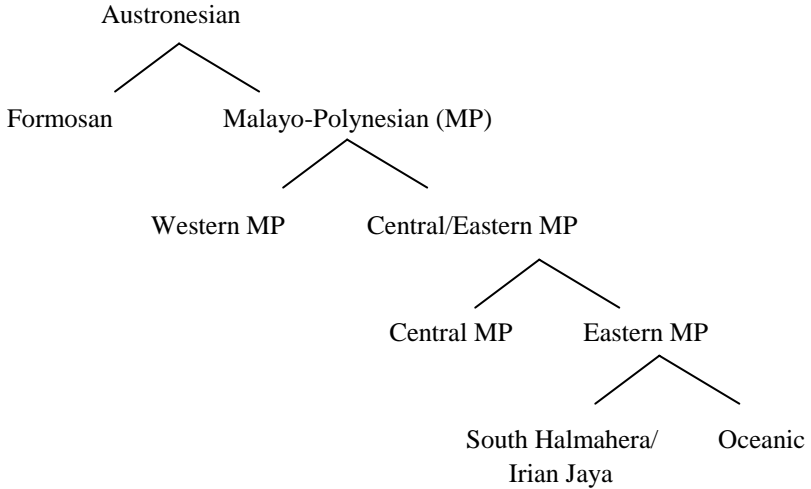
Hogbin (1939 [1970]) gives a detailed account of Toqabaqita society in the early 1930s and of the changes it was undergoing. More recent information on various aspects of Toqabaqita society can be found in Frazer (1973, 1981) and Foana’ota (1994).

Within Austronesian, Toqabaqita is a member of the Oceanic subgroup. The position of Oceanic within Austronesian and the position of Toqabaqita within Oceanic are given in a schematic form in figures 1.1 and 1.2, respectively.

1.2. Previous studies of the language

The first description of the grammar of the language is Ray’s (1926: 498–513) sketch, which appears to be based primarily on a translation of the New Testament (*Na alaofua falu:* (1923 [1977]),¹ and on the translations of the Gospels from 1914 and 1918. Ray calls the language Malu, Malu’u being the site of a South Sea Evangelical Mission station.

There is a typescript of a Malu’u Dictionary, dated 1924, produced by the South Sea Evangelical Mission. The Preface is by C. Waterston, identified as Clara Waterston in G. Simons (1980b) (see also Hilliard 1969). Waterston attributes a great deal of the work on the dictionary to a Mr Caulfield (James Caulfield?; [Ray 1926], [Hilliard 1969]). G. Simons (1980b) also mentions a typescript of a Malu’u grammar (Waterston n.d.), which I have not seen. (For an account of the history of the South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands until 1942, and in the Toqabaqita area in particular, see Hilliard 1969.)



Notes: All the nodes below Austronesian identify subgroups.
 “Formosan” represents more than one primary subgroup of Austronesian.

Figure 1.1. The position of the Oceanic subgroup within Austronesian (Blust 1977)

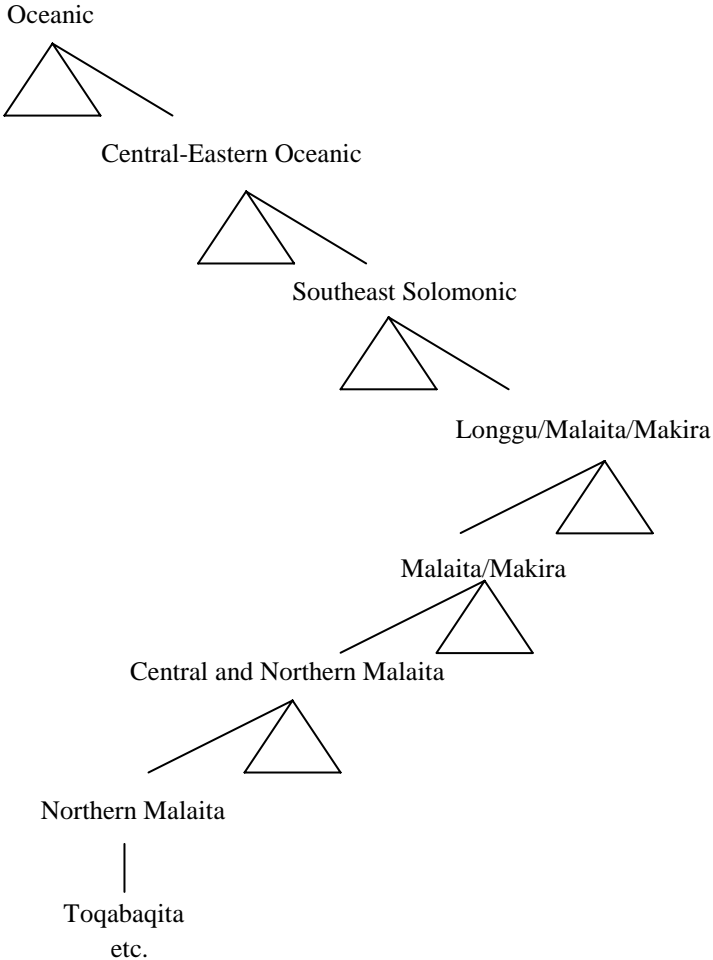
Gary Simons and Linda Simons have reported on certain aspects of the language: G. Simons (1980a, b), L. Simons (1985, 1986). The variety of the language discussed in those works appears to be slightly different from that treated in the present grammar.

There is a brief discussion of a set of Toqabaqita subject markers from a historical perspective in Pike and Simons (1996).²

In 1984 I produced a sketch of the grammar of the language, whose name I then wrote as To’aba’ita (Lichtenberk 1984). That sketch is superseded by the present grammar. Articles of mine on various aspects of the Toqabaqita language are listed in the References. There is a dictionary of the language (Lichtenberk 2008a).

1.3. The present grammar

My work on the language began in 1981 in Auckland, with Lawrence Foana’ota, a speaker of the language, who was then a student at the University of Auckland. This was followed by six periods of field work, between 1984 and 1999, approximately 14 months in total. I was also able to do additional work with two speakers of the language during their visits to Auckland, Reuel Rianoa in 1991, and Fred Saeni in 2000 and 2001.



Notes: Except for “Toqabaqita”, all the nodes identify subgroups.

The triangles represent one or more other subgroups.

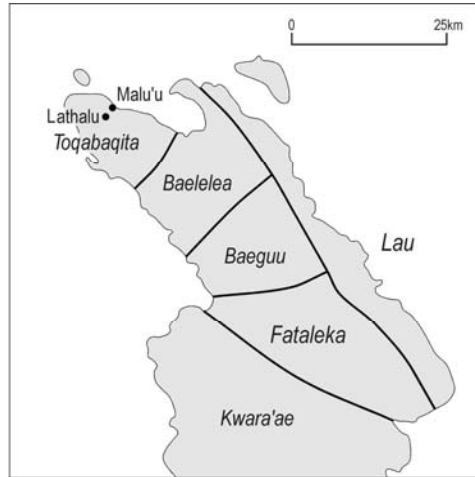
The Longgu/Malaita/Makira subgroup is also known as Cristobal-Malaitan, and the Malaita/Makira subgroup as Malaitan. The “Longgu/Malaita/Makira” and the “Malaita/Makira” labels are from Lynch *et al.* (2002).

Figure 1.2. The position of Toqabaqita within Oceanic (after Pawley 1972, Lichtenberk 1988a, Lynch *et al.* 2002)

I did the bulk of the field work in Laathalu Village, in the bush, about half an hour’s walk from Malu’u, the administrative centre on the coast (map 1.3).

The data on which this grammar is based come from texts, mostly oral, some written, produced by several people, and from elicitation. I have done both

grammatical and lexicographical work on the language. The two kinds of study of the language have been mutually beneficial. Detailed grammatical analysis enabled a more accurate treatment of the grammatical elements in the dictionary than would have been the case otherwise. And the lexicographical work has been of great importance to the grammatical analysis. In any language, grammatical rules, patterns, regularities are of highly different degrees of generality. Few, if any, hold across the board. Many grammatical patterns are lexically sensitive; they hold for some but not all members of a certain word class.



Map 1.3 The languages of North Malaita

Grammatical rules, or patterns, are generalizations over various properties of individual lexical items. One cannot write a reasonably detailed grammar of a language without fairly extensive lexical information on that language.

While my aim has been to produce a relatively detailed grammatical analysis of Toqabaqita, it would be naïve indeed to think that the present description is anywhere near comprehensive. Given the richness and complexity of human languages, and the fact that fully-functioning languages are not fixed, either lexically or grammatically, writing a fully comprehensive grammar of any such language is an unattainable goal in principle. It is with that in mind that this grammatical description of Toqabaqita is presented here.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1. The phoneme inventory

2.1.1. The consonants

The consonant phonemes of Toqabaqita are set out in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Consonant phonemes

	inter-				
	bilabial	dental	dental	labial-velar	velar glottal
plosives					
voiced	b		d	\widehat{gb}	g
voiceless			t	\widehat{kp}	k ʔ
nasals, voiced	m		n		ŋ
trill, voiced			r		
fricatives, voiceless	ϕ	θ	s		
approximants, voiced					
lateral			l		
glide				w	

\widehat{gb} / and \widehat{kp} / are doubly articulated, labial-velar plosives.

The voiced plosives and the glide are or can be prenasalized: [mb], [nd], [ng], [$^n\widehat{gb}$], and [nw]. With respect to prenasalization, /w/ behaves as a velar sound. Prenasalization is discussed in more detail in section 2.1.2.

The nonstrident fricatives / ϕ / and / θ / are voiced intervocally: [β] and [δ], respectively. This voicing always takes place word-internally and across word boundaries when there is no pause between the two words. (Unless stress is germane to the discussion, it is not indicated in the phonetic forms. Stress is discussed in detail in section 2.3.)

- (2-1)
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| a. | / ϕ iru ϕ iru/ | [ϕ iru β iru] | ‘move jerkingly’ |
| b. | / θ a θ ɔ/ (intr. v.) | [θ a δ ɔ] | ‘play games’ |
| c. | / θ aa ϕ ila/ | [θ aa: β ilə] | ‘centipede’ |

d.	/ḫɔθɔ-na/ penis-3SG.PERS	[ḫɔθɔna]	‘his penis’
e.	/kpa ḫula/ 1SG.SEQ arrive	[kpaβulə]	‘(and) I arrived’
f.	/tɛʔɛ ḫa θatɔ/ one CLF day	[tɛʔɛβa θatɔ]	‘one day’

2.1.2. Prenasalization

All the voiced plosives, /b/, /d/, /g/ and /gb/, and the glide /w/ exhibit homorganic prenasalization. However, the degree of prenasalization is not the same for all the segments, and for some of them its presence and strength depends on their position in a word. Velar prenasalization — with /g/, /gb/ and /w/ — is always present in normal speech (see below for exceptions), regardless of word position. /b/ is relatively strongly prenasalized intervocalically, that is word-internally and when there is no pause between words, but in absolute word-initial position (after a pause) the prenasalization is often relatively weak. And /d/ carries relatively strong prenasalization intervocalically, while in absolute word-initial position the prenasalization tends to be very weak or there is no prenasalization at all.

Prenasalization is sometimes absent, even when it is otherwise strong, when speech is directed at someone who is assumed not to know the language (well). When people speak to babies, they sometimes leave out prenasalization; for example [gbəumʊ] ‘your (sg) head’, rather than [ᵐgbəumʊ] (/gbəu-mʊ/ ‘head-2SG.PERS’), and [a:bʊ] ‘don’t do that’ rather than [a:ᵐbʊ] (/abʊ/ ‘be forbidden, not allowed’). In the initial stages of my field work on the language, people would occasionally leave out prenasalization when citing a word to me; for example, [wəʔɪ] rather than [ᵐwəʔɪ] ‘basket’, and [kukubɛ] rather than [kukᵐbɛ] ‘hop on one leg’.

As discussed in section 2.5, a common feature of Toqabaqita is phonological fusion of two or even three words, where one or both/all of the words appear(s) in a reduced form. The protases of conditional sentences are introduced by a combination of /mada/ ‘or’ and the irrealis marker /sa/ (section 31.1):

(2-2)	/mada	sa	danɪ	ʔɛ	ʔarʊ/
	or	IRR	rain	3SG.NFUT	fall	
	‘If it rains,’					

/mada/ and /sa/ often fuse as /ma=sa/. (The equal sign signifies phonological fusion; see section 2.5.)

- (2-3) /ma=sa ʔo ʔadomɪ naʊ]
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT help 1SG
 ‘If you help me,’

However, it is also possible for /mada/ and /sa/ to fuse as /man=sa/, where the /n/ reflects the prenasalization of the /d/ in the full form.

- (2-4) [man=sa kʊlʊ laɛ kəʊ]
 or=IRR PL(INCL).NFUT go AND
 ‘If we go (there),’

And it is even possible for ‘or’ to be realized as /mana/ rather than /mada/. The form /mana/ is most likely the result of “reintroduction” of the second /a/ of /mada/.

- (2-5) [... mana sa niə ka manta ʊɾi-ə]
 or IRR 3SG 3SG.SEQ think ALL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘... if he decides on that (lit.: if he thinks to it),’

(For the [nt] cluster in [manta] see section 2.2.1.)

Even though, with the qualifications just mentioned, prenasalization is an automatic feature of certain sounds, it is, in a sense, detachable from them, as just described. Moreover, prenasalization seems to be relatively salient. Toqabaqita has no consonant clusters underlyingly; see section 2.2.1. As discussed in section 40.2, when Solomon Islands Pijin or English words contain a sequence of a nasal followed by a voiceless stop and such words are accommodated to the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita, the nasal-voiceless stop sequence is usually realized as a prenasalized voiced stop of the same place of articulation as that of the consonants in the original cluster. For example, the word for ‘cement, concrete’, which is /siment/ in Solomon Islands Pijin, becomes [simeⁿdɛ], not [simeɾɛ] or anything else, and the word for ‘monkey’ becomes [məⁿɡɪ], not [məkɪ] or anything else.³

Sequences of identical consonants may arise through the deletion of the intervening vowel, and they are realized phonetically as long consonants (section 2.2.1).

2.1.3. The vowels

The vowel phonemes are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
close	ɪ		ʊ
open-mid	ɛ		ɔ
open		a	

Vowels are long in several types of environment, but there is a proscription on two adjacent vowels being both long.

I. Vowels are long in absolute word-initial position:

- (2-6)
- | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|----------|
| a. | /ɪmɔɛ/ | [ɪ:mɔɛ] | ‘person’ |
| b. | /ɛta/ | [ɛ:ta] | ‘one’ |
| c. | /ɔnɛ/ | [ɔ:nɛ] | ‘sand’ |

II. The second of two geminate vowels is long if the first vowel is in a syllable that attracts stress, unless the first vowel is in absolute word-initial position and so is long (see [2-9] further below). That is, rule I takes precedence over rule II.

- (2-7)
- | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|------------------|
| a. | /maama/ | [máa:ma] | ‘mortuary feast’ |
| b. | /dɔɔ/ | [dɔ́ɔ:] | ‘thing’ |

One type of reduplication consists in repeating the initial syllable and doubling the vowel and prefixing the reduplicant (section 2.4). The second of the two identical vowels of the reduplicant is long:

- (2-8)
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|----------|
| /ɪɪ-ɪɪʊ/ (v.) | [ɪ̃ɪ:ɪ̃ʊ] | ‘stroll’ |
| RDP-walk | | |

The second of two geminate vowels in (2-9) is not long because the first vowel is word-initial and so long:

- (2-9)
- | | | |
|---------|------------|-----------------------|
| /ɔɔmɛa/ | [ɔ́:ɔmɛ́a] | ‘enemy’, ‘fight, war’ |
|---------|------------|-----------------------|

III. The first of two geminate vowels is long, provided neither vowel is in a syllable that attracts stress:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------------|----------|-----------------------|
| (2-10) | a. | /lakɔɔ/ | [lákɔ:ɔ] | ‘that (over there)’ |
| | b. | /kɛda-a/ | [kédɑ:a] | ‘draw it [a picture]’ |
| | | draw-3SG.OBJ | | |

Vowels are also lengthened in monosyllabic (grammatical) words that have not cliticized to a neighbouring word (section. 2.2.3).

Phonetic vowel length is distinct from geminate vowels. More detail on geminate vowels is given in section 2.2.3.

Unstressed vowels are optionally devoiced in absolute final position after a voiceless consonant and between two voiceless consonants:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| (2-11) | a. | /raʔʊ/ | [rəʔʊ], [rəʔʊ̥] | ‘hold (onto)’ |
| | b. | /ʔɪsɪkəme/ | [ʔɪsɪkə̥me], [ʔɪsɪkə̥me] | ‘monitor lizard’ |

When not in a position in which vowels are lengthened, /a/ is realized as [ə] if the immediately preceding or the immediately following syllable contains a high vowel, /i/ or /u/. When one or both of the neighbouring syllables contains /i/, there may be some fronting: [ɛ̞]. Although there is variability in the degree of fronting even for the same word said on different occasions by different speakers or even by one and the same speaker, there are certain environments that are likely to trigger more fronting than other environments. The degree of fronting tends to be relatively greater in the presence of /i/ in the following, rather than the preceding syllable, and in the presence of a dental consonant between the /a/ and the /i/, again especially if the /i/ is in the following syllable. When /a/ is followed by a syllable that consists of dental consonant and /i/, considerable fronting is likely.

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|--------|----------------|---------------------|
| (2-12) | a. | /iana/ | [ɪ:əna] | ‘be pregnant’ |
| | b. | /aɪ/ | [ə:ɪ],[ɛ̞:ɪ] | ‘woman’ |
| | c. | /fasi/ | [fəsɪ],[fɛ̞sɪ] | precedentive marker |

In /smaɪ/ ‘moon’ the /a/ is surrounded by dental consonants and by /i/s, and fronting is very likely to occur and its degree to be relatively great: [smɛ̞ɪ].

The examples in (2-13) illustrate raising of /a/ to [ə] in the presence of /u/ in a neighbouring syllable:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|------------|--------|----------|
| (2-13) | a. | /baʔʊ/ | [bəʔʊ] | ‘banana’ |
| | b. | /sua/ (n.) | [sʊə] | ‘spear’ |

Elsewhere, /a/ is realized as [a].

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. Syllable structure

Underlyingly, the syllable structure is (C)V. There are no closed syllables and no consonant clusters, and there is one vowel per syllable.

At the phonetic level, closed syllables do occur, both word-finally and word-medially. First, grammatical elements of the form ...V_i?V_i## (where ## signifies a word boundary) are not infrequently realized without the final vowel. (This is also an environment in which final vowels are optionally devoiced; see the preceding section.)

- (2-14) a. /bɔʔɔ/ optionally [bɔʔ] assertive marker
 b. /naʔa/ optionally [naʔ] perfect aspect marker;
 intensifier

This elision is particularly common with the presentative locative demonstratives /nɛʔɛ/ ‘here’ (also a vividness marker); /lakɔʔɔ/, /lɔkɔʔɔ/, and /labaʔa/ ‘(over)there; /lɔʔɔ/ ‘up there’; and /ʔɔʔɔ/ ‘down there’. These forms occur sentence finally (section 13.6.2).

- (2-15) [nɪə ʔɔʔɔ]
 3SG down.there
 ‘It’s down there.’

Word-final vowels are also sometimes deleted when the final syllable contains a consonant that is identical to the initial consonant of the following word: ...C_iV ## C_i.... The two words fuse into one phonetic word and the two identical consonants are realized as one long consonant:

- (2-16) a. /maka kamɪlɪʔa/ [mak:əmlɪʔə]
 father 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘our father(s)’
 b. /tɔʔa ʔɛ-kɪ/ [tɔʔ:ɛkɪ/
 people that-PL
 ‘those people’

- c. /ma ni nau/ [man:əu]
 and PROFORE 1SG
 ‘and I’

Closed syllables also arise when an unstressed vowel is deleted between /n/ in a non-initial syllable and a dental oral stop in the next syllable. This kind of vowel deletion is particularly common word internally, but does occur across word boundaries as well when two words become one phonetic word.

- (2-17) a. /manata/ [mánta]
 ‘think’, ‘mind, thought’
- b. /wane taa/ [wántaa:]
 person what?
 ‘what person?’

2.2.2. Morpheme structure

Lexical morphemes consist of at least two syllables. In fact, a majority of lexical morphemes consist of two syllables. Sequences of like or unlike vowels count as separate syllables (see section 2.2.3 for discussion).

- (2-18) a. /ʔote/ ‘paddle’
 b. /sua/ (n.) ‘spear’
 c. /ai/ ‘woman’
 d. /tuu/ ‘heron’
 e. /ɔɔ/ ‘be sour’
 f. /ʔuʔarɔ/ (v.) ‘whisper’
 g. /waela/ (v.) ‘laugh’

Grammatical morphemes may consist of one or more than one syllable:

- (2-19) a. /sa/ irrealis marker
 b. /ku/ 1sg nonfuture subject marker
 c. /-a/ 3sg object suffix
 d. /mai/ ventive directional
 e. /bɔʔɔ/ assertive marker

Grammatical elements of more than two syllables are normally morphemically complex, even though their morphemic make-up may have been obscured by historical developments. For example, there is a third person dual personal

suffix /-darɔʔa/ and a third person dual object suffix of the same form. These are treated in this grammar as unanalyzed wholes, although they are clearly related to the corresponding plural forms /-da/. The history of /rɔʔa/ is not clear, but see section 8.1.2 for some comments.

2.2.3. Occurrence of segments

Some of the consonants occur or tend to occur only in certain environments. The labial-velars / \widehat{kp} / and / \widehat{gb} / occur only before the non-back vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /a/:

- (2-20) a. / $\widehat{kpa}ɪ$ / ‘be wild’ b. / \widehat{agba} / ‘hide’
 c. / \widehat{takpe} / ‘stand’ d. / $\widehat{gbe}\text{ɔ}$ / ‘mushroom’
 e. / $\widehat{kpi}ɪ$ / ‘bird sp.’ f. / \widehat{gbina} / ‘be wet’

/w/ occurs almost without exception only word-initially and stem-initially before /a/ and /ɛ/:

- (2-21) a. /waa/ ‘worm’
 b. /faʔa-waɛla/ ‘make sb. laugh’
 CAUS-laugh
 c. /wɛla/ ‘child’
 d. /wɛɛ-wɛla/ ‘little child’
 RDP-child

There are a few words with an internal /w/ that are historically most likely reduplications but that do not have unreduplicated counterparts in the present-day language; for example, /wawaziʔɪ/ ‘of illness: ease a little’.

And there is a little children’s word for ‘sibling’, /wauwaʔa/, which does not appear to be analyzable.

/θ/ ([ð] intervocalically) occurs primarily word-initially and stem-initially before /a/, although it does occur in a few words in other environments. (For the history of this phoneme in Toqabaqita see Blust 1990, and Lichtenberk 1988a, 1994a.)

- (2-22) a. /θatɔ/ ‘sun’ b. /θaθamɪ/ ‘want’
 c. / $\widehat{kpa}ɪ$ -θaθaɪ/ LIP-be.ready.to.do.st.
 ‘be ready’

If, through a morphological process, three identical vowels were to occur next to each other, one of them is deleted:

- (2-27) a. /ɸaʔa-ʔakpaa-a/ [ɸaʔ:ákpa:a]
 CAUS-be.cured-3SG.OBJ
 ‘cure him/her/it’
- b. /ɸaʔa-raa-a/ [ɸaʔaraáa]
 CAUS-work-3SG.OBJ
 ‘instruct him/her how to work’

Lexical morphemes consist of at least two syllables. Some grammatical words are monosyllabic. In normal speech the monosyllabic words cliticize onto the preceding or the following word (section 2.5). When they do not cliticize, in very slow speech, such as in hesitation, their vowel is lengthened and they receive some stress. In (2-28) the masculine person marker /θa/, instead of cliticizing onto the preceding word, is a separate phonetic word and its vowel is lengthened:

- (2-28) [wéla θà: dɔ́ɔ:]
 child PERSMKR thing
 ‘the child of what’s his name’ (lit.: ‘the child of the [masculine] thing’)

There are many disyllabic lexical and some grammatical morphemes that contain geminate vowels. For example:

- (2-29) a. /raa/ (intr. v.; n.) ‘work’
 b. /ŋʊʊ/ (intr. v.; n.) ‘sing’, ‘song’
 c. /tɛɛ/ ‘of a canoe: run aground in shallow water’
 d. /ɔɔ/ ‘be sour’
 e. /nɪɪ/ ‘be located (at a place)’
 f. /baa/ ‘that’ (determiner demonstrative)
 g. /ʔʊʊ/ anterior-continuing postverbal particle

There are several pieces of evidence that such words are indeed disyllabic, rather than monosyllabic with a lengthened vowel (to make them bimoraic). First, even though in fast speech the two vowels are sometimes realized as one long one, normally there is rearticulation of the vowels. There are a few words that consist exclusively of two identical vowels. In such cases the first, word-initial vowel is lengthened (for the lengthening of word-initial vowels see section 2.1.3), and it is followed by a short vowel:

- (2-30) a. /ɔɔ/ [ɔ:ɔ] ‘be sour’
 b. /ɪɪ/ [ɪ:ɪ] ‘be located (at a place)’

(There are two verbs with the meaning ‘be located (at a place)’: /ɪɪ/ and /ɪɪɪ/. For the latter see [2-29e] further above.)

Second, when morphemes of the form (C)V_iV_i are part of a larger word, the two vowels are retained in almost all cases:

- (2-31) a. /θʊʊ/ (intr. v.) /θʊʊ-ϕɪ-a/
 ‘cover os.’ cover-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘cover him/her/it’
- b. /ϕɪɪ/ (intr. v.) /ϕɪɪ-laa/
 ‘hurt’ hurt-NMLZ
 ‘pain’
- c. /baa/ /na=baa/
 ‘that’ PRF=that
 situational demonstrative adverb: PAST.THEN

In a few cases, one of the two identical vowels of the base is not present in a morphologically complex word, but there is other evidence that there are geminate vowels in the base. For example, there are two elevational qualifying demonstratives, /lɔɔ/ ‘upward’ and /ϕʊʊ/ ‘downward’. Historically, they are part of the presentative locative demonstratives /lɔʔɔ/ ‘up there’ and /ϕʊʔʊ/ ‘down there’, respectively, although the origin of the /ʔɔ/ and the /ʔʊ/ elements is not known. However, besides /lɔʔɔ/ and /ϕʊʔʊ/, there are also the forms /lɔɔɪ/ ‘up there’ and /ϕʊʊɪ/ ‘down there’, with geminate vowels, which function as general locative demonstratives. The origin of the element /ɪ/ is not known. And besides /ϕʊʊɪ/, there is also the general locative demonstrative /ϕʊʊbaa/ ‘down there’, which consists of /ϕʊʊ/ and the determiner demonstrative /baa/ ‘that’ (see 2-31c) above.

Third, for the purposes of stress assignment (section 2.3), geminate vowels count as being in different syllables:

- (2-32) a. /θʊʊ-ϕɪ-a/ [θʊʊ:βɪa], not *[θʊ:βɪa]
 cover.os.-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘cover him/her/it’
- b. /ϕɪɪ-laa/ [ϕɪɪ:laa], not *[ϕɪ:lɑ:
 hurt-NMLZ
 ‘pain’

Finally, evidence that geminate vowels belong in different syllables comes from a language game, a kind of Pig-Latin, engaged in by children. In this Pig-Latin, after each syllable an extra syllable is inserted that consist of /m/ and a copy of the vowel in the preceding syllable:

(2-33)	normal Toqabaqita	Pig-Latin
	/niʊ/ ‘coconut’	/nimimʊmʊ/
	/wɛla/ ‘child’	/wɛmɛlama/
	/bɔθɔ/ ‘pig’	/bɔmɔθɔmɔ/
	/laɛ ma/ ‘come here’	/lamaɛmɛ mamaɛmi/
	go VENT	

Words of the phonological shape (C)V_iV_i are usually treated as disyllabic.

(2-34)	normal Toqabaqita	Pig-Latin
a.	/waa/ ‘worm’	/wamaama/
b.	/tuʊ/ ‘heron’	/tʊmʊtʊmʊ/
c.	/bɪɪ/ ‘stone oven’	/bɪmɪɪmi/
d.	/ɔɔ/ ‘be sour’	/ɔmɔɔmɔ/

However, in an elicitation session on Pig-Latin, V_iV_i sequences in words of two or more syllables occasionally caused difficulties for the speaker and were sometimes treated as if they were monosyllabic. For example, /ɔɔ/ ‘be sour’ was sometimes made into [ɔmɔ:], and /dɛɛ/ (intr. v.) ‘fish’ into [dɛmɛ:]. In such “irregular” Pig-Latin equivalents the final vowel was usually, but not always, lengthened. Sequences of geminate vowels were occasionally treated as if monosyllabic even when the vowels belong to two different morphemes. The word for ‘feast’ /ɸaa-ɸaŋa-a/ is morphologically complex: the verbal root /ɸaŋa/ ‘eat’ is reduplicated and the redupliant is prefixed, and a suffix /-a/, which forms deverbal nouns, is added. Both /aa/ sequences were rendered into Pig-Latin as monosyllabic, even the second one, where the two vowels belong to two different morphemes: [ɸamaɸamaŋama:], instead of the expected [ɸamaamaɸamaŋamaama]. And /bɔɔr-a kɪɫʊ/ ‘the bottom of a hole’ was rendered as /bɔmɔrama kɪmɪɫʊmʊ/, rather than /bɔmɔɔmɔrama kɪmɪɫʊmʊ/. The /ɔɔ/ sequence in /bɔɔr-a/ is the result of a metathesis. The basic form of the word for ‘bottom’ is /bɔrɔ/. When the third person personal suffix is added to most nouns that have /r/ or /l/ in their final syllable, the /r/ or /l/ and the vowel of that syllable metathesize (section 8.1.2); that is, /bɔɔr-a/, rather than */bɔrɔ-a/ (or */bɔrɔ-na/, with the other allomorph of the personal suffix). Nevertheless, the Pig-Latin speaker treated the /ɔɔ/ sequence as if it were monosyllabic. It is con-

ceivable there there is an optional alternative rule whereby V_iV_i sequences are rendered in Pig-Latin as $/V_i m V_i/$, with only an $/m/$ inserted between the two vowels rather than with two extra syllables.

All of the evidence for geminate vowels in words of the shape $(C)V_iV_i$ also applies to words of more than two syllables. In word-initial V_iV_i sequences, the first vowel is long and the second one short: $[\text{ɔ}:\text{ɔm}^{\text{e}}\text{a}]$ ‘enemy’, ‘fight, war’. In words of more than two syllables there would be no reason to lengthen a vowel to achieve bimoraicity; and the geminate vowels are retained if the morpheme forms part of a larger word: $[\text{u}:\text{us}^{\text{i}}\text{ɔ}]$ ‘market’, which consists of $/\text{us}^{\text{i}}/$ ‘buy’ and the suffix $/-a/$, which derives deverbal nouns. V_iV_i sequences count as two syllables for stress-assignment purposes: $[\text{ɔ}:\text{ɔm}^{\text{e}}\text{a}]$ ‘enemy’, ‘fight, war’, not $*[\text{ɔ}:\text{m}^{\text{e}}\text{a}]$; $[\text{u}:\text{us}^{\text{i}}\text{ɔ}]$ ‘market’, not $*[\text{u}:\text{s}^{\text{i}}\text{ɔ}]$. And V_iV_i sequences are, or can be, treated as two syllables in Pig-Latin: $/\text{maa-mu}/$ ‘your (sg) eye’ ($/\text{maa}/$ ‘eye’, $/-mu/$ 2sg personal suffix) becomes $/\text{mamaamamumu}/$.

2.3. Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Toqabaqita, although there is potential for two compound words to be distinguished only by stress position; see further below for discussion. Stress assignment is governed by the following rules:

I. The initial syllable of a word is stressed. There is one type of exception to this rule: when a monosyllabic grammatical morpheme cliticizes onto the following lexical word, the stress is on the first syllable of the lexical element. However, when the lexical word is the negative verb $/a\text{ʔ}i/$ ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’ and the third person singular subject marker $/\text{ʔ}e/$ procliticizes onto it, more often than not the stress is on the subject marker.

II. The final syllable of a word is never stressed, except in cases of vowel elision (section 2.2.1).

III. Neighbouring syllables cannot both be stressed, except in cases of vowel elision (section 2.2.1).

IV. There cannot be more than two unstressed syllables next to each other.

V. In words that involve derivation, the stem has the same stress pattern as in its base form (without derivation), unless rule IV would thereby be violated.

VI. In compounds, each component has the same pattern it would have as an independent word, unless rule IV would thereby be violated.

VII. Grammatical morphemes of one syllable are normally unstressed and cliticize onto the preceding or the following word. When they do not cliticize (in very slow speech), they receive weak stress (and the vowel is lengthened).

VIII. In words with more than one stress, the final stress tends to be marginally stronger than the other stress(es).

Other factors having to do with stress assignment are discussed further below.

Primary stress is indicated with “ˈ”, and secondary stress with “ˌ”. Here are some examples:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|--|-------------------|---|
| (2-35) | a. | /kɛφʊ/ | [kɛ́βʊ] | ‘fall over’ |
| | b. | /aɪ/ | [ǎ:ɪ] | ‘woman’ |
| | c. | /φʊarɔ/ | [φʊ́arɔ] | ‘crocodile’ |
| | d. | /θaɪa/ | [θǎ́ɪǎ] | ‘tree sp.: <i>Parinari glaber-
rima</i> ’ |
| | e. | /kɛkɛnɛ/ | [kɛ̀ɛ:kɛ́nɛ] | ‘breadfruit’ |
| | f. | /waa-waɛla/
RDP-laugh | [ˈwaa:ˌwáɛla] | ‘keep on laughing’ |
| | g. | /futa-maɛ/
be.born-die | [fùtamáɛ] | ‘epilepsy’ |
| | h. | /φaʔa-ɔlaφʊ-a/
CAUS-work.hard-3SG.OBJ | [φǎ̀ʔǎ̀ɔ̀lǎ̀βʊ́ǎ] | ‘make him/her work hard’ |

The next example shows stress on the first syllable of a lexical word to which a monosyllabic grammatical morpheme has procliticized:

- | | | | |
|--------|----------|------------------|----------|
| (2-36) | /ʔɛ | laɛ/ | [ʔɛ́lǎɛ] |
| | 3SG.NFUT | go | |
| | | ‘he/she/it went’ | |

However, with the negative verb /aʔɪ/ it is the subject marker /ʔɛ/ that normally attracts stress (sections 17.3 and especially 17.4):

- | | | | |
|--------|----------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| (2-37) | /ʔɛ | aʔɪ/ | [ʔɛ́ǎʔɪ] |
| | 3SG.NFUT | not.be.so | |
| | | ‘No.’ (As an answer to a question.) | |

More detail on cliticization is given in section 2.5.

Final stressed syllables arise when a word-final vowel is deleted in a grammatical word of the form ...V_iʔV_i## (section 2.2.1):

- | | | | | |
|--------|----------|-----------|---|---------------|
| (2-38) | /ʔɛ | aʔɪ | bɔʔɔ/ | [ʔɛ́ǎʔɪ bɔ́ʔ] |
| | 3SG.NFUT | not.be.so | ASRT | |
| | | | ‘Not at all.’ (As an answer to a question.) | |

The stress pattern of a base is retained when affixes, derivational or inflectional, are added, unless this would result in a sequence of more than two unstressed syllables.

A few transitive verbs contain two derivational suffixes: a monosyllabic stem extender followed by a long, disyllabic transitive suffix. All such verbs have disyllabic roots. For stress assignment purposes, the stem extender is treated as part of the stem and does not receive stress, while the transitive suffix is stressed on its first syllable. In (2-45a) there is an intransitive verb, a long transitive verb with the stem extender /-la/ and the long transitive suffix /-ŋani/ based on the intransitive verb; and in (2-45b) there is a short transitive verb derived from the same base by means of the short, monosyllabic transitive suffix /-li/, without the stem extender:

- (2-45)
- a. /takpɛ/ [takpɛ] and /takpɛ-la-ŋani-a/ [takpɛlaŋəniə]
 ‘stand’ stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘stand him/her/it up’
- b. /takpɛ-li-a/ [takpɛliə]
 ‘stand-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘of many people: stand all over it [a place]’

There is a general preference for bases to have trisyllabic feet, where possible; thus, [takpɛlaŋəniə] ‘stand him/her/it up’, rather than *[takpɛlaŋəniə]. This preference for three-syllable feet is also manifested in the next types of case.

Most inflectional suffixes are monosyllabic. In a few cases what are historically two inflectional suffixes are present simultaneously, a monosyllabic one followed by a disyllabic one. The monosyllabic suffix is never stressed, while the disyllabic one is stressed on its first syllable. In (2-45) the base is disyllabic, and there are only two unstressed syllables next to each other.

- (2-46) /ŋali/ [ŋəli] and /ŋali-da-rɔʔa/ [ŋəliᵐdərɔʔa]
 ‘take’ take-3PL.OBJ-“DU”
 ‘take them (two)’

The verbal root /ŋali/ and the suffix /-da/ together constitute one tri-syllabic foot: [ŋəliᵐdərɔʔa], not *[ŋəliᵐdərɔʔa].

On the other hand, in (2-47) the base is trisyllabic, and here its last syllable is stressed in order to avoid a sequence of three unstressed syllables:

- (2-47) /ʔaaʔi/ /ʔaa:βi/ and /ʔaaʔi-da-rɔʔa/ [ʔaa:βiᵐdərɔʔa]
 confective preposition CONF-3PL.OBJ-“DU”

- b. /maʔa-maʔaru/ [màʔamáʔəru]
 RDP-blink
 ‘blink repeatedly’

However, in a number of words the reduplicants are monosyllabic. The first syllable of the word receives stress, but there is no stress on the first syllable of the base, because two adjacent syllables cannot be stressed, except in cases of vowel elision; see rule III further above. In (2-59d) it is the second rather than the first syllable of the base that is stressed.

- (2-51) a. /tə-təlɪ/ [tótəlɪ]
 RDP-descend
 ‘landslip, landslide’
- b. /ḡba-ḡbəri/ [ḡbaḡbəri]
 RDP-(object)be.cold
 ‘of a person: feel cold’
- c. /am-amasi-a/ [à:maməsi-ə]
 RDP-call.sb.for.help-3SG.OBJ
 ‘keep calling him/her for help’
- d. /ɔl-ɔlɔβu/ [ù:lɔlɔβu]
 RDP-work.hard
 ‘keep on working hard’

Compare [ḡbaḡbəri] ‘of a person: feel cold’ in (2-51b), with a monosyllabic reduplicant and no stress on the initial syllable of the base [ḡbəri], and [ḡbaa:ḡbəriʔə] ‘of a place: be pleasantly cool, shaded’, with a disyllabic reduplicant and stress on the initial syllable of the same base, [ḡbəri]. (/ʔa/ is a proprietive suffix that derives stative intransitive verbs.) And compare also [ù:lɔlɔβu] ‘keep on working hard’ in (2-51d), with a monosyllabic reduplicant and stress on the second rather than the first syllable of the base, and [ḡaa:βaʔəɔlɔβu] ‘keep on making sb. work hard’ in (2-50a) further above, with two disyllabic prefixes and stress on the first syllable of the same base, [ɔlɔβu].

In compounds, each element is stressed in the same way as when it functions as a word on its own, with a few exceptions. For example:

- (2-52) a. /alɔ-maɛ/ [əlɔmáɛ]
 taro-die
 ‘blight that affects taro plants’

- b. /kʊʊkʊʊ-ʔɔɔ/ [kʊʊ:kʊʊ:ʔɔɔ/
 finger/toe-be.many
 ‘centipede’
- c. /lakpʰaθɔ-nɪɪ-ʔaʊ/ [lakpʰaθɔnɪɪʔəʊ/
 flying.fox-knife-piece.of.bamboo
 ‘sp. of flying fox’
- d. /akalɔ-maʊɪ/ [akalɔməʊɪ]
 ancestral.spirit-be.active
 ‘ancestral spirit that is still active’

/maʊɪ/ does not exist as a word on its own, but there is also /ruka-maʊɪ/, phonetically [rʊkəməʊɪ], ‘water spring that never dries out’ (/ruka/ ‘water spring’)

Both compounds in (2-53) below contain five syllables, but in the one in (2-53a) the primary stress is on the third syllable, which is the initial syllable of the second member of the compound, while in the compound in (2-53b) the primary stress is on the fourth syllable, which is the initial syllable of the second member of the compound:

- (2-53) a. /mɛɛ-ʔʊlɔʊ/ [mɛɛ:ʔʊlɔʊ]
 tongue-frog.sp
 ‘young coconut with very soft flesh’
- b. /ʊʊʊ-ʔaɪ/ [ʊ:ʊʊʔəɪ]
 follow-tree
 ‘bird sp.: Common Kingfisher’

The fact that (with some exceptions discussed further below) the components of compounds retain their lexical stress makes it possible, in principle at least, for two compounds to be phonetically distinct only in their stress patterns: C[̀]V[̀]CV-C[́]V[́]CV[́]CV vs C[̀]V[̀]CV[̀]CV-C[́]V[́]CV, with identical consonants and vowels in identical positions in the two compounds. However, no such minimal pair has come to light.

There are a few lexicalized phrases that are exceptional to the rule that lexical items retain their stress patterns in compounds. All of them contain the monosyllabic general locative preposition /ʔɪ/ in its variant form /ɪ/. As a monosyllabic preposition, /ɪ/ not stressed, and its presence in a compound may require an additional stress in order to avoid a sequence of three unstressed syllables.

bles. In the lexicalized phrase in (2-54) the component before the preposition is disyllabic and no additional stress is necessary:

- (2-54) /maφɔ-ɪ-kɪlɔ/ [màβɔɪkɪlɔ]
 heal-LOC-hole
 ‘chronic ulcer, sore’ (it only heals in the hole, that is,
 in the person’s grave)

However, in the lexicalized phrase in (2-55) the component before the preposition is trisyllabic. In the lexicalized phrase its last syllable receives stress in order for three unstressed syllables in a row to be avoided:

- (2-55) /mɔʔɔsɯ-ɪ-lɔma/ [mɔʔɔsùlómə] cf. [mɔʔɔsɯ]
 sleep-LOC-family.house ‘sleep’
 ‘of a married couple: sleep together (and
 have sex) in the family house (not normally
 done in traditional times)’

Similarly, in the lexicalized phrases in (2-56) the final syllables of the first components receive stress:

- (2-56)
- a. /akalɔ-ɪ-θalɔ/ [à:kalɔiðálɔ] cf. [ákalɔ]
 ancestral.spirit-LOC-sky ‘ancestral spirit’
 ‘ancestral spirit that resides
 high up in the air’
- b. /ʔɯʃʊbɯlɯ-ɪ-malau/ [ʔùʃ:ʔù^mbɯlùimələu/
 mutter-LOC-hole.in.ground
 ‘sp. of snake: Typhlina sp.’
 (“mutters in the hole”)
- cf. /ʔɯʃʊbɯlɯ/ [ʔùʃ:ʔù^mbɯlɯ]
 ‘mutter’
- and /ʔɯbɯlɯ-tani-a/ [ʔù^mbɯlɯtəniə]
 mutter-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘mutter about him/her/it’

2.4. Reduplication

Reduplication is a pervasive phenomenon in Toqabaqita with a variety of functions. A number of types of reduplication patterns are distinguished in the language on the basis of two main criteria: (a) the number of syllables reduplicated; (b) prefixation vs. suffixation of the reduplicant. With respect to the prefixation vs. suffixation of the reduplicant, the relevant factor is the nature of the first segment of the base: a consonant or a vowel. Reduplication of bases beginning with a consonant involves prefixation of the reduplicant; reduplication of bases beginning with a vowel involves suffixation of the reduplicant.

Normal stress rules apply to words containing reduplications. In each of the sets of examples in (2-57) – (2-65), the first one also shows the phonetic form with stress.

There are three reduplication patterns of consonant-initial bases. In the commonest pattern, the initial syllable is reduplicated and its vowel is doubled in the reduplicant:

(2-57)	a.	/lələ/ (intr. v.) 'tell a lie'	/lɔɔ-lələ/ 'keep on lying'	[lɔɔ:lələ]
	b.	/ʔaŋa/ (intr. v.) 'eat'	/ʔaa-ʔaŋa/ 'keep on eating'	
	c.	/ʔusʊŋadɪ/ 'tomorrow'	/ʔusʊ-ʔusʊŋadɪ/ 'morning'	
		more commonly	/ʔusʊ-ʔusʊŋadɪa/ 'morning'	
	d.	/tɛʊ-ʔɪ/ (tr. v.) fan-TR 'fan sb., st.'	/tɛɛ-tɛʊ/ (n.) 'fan' (used in fanning)'	
	e.	/nɪʊ/ 'coconut'	/nɪɪ-nɪʊ/ 'grease (in food)'	
	f.	/ʔaʔa-ʊlaʔʊ/ CAUS-work.hard 'make sb. work hard'	/ʔaa-ʔaʔa-ʊlaʔʊ/ 'keep on making sb. work hard'	

In another reduplication pattern with consonant-initial bases, it is the first two syllables that are reduplicated. This pattern is not as common as the preceding one.

(2-58)	a.	/təʔʊ/ 'of birds: peck'	/təʔʊ-təʔʊ/ (n.) 'adze'	[təʔʊtəʔʊ]
	b.	/θaka/ 'run away, escape'	/θaka-θaka/ 'be loose in a wiggly way'	

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------|
| c. | /labata/ | also | /la-labata/ |
| | ‘clear, open area
in a village’ | | ‘clear, open area
in a village’ |

Since the clear cases of reduplication of consonant-initial bases involve prefixation of the reduplicant, there is no reason to assume that reduplication of single syllables involves infixation: */tə-tə-lɪ/ ‘landslip, landslide’ (see [2-61a]).

There are two patterns of reduplication of vowel-initial bases. In one, the more common one, the last syllable of the stem is reduplicated and the copy is suffixed to the base:

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|
| (2-62) | a. | /ɔlɪ/ (intr. v.) | /ɔlɪ-lɪ/ | [ɔːlɪ-lɪ/ |
| | | ‘return’ | ‘move to and fro/back and forth’ | |
| | b. | /aɸʊ-sɪ/ | /aɸʊ-ɸʊ/ (n.) | |
| | | ‘scatter, sprinkle’ | ‘flakes, crumbs’ | |
| | c. | /ɔɸʊ/ (intr. v.) | /ɔɸʊ-ɸʊ-a/ | |
| | | ‘gather’ | gather-RDP-DVN | |
| | | | ‘group, gathering, congregation’ | |

In transitive verbs that contain a transitive suffix, the suffix follows the reduplicant. The reduplicant is part of a phonological foot with the base

- | | | | | |
|--------|----|----------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| (2-63) | a. | /aŋɪ-sɪ-a/ | /aŋɪ-ŋɪ-sɪ-a/ | [aːŋɪŋɪsɪə] |
| | | cry-TR-3SG.OBJ | ‘keep crying for him/her/it’ | |
| | | ‘cry for him/her/it’ | | |
| | b. | /ɪlɪ-ɸani-a/ | /ɪlɪ-lɪ-ɸani-a/ | /ɪːlɪlɪβəniə/ |
| | | do-TR-3SG.OBJ | ‘keep imitating him/her-it’ | |
| | | ‘imitate him/her/it’ | | |

The other reduplication pattern found with vowel-initial bases applies to words of the form VCV. There the whole of the base is reduplicated, and (by analogy with the other pattern of reduplication of vowel-initial stems) the copy is suffixed. In some cases, the last vowel of the base changes, either obligatorily or optionally, to become identical to the initial vowel of the copy, which is also the initial vowel of the base. Examples without vowel change are given in (2-64), and examples with vowel change in (2-65).

- (2-64) a. /aŋɔ/ /aŋɔ-aŋɔ/ [ã:ŋɔáŋɔ]
 ‘crouch, creep’ general term for
 small, stinging ants’
 cf. /aŋɔ-φɪ/
 crouch/creep-TR
 ‘crouch, creep for’,
 ‘of ants: crawl on’
- b. /ʊɾʊ/ (v.) /ʊɾʊ-ʊɾʊ/
 ‘place sole of foot down’ ‘grope with one’s feet’
- c. /ɛsɔ/ /ɛsɔ-ɛsɔ/
 ‘be boisterous’ ‘keep on being boisterous’
- (2-65) a. /ɛta/ /ɛtɛ-ɛta/ (n.) [ɛ̃:tɛ́ɛta]
 ‘one’ ‘very large number
 of st., beyond counting’
- b. /ɪŋɔ/ (tr. v.) /ɪŋɪ-ɪŋɔ/ also /ɪŋɔ-ɪŋɔ/
 ‘scoop out’ ‘of liquid, such as water: be
 agitated rather than still’

There are also idiosyncratic cases of reduplication that do not follow any of the patterns given above, both for consonant-initial and vowel-initial bases. For example, /k̄para-ra/ ‘urinate’, ‘urine’ is based on /k̄para/ ‘urine’. Even though the base is consonant-initial, it is the final syllable that is reduplicated and the copy is suffixed. (/k̄para-ra/ is an independent word for ‘urine’, while /k̄para/ must occur with a personal suffix; for example /k̄para-ku/ ‘my urine’.)

The deverbal noun /ɛnɛ-nɔ-a/ (or: /ɛn-ɛnɔ-a/?) ‘peace’ is based on /ɛnɔ/ ‘be quiet, calm’. The base is disyllabic, and the expected form of the word for ‘peace’ is either */ɛnɔ-ɛnɔ-a/ or */ɛnɛ-ɛnɔ-a/. (The suffix /-a/ derives nouns from verbs.) And there is also an intransitive verb /ɛnɛ-nɔ-ʔa/ (/ɛn-ɛnɔ-ʔa/?) ‘be peaceful’, also based on /ɛnɔ/, which is irregular in the same way. (/ʔa/ is a propriative suffix.)

/ʊʔʊnʊ/ (intr. v., n.) ‘narrate, converse’, ‘story’ has an irregular reduplicated counterpart of the form /ʊʔʊʔʊnʊ/ ‘keep on narrating, conversing’. While /ʊʔʊʔʊnʊ/ appears to involve infixation of the reduplicant, it is more likely that this synchronic irregularity is the result of an unknown historical process. Similarly, /ʊlaφʊ/ ‘work hard’ has a reduplicated form /ʊlʊlaφʊ/ ‘keep on working hard’, which is irregular in the same way as /ʊʔʊʔʊnʊ/.

Some bases have two reduplicated counterparts distinguished by different types of reduplication. In some instances the two forms that involve reduplication are synonymous; in others there is a difference in meaning:

Finally, there are also words that have the appearance of involving reduplication, although in the present-day language there are no corresponding bases. For example:

- (2-68) a. /ʔaaʔanʊ/ 'be scared, terrified'
 b. /kεεkεnε/ 'breadfruit'
 c. /ʊθʊθa/ 'of a person: feel weak because ill'

In some cases reduplication is a synchronically productive process, specifically when verbs are reduplicated to express the continuative/iterative aspect. In other cases, the reduplicated forms are lexical items of their own that have only a historical relation to their original bases; for example, /nɪɪ-nɪʊ/ 'grease (in food)' and /nɪʊ/ 'coconut'.

2.5. Cliticization and fusion

With some exceptions, monosyllabic grammatical elements cliticize to the preceding word in the clause, if there is one.

- (2-69) /naʊ kʊ θaʊʔa/ [nəʊkʊ θaʊʔa]
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry
 'I am hungry.'

- (2-70) /laε sɪ maɪ/ /laεsɪ məɪ/
 go PREC VENT
 'Come here now.'

Since such grammatical elements have no stress of their own, in some cases such cliticization results in an additional syllable of the host being stressed in order for sequences of more than two unstressed syllables next to each other not to arise. In (2-71) the plural marker /kɪ/ has cliticized on the trisyllabic verb /baʔɪta/. It is not only the first syllable of /baʔɪta/ that receives stress but the last syllable as well:

- (2-71) /bʊθʊ baʔɪta kɪ/ [ᵐbʊθʊ ᵐbəʔɪtəkɪ]
 pig be.big PL
 'big pigs'

Compare (2-72), where the plural marker is not present, and it is only the first syllable of /baʔɪta/ that carries stress:

- (2-72) /bɔθɔ baʔita/ [ᵐᵐbɔ́ðɔ ᵐᵐbə́ʔita]
- pig be.big
- ‘big pig’

If there is no preceding host available, because the grammatical element is clause initial or because there is a pause between the grammatical element and the preceding word, monosyllabic elements cliticize onto the following word. However, even though they are word initial, they do not, with two types of exception, receive stress:

- (2-73) /ʔɛ laɛ ɪ masʊʔʊ/ /ʔɛlaɛɪ məsʊʔʊ/
- 3SG.NFUT go LOC bush
- ‘She went into the bush.’ (Euphemistically for ‘She went to the toilet.’)

- (2-74) /θa ʊlʊfʌalʊ ʔɛ fʊla naʔa/
- PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT arrive PRF
- ‘Ulufaalu has arrived.’

[θà:ʊβʌa:ʌ ʔɛβʊ́lə náʔa]

One type of exception concerns the combination of the third person singular nonfuture subject marker /ʔɛ/ with the negative verb /aʔɪ/. As mentioned in the discussion of stress in section 2.3, here it is more common for the subject marker, and not the first syllable of the verb, to carry stress,

- (2-75) /ʔɛ aʔɪ/ [ʔɛ́əʔɪ]
- 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
- ‘No.’ (As an answer to a question.)

See also (2-78) further below, and sections 17.3 and 17.4 for further discussion.)

The other type of exception concerns the general locative preposition /-ʔɪ/. This preposition cliticizes to the following word when that word is grammatical, unless it fuses with the preceding element (see further below for fusion), and it is the preposition that carries word-initial stress:

- (2-76) /fʌle-a ʔɪ fʌ-na/ [fʌ́leə ʔɪβəna]
- give-3SG.OBJ LOC REC-3SG.PERS
- ‘Give it to him.’

- (2-77) /... kəkɔ ʔarɔ-a ɸaʊ ʔɪ ɛɪ .../
 3DU.SEQ drop-3.OBJ stone LOC LOCPRO
 ‘[... they lit a fire (and)] they dropped stones in it’

[...kəkɔ ʔarɔa ɸaʊ ɪɛɪ ...]

For the absence of the glottal stop in the locative preposition /ʔɪ/ in the phonetic form in (2-77) see further below.

Neighbouring monosyllabic elements cliticize to each other:

- (2-78) /naʊ ʔɛ aʔɪ ta ɸa ʔɔta/
 1SG 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some CLF areca.nut
 ‘I have no areca nuts.’ (‘With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.’)

[nəʊ ʔɛəʔɪ tɑβa ʔɔta]

Cliticization is not indicated when examples are presented in the orthography in the rest of the grammar; but see further below for the combination of the third person singular subject marker /ʔɛ/ and the negative verb /aʔɪ/.

Cliticization as discussed above must be distinguished from what is here referred to as “fusion” of two or sometimes even three words. In fusion, the two or three lexical and/or grammatical words form one phonological word, and the non-final component or components that make up a fused word lose some of their phonological material at their ends, a segment, a syllable or even two syllables. With one type of exception, the final component occurs in its full form. The exception is grammatical elements that begin with a glottal stop: they lose the glottal stop when fused to the preceding element. Words that have fused together behave as single phonological words for the purposes of stress assignment.

Fusion is signalled in the grammar by means of an equal sign: =, including when examples are present in the orthography.

Fusion may involve grammatical words or lexical words. In some cases, fusion is obligatory. Obligatory fusion involves certain combinations of grammatical words: when two or three such words occur next to each other, fusion must take place. The reduced forms in which morphemes that obligatorily undergo fusion occur are referred to in the grammar as the “combining” forms of those morphemes. (A few morphemes must occur in their combining forms when a bound morpheme is suffixed to them.)

Fusion is obligatory when certain postverbal particles occur next to each other. A few examples are given in (2-79). (For further discussion and examples see section 5.2.)

- (2-79) a. /bɔʔɔ/ and /naʔa/ fuse as /bɔ=naʔa/
 ASRT/INTS PRF/INTS [bɔ́naʔa]
- b. /bɔʔɔ/ and /kau/ /bɔ=kau/
 ASRT/INTS AND [bɔ́kəʊ]
- c. /naʔa/ and /mai/ /na=mai/
 PRF VENT [náməɪ]
- d. /bɔʔɔ/ and /naʔa/ and /mai/ /bɔ=na=mai/
 ASRT/INTS PRF/INTS VENT [bɔ́naməɪ]

In other cases, fusion is optional and its frequency of occurrence varies. In normal speech, the demonstrative /ʔerɪ/ ‘this’, ‘that’ and the plural marker /ki/ always fuse as /ʔε=ki/ ‘those’, ‘these’, although the unfused sequence /ʔerɪ/ /ki/ is accepted by speakers of the language as grammatical. The sequence of /kula/ ‘place’ and /naʔɪ/ ‘this’ is normally realized as /kʊ=naʔɪ/, rather than without fusion.

The general preposition /ʔana/ more often than not fuses with consonant-initial monosyllabic grammatical morphemes. It either has the form /ʔa=/, or /ʔan=/. /ʔa=/ occurs regardless of the nature of the following consonant, while /ʔan=/ occurs only before dental consonants:

- (2-80) a. /ʔana/ /ɸa/ /θatɔ/ /baa/ /ʔa=ɸa θatɔ baa/
 GENP CLF day that
 ‘on that day’
- b. /ʔana/ /ta/ /balɪ/ /ʔa=ta balɪ/
 GENP some side
 ‘on one side (as opposed to the other side)’
- c. /ʔana/ /ta/ /sɪ/ /ɸaŋa/ /ʔan=tasɪ ɸaŋa/
 GENP some PRTT food
 ‘with some of the food’

The general preposition also frequently fuses, as /ʔan=/, with the numeral /tɛʔɛ/ ‘one’:

- (2-81) /ʔana/ /tɛʔɛ/ /ɸa/ /θatɔ/ /ʔan=tɛʔɛ ɸa θatɔ/
 GENP one CLF day
 ‘(on) one day’

In (2-86) two geminate vowels disappear in fusion. This is the only type of case when two syllables are deleted, although it is possible for only the last vowel to be deleted.

- (2-86) /dɔɔ ʔɔɔ baa ʔε makpa/
 thing be.many that 3SG.NFUT smell
 ‘Those many things smelled.’

with fusion: /dɔɔ ʔɔɔ b=ε makpa/

And in (2-87) the third person nonfuture subject marker has fused with /mada/, which is a conjunction ‘or’ and also serves to signal less than full certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of a proposition:

- (2-87) /mada ʔε mataʔɪ/ /mad=ε mataʔɪ/
 or 3SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘He might be sick.’ ‘Is he perhaps sick?’

Similarly, the general locative preposition /ʔɪ/ loses its glottal stop when it fuses with the preceding element; see (2-77) and (2-82) further above, and (2-89) further below.

Fusion may take place when one word begins with a consonant that is identical to the consonant in the last syllable of the preceding word. The final vowel of the first word is deleted and the two identical consonants are realized as one long one:

- (2-88) /maka kamɪʔa/
 father 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘our father(s)’

with fusion: /mak=kamɪʔa/ [mák:ə̀mɪʔə]
 father=1PL(EXCL)

See examples (2-16a) – (2-16c) in section 2.2.1.

Fusion may result in the elision of a morpheme. Only monosyllabic suffixes are elided through fusion. The third person singular object suffixes /-a/ and /-na/ and the third person singular personal suffix /-na/ may be elided when the word they are part of fuses with the following word. Although the morpheme has been elided, its notional presence is indicated in the morphemic glosses. The gloss for the elided morpheme is joined to the preceding one by means of a colon. In (2-89) the locative preposition /ʔɪ/ has fused with the preceding transitive verb, and the object-indexing suffix has been elided:

- (2-89) /mərə alu-a ʔɪ ɸeɪ/
 2DU.NFUT put-3SG.OBJ LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put it?’

with fusion: /mərə alu=ɪ ɸeɪ/
 2DU.NFUT put:3SG.OBJ=LOC where?

And in (2-90) the feminine person marker /ni/ has fused with the preceding possessum noun and the personal suffix indexing the possessor has been elided:

- (2-90) /θaina-na ni ɸaŋariʔɪ/
 mother-3.PERS PERSMKR Fangariqi
 ‘Fangariqi’s mother’

with fusion: /θaina=ni ɸaŋariʔɪ/
 mother:3.PERS=PERSMKR Fangariqi

The verbs /sərə-ʔɛ/ and /sərə-ʔa/ ‘think that, assume that’, with the detransitivizing suffix /-ʔɛ/ ~ /-ʔa/, sometimes fuse with the following irrealis marker /sa/ ~ /sɔ/ as /sɔ=sə/ or /sɔ=sɔ/: ‘think’:DETR=IRR. See, for example, (29-138) and (29-139), respectively, in section 29.4.8.

As mentioned above, the third person singular subject marker typically cliticizes onto the following negative verb /aʔɪ/ and it is the subject marker that carries word-initial stress. There is no loss of phonological material here parallel to what happens in fusion. However, because of the shift in stress, unlike elsewhere when the subject marker cliticizes onto the following verb, this type of phonological unity is marked in the rest of the grammar as involving fusion. (See also section 17.3 and 17.4.)

- (2-91) /ʔɛ aʔɪ/ /ʔɛ=aʔɪ/
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘No.’ (As an answer to a question.)

2.6. Orthographic conventions

In the rest of the grammar, the data are presented in orthography, unless there is a reason to present them in phonemic or phonetic transcription. The correspondences between the Toqabaqita phonemes and the orthographic symbols are given in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Orthographic symbols for phonemes

phoneme	orthographic symbol
a	a
b	b
d	d
ɛ	e
ϕ	f
g	g
gb̄	gw
ɪ	i
k	k
k̄p̄	kw
l	l
m	m
n	n
ŋ	ng
ɔ	o
ʔ	q
r	r
s	s
t	t
θ	th
u	u
w	w

The set of orthographic symbols employed in this grammar departs from the traditional orthography in the representation of the glottal stop and (partly) in the representation of /ŋ/. Present-day Toqabaqita writing conventions follow those established by South Sea Evangelical Mission missionaries in their translation of the New Testament (*Na alaofua falu:* [1923 (1977)]). There the symbol *n* is used to represent /ŋ/, and the apostrophe to represent the glottal stop. These days the diagraph *ng* is quite commonly used instead of *n*, especially by the younger people, and I have adopted *ng* here for typographical convenience.

The glottal stop is rarely represented in the translation of the New Testament and in the conventional orthography. I have decided to use the letter *q* to represent the glottal stop. The apostrophe is not a letter and does not distinguish between the lower and the upper cases.⁴ By writing the glottal stop consistently, I have already departed from the conventional orthography. (I have retained the

apostrophe in those proper names that are, at least sometimes, written in that way, for example, Foana'ota [a personal name] and Malu'u [a place name]. However, the letter *q* is used here consistently in the name of the language, the people and the area, Toqabaqita.) And there are other respects in which the way the language is written here departs from conventional writing. In conventional writing, double vowels are written as single, while sequences of two identical vowel letters are used when in fact there is a glottal stop in between. And in some cases what is analyzed in this grammar as a single although polymorphic word is written as a sequence of words in conventional writing.

Speakers of Toqabaqita that I have spoken to about the issue of the glottal stop readily agree that there is a phonological difference between words that are distinguished only by the presence and absence of a glottal stop; for example /ʔabu/ 'blood' and /abu/ 'be taboo, not allowed, forbidden', 'be sacred, holy (in the Christian sense)', although the two words are written in the same way. They also agree that it would be useful for the difference to be reflected in writing. They are aware of grammatical errors in the translation of the New Testament; and even though copies of the translation are available, it is not much used in church (one of the English versions being normally used).

Some additional orthographic symbols are used here to represent sounds that are not part of the Toqabaqita inventory of phonemes and that occur in code mixing (section 40.3). These are listed in table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Additional orthographic symbols and their sound values

orthographic symbol	sound value
h	h
j	dʒ
p	p
sh	ʃ
y	j

Cases of code mixing, mostly involving Solomon Islands Pijin, are written in the way in which they were recorded. In the case of Solomon Island Pijin words, the spelling conventions of Jourdan (2002) are used, except that the glottal stop (not present in Pijin) is written, as *q*, and /j/ is written as *y*. The form in which a phonologically unaccommodated Pijin word occurs in code mixing in Toqabaqita is not necessarily the same as that in which it is given in Jourdan (2002).

Some examples in the grammar come from written sources. Where necessary, their written form has been adjusted in conformity with the orthographic

conventions employed in this grammar and in conformity with the word divisions as the language has been analyzed here.

Chapter 3

Grammatical profile

The purpose of this chapter is to provide information on some general characteristics of the grammar of Toqabaqita from a typological perspective. The areas of the grammar mentioned here are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

3.1. Morphosyntactic patterns

The basic constituent order of Toqabaqita is subject – predicate – X, where X designates any element other than the subject and the predicate. Predicates may be headed by a verb or be verbless, as in (3-1) and (3-2), respectively. The subjects and the predicates are in square brackets, and so is the adjunct in (3-1):

(3-1) [*Toqa baa ki*] [*keki fula*] [*i qusungadi*].
 people that PL 3PL.FUT arrive LOC tomorrow
 ‘The people will arrive tomorrow.’

(3-2) [*Si manga qeri*] [*si manga qana baabarikoke*].
 PRTT time this PRTT time GENP cold.wind
 ‘This time is the time of cold winds.’

More than one adjunct can occur in a clause, but for most types their order is not strictly fixed. Temporal adjuncts normally come last, unless a clause contains an element that can only occur clause-finally, such as a situational demonstrative adverb. The second clause in (3-3) contains a locative-source and a temporal adjunct:

(3-3) *Nau kaa-karangi-a sa kwai qaru bo=naqa*
 1SG RDP-be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT fall ASRT=PRF

 qana keekene qi roqo.
 GENP breadfruit LOC yesterday
 ‘I very nearly fell off the breadfruit (tree) yesterday.’

In verbal clauses the basic order is SVX and AVOX, where S represents an intransitive subject, A a transitive subject, O a direct object, and V a verb. Clauses are organized on a nominative-accusative pattern. Ss and As are indexed by means of preverbal subject markers that simultaneously mark other grammatical categories: tense, aspect, sequentiality, negation, or dehortation. Lexical Os are indexed by suffixes on verbs. (Direct objects encoded by means of the independent personal pronouns can occur only with one of the two main classes of transitive verbs and are not indexed.) In (3-4) the S is indexed by the first person singular nonfuture subject marker *ku*, and so is the A in (3-5). The lexical O *doqora-mu* ‘your sibling’ (here ‘your brother’) in (3-5) is indexed by the third person object suffix *-a*.

(3-4) *Nau ku thaofa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry
 ‘I am hungry.’

(3-5) *Nau ku riki-a doqora-mu i*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS LOC

maa-na uusi-a.
 point-3.PERS buy-DVN
 ‘I saw your brother at the market place.’

Verbs can be accompanied by a variety of particles, some of which precede the verb and some of which follow. In noun phrases most of the modifiers are postnominal, but some are prenominal. All of the adpositions are prepositions.

To the extent that the relations between heads and their dependents are overtly marked, Toqabaqita is predominantly head-marking in the terminology of Nichols (1986). Direct objects are indexed on the verb; see (3-5) above. Clausal direct objects are indexed on the higher verb. In (3-6) the complement clause is in brackets:

(3-6) *Nau ku thathami-a [kwai fanga].*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT eat
 ‘I want to eat.’ (Lit.: ‘I want I will eat.’)

In two types of noun phrase, associative and possessive, the head noun carries a suffix that marks the relation, an associative suffix in the former, as in (3-7), and a personal suffix in the latter, as in (3-8):

(3-7) *thaalu-qi* *geo*
 egg-ASSOC megapod
 ‘megapod egg’

(3-8) *thaina-na* *wela* *naqi*
 child-3.PERS child this
 ‘this child’s mother’

Two classes of prepositions take suffixes to index their objects. One takes personal suffixes also used on the possessum nouns in one type of possessive construction to index the possessor:

(3-9) *qi* *a-na* *wane* *qena*
 LOC REC-3.PERS man that(2)
 ‘[give some areca nuts] to the man’

Compare (3-8) further above.

The other subclass takes object suffixes also used with one class of transitive verbs to index the direct objects:

(3-10) *uri-a* *ifu-na* *qaburu* *baa*
 ALL-3.OBJ hair-3.PERS ogre that
 ‘[reach] for the ogre’s hair’

Compare (3-5) further above.

Some of the forms that function as prepositions and take object suffixes can also take clauses as their objects and may index them with the same suffix *-a*:

(3-11) *Nau* *ku* *too* *naqa* [*uri-a* *kwai* *lae*].
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.ready PRF PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT go
 ‘I am now ready to go.’

Compare (3-10) further above.

Those heads of phrases that index their dependents can have only lexical noun phrase modifiers (or clause modifiers), not pronominal modifiers. The possessive noun phrase in (3-12) is ungrammatical because of the presence of the pronoun in the possessor position:

- (3-12) *thaina-na* (**nia*)
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG
 ‘his/her mother’

Compare (3-8) further above with a lexical possessor noun phrase.

And (3-13) is ungrammatical because of the pronoun in the direct object position:

- (3-13) *Qo* *riki-a* (**nia*)?
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ 3SG
 ‘Did you see him/her/it?’

Compare (3-5) further above with a lexical direct object. For the difference in the glossing of the suffix *-a*, 3.OBJ in (3-5) and 3SG.OBJ in (3-13), see below.

Those types of heads that index their adjuncts or complements can occur without an adjunct or a complement, as (3-12) and (3-13) above show. Under such circumstances the object and the personal suffixes specify the person and the number of the participant. This is shown in (3-14) and (3-15) for the third person singular and plural object suffixes, respectively, and in (3-16) and (3-17) for the third person singular and dual personal suffixes, respectively:

- (3-14) *Nau ku* *rongo-a*.
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I heard him/her/it.’

- (3-15) *Nau ku* *rongo-da*.
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3PL.OBJ
 ‘I heard them.’

- (3-16) *nuu-na*
 picture-3SG.PERS
 ‘his/her/its picture’ (that is, a picture that depicts him/her/it)

- (3-17) *nuu-daroqa*
 picture-3DU.PERS
 ‘their picture’ (that is, a picture that depicts the two of them)

However, when a lexical complement is present, the number contrast is neutralized, and the singular suffixes are used regardless of the grammatical number of the dependent. Because here the suffixes do not mark the number, the number is not specified in the glosses.

- (3-18) *Nau ku rongo-a kini qeri.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ woman that
 ‘I heard the woman.’
- (3-19) *Nau ku rongo-a kini qe=ki.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ woman that=PL
 ‘I heard the women.’
- (3-20) *nuu-na teqe wane*
 picture-3.PERS one man
 ‘picture of a/one man’
- (3-21) *nuu-na roo wane*
 picture-3.PERS two man
 ‘picture of two men’

That is, the object and the personal suffixes are bifunctional: they index lexical noun phrase complements with respect to person; and they can function as a kind of bound pronominal, the only exponent of an argument. In the latter function, like the independent pronouns, they express both the person and the number; and they are mutually exclusive with the corresponding independent pronouns in encoding one and the same participant in a phrase.

One exception to the head-marking pattern is relative clauses. Marking of the positions relativized takes place inside relative clauses. In (3-22) the position relativized is direct object, and the transitive verb in the relative clause carries the object suffix *-a*:

- (3-22) *subi na tha Fiuomea qe*
 k.o.warclub REL PERSMKR Fiuomea 3SG.NFUT

thau-ngani-a
 make-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘the *subi* club that Fiuomea made’

The other exception to the head-marking pattern involves the sole adjective ‘small, little’. The adjective has three different forms, two of which vary depending on the grammatical number of the phrase, singular or plural:

- (3-23) *kali wela naqi*
 little.SG child this
 ‘this little child’

- (3-24) *kaala wela naqi ki*
 little.PL child this PL
 ‘these little children’

Lexical noun phrases make a singular – plural number distinction. The singular is formally unmarked, while the plural is marked by the particle *ki*; compare (3-23) and (3-24) above. However, the plural marker is not always present even if the number is plural. The personal pronouns, the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the personal suffixes make a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. The forms in (3-25) are the third person independent personal pronouns:

- (3-25) a. *nia*
 3SG
 ‘he/she/it’
- b. *keeroqa*
 3DU
 ‘they (two)’
- c. *kerā*
 3PL
 ‘they (more than two)’

Not infrequently, however, with third-person referents when the number of referents is two, the plural pronoun, subject marker, object suffix, or personal suffix is used in place of the dual form.

The pronouns, the subject markers, the personal suffixes, and the object suffixes have inclusive forms in the dual and the plural. The inclusive is not considered here a first-person form (cf. Daniel [2005]), and so there is no specification of the person in the glosses.⁵ The forms in (3-26) are the plural personal suffixes:

- (3-26) a. *thaina-kuluqa*
 mother-PL(INCL).PERS
 ‘our mother’
- b. *thaina-miliqa*
 mother-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘our mother’

As is the norm among the Oceanic languages, Toqabaqita has more than one type of possessive construction. The choice between the two constructions is sensitive to the type of relation between the possessum and the possessor: inalienable vs. alienable, as in (3-27) and (3-28), respectively.

(3-27) *thaina-da*
 mother-3PL.PERS
 ‘their mother’

(3-28) *biqu kera*
 house 3PL
 ‘their house’

However, there are some lexical exceptions, with certain nouns signifying inalienable relations being treated grammatically the way that nouns that signify alienable relations are, and, furthermore, the notion of individuation of the possessum also plays a role in the choice of a construction.

At the level of the clause, three types of grammatical relations are distinguished: subject, direct object, and oblique object. Oblique objects can be complements or adjuncts. Oblique objects are headed by prepositions, but the preposition is sometimes omitted with locative and temporal phrases when its absence does not result in (significant) loss of information. The allative preposition *uri* is present with the locative-goal interrogative phrase in (3-29a), but not in the synonymous (3-29b):

(3-29) a. *Qo lae uri fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL where?
 ‘Where are you going?’

b. *Qo lae fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go where
 ‘Where are you going?’

And the general preposition *qana* is present with the temporal phrase ‘this time’ in (3-30), but not in (3-31). In (3-30) the preposition has fused with the partitive marker *si* and has the form *qa=*, rather than *qana*.

(3-30) *Ni nau kwai ngata si kau bii qoe*
 PROFORE 1SG 1SG.FUT speak PREC AND COM 2SG

qa=si manga qeri.
 GENP-PRTT time this
 ‘I am going to speak with you at this time.’

- (3-31) *Kulu foqa si manga qeri.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT pray PRTT time this
 ‘Let’s pray now/(at) this time.’

Subjects, direct objects, and oblique objects can be fronted into the topic or the focus position, before the subject position. With the exception of one verb in one type of locational interrogative construction, verbs cannot be fronted, and, with one minor exception, neither can those types of prepositions that index their complements by personal or object suffixes. When the object of those prepositions is fronted, the preposition is stranded behind. Example (3-32) shows topicalization of a direct object:

- (3-32) *Biqu nau, kuburu e laba-tani-a.*
 house 1SG storm 3SG.NFUT damage-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘My house, the storm damaged it.’ ‘My house was damaged by the storm.’

And in (3-33) the object of the prolativ preposition has been fronted for focusing, and the preposition has been stranded behind:

- (3-33) *Wane baa na ni kamiliqa mili*
 man that FOC PROFORE 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT

ngata suli-a.
 speak PROL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It was that man that we spoke about.’

Possessor noun phrases can also be fronted for topicalization or focusing, especially, but not exclusively, when the possessum – possessor relation is of an inalienable type where the possessum is a part or a characteristic of the possessor:

- (3-34) *Wane gwalusu-n=e baba.*
 man nose-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.flat
 ‘The man has a flat nose.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, his nose is flat.’)

Constituents can be postposed from their canonical position. In (3-35) a relative clause has been postposed:

(3-35) *Wane na tha Liliqa, maala qe*
 man REL PERSMKR Liliqa sore 3SG.NFVT

tharu-fi-a qae-na na keki
 (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ leg-3SG.PERS REL 3PL.IPFV

qalangi-a qana "basi".
 name-3SG.OBJ GENP *basi*

‘This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who (was) Liliqa), his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called “*basi*” [yaws] (lit.: a sore afflicted his leg that they name “*basi*”).’

And in (3-36) an oblique object has been postposed to the right of a direct-speech clause:

(3-36) *Qosi sore-qe, "Lae si ma=i ku=naqi."*
 2SG.NEG say-DETR go PREC VENT=LOC place=this

qana gwauliqi ai
 GENP married.person woman

‘You don’t say, “Come here now.” to a married woman’ (It is impolite to speak like that.)

Animacy plays some role in the grammar. The independent personal pronouns are used primarily with human referents and occasionally with other higher-animate referents. However, they are often used even with inanimate referents as resumptive pronouns in the subject position to refer back to topic phrases, and in the focus position. With dual and plural inanimate and non-higher-animate subjects, it is normally the singular subject markers that are used, unless the referents are to be individuated. And it is the singular object suffixes that are normally used (in the absence of object phrases) to index inanimate and non-higher-animate dual and plural objects.

The distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is well-marked morphologically. There are two basic classes of transitive verbs. With one, third-person direct objects are indexed on the verb; with the other, all direct objects are indexed. Many members of the first class carry one of two types of transitive suffixes.

Apart from cases of conversion, verbs can be nominalized in one of two ways. One type of derivation forms (“action”) nominalizations, which exhibit properties both of nouns and of verbs. The other type forms deverbal nouns, which are fully-fledged nouns.

There are finite complement clauses, relative clauses, and adverbial subordinate clauses. Relative clauses are, more often than not, introduced by the marker *na*, which can also introduce complement clause, although that is not common. The same element also normally introduces the presupposition domain in the focus construction. And it is also used with one type of prepositional phrase.

The language has both prefixes and suffixes. All inflectional affixes are suffixes. Some derivational affixes are suffixes, while others are prefixes.

3.2. Word classes

The following are the word classes in Toqabaqita:

OPEN LEXICAL CLASSES:

Nouns and *verbs*. Both readily accept new members, including borrowings from Solomon Islands Pijin. However, most borrowing from Pijin involves nouns.

CLOSED LEXICAL CLASSES:

Adjective. The class consists of one member, whose meaning is ‘small, little.’ The adjective has three different forms, whose use is determined partly by grammatical number, partly by the animacy status of the noun phrase, and partly by the count vs. mass status of the noun phrase.

Adverbs. The number of adverbs is small, and they do not share any morphological property.

Cardinal numerals. The numeral system is decimal. There is also a set of forms with an ordinal-numeral function. Those are morphologically based on the cardinal numerals, but they are a subtype of nouns.

GRAMMATICAL CLASSES:

Prepositions. Some may take both non-clausal and clausal complements.

Independent personal pronouns. The categories that are distinguished are: first, second, and third person; inclusive; singular, dual, and plural number.

Pro-sentence forms.

Locative pro-form.

Subject markers. They make the same person, number, and clusivity distinctions that the independent pronouns make, and simultaneously mark tense or aspect (nonfuture tense, future tense/imperfective aspect), sequentiality, negation, or dehortation.

Demonstratives.

Quantifiers.

Classifiers. Some have broad ranges of use; others are restricted. Not all nouns take classifiers.

Person markers. They make a masculine – feminine distinction.

Coordinators. Some, but not all, can conjoin both phrases and clauses.

Subordinators.

Particles. This is a heterogeneous category, which subsumes all the grammatical elements not included in the other classes.

Ligature.

Interjections.

There is a fair amount of heterosemy (Lichtenberk 1991a) in the language, with forms representing one and the same etymon belonging in different word classes. For example, there is a form that functions as an intransitive verb ‘end, finish; be finished’, as a completive/exhaustive particle in verb phrases, as an exhaustive particle in noun phrases, as a sequencing particle, and as an adversative coordinator. Another form functions as a comitative preposition and as a noun-phrase coordinator, and, rarely, as a clause coordinator. There is also a high degree of grammatical polysemy, with one and the same grammatical element (a member of one word class) having more than one function.

And a verb phrase can be constituted by a verb and any of the other constituents. The layering within the verb phrase is indicated by means of the raised roman numerals. A verb phrase type that contains a modifier with a certain numeral is included within a verb phrase type with a modifier with a higher numeral. For example, a verb phrase that contains a subject marker (superscript II) and a pronominal direct object (superscript III) has the structure given in (4-3):

(4-3) [[subject.marker verb] pronominal.direct.object]

And a verb phrase that contains the irrealis marker (superscript IX), a subject marker (superscript II), and one or more postverbal particles (superscript IV) has the structure given in (4-4):

(4-4) [irrealis [[subject.marker verb] postverbal.particle(s)]]

For convenience, the verb and the preverbal and the postverbal particles will be referred to collectively as the “verb complex”. Note that this term is used for descriptive convenience; it does not identify a syntactic constituent. (The preverbal and the postverbal particles have different superscripts in [4-1].) Direct objects that are realized by means of independent personal pronouns also are inside the verb complex. Such objects come directly after the verb, before any of the postverbal particles. Lexical direct objects, on the other hand, come after all the postverbal particles and are outside the verb complex. Compare the position of the pronominal object before the perfect and the andative postverbal particles in (4-5) and the position of the lexical object after these particles in (4-6). The verb complexes are in square brackets. Both sentences consist solely of verb phrases. There are no subject noun phrases, the subject being encoded only by means of the third person plural nonfuture subject marker *kera*.

(4-5) *Kera* [*tole nia na=kau*].
 3PL.NFUT lead 3SG PRF=AND
 ‘They have led her away.’

(4-6) *Kera* [*tole-a na=kau*] *wela baa*.
 3PL.NFUT lead-3.OBJ PRF=AND child that
 ‘They have led the child away.’

The sentence in (4-7) contains both a preverbal and a postverbal particle:

- (4-7) *Nau ku [biqi fula boqo].*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT IMM arrive ASRT
 ‘I have just arrived.’ ‘I arrived just now.’

The particles that are constituents of the verb complex are discussed in chapter 5. Some of the other constituents of the verb phrase also are discussed in chapters other than the present one: the irrealis marker is discussed in sections 18.2 and 18.3, prepositional phrases in chapter 10, and complement clauses in chapter 29.

4.2. Types of verbs

There are two basic, cross-cutting classifications of Toqabaqita verbs: stative vs. nonstative (section 4.2.1), and intransitive vs. transitive (sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, respectively). Verbs can also be classified on the basis of other criteria (sections 4.3 – 4.6).

4.2.1. Stative vs. nonstative verbs

Certain states of affairs are conceptualized as being (typically) performed, effected, instigated by a participant (Mithun 1991). Verbs that encode situations that involve such participants will be referred to here as “nonstative”, and verbs that encode situations that do not involve such participants will be referred to as “stative”. The label “nonstative” is preferred here over “dynamic”. It simply characterizes the relevant verbs as not being stative. Some of Toqabaqita nonstative verbs do not (necessarily) encode particularly dynamic situations, such as verbs of posture, e.g. *qono* ‘sit’, verbs of location, e.g. *too* ‘of a person: be at home’, and psychological verbs, e.g. *maqu* ‘be afraid’. Nevertheless, in the relevant respects they behave grammatically in the same way that verbs that designate dynamic, physical actions do, verbs such as *raqa* ‘climb (e.g. a tree)’ and *fanga* ‘eat’. Some intransitive stative verbs can express not only a state but also a change of state, without any formal difference; e.g. *mae* ‘be dead; die’, *qoo* ‘be broken; break, snap’.

The distinction between stative and nonstative verbs is relevant to several areas of Toqabaqita grammar. First, it has to do with the difference between applicative and causative transitive verbs; see section 4.2.3.2.4 for discussion. Second, it has to do with noun modification: stative intransitive verbs, but not nonstative intransitive verbs, can function as noun modifiers (see the end of this section and section 6.10). And third, it has to do with the use of two of the five sets of subject markers (section 4.8): the nonfuture and the future/imperfective

sets. With stative verbs, the future/imperfective set has only a future-time marking function: it signals that the state of affairs will obtain after the time of reference. The nonfuture set signals that the relevant state of affairs obtains at the time of reference (including habitually) or obtained before the time of reference. With nonstative verbs, the future/imperfective set is used in two functions: signalling future time and signalling imperfectivity (events in progress and habitual events). The nonfuture set signals that a state of affairs obtained before the time of reference. However, it can also be used with an imperfective significance, to encode events in progress and habitual events. The distinction between stative and nonstative verbs is given in a summary form in table (4.1): SM stands for “subject markers”, SoF for “state of affairs”, and ToR for “time of reference”. The future/imperfective and the nonfuture subject markers are discussed in detail in section 4.8 and in chapter 15.

Table 4.1. Stative and nonstative verbs, and the future/imperfective and the nonfuture subject markers

Stative verbs:	SoF after ToR: future(/imperfective) SM SoF at or before ToR: nonfuture SM
Nonstative verbs:	SoF after ToR; also imperfective aspect: future/imperfective SM SoF at or before ToR; also imperfective aspect: nonfuture SM (if SoF at ToR, then imperfective)

It is primarily the future/imperfective subject markers that are relevant to the stative – nonstative distinction. With stative verbs, they signal future time, while with nonstative verbs they can signal future time or imperfective aspect regardless of time. The nonfuture subject markers can signal present or past time both with stative and with nonstative verbs, except that when the time is the present, the sense is, of necessity, imperfective.

In (4-8) and (4-9) the nonfuture and the future/imperfective subject markers, respectively, cooccur with the perfect marker *naqa*. In the former the state of being dark obtains at the time of the speech act, while in the latter it will obtain (soon) after the time of the speech act.

- (4-8) *Fanua e rodo naqa.*
 place 3SG.NFUT be.dark PRF
 ‘It is dark now.’

- (4-9) *Fanua kai rodo naqa.*
 place 3SG.FUT be.dark PRF
 'It's going to be dark.'

In (4-10) with the stative verb *noro* 'be ripe' the interpretation is necessarily future-time:

- (4-10) *ngali na kai noro*
 canarium.nut REL 3SG.FUT be.ripe
 'the canarium nuts that will be ripe' (not: *the canarium nuts that are ripe')

(For the use of singular subject markers in non-singular contexts see section 4.9.)

The next set of examples illustrate the use of the future/imperfective subject markers with nonstative verbs. Out of context, (4-11) can encode a future event or an ongoing one:

- (4-11) *Kwai qani-a qa-kuqa keekene*
 1SG.FUT/IPFV eat-3.OBJ SBEN-1SG.PERS breadfruit
neri.
 NPAST.HERE
 a. 'I am going to eat breadfruit now.'
 b. 'I am eating breadfruit now.'

However, in (4-12) the presence of the preceditive postverbal particle *fasi* signals that the state of affairs in question will obtain after the time of reference:

- (4-12) *Kwai saqu-a fasi qaba-ku.*
 1SG.FUT wash-3.OBJ PREC hand-1SG.PERS
 'I am going to wash my hands first.'

On the other hand, the sentence in (4-13), with the anterior-continuing particle *quu*, encodes an event in progress. Either the future/imperfective or the nonfuture subject marker is possible:

- (4-13) *Wela {kai / qe} biinga quu.*
 child 3SG.IPFV / 3SG.NFUT sleep ANTCONT
 'The child is still sleeping.'

And in (4-14) the future/imperfective subject marker, together with the reduplication of the verb, signals a habitual event, here in the past:

- (4-14) *Basi na maka nau kai baa-basi futa*
 bow REL father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot possum
- qani-a manga na=i dini neq.*
 INS-3SG.OBJ time REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here
 ‘Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old days.’

With a stative verb, on the other hand, a general, habitual state of affairs can only be encoded by means of a nonfuture subject marker (unless the state of affairs will become habitual in future):

- (4-15) *Wane naqi {qe / *kai} feda qa=si*
 man this 3SG.NFUT / 3SG.IPFV be.tired GENP=PRTT
- manga ki sui bana.*
 time PL EXHST LIM
 ‘This man is always tired.’ ‘This man is tired every time/at all times.’

With one exception, stative intransitive verbs can freely function as noun modifiers (section 6.10), while nonstative intransitive verbs cannot.

- (4-16) *wela faqekwa*
 child be.little
 ‘little child’
- (4-17) *si lio taqaa*
 PRTT thought be.bad
 ‘bad/evil thought’

There are a few nonstative transitive verbs that can function as noun modifiers, but this is restricted to a small number of compounds; see section 12.3.3 for examples.

4.2.2. Intransitive verbs

4.2.2.1. *Basic properties*

Unlike transitive verbs, intransitive verbs do not carry any inflectional morphology.

- (4-18) *Qo mataqi nena?*
 2SG.NFUT be.sick NPAST.THERE
 ‘Are you sick?’

- (4-19) *Nau ku fanga sui naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat COMPL PRF
 ‘I have finished eating.’

Many, probably most, intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts, and some have more than one. For reasons explained in section 4.2.3.2.3.3, it is better to speak of the formal relation between intransitive and transitive verbs in terms of correspondence rather than directional derivation. In some cases the relation between an intransitive verb is a causative one (S = O), and sometimes of the applicative type (S = A), as in (4-20) and (4-21), respectively:

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| (4-20) | intransitive | transitive |
| | <i>qifi</i> | <i>qifi-ni-a maa</i> |
| | ‘open; be open’ | open-TR-3.OBJ door
‘open a door’ |
| (4-21) | intransitive | transitive |
| | <i>kuqu</i> | <i>kuqu-fi-a kafo</i> |
| | ‘drink’ | drink-TR-3.OBJ water
‘drink water’ |

For more detail see section 4.2.3.2.4.

There are a few syntactically-extended intransitive verbs (cf. Dixon 1994),⁶ that is intransitive verbs that take complements, either an oblique object, or a complement clause, or both; see *lalakwa* ‘not like’ in (4-22), *kwai-thathai* ‘be ready’ in (4-23), and *alangaqi* ‘promise’ in (4-24), respectively.

- (4-22) *Nau ku lalakwa qana taumanga.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP k.o.pudding
 ‘I don’t like taumanga pudding.’
- (4-23) *Nau ku kwai-thathai kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-ready 1SG.FUT go PRF
 ‘I am ready to go now.’
- (4-24) *Wane e alangaqi qi sa-ku*
 man 3SG.NFUT promise LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS

tootoo kai qadomi nau.
 later 3SG.FUT help 1SG
 ‘The man promised me to help me (sometime) later.’

Many intransitive verbs are monomorphemic. There are some that involve reduplication of the base; there are some formed by means of the proprietive suffix; and there are some formed through object-incorporation and subject-incorporation. And there are also verbs that are syntactically intransitive but may contain a transitive suffix.

Intransitive verbs need to be distinguished from the detransitivized variants of transitive verbs. These are discussed in section 4.6.

4.2.2.2. Intransitive verbs formed by reduplication

A relatively small number of intransitive verbs are formed by reduplication of the base that occurs in the corresponding transitive verb. If the transitive verb has a transitive suffix, the suffix is absent from the intransitive form; see (c)-(f) in (4-25). In a few cases, there is a change in the last vowel of the base; see (d).

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (4-25) | intransitive | transitive |
| a. | <i>koo-kori</i>
‘grate coconut’ | <i>kori</i>
‘grate, scrape’ |
| b. | <i>qee-qeta</i>
‘be different’,
‘be separate’ | <i>qeta</i>
‘keep st. (e.g. food)
for os., not sharing it’ |
| c. | <i>sii-siu</i>
‘bathe (os.)’ | <i>siu-fi</i>
‘bathe (sb.)’ |

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| d. | <i>dee-dema</i>
'(e.g. of ground) be level' | <i>deme-si</i>
'make level (e.g. ground)' |
| e. | <i>ono-ono</i>
'eat food whole,
without biting,
chewing it' | <i>ono-mi</i>
'eat (impolite)' |
| f. | <i>kaa-karu</i>
'beckon' | <i>karu-mani</i>
'beckon sb.' |

In examples given elsewhere in the grammar, this kind of derivational reduplication is not indicated in order not to confuse it with reduplication that has a tense-marking or an aspectual-marking function.

4.2.2.3. *Propriative verbs*

There are a relatively large number of intransitive verbs formed by means of a propriative suffix. The suffix has two allomorphs: *-qa* and *-la*:

- (4-26) a. *garata-qa*
tinea-PROP
'be afflicted with tinea'
- b. *fau-la*
stone/rock-PROP
'of ground: be stony, rocky'

The distribution of the two allomorphs is determined primarily lexically, but there is some phonological conditioning as well which involves dissimilation. The suffix *-qa* is not used with bases whose last syllable contains *q* (glottal stop); and, with a few exceptions, *-la* is not used with bases whose last syllable contains a liquid (*l* or *r*). This phonological conditioning apart, the two allomorphs are in free variation with some bases, but with most only one is possible. There is at least one case where one and the same base can take either allomorph with a minor difference in meaning; see (4-36) further below.

All the bases that contain a liquid in the final syllable and exceptionally permit the *-la* variant of the suffix also allow the *-qa* variant of the suffix. For example:

- (4-27) a. *karu-la* also *karu-qa*
 scar-PROP scar-PROP
 ‘bear (many) scars’ ‘bear (many) scars’
- b. *qamali-la* also *qamali-qa*
 sea/sea.water/salt-PROP sea/sea.water/salt-PROP
 ‘contain sea water or salt’, ‘be salty’ ‘contain sea water or salt’, ‘be salty’

There is another word for ‘sea’, ‘sea water’, ‘salt’, *asi*. There is a corresponding propriative verb *asi-la*, synonymous with *qamali-la* and *qamali-qa*, but no **asi-qa*.

The propriative verbs are stative. Most commonly, the base of a verb with the propriative suffix is a noun or it is a reduplication of a noun. Less commonly, the base is an intransitive verb. With nominal bases, the propriative suffix is used with two functions. In one, the meaning of a propriative verb is ‘have, possess, contain, be covered with, usually a large amount, quantity of X’, where X stands for what the corresponding noun designates. Here the base is never reduplicated in the formation of a propriative verb.

- (4-28) *Botho e mariko-qa.*
 pig 3SG.NFUT meat/flesh-PROP
 ‘The pig has a lot of (lean) meat.’ ‘The pig is well-fleshed.’

- (4-29) *Si kula e thato-la.*
 PRTT place 3SG.NFUT sun-PROP
 ‘The place is sunny.’

Some further examples are:

- (4-30) a. *feefeqa-la*
 eye.mucus-PROP
 ‘of eye(s): contain mucus’
- b. *lumu-qa*
 moss/lichen-PROP
 ‘be mossy’, ‘be covered with moss/lichen’
- c. *maamako-qa* also *maamako-la*
 mud-PROP mud-PROP
 ‘be muddy’ ‘be muddy’

Note that *feefeqa-la* and *maamako-la/maamako-qa* do not involve reduplication of the base. The corresponding nouns are *feefeqa* and *maamako*, respectively.

Less commonly, the meaning of a propriative verb with a nominal base is ‘have the characteristics of X, be like X, be X-like (without containing X)’. Here the base is often, but not always, reduplicated in the formation of the propriative verb. Some examples are:

- (4-31) *uuka-qa*
vine.sp.-PROP
‘taste very bitter’ (*uuka* designates a species of Derris vine that is pounded and used to stun fish in the sea)
- (4-32) *foo-fote-la*
RDP-paddle-PROP
‘of a person or animal: be thin, skinny’

There are two propriative verbs based on the noun ‘blood’, one with reduplication of the base and the other without reduplication. The former signifies ‘be like blood’, while the latter signifies ‘be bloody, be covered with blood’. And the two verbs also differ in their selection of the allomorphs of the propriative suffix.

- (4-33) a. *qabu-qabu-qa*
RDP-blood-PROP
‘be of a shade of red, the colour of blood’
- b. *qabu-la*
blood-PROP
‘be bloody, covered with blood’

Similarly in the next pair, except that there both verbs select the *-la* allomorph:

- (4-34) a. (*lio*) *fau-fau-la*
look RDP-stone/rock-PROP
‘be serious, stern’, ‘be/look stone-faced’
- b. *fau-la*
stone/rock-PROP
‘of ground: be stony, rocky’

Some verbs with the proprietive suffix do not fit neatly in either category, even though the semantic link between the base and the verb is usually relatively clear. Some examples are:

- (4-35) a. *kukeqe-la*
 mature/old.woman-PROP
 ‘of a woman, woman's body: show the symptoms of old age; have grown old’
- b. *wela-wela-qa*
 RDP-child-PROP
 ‘of children and young banana trees (before fruiting): have grown well; have a good, strong, well-developed body’

Besides *wela-wela-qa* there is also *wela-qa* ‘of husband and wife: have one or more children, have a family’.

There are two proprietive verbs based on the noun *kale* ‘egg’. One takes the *-qa* allomorph of the proprietive suffix, while the other one takes *-la*, even though the last syllable of the base contains a liquid. The two forms are not identical semantically:

- (4-36) a. *kale-qa*
 egg-PROP
 ‘of a bird: lay eggs’
- b. *kale-la*
 egg-PROP
 ‘lay a large number of eggs’; normally used only about turtles

Unlike birds, turtles lay a large number of eggs.

There are a few compounds that are nouns and that serve as the bases of proprietive verbs:

- (4-37) *gwauliqi-wane-qa*
 married.person-man-PROP
 ‘of a man: be somewhat (but not very) old’
- (4-38) *uli-qai-la*
 branch-tree-PROP
 ‘of a traditional priest: wear an *uliqai* headdress’

(An *uliqai* headdress consists of a small branch from a Milky Pine tree with branchlets, the branchlets hanging down.)

In relatively few cases, the base of a propriative verb is an intransitive verb, or, more commonly, a reduplication of an intransitive verb. While the meanings of such propriative verbs can be loosely characterized as ‘have the quality of X, be characterized by X’, where X stands for what the corresponding non-propriative verb designates, the links between the meanings of propriative verbs and their base verbs can be somewhat indirect. Some examples are:

- (4-39) a. *en-eno-qa*
 be.quiet/calm-RDP-PROP
 ‘of a place or a person: be peaceful’
- b. *bii-biinga-la*
 RDP-sleep-PROP
 ‘be sleepy’ (‘eye’ as subject) (*biinga* ‘sleep’ takes as its subject a noun phrase referring to the person, etc. sleeping)
- c. *maa-mataqi-la*
 RDP-be.sick-PROP
 ‘feel a little sick; feel as if sick, as if getting sick’ (‘body’ as subject) (*mataqi* ‘be sick’ takes as its subject a noun phrase referring to the person, etc. that is sick)
- d. *katu-katu-la*
 RDP-be.hindered.from.movement-PROP
 ‘stutter, stammer’ (‘mouth’ or ‘speaking’ as subject)

As in other cultures, in Toqabaqita also the left hand is considered inferior to the right hand, and this is reflected in two propriative verbs: *mauli-qa* ‘be deficient, imperfect, lacking in some respect’ and *aqolo-qa* ‘be correct, well done, well made’:

- (4-40) *Baru e mauli-qa.*
 canoe 3SG.NFUT be.on.lefthand.side-PROP
 ‘The canoe is badly made (e.g., it leans to one side, either side).’

- (4-41) *Ngata-laa qeri, si ngata-laa e*
 speak-NMLZ this PRTT speak-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT

aqolo-qa *neri*.
 be.on.righthand.side-PROP VIVID
 ‘This (kind of) speaking, saying things is correct.’ ‘It is well said like this.’ (Lit.: ‘This speaking, the speaking is correct, proper.’)

In a few cases there is no obvious semantic difference between a proprietive verb and its base verb; for example, both *qakweo-qa* and *qakweo* mean ‘of fingers and toes: be numb, stiff, cramped’.

It is possible that for those proprietive verbs that have corresponding verbal, but not nominal bases, there did exist nominal bases when those verbs were first formed.

There is a semantically-based pattern, whereby a number of verbs that designate colours are proprietive. Here it is always the allomorph *-qa* that is used. The base is always a reduplication, usually for the purposes of the formation of the proprietive verb, or, in a few cases, the base is a reduplication in its independent use. The base is often a noun, less frequently a verb; and sometimes it is difficult to tell which.

- (4-42) a. *qabu-qabu-qa*
 RDP-blood-PROP
 ‘be of a shade of red, the colour of blood’
- b. *buu-bulu-qa*
 RDP-black.pig-PROP
 ‘be black; be dark-coloured: dark grey, dark blue, dark purple’
- c. *kaakaa-qa*
 ‘(white)cockatoo-PROP
 ‘be white, esp. pure white’
- d. *maa-marakwa-qa*
 RDP-be.green-PROP
 ‘be green’

Both *marakwa* and *maa-marakwa-qa* (4-42d) mean ‘be green’, but the former is used mainly as a modifier in compounds.

Another term for ‘be white’, *kwaa-kwao-qa*, could be based either on the noun *kwao* ‘old, white-haired, grey-haired person’ or on the verb *kwao* ‘of hair: be white, grey’.

In at least three proprietive verbs the base to which the suffix is added corresponds to a noun phrase. In (4-43) the base corresponds to a noun phrase with the noun modified by a numeral: *teqe bali* ‘one side’:

- (4-43) *teqe-bali-qa*
 one-side-PROP
 ‘be asymmetrical, lopsided’

Being stative verbs, propriative verbs can function not only predicatively, but also attributively as noun modifiers (section 6.10); see (4-44) and (4-45), respectively:

- (4-44) *Taga-na taatali qe qabu-qabu-qa.*
 blossom-3.PERS hibiscus 3SG.NFUT RDP-blood-PROP
 ‘The blossoms of the hibiscus are blood-red.’

- (4-45) *kaleko qabu-qabu-qa*
 cloth RDP-blood-PROP
 ‘blood-red cloth’

And being intransitive verbs, some propriative verbs can function as the bases of causative verbs formed by means of the prefix *faqa-* (section 4.2.3.2.5). For example, the propriative verb *ma-maruki-qa* ‘of ground, soil: be fertile’, based on the verb *maruki* ‘live, be alive’ has a causative counterpart:

- (4-46) *faqa-ma-maruki-qa*
 CAUS-RDP-be.alive-PROP
 ‘make (soil) fertile/more fertile’

- (4-47) *Kafo n=e faqa-ma-maruki-qa-a*
 water FOC=3SG.NFUT CAUS-RDP-be.alive-PROP-3.OBJ

thaqegano.
 soil
 ‘It is water that makes soil fertile.’

Propriative verbs do not function as the bases in causative verbs that do not contain the causative prefix.

4.2.2.4. *Intransitive verbs formed by subject-incorporation and by object-incorporation*

Subject-incorporation and object-incorporation are discussed in detail in sections 12.3.2 and 12.4.2, respectively, and here only one representative example of each is given; see (4-48) and (4-49), respectively.

- (4-48) *Nau ku lio-dora qana thata-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP name-3.PERS

wane qeri.

man that

‘I have forgotten the man’s name.’ (Lit.: ‘I have mind-forgotten the man’s name.’)

In (4-48) the intransitive verb is composed of the noun *lio* ‘mind’ and the verb *dora* ‘forget’. The subject is the first person singular pronoun *nau*, as witnessed by the first person singular nonfuture subject marker *ku*. Alternatively, *lio-ku* ‘my mind’ could be the subject of the verb *dora* ‘forget’ (‘My mind has forgotten the man’s name.’), in which case the subject would be third person singular.

- (4-49) *Ni nau na kwai ngali qai mai.*
 PROFORE 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT carry wood VENT
 ‘It will be me who will bring (fire)wood.’

In (4-49) *qai* ‘wood’ is not a direct object. If it were, it would be indexed on the verb by means of the object suffix *-a*, and it would follow, not precede, the ventive marker *mai*. Rather, the verb *ngali* ‘carry’ and the noun *qai* ‘wood’ form a complex intransitive verb, a compound.

4.2.2.5. Syntactically intransitive verbs that contain transitive suffixes

Such verbs are formed by means of the low-individuation-of-participants (LIP) prefix *kwai-*, sometimes in combination with the suffix *-i*. Typically, the prefix and in some cases also the suffix are added to transitive verbs. The resulting verbs are syntactically intransitive: they cannot take direct objects. However, if the base transitive verb contains a transitive suffix, the suffix is retained in the derived verb. Such derived verbs are used with a variety of functions. For example, they can function as depatientive verbs. Depatientive verbs are semantically transitive in the sense that there is an endpoint participant implied, but syntactically they are intransitive: the participant cannot be encoded (as a direct object). Verbs with the LIP affix(es) can also encode reciprocal and certain other closely related situation types. Verbs with the the LIP affix(es) are discussed in detail in chapters 21 and 22, and here only two representative examples are given. In (4-50) the verb *kwai-ngalu-fi* ‘berate’ serves to encode a reciprocal situation, and in (4-51) the verb *kwai-faqa-maqu-i* ‘be frightening’ functions depatientively:

- (4-50) *Roo wane kere kwai-ngalu-fi.*
 two men 3PL.NFUT LIP-berate-TR
 ‘The two men spoke angrily to each other.’

Although the verb *kwai-faqa-maqu-i* ‘be frightening’ in (4-51) does not contain a transitive suffix, it does contain the causative prefix *faqa-*, which means that the base to which the LIP affixes are added is transitive.

- (4-51) *Oomea qeri qe kwai-faqa-maqu-i qasia naqa.*
 enemy that 3SG.NFUT LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP INTS INTS
 ‘The enemy is very frightening.’ (‘The enemy frightens [people] greatly.’)

4.2.3. Transitive verbs

4.2.3.1 Introduction

Two classes of transitive verbs need to be distinguished on the basis of their inflectional morphology, specifically the way they index their direct objects by means of suffixes: Class 1 and Class 2. The two classes of verbs also behave differently with respect to certain other constructions: nominalizations (section 9.1), object-incorporating compounding, (section 12.4), and verb-verb compounding (section 12.5).

There are a number of syntactically-extended transitive verbs,⁷ which take an additional complement, in addition to the direct object. The additional complement may be an oblique object, as in (4-52), or clause, as in (4-53):

- (4-52) *Alu-a suti qi laa waqi.*
 put-3.OBJ flashlight LOC IN basket
 ‘Put the flashlight in the basket.’

- (4-53) *Doketa qe sore-a kini kai*
 doctor 3SG.NFUT tell-3.OBJ woman 3SG.FUT

kuqu-fi-a meresina.
 drink-TR-3.OBJ medicine

‘The doctor told the woman to drink medicine.’ (Lit.: ‘The doctor told the woman, she will drink medicine.’)

4.2.3.2. Class 1 transitive verbs

4.2.3.2.1. The object suffixes and the object positions

Class 1 transitive verbs have object-indexing suffixes only for the third person, singular, dual, and plural. These are listed in table 4.2, and examples are given in (4-54) – (4-56).

Table 4.2. Object-indexing suffixes used with Class 1 transitive verbs

3SG	-a
3DU	- <i>darōqa</i>
3PL	- <i>da</i>

(4-54) *Qo riki-a?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Did you see him/her/it?’

(4-55) *Qo riki-darōqa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3DU.OBJ
 ‘Did you see them (two)?’

(4-56) *Qo riki-da?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Did you see them?’

(As mentioned in section 2.2.2, although the dual object suffix *-darōqa* has some historical relation to the plural suffix *-da*, it is treated as an unanalyzed whole.)

There are no object-indexing suffixes for persons other than third. Such objects can only be encoded by means of the corresponding independent personal pronouns (section 6.3):

(4-57) *Kai lōle qoe.*
 3SG.IPFV tell.lie.to 2SG
 ‘He is lying to you.’

(4-58) ... *keka ngali kamiliqa qa=si raa qeri*
 3PL.SEQ take 1PL(EXCL) GENP=PRTT work that
 ‘... they took us for that work’

In the third person, when the direct object is not a lexical noun phrase, there are two options. One is to use the appropriate object suffix, and the other is to use the appropriate personal pronoun, except that the pronouns are not often used when the referent is not human:

- (4-59) a. *Qo* *riki-a?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Did you see him/her/it?’
- b. *Qo* *riki nia?*
 2SG.NFUT see 3SG
 ‘Did you see him/her?’
- (4-60) a. *Qo* *riki-da?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Did you see them?’
- b. *Qo* *riki kera?*
 2SG.NFUT see 3PL
 ‘Did you see them?’

An object-indexing suffix and an independent personal pronoun in direct-object position cannot cooccur in a verb phrase:

- (4-61) **Qo* *riki-a nia?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ 3SG
 (‘Did you see him/her?’)

When there is a lexical direct object, it is indexed on the verb by means of the “singular” suffix *-a*, regardless of its grammatical number. In (4-62) the object is singular and in (4-63) the object is plural (as evidenced by the plural marker *ki*). Because with lexical objects the suffix *-a* does not mark the number, the number is not specified in the glosses.

- (4-62) *Nau ku* *rongo-a* *kini* *qeri.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ woman that
 ‘I heard the woman.’
- (4-63) *Nau ku* *rongo-a* *kini* *qe=ki.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ woman that=PL
 ‘I heard the women.’

The plural object suffix *-da* would be ungrammatical with a lexical direct object, even if the object were plural:

- (4-64) **Nau ku rongo-da kini qe=ki.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3PL.OBJ woman that=PL
 ('I heard the women.')

The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the dual object suffix: the dual suffix cannot be used when there is a lexical object in the verb phrase.

Under certain conditions the singular suffix *-a* may also be used regardless of the grammatical number of the object when a lexical noun phrase that corresponds to the direct object occurs outside the verb phrase, for example when it has been fronted for topicalization; see section 4.9 for detail.

There is a general rule in Toqabaqita whereby direct objects must be overtly expressed in verb phrases. (See also Lichtenberk 1997.) The evidence will be presented below, and although it has to do with Class 1 transitive verbs, the same overall conclusions apply to Class 2 transitive verbs. In addition to the general rule about the obligatoriness of expression of direct objects, the following also holds: (i) even though lexical direct objects are indexed on the verb, they are true arguments of the verb when *in situ*; they are not (topic) adjuncts; (ii) the plural and the dual object suffixes always express arguments (a lexical direct object cannot be present); and (iii) the object suffix *-a* is bifunctional: when there is no lexical object present in the verb phrase, it realizes the argument, but when there is a lexical object present in the verb phrase, the suffix is merely an agreement marker (except that it indexes only the person of the object, not its number).

Direct objects can be expressed in three ways: by means of a lexical noun phrase, by means of a pronominal noun phrase, or by means of an object suffix. Let's first consider lexical noun phrases. Even though they are indexed on the verb (in a head-marking pattern), they are not topic adjuncts. This can be seen from the following facts. First, they can introduce new participants:

- (4-65) *Keka kilu-a teqe oqola, oqola qeri*
 3PL.SEQ plant.taro.in-3.OBJ one garden garden that

ka taqe naqa,
 3SG.SEQ grow PRF
 'They planted taros in a garden; the [food in the] garden has grown;
'

Interrogative direct-objects also are indexed on verbs, even if they occur *in situ*, without being fronted/focused (section 19.3.2):

- (4-66) *Qo rofe-a taa?*
 2SG.NFUT look.for-3.OBJ what?
 ‘You are looking for what?’

Further evidence of the argument status of lexical noun phrases when directly after a verb complex comes from the plural and the dual object suffixes. Only the plural suffix will be discussed here, but the same applies to the dual one. As mentioned above, the plural suffix cannot be used when there is a lexical direct object directly after the verb complex. Instead the “singular” suffix *-a* is required:

- (4-67) *Nau ku riki-a toq=qe=ki qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ people=that=PL GENP

uusi-a.
 buy-DVN
 ‘I saw those people at the market.’

(See also [4-63] and [4-64] further above.)

However, when a plural lexical object is fronted, for example in topicalization, and the object has a human or other higher-animate referent (section 4.9), it is the plural object suffix that occurs on the verb. (Objects with non-higher animate referents are normally indexed by the singular suffix.)

- (4-68) *Toq=qe=ki, nau ku riki-da qana*
 people=that=PL 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ GENP

uusi-a.
 buy-DVN
 ‘Those people, I saw them at the market.’

The plural object suffix and a coreferential lexical direct object cannot cooccur with the latter *in situ*, immediately after the verb complex. This prohibition can be accounted for in the following way: the plural object suffix *-da* always instantiates an argument, and a coreferential non-oblique noun phrase that immediately follows the verb complex is inside the verb phrase. A given argument can be instantiated only once in a verb phrase. If a lexical direct object is present in a verb phrase, the plural object suffix cannot be. The plural object suffix can be present only if there is no lexical direct object in the verb phrase, either because there is no lexical noun phrase encoding that participant in the clause at all or because it is outside the verb phrase, as when it has been topicalized.

Let's now consider the status of the "singular" object suffix *-a*. Here too the discussion will be restricted to human participants, because we will also need to consider the third person singular independent pronoun, and the pronoun is only rarely used in the direct-object position with non-human referents. In (4-69) the singular direct object occurs *in situ*, immediately after the verb:

- (4-69) *Nau ku riki-a wane qeri qana uusi-a.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ man that GENP buy-DVN
 'I saw the man at the market.'

When the noun phrase that corresponds to the direct object is outside the verb phrase, as in topicalization, that participant is encoded inside the verb phrase in one of two ways: either by means of the object suffix *-a* or by means of the independent pronoun *nia*, but not by both simultaneously:

- (4-70) *Wane qeri, ku {riki-a / riki nia}*
 man that 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ / see 3SG

qana uusi-a.
 GENP buy-DVN
 'The man, I saw him at the market.'

The possibility of using either the object suffix or the independent pronoun when the noun phrase that corresponds to the direct object does not occur immediately after the verb complex is evidence that the suffix, like the pronoun, is argument-bearing under those conditions. On the other hand, when the direct object occurs *in situ*, immediately after the verb complex, the suffix *-a* cannot instantiate the argument, because the lexical object does. The suffix is bifunctional: it may instantiate an argument, or it may be a third-person agreement marker.

There are then three positions inside a verb phrase where direct objects can be encoded: after the verb complex, by means of a lexical noun phrase; inside the verb complex, immediately after the verb before any postverbal particles, by means of an independent personal pronoun; and inside the verb complex as a suffix on the verb.

4.2.3.2.2. *The structures of Class 1 transitive verbs*

Most, but not all, Class 1 transitive verbs contain a transitive suffix. In most cases, the internal structure of a Class 1 transitive verbs is evident by comparing that verb to another, formally related lexeme. The related lexeme may be an

intransitive verb, another Class 1 transitive verb, a variant form of the same verb, or a lexeme other than a verb. Where the internal structure of a verb is transparent, three basic subtypes of Class 1 transitive verbs can be distinguished:

- (i) bare transitives, which do not contain a transitive suffix;
- (ii) short transitives, which contain a variant of the short transitive suffix;
- (iii) long transitives, which contain a variant of the long transitive suffix.

However, see below for discussion of the term “transitive suffix”.

For example, the bare transitive verb *rongo* ‘hear’, ‘listen to’, ‘hear from’ is related to the intransitive verb *rongo* ‘hear’, ‘listen’; the short transitive verb *uthu-fi* ‘string, thread, skewer st. (e.g. fish)’ is related to the noun *uthu* ‘stringful, skewerful’; and the long transitive verb *teqe-mani/teqe-maqi* ‘count, read’ is related to the numeral *teqe* ‘one’.

In some cases, the existence of a transitive suffix in a verb is revealed not by the existence of a related suffixless form, but by variant forms of the transitive suffix. This is the case only with long transitives. For example, even though there is no related form **kwale*, *kwale-ngani/kwale-ngaqi* ‘take, carry, move a lot of things in several trips (rather than all at once)’ is a long transitive verb, as evidenced by the *-ngani* and *-ngaqi* variants of the transitive suffix (see further below).

In other cases, however, the structure of a transitive verb is not clear. For example, there is a transitive verb *nerufi* ‘whip, cane, hit with a swinging action’, in which the syllable *fi* may have at one point realized one allomorph of the short transitive suffix, but there is no suffixless form **neru* in present-day Toqabaqita that would be evidence that *nerufi* is polymorphemic. On the other hand, there is a tendency for Toqabaqita verbal and nominal roots to be disyllabic, and *neru-fi* would fit this pattern.

In most cases that involve what is treated above as a unitary transitive suffix, the “suffix” contains an initial consonant, which is variable: *f* in *uthu-fi* ‘string, thread, skewer st. (e.g. fish)’; *m* in *teqe-mani/teqe-maqi* ‘count, read’; and *ng* in *kwale-ngani/kwale-ngaqi* ‘take, carry, move a lot of things in several trips (rather than all at once)’; and there are other such consonants. Such consonants will be referred to as “thematic”. They are discussed in detail in section 4.2.3.2.3, where it is argued that they are in fact separate morphs. However, for convenience the thematic consonants will be written as if they were part of the transitive suffixes, unless there is a special reason to write them as separate morphs.

The examples below illustrate bare, short, and long transitives. The related, suffixless forms are given in (a). Bare transitive verbs do not contain a transitive suffix.

- (4-71) a. *raqo*
‘be stuck; adhere’
- b. *raqo-a* *stampa*
be.stuck-3.OBJ stamp
‘stick a (postage) stamp on (e.g. an envelope)’
- (4-72) a. *luqu*
‘answer, respond; give an answer’
- b. *luqu-a* *foqa-laa* *kamiliqa*
answer-3.OBJ pray-NMLZ 1PL(EXCL)
‘answer our prayer(s)’
- (4-73) a. *rina*
‘sp. of grass’, ‘k.o. ear ornament made from *rina* grass’
- b. *rina-a* *teqe* *fa* *rina*
make.*rina*.ornament-3.OBJ one CLF ear.ornament
‘make a *rina* ear ornament’

In (4-74) the bare transitive verb is based on a borrowing from Solomon Islands Pijin:

- (4-74) a. *kuki* (intr. v., n.)
‘cook’, ‘pot, saucepan’
- b. *kuki-a* *fanga*
cook-3.OBJ food
‘cook food (in a pot, saucepan)’

Short transitive verbs contain a variant of the short transitive suffix. The basic form of the short transitive suffix is *-(C)i*, where the C represent one of a set of thematic consonants. In a few verbs the suffix has no thematic consonant.

(4.75) a. *kuqu*
‘drink’

b. *kuqu-fi-a kafo*
drink-TR-3.OBJ water
‘drink water’

(4-76) a. *kaba*
‘crawl’

b. *kaba-li-a beleta*
crawl-TR-3.OBJ plate
‘(e.g. of ants) crawl on a plate’

(4-77) a. *laga*
‘bamboo vessel whose length is more than two nodes’

b. *laga-ni-a ongi*
‘make.into.bamboo.vessel-TR-3.OBJ bamboo.sp
‘make a length of *ongi* bamboo into a *laga* vessel (by removing two or more internal node partitions)’

In (4-78) the transitive suffix has no thematic consonant:

(4-78) a. *tala*
‘path, track, road’

b. *tala-i-a nguu*
lead-TR-3.OBJ singing
‘lead (in) singing’, ‘be the lead singer’

Long transitive verbs take variants of the long transitive suffix. Long transitive verbs present some complexities not found with bare and short transitives. First, the long transitive suffixes have two basic forms: *-Cani* and *-Caqi*, where the C represents a variable thematic consonant. With the long transitive suffixes, there is always a thematic consonant present. The *-Cani* variants are used when an object-indexing suffix follows. With one partial exception, the *-Caqi* variants are used when no object suffix follows: when the direct object is encoded by means of a personal pronoun (which means there is no object suffix on the verb); in nominalizations and deverbal nouns; when the verb has an incorporated object; when the verb is a non-final constituent of a serializing verb-verb compound; and when the verb carries the low-individuation-of-

participants prefix *kwai-*, which signifies a low degree of individuation of participants and is used with a reciprocal or a depatientive function.

In (4-79c) the verb with the *-taqi* variant of the suffix has an independent pronoun as its object:

- (4.79) a. *qabero*
‘be busy, occupied with sb., st.’
- b. *qabero-tani-a kwai-na*
be.busy-TR-3.OBJ spouse-3SG.PERS
‘be busy taking care of one’s spouse’
- c. *qabero-taqi nia*
be.busy-TR 3SG
‘be busy taking care of him/her’

In (4-80c) the *-taqi* variant occurs in a nominalization:

- (4-80) a. *fuqaro*
‘whisper’
- b. *fuqaro-tani-a bili-a*
whisper-TR-3.OBJ steal-DVN
‘whisper about the theft’
- c. *fuqaro-taqi-la-na wane*
whisper-TR-NMLZ-3SG.PERS man
‘whispering about the man’

In (4-81c) the *-ngaqi* variant occurs in a deverbal noun:

- (4-81) a. *ala* (intr.)
‘approve, agree’
- b. *ala-ngani-a lokap*
promise/threaten-TR-3.OBJ jail
‘promise jail (to sb.), threaten (sb. with) jail’
- c. *ala-ngaqi-a*
promise/threaten-TR-DVN
‘a promise, a threat’

In (4-82c) the *-faqi* variant occurs in a verb with an incorporated object:

- (4-82) a. *teo*
‘lie (down)’
- b. *teo-fani-a wela*
lie-TR-3.OBJ child
‘lay a/the child down (e.g. to sleep)’
- c. *teo-faqi wela*
lay-TR child
‘lay a child/children down (e.g. to sleep)’

In (4-83c) the *-maqi* variant occurs as the first constituent of a serializing verb-verb compound:

- (4-83) a. *teqe*
‘one’
- b. *teqe-mani-a alo qena*
one-TR-3.OBJ taro that(2)
‘count those taros’
- c. *teqe-maqi leqa qana alo qena*
one-TR be.good GENP taro that(2)
‘count those taros well’

And in (4-84c) the *-faqi* variant occurs in verb that carries the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-* to express a reciprocal situation:

- (4-84) a. *ili* (intr.)
‘do’
- b. *ili-fani-a ngata-la-na akalo*
imitate-TR-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ-3.PERS ancestral.spirit
‘imitate a/the ancestral spirit’s speaking’
- c. *kwai-ili-faqi*
LIP-imitate-TR
‘imitate each other’

There is one environment where the *-Caqi* form is used instead of the *-Cani* form when an object-indexing suffix follows. This happens only when the object suffix is third-person plural or dual, the verb is inside a relative clause, and the object suffix is anaphoric to the head noun phrase. Furthermore, the verb in the relative clause must be followed by the plural marker *ki*, which signals plurality of the head noun phrase. However, when *-Caqi* is used, the plural marker *ki* must follow the verb. (See section 30.3 for the positioning of the plural marker in relativization.) When there is no plural marker after the verb in the relative clause, it is the *-Cani* variant that is used. Compare (4-85a) with *laba-tani-da* and (4-85b) with *laba-taqi-da ki*:

- (4-85) a. *toqa na wane qeri e*
 people REL man that 3SG.NFUT

laba-tani-da
 harm-TR-3PL.OBJ
 ‘the people that the man harmed’

- b. *toqa na wane qeri e*
 people REL man that 3SG.NFUT

laba-taqi-da ki
 harm-TR-3PL.OBJ PL
 ‘the people that the man harmed’

Neither **laba-tani-da ki* nor **laba-taqi-da* without the plural marker would be grammatical.

When the plural head noun phrase of a relative clause is inanimate or lower-animate, the singular object suffix is used rather than the plural (or dual) one (section 4.9), when the verb in the relative clause is not followed by the plural marker. In that case the verb in the relative clause carries the *-Cani* variant of the transitive suffix. However, when the verb in the relative clause is followed by the plural marker, the *-Caqi* variant is used with the plural (or dual) object suffix. The two options are shown in (4-86a) and (4-86b), respectively:

- (4-86) a. *qai qoro ki na kuburu e*
 tree be.many PL REL storm 3SG.NFUT

nanga-tani-a
 knock.down-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘the many trees that the storm knocked down’

- b. *qai qoro ki na kuburu e*
 tree be.many PL REL storm 3SG.NFUT

nanga-taqi-da ki
 knock.down-TR-3PL.OBJ PL
 ‘the many trees that the storm knocked down’

The range of environments in which the *-Caqi* variants of the long transitive verbs are used — everywhere except before an object suffix, when the verb is not in a relative clause with a plural head noun phrase — is evidence that it is the *Caqi* variants of verbs rather than the *Cani* variants that are the basic forms. Nevertheless, native speakers of Toqabaqita are much more likely to give the *Cani* variant of a verb in isolation, for example, when citing a verb.⁸

Some long transitive verbs contain, in addition to the transitive suffix, a “stem extender” (EXT). The stem extender follows the verb base and is itself followed by the transitive suffix: base-EXT-TR. The basic form of the stem extender is *-Ca*, where the C is a thematic consonant (see section 4.2.3.2.3). (As discussed in section 2.3, the stem extenders are treated as part of the verbal stems for stress assignment purposes.) The verbs that contain a stem extender will be referred to as “extended long transitive verbs”.⁹ The extended long transitives form only a small proportion of the class of long transitive verbs. Only about 25 such verbs have been identified. The extended long transitives, like the other long transitives, take the *-Cani* and *-Caqi* variants of the long transitive suffix and under exactly the same conditions. Thus, in (4-87) the *-tani* variant is used before an object suffix, and the *-taqi* variant is used with a direct object that is an independent personal pronoun:

- (4-87) a. *ila*
 ‘be unfriendly, hostile’
- b. *ila-ma-tani-a wane*
 be.unfriendly/hostile-EXT-TR-3.OBJ man
 ‘be unfriendly, hostile to the man’
- c. *ila-ma-taqi nau*
 be.unfriendly/hostile -EXT-TR 1SG
 ‘be unfriendly, hostile to me’

More examples of extended long transitives are given in (4-88) – (4-90) under (b):

- (4-88) a. *busu* (intr.)
‘burst, explode’
- b. *busu-ra-ngani-a* *qamali*
burst-EXT-TR-3.OBJ sea
‘of a whale: produce a spout of water’
- (4-89) a. *sifo*
‘descend’
- b. *sifo-la-ngaqi-la-na* *kako*
descend-EXT-TR-3.PERS cargo
‘offloading of cargo (e.g. from a truck)’
- (4-90) a. *dora* (intr.)
‘not know’
- b. *dora-nga-tani-a* *naifa*
not.know-EXT-TR-3.OBJ knife
‘stealthily do something bad to another person’s knife’, ‘do something bad to another person’s knife without that person’s knowledge’

The stem extender has four variant forms, distinguished by the thematic consonant: *-la*, *-ra*, *-ma*, and *-nga* (see the examples above). Of these *-la* is most common, and *-nga* least common. While the choice of the variant of the extender is not predictable, there are some patterns. These are discussed in section 4.2.3.2.3.3.

There are quite a few cases where more than one transitive verb — bare, short or long — has the same base. In most cases such forms are also distinct semantically. If two or more such verbs contain thematic consonants, the consonants are not necessarily the same. This is discussed in detail in sections 4.2.3.2.3.2 and 4.2.3.2.3.3.

In a few cases there is alternation in the final vowel between the base of a transitive verb and its intransitive counterpart. The alternations are: *a-e*, *o-e*, *u-i*, with the non-front vowels occurring in the intransitive verbs and the front vowels in the corresponding transitive verbs, although there is at least one exception. These alternations are lexemically determined; only a small number of verbs exhibit them. A few examples are given below.

- (4-91) a. *feqa*
‘defecate’

- b. *feqe-si-a nabi*
defecate-TR-3.OBJ nappy
'of a baby: defecate in the nappy'
- c. *feqe-tani-a qabu* also *feqa-tani-a qabu*
defecate-TR-3.OBJ blood defecate-TR-3.OBJ blood
'defecate blood; pass blood in faeces'

(4-92) a. *qoo*
'break, be.broken'

- b. *qoe-a si qai*
break-3.OBJ PRTT wood
'break a/the stick'

(4-93) a. *quu*
'crack.canarium.nuts'

- b. *qui-a ngali*
crack.canarium.nut-3.OBJ canarium.nut
'crack a/the canarium nut'

As discussed in section 4.2.2.2, some pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs are related in the following way: the intransitive verb is a reduplication of the base that occurs in the corresponding transitive verb. A few such pairs exhibit vowel alternations:

(4-94) a. *dee-dema*
'(e.g. of ground) be level'

- b. *deme-si-a thaqegano*
level-TR-3.OBJ ground
'level the ground'

(4-95) a. *suu-sula*
'fish.with.hook.and.line'

- b. *sule-a iqa*
catch.fish.with.hook.and.line-3.OBJ fish
'catch a/the fish using a hook and line'

There is at least one intransitive-transitive pair where the vowel alternation is the other way from the normal pattern, with *i* in the intransitive verb and *u* in the transitive verb:

- (4-96) a. *tabali*
 ‘move aside, away’
- b. *tabalu-ngani-a* *biru*
 move.aside-TR-3.OBJ garden.partition
 ‘move a garden partition to a side, in a given direction’

Some Class 1 transitive verbs have combining forms used with incorporated objects (section 12.4.1) and as nonfinal verbs in verb-verb compounds (section 12.5).

4.2.3.2.3. *The thematic consonants*

4.2.3.2.3.1. *The range of the thematic consonants*

The term “thematic consonants” refers to the consonants associated with the short and the long transitive suffixes and with the stem extenders, as discussed in 4.2.3.2.2. Thus in (4-97a) the thematic consonant is *f*, and in (4-98a) the thematic consonant is *t*. The thematic consonants are in bold.

- (4-97) a. *lae-**f**i-a*
 go-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘go for, go to get st.’
- cf. b. *lae*
 ‘go’
- (4-98) a. *oli-**t**ani-a*
 return-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘return st., take, put st. back’
- cf. b. *oli*
 ‘return, go/come back’

In very few cases, there is no thematic consonant associated with a short transitive suffix. For example:

- (4-99) a. *manata-i-a*
 think-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘think about’, ‘think that’
- cf. b. *manata*
 ‘think’

For convenience such cases will be said to involve zero thematic consonants.

Of the 17 consonants (including the glide *w*) of Toqabaqita, only some occur as thematic consonants. Table 4.3 lists the Toqabaqita consonants. Those that occur as thematic consonants — in the short transitive suffixes, in the long transitive suffixes, and in the stem extenders — are marked with a plus sign.

Table 4.3. Thematic consonants

	t	k	kw	q	b	d	g	gw	f	th	s	m	n	ng	l	r	w	0
short TR				+					+	+	+	+	+		+	+		+
long TR		+							+				+	+				
EXT													+	+	+	+		

The discussion that follows focuses primarily on the short and the long transitives. It is these two types of suffix that contrast with each other, while the stem extenders only cooccur with some of the long suffixes. Some remarks concerning the stem extenders will be made after the transitive suffixes have been discussed. The main conclusions reached about the thematic consonants associated with the transitive suffixes will also apply to those associated with the stem extenders.

Several facts are evident from table 4.3. First, only nine out of the 17 consonants occur as thematic consonants, just over 50 percent. And even though the language has eight oral stops, only two of them occur as thematic consonants: *q* in short transitives and *t* in long transitives; none of the voiced stops do. Second, slightly more than twice as many different thematic consonants (counting zero) occur in short transitives compared to long transitives. And, third, with one exception, for which there is a historical explanation, the thematic consonants in long transitives are a proper subset of those in short transitives.

T is the only thematic consonant that occurs in long but not in short transitives. One of the innovations of the Cristobal-Malaitan group of languages, of which Toqabaqita is a member, was a change whereby earlier *s became *t before non-high vowels and continued as *s before high vowels (Pawley 1972;

Lichtenberk 1988a). In the short transitive suffixes the vowel that follows the thematic consonant is *i*: *-Ci*. In the long transitive suffix the vowel that follows the thematic consonant is *a*: *-Cani/-Caqi*. *T* does not occur as a thematic consonant in short transitives, and *s* does not occur as a thematic consonant in long transitives. This skewed distribution of *t* and *s* as thematic consonants is the result of the sound change whereby **s* became **t* before non-high vowels. Although in present-day Toqabaqita *s* and *t* are separate phonemes — *s* is found before non-high vowels and *t* before high vowels — *s* still does not occur as a thematic consonant in long transitives and *t* still does not occur as a thematic consonant in long transitives. The forms in (4-100a) and (4-100b) show the *s* – *t* alternation:

- (4-100) a. *moa-si-a*
vomit-TR-3SG.OBJ
'vomit on'
- b. *moa-tani-a*
vomit-TR-3SG.OBJ
'vomit out'
- cf. c. *moa* (intr.)
'vomit'

Given their complementary distribution in the transitive suffixes, *s* and *t* as thematic consonants may be considered to be equivalent, and in that sense the set of thematic consonants that occur with the long suffixes may be considered a proper subset of those that occur with the short suffixes.

4.2.3.2.3.2. Identity of, and variation in, the thematic consonants

There are many cases where a short and a long transitive verb with the same base have identical thematic consonants (including the *s* – *t* alternation). A few examples are given in (4-101). For simplicity, only the *-Cani* variants of long transitives are listed.

- | (4-101) | short TR | long TR | base |
|---------|---|--|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>teo-fi</i>
'lie (down) on,
in st.' | <i>teo-fani</i>
'lay sb., st. down' | <i>teo</i>
'lie (down)' |

b.	<i>kwara-si</i> 'urinate on'	<i>kwara-tani</i> 'urinate out; pass in, with urine'	<i>kwara</i> 'urine'
c.	<i>thara-ngi</i> 'of fire: warm st., sb. up'	<i>thara-ngani</i> 'warm up, reheat (food)'	<i>thara</i> 'warm os. at a fire'
d.	<i>karu-mi</i> 'scratch with fingernails or toenails'	<i>karu-mani</i> 'beckon sb.' (hand palm down, fingers brought in, in scratching-like motion)'	no * <i>karu</i> , but reduplicated <i>karu-karu</i> (intr.) 'make scratching noise' and <i>kaa-karu</i> (intr.) 'beckon'

F and *s/t* are the thematic consonants in the great majority of pairs of short and long transitives with identical thematic consonants.

There are also many cases where the thematic consonants are different between a short and a long transitive with the same base. And there are also a fair number of cases of more than one short transitive verb and/or more than one long transitive verb with the same base, with the different forms distinguished only by their thematic consonants. In some cases the variant forms are synonymous, in others they have different meanings. Some examples of variation in thematic consonants are given in (4-102) – (4-104). In (4-102) the variation is between short and long transitives:

(4-102)	short TR	long TR	base
a.	<i>ngisu-fi</i> 'spit at'	<i>ngisu-tani</i> 'spit out'	<i>ngisu</i> 'spit'
b.	<i>fita-li</i> '(esp. of children) run around in rain for amusement' ('rain' as direct object)	<i>fita-tani</i> 'take sb. somewhere in a hurry' (e.g. rush a sick person to the clinic)	<i>fita</i> 'run'

c.	<i>dola-li</i> 'mix, stir (st.) into st.'	<i>dola-ngani</i> 'lose'	<i>dola</i> 'be lost, disappear'
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In (4-103) there is more than one short transitive or more than one long transitive form that are synonymous:

(4-103)	short TR	long TR	base
a.	<i>suu-ngi</i> , <i>suu-ni</i> 'burn off vegetation when making a new garden' ('garden' as direct object)		no * <i>suu</i> , but reduplicated <i>suu-suu</i> 'burn vegetation off the ground'
b.		<i>fuqaro-ngani</i> , <i>fuqaro-tani</i> 'whisper about'	<i>fuqaro</i> (intr.) 'whisper'
c.	<i>oli-si</i> 'reply to, answer'	<i>oli-tani</i> , <i>oli-fani</i> 'return st.; take, put st. back'	<i>oli</i> 'return, go/come back'

And in (4-104) there is more than one short transitive or more than one long transitive form that are different in meaning:

(4-104)	short TR	long TR	base
a.	<i>ngata-li</i> 'discuss'		<i>ngata</i> 'speak'
	<i>ngata-fi</i> 'scold, berate'		

b.	<p><i>busu-ri</i> ‘in healing: splutter the patient with chewed up healing substance’</p> <p><i>busu-li</i> ‘cause to burst’</p>	<p><i>busu-ra-ngani</i> ‘of a whale: produce a spout of water’ (‘sea’ as direct object)</p>	<p><i>busu</i> ‘burst, explode’</p>
c.	<p><i>liu-fi</i> ‘walk all over, around (a place)’</p>	<p><i>liu-fani</i> ‘of bad behaviour: bring about the perpetrator’s death, visit death on the perpetrator’</p> <p><i>liu-ngani</i> ‘steal (plants) from sb. else’s garden; walk away with plants from sb. else’s garden, having stolen them’ (‘garden’ as direct object); ‘ask sb. to accompany one’</p> <p><i>liu-tani</i> ‘harvest (garden)’, ‘take a large quantity of harvested crop to another place’ (‘crop’ as direct object)</p>	<p><i>liu</i> ‘walk’, ‘pass by’</p>

Variation in thematic consonants, especially variation between short and long transitives, is not at all uncommon.

There is never any variation in the thematic consonants between the *-Cani* and the *-Caqi* variants of the long transitive suffixes.

4.2.3.2.3.3. *The morphological status of the thematic consonants*

What is the morphological status of the thematic consonants? Thus far they have been written as part of the transitive suffixes. Could they, instead, be part of the bases? It will be argued in what follows that they are part neither of the

suffixes nor of the bases. For discussion of these issues in a broader context see Lichtenberk (2001).

The problem of the Toqabaqita thematic consonants is reminiscent of the problem of thematic consonants in Maori, first raised by Hale (1973). In the subsequent discussion Hale's terms "phonological analysis" and "conjugation analysis" will be adopted. On the phonological analysis the thematic consonants would be part of the bases, while on the conjugation analysis they would be part of the transitive suffixes.

There is evidence both against the conjugation analysis and against the phonological analysis in Toqabaqita. Instead, a "morpho-lexemic" analysis is adopted here, according to which the thematic consonants are separate morphs. The first part of the term "morpho-lexemic" serves to highlight the status of the thematic consonants as separate morphs, while the second part highlights the lexemic analysis adopted here, according to which it is the lexeme, not the morpheme, that is the relevant sign (Aronoff 1994). Even though the thematic consonants are separate morphs, they are semantically empty (but see section 4.2.3.2.3.4). It is the short and the long transitive verbs as wholes, including the bases and the transitive suffixes (and in some cases also the stem extenders), that carry meanings.

On the phonological analysis, the thematic consonants would be part of the bases, for example, *kuquf* 'drink'. If a transitive suffix is added, the consonant is retained: *kuquf-i* 'drink'. If no suffix is added, the consonant is deleted, because Toqabaqita does not allow closed syllables, with the exception of optional ellision of word-final vowels in certain circumstances (section 2.2.1). In this particular case, the result would be an intransitive verb *kuqu* 'drink'. Cases of short and long transitive verbs with identical thematic consonants (see the examples in [4-101] in the preceding section) would provide some measure of support for this analysis (with some adjustment for the *s-t* alternation).

However, the phonological analysis would face some serious problems. One is the existence of bare transitive verbs, for example *raqo* 'glue, join, affix', besides intransitive *raqo* 'be stuck, adhere' and short transitive *raqofi* 'stick, adhere to'. If the base form were *raqof*, there would be no need to delete the final *f* in the bare transitive when the third-person singular object suffix is added because the *f* would not be closing a syllable: **raqof-a* 'stick, adhere to him/her/it'. A proponent of the phonological analysis might argue that when the object suffix was third-person plural *-da* or dual *-daroqa*, a closed syllable would arise, e.g. **raqof-da* 'stick, adhere to them', and that, therefore, the thematic consonant would be deleted before any object suffix. A similar problem with the phonological analysis would arise with deverbal nouns, which are formed by means of the suffix *-a* (section 9.2); for example *laea* 'occasion of going somewhere' also 'group of people going somewhere', besides intransitive *lae* 'go' and short transitive *laefi* 'go for, got to get st.'. If the thematic conso-

nants were part of the bases, there would be no phonological reason for deleting them before the deverbal-noun suffix: **laefa*. A proponent of the phonological analysis might want to argue that the thematic consonant would have to be deleted before the nominalizing suffix *-laa* (section 9.1): *laelaa*. However, deverbal nouns and nominalizations are quite independent of each other as types of lexemes (chapter 9), and there is no reason to assume that the phonological properties of one would have any bearing on those of the other.

Another problem with the phonological analysis is the far-from-uncommon cases of variation in thematic consonants, samplings of which were given in (4-102) – (4-104) in the preceding section. In such cases, one would have to postulate more than one base. This would not be much of an issue in those cases where the variants are synonymous; for example, *suung-i* and *suun-i* ‘burn off vegetation when making a new garden’ (‘garden’ as direct object), and *fuqarong-ani* and *fuqarot-ani* ‘whisper about’. However, when the transitive verbs are not synonymous, one would have to postulate multiple bases that would be identical in form except for the final consonant and would also be related in meaning, surely a strange coincidence, especially since the number of such multiple bases would be fairly large. Sometimes, multiple bases would have to be postulated because of variation in thematic consonants between a short and a long transitive, e.g. *ngisuf-i* ‘spit at’ and *ngisut-ani* ‘spit out’ (cf. *ngisu* (intr.) ‘spit’). And sometimes multiple bases would have to be postulated because of non-synonymous short transitives or non-synonymous long transitives; e.g. *ngatal-i* ‘discuss’ vs. *ngataf-i* ‘scold, berate’ (cf. *ngata* (intr.) ‘speak, talk’), and *liuf-ani* ‘of bad behaviour: bring about the perpetrator’s death, visit death on the perpetrator’ vs. *liung-ani* ‘steal (plants) from sb. else’s garden; walk away with plants from sb. else’s garden, having stolen them’ (‘garden’ as direct object), ‘ask sb. to accompany one’ vs. *liut-ani* ‘harvest (garden)’, ‘take a large quantity of harvested crop to another place’ (‘crop’ as direct object) (cf. *liu* (intr.) ‘walk’, ‘pass by’).

Finally, the phonological analysis would amount to claiming that the basic forms of some lexemes end in a consonant,¹⁰ all of which would just happen to have formally related lexemes that are Class 1 transitive verbs.

On the conjugation analysis, the thematic consonants would be part of the transitive suffixes. Each suffix would have as many allomorphs as there are thematic consonants. The distribution of the allomorphs would not be predictable. First, as shown in (4-103) and (4-104) in the preceding section, one and the same base may be associated with more than one short or more than one long transitive suffix, with or without a difference in meaning. And second, homophonous or nearly homophonous bases may select different thematic consonants. This is illustrated in (4-105) for the short suffix and in (4-106) for the long suffix.

- | | | | | |
|---------|----|--|-----|---|
| (4-105) | a. | <i>kwala-ngi</i>
'swear at' | cf. | <i>kwala</i> (intr.)
'swear' |
| | b. | <i>kwala-fi</i>
'of humans and animals
(female and male):
'beget', 'bear (a child,
young)' | cf. | <i>kwala</i> (intr.)
'of animals: have,
young, offspring' |
| (4-106) | a. | <i>abu-tani</i>
'behave in prescribed,
respectful ways
concerning sb., st.' | cf. | <i>abu</i> (intr.)
'be taboo,
not allowed,
forbidden' |
| | b. | <i>labu-ngani</i>
'stick, drive st. into
the ground so that it
stands upright' | cf. | <i>labu</i> (short tr.)
'stab, pierce, spear',
'drive, stick st. (into
st.)' |

There are several problems with the conjugation analysis. One is the fact that a number of bases would take more than one allomorph of a transitive suffix, with an accompanying semantic difference; for example, *ngata-li* 'discuss' vs. *ngata-fi* 'scold, berate', and *liu-fani* 'of bad behaviour: bring about the perpetrator's death, visit death on the perpetrator' vs. *liu-ngani* 'steal (plants) from sb. else's garden; walk away with plants from sb. else's garden, having stolen them' ('garden' as direct object), 'ask sb. to accompany one' vs. *liu-tani* 'harvest (garden)', 'take a large quantity of harvested crop to another place' ('crop' as direct object).

Second, with the qualification concerning the *s-t* alternation, the set of the thematic consonants that occur in the long transitives is a proper subset of the set of the thematic consonants that occur in the short transitives. If the two sets of thematic consonants were completely independent of each other, this would be no more than an accident.

The third problem is the fact that the thematic consonants are clearly segmentable from the following material and so are identifiable as separate morphs. This is especially so in the case the short suffix, one allomorph of which has a zero thematic consonant: *-q-i*, *-f-i*, *-s-i*, *-m-i*, *-n-i*, *-ng-i*, *-l-i*, *-r-i*, *-i*; and *-t-aqi/-t-ani*, *-f-aqi/-f-ani*, *m-aqi/-m-ani*, *-ng-aqi/-ng-ani*. One could, perhaps, argue that the final *i* in the long transitive suffixes also ought to be segmented off because it is recurrent and because what appears to be the same morph is found in the short transitive suffix. This issue will be discussed shortly.

Both the phonological and the conjugation analyses suffer from serious problems. There is an alternative analysis, one that avoids the problems of the other two, a morpho-lexemic analysis. On the morpho-lexemic analysis, the thematic consonants are separate morphs, but they are semantically empty. There is a pool of thematic consonants that both short and long transitives draw on, but the types of verb utilize different subsets. Each transitive verb is associated with a particular thematic consonant, sometimes more than one. Since the thematic consonants are semantically empty, the fact that one and the same base may be associated with semantically distinct transitive forms with different thematic consonants is not an issue.

For example, the semantic difference between *ngata-l-i* ‘discuss’ and *ngata-f-i* ‘scold, berate’, which share the base *ngata* ‘speak, talk’, cannot be attributed directly to the thematic consonants. Both *l* and *f* are found in many other transitive verbs, short and long, and there is no semantic constant that they could be seen as contributing. The bases of most (though not all) transitive verbs exist as lexemes in their own right, but the semantic relations between them and the corresponding transitive verbs are often idiosyncratic. It is the combination of the base, the thematic consonant (if any) and the transitive suffix (if any) as a lexical unit that is independently meaningful. It is lexemes that are repositories of meanings (Aronoff 1994).

The thematic consonants are semantically empty, but that does not necessarily mean that any thematic consonant is equally likely to occur in a verb of a certain meaning as any other. This will be discussed in the next section. And although the thematic consonants have been identified as separate morphs, for simplicity’s sake they will continue to be written as part of the transitive suffixes; for example, *kuqu-fi* rather than *kuqu-f-i* ‘drink’ and *teqe-mani/teqe-maqi* rather than *teqe-m-ani/teqe-m-aqi* ‘count, read’.

The relation between transitive verbs and the lexemes formally related to them is best viewed as one of correspondence rather than one of (directional) derivation, for two reasons. First, there are transitive verbs whose bases do not occur as independent lexemes. For example, *kwale-ngani/kwale-ngaqi* ‘take, carry, move a lot of things in several trips (rather than all at once)’ is clearly a long transitive verb, because of the *-ngani* – *-ngaqi* variation in the form of the transitive suffix, but there is no related lexeme *kwale*, although there is an intransitive verb that involves reduplication: *kwale-kwale* ‘move back and forth, here and there’. Similarly, there is a short transitive verb *karu-mi* ‘scratch with fingernails or toenails’ a long transitive *karu-mani/karu-maqi* ‘beckon sb. (hand palm down, fingers brought in, in scratching-like motion)’, and also a reciprocal verb *kwai-karu-mi* ‘scratch each other’, but there is no related lexeme **karu*. Rather, there are two intransitive verbs, both of which involve reduplication: *karu-karu* ‘make scratching noise’ and *kaa-karu* ‘beckon’. And second, in the case of bare transitive verbs positing either derivational direction would be

arbitrary. For example, is the transitive verb *luqu* ‘answer, respond to (a person, question, letter, prayer)’ to be seen as derived from intransitive *luqu* ‘answer, respond; give an answer’, or vice versa?

There is one other matter that needs to be discussed in connection with the transitive suffixes. Since the thematic consonants are separate morphs, this means that the *i* of the short transitive suffix also is a separate morph; for example *-m-i*. And the long transitive suffixes end in *i*. Should this final *i* of the long transitive suffixes be treated as a separate morph, identical to the *i* of the short suffixes, as in for example, *-m-an-i*? There is no compelling reason for doing so. First, it is not obvious what would be gained by such an analysis. While segmenting off the thematic consonants is well motivated, there would be no gain in segmenting off the final *i* of the long transitive suffixes. Quite to the contrary. As discussed in section 9.2, deverbal nouns are derived from verbs by means of the suffix *-a*. When a deverbal noun is based on a long transitive verb, the deverbal-noun suffix follows the *-Caqi* variant of the transitive suffix: *kwai-ngaqi-a* ‘grave’, cf. *kwai-ngani/kwai-ngaqi* ‘bury’. However, when a deverbal noun is based on a short transitive verb, the *i* of the transitive suffix is either omitted or replaced by *a*: *laa-lae-f-a* (with reduplication) ‘ladder’, ‘baby walker: a stick placed horizontally above the ground or the floor and secured at both ends, so that a baby beginning to learn to walk can hold onto it’, cf. *lae-fi* ‘go for, go to get st.’; and *thuu-fa-a* ‘protective, guardian spirit’, cf. *thuu-fi* ‘cover’, ‘of a spirit, God, Jesus: protect’. The fact that the *i* of the long transitive suffix and the *i* of the short transitive suffix behave differently in the formation of deverbal nouns is evidence that they are not the same morpheme. The *i* of the short transitive suffix is a morph of its own and it is not retained in deverbal nouns. On the other hand, the *i* of the long suffixes is retained in deverbal nouns, which can be taken as evidence that it is part of the transitive suffix.

As far as the thematic consonants found in the stem extenders are concerned, the phonological and the conjugation analyses would face some of the same problems they encounter in connection with the transitive suffixes. In extended long transitive verbs, there are two thematic consonants: one associated with the transitive suffix and one associated with the stem extender, and the two consonants are never identical (see further below); for example *takwe-la-ngani/takwe-la-ngaqi* ‘stand sb., st. up’. On the phonological analysis, the analysis would be *takwel-ang-ani/takwel-ang-aqi*, with both thematic consonants, *l* and *ng*, stem-final. The phonological analysis would claim that certain verbs contain a suffix that ends in a consonant, which would be the only such affix in the language, and that all such verbs just happen to have a base that also ends in a consonant. The conjugation analysis would not account for the fact that the thematic consonants associated with the stem extenders are a proper subset of the total set of the thematic consonants, and that the variants

are segmentable: *-l-a*, *-r-a*, *-m-a*, *-ng-a*. Here too the morpho-lexemic analysis avoids both sets of problems. Each extended long transitive verb is associated with a certain consonant before the stem extender and with a certain (other) thematic consonant before the long transitive suffix. The thematic consonants associated with the stem extenders are empty morphs, but for convenience they will be represented as part of the stem extenders; thus *takwe-la-ngani/takwe-la-ngaqi* ‘stand sb., st. up’, rather than *takwe-l-a-ng-ani/takwe-l-a-ng-aqi*.

Only four consonants occur as thematic consonants associated with the stem extenders: *l*, *r*, *m*, and *ng*. Of these, *-l* is most frequent, and *-ng* least frequent. The choice of a thematic consonant is not predictable, but there are some patterns. For a given extended transitive verb, the thematic consonant associated with the stem extender and the thematic consonant associated with the long transitive suffix are never identical. Furthermore, not all possible combinations of unlike thematic consonants occur. In ordinary long transitives, four consonants occur as thematic: *t*, *f*, *m*, and *ng*. In extended long transitives only two of them occur as thematic consonants associated with the long transitive suffixes: *t* and *ng*. In fact, only four combinations of stem extenders and transitive suffixes have been attested: base-*la-ngani*, base-*ra-ngani*, base-*ma-tani*, and base-*nga-tani*. A non-nasal consonant associated with the stem extender only cooccurs with a nasal associated with the transitive suffix, and a nasal associated with the stem extender only cooccurs with a non-nasal associated with the transitive suffix. Of the four combinations of variants of the stem extender and the variants of the transitive suffix, *-la-ngani* is most common.

A few extended long transitives have synonymous ordinary long transitives counterparts, and in such cases the two variants share a thematic consonant. In some cases, the shared thematic consonant is associated with the transitive suffix in the extended transitive, in others it is associated with the stem extender; see (4-107) and (4-108), respectively:

- (4-107) a. *futa-la-ngani*
 ‘beget’, ‘bear (a child)’
- b. *futa-ngani*
 ‘beget’, ‘bear (a child)’
- (4-108) a. *kuru-ma-tani*
 ‘press, plunge, submerge st., sb. in, into water’
- b. *kuru-mani*
 ‘press, plunge, submerge st., sb. in, into water’

There is at least one pair of extended long transitives with the same base that share neither thematic consonant and that are synonymous in one of their senses but not the other one:

- (4-109) a. *toqo-la-ngani*
 ‘teach, instruct, inform (sb.) about st.’ (content as direct object), ‘explain’
- b. *toqo-ma-tani*
 ‘divide st. into groups according to a certain criterion (e.g. size)’, ‘explain’
- cf. c. *toqo* (intr.)
 ‘be learning st., practice (doing) st.’
- and d. *toqo* (bare tr.)
 ‘teach, instruct, inform (sb.) about st.’ (content as direct object) (same as the first sense of *toqo-la-ngani*), ‘learn st., in the sense of having learned it, knowing it’

4.2.3.2.3.4. Associations between thematic consonants and meanings

While the thematic consonants are not independently meaningful and cannot be said to contribute to, or modify, the meanings of verbs in specific ways, it is at the same time the case that certain thematic consonants, rather than others, are more likely to occur in verbs of certain meanings, with some qualifications.¹¹ First, this preference is not much more than a tendency, and there are exceptions. And second, the various thematic consonants do not occur with equal frequency. The most common thematic consonant is *f*, especially in short transitives, followed by *s* in short transitives and *t* in long transitives, with *l* a distant third (occurring only in short transitives). On the other hand, *q* and zero, both in short transitives, are quite rare. And it is precisely *f*, *s/t* and, to a lesser extent, *l* that exhibit some such tendencies. And finally, while verbs of certain meanings may be more likely to contain certain thematic consonants rather than others, the converse is not true: a given thematic consonant may occur with verbs of very different meanings. The examples of tendencies given below concern *f*, *s/t* and *l* as thematic consonants. This is where the tendencies are most apparent, although this may be partly an artefact of their frequency of use.

Verbs that are synonyms or near synonyms of each other typically take identical thematic consonants:

(4-110) a. *kuqu-fi* (normal word)
‘drink’

b. *qingo-fi* (respectful word)
‘drink’

(4-111) a. *ngata-li*
‘discuss’

b. *baqe-li*
‘speak about st., discuss st., especially in order to organize,
plan st.’

In the next pair of synonymous long transitive verbs both verbs have doublets with the same pairs of thematic consonants, the forms in (b) being rare:

(4-112) a. *oli-fani/oli-tani*
‘return; take, put back’

b. *roki-fani/roki-tani*
‘return; take, put back’

Verbs that belong in the same semantic field also tend to contain the same thematic consonants. Thus, with one exception, short transitive verbs of excretion and secretion select *s*, while the corresponding long transitives select *t*:

(4-113) a. *kwara-si* *kwara-tani*
‘urinate on’ ‘urinate out; pass in, with urine’

b. *feqe-si* *feqe-tani*
‘defecate on’ ‘defecate out; pass in, with faeces’

c. *moa-si* *moa-tani*
‘vomit on’ ‘vomit out’

d. (no short tr.) *fuqu-tani*
‘cough out’

However, in the next pair, while the long transitive has the expected *t*, the short transitive has *f* rather than *s*:

- (4-114) *ngisu-fi* *ngisu-tani*
 ‘spit at’ ‘spit out’

F and *l* are preferred as thematic consonants by short transitive verbs of translational motion and of posture:

- (4-115) a. *lae-fi*
 ‘go for, go to get st.’
- b. *ango-fi*
 ‘creep for, crouch for st. (e.g. in order to catch it)’
- c. *raqa-fi*
 ‘climb (e.g. tree)’
- d. *kotho-fi*
 ‘go inside, enter’
- e. *liu-fi*
 ‘walk all over, around (a place)’
- f. *qidu-fi*
 ‘of a person, esp. a baby: shuffle on his/her bottom on (e.g. the ground)’
- g. *teo-fi*
 ‘lie (down) on, in st.’, ‘of many entities: lie all over on, in st.’
- h. *qono-fi*
 ‘sit on’
- i. *kaba-li*
 ‘crawl on’ (e.g. about people, or about ants crawling on a plate)’
- j. *fita-li*
 ‘(esp. of children) run around in rain for amusement’ (‘rain’ as direct object)
- k. *takwe-li*
 ‘of many people: stand in various parts of (a place)’

- l. *taqe-li*
‘climb (to the top of)’, ‘board (a means of transportation)’
- m. *sifo-li*
‘descend onto (a place)’

But:

- (4-116) *lofo-qi*
‘swoop down on’, ‘jump, pounce at’

4.2.3.2.4. *Applicative and causative verbs*

If a transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart, they share one core argument. There are two basic patterns concerning the relations between such transitive verbs and their intransitive counterparts with respect to the core argument they share. In one, it is the subject of the transitive verb that corresponds to the subject of the intransitive verb: S = A. Such verbs will be referred to as “applicative”. For example:

- (4-117) a. *kuqu-fi-a kafo*
drink-TR-3.OBJ water
‘drink water’
- cf. b. *kuqu* (intr.)
‘drink’

In the other pattern it is the direct object of the transitive verb that corresponds to the subject of the intransitive verb: S = O. Such transitive verbs will be referred to as “causative”. For example:

- (4-118) a. *muu-si-a si qoko*
break-TR-3.OBJ PRTT rope
‘break a (piece of) rope’
- cf. b. *muu* (intr.)
‘break (asunder)’

To say that the subject or the direct object of a transitive verb corresponds to the subject of the related intransitive verb is not to say that the types of referents must be exactly the same with the two verbs, only that their referents play

very much the same roles in the respective situations. For example, the intransitive verb *qaru* ‘fall (down)’ takes a variety of subjects: the subject may refer to anything that can fall down, including rain. On the other hand, the transitive verb *qaru-ngi* takes a much more restricted variety of subjects: the subject can be ‘rain’, with the sense ‘fall, rain on’; it can be a noun phrase referring to a person or people (especially men) when the verb is used with the sense of ‘jump down from a canoe or canoes into the sea in order to catch a dolphin/dolphins’; and it can be a noun phrase referring to a kind of skin condition, rash afflicting people. In spite of these restrictions on its subjects, *qaru-ngi* is an applicative verb. Similarly, the intransitive verb *busu* ‘burst, explode’ takes a variety of subjects referring to entities that can burst or explode, while the extended long transitive verb *busu-ra-ngani* takes only ‘sea’ as its direct object: ‘of a whale: produce a spout of water’. Nevertheless, *busu-ra-ngani* is a causative verb.

There is no difference between applicative and causative verbs in terms of the grammatical morphemes involved. Both types of verb may be bare transitive, short transitive, and long transitive, and there are no systematic differences in the thematic consonants involved. This is illustrated in (4-119) – (4-122). In each set, the first verb is applicative and the second one causative. The first set involves bare transitives:

- (4-119) a. *qili-a* *thaqegano*
 dig-3.OBJ ground
 ‘dig (out) ground’
- b. *raqo-a* *stampa*
 be.stuck-3.OBJ stamp
 ‘stick a (postage) stamp on (e.g. an envelope)’

In (4-120) the verbs are short transitives with *s* as the thematic consonant:

- (4-120) a. *angi-si-a* *fanga*
 cry-TR-3.OBJ food
 ‘cry for food’
- b. *muu-si-a* *si* *qoko*
 break-TR-3.OBJ PRTT rope
 ‘break a (piece of) rope’

In (4-121) the verbs are long transitives with *ng* as the thematic consonant:

- (4-121) a. *fuqaro-ngani-a bili-a*
whisper-TR-3.OBJ steal-DVN
'whisper about the theft'
- b. *futa-ngani-a wela*
be.born-TR-3.OBJ child
'beget a child', 'bear a child; give birth to a child'

And in (4-122) the verbs are extended long transitives, both with *m* and *t* as the thematic consonants:

- (4-122) a. *ila-ma-tani-a wane*
be.unfriendly/hostile-EXT-TR-3.OBJ man
'be unfriendly, hostile to the man'
- b. *thuthu-ma-tani-a baru*
sink-EXT-TR-3.OBJ canoe
'sink a canoe'

There is, however, one factor that makes the status of a Class 1 transitive as applicative or causative not completely random. Applicative verbs are much more likely to have intransitive counterparts that take Initiators, that is participants that perform, effect, instigate states of affairs, as their subjects than those that take non-Initiators as their subjects. And causative verbs are much more likely to have intransitive counterparts that take non-Initiators as their subjects than those that take Initiators. This, however, is merely a tendency, albeit a fairly strong one, not an exceptionless rule. Examples of applicative verbs that follow this tendency are given in (4-123), and examples of causative verbs are given in (4-124). In some cases there are both short and long transitive verbs that follow this pattern. And in some cases, the intransitive verb is a reduplication of the base.

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|---|
| (4-123) | intransitive | applicative transitive |
| a. | <i>nao</i> 'bail out (water)' | <i>nao-fi</i> 'bail out (water)', 'bail out water from' |
| b. | <i>ili</i> 'do' | <i>ili-fani</i> 'imitate' |

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| c. | <i>ngata</i> ‘speak’ | <i>ngata-li</i> ‘discuss’
<i>ngata-fi</i> ‘scold, berate’ |
| d. | <i>feqa</i> ‘defecate’ | <i>feqe-si</i> ‘defecate on’
<i>feqe-tani</i> ‘defecate out; pass in,
with faeces’ |
| e. | <i>lole</i> ‘tell a lie’ | <i>lole</i> ‘lie to’
<i>lole-tani</i> ‘lead, entice sb. to a place,
away under a pretext’, ‘trick sb. or
an animal into going somewhere’ |
| f. | <i>kee-keda</i> ‘draw,’
‘engrave’, ‘write’ | <i>keda</i> ‘draw st., ‘engrave st.’,
‘write st.’ |
| g. | <i>bubu</i> ‘look, observe’ | <i>bubu-ngi</i> ‘gaze, stare at’ |
| h. | <i>manata</i> ‘think’ | <i>manata-i</i> ‘think about’, think
that’ |
| i. | <i>rongo</i> ‘hear’, ‘listen’ | <i>rongo</i> ‘hear’, ‘listen to’, ‘hear from’ |
| (4-124) | intransitive | causative transitive |
| a. | <i>ifu</i> ‘topple, fall over’ | <i>ifu</i> ‘cause to topple, to fall over’ |
| b. | <i>baba</i> ‘be flat-shaped’ | <i>baba</i> ‘make flat’ |
| c. | <i>fono</i> ‘be closed’ | <i>fono-si</i> ‘close’ |
| d. | <i>luga</i> ‘boil’ | <i>luga-fi</i> ‘boil’ |
| e. | <i>thuthu</i> ‘sink’ | <i>thuthu-mani</i> also
<i>thuthu-ma-tani</i> ‘press, plunge, sub-
merge st., sb. in, into water’, ‘of
water: swamp st. and cause it to
sink’ |
| f. | <i>akele</i> ‘turn (around,
over)’ | <i>akele-tani</i> ‘turn st., sb. (around,
over)’ |

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| g. | <i>futa</i> ‘be born’ | <i>futa-ngani</i> also
<i>futa-la-ngani</i> ‘beget’, ‘bear (a child)’ |
| h. | <i>tekwa</i> ‘be long, tall | <i>tekwa-si</i> also
<i>tekwa-la-ngani</i> ‘stretch st. (out), lengthen st.’ |
| i. | <i>dee-dema</i>
‘(e.g. of ground)
be level’ | <i>deme-si</i>
‘make level (e.g. ground)’ |

In a transitive situation, there is normally an Initiator (Agent, Experiencer) and an Endpoint (Theme, Patient, Stimulus). In the typical patterns just illustrated, if an intransitive verb takes an Initiator as its subject, an Endpoint is added to the frame of the corresponding transitive verb, and so the transitive verb will be applicative. And if an intransitive verb does not take an Initiator as its subject, an Initiator is added to the frame of the corresponding transitive verb, and so the transitive verb will be causative.¹²

While this pattern is quite robust, there are exceptions. One set of exceptions involves cases where both an applicative and a causative transitive verb have an identical intransitive counterpart. Normally, there is an applicative short transitive and a causative long transitive; see (a) – (e) in (4-125). However, the set of verbs in (f) involves a bare transitive that is causative (as expected), and a short transitive that is applicative.

(4-125)	intransitive	applicative	causative
a.	<i>kotho</i> ‘go through, into’	<i>kotho-fi</i> ‘go inside, enter’	<i>kotho-fani</i> ‘insert’
b.	<i>raqa</i> ‘climb (up)’	<i>raqa</i> ‘climb (esp. a tree)’	<i>raqa-fani</i> ‘hoist’
		<i>raqa-fi</i> ‘climb (e.g. a tree), ‘climb a tree for (e.g. its fruit)’	

c.	<i>teo</i> 'lie (down)'	<i>teo-fi</i> 'lie (down) on, in st.'	<i>teo-fani</i> 'lay sb., st. down'
d.	<i>takwe</i> 'stand (up)'	<i>takwe-li</i> 'of many people: stand in various parts of (a place)'	<i>takwe-la-ngani</i> 'stand sb., st. up'
e.	<i>sifo</i> descend'	<i>sifo-li</i> 'descend onto (a place)'	<i>sifo-la-ngani</i> 'lower st., sb.', 'of means of transportation: unload cargo, discharge passengers'
f.	<i>qaru</i> 'fall (down)'	<i>qaru-ngi</i> 'of rain: fall on', 'of dolphin hunt- ers: jump from a canoe into the sea to catch a dolphin/ dolphins' ('dolphin' as direct object), 'of a k.o. skin condition, rash: afflict sb.'	<i>qaru</i> 'drop'

Another set of exceptions involves cases where there is only one transitive verb related to an intransitive one, and the sole transitive verb is applicative rather than causative, even though the subject of the intransitive verb is not an Initiator. Two examples are given in (4-126):

(4-126)	intransitive	applicative
a.	<i>mae</i> 'be dead, die'	<i>mae-li</i> 'die of st., because of st., for st.'
b.	<i>qudu</i> 'of liquid: drip in long intervals'	<i>qudu-ngi</i> 'of liquid: 'drip in long intervals on st., sb., into st.'

Toqabaqita has a few pairs of intransitive and transitive “grooming verbs” (Kemmer 1993). The intransitive verbs are used when the agent is also conceptualized as the patient, and the transitive verbs are used when the agent is acting on a part of his or her own body or on somebody else’s body or a part of his/her body. All such transitive verbs are applicative; see (4-127):

(4-127)	intransitive	applicative
a.	<i>sufi</i> ‘shave (os.)’	<i>sufi</i> ‘shave (beard, hair; one’s own or sb. else’s)’, ‘shave (e.g. head)’, ‘shave (and cut) hair in a certain style’ (‘hairstyle’ as direct object)
b.	<i>suta</i> ‘comb (one’s own hair)’	<i>suta</i> ‘comb’ (‘hair’ as direct object)
c.	<i>laungi</i> ‘decorate, adorn os.’	<i>laungi</i> ‘decorate sb., st.; put decorations, ornaments on sb., st., adorn sb.’
d.	<i>qafi</i> ‘put on, wear clothes; be, get dressed’	<i>qafi-si</i> ‘put on, wear (an article of clothing worn from the waist down, e.g. trousers)’
e.	<i>sii-siu</i> ‘wash os., bathe’	<i>siu-fi</i> ‘wash, bathe sb.’

On the whole, Initiatorhood is a dominant factor over non-Initiatorhood. First, no exceptions have been found to the pattern whereby intransitive verbs that have subjects that are exclusively Initiators have applicative transitive counterparts. On the other hand, there are some — even though not many — exceptions to the pattern whereby intransitive verbs that have non-Initiator subjects have causative transitive counterparts; see *qaru* ‘fall (down)’ in (4-125f) further above and *ngidu* ‘drip’ (4-126b). *Mae* ‘be dead, die’ (in 4-126a) also is exceptional, but there the existence of an applicative verb may be motivated by the fact that the subjects of *mae* have one property characteristic of Initiators: animacy. The second piece of evidence of the dominance of Initiatorhood con-

cerns the intransitive grooming verbs, with which the subject participant is both the Initiator and the Endpoint. In all cases where an intransitive grooming verb has a transitive counterpart, the transitive verb is applicative.

4.2.3.2.5. Causative verbs formed by means of *faqa-*

As discussed in the preceding section, some Class 1 causative verbs are formed by means of the short and the long transitive suffixes, and there are also causative verbs that are bare transitives. Another way to form causative verbs is by means of a causative prefix, sometimes in combination with the short or the long transitive suffix. The basic form of the causative prefix is *faqa-*. Compare the noncausative verb *waela* ‘laugh’ in (4-128) and the causative *faqa-waela* ‘make laugh’ in (4-129):

(4-128) *Wela qe waela.*
 child 3SG.NFUT laugh
 ‘The child laughed.’

(4-129) *Wane e faqa-waela-a wela nia.*
 man 3SG.NFUT CAUS-laugh-3.OBJ child 3SG.PERS
 ‘The man made his child laugh.’

Similarly (4-130) contains noncausative *feda* ‘be tired’ and (4-131) causative *faqa-feda* ‘make tired’:

(4-130) *Nau ku feda qasia naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired INTS INTS
 ‘I am very tired.’

(4-131) *Nau ku raa-raa, raa qeri ka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-work work that 3SG.SEQ

faqa-feda nau qasia naqa.
 CAUS-be.tired 1SG INTS INTS
 ‘I worked and worked, and the work made me very tired.’

When the base to which the causative prefix is added begins with *q* (glottal stop), the form of the prefix is optionally *faa-*

- (4-132) a. *faqa-qakwaa* also *faa-qakwaa*
 CAUS-be.cured CAUS-be.cured
 ‘cure sb.’ ‘cure sb.’
- b. *faqa-qinoto* also *faa-qinoto*
 CAUS-be.wealthy CAUS-be.wealthy
 ‘make wealthy’ ‘make wealthy’

Alternatively, and more commonly, before a base that begins with *faqa-* the final *a* of the prefix is dropped and the *q* of the prefix and the *q* of the base are realized as a long glottal stop.

- (4-133) a. *faq-qakwa* [ɸàʔ:ákpa]
 CAUS-be.cured
 ‘cure sb.’
- b. *faq-qinoto* [ɸəʔ:ínɔtɔ]
 CAUS-be.wealthy
 ‘make wealthy’

Realization of the causative prefix as /ɸaʔa/ before a base that begins with a glottal stop is not common and is normally found only in slow, measured speech.

The causative prefix can only be added to intransitive verbs, be they stative or non-stative. The subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to the direct object of the causative verb. Examples of causative verbs with stative bases are given in (4-134) and examples with non-stative bases are given in (4-135). Only the *faqa-* form of the prefix is given.

- (4-134) intransitive causative
- a. *biliqa* *faqa-biliqa*
 ‘be dirty’ ‘make dirty’
- b. *feda* *faqa-feda*
 ‘be tired’ ‘make tired’
- c. *qamali-la* *faqa-qamali-la*
 salt-PROP ‘make salty, saltier’
 ‘be salty’

(4-135)	intransitive	causative
a.	<i>ulafu</i> 'work hard'	<i>faqa-ulafu</i> 'make sb. work hard'
b.	<i>fanga</i> 'eat'	<i>faqa-fanga</i> 'feed'
c.	<i>sifo</i> 'descend'	<i>faqa-sifo</i> 'lower st., sb.', 'of means of transportation: unload cargo, discharge, passen- gers)' (also extended long transitive <i>sifo-la-ngani</i> with the same meaning; see [4-125e])

There are a number of verbs with the prefix *faqa-* that deviate, in various ways, from the basic pattern *faqa*-intransitive.verb. With some verbs, not only the causative prefix, but also a transitive suffix — short or long — is added to the source verb. In some cases two synonymous variants exist, one without a transitive suffix, and one with:

(4-136)	intransitive	causative
a.	<i>funu</i> 'be completely destroyed, ruined'	<i>faqa-funu-qi</i> 'cause to be completely destroyed, ruined'
b.	<i>qono</i> 'sit (down)'	<i>faqa-qono-fani</i> 'sit sb., st. down'
c.	<i>nguunguru</i> 'be short'	also <i>faqa-nguunguru,</i> <i>faqa-nguunguru-si</i> 'shorten'
d.	<i>faalu</i> 'be clean'	also <i>faqa-faalu,</i> <i>faqa-faalu-ngani</i> 'make clean; cleanse'

There are a few causative verbs with the prefix *faqa-* which do not have intransitive counterparts in present-day Toqabaqita. In the absence of historical evidence it is impossible to tell whether these synchronic irregularities are the

result of loss of an intransitive verb or whether those verbs were irregular when they were first formed. For example, there is a causative verb *faqa-thata* ‘give a name to, bestow a name on (esp. a child)’, but there is no corresponding intransitive verb, only a noun, *thata* ‘name’. There is a causative verb *faqa-oome* ‘provoke sb.’ but no verb **oome*. However, there is a noun *oomea* ‘enemy’, ‘fight, war’, which may historically be a deverbal noun **oome-a* (section 9.2). And there is a causative verb *faqa-qafe-tani/faqa-qafe-taqi* ‘make it difficult to deal with st.; create obstacles to st. being done’ and an intransitive verb *qafe-taqi* ‘be difficult to do, difficult to cope with, difficult to do st. about’, but no **qafetani*. The existence of the variant *faqa-qafe-tani* suggests that *qafetaqi* was originally a long transitive verb, **qafe-taqi*, and as such had the variant *qafe-tani*.

There are several cases of verbs that carry the prefix *faqa-*, which, however, are intransitive verbs. In some cases there are also transitive verbs with the prefix, and so the intransitive forms are most likely instances of conversion. For example, besides transitive *faqa-waela* ‘make sb. laugh’ there is intransitive *faqa-waela* ‘be a funny person; make other people laugh’; cf. *waela* (intr.) ‘laugh’. And besides the transitive variants *faqa-futa* and *faqa-futa-ngani* ‘of a woman: give birth to’, there is intransitive *faqa-futa* ‘bear a child, give birth’; cf. *futa* ‘be born’. However, in some cases an intransitive verb with the prefix *faqa-* has no transitive counterpart. For example, there is intransitive *faqa-rake-qiri* ‘make angry’ with the person made angry expressed as an oblique object, and there is another intransitive verb *rake-qiri* ‘be, get angry’, which is a subject-incorporating compound (section 12.3.2): *rake* ‘belly’, *qiri* ‘be angry’. And there is intransitive *faqa-sobo* ‘eat’, besides short transitive *sobo-ngi* ‘support, prop up’, also metaphorically ‘eat’ (direct object coreferential with subject; lit.: ‘prop oneself up’) and intransitive *sobo* ‘take over from sb. in carrying st. in order to help them out’; but there is no transitive **faqa-sobo*.

There is one verb with the prefix *faqa-* which is formally highly irregular. It is an intransitive verb, and it contains two instances of the prefix *faqa-* or, alternatively, one instance of the prefix may be realized as *fa-*. The variant *fa-* also occurs with another verb with the same base intransitive verb, but with no other verb in the language. This irregular verb is a member of the following set of forms:

- (4-137) a. *maqu* ‘be afraid’
 b. *faqa-maqu* (tr.) ‘frighten’
 c. *faqa-maqu* (intr.) ‘be great in quantity, degree’, also used as an intensifier after other verbs

- d. *kwai-faqa-maqu-i*, also *kwai-fa-maqu-i* (intr.) ‘be frightening’ (depatientive verb; see section 21.4)
- e. *faqa-kwai-faqa-maqu-i*, also *faqa-kwai-fa-maqu-i* ‘be frightening’, synonymous with *kwai-faqa-maqu-i/kwai-fa-maqu-i*

Kwai- and *-i* in (4-137d) and (4-137e) are low-individuation-of-participants (LIP) affixes (section 21.3). They form intransitive, depatientive verbs from transitive ones: *kwai-faqa-maqu-i* ‘be frightening’ is based on transitive, causative *faqa-maqu* ‘frighten’ (see [4-137b]). And this intransitive verb in turn takes another instance of the prefix *faqa-*, the resulting verb *faqa-kwai-faqa-maqu-i* also being intransitive. Whether there ever was a transitive verb *faqa-kwai-faqa-maqu-i* is impossible to tell.

In *faqa-kwai-faqa-maqu-i* one instance of *faqa-* follows and one precedes the *kwai-* prefix. There is evidence from other verbs that the causative prefix and the depatientive LIP prefix can occur in either order, although there are only a few words in which the two prefixes cooccur. In some, the order is CAUS-LIP-base. The LIP prefix derives an intransitive verb from a transitive base, and the causative prefix derives a different transitive verb:

- (4-138) a. *karangi* (intr.) ‘be close, near’
- b. *karangi* (tr.) ‘be, move near to; approach’
- c. *kwai-karangi* (intr.) ‘become near(er), close(r), ‘approach’
- d. *faqa-kwai-karangi* (tr.), also *faqa-karangi* (tr.) ‘move an event closer in time; move the time of an event closer’

(4-139) *Kulu* *faqa-kwai-karangi-a* *ba-kuluqa*
 PL(INCL) CAUS-LIP-be.close-3.OBJ LIM-PL(INCL).PERS

faa-fanga-a *naqi.*

RDP-eat-DVN this

‘Let’s just bring the (time of the) feast closer.’

In other verbs the order is LIP-CAUS-base. The causative prefix derives a transitive verb from an intransitive base, and the LIP prefix derives another intransitive verb:

- (4-140) a. *maruki* (intr.) ‘live, be alive’
 b. *faqa-maruki* (tr.) ‘save sb.’s life’ (person as direct object)
 c. *kwai-faqa-maruki* (intr.) ‘save lives’
- (4-141) *Doketa wane ni kwai-faqa-maruki.*
 doctor person LIG LIP-CAUS-be.alive
 ‘A doctor is a person who saves lives.’ ‘A doctor is a person who makes (people) live.’ (Lit.: ‘A doctor [is] a person of causing to be alive.’)

As far as the semantics of causative verbs derived by means of *faqa-* is concerned, there are three main kinds of situation they express, although the distinctions are not always clear-cut, and although there are also verbs that do not fit into any of the three categories: (i) direct, immediate causation; (ii) indirect causation; and (iii) instructive, assistive causation.

In direct, immediate causation there is typically physical contact between the causer and the causee, often resulting in a change of the causee’s state:

- (4-142) a. *faqa-gwina* ‘make wet; moisten’; cf. *gwina* ‘be wet’
 b. *faqa-iana* ‘make pregnant; impregnate’; cf. *iana* ‘be pregnant’
 c. *faqa-baqita* ‘think highly of; show respect to’; cf. *baqita* ‘be big, large’, ‘be important, respected’
 d. *faqa-kokoto* ‘straighten, make straight’, ‘fix, resolve (a problem)’; cf. *kokoto* ‘be straight’, ‘be correct, proper’

In indirect causation the causer does something which has an effect on the causee without there being physical contact, manipulation. Sometimes the causer acts only verbally.

- (4-143) a. *faqa-oli-fani* ‘send sb. back’; cf. *oli* ‘return’
 b. *faqa-bona* ‘make sb. quiet; hush sb.’; cf. *bona* ‘be quiet, silent; not speak’
 c. *faqa-toqowane* ‘give one’s daughter away in a marriage ceremony’; cf. *toqowane* ‘of a woman: be, get married’

- d. *faqa-qinoto* ‘make wealthy’; cf. *qinoto* ‘be wealthy’ (e.g. an industrious woman making her husband wealthy through her hard work)

In instructive, assistive causation the causer instructs the causee in performing an activity, teaches him/her how to perform an activity.

- (4-144) a. *faqa-fale* ‘teach sb. (esp. a child) to give (things to others), to be generous’; cf. *fale* (intr.) ‘give’, also *fale* (tr.) ‘give’ (theme as direct object)
- b. *faqa-raa* ‘teach sb. how to work, instruct sb. in work’; cf. *raa* (intr.) ‘work’
- c. *faqa-foqa* ‘teach sb. how to pray’, ‘make sb. into a (traditional) priest’; cf. *foqa* ‘pray’
- d. *faqa-ngata* ‘encourage sb. to speak (e.g. by asking them questions)’; cf. *ngata* ‘speak’

There are also verbs that contain the prefix *faqa-* whose meanings are not fully compositional in any of the three ways mentioned above. For example:

- (4-145) a. *faqa-taqe* ‘prepare seedlings, seeds for growing, e.g., by planting, sowing them’; cf. *taqe* ‘of plants: grow’
- b. *faqa-liiliu* ‘cause sb. to be homeless by means of magic’ (such a person moves constantly from place to place, has no place to call his/her own); cf. *lii-liu* ‘stroll, take a walk, roam’ and *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass by’.

See also *faqa-foqa* ‘make sb. into a (traditional) priest’ in (4-144c) further above.

Causative verbs are not the only means of expressing causative situations. Causative situations can also be expressed by means of periphrastic constructions, discussed in section 29.4.9.

4.2.3.3. *Class 2 transitive verbs*4.2.3.3.1. *The object suffixes*

Unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, those of Class 2 have object-indexing suffixes for all grammatical persons and numbers. The object indexing suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs are identical to the personal suffixes used in suffixing possessive constructions (see section 8.1.2 for discussion of the forms of the suffixes), with certain prepositions (section 10.4), and with certain postverbal particles (section 5.2.10.1), except that the first and the second person singular variants *-kuqa* and *-muqa*, respectively, are not used as object suffixes. The list of the object suffixes is given in table 4.4. In those cases where there are two or more variants, the most common one is given first.

Table 4.4. Object-indexing suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs

	singular	dual	plural
1EXCL	-ku	-mareqa	-miliqa, -maliqa -mi, [†] -miqa [†]
INCL		-karoqa	-kuluqa, -kaluqa -ka [†]
2	-mu	-maroqa	-muluqa, -maluqa -miu [†]
3	-na, -a	-daroqa	-da, -daluqa

The forms marked with “[†]” were characteristic of women’s speech in earlier times and are not normally used today. The third person plural form *-daluqa* is rare. For comments on the dual and the plural forms see section 8.1.2 in the chapter on possessive (and associative) noun phrases. The use of the two third person singular variants *-na* and *-a* is discussed further below.

Below are given a few examples of the object-indexing suffixes.

- (4-146) *Kaleko neqe qe talaqa-mu qasia naqa.*
 clothes this 3SG.NFUT fit-2SG.OBJ INTS INTS
 ‘These clothes fit you very well.’

- (4-147) *Kera thaitoqoma-mareqa.*
 3PL.NFUT know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ
 ‘They know us.’

In the third person singular, there are two variants. The form *-a* is used when the last syllable of the verb stem contains *l* or *r*; in addition, there is metathesis of the *l* or *r* and the vowel of that syllable. The suffix *-a* and the metathesis are not used if the metathesis were to result in three identical vowels next to each other; cf. section 2.2.3. (For further discussion of the use of the *-a* variant accompanied by metathesis see section 8.1.2 on suffixing possessive constructions.) Everywhere else *-na* is used, without metathesis. Compare the form *taqe-fuli-ku* in (4-148) and *taqe-ful-a* (4-149).

- (4-148) *Tootoo qoki taqe-fuli-ku.*
 later 2SG.FUT ascend-replacement-1SG.OBJ
 ‘One day you will succeed me/will take my place.’ (A father speaking to his son about what will happen after his [the father’s] death.)

- (4-149) *taqe-ful-a maka nia*
 ascend-site-3.OBJ father 3SG
 ‘(of a son) replace his father’

Example (4-150) contains the *-na* variant of the suffix:

- (4-150) *Nia biinga qa-na, qe aqi si*
 3SG sleep SBEN-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na.
 know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘He was asleep (and) didn’t know (about) it.’

As is the case with Class 1 transitive verbs, the third person dual and plural object suffixes can be used with Class 2 transitive verbs only if there is not a lexical direct object *in situ*, following the verb:

- (4-151) *Qo thaitoqoma-daroqa?*
 2SG.NFUT know-3DU.OBJ
 ‘Do you know them (two)?’
- (4-152) *Qo thaitoqoma-da?*
 2SG.NFUT know-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Do you know them?’

If there is a lexical direct object *in situ*, the “singular” object suffix *-na* or *-a* (with metathesis) is used, regardless of the grammatical number of the object. Because in such cases the suffix does not identify the grammatical number of the object, the number is not specified in the gloss.

- (4-153) *Kera* {*thaitoqoma-na* / **thaitoqoma-daroqa*}
 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ / know-3DU.OBJ

roo wela nau ki.
 two child 1SG PL
 ‘They know my two children.’

However, when a human or other higher-animate direct object is displaced from the verb phrase, as in topicalization, the dual or plural object suffix is used:

- (4-154) *Roo wela nau ki, kera thaitoqoma-daroqa.*
 two child 1SG PL 3PL.NFUT know-3DU.OBJ
 ‘My two children, they [others] know them.’

As is the case with the third person object suffix *-a* used with Class 1 transitive verbs, the third person suffixes *-na* and *-a* used with Class 2 transitive verbs are polyfunctional: they instantiate arguments in the absence of a lexical direct object in the verb phrase, and they are third person agreement markers when there is a lexical direct object in the verb phrase.

If a verb phrase contains one or more postverbal particles and a direct object phrase, the object follows the particle(s):

- (4-155) *Kwai soe-toqo-na fasi maka nau.*
 1SG.FUT ask-TEST-3.OBJ PREC father 1SG
 ‘I will ask my father first.’

With Class 2 transitive verbs, the direct object must be indexed on the verb. As is also the case with Class 1 verbs, an object-indexing suffix and an independent personal pronoun in the direct-object position cannot cooccur. As a consequence, with Class 2 transitive verbs direct objects cannot be realized by means of independent pronouns. Thus, (4-156a) with an object suffix is grammatical, and (4-156b) with a pronoun in the object position is not:

- (4-156) a. *Imole neqe ki kera thaitoqoma-mu.*
 person this PL 3PL.NFUT know-2SG.OBJ
 ‘These people know you.’

- b. **Imole neqe ki kera thaitoqoma qoe.*
 person this PL 3PL.NFUT know 2SG
 ('These people know you.')

4.2.3.3.2. *The structures of Class 2 transitive verbs*

On the basis of their internal structure, three basic types of Class 2 transitive verbs can be distinguished: (i) those that are verb-noun compounds; (ii) those that contain the TEST suffix *-toqo*, and (iii) all others.

4.2.3.3.2.1. *Class 2 transitive verbs that are verb-noun compounds*

Verbs of this type involve one type of object-incorporation. This kind of object-incorporation is discussed in detail in section 12.4.3 and here only two representative examples are given:

- (4-157) *Kiki-qamali-na waino qena.*
 pour-salt/seawater-3.OBJ soup that(2)
 'Add salt/seawater to the soup.' 'Salt the soup.'

- (4-158) *Kera lafu-lifo-ku.*
 3PL.NFUT remove-tooth-1.OBJ
 'They extracted my tooth. 'They extracted (one/some of) my teeth.'
 'They performed tooth-extraction on me.'

4.2.3.3.2.2. *Class 2 transitive verbs that contain the TEST suffix*

A large number of Class 2 transitive verbs are formed by adding the TEST suffix *-toqo* to a base. The base may be an intransitive or a Class 1 transitive verb, not a Class 2 transitive verb. The basic meaning of a verb with the TEST suffix is 'test/check the referent of the direct object by performing the activity designated by the base verb'. Formation of verbs by means of the TEST suffix is productive, subject to semantic/pragmatic constraints. As mentioned in the preceding section, some Class 2 transitive verbs are verb-noun compounds. It is conceivable that the TEST suffix originated in a noun; however, there is no obvious candidate in the present-day language (or in closely related languages).

Below are given a few sentential examples of verbs with the suffix. In the first three, the derived verbs are based on intransitive verbs:

- (4-159) *Teo-toqo-na fasi thamataqi-a neqe.*
 lie-TEST-3.OBJ PREC prepare.bed-DVN this
 ‘Try this bed first by lying on it.’ (E.g., to find out whether it is comfortable enough.)
- (4-160) *Kwai lae-toqo-na fasi tala naqi.*
 1SG.FUT go-TEST-3.OBJ PREC path this
 ‘I’m going to try (walking on) this path.’ (E.g., to find out whether it leads to the place one wants to reach.)

The verb *lae-toqo* can also be used with the meaning ‘experience going, travelling in a certain way’ (means of transportation as direct object):

- (4-161) *Nau kwasi lae-toqo-na quu qerofulae.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG go-TEST-3.OBJ ANTCONT airplane
 ‘I have never gone, travelled by plane.’ (Lit.: ‘I have never tested an airplane by going on it.’)

In the next two examples the verbs with the TEST suffix are based on transitive verbs:

- (4-162) *Keko qani-toqo-na qofa qeri,*
 3DU.SEQ eat-TEST-3.OBJ betel.pepper that
 ‘They tasted (by chewing) the betel pepper (to find out what it tasted like),’
- (4-163) *Qigi-toqo-na fasi fa niu qena. Laalae*
 shake-TEST-3.OBJ PREC CLF coconut that(2) if
- suul-a qe nii qi*
 coconut.water-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.located LOC
- ei, qoko ngali-a.*
 LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Check the coconut first by shaking it. If there is water in it, take it.’

In a few cases, there is a pair of synonymous verbs with the TEST suffix, one based on an intransitive verb and the other on the corresponding transitive verb. In (4-164) *kuqu-toqo* is based on intransitive *kuqu* ‘drink’ and *kuqu-fi-toqo* on transitive *kuqu-fi* ‘drink’. Of the two TEST verbs, *kuqu-toqo* is commoner than *kuqu-fi-toqo*.

- (4-164) {*Kuqu-toqo-na* / *Kuqu-fi-toqo-na*} *fasi maqe*
 drink-TEST-3.OBJ / drink-TR-TEST-3.OBJ PREC CLF

tii qena. Qe gwaagwari-qa?
 tea that(2) 3SG.NFUT be.sweet-PROP
 ‘Taste the (mug of) tea (by drinking it). Is it sweet (enough)?’

In some cases the meaning of the verb with the *-toqo* suffix is not (fully) predictable from the meaning of the base verb. For example, there is an intransitive verb *ili* ‘do (st.)’ and a transitive verb *ili* ‘do st.’:

- (4-165) *Ili qu=naqi.*
 do manner=this
 ‘Do (it) like this, in this way.’

- (4-166) *Taa na kuki ili-a?*
 what FOC PL(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What shall we do?’

The corresponding verb with the suffix *-toqo* has as one of its meanings ‘try to do st.’ (‘check a state of affairs by doing it?’):

- (4-167) ... *ma ka ili-toqo-na teo-laa, ma ka*
 and 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ lie-NMLZ and 3SG.SEQ

aqi si ngado.
 NEGV 3SG.NEG be.still
 ‘... and he tried lying (down) and/but could not stay still.’ (Lit.: ‘... and he tried lying and was not still.’)

But *ili-toqo* can also take a direct object that refers to a person, and there the meaning is ‘try to get sb. to do st., tempt sb. into doing something’:

- (4-168) *Teqe wane e ili-toqo-ku qana*
 one man 3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ GENP
- kwala-laa, qe thathami-a sa kwai*
 swear-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT

kwala, ma ka aqi kwasi kwala.
 swear and 3SG.SEQ NEG 1SG.NEG swear
 ‘A man tried to get me to swear; he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.’

There is an intransitive verb *qaru* ‘fall down’:

(4-169) *Karangi-a sa kwai qaru qana keekene*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT fall GENP breadfruit

qi roqo.
 LOC yesterday
 ‘I nearly fell out of the breadfruit (tree) yesterday.’

There is also a Class 1 bare transitive verb *qaru* with the meanings ‘drop, make fall’, ‘collect (e.g. money or food)’, and ‘spend (money)’:

(4-170) *qaru-a fau*
 drop-3.OBJ stone
 ‘drop (a) stone(s)’

(4-171) *qaru-a seleni*
 collect/spend-3.OBJ money
 a. ‘collect money’
 b. ‘spend money’

However, the meaning of the verb *qaru-toqo* is ‘use st., sb. (as an instrument, means)’:

(4-172) *Qaru-toqo-na gete.*
 fall-TEST-3.OBJ gate
 ‘Use the gate (to go in).’

(4-173) *Saetana e qaru-toqo-ku.*
 Satan 3SG.NFUT fall-TEST-1SG.OBJ
 ‘Satan used me (for his purposes).’ ‘Satan made me do it.’ (Explaining a lapse in one’s own behaviour.)

There are a few intransitive verbs that contain the suffix *-toqo*, but these are most likely conversions from the corresponding transitive verbs. For example, beside transitive *qolo-toqo* ‘measure st., sb.’, there is also intransitive *qolo-toqo* ‘measure (st., sb.)’; see (4-174) and (4-175), respectively:

(4-174) *Doketa qe qolo-toqo-maliqa.*
 doctor 3SG.NFUT arrange-TEST-1PL(EXCL).OBJ
 ‘The doctor measured us (our heights).’

(4-175) *doo ni qolo-toqo*
 thing LIG arrange-TEST
 ‘anything used to measure, e.g. a ruler’

4.2.3.3.2.3. Other Class 2 transitive verbs

There are a few Class 2 transitive verbs that are neither verb-noun compounds nor do they, with one possible exception, contain the suffix *-toqo*. One such verb is *faara* ‘fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.’, ‘match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.’, ‘be able, capable’, ‘be possible’. Only the first set of senses is illustrated here. The use of the verb with the modality senses ‘be able, capable’, ‘be possible’ is discussed in section 29.4.2.

(4-176) *Sote neqe qe aqi si faara-ku.*
 shirt this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG fit-1SG.OBJ
 ‘This shirt does not fit me.’ (The size is wrong.)

The verb *faara* is historically related to the noun *fara/faara* ‘space, area underneath, below’ (section 10.8.6).

There is a verb *talaqa*, which is synonymous with *faara*, and also is Class 2 transitive:

(4-177) *Toqoni naqi e talaqa-ku ba-na.*
 shirt this 3SG.NFUT fit-1SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘This shirt fits me just fine.’

The verb *laaqai* ‘go into the bush and look for timber to build st.’ (the entity to be built expressed as the direct object) contains *qai* ‘wood’. The *laa* part is probably historically related to the inessive preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3).

(4-178) *laaqai-na baa botho*
 look.for.timber.for-3.OBJ animal.pen pig
 ‘look for timber for a pig pen’

The verb *thaitoqoma* ‘know sb., st.; know about sb., st.’, ‘know that’, ‘know how’, ‘understand’ most likely contains, historically, the suffix *-toqo*, but if so, the suffix is no longer analyzable. There is no verb **thai* in present-day Toqa-

baqita,¹³ and the history of the syllable *ma* is not clear, but it may be related to the ventive directional *mai*, which has a combining variant *ma-* (section 5.2.14.1).

- (4-179) *Nau kwasi thaitoqoma-na qo mataqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I didn’t know you were sick.’

See also, for example, (4-150) – (4-154) in section 4.2.3.3.1 above.

There is one verb that, idiosyncratically, optionally functions as a Class 2 or a Class 1 transitive verb, but only with third person objects. The verb is monomorphemic: *sua* ‘touch sb., st. with one’s hand(s)’, ‘hold sb., st. in one’s hand(s)’. Objects other than third person can be realized only by means of independent personal pronouns, which is the case with Class 1 verbs. Thus (4-180a) with a pronoun in object position is grammatical, but (4-180b) with an object suffix on the verb is not:

- (4-180) a. *Qe aqi sua nau.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV touch 1SG
 ‘Don’t touch me.’
- b. **Qe aqi sua-ku.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV touch-1SG.OBJ
 (‘Don’t touch me.’)

However, when the object suffix is third person, singular or unspecified for number, either the form *-a*, used with Class 1 transitive verbs, or the form *-na*, used with Class 2 transitive verbs, is possible. (The third person dual and plural object suffixes are identical for the two classes of verbs.)

- (4-181) *Nau ku {sua-a / sua-na} kuki*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT touch-3.OBJ / touch-3.OBJ} saucepan
- e qaaqako*
 3SG.NFUT be.hot
 ‘I touched the saucepan; it was hot.’

4.3. Valency rearrangement

4.3.1. Introduction

Following Comrie (1985), by “valency rearrangement” are here meant cases where one and the same verb or derivationally related verbs take(s) core arguments with different thematic roles. The arguments involved are either direct objects or, much less commonly, subjects. In the case of direct objects, two basic types of cases can be distinguished. One type involves different types of Class 1 transitive verb — short or long — which select arguments of different thematic roles. This type of valency rearrangement, coupled with formal differences, is quite common. What is interesting about it is that there is a general pattern in some of the alternations. The other type of valency rearrangement involves one and the same verb. What is interesting about that type is that it involves no morphological differences. As far as valency rearrangement that concerns subjects is concerned, only two cases have come to light.

4.3.2. Valency rearrangement between different types of Class 1 transitive verbs involving direct objects

There is a strong tendency for short transitive verbs of “emanation”, translational motion, posture and location to select goals or locations as their direct objects and for long transitive verbs of these semantic types to select themes as their direct objects.¹⁴ Verbs of emanation are verbs whose subjects refer to entities that produce, exude, emit substances. In some cases, the long transitive verb is applicative, in others it is causative. The short transitive verbs are always applicative. Some examples are given in (4-120):

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| (4-182) | short transitive | long transitive |
| a. | <i>ngisu-fi</i>
‘spit at’ | <i>ngisu-tani</i>
‘spit out’ |
| | cf. <i>ngisu</i> ‘spit’ | |
| b. | <i>kwara-si</i>
‘urinate on’ | <i>kwara-tani</i>
‘urinate out; pass in, with urine’ |
| | cf. <i>kwara</i> ‘urine’, bladder; <i>kwarara</i> ‘urinate’ | |

- c. *feqe-si* *feqe-tani*
 ‘defecate on’ ‘defecate out; pass in, with faeces’
 cf. *feqa* ‘defecate’
- d. *moa-si* *moa-tani*
 ‘vomit on’ ‘vomit out’
 cf. *moa* ‘vomit’
- e. *lae-fi* *lae-tani*
 ‘go for, go to get
 st.’ ‘pass bloody faeces’ (blood
 as direct object)
 cf. *lae* ‘go’
- f. *oli-si* *oli-tani*
 ‘reply to, answer’ ‘return st., take, put st. back’
 cf. *oli* ‘return, go/come back’
- g. *sifo-li* *sifo-la-ngani*
 ‘descend onto
 (a place)’ ‘lower st., sb.’, ‘of means of
 transportation: unload cargo,
 discharge passengers’
 cf. *sifo* ‘descend’
- h. *teo-fi* *teo-fani*
 ‘lie (down) on,
 in st.’, ‘of many
 entities: lie all
 over on, in st.’ ‘lay sb., st. down’
 cf. *teo* ‘lie (down)’
- i. *takwe-li* *takwe-la-ngani*
 ‘of many people:
 stand in various
 parts of (a place)’ ‘stand sb., st. up’

cf. *takwe* ‘stand (up)’

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| j. | <i>too-fi</i>
‘of a group of people:
inhabit (a place)’, ‘of
many people: occupy,
fill (a place)’ | <i>too-fani</i>
‘make preparations
for an event (so that
it can take place)’
(event as direct object) |
|----|---|---|

cf. *too* (intr.) ‘live at a place’, ‘stay, remain at a place’, ‘of a person: be still around, alive’

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| k. | <i>raqa-fi</i> [†]
‘climb (e.g.
a tree)’, ‘climb
a tree for (e.g.
its fruit)’ | <i>raqa-fani</i>
‘hoist’ |
|----|--|-----------------------------|

cf. *raqa* ‘climb (up)’

† Besides the short transitive *raqa-fi* there is also a bare transitive *raqa* ‘climb (esp. a tree)’

In fact, the associations of goals and locations with the objects of short transitive verbs and of themes with the objects of long transitive verbs are also found in cases where only a short or only a long transitive verb exists. See (4-183) and (4-184), respectively:

(4-183) short transitives only

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>kwala-ngi</i>
‘swear at’ | cf. <i>kwala</i> ‘swear’ |
| b. | <i>qai-li</i>
‘shout out to sb.’,
‘call sb.’ | cf. <i>qai</i> ‘shout, call out’ |
| c. | <i>taqe-li</i>
‘climb (to the top of)’,
‘board (a means of
transportation)’, ‘of vegetation:
grow all over a place, area’ | cf. <i>taqe</i> ‘move, go up; ascend’ |

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| d. | <i>sina-fi</i>
'of source of light:
shine on' | cf. <i>sina</i> 'of a source of light:
'shine, glow, give out light' |
| e. | <i>makwa-fi</i>
'for the smell of st.,
sb.: reach sb.' | cf. <i>makwa</i> 'smell; give out
smell' |
- (4-184) long transitives only
- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| a. | <i>fuqu-tani</i>
'cough out' | cf. <i>fuqu</i> (n.) 'cough', 'phlegm' |
| b. | <i>fuqaro-tani</i>
'whisper about' | cf. <i>fuqaro</i> (intr.) 'whisper' |
| c. | <i>uqunu-tani</i>
'speak about st. one
has seen or heard',
'report on st. seen
or heard' | cf. <i>uqunu</i> 'tell a story',
'converse' |

An exception to this pattern is the short transitive verb *ngata-li* 'discuss', which takes a theme rather than a goal as its direct object; cf. *ngata* 'speak'. But there is also *ngata-fi* 'berate, scold', which does take a goal as its direct object.

4.3.3. Valency rearrangement with single transitive verbs involving direct objects

Here, one and the same transitive verb permits direct objects of different thematic roles, without any morphological adjustment. In some cases, there is theme – instrument alternation. One and the same noun phrase can be either a theme direct object or an instrument oblique object. Some examples are given in (4-185) – (4-188). Note that in (4-185) – (4-187) the preposition *qana* is glossed as a 'general preposition' in the (a) examples, but as an instrumental preposition in the (b) examples. As discussed in section 10.7, the instrument-marking function of the preposition needs to be distinguished from its other functions because it is only in the former function that the preposition occurs in a certain syntactic pattern (instrument inversion).

- (4-185) a. *kano-a maamako qana seqe-na*
 smear-3.OBJ mud GENP body-3SG.PERS
 ‘smear mud on his/her body’
- b. *kano-a seqe-na qana maamako*
 smear-3.OBJ body-3SG.PERS INS mud
 ‘smear his/her body with mud’
- (4-186) a. *kwilingi-a kafo qana era*
 splash-3.OBJ water GENP fire
 ‘splash water at/into fire’
- b. *kwilingi-a era qana kafo*
 splash-3.OBJ fire INS water
 ‘splash fire with water’
- (4-187) a. *dede-a raisi qana baeka*
 fill-3.OBJ rice GENP bag
 ‘put rice into a bag so that the bag is full’
- b. *dede-a waqi qana ngali*
 fill-3.OBJ basket INS canarium.nut
 ‘fill a basket with canarium nuts’
- (4-188) a. *takabala-a lolo i laa luma*
 scatter-3.OBJ rubbish LOC IN house
 ‘scatter rubbish inside the house’
- b. *takabala-a laa luma qana lolo*
 scatter-3.OBJ IN house INS rubbish
 ‘scatter (the inside of) the house with rubbish’

(For the use of *laa* with direct objects [and subjects] see section 10.2.3 .)

There are also cases of valency rearrangement that involve alternations other than between themes and instruments. Often, one of the alternative direct objects designates a location, sometimes as a goal location.

- (4-189) a. *kao-fi-a lolo*
 sweep-TR-3.OBJ rubbish
 ‘sweep rubbish’

- b. *kao-fi-a* *laa* *faelangi*
sweep-TR-3.OBJ IN floor
'sweep the floor'
- (4-190) a. *suu-fi-a* *karango*
dive-TR-3.OBJ shellfish
'dive for shellfish'
- b. *suu-fi-a* *kafo*
dive-TR-3.OBJ water
'dive into water'
- And there are other kinds of alternation. For example:
- (4-191) a. *thathai-a* *malefo* *qana* *wela* *nau*
make.ready-3.OBJ money GENP child 1SG
'ready money, make money ready for my child'
- b. *thathai-a* *wela* *nau* *qana* *malefo*
make.ready-3.OBJ child 1SG INS money
'provide my child with money (having made the money ready for him/her)' (lit.: 'ready my child with money')
- (4-192) a. *legu-a* *re-qe* *elo*
roll.up.leaf-3.OBJ leaf-ASSOC plant.sp
'roll up an *elo* leaf (to make a drinking cup)'
- b. *legu-a* *teqe* *legu-qi* *kafo*
roll.up.cup-3.OBJ one drinking.cup-ASSOC water
'roll up a drinking cup (using a leaf)'
- (4-193) a. *gani-a* *wane*
ask-3.OBJ man
'ask a man (for st., to do st.)'
- b. *gani-a* *radio*
ask.for-3.OBJ radio
'ask (sb.) for a radio'
- (4-194) a. *nalu-fi-a* *kafo*
bail-TR-3.OBJ water
'bail out water (e.g. out of a canoe)'

- b. *nalu-fi-a baru*
 bail-TR-3.OBJ canoe
 ‘bail a canoe’

Nalu-fi also has the meaning ‘splash’ and with that meaning it participates in a theme-instrument alternation:

- (4-195) a. *nalu-fi-a kafo qana wela*
 splash-TR-3.OBJ water GENP child
 ‘splash water on the child’
- b. *nalu-fi-a wela qana kafo*
 splash-TR-3.OBJ child INS child
 ‘splash the child with water’

4.3.4. Valency rearrangement involving subjects

There are at least two verbs that permit alternation in their subjects. Both verbs are intransitive.

- (4-196) a. *Kafo qe kiki fasi-a kuki.*
 water 3SG.NFUT spill ABL-3.OBJ saucepan
 ‘Water spilled out of the saucepan.’
- b. *Baketa e kiki.*
 bucket 3SG.NFUT spill
 ‘(The water in) the bucket spilled (out).’
- (4-197) a. *Kafo e luqu sula tala.*
 water 3SG.NFUT flow PROL path
 ‘Water flowed on, along the path.’ ‘There was water flowing on, along the path.’
- b. *Tereni fuu e luqu.*
 drain downward 3SG.NFUT flow
 ‘There is water flowing in the drain down there.’ (‘The drain down there is flowing with water.’)

Luqu signifies that water is flowing, running in a strong current, for example after a heavy rain.

4.4. Cognate direct objects and cognate subjects

There are a few Class 1 transitive verbs that (may) take cognate direct objects and a few verbs, intransitive and Class 1 transitive that take cognate subjects. The examples in (4-198) – (4-200) illustrate cognate objects:

(4-198) *naili-a* *naili*
 make.*naili*.climbing.rope-3.OBJ k.o.climbing.rope
 ‘make a *naili* climbing rope [rope used to climb trees]’

(4-199) *rina-a* *teqe fa rina*
 make.*rina*.ornament-3.OBJ one CLF k.o.ear.ornament
 ‘make a *rina* ornament’

(4-200) *legu-a* *teqe legu-qi* *kafo*
 roll.up.cup-3.OBJ one drinking.cup-ASSOC water
 ‘roll up a drinking cup (using a leaf)’

The next three examples contain cognate subjects. In (4-201) and (4-202) intransitive *thato* ‘of sun: shine’ and transitive *thato-fi* ‘of sun: shine on’, respectively, occur with the noun *thato* ‘sun’ in the subject position:

(4-201) *Thato e* *thato ka qako*
 sun 3SG.NFUT (sun)shine 3SG.SEQ be.hot

fii-fii qasia naqa
 RDP-be.painful INTS INTS
 ‘The sun is burning hot.’ (Lit.: ‘The sun is shining (and) is painfully hot.’)

(*Fii-fii*, a reduplication of the verb *fii* ‘hurt, be painful’, is used to express the fact that the situation designated by the preceding verb is unpleasantly intense.)

(4-202) *Thato e* *thato-fi-a fanua.*
 sun 3SG.NFUT (sun)shine-TR-3.OBJ land
 ‘The sun is shining on the land.’

And in (4-203) the transitive verb *thau-li* ‘of wind: blow at, in’ occurs with the noun *thauthau* ‘wind’ in the subject position:

(4-203) *Thauthau qe* *thau-li-a kaleko,*
 wind 3SG.NFUT (wind)blow-TR-3.OBJ clothes

ka thada.

3SG.SEQ fall

‘The wind blew the clothes off [the clothes line] to the ground.’

(Lit.: ‘The wind blew at the clothes and they fell down’.)

4.5. Verbs that take empty subjects

There are a few verbs that can take semantically empty subjects. Most, but not all, such verbs can also occur with semantically full subjects. When a verb takes an empty subject, there is no subject noun phrase present; in fact, no subject phrase can be present. The only expression of the subject is by means of a third person singular subject marker, which is non-referential. For example, the intransitive verb *abu* ‘be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed’, also ‘be sacred, holy (in the Christian sense)’ occurs with a semantically full subject in (4-204):

(4-204) *Fanga qe abu.*
 food 3SG.NFUT be.taboo
 ‘The food is taboo.’

In (4-205) *abu* occurs without a subject noun phrase. That which is taboo, not allowed is expressed by means of a complement clause. No subject phrase can be present here.

(4-205) *Qe abu laqu boqo na qo*
 3SG.NFUT be.forbidden ADD ASRT COMP 2SG.NFUT

sore-qe qoki lae ma=i sa-na.
 say-DETR 2SG.FUT go VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS
 ‘It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.’ (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

For another example see section 29.4.2.

Another intransitive verb that can occur both with full subjects and with empty subjects is *fula* ‘arrive’, ‘of state of affairs: reach a certain point’, ‘of state of affairs: happen, occur, take place’. In (4-206) it has a full subject.

(4-206) *Nau ku fula ka=i biqu kera,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive AND=LOC house 3PL
 ‘I arrived at their house,’

With an empty subject, *fula* is used to signify that a certain time, the time of a given state of affairs, has arrived, has been reached:

(4-207) *Laalae ka fula qa=si manga na*
 when 3SG.SEQ arrive GENP=PRTT time REL

Maasin Ruul qe wiik daon, sui feteqi
 Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT weak down then INTS

keka biqi ala-ma-taqi kera keka frii.
 3PL.SEQ IMM permit-EXT-TR 3PL 3PL.SEQ be.free
 ‘After Marching Rule¹⁵ had weakened (lit.: when it arrived at the time that Marching Rule weakened down), they [the Government] allowed them [the leaders of the Marching Rule movement] to go free [i.e., to be released from jail].’

The Class 2 transitive verb *faara* ‘fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.’, ‘match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.’, ‘be able, capable’, ‘be possible’ also can occur both with full subjects and with empty subjects. In (4-208) it has a semantically full subject:

(4-208) *Kali wela qe=aqi si faara-na*
 little.SG child 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ

kai raaq-a qai.
 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ tree
 ‘The little child cannot climb the tree.’

On the other hand, in the synonymous sentence in (4-209) *faara* has an empty subject:

(4-209) *Qe=aqi si faara-na kali wela*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ little.SG child

kai raaq-a qai.
 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ tree
 ‘It is not possible for the little child to climb the tree.’

For more detail on the verb *faara* and on synonymous *talaqa* see section 29.4.2.

The Class 1 transitive verb *talu* ‘pass by’, ‘surpass’ also can occur with semantically full and semantically empty subjects is; see (4-210) and (4-211), respectively:

(4-210) *Faka e talu-a aququa.*
 ship 3SG.NFUT pass.by-3.OBJ island
 ‘The ship passed/went by the island.’

(4-211) *Qe talu-a naqa si manga*
 3SG.NFUT pass.by-3.OBJ PRF PRTT time

kuki lae.

PL(INCL).FUT go

‘It’s too late for us to go.’ The time for us to go has passed.’ (Lit.: ‘It has passed by the time we will go.’)

One verb that only occurs with empty subjects is intransitive *faqa-seqe-laqa* ‘be free, without obligations, without hindrance’. The person who is free, without obligations, without hindrance is expressed as a benefactive oblique object. Although the verb (historically) contains the causative prefix *faqa-* (section 4.2.3.2.5), it is intransitive. The base to which *faqa-* is added, *seqe-laqa*, is a subject-incorporating compound; see further below. Note that in (4-212) the first person singular pronoun *nau* is in the topic position. It is not the subject.

(4-212) *Nau qe faqa-seqe-laqa*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

na=ka=i a-ku neri.

PRF=AND=LOC BEN-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE

‘I am free now, from now on.’ (E.g., all my work has been done).
 (Lit.: ‘I, it is free for me now.’)

The meaning expressed in (4-213) with *faqa-seqe-laqa* can also be expressed by means of the verb *laqa* ‘be free, without obligations, without hindrance’ with *seqe* ‘body’ in the subject position:

(4-213) *Nau seqe-ku qe laqa*
 1SG body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.without.hindrance

na=kau.

PRF=AND

‘I am free now, from now on.’ (Lit.: ‘I, my body is without hindrance from now.’)

Another verb that can only occur without a subject noun phrase is Class 1 transitive *thara-ngi* ‘of fire: warm sb., st.’. Even though this verb is used spe-

cifically about a fire warming up somebody or something, it cannot have a subject noun phrase.

- (4-214) *Kai thara-ngi nau fasi.*
 3SG.FUT (fire)warm.up-TR 1SG PREC
 ‘I am going to warm myself at the fire first.’ (Lit.: ‘It is going to warm me up first.’)

The same meaning can also be expressed by means of the related intransitive verb *thara* ‘warm os. at a fire’, which takes a semantically full subject. Compare the third person singular future-tense subject marker in (4-214) above and the first person singular future-tense subject marker in (4-215) below:

- (4-215) *Kwai thara fasi.*
 1SF.FUT warm.os PREC
 ‘I am going to warm myself at the fire first.’

The use of semantically empty subjects must be distinguished from cases of omission of subject phrases with certain verbs because the nature of the subject is predictable from the verb. (This is also to be distinguished from cases where subjects are ellipted because they are recoverable from context, either prior linguistic context or extralinguistic context.) This is the case with meteorological verbs, which may, but need not, occur with subject noun phrases. For example, *qaru* ‘fall’ takes nouns designating rain as its subject, most commonly the general term for rain *dani*. It normally does have a subject phrase, but may occur without one. Cf. (4-216a) and (4-216b):

- (4-216) a. *Mada sa dani qe qaru qi*
 or IRR rain 3SG.NFUT fall LOC
qusungadi, ...
 tomorrow
 ‘If it rains tomorrow, ...’ (Lit.: ‘If the rain falls tomorrow, ...’)
- b. *Mada s=e qaru qi qusungadi, ...*
 or IRR=3SG.NFUT fall LOC tomorrow
 ‘If it rains tomorrow, ...’ (Lit.: ‘If it falls tomorrow, ...’)

And the pair of examples in (4-217) shows the optional presence of the (cognate) subject *thato* ‘sun’ with the verb *thato-fi* ‘of sun: shine on’:

- (4-217) a. *Thato e thato-fi-a fanua.*
 sun 3SG.NFUT (sun)shine-TR-3.OBJ land
 ‘The sun is shining on the land.’
- b. *Qe thato-fi-a fanua ka*
 3SG.NFUT (of.sun).shine-TR-3.OBJ land 3SG.SEQ
raarangeqa.
 be.dry
 ‘It [the sun] (has) dried (out) the land.’ (Lit.: ‘It shone on the land, it is dry.’)

4.6. The detransitivized variants of transitive verbs

A handful of Class 1 transitive verbs and one Class 2 transitive verbs can be detransitivized by means of a suffix that has two allomorphs, *-qi* and *-qe*. The form *-qi* is used, with one exception, with verbs whose final vowel is high (*i*, *u*), and *-qe* is used with verbs whose final vowel is non-high (*e*, *o*, *a*). The detransitivizing suffix is historically related to the associative suffix used in noun phrases (section 8.2). The latter suffix also has allomorphs *-qi* and *-qe*, whose distribution is governed by the same phonological conditions as those that apply to the detransitivizing suffix (and there is also at least one exceptional case where *-qi* is used with a noun that ends in a non-high vowel). In associative noun phrases the suffix is added to the head noun and there is a non-referential modifying noun phrase. The detransitivizing suffix is also added to the head of the construction, in this case the verb, and with some such verbs nouns occur as incorporated objects. Object-incorporation is discussed in detail in section 12.4, and here only one representative example of a detransitivized verb with the suffix *-qi* is given in (4-219) further below.

The verbs that have detransitivized forms are *riki-qi* ‘see’, *rongo-qi* ‘hear (that)’, *sore-qe* ‘say’, ‘think (that)’, *lole-qe* ‘pretend, fake’, *thaitoqome-qe* ‘know’.¹⁶ *Thaitoqoma* ‘know’ is a Class 2 transitive verb. All the others are Class 1 transitive. In *thaitoqome-qe* the final vowel before the suffix is *e*, although the transitive form has *a* in that position: *thaitoqoma*. Such replacement of base-final *a* with *e* also takes place, optionally or obligatorily, with most nouns that end in *a* in their basic form when they carry the associative suffix *-qe* (section 8.2.1). The associative forms *-qi* and *-qe* and the detransitivizing forms *-qi* and *-qe* are historically related, the associative function being the earlier one (cf. note 28 for section 8.2.1). The detransitivized verb *rongo-qi* ‘hear’ is exceptional in that the form of the suffix is *-qi*, even though the final vowel of the base is not high. And, also exceptionally, with the verb ‘say’ the

form of the detransitivizing suffix may be *-qa*, although this is rare: *sore-qa*, besides the usual form *sore-qe*.

In (4-218) the verb *riki* is transitive. It carries the object suffix *-a*, which indexes the direct object *fula-a baa* ‘the (group of) arrivals’:

- (4-218) *Qo riki-a fula-a baa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ arrive-DVN that
 ‘Did you see the (group of) arrivals?’

In (4-219) the verb ‘see’ has been detransitivized. It carries the suffix *-qi*, and it and the following noun *fula-a* form a unit, a compound intransitive verb. Note that the postverbal self-benefactive marker *qa-kuqa* follows the verb-noun unit. (Postverbal particles precede lexical direct objects; see [4-1] in section 4.1.)

- (4-219) *Lae kwai riki-qi fula-a qa-kuqa.*
 go 1SG.FUT see-DETR arrive-DVN SBEN-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’ll go see a group of arrivals/groups of arrivals.’

Two other detransitivized verbs form compound intransitive verbs with following nouns: *lole-qe* ‘pretend, fake’, ‘and *thaitoqome-qe* ‘know’. For examples see section 12.4.1 on [verb noun] compounds.

The detransitivized verbs *sore-qe* ‘say’, ‘think (that)’ and *rongo-qi* ‘hear (that)’ take paratactic complement clauses.

- (4-220) *Ku sore-qe sa moro mae naqa.*
 1SG.NFUT think-DETR IRR 2DU.NFUT die PRF
 ‘I thought you two had died.’

The next example shows the verb ‘say’ with the regular form of the detransitivizing suffix *-qe* and with the rare variant *-qa*, in free variation:

- (4-221) *Nia e {sore-qe / sore-qa} kai qadomi*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT say-DETR / say-DETR 3SG.FUT help

nau.

me

‘He said he would help me.’

The next example contains *rongo-qi* ‘hear (that)’:

- (4-222) *Nau ku rongo-qi teqe wane qe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-DETR one man 3SG.NFUT
thau wane.
 kill person
 ‘I heard that a man had killed someone.’

The verb *rongo-qi* can occur without a complement clause (and without an incorporated object) and so functions as an intransitive verb:

- (4-223) *Nau ku rongo-qi sui naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-DETR COMPL PRF
 ‘I have already heard (what had been said).’

Besides detransitivized/intransitive *rongo-qi* there is also intransitive *rongo* ‘hear, listen’, but *rongo-qi* has only the meaning ‘hear (that)’.

There is also a compound *roo-rongo-qe-lua* ‘sp. of vine that grows by the sea’ (lit.: ‘hears [the sound of] waves’) (*lua* ‘tide’, ‘big wave’), with the verb *rongo* reduplicated and with the expected *-qe* form of the detransitivizing suffix.

The use of *rongo-qi* ‘hear (that)’ and *sore-qe* ‘say’, ‘think (that)’ and their transitive counterparts with complement clauses is discussed in detail in sections 29.4.5 and 29.4.6 (‘hear’), 29.4.7 (‘say’), and 29.4.8 (‘think’).

The forms *-qi* and *-qe* are also found in some of the preverbal particles (section 5.1.1).

4.7. Pseudo-verbs

The head of a verb phrase is a verb. However, in Toqabaqita there is a mechanism to treat phrasal units, specifically noun phrases, as if they were verbs: a syntactic unit, a noun phrase, is “re-ranked” to function as if it were a lexical unit, a verb. Such “pseudo-verbs” take the appropriate subject markers in the same way that verbs do.

There is one type of pseudo-verb that is particularly common. It consists of the noun *quna* ‘manner, way’ usually followed by the demonstrative *qeri* ‘this’, also ‘that (mentioned before)’, or, rarely, by another demonstrative. *Quna qeri* ‘(in) this manner; thus’ is the commonest way to introduce direct speech, considerably more common than a verb of speaking, such as detransitivized *sore-qe* or transitive *sore-a* (with the object suffix *-a*) ‘say’ (section 37.4). Here only

the demonstrative *qeri* is possible. In (4-224) there are four instances of direct speech. The first one is introduced by means of *soe-toqo* ‘ask’, the last one by means of *sore-qe* ‘say’, and the two in between by means of *quna qeri*. The two clauses with *quna qeri* are in bold. The subject markers used with *quna qeri* are third person sequential.

(4-224) *Ka soe-toqo-na, “Nee, koqo, qo lae*
3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ hey! friend 2SG.NFUT go

uri fei?” Wela qeri ka quna qeri, “Nau
ALL where? child that 3SG.SEQ manner this 1SG

ku lae buria-na thaina-ku
1SG.NFUT go behind-3.PERS mother-1SG.PERS

bia maka nau.” Wane qeri ka quna qeri,
and father 1SG man that 3SG.SEQ manner this

“Thaina-mu bia maka qoe kera lae
mother-2SG.PERS and father 2SG 3PL.NFUT go

fei?” Wela qeri ka sore-qe,
where? child that 3SG.SEQ say-DETR

“Thaina-ku bia maka nau kera lae
mother-1SG.PERS and father 1SG 3PL.NFUT go

qana uusi-a.
GENP buy-DVN

‘He asked him, “Hey, friend, where are you going?”. The child said (lit.:thus-ed), “I am following my mother and father.”. The man said, “Where did your mother and father go?”. The child said, “My mother and father went to the market.”.’

Noun phrases headed by *quna* can also be used as a pseudo-verb with the meanings ‘be like this/that’, ‘behave, act in this/that manner’, ‘do something in this/that way’. In (225) *quna qeri* occurs in a negative imperative. Here the subject marker is second person singular negative.

(4-225) *Qosi quna qeri.*
2SG.NEG manner this
‘Not like this.’ ‘Don’t do (it) like this.’ ‘Don’t do (it) this/that way.’

The negative imperative in (4-225) concerns the manner in which the addressee is doing something. It is not a comment on his speaking.

In (4-226) the phrase headed by *quna* contains the addressee-sphere demonstrative *qena*:

(4-226) *Nau ku foqa qasia naqa uri qoe, suli-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT pray INTS INTS PURP 2SG REAS-3.OBJ

life qoe qe quna qena.
 life 2SG 3SG.NFUT manner that(2)

‘I pray for you a lot, because your life is like that [as mentioned earlier].’

Besides their occurrence with subject markers, the verb-like nature of *quna* phrases can be seen from the following facts. First, they can occur with oblique objects:

(4-227) ... *kera keka quna qeri uri nau, “Qoo,*
 3PL 3PL.SEQ manner this ALL 1SG oh

ni qoe qo winim kamiliqa
 PROFORE 2SG 2SG.NFUT win.over 1PL(EXCL)

neri,”.

VIVID

‘... they said to me, “Oh, you’ve done better than us,”.’ (Lit.: ‘... “Oh, you have won over us,”.’)

And second, just like verbs, *quna* phrases can be reduplicated to express the continuative/iterative aspect (section 15.2.3). It is *quna* that undergoes the reduplication. In (4-228) there are three instances of the pseudo-verb *quna qeri*, the first one of which contains reduplicated *quna*:

(4-228) ... *qe quu-quna qeri qana gwau-na,*
 3SG.NFUT RDP-manner this GENP head-3SG.PERS

ma ifu-na ka katu
 and hair-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be. hindered.from.movement

na=mai labaa, ma ka quna qeri, ma
 PRF=VENT there(3) and 3SG.SEQ manner this and

ka katu i ku=naqi,
 3SG.SEQ be.hindered.from.movement LOC place=this

ma ka quna qeri, ma ifu-na ka
 and 3SG.SEQ manner this and hair-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

katu i ku=naqi.
 be.hindered.from.movement LOC place=this

‘[Two boys tied a sleeping ogre’s hair to a tree so that they could kill him. Then they woke him up. The ogre tried to get up, but his hair was tied firmly down.] He kept doing like this with his head [the speaker jerks his head several times one way to demonstrate what the ogre was doing], but (lit.: and) his hair held fast there, and he did like this [the speaker jerking his head in a different way] but it held fast here, and he did like this [the speaker jerking his head in a different way again] but it held fast here.’

Quna phrases can cooccur with a verb. In some cases they act as pseudo-verbs and form [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds with the preceding verb. Such compounds are verbs. The compound status of such forms is evidenced by the fact that postverbal particles cannot intervene between the verb and the *quna* phrase and can only follow the [verb (pseudo-)verb] unit. In (4-229) the compound is followed by the additive and the intensifier postverbal particles:

- (4-229) *Raa quna baa laqu boqo.*
 work manner that ADD INTS
 ‘Work like that again [the way you worked before].’

And in (4-230) the compound is followed by the limiter *ba-*. The limiter carries the third person singular personal suffix, which indexes the subject (section 5.2.11).

- (4-230) *Ma kai ade quna qeri ba-na*
 and 3SG.IPFV act manner that LIM-3SG.PERS

qana fa thaqulafia qeri.
 GENP CLF evening that

‘And he was just acting/behaving like that [in a manner mentioned previously] that evening.’

Combinations of a verb and a *quna* phrase of the type just discussed are [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds, not [verb noun] compounds with an incorpo-

rated object. Only nouns without modifiers, not noun phrases, can be incorporated in the latter type of compound (section 12.4.1).

Quna phrases can also function as verb-phrase level constituents, as modifiers of verbs in verb phrases, in which case they are (true) noun phrases, not pseudo-verbs. See (4-1) in section 4.1 for their position in verb phrases. Their status as phrase-level noun phrases rather than as pseudo-verbs is evidenced by the fact that they can be separated from the preceding verb by intervening material, which is not possible in [verb verb] compounds. In (4-231) the limiter particle intervenes:

- (4-231) *Kera baa-baqe ba-da quna qeri.*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-speak LIM-3PL.PERS manner that
 ‘They just kept talking like that.’

And in (4-232) a verb and *quna qeri* are separated by the former’s direct object:

- (4-232) *Ma qaburu baa qe qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
 and ogre that 3SG.NFUT RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ
- gwau-na quna qeri ma ka aqi*
 head-3SG.PERS manner that and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
- naqa, ifu-n=e katu.*
 INTS hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.hindered.from.movement
 ‘And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.’ (The ogre’s hair was tied down.)

Noun phrases headed by *quna* ‘manner, way’ are the only type of noun phrase other than those in the direct-object position that can function as verb-phrase constituents. And they are also the only kind of noun phrase that can function as a noun modifier; see section 6.14.

Greetings and leave-taking formulae can be used as delocutive pseudo-verbs. In (4-233) the leaving-taking formula ‘good night’ is used on its own, not as a pseudo-verb:

- (4-233) *Rodo leqa.*
 night be.good
 ‘Good night.’ (See section 27.3.2 for an extended use of this expression.)

In (4-234), on the other hand, *rodo leqa* has been re-ranked. It occurs in a parting formula with the second person singular sequential subject marker and is followed by the andative directional:

- (4-234) *Qoko rodo leqa kau.*
 2SG.SEQ night be.good AND
 ‘Good night to you.’ (Lit.: ‘You be good-night off.’) (Said by the person leaving.)

Compare the leave-taking formula in (4-234) with a true verb and the andative directional:

- (4-235) *Qoko too-too kau.*
 2SG.SEQ RDP-stay AND
 (I am going). ‘Good bye.’ (Lit.: ‘You stay off.’) (Said by the person leaving.)

Other kinds of re-ranking into pseudo-verbs do occur, but they appear to be more on-the-spot creations. For example, in (4-236) re-ranking has taken place in the negative counterpart of a verbless ascriptive sentence (section 27.2.5). The re-ranked phrase is *teqe si lio* ‘one mind’. The pseudo-verb has the plural inclusive negative subject marker and is followed by the postverbal anterior-continuing particle *quu*:

- (4-236) *Kulu qe aqi kusi teqe si*
 PL(INCL) 3SG.NFUT NEGV PL(INCL).NEG one PRTT

lio quu.
 mind ANTCONT
 ‘We are not (of) one mind yet.’ ‘We are not agreed yet.’

Compare the ascriptive sentence in (4-237), where re-ranking has not taken place: there is no negative subject marker with the noun phrase *toqa qi Toqabaqita* ‘people at Toqabaqita’. That noun phrase functions as the subject of the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be the case’, but it has been extraposed to the right. (See section 27.2.5 for discussion of negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences.)

- (4-237) *Nau ma fulingana maka nau ki, kamiliqa*
 1SG and FILLER father 1SG PL 1PL(EXCL)

qe aqi laqu toqa qi Toqabaqita.
 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case ADD people LOC Toqabaqita
 ‘I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers, we too are not Toqabaqita
 people.’ (Lit.: ‘... we it is also not the case [are] people at Toqabaqita.’)

In (4-238) the Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrase *seven klok* ‘seven o’clock’ is treated in a Toqabaqita sentence as if it were a verb:

(4-238) *Qe seven klok naqa?*
 3SG.NFUT seven o’clock PRF
 ‘Is it seven o’clock now/already?’

For another example of a Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrase re-ranked as a verb see (15-101) in section 15.3.

4.8. The subject markers

There are five sets of subject markers, which simultaneously index the subject and mark nonfuture tense, future tense and imperfective aspect, sequentiality, negation, and dehortation, respectively. Here only their formal properties are considered. The semantic import of the various sets of the subject markers will be discussed in the relevant places. The five sets of the subject markers are given in table 4.5.

There are clear partial regularities in the forms of the subject markers, especially in the dual and the plural numbers. In the sequential, negative and dehortative sets, the third person singular forms consist solely of the markers of sequentiality, negation, and dehortation, *ka*, *si*, and *ta*, respectively. With one exception, the first person singular sequential form *kwa*, these elements also occur as part of all the other markers in the respective sets, sometimes with assimilation to the vowel in the preceding syllable in the sequential and the dehortative sets: *ka*, *ko*, *ku* in the former, and *ta* and *to* in the latter.

The future/imperfective set is based on the sequential set with the addition of the vowel *i* and deletion of the final vowel of the base in all cases except for the monosyllabic first and third person singular forms, where the final vowel is not deleted: *kwa* 1SG.SEQ and *kwai* 1SG.FUT/IPFV, and *ka* 3SG.SEQ and *kai* 3SG.FUT/IPFV; and, for example, *qoko* 2SG.SEQ and *qoki* 2SG.FUT/IPFV, and *keka* 3PL.SEQ and *keki* 3PL.FUT/IPFV.

Table 4.5. Subject markers

	nonfuture	future/ imper- fective	sequential	negative	dehortative
1SG	ku	kwai	kwa	kwasi	kwata
2SG	qo, qoi	qoki	qoko	qosi	qoto
3SG	qe, e	kai	ka	si	ta
1DU(EXCL)	mere	meki	meka	mesi	meta
DU(INCL)	koro	koki	koka, koko	kosi	kota
2DU	moro, mori	moki	moka, moko	mosi	mota
3DU	kero	keki, kiki	keko, kiku	kesi, kisi	keto
1PL(EXCL)	mili	miki	mika	misi	mita
PL(INCL)	kulu	kuki	kuka	kusi	kuta
2PL	mulu	muki	muka, muku	musi	muta
3PL	kera, kere kilu	keki, kiki	keka, kiku	kesi, kisi	keta

In each of the five sets, the bisyllabic forms share their first syllables with at least two other sets in each person and number category; for example *kwa* for the first person singular and *mu* for the second person plural. In most cases, all five sets share the first syllables.

The dual sets are characterized by the mid vowels *e* and *o* in the first syllable, while the corresponding forms in the plural sets are characterized by the high vowels *i* and *u*, except that the commonest plural forms have *e* rather than *i*.

In the nonfuture set, all the dual forms contain *r* in the second syllable, and most of the plural forms contain *l* in the last syllable. Similar associations of *r* with the dual number and of *l* with the plural number exist in the independent personal pronouns (section 6.3.1) and in the suffixes that function as object suffixes with Class 2 transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.3.1) and personal suffixes (section 8.1.2). As pointed out in section 6.3.1, these associations are most likely due to historical links with the numerals *roo* and *rua* ‘two’, and *ulu* ‘three’, respectively, with the plural forms continuing earlier trial (or paucal) forms.

For the sake of simplicity, all the subject markers are treated as units in the examples, in spite of the compositionality, synchronic or diachronic, in many cases.

Some of the subject markers have alternate forms, for example *moka* and *moko* 2DU.SEQ. In such cases, the commonest variant is listed first in the table, with the exception of the third person singular nonfuture forms, for which see further below.

There are two forms for the second person singular nonfuture, *qo* and *qoi*. *Qo* is the main form. *Qoi* is used only in positive imperatives, and only rarely. Imperatives with singular addressees usually have no subject marker, but when they do, *qo* is more common than *qoi*.

There are two variant forms for the third person singular nonfuture, *qe* and *e*. Both are common, but *e* can be used only sentence internally, not sentence initially. (*E* is also the combining form of the marker: =*e*; see further below). There is no such restrictions on *qe*.

There are two variant forms for the second person dual nonfuture, *moro* and *mori*. *Moro* is the main form. *Mori* is used only in positive imperatives but only rarely, *moro* being the usual form there.

There are three variant forms for the third person plural nonfuture, *kerā*, *kere*, and *kilu*. *Kilu* is archaic. *Kerā* is more common than *kere*, but the latter is by no means unusual.

In the dual and the plural future/imperfective sets, the third person forms *kiki* are rare, *keki* being the norm.

In the sequential set, the third person dual and plural form *kiku* is archaic.

And in the negative set, the third person dual and plural form *kesi* is considerably more common than *kisi*.

With one exception, all the subject markers that begin with *q* have combining forms without the glottal stop: *qo* and =*o* 2SG.NFUT, *qe* and =*e* 3SG.NFUT, *qoki* and =*oki* 2SG.FUT/IPFV, *qoko* and =*oko* 2SG.SEQ, and *qosi* and =*osi* 2SG.NEG. The combining forms are used when the subject markers fuse with the preceding grammatical element (section 2.5). The only exception is *qoi* 2SG.NFUT, which does not occur in environments where it could cliticize (see further above). (The *e* form of the third person singular nonfuture subject is also used when the subject marker has not cliticized; see further above.)

As discussed in sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1, an object-indexing suffix and a pronominal direct object cannot cooccur inside a verb phrase. On the other hand, the subject position is not inside the verb phrase, and there is no prohibition against cooccurrence of subject markers and independent pronouns in subject position. In fact, they cooccur commonly.

Not infrequently, there is no subject noun phrase in a clause, and the subject marker is the only exponent of that argument.

Below are given a few representative examples of the subject markers. The first one illustrates, in both clauses, cooccurrence of subject markers and independent pronouns in subject position:

- (4-239) *Nau ku thathami-a koro koki*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT
fanga.
 eat
 ‘I want the two of us to eat.’

Example (4-240) contains two instances of the *qe* variant of the third person singular subject marker in sentence-initial position, there being no subject noun phrase:

- (4-240) A: *Ma Qolofia?*
 and Olofia
 B: *Qe lae qa-na.*
 3SG.NFUT go SBEN-3SG.PERS
 A: *Qe lae fei?*
 3SG.NFUT go where?
 A: ‘And (where is) Olofia?’
 B: ‘He’s gone.’
 A: ‘Gone where?’

In (4-241) one instance of the third person singular nonfuture marker has fused with the demonstrative *fu* ‘that’ and another one with the conjunction *ma* ‘and’, and in (4-242) the second person singular future marker has fused with the focus marker *na*:

- (4-241) ... *oomea fu=e firu ma, keka*
 enemy that=3SG.NFUT fight and 3PL.SEQ
uri-a m=e dora qana
 tread.on-3SG.OBJ and=3SG.NFUT not.know GENP
thaka-laa.
 escape-NMLZ
 ‘... the enemy were fighting and they trod on him, and he did not know how to escape.’

- (4-242) *Taa n=oki ili-a nena?*
 what? FOC=2SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ NPAST.THERE
 ‘What are you doing there?’

In (4-243) the third person singular nonfuture subject marker has fused with the demonstrative *baa* ‘that’, from which both *a*’s have been omitted: *b=e* (*ba=e* also occurs).

- (4-243) *Nau qe aqi kwasi rongo-a doo*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG hear-3.OBJ thing

b=e sore-a.
 that=3SG.NFUT say-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I didn’t hear what (lit.: the thing) he said.’

The third person singular subject markers can have referents that are propositions. In (4-244) the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka* has the proposition ‘we come tomorrow’ as its referent::

- (4-244) *Mada sa mika fula qi qusungadi,*
 or IRR 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive LOC tomorrow

ka leqa ba-na?
 3SG.SEQ be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘If we come tomorrow, will that be all right? (lit.: will that only be good?)’

The third person plural forms can be used non-referentially, generically, typically with respect to people:

- (4-245) ... *maala qe tharu-fi-a*
 sore 3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ

qae-na na keki qalangi-a qana “basi”.
 leg-3SG.PERS REL 3PL.IPFV name-3SG.OBJ GENP *basi*
 ‘... his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called “*basi*”
 [yaws].’ (Lit.:... a sore afflicted his leg that they name “*basi*”.)

It is possible for a subject marker to be omitted. This happens normally, though not necessarily, in imperatives with singular addressees (section (20.2.1):

- (4-246) *Lae si mai.*
 go PREC VENT
 ‘Come here now.’

Elsewhere, subject markers are occasionally omitted when there is a noun phrase in subject position, or when the referent is determinable from broader context. Such omission is possible only with the nonfuture, future/imperfective, and the sequential subject markers when the tense, aspect or sequentiality is deducible from context. The negative and the dehortative subject markers are not omitted. In (4-247) the first person plural exclusive subject marker is omitted: the relevant participant is encoded by means of a pronoun in the subject position:

- (4-247) *Kamiliqa kori-a fau rafu, ...*
 1PL(EXCL) scrape-3.OBJ stone sea.cucumber.sp.
 ‘We scrape limestone (and mix it with water).’

Subject markers are typically omitted in a clause that repeats the verb of the preceding clause with the same subject, for example, to signal a repeated or an extended event:

- (4-248) *Daniel ka tataqe, tataqe kokoto bo=naqa.*
 Daniel 3SG.SEQ ascend ascend be.straight ASRT=INTS
 ‘Daniel [a pilot] went straight up and up [in his airplane].’

The third person singular nonfuture subject marker is frequently omitted in the commentative sentence ‘(That’s) fine/OK’, *Leqa ba-na*:

- (4-249) *Kera rongo-a mena gavman e*
 3PL.NFUT hear-3.OBJ CONC government 3SG.NFUT

ala-ngani-a lokap, kera keka sore-qe,
 threaten-TR-3.OBJ jail 3PL 3PL.SEQ say-DETR

 “*Leqa ba-na.*”
 be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘Even though they heard that the Government was threatening (them with) jail, they said, “Fine.” (lit.: (It is) just good.)’

Absence of subject markers is characteristic of deranked subordinate clauses (chapter 36).

4.9. Number agreement and lack of number agreement in verb phrases

Inside a verb phrase, the grammatical person and number can be indexed by several types of element: the subject markers, the object suffixes, the personal suffixes on some of the postverbal particles, by object pronouns (with Class 1 transitive verbs) and with lexical objects (which can be marked for plurality). (The postverbal particles are discussed in detail in section 5.2., and pronominal and lexical noun phrases in chapter 6.) If there is a relevant noun phrase present in a clause, the corresponding subject marker, object suffix, or personal suffix may, but need not, fully agree with it in number. With one type of exception, lack of number agreement is restricted to the third person.

An important, although not the sole, factor in number agreement is the animacy status of the referent of the noun phrase. Here, there is a two-way distinction: noun phrases with human referents and other higher-animate referents on the one hand, and noun phrases with inanimate referents and non-higher-animate referents on the other. Besides humans, the category of higher animates includes ancestral spirits, ogres, pigs, dogs, cats, possums, large fish and sea mammals, and other relatively large animals, such as cattle and horses (neither of which are commonly encountered in the Toqabaqita area). With some qualifications, for higher-animate noun phrases with plural or dual reference the norm is to be marked for the plural or the dual number, where this is grammatically sanctioned (but see further below). As discussed in the sections on Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs, the ‘singular’ object suffixes must be used in the presence of a lexical direct object regardless of its grammatical number. For inanimate and non-higher-animate noun phrases with plural or dual reference the norm is not to be indexed for the plural or the dual number and it is the singular forms that are used (but see further below). The typical patterns of indexing or not indexing the plural (and the dual) numbers are illustrated below. The examples given all involve the plural, because of some further complexities with the dual number, to be discussed further below. The subject markers are discussed and exemplified first. The first two have higher-animate subjects:

(4-250) *Wela loo ki kera qui kamiliqa mai*
 child upward PL 3PL.NFUT pelt 1PL(EXCL) VENT

qana fau.
 INS stone

‘The children up there threw stones at us.’ ‘The children up there pelted us with stones.’

- (4-251) *Botho baa ki kera oli na=mai.*
 pig that PL 3PL.NFUT return PRF=VENT
 ‘The pigs have come back.’

In the next set of examples, the first two have non-higher-animate subjects and the last one an inanimate subject, and the subject markers are singular:

- (4-252) *Kuukuulango qe qala.*
 mosquito 3SG.NFUT bite
 ‘The mosquitoes are biting.’ (Often said when there are a lot of mosquitoes around.)

In the situation expressed by (2-253) the number of flies is necessarily large:

- (4-253) *Lango e tabusu faafi-a kusi mae.*
 fly 3SG.NFUT swarm SUPER-3.OBJ cat be.dead
 ‘There are flies swarming over the dead cat.’

Note also the absence of the plural marker *ki* in the subject noun phrases in (4-252) and (4-253), even though the intended reference is plural. (See section 6.9 for discussion.) In (4-254), on the other hand, the subject noun phrase is marked for plurality; nevertheless, the subject marker is singular:

- (4-254) *Fau neqe ki qe kuluqa.*
 stone this PL 3SG.NFUT be.heavy
 ‘These stones are heavy.’

However, it is possible for an inanimate or a non-higher-animate subject to be indexed for plurality by the subject marker, if the speaker wishes to individuate the referents. Thus, instead of (4-254), the sentence in (4-255), with the plural subject marker, would be used to emphasize that each individual stone is heavy:

- (4-255) *Fau neqe ki kera kuluqa.*
 stone this PL 3PL.NFUT be.heavy
 ‘These stones are heavy.’

On the other hand, the singular subject marker in (4-254), does not individuate the stones. The stones may be heavy collectively or individually.

A similar difference exists between (4-256) and (4-257). The sentence in (4-256) has a plural subject marker and individuates the fish. It could be used if,

for example, the (relatively small) fish were spread across a large area and each fish would be more likely to be perceived individually:

- (4-256) *Iqa qoro ki kera nii qi ku=neqe.*
 fish be.many PL 3PL.NFUT exist LOC place=this
 ‘There are many fish here.’

If, however, the speaker chooses not to individuate the fish, for example because they are together in one small place, he/she will use the singular subject marker:

- (4-257) *Iqa qoro ki qe nii qi ku=neqe.*
 fish be.many PL 3SG.NFUT exist LOC place=this
 ‘There are many fish here.’

In (4-258) the intended reference is more likely to be to both of the person’s eyes rather than just to one. There is no need to emphasize that, and it is the singular subject marker that is used:

- (4-258) *Maa-na qe laqa.*
 eye-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.bright
 ‘His eyes are bright, shining.’
 Also possible: ‘His eye is bright, shining.’

On the other hand, in (4-259) the plural subject marker makes it explicit that both of the speaker’s legs hurt. Note that the plural subject marker is used even though the reference is dual; on this see further below.

- (4-259) *Qae-ku kera fii.*
 leg-1SG.PERS 3PL.NFUT hurt
 ‘My legs hurt.’

A singular subject marker may be used even if, or perhaps because, the plurality is signalled elsewhere in a sentence. In (4-260) the numeral ‘two’ and the plural marker *ki* in the subject noun phrase make it explicit that both legs are being referred to; nevertheless, the subject marker is singular:

- (4-260) *Wela qeri, roo qaaqae nia ki qe taqaa.*
 child that two leg 3SG PL 3SG.NFUT be.bad
 ‘The child, both of his legs are no good.’

(Both *qaaqae* and *qae* [in (4-259)] have the meaning ‘leg, foot’.)

Higher animates, in particularly humans, are normally individuated, and it is the plural (or dual) subject markers that are used. However, the speaker may choose to treat a plurality of higher-animate referents as a collectivity, in which case he or she may use the singular subject marker. In (4-261) the policemen are individuated, and it is the plural subject marker that is used:

- (4-261) *Oo, soldia baa ki kera oli n=uri*
 oh policeman that PL 3PL.NFUT return PRF=ALL

Tulake.

Tulagi

‘Oh, the policemen have gone back to Tulagi.’

On the other hand, in (4-262) the policemen are conceptualized as a unit, and it is the singular subject marker that is used. Furthermore, there is no plural marker in the subject noun phrase, while in (4-261) above the plural marker is present. It is the same policemen that are referred to in the two sentences.

- (4-262) *Soldia e oli n=uri Tulake.*
 policeman 3SG.NFUT return PRF=ALL Tulagi
 ‘The policemen have gone back to Tulagi.’ ‘The police unit has gone back to Tulagi.’

In (4-263) the possums referred to are treated as a unity: they are characterized as being in one place, and the noun *teqefau* signals that the statement applies to all of them, without exception (section 12.4.5):

- (4-263) ... *thaqaro qe=ki qi kula qeri, thaqaro*
 possum that=PL LOC place this possum

qe=ki qe qafetaqi, qafetaqi teqefau.

that=PL 3SG.NFUT be.difficult be.difficult every.one

‘... the possums at this place, the possums are difficult [to catch], difficult, all of them.’

Subsets of larger sets are normally indexed by means of singular subject markers, even when the referents are human or other higher-animate. In (4-264) the subject noun phrase refers to a subset out of four children:

- (4-264) *Ta ulu wela qe ni=i*
 some three child 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

laal-a gwa kafo qeri
 inside-3.PERS CLF water that
 ‘Three of the [four] children were in the pool’

And in the situation encoded in (4-265), the men are divided into groups of two:

(4-265) *Ku uka-li-a fanga naqi, toqo*
 1SG.NFUT divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ food this DSTR

roo wane kai fanga ofu qi laa
 two person 3SG.FUT eat be.together LOC IN

teqe beleta, toqo roo wane kai fanga
 one plate DSTR two person 3SG.FUT eat

ofu, toqo roo wane kai fanga
 be.together DSTR two person 3SG.FUT eat

ofu.

be.together

‘I have divided the food (in such a way that) two people will eat from (lit.: in) one plate, (another) two people will eat together, (another) two people will eat together.’

Non-individuation of human (and other higher-animate) referents is possible only in the third person, not in the first or the second person. That is, individuals at least some of whom are involved in the speech situation are always individuated.

The issue of number agreement and absence of number agreement is more complex with the object suffixes. As discussed in sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1, the otherwise singular object suffixes *-a* and *-na/-a* are used with Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs, respectively, to index their lexical objects regardless of grammatical number, when the object is inside the verb phrase. For example, in (4-266) the lexical object is plural, but it is the “singular” suffix *-a* that must be used, not the plural suffix *-da*. There is agreement in person but not in number.

(4-266) *Nau ku riki-a toq=qe=ki qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ people=that=PL GENP

uusi-a.
 buy-DVN
 ‘I saw those people at the market.’

However, when the direct object is not inside the verb phrase, and the noun phrase is human or higher-animate, the plural object suffix is used:

(4-267) *Toq=qe=ki, nau ku riki-da qana*
 people=that=PL 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ GENP

uusi-a.
 buy-DVN
 ‘Those people, I saw them at the market.’

Such full indexing, in person as well as number, also takes place in relativization on direct objects (section 30.6.2) and when a direct object is in focus (section 39.2). For example, in (4-268) the person is speaking about animals that he had seen in a zoo (which included higher animates such as camels, elephants, lions, crocodiles, kangaroos) and uses the plural object suffix on the verb *riki* ‘see’ in the relative clause:

(4-268) *Tai qanamola ki na ni nau lio*
 some.PL animal PL REL PROFORE 1SG look

kwa riki-da qe aqi kwasi
 1SG.SEQ see-3PL.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG

rii-riki-a quu seqe-da.
 RDP-see-3.OBJ ANTCONT body-3PL.OBJ

‘Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality before.’ (Lit.: ‘Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen their bodies.’)

When the relevant noun phrase is inanimate or non-higher-animate, the “singular” object suffix is normally used even when the noun phrase is outside the verb phrase. This is shown for topicalization and relativization in (4-269) and (4-270), respectively:

(4-269) *Qasai nau lakoo ki, kere bii-bili-a,*
 mango 1SG that(3) PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-steal-3SG.OBJ

ta qasai si aqi.
 some mango 3SG.NEG not.exist
 ‘Those mangoes of mine (on a tree), they have been stealing them
 (and) there are no mangoes (left).’

(4-270) *Nii fania bateree baa ki na ku*
 be.located where? battery that PL REL 1SG.NFUT

ngali-a ki mai?
 take-3SG.OBJ PL VENT
 ‘Where are the batteries that I brought?’

However, as discussed in section 4.2.3.2.2, when the verb in a relative clause is a long transitive one and is followed by the plural marker *ki*, the *-Caqi* variant of the transitive suffix must be used with the plural object suffix, even if the referent is inanimate or non-higher-animate:

(4-271) *qai qoro ki na kuburu e*
 tree be.many PL REL storm 3SG.NFUT

nanga-taqi-da ki
 knock.down-TR-3.PL.OBJ PL
 ‘the many trees that the storm knocked down’

Number indexing in verb phrases is also found with some of the postverbal particles. There the personal suffixes are used, and, with one type of exception, the suffixes match the number and person of the subject marker in the same verb phrase. (When a subject marker is omitted, as occasionally happens, the personal suffix indexes the same number that the subject marker would, if it were present.) In (4-272) the relevant referents are human, and both the subject marker and the personal suffix are plural:

(4-272) *Kera baa-baqe ba-da quna qeri.*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-talk LIM-3PL.PERS manner that
 ‘They just kept talking like that.’

On the other hand, in (4-273) the subject noun phrase is plural but inanimate and the referents are not individuated, and so the subject marker and the personal suffix on the limiter are singular. The plural noun phrase ‘your foods’ signifies more than one kind of food.

(4-273) *Fanga qoe baa ki, qe nii*
 food 2SG that PL 3SG.NFUT be.located

ba=n=i laal-a naanado na
 LIM=3SG.PERS=LOC inside-3.PERS k.o.basket REL

kai tarutaru loq.
 3SG.IPFV hang up.there

‘Your food (lit.: foods), it’s in the *naanado* basket that is hanging up there.’

There is a different kind of mismatch in number features, where a plural subject marker, object suffix, or personal suffix is used instead of the corresponding dual one, even though the reference is to two entities. Such number mismatch is not at all unusual. It has no semantic/pragmatic significance and occurs randomly. However, it is restricted to third-person forms, and does not take place with the independent personal pronouns. In (4-274) there are two instances of the third person plural nonfuture subject marker *kerā* instead of the dual form *kero*, even though the reference is to two people; note the dual independent pronoun in the subject position of the relative clause:

(4-274) *Si manga na ni keeroqa kera tatha*
 PRTT time REL PROFORE 3DU 3PL.NFUT walk

mai, kera fula maa-na kilu baa.
 VENT 3PL.NFUT arrive opening-3.PERS hole that
 ‘As/When the two of them were walking in that direction, they arrived (at) the mouth of the hole.’

In (4-275) the intended reference of the plural object suffix *-da* is dual. This is evident not only from the broader context in which these clauses are embedded, but also from the clause of direct speech, where the second person dual pronoun and the second person dual subject marker encode the addressees referred to in the first clause with the object suffix:

(4-275) ... *keka faqa-rongo-da, “Kamaroqa moki*
 3PL.SEQ CAUS-hear-3PL.OBJ 2DU 2DU.FUT

mae naq=i qusungadi.”
 be.dead PRF=LOC tomorrow

‘... they told them, “You two will be dead tomorrow.”’

And in (4-276) both the subject marker and the personal suffix on the limiter are plural rather than dual:

- (4-276) *Roo wela baa ki kera maqu ba-da, ...*
 two child that PL 3PL.NFUT be.afraid LIM-3PL.PERS
 ‘The two children were plain scared’

Not infrequently, plural and dual subject, object or personal markers with the same referents cooccur within a sentence or even within a clause. In (4-277) the first clause has a dual sequential subject marker, and the second clause the plural one. The reference is to two men.

- (4-277) *Keko riki-a, keka thaitoqoma-na, ...*
 3DU.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ 3PL.SEQ know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘They saw it, (and) they knew (what it was)’

And in (4-278) the first clause contains a subject noun phrase with dual reference and a plural subject marker, and the second clause contains a plural subject marker and the dual personal suffix on the limiter:

- (4-278) *Roo wela baa ki kera maqu, keka*
 two child that PL 3PL.NFUT be.afraid 3PL.SEQ

kefu-a ba-daroqa bii baa.
 open.stone.oven-3.OBJ LIM-3DU.PERS stone.oven that
 ‘The two children were afraid, and they just [i.e. obediently] opened the stone oven.’

In the type of number mismatch just discussed, plural forms are used when the intended reference is dual. There is different type of number mismatch which works in the opposite direction: a dual form is optionally used with plural reference. This type of mismatch is different in another respect in that it involves not third-person forms, but second-person forms. The second person dual subject markers are optionally used in imperatives when the intended reference is to more than two addressees (section 20.1). The next two examples contain the nonfuture dual marker:

- (4-279) *Qoo, moro tole-da laqu bo=mai, ...;*
 oh 2DU.NFUT lead-3PL.OBJ REST ASRT=VENT
 ‘Oh, bring (lit. lead) them [escaped prisoners] back;’ (An officer addressing his policemen, who were more than two in number.)

- (4-280) *Mamula, moro sifo-li-a!*
 mamula 2DU.NFUT descend-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Mamula [the name of a soccer team], go down there (lit.: go down onto it)!’ (Exhorting the members of a soccer team to go on the playing field and play.)

In (4-281) the second person dual sequential subject marker (in bold) is used even though the sentence is addressed to anybody within hearing. *Roo-wane*, lit. ‘two men/people’, is an interjection used to express amazement or exhortation, regardless of the number of addressees; see also (27-48) in section 27.3.2.

- (4-281) “*Roo-wane!*, *ta imole ka too*
 two-man/person some person 3SG.SEQ reside
- i fe=i laa kada taafoloa neqe,*
 LOC where=LOC IN block district this
- nau, tha Liliqa, na ku qai*
 1SG PERSMKR Liliqa FOC 1SG.NFUT shout
- neri! Moka rongo suli-a maala*
 NPAST.HERE 2DU.SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ sore
- b=e thau-ngi nau! Maala b=e*
 that=3SG.NFUT afflict-TR 1SG sore that=3SG.NFUT
- tharu-fi nau qe=aqi naqa!*
 (sore)afflict-TR 1SG 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF
 ‘[This is what he shouted,] “Hey, anybody, wherever you may live (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district, it’s me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me)! The sore that I had is no more!”.’

The second person dual nonfuture subject marker *moro* can also be used in exhortations when the speaker includes himself/herself (section 20.2.1.5):

- (4-282) *Moro oqotataqi, fanua kai rodo naqa.*
 2DU.NFUT hurry.up place 3SG.FUT be.dark PRF
 ‘Let’s hurry up; it’s getting dark.’

4.10. Integrative use of the inclusive forms

The inclusive subject markers (as well as other inclusive forms) can be used when the speaker wishes to integrate the addressee(s) into his or her own group, even though, objectively, the addressee(s) is/are not part of the speaker's group for the purposes at hand. This is done to express personal closeness between the speaker and the addressee. Even though the addressee is not part of the speaker's group, the speaker treats him/her, by using an inclusive form, as if they were. (See Lichtenberk 2005a for discussion of this in broader Austronesian context.)

The sentence in (4-283) is from an account of certain aspects of traditional behaviour, specifically how respect used to be shown to adult men and women. Those were the ways in which people used to behave when the speaker was younger. According to him, young people tend not to practice those kinds of behaviour these days. The sentence contains several instances of plural inclusive subject markers, sequential, imperfective and nonfuture (in bold). It also contains the inclusive plural independent pronoun *kulu* and the inclusive plural personal suffix *-kaluqa* (both also in bold). All of these forms are used integratively: the addressee (the author of this grammar) did/does not belong to Toqabaqita society, and even today it is highly unlikely he would be in charge of sharing out food at a feast or some other occasion:

- (4-283) *Gwauliqi ai na araqi nia kai*
 married.person woman REL husband 3SG 3SG.IPFV
- too ba-na, mada sa kuka*
 be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS or IRR PL(INCL).SEQ
- too qi qaaqae-na ta faa-fanga-a, mada*
 be.present LOC venue-3.PERS some RDP-eat-DVN or
- kuka*** *too kali-a*
 PL(INCL).SEQ be.present be.positioned.around-3.OBJ
- ta moringa na ni kulu kuki*
 some share REL PROFORE PL(INCL) PL(INCL).IPFV
- kwaqi-a ma kuki uka-li-a,*
 cut-3SG.OBJ and PL(INCL).IPFV divide-TR-3SG.OBJ
- ma kuka uka-li-a moringa*
 and PL(INCL).SEQ divide-TR-3.OBJ share

naqi, ma kuka tolingi nia qan=ta
 this and PL(INCL).SEQ give.share.to 3SG GENP=some

si doo qan=sii-na ta botho mada
 PRTT thing GENP=portion-3.PERS some pork or

ta kata mada ta iqa, manga
 some k.o.pudding or some fish time

na kulu fale-a qana
 REL PL(INCL).NFUT give-3SG.OBJ GENP

gwauliqi ai qeri, kuka
 married.person woman that PL(INCL).SEQ

sore-qe ba-kaluqa, "Kookoqo", mada
 say-DETR LIM-PL(INCL).PERS mother or

"Thaina-ka", "qoko riki-a si
 mother-PL(INCL).PERS 2SG.SEQ look.at-3.OBJ PRTT

fanga qeri."
 food this

‘A married woman whose husband has stayed at home, if we were at (the venue of) a feast, or [somewhere else] with (lit.: around) shares (of food) that we were cutting (carving) and dividing, and as we were dividing the shares, and as we were giving her something (such as) a portion of pork or some *kata* pudding, or some fish, when we were giving it to the married woman, we would just say, “Mother”, or “Mother, this is your food (lit.: look at this food)”.’

The expression ‘look at this food’ is a polite way of offering food to somebody.

The plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* in *thaina-ka* ‘(our) mother’ is used in this address form for one’s [classificatory] mother [section 8.1.2]. It does not function integratively. (*Kookoqo*, translated here as ‘mother’ can be used as a term of address to certain relatives, including one’s classificatory mothers.)

For an example of the dual inclusive nonfuture subject marker *koro* used integratively in an exhortation see (20-17) in section 20.2.1.5.

4.11. The adverb phrase

The class of adverbs is small and closed. Some of the adverbs are clause-level constituents, but they are included here for the sake of completeness. For the position of adverb phrases within verb phrases see (4-1) in section 4.1.

There are two interrogative adverbs, locative *fei* ‘where?’ and temporal *angita* ‘when?’. Their use in interrogatives is discussed in sections 19.3.7 and 19.3.9, respectively. Adverb phrases that contain *fei* ‘where?’ can function as complements of the bare general locative preposition *qi* and the verb-like allative and ablative prepositions *uri* and *fasi*, respectively. In (4-284) the *fei* phrase is the complement of the general locative preposition:

- (4-284) *Qo* *alu-a* *naifa nau* *baa qi* *fei?*
 2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ knife 1SG that LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put my knife?’ ‘Where did you put that knife of mine?’

When an adverb phrase with *fei* functions as the complement of the verb-like prepositions, it cannot, unlike noun-phrase complements, be indexed on the prepositions by the third person object suffix *-a* (see section 10.3.1). And unlike with noun-phrase complements, the allative and the ablative prepositions cannot occur in their reduced forms *ura* and *fasa*, respectively (section 10.3.1). Compare the grammatical interrogative in (4-285a) without indexing on the allative preposition *uri* and its ungrammatical counterparts in (4-285b) with indexing and in (4-285c) with the reduced form *ura*:

- (4-285) a. *Qo* *lae* *uri* *fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL where?
 ‘Where are you going?’
- b. **Qo* *lae* *uri-a* *fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL-3.OBJ where?
 (‘Where are you going?’)
- c. **Qo* *lae* *ura* *fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL where?
 (‘Where are you going?’)

In (4-286) the ablative prepositional phrase with *fei* ‘where?’ in its complement functions as a noun modifier (section 6.13.1):

- (4-286) *Wane fasi fei?*
 man ABL where?
 ‘A man from where?’ (That is, where is the man under discussion from?)

The temporal interrogative *angita* ‘when?’ is used only infrequently. Adverb phrases that contain *angita* function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. In (4-287) the prepositional phrase is fronted and is in focus:

- (4-287) *Qi angita na qoki oli mai?*
 LOC when? FOC 2SG.FUT return VENT
 ‘When will you come back?’

There are two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs, presentative and general. They are discussed in detail in section 13.6. Adverb phrases with the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs do not function as complements of prepositions. *Labaqa* ‘there (neither in the speaker’s nor in the addressee’s sphere)’ in (4-288) and *nenā* ‘there (in the addressee’s sphere)’ in (4-289) are among the presentative locative adverbs:

- (4-288) *Maka nau qe nii labāqa.*
 father 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.located there(3)
 ‘My father is over there.’

- (4-289) *Kafa qoe kai teo ba-n=i*
 comb 2SG 3SG.IPFV lie LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

sa-mu nena.
 ADJC-2SG.PERS there(2)
 ‘Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.’

Among the general locative demonstrative adverbs, the elevational forms *loori* ‘up there’ and *fuuri* ‘down there’ form verb phrases that function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. The clause in (4-290) contains *loori* ‘up there’. The general locative preposition has the form *i*, rather than *qi*.

- (4-290) *Kera too i loori,*
 3PL.NFUT stay LOC up.there
 ‘They stayed up there,’

Adverb phrases that contain any other general locative demonstrative adverb do not function as complements in prepositional phrases. *Lokoo* ‘there (neither

in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere)' is a general locative demonstrative adverb:

- (4-291) B: *Too ba-na lokoo.*
 be.at.place LIM-3SG.PERS there(3)
 [A: 'Where is he?']
 B: 'He is over there (in that direction).'

There is also a set of situational demonstrative adverbs. These are clause-level constituents; see section 13.7 for discussion. The sentence in (4-292) contains the situational demonstrative *neri*, which has non-past relevance and serves to express states of affairs that are in the speaker's sphere:

- (4-292) *Nia kai too ba-n=i*
 3SG 3SG.IPFV be.at.place LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

sa-ku neri.
 ADJC-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 'He is with me here now.'

Finally, there is an adverb *sulutala*, also *sulutale*, 'on the path/track/road'. The two forms come historically from the prolative preposition *suli/sula* (section 10.3.4) and the noun *tala* 'path, track, road'. Adverb phrases with this adverb do not function as complements of prepositions.

- (4-293) *Nau ku fula-toqo-da sulutala.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive-TEST-3PL.OBJ on.road
 'I met them on the road.'

(The senses of the verb *fula-toqo* include 'meet sb.', 'catch up with sb.' 'of a physical or mental state: descend on sb., reach sb'.)

Chapter 5

The particles in the verb complex

There are a number of particles that occur in the verb complex (section 4.1), some of them before the verb, and some of them after the verb.

5.1. The preverbal particles

5.1.1. Introduction

The preverbal particles occur between a subject marker and the verb; see (4-1) in the preceding chapter. Only one preverbal particle ever occurs in a clause. The particles are listed in table 5.1 in the order in which they will be discussed:

Table 5.1. Preverbal particles

<i>biqi, mala, maka, makeqe</i>	immediate past, immediate future
<i>makafa</i>	‘briefly’
<i>suka, thafa, thafeqe</i>	attenuative
<i>marungeqe</i>	ineffectuality
<i>tala</i>	self-containedness
<i>ota</i>	avertive
<i>tona, toneqe, totona,</i> <i>tootoneqe, tofa, tofe,</i> <i>tofeqe, totofa, totofeqe</i>	restrictive
<i>thafali-qi, thafali</i>	inceptive
<i>thathami-qi, thathami</i>	desiderative
<i>lalakwa</i>	undesiderative

The inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements are different from the other preverbal particles in one respect: unlike the other particles, they have synonymous verbal counterparts. They are included among the preverbal particles, but discussion of these three elements is postponed until section 29.5, where their status as particles is considered in detail.

The inceptive and the desiderative markers optionally contain the detransitivizing suffix (section 4.6) in its form *-qi*. One of the immediate-

past/immediate-future markers, one of the attenuative markers and some of the restrictive markers end in *-qe*, which historically comes from the *-qe* variant of the detransitivizing suffix. It is possible that the ineffectuality marker *ma-rungeqe* and the immediate-past/immediate-future marker *biqu* were also originally formed by means of the detransitivizing suffix, but there is no evidence of related suffixless forms. The inceptive markers *thafali-qi* and *thafali*, and the desiderative markers *thathami-qi* and *thathami* have related verbal counterparts in the present-day language, and the suffix is identified in glosses: *thafali-qi*, *thathami-qi*. None of the other forms that contain reflexes of the detransitivizing suffix have related verbal (or other) counterparts, and they are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. Some of the restrictive particles are reduplications, which would be consistent with verbal origins.

5.1.2. *Biqu*, etc. immediate past, immediate future

There are four markers that signal temporal immediacy: *biqu*, *mala*, *maka* and *makeqe*. All four can signal immediate past or, less commonly, immediate future. The notion of immediacy is, of course, relative, but for any of these markers to be used the temporal interval must be judged short. Of the four immediacy markers, *biqu* is the usual one; the other three are quite rare. In addition to one of these preverbal particles, the postverbal assertive/intensifying marker *boqo* (section 5.2.8) or the postverbal limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11) frequently occurs as well. When it is immediate past that is being expressed, the verb takes a nonfuture-tense subject marker.

(5-1) *Kera* *biqu lae bo=kau.*
 3PL.NFUT IMM go ASRT=AND
 ‘They have just left.’

(5-2) *Thaina-na* *wela naqi qe* *biqu mae*
 mother-3SG.PERS child this 3SG.NFUT IMM die

ba-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘The child’s mother has just died.’ ‘The child’s mother died very recently.’

(5-3) *Nau ku* {*mala/ maka / makeqe*} *fula*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT IMM / IMM / IMM arrive

ba-kuqa si manga qeri.
 LIM-3SG.PERS PRTT time this
 'I have only just arrived.'

When it is immediate future that is being expressed, the verb takes a future-tense subject marker:

(5-4) *Maqasi nau, nau kwai biqi fanga boqo neri.*
 wait.for 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT IMM eat ASRT NPAST.HERE
 'Wait for me; I am just about to eat.'

Biqi etc. are not frequently used to express immediate future; there the postverbal perfect marker *naqa* (section 5.2.12) is used more commonly. In fact, an immediate-future marker and the perfect marker can co-occur:

(5-5) *Nau kwai {mala/ maka / makeqe} lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT IMM / IMM / IMM go PRF
 'I am just about to go.'

Immediate future can also be signalled by means of the postverbal preceden-
 tive particles, in particular in imperatives (section 5.2.2).

Besides marking immediate past and immediate future, *biqi* is also used to express an immediate sequence of states of affairs: one state of affairs follows an earlier one more or less immediately. The two states of affairs can be located in the past, the future, or at an unspecified time. It is the clause that encodes the later state of affairs that contains *biqi*. The verb of that clause has a sequential subject marker, but if the sequence of states of affairs is a future one, a future subject marker is possible instead. The states of affairs expressed in (5-6) obtained in the past:

(5-6) *Laalae ka fula qa=si manga na*
 when 3SG.SEQ arrive GENP=PRTT time REL

Maasin Ruul qe wiik daon, sui feteqi
 Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT weak down then INTS

keka biqi ala-ma-taqi kera keka frii.
 3PL.SEQ IMM permit-EXT-TR 3PL 3PL.SEQ be.free

'After Marching Rule had weakened (lit.: when it arrived at the time that Marching Rule weakened down), they [the Government] allowed them [the leaders of the Marching Rule movement] to go free [i.e., to be released from jail].'

In the situations expressed in the next two examples the states of affairs are located in the future. In (5-7) the subject marker in the *biqu* clause is a sequential one and in (5-8) a future one:

- (5-7) *Kulu fanga fasi. Kulu fanga*
 PL(INCL).NFUT eat PREC PL(INCL).NFUT eat
- e sui, kuka biqu raa.*
 3SG.NFUT be.finished PL(INCL).SEQ IMM work
 ‘Let’s eat first. After we have eaten, we’ll work straightaway./As soon as we have eaten, we’ll work.’

- (5-8) *Laalae qo fula naqa i Kukumu, nau*
 when 2SG.NFUT arrive PRF LOC Kukumu 1SG
- kwai biqu uqunu sa-mu sulia*
 1SG.FUT IMM narrate GOAL-2SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ
- ta si doo ki bana*
 some PRTT thing PL LIM
 ‘When you have arrived in Kukumu, I’ll tell you straightaway about some things’ ‘As soon as you have arrived in Kukumu, I’ll tell you about some things’

The states of affairs described in (5-9) below are not restricted to any particular time; they obtain in general. When a man approaches a house where there is a woman inside, he should first make a sound to make his presence known; then:

- (5-9) ... *ai naqi ka rongo kau, nia ka*
 woman this 3SG.SEQ hear AND 3SG 3SG.SEQ
- tataqe ka qolo-si nia, sui feteqi*
 stand.up 3SG.SEQ straighten-TR 3SG then INTS
- ka biqu kotho ka=i maa.*
 3SG.SEQ IMM go.through AND=LOC outside
 ‘... [when] the woman hears you [outside her house], she gets up, straightens her clothes (lit.: straightens herself) and only then does she go outside.’ (That is, the woman will not go out straightaway; she must check first whether she looks presentable.)

5.1.3. *Makafa* ‘briefly’

The particle *makafa* is used to express the fact that a state of affairs holds only for a short period of time. It may be historically related to the immediacy marker *maka* (see the preceding section).

- (5-10) *Nau ku makafa raa ba-kuqa qi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT briefly work LIM-1SG.PERS LOC
roqo, sui kwa oli ba-kuqa.
 yesterday then 1SG.SEQ return LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I only worked for a short time yesterday; then I went back.’

- (5-11) *Makafa mamalo fasi.*
 briefly rest PREC
 ‘Rest for a bit now.’

5.1.4. *Suka*, etc. attenuative

There are three particles that function as attenuatives: *suka*, *thafa* and *thafeqe*. *Suka* signals a relatively low degree of a state or a relatively low intensity of an event:

- (5-12) *Nau ku suka mataqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT ATTN be.sick
 ‘I am a little sick.’

However, *suka* is quite rare. Much more commonly this kind of attenuation is expressed by means of the verb *sukani* ‘be of little quantity, degree, extent’, to which *suka* is obviously related. (*Suka* cannot function verbally.) *Sukani* functions as the first member of serializing [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5):

- (5-13) *Nau ku sukani mataqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.of.little.degree be.sick
 ‘I am a little sick.’

The range of meanings of *thafa* and *thafeqe* is broader than that of *suka*, *thafa* being more common than *thafeqe*. Like *suka*, they can express a low degree of a state or low intensity of an event:

- (5-14) *Iu, nau mena ku thafa mataqi*
 yes 1SG FADD 1SG.NFUT ATTN be.sick

ba-kuqa, ...

LIM-1SG.PERS

‘Yes, I too was just a little sick, ...’

- (5-15) *Nia kai {thafa/ thafeqe} qono naqa.*
 3SG 3SG.IPFV ATTN / ATTN sit PRF
 ‘He/she is feeling better now.’ (Lit.: ‘He/she is sitting a little now.’)
 (Said about a person recovering from an illness.)

Thafa and *thafeqe* can also signal that an event is (to be) performed or is taking place in a calm, slow, quiet, careful, measured manner:

- (5-16) *Qoko thafa ngata.*
 2SG.SEQ ATTN speak
 ‘Speak calmly/slowly/quietly.’

- (5-17) ... *nau kwa thafa qono agwa qa-kuqa*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ ATTN sit hid SBEN-1SG.PERS

qi biqu nau.

LOC house 1SG

‘[They came to see me, but I pretended not to be at home;] I just sat quietly, hiding in my house.’

- (5-18) ... *keka thafeqe kori-a tai si*
 3PL.SEQ ATTN scrape-3.OBJ some.PL PRTT

kula n=e fura naqa

place REL=3SG.NFUT be.rotten PRF

‘... they carefully scraped (clean) some of the places that had become rotten’

5.1.5. *Marungeqe* ineffectuality

The function of *marungeqe* is to express the fact that a state of affairs does not lead to any other, expected or desired state of affairs. In spite of its phonological bulk, *marungeqe* functions only as a particle, not as an independent lexeme.

More often than not, *marungeqe* is used in conjunction with the postverbal limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11).

(5-19) *Nau ku marungeqe raa ba-kuqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INEFF work LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I worked, and nothing.’ (For example, the speaker did work for somebody but got no reward in return, or only a very small reward; or he or she worked hard in the garden, but the result, in terms of the crops, was nil or negligible.)

(5-20) *Qo marungeqe too ba-muqa.*
 2SG.NFUT INEFF stay LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘You just stay (around).’ Here: ‘You just stay idle, not doing any work.’

5.1.6. *Tala* self-containedness of situations

The function of the particle *tala* is to signal that the state of affairs encoded in the clause is self-generated or self-directed, or to emphasize the entity to which the state of affairs applies, normally in contrast to other entities. Expression of self-contained situations is discussed in detail in chapter 23, and here only one example of a self-generated situation is given:

(5-21) *Nau qe aqi kwasi kuqu meresina boqo,*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG drink medicine ASRT

ku tala qakwaa ba-kuqa.
 1SG.NFUT SELFC be.cured LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I didn’t drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.’

The self-containedness marker *tala* is related to the complement-clause taking verb *talaqa*, which expresses ability, possibility, and permission (section 29.4.2), and to the noun *tala* ‘path, track, road’, ‘way, means of doing st.’.

5.1.7. *Ota* avertive

This particle signals that a given state of affairs nearly obtained but in the end did not. *Ota* is used in two kinds of structure. In one, the verb has a nonfuture subject marker. This construction conceptualizes the averted state of affairs from two temporal vantage points: the time when it looked as if it would take

place and a subsequent time when it turned out that it did not take place after all.

- (5-22) *Araqi e ota mae.*
 mature.man 3SG.NFUT AVRT die
 ‘The old man nearly died.’

That is, at the relevant time in the past it seemed that the man would die, but subsequently it turned out that he did not die.

In the other structure the verb has a future subject marker, preceded by the irrealis marker *sa* (sections 18.2 and 18.3). This construction conceptualizes the averted event only from a subsequent temporal vantage point: a state of affairs could/might have obtained but did not.

- (5-23) *Nau sa kwai ota qaru.*
 1SG IRR 1SG.FUT AVRT fall
 ‘I nearly fell down.’ ‘I could/might have fallen down.’

This sentence is primarily a *post hoc* statement about what nearly happened. It backgrounds the time at which it appeared that the falling would happen.

Ota is used only rarely. Much more commonly it is the Class 1 transitive verb *karangi* ‘be near to’ that is used with an avertive function (section 15.1.2.3.3).

5.1.8. *Tona, tofa*, etc. restrictive

There are a number of particles that signal that a situation is restricted only to the event or state expressed in the clause, when some additional or different states of affairs, performed by the same participant, are normally expected or required. The particles are *tona*, *toneqe*, *tootona*, *tootoneqe*, *tofa*, *tofe*, *tofeqe*, *tootofa*, *tootofeqe*. The reduplicated forms are used only in negative imperatives (although the other forms are possible there as well). Elsewhere, only *tona* and *tofa* are used commonly, *tona* being more common than *tofa*. As mentioned in section 20.3.1, in negative imperatives the verb is often reduplicated to express the meaning ‘stop doing such and such’. The use of the reduplicated restricted-situation markers in negative imperatives suggests that all of these particles developed from erstwhile verbs. In addition to one of these preverbal particles, the postverbal limiter *ba-* is often present as well.

Tona and its variant *toneqe* also occur in noun phrases.

The situations that are expected or required in addition to the one encoded in a clause with a restricted-situation marker are usually not expressed, only im-

plied. In (5-24) what the speaker implies is that he travelled on the ship without paying:

- (5-24) *Nau ku {tofa / tona} lae ba-kuqa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RESTR / RESTR go LIM-1SG.PERS
i laa faka.
 LOC IN ship
 ‘I went on the ship for free, without paying.’ (Lit. ‘I just went on the ship.’)

In (5-25) the implication is that the man came empty-handed, although one would have expected him to bring something:

- (5-25) *Wane qe tona lae bo=ma-na.*
 man 3SG.NFUT RESTR go ASRT=VENT-3SG.PERS
 ‘The man came empty-handed.’

In (5-26) the implied message is that the addressee should do some work, instead of just sitting idly around:

- (5-26) *Qo {tofa / tofeqe / tona} qono*
 2SG.NFUT RESTR/ RESTR / RESTR sit
ba-mu neri!
 LIM-2SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 ‘You just sit here (doing nothing)!’

These particles can also signal that something is done for no obvious reason: it is “just” done, without there being another situation that would serve as a cause, purpose, rationale:

- (5-27) *Wane e tona ila-ma-taqi nau.*
 man 3SG.NFUT RESTR be.hostile.to-EXT-TR 1SG
 ‘The man is bad to me for no reason.’
- (5-28) *Wane leqa nau qae, misi fii qoe*
 man be.good 1SG VOC 1PL(EXCL).NEG expect 2SG

boqo qoki tona fale i a-miliqa.
 ASRT 2SG.FUT RESTR give LOC REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘My good man, we did not expect you at all to just give us (things)
 (without being asked, without expecting anything in return).’

Example (5-29) shows the reduplicated variants in a negative imperative:

(5-29) *Qosi {tootona / tootoneqe / tootofa / tootofeqe}*
 2SG.NEG RESTR / RESTR / RESTR / RESTR

takwe ba-muqa!
 stand LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘Don’t just stand (there/here) (do something)!’

5.2. The postverbal particles

5.2.1. Introduction

The postverbal particles occur before lexical direct objects, but after direct objects that are realized by independent personal pronouns; see (4-1) in section 4.1. The postverbal particles are listed in table 5.2 in the order in which they occur in a verb complex, which is also the order in which they are discussed. Those that occupy the same position in the verb complex and so are mutually exclusive are grouped together in the table under the same letter. More than one postverbal particle can occur simultaneously in a verb phrase.

Some of the particles have shorter, combining forms used when those particles fuse with a following particle. This kind of fusion between certain particles is obligatory. Some of the combining forms are also used when a particle carries a personal suffix. Only the full forms of the particles are listed in table 5.2. The combining forms are presented in the respective sections.

Most of the particles also occur in noun phrases, although not necessarily with the same meaning. Those particles that also occur in noun phrases are marked with an asterisk in the table.

The first two pairs of examples show the positioning of the postverbal particles before lexical direct objects and after pronominal direct objects, respectively. In the first pair the particle is the preceditive one, *fasi*:

(5-30) *Kwai qolo-si-a fasi suliku.*
 1SG.FUT straighten-TR-3.OBJ PREC back-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’ll stretch (lit.: straighten) my back first.’

Table 5.2. Postverbal particles

a.	<i>fasi, si</i>	precedentive
b.	<i>quu*</i> <i>sui*, danga</i>	anterior; anterior-continuing completive; exhaustive
c.	<i>laqu*</i>	additive, restitutive
d.	<i>qasia</i> <i>toqo</i>	intensifier, only together with <i>boqo</i> or <i>naqa</i> obligation
e.	<i>boqo*</i>	assertive; intensifier
f.	<i>mena</i>	concessive
g.	<i>qa-</i>	self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive
h.	<i>ba-</i>	limiter
i.	<i>naqa*</i> <i>feteqi*</i>	perfect; intensifier in combination with <i>qasia</i> intensifier
j.	<i>mai*</i> <i>kau*</i>	ventive andative

- (5-31) *Kwai qolo-si nau fasi.*
1SG.FUT straighten-TR 1SG PREC
'I'll stretch first.'

In the next pair there is a combination of the perfect particle (in its combining form) and the andative directional:

- (5-32) *Kera tole-a na=kau wela baa.*
3PL.NFUT lead-3.OBJ PRF=AND child that
'They have led the child away.'

- (5-33) *Kera tole nia na=kau.*
3PL.NFUT lead 3SG PRF=AND
'They have led her away.'

Below are given a few examples of cooccurrence of two or more postverbal particles.

- (5-34) *Lae kwai biinga si qa-kuqa.*
go 1SG.FUT sleep PREC SBEN-1SG.PERS
'I'm going to go and sleep now.'

- (5-35) *Tai wane keka ngali-a bo=ma-da*
some.PL man 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ ASRT=VENT-3PL.PERS

selen

money

‘Some men bring money’

(5-36) *Nia ka toqoni-a naqa. Toqoni-a*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ put.in-3SG.OBJ PRF put.in-3SG.OBJ

sui laqu boqo, keeroqa keko lae laqu
 COMPL ADD ASRT 3DU 3DU.SEQ go ADD

bo=kau.

ASRT=AND

‘He put it [an arrow] in [a basket]. After [he] had put it back in, the two of them went on again.’

5.2.2. *Fasi, si* precedentive

The precedentive particles signal that a given state of affairs will or should be the first significant, relevant one before any other. The form *fasi* is used when there is no other postverbal particle present in the verb complex. If there are one or more other postverbal particles present, *si* must be used. Although *si* is clearly a shortened form of *fasi*, it is different from the short, combining forms of some of the other postverbal particles. In the combining forms of the other particles, it is the last syllable that is deleted; for example *boqo* and *bo=* asseritive. The two precedentive particles are illustrated in (5-40) and (5-41):

(5-37) *Kwai mamalo faqekwa fasi.*
 1SG.FUT rest be.little PREC
 ‘I am going to rest a little first/now.’

(5-38) *Mamalo si qa-muqa.*
 rest PREC SBEN-2SG.PERS
 ‘Take a rest first/now.’

The precedentive particles signal that a given state of affairs will or should obtain next, before any other one. The other potential states of affairs are usually not mentioned.

- (5-39) *Kwai soe-toqo-na kokoto fasi maka nau.*
 1SG ask-TEST-3.OBJ be.correct PREC father 1SG
 ‘I’ll confirm it with my father first.’ ‘I’ll ask my father first, to make
 sure it’s correct.’ (Lit.: ‘I’ll ask correctly my father first.’)
- (5-40) *Nau ku thathamia kwai baqe si kau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT speak PREC AND
- bii kamaroqa qa=si kade-qe manga qeri.*
 COM 2DU GENP=PRTT block-ASSOC time this
 ‘I want to speak to you first at this point in time.’

In commands and exhortations the preceditive particles signal that immediate carrying out of the action is requested or suggested:

- (5-41) *Moro qono ngado fasi!*
 2DU.NFUT sit be.still PREC
 ‘Sit still now, you two!’
- (5-42) *Kulu foqa fasi.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT pray PREC
 ‘Let’s pray now.’

In (5-43) there are two clauses, an imperative one and a declarative one, both with preceditive *si*:

- (5-43) *Faa-tani-a si laqu nuu-na kini*
 show-TR-3.OBJ PREC ADD picture-3.PERS woman
- baa, kwa riki-a si laqu.*
 that 1SG.SEQ look.at-3SG.OBJ PREC ADD
 ‘Show (me) the picture of the woman again now; I’ll take a look at it
 again.’

Si is used in conjunction with the perfect marker to express an imminent state of affairs (section 15.3):

- (5-44) *Kamareqa mere lae si na-mareqa.*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go PREC PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS
 ‘We’ll be going now.’ ‘We’re going now.’ (Said by one of two people
 on the point of departure.)

Sometimes the preceditive particles are used to express a sequence of two states of affairs, normally in conjunction with some other indication of sequentiality. A preceditive particle occurs in the first clause which encodes the first event. In (5-45) the first clause contains, in addition to *fasi*, the temporal noun *tootoqonaqo* ‘earlier time’, and the second clause contains the immediacy marker *biqu*, which expresses an immediate sequence of events (section 5.1.2):

- (5-45) ... *keki faqa-mae qoe fas=i tootoqonaqo*
 3PL.FUT CAUS-be.dead 2SG PREC=LOC earlier.time
- nena, keka biqu kwaqi qoe.*
 NPAST.THERE 3PL.SEQ IMM cut 2SG
 ‘[Don’t be afraid,] they will put you to sleep [with an anaesthetic] (lit.: cause you to die) first and only then will they operate on you (lit.: cut you).’

And in (5-46) sequencing is signalled not only by means of preceditive *si* but also by the sequencer *sui* ‘be then’ (section 35.3.2.2.3):

- (5-46) ... *qosi talami-a, ala-ma-tani-a*
 2SG.NEG interrupt-3SG.OBJ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ
- ka ngata si qa-na, sui qoko*
 3SG.SEQ speak PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS then 2SG.SEQ
- baqe.*
 speak
 ‘... don’t interrupt her; allow her to speak first, then you speak.’

5.2.3. *Quu* anterior, anterior-continuing

The particle *quu* has two functions, which are referred to here as “(simple) anterior” and “anterior-continuing”. The way the term “anterior” (simple or continuing) is used here is different from the perfect, even though there are some links between the two (see further below).¹⁷ In its simple (not continuing) anterior function, *quu* serves to express the fact that the state of affairs encoded in the clause obtained (did not obtain) or will (will not) obtain before some other state of affairs or some other time. The latter state of affairs or time is normally only implied, not expressed. In (5-47) the state of the child’s being blind existed already before his being born:

- (5-47) *Wela maa-n=e boko quu*
 child eye-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.blocked ANT
bo=mai qi rake-na thaina-na.
 ASRT=VENT LOC belly-3.PERS mother-3SG.PERS
 ‘The child was born blind.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, his eyes were blocked
 already in his mother’s belly.’)

In the situation expressed in (5-48) the taking of the kerosene will happen some time before the payment:

- (5-48) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai tona ngali-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT RESTR take-3.OBJ
quu ba-kuqa ta karasina.
 ANT LIM-1SG.PERS some kerosene
 ‘I want to buy some kerosene on credit.’ (Lit.: ‘I want I will just take
 some kerosene beforehand.’)

In (5-49) both sentences contain the anterior marker. The first sentence is negative, and in the second sentence the relevant clause is the protasis of a counterfactual conditional. In both, the implication is that the eating had not taken place before some other event in the morning, here going away to some other place. The anteriority is also signalled by reduplication of the verb (section 15.1.4).

- (5-49) *Ura taa na qosi faa-fanga quu boqo*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG RDP-eat ANT ASRT
qi quuqusungadia? Ma=sa qo faa-fanga
 LOC morning or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-eat
quu boqo, sa qoko thaofa qe=aqi.
 ANT INTS IRR 2SG.SEQ be.hungry 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
 ‘Why hadn’t you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would
 not have been hungry (later).’

Sometimes, the use of the anterior marker implies a relatively great temporal distance between the time of reference and the relevant state of affairs. In the situation expressed in (5-50) the person had left earlier in the day, but relatively early, before other events that took place in that time period:

- (5-50) *Qe lae quu naqa qi baare.*
 3SG.NFUT go ANT PRF LOC earlier.today
 ‘He left some time ago today.’ ‘He left earlier today.’ (And he has not come back.)

In its anterior-continuing function, *quu* in positive clauses expresses the fact that a state of affairs that began before the time of reference still holds, continues at the time of reference. In negative clauses it expresses the fact that by the time of reference the relevant state of affairs has not yet eventuated but is still expected to eventuate. In the anterior-continuing function, *quu* is not used in positive clauses that express a single punctual event, but there is no such restriction on *quu* in negative clauses. On the whole, *quu* is used more commonly with the anterior-continuing function than with the simple anterior function.

The next set of examples illustrates the anterior-continuing function of *quu*. In (5-51) and (5-52) it occurs in positive clauses:

- (5-51) *Wela kai biinga quu.*
 child 3SG.IPFV sleep ANTCONT
 ‘The child is still sleeping.’

- (5-52) *Lae mai fula, roo wela qe=ki keki*
 go VENT arrive two child that=PL 3PL.IPFV

too quu ba-da.
 be.present ANTCONT LIM-3PL.PERS
 ‘[When he] arrived, the two children were still there.’

In the next two examples the clauses that contain *quu* are negative:

- (5-53) *Kera kesi lamataal-a quu raisi baa.*
 3PL 3PL.NEG replace-3.OBJ ANTCONT rice that
 ‘They haven’t returned the rice yet.’ ‘They haven’t replaced the rice yet.’ (That is, we gave them rice and they promised to give us the same quantity back, but they have not yet. There is still an expectation that they will.)
- (5-54) *Qe=aqi si kwatho quu boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.ripe ANTCONT ASRT
 ‘They [mangoes] aren’t ripe yet.’ (The expectation is, of course, that eventually they will be ripe.)

In (5-55) *quu* occurs with a verb that functions as a noun modifier (section 6.10):

- (5-55) *wela faqekwa quu bana*
 child be.little ANTCONT LIM
 ‘child that is still only little’

There is some connection between the anterior (simple or continuing) and the perfect: with both, an earlier event may be related to a time of reference. However, the anterior highlights the anteriority of the first situation, possibly with its still continuing at the time of reference, while the Toqabaqita perfect primarily signals a new state of affairs at the time of reference (section 15.3). The anterior-continuing function and the perfect are incompatible in negative clauses. The anterior-continuing particle signals that a state of affairs has not eventuated by the time of reference, but there is still an expectation that it will. On the other hand, the perfect signals that a state of affairs has not eventuated by reference time and is no longer expected to eventuate. Compare (5-56) and (5-57):

- (5-56) *Wane baa qe=aqi si fula quu.*
 man that 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive ANTCONT
 ‘The man has not arrived yet.’ (But he is still expected to arrive.)

- (5-57) *Wane baa qe=aqi si fula naqa.*
 man that 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive PRF
 ‘The man has not arrived.’ (And he is no longer expected to arrive.)

The anterior-continuing and the perfect markers can cooccur in positive clauses. In such cases the perfect emphasizes the fact that the state of affairs does indeed still obtain at the time of reference:

- (5-58) *Qe raa quu na=mai.*
 3SG.NFUT work ANTCONT PRF=VENT
 ‘It’s still working.’ ‘It’s been working until now.’ (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

5.2.4. *Sui* completive, exhaustive; *danga* completive

The particle *sui* has two functions, completive and exhaustive, while *danga* has only the completive function and is rare compared to *sui*. In the completive function, *sui* and *danga* signal that a situation took or has taken place by the

time of reference. In this function, the two particles cooccur with the perfect marker. The completed state of affairs may, but need not, be one that was extended over time. If it was extended over time, the completive markers signal that it has taken place in its entirety by the time of reference.

(5-59) *Kera test sui naqa.*
 3PL.NFUT sit.test COMPL PRF
 ‘They have finished (sitting) their test.’ (On seeing school children come out of the school.)

(5-60) *Qe qapiil sui naqa?*
 3SG.NFUT appeal COMPL PRF
 ‘Has he appealed [a court decision]?’ ‘Has he lodged an appeal?’

(5-61) *Radio e qifi sui naqa.*
 radio 3SG.NFUT be.switched.on COMPL PRF
 ‘The radio has been switched on.’ ‘The radio is on.’

The given state of affairs may have reached completion immediately prior to the time of reference or at some more distant, earlier time. Thus, (5-62) is appropriate if the people have just finished eating or if they ate some time ago:

(5-62) *Kamareqa mere fanga sui naqa.*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT eat COMPL PRF
 a ‘We have finished eating.’ (And so the plates can be taken away.)
 b. ‘We have already eaten.’ (And so there is no need to give us food.)

In (5-63) the speaker is inquiring whether the addressee has already bathed, not whether she has finished bathing (the addressee was not in the bathing place at the time):

(5-63) A: *Qo siisiu sui naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT bathe COMPL PRF
 B: *Qe=aqi quu boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ANTCONT ASRT
 A: ‘Have you bathed?’
 B: ‘Not yet.’

The time of reference is often the time of speech, but that is not necessarily so. In (5-64) the time of reference is in future:

- (5-64) *Iu, manga na ku mae sui naqa,*
 OK time REL 1SG.NFUT die COMPL PRF
kamaroqa moka qolo-toqo suli nau
 2DU 2DU.SEQ arrange-TEST PROL 1SG
 [A dying man speaking.] ‘OK, when I have died, you will measure me (lit.: measure along me) [so that addressees could dig a grave of the right size]’

There are some complexities when there is a direct object, pronominal or lexical, present in the clause. The completive and the perfect markers can be used with either type of object:

- (5-65) *Toqa baa kere qadomi nau sui naqa.*
 people that 3PL.NFUT help 1SG COMPL PRF
 ‘The people have already helped me.’ ‘The people have finished helping me.’

- (5-66) *Qo gani-a sui naqa wane qeri*
 2SG.NFUT ask.sb.for.st.-3.OBJ COMPL PRF man that
uri-a seleni?
 PURP-3.OBJ money
 ‘Have you asked the man for money?’

However, when the clause that expresses a completed state of affairs is followed by another, coordinate clause that expresses a subsequent state of affairs, different constructions are preferred. Instead of using the combination of the completive and the perfect particles in the first clause, bi-clausal structures may be used: the clause expressing the (completed) state of affairs is followed by a “mini-clause” that contains the verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’. In one of those constructions the verb *sui* has a subject marker, which is always third person singular. The mini-clause may also contain the perfect marker *naqa*. In the other construction the verb *sui* in the mini-clause occurs without a subject marker. The clause that expresses the subsequent event follows the *sui* mini-clause. These constructions are discussed in section 35.3.2.2.3, and here only one example of the former construction is given:

- (5-67) *Kera thau-ngi-a ulu wela qe=ki qe*
 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ three child that=PL 3SG.NFUT

sui, keka lae na-da.
 be.finished 3PL.SEQ go PRF-3PL.PERS
 ‘After they killed the three children, they went (away).’

There is another construction in which *sui* functions as a sequencer (section 35.3.2.2.3.)

For evidence that when the form *sui* occurs in the verb complex it is a particle rather than a verb see further below.

The next example illustrates the completive marker *danga*. *Danga* is equivalent to *sui* in its completive-marking function but is hardly ever used.

(5-68) *Nau ku siisiu {sui / danga} naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT bathe COMPL / COMPL PRF
 ‘I have finished bathing.’ ‘I have bathed already’

In its other, exhaustive-marking function, *sui* expresses the fact that the state of affairs has reached a point when it applies, has applied to all the potential participants. In that sense, the state of affairs has reached its end-point, completion. When *sui* (or *danga*) has the completive function, there may be just one relevant participant; see, for example (5-68) just above. On the other hand, when *sui* has the exhaustive function, there are multiple relevant participants. In the exhaustive function, *sui* normally cooccurs with the assertive marker *boqo*. What is highlighted, emphasized is the fact that the state of affairs has come to involve all the relevant participants.

(5-69) *Nau ku thaitoqoma-na sui boqo toqa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ EXHST ASRT people

naqi ki qi laa toaa naqi.
 this PL LOC IN village this
 ‘I know all the people in this village.’ (‘I know exhaustively the people in this village.’)

(5-70) *Wela naqi ki kera thaofa sui boqo.*
 child this PL 3PL.NFUT be.hungry EXHST ASRT
 ‘These children are all hungry.’

Much more commonly, however, to express exhaustiveness *sui boqo* is used in noun phrases (sections 6.8.10 and 7.4); cf. (5-70) above and (5-71) below:

- (5-71) *Wela naqi ki sui boqo kera thaofa.*
 child this PL EXHST ASRT 3PL.NFUT be.hungry
 ‘All of these children are hungry.’

There is, of course, a close link between the completive and the exhaustive functions of *sui* in the verb complex. An event with multiple relevant participants is completed when it has applied to all those participants. In the situation expressed in (5-72) the event would be completed if all the yams have been cleaned:

- (5-72) *Qo kwalo-ano-na sui naqa kai gena ki?*
 2SG.SEQ vine-ground-3.OBJ COMPL PRF yam that(2) PL
 ‘Have you cleaned (all) the yams?’

(*Kwalo-ano* refers to the action of scraping soil off freshly dug yam tubers, using a taut piece of vine.)

The forms *sui* and *danga* can both function as particles in the verb complex and as intransitive verbs ‘end, finish; be finished’. The discussion below deals with *sui*, but what is said about the status of *sui* as a particle applies equally to *danga*. In (5-73) *sui* functions as a verb:

- (5-73) *Firu-a naqi ka sui naqa.*
 fight-DVN this 3SG.SEQ finish PRF
 ‘This fight should/must finish now.’

In (5-74) *sui* (together with the perfect marker) follows a Class 1 transitive verb that carries an object indexing suffix and precedes the direct object:

- (5-74) *Nia qe thau-ngani-a sui naqa luma nia.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ COMPL PRF house 3SG
 ‘He has finished building his house.’

Toqabaqita has [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5). In (5-74) the verb *thau-ngani-a* and the form *sui* do occur next to each other; nevertheless, they do not form compound. In a verb-verb compound, a Class 1 verb that is the first member of such a compound cannot carry an object-indexing suffix. And if the second verb is intransitive, what would be the direct object of the Class 1 transitive verb outside the compound can only be realized as an oblique object of the compound. And since no object suffix is present on the first verb, long transitive verbs must have the *-Caqi* variant of the long transitive suffix, not the *-Cani* variant (section 4.2.3.2.2). In (5-74), however, there is a direct object (*luma nia* ‘his house’), the long Class 1 transitive verb *thau-ngani* does carry an

object suffix and the *-Cani* variant of the transitive suffix. Consequently *thaungania* and *sui* do not form a verb-verb compound: *sui* is a particle there, not a verb. Historically, of course, the completive/exhaustive particle *sui* and the verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’ are one and the same etymon.

5.2.5. *Laqu* additive, restitutive

The particle *laqu* has two basic functions, additive and restitutive.¹⁸ In the additive function, *laqu* expresses the fact that a certain situation obtains, or, with negation, does not obtain, in addition to some other situation, and/or that a certain participant is involved in the same situation or the same type of situation that one or more other participants are involved in, in the same role. The exact meaning of *laqu* in the additive function varies in different contexts, and there are also some differences between positive and negative sentences. The additive function of *laqu* in positive sentences is discussed first.

Frequently, although by no means always, the relevant situations are in temporal sequence. Thus, *laqu* may be used to express the fact that a certain type of situation occurs again, after a previous occurrence of the same kind of situation, with exactly the same participant(s). Here one can speak of the same type of situation being repeated.

- (5-75) *Nau kwai lae mai kwai riki qoe laqu*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go VENT 1SG.FUT see 2SG ADD

qa=fa Sandee loo.
 GENP=CLF Sunday upward
 ‘I will come and see you again on the Sunday after next.’

- (5-76) *Qinifitaa-a si laqu.*
 explain-3SG.OBJ PREC ADD
 ‘Explain it (to me) again, now.’

- (5-77) ... *koka riki koro laqu ta si*
 DU(INCL).SEQ see DU(INCL) ADD some PRTT

manga
 time
 ‘... we will see each other again sometime’

Additive *laqu* can, however, be used to encode situations that depart in various ways from the repetition prototype, the same type of situation with the

same participants involved being repeated. A type of situation may count as being repeated even though not all of the relevant participants are identical. For example, (5-78) can be used to express the much more likely situation where the addressee married a woman different from the one he had been married to before. The noun *kini* ‘woman’ is an incorporated object.

- (5-78) *Uri-a taa qoko foli kini laqu?*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? 2SG.SEQ buy woman ADD
 ‘Why have you remarried?’ ‘Why have you got married again?’

In (5-79) the direct object is non-specific, but the entities that will fill the role will be different from those that filled the same role in an earlier occurrence of that type of event:

- (5-79) *Ngali-a laqu mai tai fau.*
 carry-3.OBJ ADD VENT some.PL stone
 ‘Bring some more stones.’ (‘Bring again some stones.’)

In (5-80) and (5-81) the different participants that are involved in the same types of events are expressed as subjects:

- (5-80) *Teqe kuukua qe mae laqu boqo.*
 one chicken 3SG.NFUT die ADD ASRT
 ‘Another chicken (has) died.’

- (5-81) *Nau kwa tataqe fasi-a laa biqu naqi*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ get.up ABL-3.OBJ IN house this
- qi Fuusai, qoe mena qoki lae laqu boqo*
 LOC Fuusai 2SG FADD 2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT

fasi-a laa biqu naqi.
 ABL-3.OBJ IN house this

‘I will get up (and go) away from this house at Fuusai, (and) you too will go away from this house.’

For the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* see section 28.6.

The additive marker can be used if the participants are identical but their roles are reversed in the second occurrence of that type of situation. In (5-82) first one bird dyes another bird’s body and then the latter bird is asked by the former to dye its body in turn:

- (5-82) *Qeda-a, laa-laa-laa-laa-lae, qe*
 dye-3SG.OBJ RDP-RDP-RDP-RDP-go 3SG.NFUT
- sui, aia, nuta ka quna qeri, “Aia,*
 be.finished OK bird.sp 3SG.SEQ manner this OK
- keekero, qoe naqa neri qoki*
 yellow.bibbed.lory 2SG PRF NPAST.HERE 2SG.FUT
- qeda-a laqu seqe-ku.”*
 dye-3.OBJ ADD body-1SG.PERS
 ‘He [a *nuta* bird] went on dyeing it [the body of a Yellow-bibbed Lory], on and on, until it was finished, OK, (and) the *nuta* said, “OK, Yellow-bibbed Lory, now *you* will dye *my* body.”’

See also (5-84) further below.

Additive *laqu* can also signify that one and the same participant is involved in a certain situation besides being involved, in the same role, in a different type of situation:

- (5-83) *Nau ku thaofa, kwa mae-li kuqu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ die-TR drink
- laqu boqo.*
 ADD ASRT
 ‘I’m hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.’

As (5-83) shows, two states of affairs need not be related sequentially to each other for additive *laqu* to be used. This is also the case in (5-84) below, where the participants are in a reciprocal relation to each other:

- (5-84) *Ma thaari qeri ka thathami nau, nau*
 and girl that 3SG.SEQ like 1SG 1SG
- mena kwa thathami-a laqu boqo thaari qeri.*
 FADD 1SG.SEQ like ADD ASRT girl that
 ‘And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.’

Additive *laqu* can even be used when the two states of affairs do not share any participants, as long as the two states of affairs are conceptualized as being alike in some respects. In (5-85) both the rain and the storm are characterized as being “big”:

- (5-85) *Dani qe baqita qasia naqa, ma kuburu ka*
 rain 3SG.SEQ be.big INTS INTS and storm 3SG.SEQ

baqita laqu boqo.

be.big ADD ASRT

‘It rained heavily, and there was a heavy storm.’ (Lit.: ‘The rain was big, and the storm was big too.’)

In negative sentences, *laqu* may be used additively in the ways it is used in positive sentences. For example, it may express repetition, more accurately the absence of repetition:

- (5-86) *Lae-laa qoe qeri, qe aqi qosi ili-a*
 go-NMLZ 2SG this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG do-3SG.OBJ

laqu qi buri.

ADD LOC later.time

‘This wandering (lit.: going) of yours, don’t do that (ever) again in future (lit.: at a later time).’

In (5-87) *laqu* is used to express the fact that there are not many other, additional things to be said, besides the ones that have already been mentioned:

- (5-87) *Qe aqi laqu ta si doo qoro*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist ADD some PRTT thing be.many

k=i laal-a.

PL=LOC inside-3SG.PERS

‘There isn’t much more to it [a story].’ (Lit.: ‘There are not many other things inside it.’)

In positive clauses, additive *laqu* can signal that one and the same participant is involved in the same role in another situation. In a parallel way, in negative clauses it can express the fact that a participant that performed one event, expressed in the first clause, did not also perform another event, expressed in the second, negative clause. The implication is that the non-occurrence of the second event is unusual, contrary to norm or expectation. Thus, for example, it is not normal in Toqabaqita culture for a person to get up and leave others without saying anything:

- (5-88) *Nia e lae na-na, qe aqi*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT go PRF-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEGV

si bage laqu.
 3SG.NEG speak ADD
 ‘He left without saying anything.’ (Lit.: ‘He went; he did not also speak.’)

When eating food, one swallows it, but this is not what happened in the situation expressed in (5-89):

(5-89) ... *si manga n=e qani-a fanga*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ food

qe=ki, qe aqi si oko-mi-a
 that=PL 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG swallow-TR-3SG.OBJ

laqu.
 ADD
 ‘... when she was “eating” the food (lit.: foods), she did not swallow it.’

And by using (5-90), the speaker says he had failed to close the basket, which is what he should have done:

(5-90) ... *nau ku lae mai ma ku qaliqali*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go VENT and 1SG.NFUT hurry

ba-kuqa, e aqi kwasi fono-a
 LIM-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEG 1SG.NEG close-3.OBJ

laqu maa-na waqi qeri.
 ADD opening-3.PERS basket that
 ‘... I came here, I was in a hurry and hadn’t closed the (mouth of the) basket.’ ‘I came here in a hurry without (first) closing the basket.’

The other function of *laqu* is restitutive: a state of affairs that held earlier is restored due to another state of affairs. It is the latter state of affairs that *laqu* serves to express. For example, in the situation described in (5-91) the boomerang ends up being back at its original location:

(5-91) *Bumerang e laa-lae, lili, ka oli*
 boomerang 3SG.NFUT RDP-go veer 3SG.SEQ return

laqu mai.

REST VENT

‘The boomerang kept going, turned around (lit.: veered) and came back again.’

In the situation expressed in (5-92) the person building a house goes back down to the ground after securing wall sticks:

(5-92) *Nia fasi-a, ka sifo laqu boqo i*
 3SG plant-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ descend REST ASRT LOC

thaqegano

ground

‘He positions (lit. plants) them [wall sticks] and (then) goes back down to the ground’

In (5-93) the speaker expresses his wish that the person spoken about be well again:

(5-93) *Qadomi nia ka too leqa*
 help 3SG 3SG.SEQ be.in.certain.dondition be.good

laqu boqo.

REST ASRT

‘Help her so that she may be well again.’

And by means of (5-94) the speaker is inquiring whether a watch is working again, whether it has been repaired:

(5-94) *Qe raa laqu ba-na?*
 3SG.NFUT work REST LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘Is it working again?’

In the restitutive function, *laqu* highlights the restoration of a state of affairs after a period when it did not obtain. However, the restitutive and the additive meanings cannot always be neatly distinguished. If a state of affairs is repeated, there were periods of times when that state of affairs did not obtain. Outside of context, the sentence in (5-95) can be interpreted as involving either a restoration of a state of affairs when there is a single event of the speaker’s coming back or a repeated performance of the action of coming back:

- (5-95) *Nau kwai oli laqu uri-a si doo*
 1SG 1SG.FUT return REST/ADD PURP-3.OBJ PRTT thing

baa.

that

a. 'I'll go back for that thing.'

b. 'I'll go back for that thing again.'

In (5-96) the intended meaning is restitutive. The speaker gives an order that escaped prisoners be brought back.

- (5-96) *Qoo, moro tole-da laqu bo=mai, keko*
 oh 2DU.NFUT lead-3PL.OBJ REST ASRT=VENT 3DU.SEQ

oli laqu mai.

return REST VENT

'Bring (lit. lead) them back; they must come back.'

The prisoners had earlier been brought to the place from which they subsequently escaped. The sentence could be given a repetitive interpretation, when the speaker's primary interest would be seen as being the addressees' again performing the event of bringing the prisoners and in the prisoners again coming to that place: 'Bring them again; they must come here again'. However, the speaker's interest lies in the escapees being back, and the force of *laqu* is restitutive.

5.2.6. *Qasia* intensifier

Qasia functions as an intensifier, but only in combination with the postverbal particles *boqo* or *naqa*, both of which also function as intensifiers. See sections 5.2.8 and 5.2.12, respectively, for further discussion and more examples. The combination *qasia naqa* is particularly common.

- (5-97) *Nuu-marōqa qe leqa qasia naqa.*
 picture-2DU.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice INTS INTS
 'The picture of you two is very nice.'

- (5-98) *Tai toqa, thaitoqoma-na-laa kera qe*
 some.PL people know -3SG.OBJ-NMLZ 3PL 3SG.NFUT

faqekwa qasia boqo.

be.little INTS ASRT

‘Some people have very little knowledge.’ ‘Some people *do* know (just) very little.’ (Lit.: ‘Some people, their knowing it is very little.’)

In (5-99) and (5-100), respectively, *qasia naqa* and *qasia boqo* are used with verbs that modify nouns (section 6.10):

(5-99) *kata baqita qasia naqa*
k.o.pudding be.big INTS INTS
‘very big (quantity of) *kata* pudding’

(5-100) *wela faqekwa ni qasia boqo*
child be.little LIG INTS INTS
‘a very little child’

The intensifier *qasia* is historically most likely related to the verb *qasi* ‘fall, fall down (including unintentional, accidental falling)’. In spite of its meaning, *qasi* is a Class 1 transitive verb:

(5-101) *Raqu-a wela gena ada ka qasi-a.*
hold-3.OBJ child that(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ fall-3SG.OBJ
‘Hold the child so that he doesn’t fall down.’

(5-102) *Karangi-a sa kwai qasi nau.*
be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT fall 1SG
‘I nearly fell down.’

Historically, then, *qasia naqa* would have been *qasi-a naqa* ‘(it) has fallen down’, where *naqa* marked the perfect: ‘The picture of you two is nice; it has fallen down.’ ([5-97] further above). (The intended interpretation is not one of the picture falling down.) And *qasia boqo* would have been *qasi-a boqo* ‘(it) did fall down’, where *boqo* functioned as an assertive marker: ‘Some people, their knowing is little; it did fall down’ ([5-98] further above). The referent of the subject of *qasi-a* would have been the proposition encoded in the preceding clause. It is, of course, possible that in those times the verb *qasi* had a different meaning.

Qasia can also function as a clause-level intensifier in combination with a situational demonstrative adverb; see (13-130) in section 13.7.

5.2.7. *Toqo* obligation

This particle is used in to express an obligation on the part of the addressee or somebody else to bring the relevant state of affairs about. *Toqo* cooccurs with the assertive marker/intensifier *boqo*.

(5-103) *Wela naqi ki keka fanga toqo boqo.*
 child this PL 3PL.SEQ eat OBLIG ASRT
 ‘The (lit.: these) children must, should eat.’

(5-104) *Weleq=qoko dau eno toqo boqo!*
 man!=2SG.SEQ be.at.rest be.quiet OBLIG ASRT
 ‘Man, stay put!’ ‘Man, you must stay put!’

For another example of obligation-marking *toqo* see the next section.

Toqo is used as an obligation marker only infrequently. More commonly it functions as a clause-level particle expressing epistemic possibility ‘perhaps, probably, possibly’ (section 18.5.1). Historically, *toqo* may be related to the verb *toqo* ‘prick, poke, cut, bang’, ‘of a state of affairs: happen, occur, take place’, ‘be eager to do st.’, ‘of st.: afflict sb. or st. as natural punishment’ and some other senses.

5.2.8. *Boqo* assertive, intensifier

In declarative clauses/sentences, *boqo* serves to strongly assert, emphasize that the state of affairs is indeed so or such and such. In its assertive function, *boqo* is particularly frequent in negative clauses. *Boqo* is also used in non-declarative clauses/sentences, where its function is better seen as intensifying. Most commonly, *boqo* has the predicate in its scope, but its scope may extend over the whole clause.

Boqo has a combining form *bo=*, used in combination with the perfect marker/intensifier *naqa* and with the directionals.

In (5-105) – (5-110) the assertive particle has the predicates in its scope.

(5-105) *Si fanga qoe bia si fanga nau qe*
 PRTT food 2SG and PRTT food 1SG 3SG.NFUT

boobola boqo.

be.equal ASRT

‘Your (share of) food and my (share of) food *are* (exactly) the same.’

- (5-106) A: *Qo lae Honiara qana wiki baa?*
 2SG.NFUT go Honiara GENP week that
- B: *Nau ku lae boqo, sui nau ku*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go ASRT but 1SG 1SG.NFUT
- mataqi, karangi-a sa kwasi lae.*
 be.sick be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.NEG go
- A: ‘Did you go to Honiara last week?’
 B: ‘I *did* (go), but I was sick and almost did not go.’

In (5-107) the assertive marker occurs in its combining form *bo=* with the perfect marker:

- (5-107) *Roo wela baa ki keka baqita bo=naqa,*
 two child that PL 3PL.SEQ be.big ASRT=PRF
 ‘The two children had grown big,’

And in (5-108) *bo=* cooccurs with *naqa*, where the latter has an intensifying function:

- (5-108) *Ka angi bo=naqa.*
 3SG.SEQ cry ASRT=INTS
 ‘(And) he cried a lot.’

For the use of *bo=* with a directional see (5-113) further below.

In the next three examples the assertive marker occurs in negative clauses:

- (5-109) *Ni qoe, kera qadomi qoe; nau,*
 PROFORE 2SG 3PL.NFUT help 2SG 1SG
- qe aqi kesi qadomi nau boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG help 1SG ASRT
 ‘You, they helped; me, they did *not* (help).’
- (5-110) *Kwasi riki-a. Kwasi riki-a boqo.*
 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ ASRT
 ‘I haven’t seen it. I have *not* seen it.’ (The speaker has been unsuccessfully looking for something.)

The assertive marker may have the whole clause in its scope, including the subject. Given the broader context, what is being asserted in (5-111) is that *no* cargo arrived, not that some cargo did not arrive:

(5-111) *Ta kako ka aqi si fula boqo,*
 some cargo 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive ASRT

lole-laa ni bana.
 tell.lie-NMLZ LIG LIM

‘No cargo at all arrived; (it was) just lies [what certain people had said about cargo arriving].’

What is asserted in (5-112) is that *both* of the man’s hands (as signified by the exhaustive marker *sui*) are strong, not just that his hands are strong:

(5-112) *Wane roo qaba nia ki qe suukwaqi*
 man two hand 3SG PL 3SG.NFUT be.strong

sui boqo.
 EXHST ASRT

‘The man has *both* of his hands strong.’ (That is, he is ambidextrous.) (Lit.: ‘The man, *all* his hands are strong.’)

In (5-113) *boqo* occurs twice in B’s speech, in a negative clause and in a positive clause. In the first, negative clause, *boqo* has the whole clause in its scope. (For negative answers to open questions see section 19.4.3.)

(5-113) A: *Qo lae mai bi=ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT COM=PERSMKR who?

B: *Qe=aqi boqo, ku lae*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ASRT 1SG.NFUT go

bo=ma-ku teqe nau.
 ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS sole 1SG

A: ‘With whom did you come?’

B: ‘No one (at all); I came alone.’

Boqo can also function as an intensifier. In that function it frequently cooccurs with *naqa*, also an intensifier:

- (5-114) A: *Kale qena, fale=qa-ku ta*
 mate that(2) give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS some

si suka.
 PRTT sugar

- B: *Kale qena, si suka neqe qe faqekwa*
 mate that(2) PRTT sugar this 3SG.NFUT be.little

qasia boqo.
 INTS INTS

A: 'Friend, give me some sugar.'

B: 'Friend, I have very little sugar.' (Lit.: 'Friend, this sugar is very little.')

(*Kale qena*, lit. 'that mate', is also used as a form of friendly address; see also section 13.3.2.2.)

As an intensifier *boqo* is used to make imperatives more emphatic, more insistent:

- (5-115) *Raa quna baa laqu boqo.*
 work manner that ADD ASRT
 'Do work in that way again.'

In (5-116) *boqo* cooccurs with the obligation marker *toqo*:

- (5-116) *Qoko lae toqo boqo.*
 2SG.SEQ go OBLIG INTS
 'You should, must go.'

Boqo also serves to make questions more emphatic requests for information:

- (5-117) *Qoki lae laqu boqo?*
 2SG.FUT go ADD INTS
 'Will you go too?'

- (5-118) *Ura taa na qosi faa-fanga quu boqo*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG RDP-eat ANT INTS
- qi quuqusungadia? Ma=sa qo faa-fanga*
 LOC morning or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-eat

quu boqo, sa qoko thaofa qe=aqi.
 ANT INTS IRR 2SG.SEQ be.hungry 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
 ‘Why hadn’t you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would not have been hungry (later).’

5.2.9. *Mena* concessive

Concessive clauses are discussed in detail in chapter 32, and here only one illustrative example is given:

(5-119) *Ma keka firu mena, nia e too*
 and 3PL.SEQ fight CONC 3SG 3SG.NFUT stay

ba-n=i Safo.
 LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC Savo
 ‘And even though they [Japanese soldiers on the one hand and Australian and other soldiers on the other] were (still) fighting, he [a Japanese pilot] just stayed on Savo (Island).’

Mena also functions as a foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6), and it is also part of the clausal conjunction *sui mena*, which expresses contrast, unexpectedness (section 28.3).

5.2.10. *Qa-* self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive

5.2.10.1. *Introduction*

The particle *qa-* has two functions in the verb complex: self-benefactive and recipient-benefactive. It also functions as a possessive marker outside of the verb complex (section 26.2.1.1). (For discussion of these functions of *qa-* in broader Oceanic context see Lichtenberk 2002.¹⁹) *Qa-* takes personal suffixes to index the relevant participant. However, it is not only *qa-* that is used in these two functions; certain other postverbal particles are as well. In fact, *qa-* can only be used if one or more of those latter particles are not present in the verb complex. Those particles are the limiter, the perfect marker, and the ventive and the andative directionals. Furthermore, the limiter and the perfect marker can combine with one of the directionals, but they cannot combine with each other. When one of these particles or a combination of them is present, it is that particle or the combination of the particles together with the personal suffix that bears the self-benefactive or the recipient-benefactive function. All

of these latter particles occur in reduced combining forms. (See the relevant sections further below for details.) The first pair of examples contains *qa-* in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions, respectively:

(5-120) *Keki siisiu qa-da.*
 3PL.IPFV bathe SBEN-3PL.PERS
 ‘They are bathing.’

(5-121) *Fale-a qa-na ta iqa.*
 give-3.OBJ RECBEN-3SG.PERS some fish
 ‘Give him some fish.’

Compare (5-121) above with *qa-* and the broadly synonymous (5-122) below with the andative directional, which carries the recipient-benefactive function:

(5-122) *Fale-a ka-na ta iqa.*
 give-3.OBJ AND-3SG.PERS some fish
 ‘Give him some fish.’

In (5-123) the self-benefactive function is borne by the perfect marker, and in (5-124) by the limiter:

(5-123) *Nau ku taqe na-kuqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT ascend PRF-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’m going up now.’

(5-124) *Qoko beta qoe ba-muqa,*
 2SG.SEQ take.care.of 2SG LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘Just take care of yourself,’

In (5-125) it is the combination of the limiter and the andative directional that fulfils the self-benefactive function:

(5-125) *Kwai sifo ba=ka-kuqa qi taraqena.*
 1SG.FUT descend LIM=AND-1SG.PERS LOC today
 ‘I’ll go down [to the coast] today.’

And in (5-126) it is the combination of the perfect and the ventive directional particles that bears the recipient-benefactive function:

- (5-126) *Maka nau bia thaina-ku keka fale*
 father 1SG and mother-1SG.PERS 3PL.SEQ give
- nau na=ma-da qi bali araqi loo.*
 1SG PRF=VENT-3PL.PERS LOC side mature.man upward
 ‘My parents gave me to God (lit.: to the side of the mature man up
 there).’ That is: My parents decided to make me a Christian.

Cases like those in (5-125) and (5-126) above need to be distinguished from those like the one in (5-127) below. There the personal suffix is added to the combination of the assertive and the ventive particles, but it is only the ventive particle that triggers the presence of the personal suffix, because the assertive particle cannot bear the self-benefactive or the recipient-benefactive function.

- (5-127) *Tai wane keka ngali-a bo=ma-da*
 some.PL man 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ ASRT=VENT-3PL.PERS
- selen*
 money
 ‘Some men bring money’

It is really the personal suffixes on the various particles that express the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions. In the absence of the limiter, the perfect marker, and the directionals, the “default” self-benefactive/recipient-benefactive particle *qa-* is required.

The personal suffixes used in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions are also used in one type of possessive construction to index the possessor, with one qualification. The suffixes are listed in table 8.1 in section 8.1.2. In the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions it is the longer first person singular and the second person singular suffixes, *-kuqa* and *-muqa*, respectively, that are normally used, not the short variants *-ku* and *-mu*; see, for example, (5-123) and (5-124) further above.

The self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions will now be discussed in turn, focusing on the use of the particle *qa-*. Additional examples of the other particles with these functions are given in the respective sections later in this chapter.

5.2.10.2. *The self-benefactive construction*

In the self-benefactive construction, the personal suffix on *qa-* or one of the other relevant particles indexes the referent of the subject of the clause. The

basic meaning of the self-benefactive construction is some kind of beneficial effect on the referent of the subject: the referent of the subject brings about a state of affairs for his/her/its own benefit, in his/her/its own interest. The kind of benefit or interest involved may be quite subtle and not necessarily obvious to an outsider without some knowledge of the context. In most cases, the beneficiary is human or at least animate; however, the self-benefactive construction can also occur with inanimate subjects. In some, though not all, cases such inanimate subjects are treated, metaphorically, as animate or human.

In the situation expressed in (5-128) it was in the people's (prisoners') interest to pretend they were near death in order to be treated better:

- (5-128) ... *kerā* *lōle* *qā-dā* *qānā* *māe-a*
 3PL.NFUT pretend SBEN-3PL.PERS GENP die-DVN
 '... they pretended to be dying'

The sentence in (5-129) was intended as an explanation for why white, Caucasian women tend to live longer than white men:

- (5-129) *Kerā* *beta* *kerā qā-dā*.
 3PL.NFUT take.care.of 3PL SBEN-3PL.PERS
 'They take (good) care of themselves.'

In (5-130) the self-benefactive marker is present in A's sentence and in the first clause of B's sentence, but not in the second clause of B's sentence, where it would be odd (indicated by "#"): while bathing is normally beneficial, being busy is not.

- (5-130) A: *Lae koro* *siisiu qā-karoqā*.
 go DU(INCL).NFUT bathe SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
- B: *Lae qā-muqā;* *nau ku* *qoga*
 go SBEN-2SG.PERS 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.busy
- (*#qā-kuqā*).
 SBEN-1SG.PERS
- A: 'Let's go and bathe.'
 B: 'You go; I am busy.'

In the next two examples the beneficiaries are anthropomorphized, or, in the second one, treated as at least animate:

- (5-131) *Madami lo=e qui-a*
 moon upward=3SG.NFUT build.stone.wall-3.OBJ
- qa-na umu nia.*
 SBEN-3SG.PERS perimeter.around.stone.oven 3SG
 ‘There is a ring around the moon.’ Literally: ‘The moon (has) built itself a perimeter of stones around its stone oven.’

- (5-132) *Lolo neqe e maleu qa-na.*
 plant this 3SG.NFUT sleep SBEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘The plant is sleeping.’ Said of plants whose leaves wilt and/or curl up in the evening and open up again in the morning. (*Lolo* refers to grasses and various other plants that are not trees.)

However, it is also possible for self-benefactive *qa-* to occur with a few verbs with inanimate subjects that are not metaphorically treated as animate. The verb *quri* ‘resemble, be like’ sometimes takes self-benefactive *qa-* with such subjects:

- (5-133) *Keka faqameemengo-a wela qeri, doo*
 3PL.SEQ bestow.name.on-3.OBJ child that thing
- quri-a qa-na sa dedikeyshin,*
 be.like-3.OBJ SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR dedication
- keka dedikeytim wela qeri, ...*
 3PL.SEQ dedicate child that
 ‘They gave the child a name; the thing was as if it were a dedication/baptism [in Christian church]; they dedicated the child’
 (Speaking about traditional initiation ceremonies.)

There is a commonly used sentence type, usually subjectless and without a subject marker, where the intended referent is often inanimate:

- (5-134) *Too qa-na.*
 stay SBEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘Leave it [where it is].’ That is, ‘Don’t take/move it.’ (Lit.: ‘(It) stays/should stay.’)

5.2.10.3. *The recipient-benefactive construction*

In the recipient-benefactive construction, the personal suffix on *qa-* and the other particles that occur in this construction encodes the participant that is simultaneously a beneficiary in the event and the actual or intended recipient of something (to be) transferred to him/her/it. The recipient is normally the new possessor and so an alternative label for the function could be “possessor-benefactive”. However, the construction is also used with verbs meaning ‘give’, where the relevant participant is construed primarily as a recipient, and so “recipient-benefactive” is more appropriate than “possessor-benefactive”.

As discussed in section 10.4.2, beneficiaries and recipients can also be encoded by means of prepositions, but in such cases beneficiaries are not necessarily recipients because nothing is transferred to them.

The recipient-benefactive construction can be used only if the recipient-beneficiary is not expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase. In the latter case, that participant can only be encoded in a prepositional phrase; see (10-172) in section 10.4.2 and (10-148) in section 10.3.7.

The particle *qa-* is often used with the verb ‘give’ to encode the recipient, who, at the same time, benefits from the event:

- (5-135) *Fale-a qa-na ta fa lole.*
 give-3.OBJ RECBEN-3SG.PERS some CLF candy
 ‘Give him a candy/candies.’

In (5-136) the recipient-benefactive construction has fused with the verb ‘give’ and the object marker has been elided (section 2.5):

- (5-136) *Kwai fale=qa-mu=ta qai.*
 1SG.NFUT give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-2SG.PERS=some tree
 ‘I will give you a tree/trees.’ (The addressee will use the tree[s] for timber.)

The sentence in (5-137) contains the recipient preposition *a-* (section 10.4.2) in the first clause and the recipient-benefactive construction in the second clause, with exactly the same meanings. (The second clause contains the intransitive verb ‘give’.)

- (5-137) *Tai wane, kere fale-a fanga qi*
 some.PL man 3PL.NFUT give-3.OBJ food LOC

a-da, tai wane qe aqi kesi
 REC-3PL.PERS some.PL man 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG

fale qa-da.

give RECBEN-3PL.PERS

‘Some (of the) men they did give food to; some (of the) men they did not give (food) to.’

However, the recipient-benefactive construction is also used with verbs that do not have transfer of an entity to a recipient as part of their meaning. It is the recipient-benefactive construction, not the verb, that signals that the relevant participant is the (intended) recipient. In the situation expressed in (5-138) the speaker and his brother are to become recipients/possessors of the bows (for shooting arrows) that they want the addressee to make for them:

(5-138) *Kamareqa thathami-a qoki thau-ngani-a si*
 1DU(EXCL) want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT make-TR-3.OBJ PREC

qa-mareqa ta roo basi.
 RECBEN-1DU(EXCL).PERS some two bow

‘We want you to make us two bows [for shooting arrows] first.’

And in the situation expressed in (5-139) the speaker is the intended recipient/possessor of a fan:

(5-139) *Kini kai faa-li-a qa-kuqa teqe*
 woman 3SG.FUT weave-TR-3.OBJ RECBEN-1SG.PERS one

teeteru.

fan

‘The woman will weave a fan for me.’ ‘The woman will weave me a fan.’

In (5-140) the speaker is asking for a share of food on behalf of a person who is not present. The speaker wants the addressees to give the food to him. He is the intended recipient in that event but not strictly speaking a possessor (the food will not be his). And he is a beneficiary, because he wants the action to be carried out.

(5-140) *Nau ku thathami-a muki alu-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT put-3.OBJ

qa-kuqa teqe wane qi laa
 RECBEN-1SG.PERS one man LOC IN

ukuuka-a *naqi.*
 divide.into.shares-DVN this
 ‘I want you to include (lit.: put) one (other) man in this dividing [of food].’

5.2.11. *Ba-* limiter

The bound postverbal limiter *ba-* is related to the limiter particle *bana* used in noun phrases. *Ba-* takes personal suffixes that index the subject. The limiter has a broad range of uses. In some cases, it characterizes the state of affairs as the sole one that is relevant in the given context. It is not accompanied by other states of affairs that might be expected to hold in the broader context. In other cases, it signals that a simpler state of affairs holds instead of some other. The simple state of affairs, may, but need not be, conceptualized as being less appropriate or less desirable than another one. In still other cases, the limiter signals that the extent of the state of affairs is limited in some way. Sometimes the limiter also has a self-benefactive function (section 5.2.10.2): the referent of the subject limits the state of affairs in any of the ways just mentioned for his or her own benefit. It should be kept in mind, though, that the exact significance of the limiting construction is highly context-specific.

In (5-141) – (5-144) the self-benefactive meaning is present simultaneously with the limiting meaning:

(5-141) *Kai* *tii* *ba-na.*
 3SG.FUT drink.tea LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘[He says] he’ll just drink tea.’ (That’s all he wants; he doesn’t want any food.)

(5-142) *Nau* *kwai* *liiliu* *ba-kuqa.*
 1SG 1SG.IPFV take.walk LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’m just taking a walk (not going anywhere in particular).’

(5-143) *Qo* *raa, mada* *qo* *biinga*
 2SG.NFUT work or 2SG.NFUT sleep

ba-muqa?
 LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘Did you work, or did you just sleep?’

- (5-144) *Kwai sifo ba=ka-kuqa qi taraqena.*
 1SG.FUT descend LIM=AND-1SG.PERS LOC today
 ‘I’ll just go down [to the coast] today.’ (That’s what I want to do.)

In the following examples, only the limiting meaning is present, not the self-benefactive one. In the situation expressed in (5-145) the event encoded in the clause with the limiter will take place only if the other, preferred event does not eventuate:

- (5-145) *Mada sa tarake e=aqi si fula,*
 or IRR truck 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

mika lae ba-miliqa.
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ walk LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘If the truck doesn’t arrive, we’ll just (have to) walk.’

In (5-146) the speaker is commenting on the limited range of work he and the others had done. In the given context, there is no implication that that restriction was self-benefactive.

- (5-146) *Kamiliqa mili feleni ba-miliqa.*
 1PL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT plane LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘All we did was plane [timber] (nothing else).’

While one could see committing suicide as self-beneficial in some circumstances, in (5-147) the force of the limiter is to express the speaker’s inability to provide a reason why people commit suicide.

- (5-147) *Kera thau-ngi kera ba-da.*
 3PL.NFUT kill-TR 3PL LIM-3PL.PERS
 ‘They just kill themselves. (That’s all there is to it. That’s all one can say about it.)’ (As a reply to another person’s question: “Why do white, Caucasian people commit suicide?”)

And in (5-148) the limiter is used to express the restricted nature of the event of cracking a small quantity of canarium nuts in a person’s own home rather than organizing a gathering of several men to crack a large quantity of nuts. This example also contains two instances of the limiter *bana* in a noun phrase.

- (5-148) ... *tai wane ki keka thau-ngi-a*
 some.PL man PL 3PL.SEQ pound-TR-3.OBJ

ba-da *teqe* *bi-qi* *ngali*
 LIM-3PL.PERS single bamboo.container-ASSOC canarium.nut

ki bana qi *maqa* *fera* *kera ki bana.*
 PL LIM LOC CLF house 3PL PL LIM

‘... some men just pound only single containerfuls of canarium nuts (each) (to make pudding), just in their houses.’

The limiter often cooccurs with one of the preverbal particles that themselves have some kind of restricting function.

- (5-149) *Nia* *qe* *biqu* *fula* *ba-na.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT IMM arrive LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘He has only just arrived.’

In (5-150) the event is definitely not beneficial to the speaker.

- (5-150) *Nau* *ku* *marungeqe* *raa* *ba-kuqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INEFF work LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I worked, and nothing.’ (For example, the speaker did work for somebody but got no reward in return, or only a very small reward; or he or she worked hard in the garden, but the result, in terms of the crops, was nil or negligible.)

Since the limiter need not carry a self-benefactive meaning, it is quite commonly used with inanimate subjects, without the referent being treated metaphorically as human or (other) animate.

- (5-151) *Kabisi* *naqi* *qe* *aqi* *misi*
 greens this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG

fasi-a. *Doo* *e* *tala* *taqe*
 plant-3SG.OBJ thing 3SG.NFUT SELFC grow

ba-na *i* *laa* *tolo, doo kwasi.*
 LIM-3SG.PERS LOC IN bush thing be.wild

‘This (kind of) greens we don’t plant; it (lit.: the thing) just grows by itself in the bush; it’s wild (lit.: a wild thing).’

The limiter is used in a conventionalized way with the verb *leqa* ‘be good’. The construction *leqa ba-PERS* is used with the meaning of a person, a thing, a state of affairs, etc. being ‘(just) fine’:

(5-152) A: *Qo leqa ba-muqa?*
 2SG.NFUT be.good LIM-2SG.PERS

B: *Ku leqa ba-kuqa.*
 1SG.NFUT be.good LIM-1SG.PERS

A: 'Are you OK?' 'How are you?' (Also as a greeting.)

B: 'I'm (just) fine.'

(5-153) *Nia e sore-qe, "Leqa ba-na."*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT say-DETR be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
 [A person had just been warned that he would be reported for coming to an island to dive illegally for shellfish there.] 'He said, "(That's just) fine. [I don't care]."'

The limiter is also used in conventionalized ways with the verb *too*, whose senses include 'of a person: be at home' and 'of a person: be still around/alive, not having died' (and several others). The construction *too ba-PERS* is used when somebody is inquiring about the whereabouts of that person and that person is at home:

(5-154) A: *Ma tha Qolofia?*
 and PERSMKR Olofia

B: *Kai too ba-na.*
 3SG.IPFV be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS

[A meets B, who is from Olofia's household.]

A: 'And (what about) Olofia?'

B: 'He's (just) at home.'

And the construction *too ba-PERS* is also used with the sense of a person still being around, alive:

(5-155) A: *Mista Fanis, kai too quu*
 Mister Fanis 3SG.IPFV be.around ANTCONT

ba-na?
 LIM-3SG.PERS

B: *Kai too ba-na.*
 3SG.IPFV be.around LIM-3SG.PERS

A: 'Mr Fanis, is he still around?'

B: 'He is around.'

The limiter is also used with the verb *too* ‘stay, remain’ or, rarely, with the verb *lado* ‘be joined end to end’ to express the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4):

- (5-156) *Nau ku mataqi ka too ba-na.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I am often sick’. ‘I am always sick.’

For an example of the limiter with an inclusive personal suffix used integratively see example (4-283) in section 4.10.

5.2.12. *Naqa* perfect, intensifier

The particle *naqa* has two functions. In one, it marks the perfect; in the other, it functions as an intensifier. The perfect-marking function is discussed in detail in section 15.3 in the chapter on tense and aspect and is illustrated here only briefly.

Naqa has a combining variant *na-*, used in combination with the directionals and with the personal suffixes in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10).

The core function of the perfect is to signal a new state of affairs at reference time:

- (5-157) *Tarake qe fungu naqa.*
 truck 3SG.NFUT be.full PRF
 ‘The truck is full now.’

The perfect marker often cooccurs with the completive/exhaustive marker *sui* or, rarely, the completive marker *danga* to signal that a situation has taken place by the time of reference (section 5.2.4):

- (5-158) *Kamiliqa mili ngata sui naqa,*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT talk COMPL PRF
 ‘We have finished talking,’

The combining form *na=* occurs before the andative directional in (5-159):

- (5-159) *Kera ngali-a na=kau kui baa.*
 3PL.NFUT take-3.OBJ PRF=AND dog that
 ‘They have taken the dog away.’

And *na-* occurs in the self-benefactive construction in (5-160) and in the recipient-benefactive construction in (5-161), in the latter together with the combining form of the ventive directional:

- (5-160) *Kamareqa mere lae si*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go PREC

na-mareqa.

PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS

‘We’ll be going now.’ ‘We’re going now.’ (Said by one of two people on the point of departure.)

- (5-161) *Maka nau bia thaina-ku keka fale*
 father 1SG and mother-1SG.PERS 3PL.SEQ give

nau na=ma-da qi bali araqi loo.

1SG PRF=VENT-3PL.PERS LOC side mature.man upward

‘My parents gave me to God (lit.: to the side of the mature man up there).’ That is: My parents decided to make me a Christian.

In the intensifying function, *naqa* frequently cooccurs with the intensifier *qasia* (section 5.2.6). The combination *qasia naqa* may signal a high degree of a physical state, property; high intensity of a psychological state; high intensity or a large extent of an action.

- (5-162) *Tarake qe fungu qasia naqa.*
 truck 3SG.NFUT be.full INTS INTS
 ‘The truck is very full.’

- (5-163) *Luma kamiliqa qe faqekwa qasia naqa.*
 house 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT be.small INTS INTS
 ‘Our house is very/too small.’

- (5-164) *Nau ku thathami-a qasia naqa kwai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ INTS INTS 1SG.FUT

school

attend.school

‘I want very much to attend school’

- (5-165) *Weleqi, ma ni qoo fanga qasia naqa.*
 man! and PROFORE 2SG eat INTS INTS
 ‘But (lit.: and), man!, you do eat a lot.’

In (5-166) the intensifier combination occurs in a negative clause:

- (5-166) *Qoo, kamaroqa sa moka mae e aqi,*
 oh 2DU IRR 2DU.SEQ die 3SG.NFUT not.be.so

uri-a e=aqi mosi faqa-ulafu-a
 REAS-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ

qasia naqa soldia nau ki, ...
 INTS INTS soldier 1SG PL

‘Oh, the two of you won’t die, because you did not make my policemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing you).’

As an intensifier, *naqa* also commonly occurs with the assertive marker *bo=* (section 5.2.8):

- (5-167) *Daniel ka tataqe, tataqe kokoto bo=naqa.*
 Daniel 3SG.SEQ ascend ascend be.straight ASRT=INTS
 ‘Daniel [a pilot] went straight up and up [in his airplane].’

- (5-168) *Qe garo bo=naqa neri.*
 3SG.NFUT be.wrong ASRT=INTS VIVID
 ‘It [the kind of situation just mentioned] is very wrong.’

Naqa can be used as an intensifier by itself. This is frequently the case with the verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’ (section 17.3), where *naqa* functions to make the negation strongly emphatic, more so than the intensifier *boqo*:

- (5-169) a. *Qe aqi boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so ASRT
 ‘No.’
- b. *Qe aqi naqa.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so INTS
 ‘Not at all.’ ‘No way.’

- (5-170) *Ma qaburu baa qe qii:-qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
 and ogre that 3SG.NFUT RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ

gwau-na quna qeri ma ka aqi
 head-3SG.PERS manner that and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

naqa, ifu-n=e
 INTS hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

katu.

be. hindered.from.movement

‘And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.’ (The ogre’s hair was tied down.)

Naqa can also be used in the perfect-marking function with the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist, not be available’, and in some such cases it can be seen as having simultaneously the intensifying function:

- (5-171) *Nau wane ku rii-riki-qi doo, manga*
 1SG man 1SG.NFUT RDP-see-DETR thing time

qeri qe aqi naqa.
 this 3SG.NFUT not.be.so PRF/INTS

‘I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no more/not at all.’ ‘I used to be a man who was rich; this time no more/not at all.’

5.2.13. *Feteqi* intensifier

This intensifier serves to emphasize the intensity of an event or a state, but is used only infrequently. It is mutually exclusive with the other verb-phrase internal intensifiers.

- (5-172) *Manga n=e toqo qi ei, ma*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT prick LOC LOCPRO and

ka busu feteqi qana qabu.
 3SG.SEQ burst INTS GENP blood

‘When it [a stick] pricked (me) there [the place on the speaker’s leg where a sore had been], it [the old sore] burst (open) with a lot of

blood.’ (Lit.: ‘The time that it pricked there, and it burst with a lot of blood.’)

(For the pleonastic use of *ma* ‘and’ see section 28.2.2.)

- (5-173) *Laalae qo thathamī nau feteqi neri, ...*
 if 2SG.NFUT like 1SG INTS NPAST.HERE
 ‘If you *really* like me, ...’

5.2.14. *Mai* ventive and *kau* andative

5.2.14.1. *The basic properties*

There are two particles whose core function is to signal the direction of translational movement of an entity. *Mai* is a ventive directional: it signifies direction towards the deictic centre. *Kau* is an andative directional: it signifies direction away from the deictic centre.

Mai has reduced, combining variants *ma-* and *m-*, and *kau* has reduced, combining variants *ka-* and *k-*. *M-* and *k-* are (optionally) used only with elements that begin with a vowel and contain at least two syllables. *Ma-* and *ka-* are obligatory with the personal suffixes in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10) and optional elsewhere. In (5-174) *ma-* occurs in the recipient-benefactive construction and in (5-175) *ka-* occurs in the self-benefactive construction:

- (5-174) *Ngali-a ma-ku=ta kaleko uusuli-a*
 take-3.OBJ VENT-1SG.PERS=some cloth be.like-3.OBJ

kaleko qoe qena.
 cloth 2SG that(2)

‘Bring me (from a shop) some cloth (that is) like/the same as that one of yours.’

- (5-175) *Qoko lae ka-muqa.*
 2SG.SEQ go AND-2SG.PERS
 ‘[All right,] you go.’ (Speaking to a person who was taking her leave.)

The next two examples illustrate the *m-* and *k-* variants, respectively:

- (5-176) *Nau ku keba-a m=araqi naqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT accompany-3.OBJ VENT=old.man this
 ‘I came with the old man.’

(*Keba* has the meaning ‘accompany, walk with, sb. who is very old or sick’.)

- (5-177) ... *kere liothau qasia naqa qana*
 3PL.NFUT like INTS INTS GENP

gwau-na gwa tolo ki; kera keki lae
 top-3.PERS CLF mountain PL 3PL 3PL.IPFV go

k=uri-a.

AND=ALL-3SG.OBJ

‘... they really like the hilltops a lot; they (often) go there (lit.: to them).’

Before discussing the various uses of the directionals, it is necessary to consider how deictic centres are established.

5.2.14.2. Establishing a deictic centre

Most commonly, the deictic centre is the speaker or the speaker’s current location, or his/her location at the time of the state of affairs expressed in the clause:

- (5-178) *Lae si mai.*
 go PREC VENT
 ‘Come here now.’

- (5-179) *Wela loo ki kera qui kamiliqa mai qana*
 child upward PL 3PL.NFUT pelt 1PL(EXCL) VENT INS

fau.

stone

‘The children up there threw stones at us.’ ‘The children up there pelted us with stones.’

- (5-180) *Kera ngali-a na=kau kui baa.*
 3PL.NFUT take-3.OBJ PRF=AND dog that
 ‘They have taken the dog away.’

Metaphorically, the time of reference, such as the time of speaking, may be treated as a location and so as the deictic centre:

- (5-181) *Nau ku ngata mai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak VENT
 'I've been speaking (up until now)'

The deictic centre may be a location with which the speaker has some association, such as his or her home, regardless of his or her location at the time of reference. In the situation expressed in (5-182) the speaker is leaving his present location to go to his home, and he uses the ventive directional:

- (5-182) *Nau ku taqe na=mai uri fanu nau.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT ascend PRF=VENT ALL home 1SG
 'I'm going up to my home now.'

On the other hand, the sentence in (5-183) expresses a situation where the speaker went to a place that is other people's home, and that place is not conceptualized as the deictic centre. The deictic centre is the speaker's location at the time, and so the andative directional is used:

- (5-183) *Nau ku fula ka=i biqu kera,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive AND=LOC house 3PL

kera fanga sui naqa.
 3PL.NFUT eat COMPL PRF
 'When I arrived at their house, they had already eaten.' (Lit.: 'I arrived at their house; they had finished eating.')

With respect to the speaker and the addressee, it is usually the speaker and/or his or her location that is the deictic centre. Direction towards the speaker is signalled by ventive *mai*:

- (5-184) *Oli si mai.*
 return PREC VENT
 'Come back now.'

Direction away from the speaker is signalled by andative *kau*. Frequently, but not necessarily, *kau* signals direction towards the addressee. The addressee may, but need not, be overtly expressed. In (5-185) the addressee is encoded by the second person singular personal suffix on the recipient preposition, while in (5-186) it is only implied by the andative directional:

- (5-185) *Nau ku fale-a kau teqe necklace*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT send-3.OBJ AND one necklace

fa-mu.

REC-2SG.PERS

‘I am sending you a necklace.’

- (5-186) *Nau kwai ringi kau.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT ring AND
 ‘I’ll phone (you).’ ‘I’ll give [you] a ring.’

The sentence in (5-186) would also be appropriate if the person to be rung were somebody other than the addressee.

However, it is possible for the addressee or the addressee’s location to be treated as the deictic centre, as shown in the next two examples. In (5-187) the andative directional is used: the fish is to move away not from the speaker but from the addressee.

- (5-187) *Fale-a ka-na ta iqa.*
 give-3.OBJ AND-3SG.PERS some fish
 ‘Give him some fish.’

At the time the sentence in (5-188) below was written, the writer was in the Solomon Islands and the addressee in New Zealand. The writer chose the addressee’s location as the deictic centre, and so it was the ventive directional that was called for: the addressee had returned to his home place.

- (5-188) *Qo oli mai, qoko fula safely*
 2SG.NFUT return VENT 2SG.SEQ arrive safely

qa-muqa qi NZ.

SBEN-2SG.PERS LOC N.Z.

‘You went (lit.: came) back [to your place] (and) arrived safely in New Zealand.’

It is possible for the deictic centre to be neither the speaker nor the addressee, but some other entity or location, one that is currently the focus of attention in the discourse. In (5-189) the speaker, who had not gone to the church service, is asking about another person, whether that person had been present. The deictic centre is the church:

- (5-189) *Qe lae ma-n=i sukulu?*
 3SG.NFUT go VENT-3SG.PERS=LOC church
 ‘Did he go (lit.: come) to church?’

In the discourse immediately preceding sentence (5-190) below, a man called Bariqi and his pet bird are at a place in a village with children who are supposed to guard him so that he may not run away. The bird begins to move away and Bariqi follows him, having tricked the children by saying he was going to catch the bird, rather than them trying to catch it. The deictic centre is the location where all the participants were initially, and the andative directional is, therefore, used.

- (5-190) *Thaqaro baa ka sukani lae*
 bird that 3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree go
- bo=na=kau ura kula na=i maa-na*
 ASRT=PRF=AND ALL place REL=LOC edge-3.PERS
- masuqu. Bariqi ka lae ka=i*
 bush Bariqi 3SG.SEQ go AND=LOC

buir-a.

behind-3SG.PERS

‘The bird moved (lit.: went) away a little towards the edge of the bush. Bariqi followed it.’

In the portion of the text immediately preceding the next example, the prominent participant is Daniel, a pilot during World War II, and he is the deictic centre. Daniel and a Japanese pilot are engaged in a dogfight. The Japanese pilot’s shooting at Daniel is characterized as having ventive directionality, and Daniel’s shooting at the Japanese as having andative directionality:

- (5-191) *Japan ka quu mai, Daniel ka quu kau.*
 Japanese 3SG.SEQ shoot VENT Daniel 3SG.SEQ shoot AND
 ‘The Japanese was shooting this way [at Daniel], and Daniel was shooting that way [at the Japanese pilot].’

The deictic centre may, of course, shift as discourse proceeds. In (5-192) both clauses contain the ventive directional, but in the first clause the deictic centre is the speaker as the other people call out a greeting to him, while in the second one it is those other people who are now the deictic centre:

(5-192) *Toqa loo kera qarataqi nau*
 people upward 3PL.NFUT call.out.greeting.to 1SG

mai, nau ku tatha mai.
 VENT 1SG 1SG.NFUT walk.past VENT

‘The people called out a greeting to me (as) I was passing by.’ (The speaker was not walking to the other people, but when he was greeted he was still some distance from them and getting closer.)

Both directionals have a range of functions. These are discussed next.

5.2.14.3. Directional uses

The core function of the directionals is to express the direction of translational movement of a physical entity. With intransitive verbs, it is usually the referent of the subject that moves:

(5-193) *Manga na mili taqe kau,*
 time REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT ascend AND

mika fula naqa qi Honiara.
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive PRF LOC Honiara

‘When we went up (from Malaita), we arrived in Honiara.’ (Traveling from Malaita to Honiara is spoken of as ‘going up’.)

See also, for example, (5-184) and (5-189) in section 5.2.14.2.

However, in (5-194) it is the referent of the oblique object that is in andative motion:

(5-194) *Nanga k=ani-a.*
 throw AND=GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Throw it away.’

Nanga ‘throw’ is an intransitive verb. The object thrown is expressed as an oblique object.

In (5-195) also the verb is intransitive, but there the objects moving, the bullets, are not encoded at all. However, their presence is entailed by the actions. The two pilots are not necessarily moving towards each other.

- (5-195) *Japan ka quu mai, Daniel ka quu kau.*
 Japanese 3SG.SEQ shoot VENT Daniel 3SG.SEQ shoot AND
 ‘The Japanese was shooting this way [at Daniel], and Daniel was shooting that way [at the Japanese pilot].’

With transitive verbs it is normally the referent of the direct object that is in translational motion, although not necessarily exclusively:

- (5-196) *Rusu-a mai beleta qena.*
 push-3.OBJ VENT plate that(2)
 ‘Push the plate to me.’

Only the plate need move, not the addressee.

In the situation expressed in (5-197) it is only the referent of the direct object that moves to the addressee:

- (5-197) *Nau ku fale-a kau teqe necklace*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT send-3.OBJ AND one necklace

fa-mu.
 REC-2SG.PERS
 ‘I am sending you a necklace.’

Depending on the situation, it is, of course, possible for the subject referent to move as well:

- (5-198) *Ngali-a mai kate baa.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT card that
 ‘Bring the (playing) cards.’

See also (5-180) in section 5.2.14.2.

However, it may be a participant other than the referent of the direct object that is in directional motion. In (5-199) the verb is ‘pelt sb., st., throw (st.) at sb., st.’, which is the transitive counterpart of *quu* ‘shoot’ in (5-195) further above. With the transitive verb, the projectiles are encoded as an oblique object, and it is the projectiles that undergo translational motion:

- (5-199) *Wela loo ki kera qui kamiliqa mai*
 child upward PL 3PL.NFUT pelt 1PL(EXCL) VENT

qana *fau.*
INS stone

‘The children up there threw stones at us.’ ‘The children up there pelted us with stones.’

In the next example, the verb of motion and its directional are used metaphorically. The deictic centre is an earlier state of affairs: the people’s bodies are meant to return to their earlier condition.

(5-200) *Iu, kera keka fita uri-a fasi*
OK 3PL 3PL.SEQ run PURP-3.OBJ PURP

seqe-da ka, ka sukani
body-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ[HESIT] 3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree

oli mai.
return VENT

[Some people spend days sitting in offices, and their bodies become a little fat.] ‘OK, they jog (lit.: run), so that they might lose some weight (lit.: so that their bodies come back a little).’

However, the directionality does not have to relate to literal or metaphorical movement of an entity. Rather, it may be the activity itself performed by somebody that is conceptualized as having directionality. In (5-201) the speaker is asking the addressee to look at the object he (the speaker) is holding. None of the participants — the speaker, the addressee, or the object held — need move. Rather, it is the direction of the addressee’s looking that is to be ventive:

(5-201) *Riki-a mai.*
look.at-3SG.OBJ VENT
‘Look at it.’ (The speaker is holding the object.)

Similarly in (5-202), where it is the activity of speaking that is directed at the addressee:

(5-202) *Nau ku ngata kau, ku*
1SG 1SG.NFUT speak AND 1SG.NFUT

soe-toqo-mu kau
ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ AND
‘I spoke to you, I asked you’

In (5-186) in section 5.2.14.2 it is the activities of making a telephone call and of speaking that are presented as having addressee-oriented directionalities: ‘I’ll phone (you).’ ‘I’ll give [you] a ring.’.

5.2.14.4. *Displaced directionality*

A different kind of departure from the core function of the directionals, which is to signal directional movement of physical entities, is “displaced directionality” (Lichtenberk 2003a). In displaced directionality, a directional particle occurs with a verb in a verb phrase, and there is translational movement of an entity, but the verb with which the directional occurs does not itself encode the event that involves the directional movement. Rather, there is another, implied event, in which that entity undergoes translational movement that has the directionality signalled by the directional particle. That event, however, does not receive overt expression in that clause, although it may in another clause.

An example of displaced directionality is given in (5-203): the ventive directional occurs with the transitive verb ‘shout to sb., call sb.’, but it does not signal directionality of the calling. Rather, there is an implied event of coming, which is directional.

(5-203) *Qai-li-a mai wela baa.*
 call-TR-3.OBJ VENT child that
 ‘Call the child (to come) here.’

The broadly synonymous sentence in (5-204) has displaced directionality in the first clause, whereas the second clause overtly encodes the action that involves directional motion:

(5-204) *Qai-li-a mai wela baa, ka lae mai.*
 call-TR-3.OBJ VENT child that 3SG.SEQ go VENT
 ‘Call the child to come here.’ (Lit.: ‘Call the child here; he/she will come.’)

In the next example there is displaced directionality in the first sentence: the action of arresting somebody is not directional. The event that has the (ventive) directionality is expressed only in the next sentence:

(5-205) *Keka qarest, qarestim mai tai wane*
 3PL.SEQ arrest arrest[REPAIR] VENT some.PL man

fasi-a bali loo qana qiist, west, sauth,
 ABL-3.OBJ side upward GENP east west south

nooth. Keka ngali-da mai qana faka,
 north 3PL.SEQ take-3PL.OBJ VENT GENP ship
 ‘They arrested (and brought) some men from the eastern side [of the island], (from) the west, the south, the north. They brought them to the ship,’

The next several examples illustrate displaced directionality without the other, linked event being expressed. In the situation inquired about in (5-206), the addressee not only went to the store and bought something, but he brought the purchase back with him. The latter event is signalled only by means of the ventive directional with the verb ‘buy’.

(5-206) *Taa n=o lae qoko uusi-a mai*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go 2SG.SEQ buy-3SG.OBJ VENT

qi laa sitoa qi roqo?
 LOC IN store LOC yesterday
 ‘What did you go and buy in the store yesterday? (More lit.: ‘What did you go to the store and buy and bring back yesterday?’)

Similarly in (5-207): the event of bringing the broken-off coconut frond is only implied by means of the ventive directional, which accompanies the verb ‘break (off)’:

(5-207) *Qoe-a mai ta gwa senga.*
 break-3.OBJ VENT some CLF coconut.fron
 ‘(Go and) break off a coconut frond and bring it here.’

In (5-208) the directional occurs in the recipient-benefactive construction. The speaker wants a betel quid to be pre-chewed for him and given to him. The action of giving is not expressed overtly by means of a verb but only by means of the recipient-benefactive construction.

(5-208) *Butha-a ma=ku=ta fulo.*
 chew.betel.quid-3.OBJ VENT=1SG.PERS=some betel.quid
 ‘Chew up some betel quid for me.’ (An old, toothless person is asking another person to pre-chew a betel quid for him.)

In displaced directionality, the overtly expressed event often, but not always, precedes the implied event, and, sometimes, it causes or enables the later event (or is at least intended to bring it about): calling somebody may cause them to come, breaking off a coconut frond enables its being brought. However, the two events need not be related sequentially in this way. The events may be simultaneous, without a causing or enabling link between them. For example, there are two simultaneous subevents in the overall situation expressed in (5-209): the addressee's counting the islands as he was flying towards his destination, and his movement itself. The former does not cause or enable the latter. (*Lane* 'land' is an incorporated object; see section 12.4.2.)

- (5-209) *Qoki teqe-maqi lane mai.*
 2SG.IPFV one-TR land VENT
 '[As you were coming here on an airplane,] you were counting the places (lit.: lands) (you were flying over) on your way here.'

Displaced directionality is considerably more common with the ventive directional than with the andative one. With the former, there is an implied translational movement of an entity, usually encoded either as the subject of an intransitive verb or as the direct object of a transitive verb. All the examples above are of these types. The andative directional does occur in displaced directionality. What is signalled there is that a participant will end up being spatially distant from another one, because the latter moves away. In the overall situation expressed in (5-210), the pig, after being killed, ended up being distant from the people who killed it because the people went away. The directional occurs with the verb 'kill'; the people's going away is expressed overtly only in the second clause:

- (5-210) *Kera thau-ngi-a ka=botho baa, keka lae*
 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ AND=pig that 3PL.SEQ go
na=kau.
 PRF=AND
 'They killed the pig and went away.'

The sentence in (5-211) is a leave-taking formula. The addressee will become removed from the speaker because of the speaker's going away. This is a particularly clear example of displaced directionality, because the directional occurs with a verb that expresses a stable position in space.

- (5-211) *Qoko too-too kau.*
 2SG.SEQ RDP-stay AND
 (I am going). ‘Good bye.’ (Lit.: ‘You stay off.’)

Very much the same is found in the next example, also a leave-taking formula, where the directional does not even occur with a true verb but a pseudo-verb (section 4.7):

- (5-212) *Qoko rodo leqa kau.*
 2SG.SEQ night be.good AND
 ‘Good night to you.’ (Lit.: ‘You be good-night off.’) (Said by the person leaving.)

5.2.14.5. States of affairs extended in time

Both directionals are also used to express a state of affairs’ obtaining over a period of time in relation to the time of reference. A state of affairs’ being extended in time is conceptualized metaphorically as translational movement in space. The ventive signifies that the situation began before the time of reference and has continued up until then. The usual implication is of a relatively extended period of time during which the state of affairs has held. Whether or not it will continue beyond the time of reference is not part of its meaning.

- (5-213) *Qe raa quu na=mai.*
 3SG.NFUT work ANTCONT PRF=VENT
 ‘It is still working.’ ‘It has been working until now.’ (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

- (5-214) *Nau ku uqunu mai. Si uqunu qeri*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT tell.story VENT PRTT story this

ka fula bo=naqa quna qeri, ka
 3SG.SEQ arrive ASRT=PRF manner this 3SG.SEQ

sui naqa.

be.finished PRF

‘I’ve been telling this story, and now it’s finished.’ (Lit.: ‘I have been story-telling. The story has arrived like this, and it is finished.’)

Andative *kau*, on the other hand, signifies that a state of affairs continues from the time of reference onward. It may have begun at the time of reference or earlier.

- (5-215) *Nau seqe-ku qe laqa*
 1SG body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.without.hindrance

na=kau.

PRF=AND

‘I am free now, from now on.’ (Lit.: ‘I, my body is without hindrance from now.’)

- (5-216) ... *kamaliqa miki sukani too*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).FUT be.of.little.extent stay

tau quu kau neqe

be.long.time ANTCONT AND here

‘... we’ll stay here a little longer ...’ (Lit.: ‘... we will stay here, it will still be a little long.’)

5.2.14.6. *Mai with an ingressive function*

In the ingressive function, *mai* signals that a participant reaches, enters the state designated by the verb with which it occurs in a verb complex. The state is conceptualized metaphorically as a location and reaching the state as reaching a location. In this function the ventive directional is often accompanied by the perfect marker.

- (5-217) *Fanua neqe sui naqa, nia fungu*
 place this EXHST PRF 3SG be.full

na=mai qana kuburu.

PRF=VENT GENP storm

‘All of this place, it had become full of the storm.’ (That is, the cyclone had spread all over the area.)

- (5-218) *Kera kwaqe-a ka mae*
 3PL.NFUT beat-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ die/be.dead

na=mai.

PRF=VENT

‘They beat him and (eventually) he died.’ ‘They beat him until he died.’ ‘They beat him to death.’

- (5-219) *Ka lio-ngaqi nia mai qana kini,*
 3SG.SEQ look-TR 3SG VENT GENP woman
 ‘She [an ancestral spirit] had disguised herself as a woman,’ ‘She [an ancestral spirit] had made herself look like a woman,’

5.2.14.7. *Mai as a marker of distance*

Finally, *mai* is also used as a marker of distance from the deictic centre, even when there is no translational movement involved: a state of affairs obtains at a location away from the deictic centre. In its core function, *mai* signals movement towards the deictic centre. Such movement can only take place from a location away from the deictic centre, and through a metonymical extension, *mai* can also signal distance from the deictic centre. Most commonly the distance is spatial.

- (5-220) *Lifuna e nii quu*
 Lifuna 3SG.NFUT be.located.at.place ANTCONT

ma-na.

VENT-3SG.PERS

‘Lifuna is still [there] [she did not want to come back home yet].’

Quite commonly, *mai* is used together with other forms that express a location, more or less distant. In (5-221) the location is encoded by the locational noun *ninima* ‘beside’ (section 10.8.4), although the distance involved here is more than immediately beside.

- (5-221) ... *wane qe=ki keka fale-a kulu qi*
 man that=PL 3PL.SEQ send-3.OBJ k.o.rope LOC
- gwau-na ta qai n=e takwe*
 top-3.PERS some tree REL=3SG.NFUT stand

ma=i ninima-na

VENT=LOC beside-3SG.PERS

‘[Some canarium-nut trees are very big and difficult to climb and so] the men [who want to climb them] first get (lit.: send) [one end of] a *kulu* climbing rope to the top of a tree that stands beside/near it [and then they get the other end of the rope to the tree they want to climb, and move along the rope from the one tree to the other one].’

In the next example, the addressee is, in fact, told to go away to another location, and the event to take place there is marked as being distant from the interlocutors’ present location:

- (5-222) *Lae qoko siisiu mai qi laa kafo baqita.*
 go 2SG.SEQ bathe VENT LOC IN water be.big
 ‘Go and bathe in the river.’

Similarly in (5-223): the people will go to a distant island, where they will sleep. It is the verb ‘sleep’ that is accompanied by the directional:

- (5-223) *Toqa naqi ki tootoo keki lae, keki teo*
 people this PL later 3PL.FUT go 3PL.FUT sleep
- ma=i laa aququa loo.*
 VENT=LOC IN island upward
 ‘These people will go and sleep/overnight on that island.’

Mai can also be used to signal temporal distance into the past from the time of reference:

- (5-224) *Kera lumaqaa sui na=mai*
 3PL.NFUT hold.wedding.ceremony COMPL PRF=VENT
- qana madami baa.*
 GENP month that
 ‘They held the wedding ceremony (already) last month.’

A sentence with the ventive directional could, in principle, be ambiguous between two interpretations, one in which the directional signals the location of an event away from the deictic centre and one in which it signifies translational movement, literal or metaphorical, to the deictic centre. However, it appears that such sentences are normally interpreted as involving movement, if the verb easily permits such an interpretation. For example, in (5-206) further above,

repeated here as (5-225), the normal interpretation of *mai* is that of signalling that the addressee brought the item with him (meaning [a]) rather than as just signalling that the buying took place away from the place of reference (meaning [b]). Of course, with the former interpretation also the event of buying took place away from the deictic centre.

(5-225) *Taa n=o lae qoko uusi-a mai*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go 2SG.SEQ buy-3SG.OBJ VENT

qi laa sitoa qi roqo?
 LOC IN store LOC yesterday

- a. 'What did you go to buy in the store yesterday, bringing it back?'
 b. ?'What did you go and buy in the store?'

Similarly, in (5-226) the normal interpretation is that the woman shouted towards the speaker (from a distance, of course), rather than her just shouting in the distance:

(5-226) *Teqe kini e qai mai.*
 one woman 3SG.NFUT shout VENT

- a. 'A woman shouted to me. [She was in the distance.]'
 b. ?'A woman shouted in the distance.' [Not necessarily shouting to me.]'

Mai is normally interpreted as only signalling that a state of affairs obtains away from the deictic centre when the verb does not encourage an interpretation in terms of translational motion, such as 'be located at a place' ([5-220] further above), 'stand' (5-221), 'bathe' (5-222), and 'sleep' (5-223). That is, where possible, *mai* is interpreted as more informative (location away from *and* movement to the deictic centre) rather than as less informative (location away from the deictic centre).

Chapter 6

The noun phrase

6.1. The basic type of lexical noun phrase

The Toqabaqita basic noun phrase minimally consists of a noun or an independent personal pronoun; see *wela* ‘child’ in (6-1) and the first person singular pronoun *nau* in (6-2), respectively:

(6-1) *Wela qe biinga; qoko alu-a*
child 3SG.NFUT be.asleep 2SG.SEQ put-3.OBJ
taunamo qena faafi-a.
mosquito.net that(2) SUPER-3SG.OBJ
‘The child is asleep; put the mosquito net over him.’

(6-2) *Maqasi nau.*
wait.for 1SG
‘Wait for me.’

The basic lexical noun phrase, as the term is used here, is a noun phrase other than a possessive, an associative, a coordinate, or an appositional lexical noun phrase. Possessive and associative noun phrases are discussed in chapter 8. However, constructions headed by nouns that have an ordinal-numeral function and that have the structure of one type of possessive noun phrase are discussed in this chapter. Noun phrase coordination and apposition are discussed in chapter 11. This section is concerned with the structure of the basic lexical noun phrase. Pronominal noun phrases are discussed in section 6.3.

Nominal heads can be accompanied by a large variety of pronominal and postnominal modifiers. Some of those modifiers can also occur with pronominal heads; and there is one element that occurs with pronominal heads but not with lexical heads. The structure of the lexical noun phrase is given in a schematic form in (6-3).

(6-3)	NP	→	(quantifier ^a) ^V	(cardinal-numeral phrase) ^{IV} (interrogative quantifier)
	(noun) ^{II} (adjective)		(person marker) ^I (identifier) (partitive/diminutive) (classifier)	NOUN ^b
	(verb complex ^c) ^{III}		(determiner demonstrative) ^{VI}	(qualifying demonstrative) ^{VII}
	(plural) ^{VIII}		(prepositional phrase) ^{IX} (<i>quna</i> NP ^d)	
	(particle complex) ^X		(relative clause ^e) ^{XI} (complement clause)	

- Notes:
- a. Quantifiers other than the interrogative one.
 - b. The head noun.
 - c. The verb complex consists of a verb and optionally one or more particles.
 - d. Noun phrase headed by *quna* ‘manner, way’.
 - e. More than one relative clause can occur.

There are some additional complexities in the basic lexical noun phrase type, not captured in (6-3). For example, the position of the plural marker is variable when a relative clause is present. Such complexities are discussed in the relevant places, in this chapter or elsewhere. The noun-phrase particle complex contains a number of particles. These are discussed in chapter 7.

As is the case with the structure of the verb phrase given in (4-1) in chapter 4, in (6-3) too the raised roman numerals identify the layered structure within the noun phrase. For example, a noun phrase that contains a classifier and a verb complex has the internal structure given in (6-4):

(6-4) [[classifier noun] verb complex]

And a noun phrase that contains a numeral phrase and a determiner demonstrative has the internal structure given in (6-5):

(6-5) [[cardinal.numeral.phrase noun] determiner.demonstrative]

The layering within noun phrases is transparent in those cases where all the modifiers are prenominal or postnominal. When prenominal and postnominal modifiers cooccur, the layering is a reflection of the closeness of the semantic links within the overall noun phrase. For example, a classifier has a closer link to the head noun than a modifying verb ([6-4] above); and a numeral (phrase) has a closer link to the head noun than a demonstrative ([6-5] above).

There is one case that requires special mention. It concerns the sole adjective ‘small, little’ and the verb ‘be small, little’, which may cooccur in a noun phrase:

- (6-6) *kasi biqu faqekwa*
 small house be.small
 ‘(very) small house’

Either modifier can occur without the other:

- (6-7) a *kasi biqu*
 small house
 ‘small house’
- b. *biqu faqekwa*
 house be.small
 ‘small house’

There is some evidence that the adjective occurs in an inner structure relative to the verb. First, prosodically the adjective is more closely bound to the noun than the verb is. There may be a pause — albeit a slight one — between the noun and the modifying verb, but there is normally no such pause between the adjective and the noun. And second, there is a closer structural link between the adjective and the noun in the following sense. The adjective has three variant forms, whose choice depends partly on the animacy and the count/mass status of the noun (section 6.12). On the other hand, no verb is sensitive to these features of the nouns they modify. The internal structure of (6-6) above then is that given in (6-8):

- (6-8) [*kasi biqu*] *faqekwa*
 small house be.small
 ‘(very) small house’

This is the only type of case where an adjective and a synonymous modifying verb can cooccur with a head noun, because ‘small, little’ is the only adjective in the language.

The existence of layered structure within noun phrases is evident from the way some of the modifiers function in the presence of non-basic noun phrases. Disregarding coordination and apposition, there are two types of non-basic noun phrase: possessive and associative (chapter 8). Both of these types of noun phrase can contain modifiers that occur in the basic noun phrase type. In (6-9) the possessive noun phrase *nila nau* ‘my (iron) nail’ is in the scope of the demonstrative *baa*, and the larger noun phrase is, in turn, in the scope of the plural marker *ki*:

- (6-9) *[[nila nau] baa] ki*
 nail 1SG that PL
 ‘those (iron) nails of mine’

And in (6-10) the associative noun phrase *fu-qi ngasi* ‘clump of sugarcane’ is in the scope of the verb ‘be big’:

- (6-10) *[fu-qi ngasi] baqita*
 clump-ASSOC sugar.cane be.big
 ‘big clump of sugar cane’ (not: *‘clump of big sugar cane’)

Below are given a few examples of cooccurrence of various modifiers in lexical noun phrases of the basic type:

- (6-11) *teqe kali fa thaqaro*
 one small.SG CLF bird
 ‘one small bird’

- (6-12) *Qe=aqi misi raqu quu*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG possess ANTCONT

boqo faafi-a [ta teqe kasi qamplifae] mena, ...
 ASRT CONF-3.OBJ some one small amplifier FADD
 ‘We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier’

The foregrounding additive particle *mena* in (6-12) is a clause-level element, not part of the noun phrase (see section 28.6).

In (6-13) there are two particles in the noun-phrase particle complex, *sui* and *boqo*:

- (6-13) *roo Fiona ki sui boqo*
 two Fiona PL EXHST ASRT
 ‘both Fionas’ (i.e., both of the girls called Fiona)

On the other hand, in (6-14) the intensifier combination *qasia boqo* is in a verb complex together with the verb *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’. The verb complex modifies the head noun:

- (6-14) *wela faqekwa qasia boqo*
 child be.little INTS INTS
 ‘very little child’

The noun phrase in (6-15) contains a determiner demonstrative followed by a qualifying demonstrative:

- (6-15) *botho baa fuu*
 pig that downward
 ‘the pig (spoken of before) down there’

The noun phrase in (6-16) contains a prepositional phrase as a modifier and the one in (6-17) a relative clause:

- (6-16) *tha wela qeri i laa bang*
 PERSMKR chap that LOC IN bank
 ‘the chap in the bank’

- (6-17) *tala qeri na kero lae suli-a*
 path that REL 3DU.NFUT walk PROL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘the path they were walking on (lit. along it)’

Most types of noun-phrase elements are discussed in this chapter, while prepositional phrases, demonstratives, complement clauses, and relative clauses are discussed in later chapters, chapters 10, 13, 29, and 30, respectively. For the particles in the verb complex see chapter 5.

6.2. Classes of nouns

Toqabaqita nouns can be classified in several ways. In one classification there is a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns. Common nouns can occur with certain modifiers that proper nouns normally do not occur with: the partitive/diminutive marker, and the classifiers:

- (6-18) *si kafo*
 PRTT water
 ‘some of the water’

- (6-19) *teqe gwa iqa*
 one CLF fish
 ‘one fish’

(However, not all common nouns occur with classifiers; see section 6.7.)

Among the common nouns there is a distinction based on animacy: higher-animate nouns (including human nouns) on the one hand, and lower-animate and inanimate nouns on the other. Higher-animate, especially human, referents are normally marked for non-singular (plural and dual) number by the subject markers, the object suffixes (under the appropriate structural conditions), and the personal suffixes on certain particles, whereas lower-animates and inanimates normally are not; see section 4.9 for detail. The sole adjective ‘small, little’ has three variant forms, whose use is partly determined by the animacy status of the noun it modifies (section 6.12).

Common nouns are subclassified into count and mass ones. Only count nouns (but see further below) can normally be treated as plural, by means of the plural marker *ki*, numerals, the plural indefinite quantifier *tai*, the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the personal suffixes. The relevant elements are bolded in the three examples below:

- (6-20) ***Roo*** *wela baa ki rake-da ka qiri, ...*
 two child that PL belly-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.angry
 ‘The two children were angry’ (Lit.: ‘The two children, their bellies were angry’)

- (6-21) ***Tai*** *wane ki keka lole qasia naqa*
 some.PL man PL 3PL.SEQ tell.lie INTS INTS
 ‘Some (of the) men lied greatly’

- (6-22) *Kini lakoo ki, ku dora*
 woman that(3) PL 1SG.NFUT not.know

qani-da.
 GENP-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Those women I don’t know.’

To express a large quantity, a large number of entities, count nouns occur with the verb *qoro* ‘be many, numerous’, either in a subject noun phrase with *qoro* in the predicate, or in any noun phrase position and modified by *qoro*, as in (6-23) and (6-24), respectively:

(6-23) *Toqa mataqi kera qoro qi laa kliniki.*
 people be.sick 3PL.NFUT be.many LOC IN clinic
 ‘There were many sick people at the clinic.’ (Lit.: ‘Sick people were many at the clinic.’)

(6-24) *Kera too suli=fa thato qoro ki,*
 3PL stay PROL:3.OBJ=CLF day be.many PL
 ‘They stayed [there] for many days,’

See (6-30) further below for the continuation of (6-24.)

With mass nouns, to express a large quantity the verb *baqita* ‘be big, large’, ‘be plentiful, a lot’ is used instead:

(6-25) *fanga baqita*
 food be.plentiful
 ‘a large quantity of food; a lot of food’

And to designate a small quantity, the verb *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’, ‘be not plentiful, be little in quantity’ is used with mass nouns:

(6-26) *Si fanga qeri e faqekwa ba-na.*
 PRTT food this 3SG.NFUT be.little LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘There is just little of (this) food.’ (Lit.: ‘This food is just little.’)

The verb *faqekwa* can be used with count nouns, in which case it signifies small size:

(6-27) *biqu faqekwa*
 house be.small
 ‘small house’

To designate a small quantity, number with count nouns, the verb *qoro* ‘be many, numerous’ is negated when in a predicate. In (6-28) *qoro* occurs twice: as a noun modifier in the first sentence, and negated in the predicate in the second sentence:

(6-28) *Toq=qoro qasia naqa kera thaitoqoma-na*
 people=be.many INTS INTS 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ

uqunu naqi. Toqa na kera dora
 story this people REL 3PL.NFUT not.know

qani-a *qe=aqi* *kesi* *qoro* *boqo*.
 GENP-3SG.OBJ 3ST.NFUT=NEGV 3PL.NEG be.many ASRT
 ‘Very many people know this story. The people who do not know it
 are not many.’

Nouns that are mass nouns in their basic meaning can, however, be treated as count nouns, when they are used to refer to kinds or to discrete units of those substances. In (6-25) further above, with the verb *baqita* ‘be big’, ‘be plentiful’, the reference is to a large quantity of food, regardless of whether of one or more than one kind, while in (6-29) below, with the verb *qoro* ‘be many, numerous’, the reference may be to many different kinds of food, or to many items of food, even if of one kind:

- (6-29) *fanga* *qoro* *ki*
 food be.many PL
 a. ‘many different kinds of food’
 b. ‘many items of food’

And in (6-30) the noun ‘time’ is treated as a count one, signifying periods of time, here days, in parallel with the noun *thato* ‘day’ in the first clause:

- (6-30) *Kera too* *suli=fa* *thato qoro* *ki, manga*
 3PL stay PROL:3.OBJ=CLF day be.many PL time

qoro *ki,* *qi* *laa* *lokap*.
 be.many PL LOC IN jail
 ‘They stayed for many days, for a long time (lit.: for many periods
 of time), in jail.’

Only count nouns can be modified by the plural form *kaala* of the adjective ‘small, little’:

- (6-31) ... *kasi-a* *kaala* *si* *sokara* *ki,*
 cut-3.OBJ small.PL DIM forked.stick PL
 ‘... [then he] cuts small forked sticks’

With mass nouns only the *kasi* form of the adjective can be used:

- (6-32) *kasi* *kafo*
 little water
 ‘little (of the) water’

With count nouns, *kasi* has a singular (not a plural) value (section 6.12).

A few common nouns can occur with the person markers *tha* (masculine) and *ni* (feminine) (section 6.4).

Some common nouns can form locative noun phrases that behave grammatically in one respect like place names; see further below for discussion.

A common, count noun that needs special mention is *doo*, whose basic meaning is ‘thing’, in a concrete or abstract sense:

(6-33) *Teqe doo qe tagwasu naqa qi ei.*
 one thing 3SG.NFUT sprout PRF LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Something (lit.: one thing) had sprouted there.’

(6-34) *Teqe si doo qe fuu i laa aququa*
 one PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT happen LOC IN island

qi Malaqita.

LOC Malaita

‘Something has happened on the island of Malaita’

Doo also functions as a general, “semantically light” substitute for a more specific noun, for example, when the speaker cannot think of the appropriate noun, when there is no need for a specific noun, or when the speaker prefers not to use a specific noun, such as a person’s name. For example, in (6-35) the speaker first uses *doo* because he cannot think of the name of the woman he is speaking about. Note that *doo* is accompanied by the feminine person marker *ni*, because the intended referent is a woman (section 6.4):

(6-35) *Ma ni doo, ni Feefelo, ka oli.*
 and PERSMKR thing PERSMKR Feefelo 3SG.SEQ return
 ‘And, what’s her name, Feefelo, went back.’

In (6-36) *doo* occurs with the masculine person marker *tha*. The speaker chose not to mention the person by name:

(6-36) *Tha doo e oqela naqa.*
 PERSMKR thing 3SG.NFUT be.near.death PRF
 ‘He/The chap is near death.’

In (6-37) *doo* is used in the modifier position in an associative construction (section 8.2.1). In the associative construction a modifier noun phrase is obligatory.

- (6-37) *nuu-qi doo*
 picture-ASSOC thing
 ‘a picture (of something/someone unspecified)’

Compare (6-38), where *nuu* ‘picture’ occurs as the possessum in a possessive construction and where the possessor noun phrase identifies what is depicted in the picture:

- (6-38) *nuu-na teqe wane*
 picture-3.PERS one man
 ‘picture of a/one man’

And in (6-39) *doo* is used as a head noun modified by numerals when objects are being counted, in place of the noun that designates that kind of object:

- (6-39) *ulu taafuli doo kwalu doo*
 three tens thing eight thing
 ‘thirty eight (of them)’

Doo also sometimes appears in the apodoses of conditional sentences, without any obvious meaning; see section 31.1.1.

As far as proper nouns are concerned, subclasses of personal names and place names need to be distinguished, besides all other proper nouns. Personal names are characterized by the optional presence of a person marker, masculine *tha* and feminine *ni*:

- (6-40) *tha Ulufaalu*
 PERSMKR Ulufaalu
 ‘Ulufaalu’ (a man)

- (6-41) *ni Saelifiqa*
 PERSMKR Saelifiqa
 ‘Saelifiqa’ (a girl)

The person markers are discussed in section 6.4.

The subclass of place names is characterized by special properties when such nouns head a noun phrase that is the object of certain prepositions. The facts are somewhat complex. Unlike other noun phrases, those that are headed by a place name are not indexed by means of an object suffix on the allative verb-like preposition *uri* (section 10.3.2), with some qualifications; and sometimes they are not indexed on the general verb-like preposition *qani* (section 10.3.7). For no obvious reason, it is only the allative preposition among the

spatial prepositions that does not carry object marking for objects that are place names. One might expect the ablative preposition to exhibit the same property, but it does not. Objects that are place names are indexed on the ablative preposition just like any other objects.

The first two examples show absence of indexing on the allative preposition with objects that contain the name of a place:

(6-42) ... *keka lae qalaqa kau uri Malu'u*
 3PL.SEQ go go.up AND ALL Malu'u
 '... they went up towards Malu'u'

(6-43) *Mulu lae uri Da'i,*
 2PL.NFUT go ALL Da'i
 'Go to Da'i (Island),'

However, when the allative preposition cooccurs with the locative preposition *qi* (in a stacked prepositional phrase) with an object that contains a place name, object indexing is optional, although more likely to be absent:

(6-44) *Nau ku lae ngado {uri / uri-a}*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go be.settled ALL / ALL-3.OBJ

qi Qauki.
 LOC Auki
 'I often go to Auki.'

(The verb *ngado*, whose basic meaning is 'be still, settled, firm' is used as a modifying verb in [verb verb] compounds to signify that the event encoded by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly.)

Foreign place names, that is names of places outside the Solomon Islands, are optionally indexed. In (6-45) the locative object *Japan* is not indexed, but in (6-46) it is.

(6-45) *Sonia kai liiliu qa-na uri Japan.*
 Sonya 3SG.FUT stroll SBEN- 3SG.PERS ALL Japan
 'Sonya will go leisurely (lit.: stroll) to Japan.'

(6-46) ... *kwa lofo naqa uri-a Japan.*
 1SG.SEQ fly PRF ALL-3.OBJ Japan
 '... I flew to Japan.'

And in (6-47) *Brisbane* is not treated as a place-name object:

- (6-47) ... *ku* *lae* *qana* *10th* *May* *uri-a*
 1SG.NFUT go GENP 10th May ALL-3.OBJ

Brisbane,

Brisbane

‘... I went to Brisbane on the 10th of May,’

The next example shows object indexing on the ablative preposition and its absence on the allative preposition:

- (6-48) *Nau* *ku* *lae* *kau* *fasi-a* *Solomon Ailen*,
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go AND ABL-3.OBJ Solomon Island

ku *lae* *uri* *Niu* *Silana*,

1SG.NFUT go ALL New Zealand

‘I went from the Solomon Islands (and went) to New Zealand’

The name of the country, Solomon Islands, is usually not indexed on the allative preposition:

- (6-49) ... *ku* *oli* *mai* *uri* *Solomoni* *Aylen*,
 1SG.NFUT return VENT ALL Solomon Island
 ‘... I came back to the Solomon Islands’

However, it is not only place names that are not indexed on the allative preposition. Certain common nouns behave in the same way when they serve to express locations, especially a location where one’s home is or a location in one’s home area. Such “locative nouns” include, for example, *fanu* ‘place where one’s home is’, *fera* (often with the classifier *maqa*) ‘one’s home’, *tolo* ‘bush’, *qamali* ‘sea’, *ano* and *thaqegano* both ‘ground’, *sukulu* ‘school’ (place where one goes as a pupil), also ‘church (that one attends)’, and *bali* ‘side’. For example:

- (6-50) *Nia* *ka* *oli* *na-na* *uri* *fanu*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ return PRF-3SG.PERS ALL home.place

nia.

3SG

‘He has returned to his home place.’

- (6-51) *Kulu lae teqefau uri maqa fera*
 PL(INCL).NFUT go every.one ALL CLF home

tha Qolofia kera.
 PERSMKR Olofia 3PL
 ‘Let’s all go to Olofia ‘n them’s house.’

- (6-52) *Qe aqi mosi lae uri tolo.*
 3SG.NEG NEGV 2DU.NEG go ALL bush
 ‘Don’t go to/into the bush.’

Place names can also behave in a unique way with respect to the general, verb-like preposition *qani*. As discussed in section 10.3.1, the general preposition occurs in the form *qana* with lexical objects. However, when the object is a place name and the prepositional phrase is a complement of the verb *qalangi* ‘call st., sb. by a certain name’, ‘bestow a certain name on st., sb.’, the form *qani* is possible also, in which case the locative object is not indexed on the preposition. In (6-53) the form of the preposition is *qana*, while in (6-54) and (6-55) it is *qani*:

- (6-53) *Laa-lae, ka fula qana teqe si kula qi*
 RDP-walk 3SG.SEQ arrive GENP one DIM place LOC

laa qintoqo-na thaqegano kera qalangi-a
 IN middle-3.PERS ground 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ

qana “Daadanitalau”.
 GENP Daadanitalau
 ‘[He] kept walking and eventually arrived at a small place in the middle of the earth (lit.: ground) called (lit.: which they named) “Daadanitalau”.’

- (6-54) *Lae fula i kula kera qalangi-a qani*
 go arrive LOC place 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP

“Rokera”.
 Rokera
 ‘[They] went and arrived at a place called “Rokera”.’

- (6-55) *kula kera qalangi-a qani “Makira”*
 place 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP Makira
 ‘place called “Makira”’

Elsewhere the *qani* form of the general preposition and the *uri* form of the allative preposition, without object-indexing suffixes, can only have pronominal objects (section 10.3.1):

(6-56) ... *nau kwa waela qasia naqa qani kera.*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ laugh INTS INTS GENP 3PL
 ‘... I laughed at them a lot.’

(6-57) *Wela qe fita mai uri nau.*
 child 3SG.NFUT run VENT ALL 1SG
 ‘The child ran to/towards me.’

Noun phrases headed by place names or locative nouns sometimes occur without any preposition when the verb is *lae* ‘go’ and the place is the goal of the movement. Compare (6-58), where the verb in the second clause is ‘arrive’ and the noun phrase *Honiara* occurs in a prepositional phrase, and (6-59), where the verb is ‘go’ and the noun phrase *Honiara* does not occur in a prepositional phrase:

(6-58) *Manga na mili taqe kau,*
 time REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT ascend AND

mika fula naqa qi Honiara.
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive PRF LOC Honiara
 ‘When we went up (from Malaita), we arrived in Honiara.’

(6-59) *Qo lae Honiara qana wiki baa?*
 2SG.NFUT go Honiara GENP week that
 ‘Did you go to Honiara last week?’

Both in (6-60) and (6-61) the verb is *lae*, but in the former the noun phrase that contains *sukulu* ‘school’, ‘church’ occurs in a prepositional phrase but not so in (6-61):

(6-60) *Qe lae ma-n=i sukulu?*
 3SG.NFUT go VENT-3SG.PERS=LOC church
 ‘Did he go (lit.: come) to church?’

(6-61) *Qo lae sukulu?*
 2SG.NFUT go church
 ‘Are you going to church?’ (Asking a person on his way down towards the coast.)

There is also a subclass of nouns that consists of the numerals and the interrogative ordinal quantifier ‘how many?’ when these have an ordinal-numeral function. These are discussed in sections 6.8.4 and 6.8.5, respectively.

There are a few common nouns that only rarely exhibit nominal characteristics, because of their meanings. These are temporal deictic nouns such as *taraqena* ‘today’, *roqo* ‘yesterday’, and *qusungadi* ‘tomorrow’. They normally head phrases that function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.1), but this is not diagnostic of nouns, because adverb phrases also can function as complements of this preposition (section 4.11). Nevertheless, they do occasionally exhibit noun properties. In (6-62) *taraqena* ‘today’ occurs in the subject position of a verbless sentence:

- (6-62) *Taraqena fa bongi qana tango-laa.*
 today CLF day GENP give.praise-NMLZ
 ‘Today is the day of giving praise (in church).’

And in (6-63) *qusungadi* ‘tomorrow’ is accompanied by the perfect marker *naqa*. In noun phrases the perfect marker may signal that at reference time there is, was, or will be a change in some circumstances of a state of affairs (section 7.8). In (6-63) the perfect marker emphasizes that the speaker will go back only when the time is/has become tomorrow. (There is another instance of the perfect marker, that one in the verb phrase.)

- (6-63) *Nau kwai teo naqa, qusungadi naqa*
 1SG 1SG.FUT lie.down PRF tomorrow PRF

kwa oli.

1SG.SEQ return

‘I am going to lie down now (to sleep); (when it is) *tomorrow* I will go back.’

6.3. The independent personal pronouns

6.3.1. The forms

The independent personal pronouns are set out in table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Independent personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1EXCL	nau	kamareqa	kamiliqa, kamaliqa, kami [†]
INCL		koro	kulu, kia [†]
2	qoe, qoo	kamaroqa	kamuluqa, kamaluqa, kamiu, [†] kamu [†]
3	nia	keeroqa	kera, kiiluqa

All of the plural pronouns have variants. The forms marked with “[†]” were characteristic of women’s speech in earlier times. With one exception (see section 6.3.2), they are not used today, but are still remembered by some people. Among the other variants, the ones listed first are the more common ones. The third person plural form *kiiluqa* and even more so the first person plural exclusive form *kamaliqa* are infrequent. The second person singular form *qoo* is rare. The second person plural form *kamaluqa* is used quite commonly.

There are some partial similarities among some of the dual and plural forms. And as is also the case with the subject markers (section 4.8), there is some association of the consonant *r* with the dual number and of *l* with the plural number. These are most likely due to historical associations with the numerals *rua* and/or *roo* ‘two’ and *ulu* ‘three’, respectively. Presumably, the plural forms *kamiliqa*, *kamaliqa*, *kamuluqa*, *kamaluqa*, *kiiluqa*, and possibly also *kulu*, were originally trial (or paucal) forms.

The dual inclusive pronoun *koro* is homophonous with the dual inclusive nonfuture subject marker *koro*; and the plural inclusive pronoun *kulu* is homophonous with the plural inclusive nonfuture subject marker *kulu*. There is a strong tendency to avoid a sequence of an inclusive pronoun in subject position and the corresponding nonfuture inclusive subject marker: *koro koro*, *kulu kulu*, and some speakers reject such sentences. For example:

- (6-64) (?*Kulu*) *kulu* *foqa naqa*.
 PL(INCL) PL(INCL).NFUT pray PRF
 ‘Let’s pray now.’

There is some evidence that in such “homophonic clashes” it is the pronoun rather than the subject marker that is omitted. First, it is common for a clause not to have a subject phrase, but subject markers are omitted much less commonly, apart from certain cases, such as imperatives with singular addressees. And second, an inclusive pronoun and a subject marker of the same phonological form can cooccur if the pronoun is accompanied by the pronominal foregrounder *ni* (section 6.3.2):

- (6-65) *Ni kulu kulu raa thasi*
 PROFORE PL(INCL) PL(INCL).NFUT work do.garden.work
- qasia naqa.*
 INTS INTS
 ‘We worked hard in the garden.’

6.3.2. The functions

The basic structure of the pronominal noun phrase is given in (6-66):

- (6-66) NP → (pronominal.foregrounder) PRONOUN
 (‘one’)
- (particle complex) (relative clause)

The pronominal foregrounder and the numeral ‘one’ form the innermost layer with the head pronoun. The modifiers to the right of the head, that is the particle complex and relative clauses, form subsequent layers.

All of the various modifiers are discussed in the relevant places, and here only brief examples are given:

- (6-67) *ni keeroqa*
 PROFORE 3DU
 ‘they (two)’

- (6-68) *[teqe nau] bana*
 sole 1SG LIM
 ‘only I’, ‘just I alone’

- (6-69) ... *kera na kera tala-i-a si raa*
 3PL REL 3PL.NFUT lead-TR-3.OBJ PRTT activity

qeri
 that
 ‘they/those who led that activity’

With some systematic exceptions, the pronominal noun phrases are used in positions in which lexical noun phrases occur. They cannot occur in conjunction with the personal suffixes or the object-indexing suffixes in a phrase to index the same participant. On the other hand, they freely cooccur in subject position with the subject markers. They may be coreferential with another noun phrase in the clause. In (6-70) there are two instances of a pronoun in the direct-object position, coreferential with the subjects of the two clauses:

(6-70) ... *sui akalo qeri qe bula-si nia,*
 but ancestral.spirit that 3SG.NFUT change-TR 3SG

ka lio-ngaqi nia mai qan=teqe thaari
 3SG.NFUT look-TR 3SG VENT GENP=one girl

laqu boqo.

REST ASRT

‘... but the ancestral spirit had changed herself and disguised herself back as a girl.’ ‘... but the ancestral spirit had changed herself and had made herself look again like a girl.’

The pronouns, including the third person pronouns, are used primarily with human reference, and with reference to ancestral spirits and ogres.

(6-71) *Nia ka riki-a, ma ka thathami-a*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ

kai lae bii keeroqa.

3SG.FUT go COM 3DU

‘He [a boy] saw it and wanted to go with them [his parents].’

For an example of a pronoun referring to an ancestral spirit see (6-70) above.

Less frequently, the pronouns are used to refer to animals (other than in traditional stories, where animals often behave in ways otherwise characteristic of humans), and to inanimate objects. Such usage is somewhat restricted and occurs in particular in subject position. And it is more common with non-human entities that are in view and can be pointed at:

(6-72) *Nia e mataqi nena.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT be.sick NPAST.THERE
 ‘It [a chicken] is sick.’ (The chicken is in view.)

(6-73) *Nia e teqe-bali-qa neri.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT one-side-PROP NPAST.HERE
 ‘It is lopsided, not symmetrical.’ (The object is near the speaker.)

However, the pronouns are commonly used with non-human, even inanimate reference as resumptive pro-forms in subject topicalization and in the focus position. In (6-74) the pronoun functions resumptively in topicalization:

(6-74) *Daadaku qeri, nia qe takwe qi laa*
Calophyllum.sp that 3SG 3SG.NFUT stand LOC IN

one

sand

‘The *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree, it stood in the sand [on the beach]’

In (6-75) the pronoun, in bold, occurs in the focus position:

(6-75) *Keka waqe-li-a ba-da qana nga*
 3PL.SEQ dance-TR-3.OBJ LIM-3PL.PERS GENP IDENT

lolo ki bana ... mamalana bana si doo wane
 grass PL LIM any.one LIM PRTT thing man

e raqu qani-a ka
 3SG.NFUT grab GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

*waqe-li-a ba-na qani-a. **Nia** na*
 dance-TR-3SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG FOC

kera qalangi-a qana “ululu kwasi”.
 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP branches be.wild

‘They dance at it [a kind of mortuary feast] with [i.e., holding] just grass, ... just anything a man will grab hold of and will dance with it. *That* is what is called (lit.: what they name) [the mortuary feast of] “wild branches”. (*Lolo* is a general term for grasses, herbaceous plants and other relatively small plants without trunks or woody

stems. At the *ululu kwasi* mortuary feast the dancers can hold any kind of branch or leaves in their hands while dancing.)

The third person singular pronoun is used in a verbless closing formula:

- (6-76) *Nia bo=naqa neri.*
 3SG ASRT=PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘That’s all (I have to say).’ ‘That’s it.’ ‘That’s the way it is/was.’

While the personal pronouns cannot cooccur with the personal suffixes or the object-indexing suffixes in a phrase to index the same participant, they freely cooccur in subject position with the subject markers (apart from the homophonic clash with the inclusive forms mentioned in the previous section). Sometimes this happens when the subject noun phrase is foregrounded:

- (6-77) *Wane naqi qe kwai-thathai kai lae*
 man this 3SG.NFUT LIP-ready 3SG.FUT go

naqa; ni nau kwai lae bii nia.
 PRF PROFORE 1SG 1SG.FUT go COM 3SG
 ‘This man is ready to go, (and) I will go with him.’

However, the personal pronouns are also commonly used when the subject is not foregrounded. For example, in (6-78) the speaker simply announces that he and another person are about to leave. There is no foregrounding, no implication of contrast:

- (6-78) *Kamareqa mere lae naqa.*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go PRF
 ‘We’re going now.’

Similarly in (6-79) there is no foregrounding of the subject. In fact, there it is a temporal phrase that has been foregrounded, by topicalization:

- (6-79) *Si manga qeri nau ku thathami-a kwai*
 PRTT time this 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT

uqunu suli-a maqaluta-na raa-laa qana
 narrate PROL-3.OBJ aspect-3.PERS work-NMLZ GENP

oqola.

garden

'This time, I want to talk about (aspects of) working in gardens.'

In order to foreground a pronoun, the same topicalization and focusing strategies are used as with lexical noun phrases (chapters 38 and 39, respectively). However, relatively weak foregrounding is achieved by means of the pronominal foregrounder *ni*, which directly precedes the pronoun.

(6-80) *Ni kamiliqa sui boqo miki*
 PROFORE 1PL(EXCL) EXHST ASRT 1PL(EXCL).IPFV

too leqa ba-miliqa
 be.in.certain.condition be.good LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

qa=si manga qeri.
 GENP=PRTT time this
 'We, all of us, are just fine at this time.'

(6-81) *Nau ku lae naqa; ma ni kamuluqa?*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go PRF and PROFORE 2PL
 'I'm going now; and you?'

The pronominal foregrounder is often used in conjunction with the other foregrounding strategies. In (6-82) it is combined with focusing and in (6-83) further below with topicalization.

(6-82) *Ni qoe n=o faqa-aqana-a*
 PROFORE 2SG FOC=2SG.NFUT CAUS-be.lost-3.OBJ

qila qeri.
 knife that
 'It was you who lost the knife.'

The pronominal foregrounder is normally not used in positions other than subject, unless the noun phrase is foregrounded in some way and does not occur *in situ*. In (6-83) it is used with the fronted, contrastively topicalized second person singular pronoun that corresponds to the direct object. However, as the second clause shows, the foregrounder is not obligatory when a pronoun is fronted:

- (6-83) *Ni qoe, kera qadomi qoe; nau,*
 PROFORE 2SG 3PL.NFUT help 2SG 1SG

qe aqi kesi qadomi nau boqo.
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG help 1SG ASRT
 ‘You, they helped; me, they did *not* (help).’

In (6-84) the pronoun with the foregrounder is not a direct object, even though it does encode the person seen. Rather, it is an adjunct at the clause level (section 11.2.1.3), and so the foregrounder can be used.

- (6-84) *Nau ku riki-a doqora-mu ma*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS and

ni qoe.
 PROFORE 2SG
 ‘I saw your brother, and/as well as you.’

The inclusive pronouns can be used integratively: an inclusive pronoun is used to include the addressee as if he/she were part of the speaker’s group when, objectively, he or she is not (see also section 4.10). In (6-85) the speaker uses the inclusive pronoun indexically to express personal closeness. Personal baskets, *waqi*, are strictly personal property, but the speaker speaks of the addressee’s basket in a jocular way as if it were theirs jointly.

- (6-85) *Nau kwai qasi-qaba fas=i laa waqi*
 1SG 1SG.FUT fall-hand PREC=LOC IN basket

koro, wane nau.
 DU(INCL) man 1SG
 ‘I’m going to poke my hand into our basket, my friend (lit. my man).’ (In order to search through the basket for tobacco or areca nuts.)

For another example of the integrative use of a pronoun see (4-283) in section 4.10.

As mentioned in section 6.3.1, there are special plural pronominal forms which were characteristic of women’s speech in earlier times. These pronouns are not normally used today, with one exception. The inclusive pronoun *kia* is used in the expression *fanu kia* ‘our home, our country’ (*fanu* ‘home, one’s home place’). It is used both by women and by men, especially when away from one’s home area.

Finally, the third person plural pronoun *kerá* is used in one type of compound with kinship-term nouns to signify the plural number in forms of address; see section 12.7.

6.4. *Tha* and *ni* person markers

Proper nouns that designate humans, ancestral spirits, ogres, domestic or pet animals, and certain other nouns optionally take one of the two person markers, *tha* and *ni*. *Tha* has a broader range of use than *ni*. With the names of people, ancestral spirits and ogres, *tha* is used when the reference is to a male and *ni* when the reference is to a female:

(6-86) *tha* *Ulufaalu*
 PERSMKR *Ulufaalu*
 ‘Ulufaalu’ (a man)

(6-87) *ni* *Saelifiqa*
 PERSMKR *Saelifiqa*
 ‘Saelifiqa’ (a girl)

(6-88) *Tha* *Kwaqengara* *ka* *thare-a* *ni*
 PERSMKR *Kwaqengara* 3SG.SEQ beget-3.OBJ PERSMKR

Kwakwanumae.

Kwakwanumae

‘Kwaqengara [a man] beget Kwakwanumae [a woman].’

In (6-89) the masculine person marker occurs with the name of an ancestral spirit:

(6-89) *tha* *Feotoqoniwane*
 PERSMKR *Feotoqoniwane*
 ‘Feotoqoniwane’

The person markers are used with introduced Western names:

(6-90) *tha* *Nestoo*
 PERSMKR *Nestoo*
 ‘Nestoo’ (Nestor)

- (6-91) *ni* *Fiona*
 PERSMKR Fiona
 ‘Fiona’

With the names of pet, domestic animals, the marker *tha* is used regardless of the sex of the animal:

- (6-92) *tha* *Binamaakwao*
 PERSMKR Binamaakwao
 ‘Binamaakwao’ (a pig)

- (6-93) *tha* *Rofa*
 PERSMKR Rofa
 ‘Rofa’ (Rover) (a dog)

The words for God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, devil, and Satan, introduced from Solomon Islands Pijin or English, are treated as masculine names: *tha Goot* ‘God’, *tha Lood* ‘the Lord’, *tha Diises* ‘Jesus’, *tha Krayst* ‘Christ’, *tha defolo* ‘the devil’, *tha Saetana* ‘Satan’. And the Solomon Islands Pijin word for ‘pastor’ is treated as a proper noun when referring to a specific person: *tha baastoo* ‘the Pastor’.

The person markers are used only in noun phrases of reference, not in terms of address. However, even in noun phrases of reference their use is not obligatory, and not infrequently they are omitted. The first pair of examples below shows variable presence of the masculine marker, and the second pair variable presence of the feminine marker, in subject and direct-object positions, respectively

- (6-94) *Ma tha* *Ulufaalu* *qe* *sifo?*
 and PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT descend
 ‘And Ulufaalu went down [to the coast]?’

- (6-95) *Ulufaalu* *qe* *fula* *naqa.*
 Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT arrive PRF
 ‘Ulufaalu has arrived.’

- (6-96) *Qoko* *thuu-fi-a* *ni* *Saelifiqa,*
 2SG.SEQ protect-TR-3.OBJ PERSMKR Saelifiqa
 ‘Protect Saelifiqa,’

- (6-97) *Qoko qadomi-a Rosina,*
 2SG.SEQ help-3.OBJ Rosina
 ‘Help Rosina,’

The person markers are also used with the noun *doo* ‘thing’, when *doo* functions as a substitute for a person’s name:

- (6-98) *kaluwani tha doo*
 son PERSMKR thing
 ‘the son of what’s his name’

For other examples see (6-35) and (6-36) in section 6.2

The masculine marker *tha* is also used with the common nouns *wela*, whose basic meaning is ‘child (young person or offspring)’, *kale*, whose range of meanings includes ‘child (offspring)’, and *weleqi* ‘guy, chap’, all to mean ‘the guy, the chap’, with reference to adult males.

- (6-99) *Tha wela ba=e sui naqa.*
 PERSMKR chap that=3SG.NFUT be.finished PRF
 ‘The chap has expired.’

(*Sui*, whose basic meaning is ‘end, finish; be finished’ is a respectful term for ‘die’.)

Tha wela (*wela* ‘child’) can also be used to refer to adolescent males; see (22-21) in section 22.2.2.

- (6-100) *Nau ku ngata uri=tha kale qena,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak ALL:3.OBJ=PRS.MKR guy that(2)

ka qaukwailiu ba-na.
 3SG.SEQ not.pay.attention LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I talked to the guy, (but) he just was not paying attention.’

- (6-101) *Tha weleqi, wane e fafala neq!*
 PERSMKR guy man 3SG.NFUT be.slow VIVID
 ‘The guy, is he ever slow! (Lit.: ‘The guy, the man is slow!’)

The feminine marker *ni* is not used in analogous ways to refer to women.

The masculine person marker *tha* is also used by men in the expression *tha wane funa* for self-reference in response to a query about a person’s identity (*wane* ‘man’). The word *funa* appears restricted to this expression and to the expressions used by women (for which see further below).

(6-102) A: *Tei n=e raa qa=si doo naqi?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT work GENP=PRTT thing this

B: *Tha wane funa.*
 PERSMKR man *funa*

A: 'Who worked on this?'

B: 'Me.' 'Yours truly.' (A man speaking.)

There are two parallel expressions used by women for self-reference, which, however, do not contain the feminine marker *ni*: *ai funa* and *imole funa*. *Ai* means 'woman', and the meaning of *imole* outside of the formula is 'person, human being'. Although *imole* is gender-neutral in its general use, in this formula it is used only by women. (The other word for 'woman', *kini*, which is elsewhere interchangeable with *ai*, is not used in this construction.)

(6-103) *Si doo {imole / ai} funa.*
 PRTT thing person / woman *funa*
 '(It's) mine.' (Lit.: 'The person's/woman's thing'.) (A woman speaking) (As a response to: 'Whose is it?')

The masculine marker *tha* can also be used with the names given to certain inanimate objects:

(6-104) *Nini qau marakwa nia tha*
 bamboo.knife piece.of.bamboo be.green 3SG PERSMKR

Raqafeqebasi.

Raqafeqebasi.

'His green-bamboo knife is (named) Raqafeqebasi.'

(*Qau* designates a piece of bamboo that has been cut and used for a certain purpose.)

(6-105) *tha Aliurauqia*
 PERSMKR Aliurauqia
 'Aliurauqia' (the name of a certain stone wall)

The "feminine" marker *ni* is also optionally used with the interrogative word *tei* 'who?'. However, in such cases it has no gender value; see section 19.3.3 for discussion.

6.5. Nga identifier

The identifier *nga* has several functions. In two of these, a kind-identifying one and a foregrounding one, it can only be used in lexical noun phrases, and only in ones that contain no other modifier, apart from a noun-phrase particle. First, it is used to identify a kind, type of entity, to state that a given entity is, or is indeed, of such and such a kind. The noun phrase with *nga* as a modifier is generic. In (6-106) speaker B identifies the source of the sound as a truck, but the identity of the truck is not relevant and may not even be known:

(6-106) A: *Teqe doo ku rongo-a;*
 one thing 1SG.NFUT hear-3SG.OBJ

linga-na qe quri-a tarake.
 sound-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ truck

B: *Qoo, nga tarake ni boqo.*
 oh IDENT truck LIG ASRT

A: 'I can hear something; it sounds like a truck (lit.: its sound is like a truck).'

B: 'Oh, it *is* a truck.'

Compare the next pair of examples. In (6-107) the modifier of *botho* 'pig' is the numeral *teqe* 'one'. The speaker says that a certain man ate his pig:

(6-107) *Botho baa, teqe wane qe qani-a.*
 pig that one man 3SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
 'That pig, a (certain) man ate it.'

In (6-108), the modifier is the identifier *nga*, rather than *teqe* 'one'. It serves to express the speaker's conviction that the eater of the pig was a person rather than, for example, a dog. (*Wane* has the meaning 'man' and 'person').

(6-108) *Botho baa, nga wane qe qani-a.*
 pig that IDENT person 3SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
 'The pig, a person ate it.'

In (6-109) the identifier serves to emphasize that *Suriaoa* was (just) a (pet) bird, not a human being, and so should not be blamed for what had happened:

(6-109) ... *keka ngata-fi-a tha Suriaoa, nga*
 3PL.SEQ speak-TR-3.OBJ PERSMKR Suriaoa IDENT

thaqaro ni bana,....

bird LIG LIM

‘...they scolded Suriaoa [blaming him for a misfortune], (but) he was just a bird’

The identifier can occur in a noun phrase headed by the interrogative word *taa* ‘what?’, in sentences that inquire about the kind of thing involved:

(6-110) *Nga taa n=e ni-i laa*
IDENT what? FOC=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC IN

waqi qena nena?
basket that(2) NPAST.THERE

‘What’s that in that basket [that you have]?’

The interrogative phrase *nga taa* can also be used to inquire about the meaning of a word:

(6-111) “*Losu*” *nga taa neri?*
losu IDENT what? NPAST.HERE
‘What’s “*losu*”?’ ‘What does “*losu*” mean?’

And the expression *Nga taa?* can be used when a person did not hear well what has been said: ‘What (did you say)?’ ‘What (was that)?’.

The identifier can be used with proper nouns that function as the predicate of a verbless clause. The predicate noun phrase identifies the name of the referent of the subject.

(6-112) *Faka n=e fula tootolenaqo, n=e*
ship REL=3SG.NFUT arrive earliest.time REL=3SG.NFUT

lae mai, thata-na faka qeri nga Silaqa.
go VENT name-3.PERS ship that IDENT Silaqa

‘The ship that was the first to arrive (lit.: that arrived at the earliest time), that came, the name of the ship was Silaqa.’

The identifier cannot be used if the noun phrase contains any other modifier, apart from a noun-phrase particle, and this includes even the classifiers, although noun phrases with classifiers can be generic:

(6-113) A: *Thaqaro taa neri?*
 bird what? NPAST.HERE

- B: (**Nga*) *fa sobe neri.*
 IDENT CLF bird.sp NPAST.HERE
 A: ‘What (kind of) bird is it?’
 B: ‘It’s a *sobe*.’

In (6-114) the identifier occurs in a noun phrase with an intensifying particle:

- (6-114) *Nga taa ni qana?*
 IDENT what LIG INTS
 ‘What (did you say)?’ ‘What exactly (did you say)?’

However, the identifier is not obligatory in a noun phrase that asserts the identity of something or inquires about the identity of something.

- (6-115) A: *Thaqaro taa na=nia?*
 bird what this=3SG
 B: *Kiro nena.*
 female.eclectus.parrot. NPAST.THERE
 A: ‘What kind of bird (is it), this one?’
 B: ‘That’s a female Eclectus Parrot.’

- (6-116) (*Nga*) *taa n=o riki-a?*
 IDENT what? FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you see?’

For another instance of omission of the identifier see B’s first response in (6-119) further below.

In another function, *nga* is used as a weak foregrounder, to focus, contrast, emphasize an entity. A noun phrase foregrounded by means of *nga* remains *in situ*. The noun phrase with foregrounding *nga* may be generic or specific, definite. In (6-117) *nga* serves to emphasize the day of the week:

- (6-117) *Wiki loo taa, ma kwai oli na=kau,*
 week upward lo! and 1SG.FUT return PRF=AND

qana nga Tosde neri.
 GENP IDENT Thursday NPAST.HERE
 ‘Next week, I’ll go back, on *Thursday*.’ (Lit.: ‘Next week, lo!, and I will go back, (it will be) on *Thursday*.’)

In (6-118) *nga* serves to contrast an older child with another, younger one:

(6-118) *Ma nga wela naqo qeri ka quna*
 and IDENT child earlier.time that 3SG.SEQ manner

qeri, “...”

this

‘And the older child (lit.: child of earlier time) said, “...”.’

In the foregrounding function, *nga* is also used when a speaker is repeating something emphatically, for example because the addressee did not hear or did not understand:

(6-119) A: *Waqi taa nena?*
 basket what? NPAST.THERE

B: *Redio.*
 radio

A: *Taa?*
 what?

B: *Nga redio!*
 IDENT radio

A: ‘What’s (in) that bag?’

B: ‘A radio.’

A: ‘What?’

B: ‘A *radio!*’

In a way, in B’s final utterance the kind-identifying and the foregrounding functions are present simultaneously. However, the fact that *nga* is used only in B’s second, emphatic reply and not in his first reply suggests that the foregrounding function is primary there.

Similarly in the next example, where *nga* is used with the interrogative noun *taa* ‘what?’, but only in the second, emphatic question:

(6-120) A says something.

B: *Taa?*
 what?

A does not respond.

- B: *Nga taa?*
 IDENT what?
 A says something.
 B: ‘What (did you say)?’
 A does not respond.
 B: ‘*What?*’

The foregrounding identifier is ungrammatical in the last utterance in (6-121) because of the presence of the person marker in the noun phrase:

- (6-121) A: *Tha Ulufaalu qe fula naqa.*
 PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT arrive PRF
 ‘Ulufaalu has arrived.’

B does not hear well who it was that arrived, and so A repeats, emphatically:

- A: (**Nga*) *tha Ulufaalu qe fula naqa!*
 IDENT PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT arrive PRF
 ‘*Ulufaalu* has arrived!’

Nevertheless, *nga* can be used with the foregrounding function with proper names; see (6-117) further above. (The situational demonstrative *neri* in [6-117] is not inside the noun phrase.)

Finally, *nga* also serves as a semantically empty filler, when the speaker cannot immediately think of the appropriate noun or noun phrase. In this function it can occur with pronouns.:

- (6-122) *Kwa riki-a kamel, kwa riki-a layon,*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ camel 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ lion

kwa riki-a nga [pause] gorila
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ IDENT gorilla
 ‘[In the zoo] I saw camels, I saw lions, I saw [pause as the speaker is searching for the word] gorillas,’

And in (6-123) the speaker uses *nga* with the third person singular pronoun while thinking of the right phrase:

- (6-123) *Nga nia, tha wela qeri i laa bang,*
 IDENT 3SG PERSMKR guy that LOC IN bank

ka *ala-ma-tani-a* *kai* *ngali-a* *mai*
 3SG.SEQ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT take-3SG.OBJ VENT

....

‘Um, he, the guy in the bank, allowed him to withdraw (lit.: take) it [money]’

6.6. *Si* partitive, diminutive

The particle *si* has three basic functions: as a partitive marker, as a diminutive marker, and as a classifier. However, the distinctions are not always clear-cut, and sometimes *si* can be seen as having more than one function simultaneously. In this section, only the partitive and the diminutive functions are discussed. *Si* as a classifier is discussed in section 6.7.5. In the examples, *si* is glossed according to its function or its dominant function: PRTT, DIM, and CLF.

Historically, the particle *si* is related to the noun *sii* ‘piece (of), portion (of)’, typically, but not exclusively, used to refer to a piece, portion, or share of food:

(6-124) *sii-na* *botho*
 portion-3.PERS pork
 ‘piece(s)/portion(s)/share(s) of pork’

(6-125) *ta* *sii* *qana fanga* *naqi*
 some portion GENP food this
 ‘a portion of this food’

The particle *si* and the noun *sii* cannot co-occur:

(6-126) **si* *sii* *qana botho*
 PRTT piece GENP pork
 (‘some of/piece of the pork’)

(The construction **si sii-na botho* would be ungrammatical for another reason: the possessive construction of the type in [6-124] is ungrammatical when the possessum noun is individuated, characterized more closely; see section 8.1.7.)

The partitive function of *si* is considered first. In this function, *si* can occur both with count nouns and with mass nouns. The first set of examples contains *si* with count nouns. The first pair shows the contrast between one of the classifiers and the partitive marker. In (6-127) the noun *niu* ‘coconut’ occurs with the classifier and it is whole coconuts (fruit) that are referred to:

- (6-127) *ulu fa niu*
 three CLF coconut
 ‘three (whole) coconuts (fruit)’

In (6-128), with the partitive marker, the reference is to pieces of coconut:

- (6-128) *ulu si niu*
 three PRTT coconut
 ‘three pieces of coconut (fruit)’

The partitive marker and a classifier cannot cooccur. More accurately, when the partitive marker is present because the reference is not to a whole entity, a classifier is not used:

- (6-129) *si (*gwa) iqa*
 PRTT CLF fish
 ‘piece of (the) fish’

The word for ‘taro’, *alo*, becomes *salo* when it is modified by the partitive marker *si*. Most likely, *salo* consists historically of partitive *si* and *alo*, but this etymology has been obscured and *si* is used with *salo*:

- (6-130) *Nau ku qani-a si salo.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ PRTT taro
 ‘I ate a piece of/some of the taro.’

In the next two examples *si* is used with mass nouns:

- (6-131) *Kale qena, fale=qa-ku ta*
 mate that(2) give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS some

si suka.
 PRTT sugar
 ‘Friend, give me some sugar.’

- (6-132) *Nau kwasi kuqu-fi-a ta si kafo.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG drink-TR-3.OBJ some PRTT water
 ‘I didn’t drink any (of the) water.’

With mass nouns the partitive marker does not necessarily signify a subset of a specific whole. Rather, the amount spoken about may be a subset of a general, unspecified whole. In (6-133) the food and water being thanked for in an

evening prayer do not come from specific larger amounts of food and water. Rather, they are conceptualized as being individual amounts out of the total set of food and drink that exists.

- (6-133) *Qi laa fa thaqulafia naqi, kamiliqa sore*
 LOC IN CLF evening this 1PL(EXCL) speak
- leqa uri-a n=o fale-a si*
 be.good REAS-3.OBJ COMPL=2SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ PRTT
- fanga ma si kafo*
 Food and PRTT water
 ‘This evening, we give thanks (lit.: we speak well) because you [God] give [us] food and water’

In a similar fashion, the partitive marker is often used with the noun for ‘time’ when reference is being made to a particular point in time or a particular period of time: the time being spoken about is a subset of all the time:

- (6-134) *Si manga n=e fula kula qeri, ka*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT arrive place that 3SG.SEQ
- riki-a teqe kule-qe toqa*
 see-3.OBJ one place-ASSOC people
 ‘When (lit.: the time that) he arrived at that place, he saw a group of local people’ (*Kule-qe toqa*, lit. ‘place of people’, has the meaning ‘people of a certain place’.)

- (6-135) *Meka to=ofu qana si manga qeri.*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ stay=be.together GENP PRTT time this
 ‘We are staying together at this time.’

With the noun *doo* ‘thing’, the partitive marker is often (but not always) used to refer to a specific abstract concept, idea, or event:

- (6-136) *Qoo, teqe si doo koro koki ade-a.*
 oh one PRTT thing DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Oh, there is one thing you and I will do.’ (Deciding on a course of action.)

Si is often used in noun phrases that refer to events or states. In such cases what is signified is not the type of activity or state, and not so much the fact

that the situation obtains, but rather the content, the result, or the point of the event or the state; for example, not ‘doing’, but ‘what is being done’; not ‘seeing’ but ‘what is seen’. Frequently, but not always, the head of such a noun phrase is a nominalized form of a verb. In the next example, the noun phrases *si uqunu-laa* and *si riki-laa*, which contain nominalizations, do not refer, respectively, to the situations of narrating and seeing, but rather to the narrating of something and to the seeing of something:

(6-137) *Iu, si uqunu-laa ma si riki-laa na*
 OK PRTT narrate-NMLZ and PRTT see-NMLZ REL

ku riki-a bo=naqa qana fanua
 1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ ASRT=PRF GENP country

na=i Niu Silan neri.
 REL=LOC New Zealand NPAST.HERE

‘OK, this is what I have to say [about it], and this is what I saw in the country of New Zealand.’ (Lit.: ‘OK, my narrating [about my trip to New Zealand] and the seeing that I saw in the country of New Zealand are these here.’)

(For “cognate relativization” — ‘the seeing that I saw’ — see section 30.5.)

In (6-138), the noun phrase *si baqe-a*, with a deverbal noun, refers to what was said on that occasion:

(6-138) *Si baqe-a nau qeri qe funumae*
 PRTT speak-DVN 1SG that 3SG.NFUT be.in.vain

ba-na.
 LIM-3SG.PERS

‘What I said was just (all) in vain.’ (Lit.: ‘That speaking/speech of mine was just in vain.’)

Si is also sometimes (but not always) used with the noun *raa* ‘work, activity’ to refer to a specific task, job, event, something being done:

(6-139) *Gavman qe fulatoqo-na lole-laa*
 government 3SG.NFUT determine-3.OBJ tell.lie-NMLZ

baqita qe nii i laal-a si
 be.big 3SG.NFUT exist LOC inside-3.PERS PRTT

raa qeri na kera qalangi-a qana
 activity that REL 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP

“*Masing Ruul*”.

Marching Rule

‘The government determined that there were great lies in that activity called (lit.: that they named) “Marching Rule”.’

The other function of *si* discussed here is that of a diminutive marker. However, it should be kept in mind that the partitive and the diminutive meanings are not always clearly distinguishable and that they may be present simultaneously.²⁰ When the meaning of a noun phrase with *si* includes the notion of a small size or small quantity, *si* will be treated as a diminutive marker, even if the partitive meaning is present as well. For example, in (6-140) *si* has a partitive significance, but it also signifies smallness of the piece of bamboo:

(6-140) *si ongi*
 DIM bamboo sp.
 ‘small piece (e.g. sliver) of *ongi* bamboo’

The noun phrase in (6-141) would be used to refer to a relatively short piece of rope, regardless of whether that piece of rope is thought of as having been cut from a longer rope or not:

(6-141) *si qoko*
 DIM rope
 ‘short (piece of) rope’

And although one could think of small stones as being detached parts of larger stones, what is important in the situation expressed in (6-142) is that the stone(s) be small:

(6-142) *Lae rofe-a mai ta si fau.*
 go look.for-3.OBJ VENT some DIM stone
 ‘Go and look for (and bring) (a) small stone(s).’

A speaker may characterize something as small by means of *si* out of modesty or in a self-deprecating way, as in the next two examples. There is no partitive meaning present in those two sentences. In (6-143) the money spoken about was not part of a larger sum; it was the total amount earned, collected. The amount of money in question was several hundred dollars, a large amount in Solomon Island terms, but it turned out not to be sufficient.

- (6-143) *Meka* *raqa* *faafi-a* *si* *malefo* *qeri*.
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go.up CONF-3.OBJ DIM money that
 ‘We went up [to Honiara] with that small amount of money.’

And the story mentioned in (6-144) was not part of a larger story, and it was not particularly short either:

- (6-144) *Iu,* *si* *uqunu* *qeri* *qe* *fula* *qi* *kula*
 OK DIM story this 3SG.NFUT arrive LOC place
- qeri* *ka* *sui* *bo=naqa*.
 this 3SG.SEQ be.finished ASRT=PRF
 ‘OK, this is the end of this little story.’ (Lit.: ‘OK, this little story
 (has) arrived at this place, and it is finished.’)

At some point in the history of the language, *si*, in its diminutive function, became part of one of the forms of the adjective ‘small, little’, *kasi* (section 6.12).

Si is also used with a few nouns as a classifier (section 6.7.5), in which case the partitive and the diminutive meanings are not normally present, but there are a few cases where the referents are relatively small. For example:

- (6-145) *teqe* *si* *bauta*
 one CLF/DIM boat
 ‘one dinghy’, ‘one life boat’

While dinghies can be thought of as small boats, not every small modern watercraft would be referred to by means of *si bauta*.

6.7. The classifiers

6.7.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has five classifiers, as the term is used here (see below for discussion). However, the classifier system is only little developed. First, of the five classifiers, only three are used with relatively large numbers of nouns, while another one is used only with one noun. And, second, most nouns do not take any classifiers; there is no general, default classifier in the language.

The nouns that do occur with classifiers normally take a classifier in the presence of a numeral or a quantifier in the noun phrase, but the presence of a numeral or a quantifier is not a necessary condition. For example, a classifier

may be used in the presence of a demonstrative in the noun phrase even though there is no numeral or quantifier in that noun phrase. There are a few nouns that require a classifier even in the absence of any other element in the noun phrase.

Some nouns can occur with different classifiers, and as a rule there is a semantic contrast in such cases. More commonly, however, the presence of a classifier is contrastive with its own absence.

All of the classifiers are historically related to nouns, and in four out of the five cases the nouns exist in the language. In the case of the fifth classifier, only comparative evidence from closely related languages reveals its link to a noun. Only those forms are considered here classifiers that in that particular form do not function as nouns. In some associative constructions (section 8.2. the head noun has a classifier-like function. For example, the noun for ‘leaf’ *ree/re-* can occur as the head of an associative construction:

- (6-146) *re-qe* *baqu*
 leaf-ASSOC banana
 ‘banana leaf’

Re- can also occur as the head of an associative construction in a function that is classifier-like:

- (6-147) *re-qe* *befa*
 leaf/sheet-ASSOC paper
 ‘sheet of paper’

Similarly, the noun for ‘fruit’ *foal/foe-* can occur as the head of an associative construction with that meaning:

- (6-148) *foe-qe* *baibai*
 fruit-ASSOC Malayan.palm.fern
 ‘Malayan Palm-fern fruit’

And the same noun can also occur with modifier nouns that do not designate fruit-bearing plants:

- (6-149) *foe-qe* *gasi*
 “fruit”-ASSOC electric.light
 ‘lightbulb’

Furthermore, the noun *foal/foe-* is historically related to one of the (true) classifiers, *fa*.

Although certain nouns when functioning as the head of an associative construction are reminiscent of classifiers, they are, at the same time, different from the true classifiers. They occur in the head position of a certain type of noun phrase, the associative noun phrase, while the classifiers do not. They are nouns; the classifiers are not nouns. However, two of the true classifiers originated historically as heads of the associative construction.

Although most of the classifiers are normally used when a numeral is present in the noun phrase, they are not used when nouns that signify numerically specific sets are used rather than numerals (section 6.8.3). In (6-150), with the numeral ‘ten’, the classifier *fa* is used:

- (6-150) *taafuli fa bereta*
 ten CLF bread
 ‘10 bread rolls’

In (6-151), with a noun for a set of ten, the classifier is not used with the word for ‘taro’, even though it is used when a numeral is present; cf. (6-152):

- (6-151) *teqe finta qalo*
 one tensome taro
 ‘10 taro corms’

- (6-152) *sikwa fa qalo*
 nine CLF taro
 ‘nine taro corms’

The classifiers will now be discussed in turn.

6.7.2. The classifier *fa*

The classifier *fa* is historically related to the noun *foa* ‘fruit’ (*foe-* as the head of an associative construction). Exceptionally, the vowel of the classifier assimilates to the first vowel of the word for a species of bamboo. The usual word for that species of bamboo is *ongi*, and there is also a rare variant *ungi*. See (6-153a) and (6-153b), respectively:

- (6-153) a. *fo ongi*
 CLF bamboo.sp
 ‘length of *ongi* bamboo cut for a certain purpose’

- b. *fu ungi*
 CLF bamboo.sp
 ‘length of *ungi* (*ongi*) bamboo cut for a certain purpose’

This kind of assimilation does not take place before other nouns that begin with *o* or *u* (or any other vowel): *fa osi* ‘row or column of ground in a garden delineated by partitions’, *fa ua* ‘relatively small hill’.

The classifier optionally fuses with other vowel initial nouns, in which case it has the form *f=*:

- (6-154) *f=io loo*
 CLF=single-tip-arrow upward
 ‘the single-tip arrow up there’

For the full form *fa* with the noun *io* ‘single-tip arrow’ see (6-177) further below.

In its core function the classifier *fa* is used in noun phrases that refer to entities that are relatively small and, loosely speaking, round. So, with a few exceptions specified below, it is used to refer to fruit, nuts, tubers, corms, or bulbs. Here the classifier contrasts with its own absence: it is not used when the reference is to the plant itself.

- (6-155) a. *ngali*
 canarium.nut
 ‘canarium-nut tree’
- b. *fa ngali*
 CLF canarium.nut
 ‘canarium nut’
- (6-156) a. *fai keekene*
 four breadfruit
 ‘four breadfruit trees’
- b. *fai fa keekene*
 four CLF breadfruit
 ‘four breadfruits’
- (6-157) a. *kwaqi-a alo*
 cut-3.OBJ taro
 ‘cut off the taro top after pulling the plant out of the ground’
- b. *nii-a fa qalo*
 break.up-3.OBJ CLF taro
 ‘break up (roasted) taro corm into pieces’

(*Alo* becomes *qalo* immediately after words that end in *a*, but not after transitive verbs that carry the object suffix *-a*.)

Further examples:

(6-158) *Kasi maga-a fa aniani qena.*
 chop break-3.OBJ CLF onion that(2)
 ‘Chop up the onion (bulb).’

(6-159) *Fa meleni neqe qe kobu naqa.*
 CLF watermelon this 3SG.NFUT be.big.but.not.ripe PRF
 ‘This watermelon is big now, but it is not ripe yet.’

However, the classifier is not always used when context makes it clear that it is the fruit, bulb, corm, etc. that is intended, rather than the plant. Thus the exhortation in (6-160) is about eating a taro corm not a taro plant:

(6-160) *Qani-a alo manga kai qaaqako.*
 eat-3.OBJ taro time 3SG.FUT be.warm
 ‘Eat the taro while it’s warm.’ (Lit.: ‘Eat the taro [at] the time when it will be warm.’)

Nevertheless, when a numeral or a quantifier is present in a noun phrase, the classifier is normally used even if the context makes it clear that it is the fruit, corm, etc. that is intended:

(6-161) *Nau ku qani-a teqe fa qalo baqita.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ one CLF taro be.big
 ‘I ate a/one big taro.’

Compare also (6-162) without a quantifier and without the classifier, and (6-163) with both. In both sentences the reference is to areca nuts, not to areca trees:

(6-162) *Qota qe bulo nau.*
 areca.nut 3SG.NFUT make.dizzy 1SG
 ‘An areca nut (that I chewed) made me dizzy.’

(6-163) *Kera ngali-a mai tai fa qota?*
 3PL.NFUT take-3.OBJ VENT some.PL CLF areca.nut
 ‘Did they bring any areca nuts?’

There are two exceptions to the pattern of the use of *fa* when reference is to fruit, nuts, tubers, etc. First, with the noun *thao* ‘sago’, the classifier *fa* is used to refer to sago palms not to their ivory nuts:

- (6-164) *ulu fa thao*
 three CLF sago
 ‘three sago palms’

To refer to ivory nuts, the noun *foa/foe-* ‘fruit’ must be used:

- (6-165) *ulu foe-qe thao*
 three fruit-ASSOC sago
 ‘three ivory nuts’

And, second, with the words for ‘yam’, it is the classifier *si* (section 6.7.5), rather than *fa*, that is normally used to refer to tubers, although *fa* is occasionally found (especially in the speech of younger people). To signify a yam plant, it is the classifier *gwa* (section 6.7.3) that is used.

The classifier *fa* cannot occur with the noun *foa/foe-* ‘fruit’, to which it is historically related:

- (6-166) **fa foa-na keekene*
 CLF fruit-3.PERS breadfruit
 ‘breadfruit (fruit)’

Fa is used with nouns that designate relatively small, roundish birds, and with the noun ‘bird’ when the reference is to such a bird:

- (6-167) *teqe fa thaqaro*
 one CLF bird
 ‘one (small, roundish) bird’

As elsewhere, the classifier can be used even in the absence of a numeral, a quantifier, or any other modifier:

- (6-168) *Wane e quri-a fa kiikidukome.*
 man 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ CLF willy.wagtail
 ‘The man is like a willy-wagtail.’ (Said about active, energetic, enthusiastic people.)

Some other types of objects that are relatively small and either spherical or round even though they may be more or less flat and that are referred to using *fa* are (sport) balls, candies, bread rolls, medicine pills, coins, and wristwatches.

- (6-169) *Fa lole qoe, fa lole qoe, fa lole qoe.*
 CLF candy 2SG CLF candy 2SG CLF candy 2SG
 '[Here is] your candy, [here is] your candy, [here is] your candy.'
 (Said when distributing candies to children, one by one.)

- (6-170) *teqe fa meresina*
 one CLF medicine
 'one medicine pill'

In (6-171) a baby possum is characterized by means of the noun *raranga* 'body fat of an animal' and the classifier as 'a ball of fat':

- (6-171) *Qoo, weleqi qae, fa raranga neri.*
 hey! man! VOC CLF fat NPAST.HERE
 'Hey, man! (It's) a ball of fat.' (Responding to another possum
 hunter's question: "What's the baby one [a possum] like?")

The words for stars, including shooting stars, take *fa*, probably because they are perceived as small round objects:

- (6-172) *fa bubufanga*
 CLF Evening.Star
 'the Evening Star' (*bubu* 'observe', *fanga* 'food'; the star comes out
 when people are eating in the evening)

- (6-173) *Nau ku riki-a teqe fa rade*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ one CLF shooting.star
- qe tala qana mangaa.*
 3SG.NFUT shine GENP air
 'I saw a shooting start shine in the air.'

Fa contrasts with the classifier *gwa* with the noun *ua* 'hill': *fa ua* 'relatively small hill' vs. *gwa ua* 'relatively big hill'.

By another extension from the core function, *fa* is used in noun phrases that refer to objects that are (more or less) circular in cross-section, not spherical but relatively long and not necessarily small, such as house beams and types of sticks used in house construction (but not posts; see section 6.7.4), lengths of bamboo (see [6-153] further above), *rina* ear ornaments (long decorated sticks inserted into holes in earlobes), fingers/toes (both with the general word for fingers/toes and with the names of the individual fingers/toes), cigarettes, bat-

teries, bean pods, snakes, and a type of arrow with a single tip (but not another type with a triple tip). For example:

- (6-174) *roo fa qato qe=ki*
 two CLF rafter that=PL
 ‘those two rafters’

House beams and types of sticks used in house construction can also be referred to by means of the noun *foa*, whose other meaning is ‘fruit’ and to which the classifier is related.

- (6-175) *fa niiniitele*
 CLF thumb/big.toe
 ‘thumb, big toe’ (*nii* ‘break [tr.]’, *tele* ‘roasted taro/yam/breadfruit’)

- (6-176) *lulugomi-a fa sigirete*
 roll.up-3.OBJ CLF cigarette
 ‘roll a cigarette’

- (6-177) ... *ka thau-ngani-a fa io ki, ...*
 3SG.SEQ make-TR-3.OBJ CLF single.tip.arrow PL
 ‘... she made single-tip arrows, ...’

Some uses of *fa* are due to metonymic extensions from a more basic use. For example, in its core function, the classifier is used in noun phrases that refer to canarium nuts; see (6-153b) further above. And it is also used with the word for ‘year’ as a unit of time, which too is *ngali*. Traditionally, years are thought of as involving two seasons: six months of canarium nuts and six months without canarium nuts:

- (6-178) *roo fa ngali*
 two CLF canarium.nut/year
 a. ‘two canarium nuts’
 b. ‘two years’

See further below for other cyclical units of time.

The noun *seleni* (or *selen*) is a borrowing from Solomon Islands Pijin, ultimately English *shilling*. Today it is used to refer specifically to the 10-cent coin, but may be used to refer to other coins and also to money in general. The classifier *fa* is used in all cases:

(6-179) *teqe fa seleni*
 one CLF ten.cent.coin
 ‘one 10-cent coin’

(6-180) *Fita fa seleni qana kisi miti?*
 how.much? CLF money GENP case meat
 ‘How much money for a case of (tinned) meat?’

However, when reference is being made specifically to banknotes, *fa* is not used; instead, *ree* literally ‘leaf’ is used as the head of a possessive or an associative construction (see also [6-146] and [6-147] further above):

(6-181) *ree-na noto*
 leaf-3.PERS banknote
 ‘(the) banknotes’

As shown in (6-178) further above, *fa* is used with the word for ‘year’ when a year is conceptualized as a (cyclical) unit of time. It is also used with some, but not all, other nouns that can designate cyclical units of time. The noun *thato* can be used to refer to the sun, to daytime, and to a day as a 24-hour period. *Fa* is used when the reference is to a 24-hour period or to daytime, but not to the sun (even though one might think of the sun as a round object). Another word for a day as a 24-hour period, *bongi*, also takes *fa*:

(6-182) *teqe fa {thato / bongi}*
 one CLF day / day
 ‘one day’

But:

(6-183) *Thato e suu naqa.*
 sun 3SG.NFUT (sun)set PRF
 ‘The sun has gone down.’

There is another noun that designates a day as a period of 24 hours, *dani*, which, however, takes a different classifier, *maqe*; see section 6.7.4.

Nouns that designates times of day, such as ‘daytime’ (same word as for ‘day [24 hours]’), ‘nighttime’, ‘morning’ and ‘evening’ also take *fa*:

(6-184) *Nau kwai biinga qa=fa thato ada*
 1SG 1SG.FUT sleep GENP=CLF daytime TIM

kwa feda qana tharaqi-laa qa=fa
 1SG.SEQ be.tired GENP be.awake-NMLZ GENP=CLF

rodo.

night

‘I will sleep during the day so that I am not (too) tired to stay awake
 (lit.: so that I am not tired of being awake) at night.’

(6-185) *qi laa fa thaqulafia naqi*
 LOC IN CLF evening this
 ‘(in) this evening’

Fa is also used with *wiki* ‘week’ as a cyclical unit of time, which is an introduced, Western concept, but not with *madami* ‘month’.

It is conceivable, although one cannot be certain, that the use of the classifier with some nouns that signify cyclical units of time is an extension from its use with the noun for ‘year’, which itself is a metonymical extension from its use with the noun for canarium nuts. Interestingly, those cyclical units that are referred to using the classifier are relatively short: days and weeks, not months. It is possible that the notion of cyclicity is more prominent with relatively short periods of time. Years, of course, are the longest cyclical periods, but there the use of *fa* is due to the association of years with canarium nuts. The reason why *madami* ‘month’ does not take the classifier is not obvious. One could speculate that this is because *madami* also means ‘moon’, and in that sense does not take the classifier either, and because a month is too long a cyclical unit. (Compare *thato* ‘sun’ without the classifier and ‘day (24 hours)’ with the classifier.)

Fa is also used with nouns that are nominalizations of verbs. There the reference is not to an event/state as such or to its obtaining, but rather to an event/state as a unit in a cycle. In the first example below, the deverbal noun *biinga-a* refers to one’s sleeping as an event, and the classifier is not used:

(6-186) *Nau ku rongo qoe qo didilifo*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear 2SG 2SG.NFUT gnash.teeth

qi laa biinga-a.
 LOC IN sleep-DVN

‘I heard you gnash (your) teeth in (your) sleep.’

On the other hand, in the next example *biinga-a*, with *fa*, refers to sleeps as temporal units:

- (6-187) *Nau, roo fa biinga-a feteqi qa=fa thato*
 1SG two CLF sleep-DVN INTS GENP=CLF day

qeri.

this

'I [had] two sleeps during the day.' 'I [took] two naps during the day.'

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In the first one, the nominalization *lae-laa*, without the classifier, is used to refer to the performance of an activity of going:

- (6-188) *Kere are nau bo=naqa uri-a lae-laa.*
 3PL.NFUT urge 1SG INTS=INTS PURP-3.OBJ go-NMLZ
 'They strongly urged me to go.'

In the second example, *lae-laa*, with *fa*, signifies an occasion of going as a temporal cyclical unit:

- (6-189) *Fita fa lae-laa n=o lae*
 how.many? CLF go-NMLZ FOC=2SG.NFUT go
- qani-a uri Honiara?*
 INS-3SG.OBJ ALL Honiara
 'How many times have you been to Honiara?' (Lit.: 'How many goings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?')

There is a verb *fali* 'take a step, steps'. Its nominalization, when used with *fa*, serves to refer to spatial cyclical units: paces, as units of length.

- (6-190) *fai fa fali-laa*
 four CLF take.step-NMLZ
 'four paces' (when measuring st.)

However, *fa* is not used with other units of length that are not nominalizations. The two terms for half-fathom take the classifier *gwa* (see the next section), and others take no classifier at all, such as *malafunu* 'span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of another finger, with the fingers fully spread'.

Fa is also used with nouns that designate songs, such as *nguu* 'song (general term)', *kana* 'k.o. traditional song', *siisila* 'k.o. traditional song'. The motivation for that is not clear, although it is conceivable that songs are conceptualized as a kind of cyclical unit, because they are sung on various occasions.

(6-191) ... *tai si manga laa-lae ka fula*
 some.PL PRTT time RDP-go 3SG.SEQ arrive

ba-na qan=teqe imole ura
 LIM-3SG.PERS GENP=one person PURP

nguu-li-la-na fa nguu qe=ki.
 sing-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS CLF song that=PL

‘... sometimes it would go so far that there would be only one person to sing the songs.’ (Lit.: ‘... sometimes it just arrived at one person for the singing of the songs.’)

There are nouns that take the classifier *fa* where the motivation is not at all obvious, at least not at the present time. For example, *keqata* ‘huge pig that has been fed for many years’ takes *fa* even though other words for ‘pig’ and varieties of pigs do not. This may be an extension of the use of *fa* when reference is to house beams. *Riqi* ‘sp. of a small tree’ takes *fa*; and here *fa* contrasts with the classifier *gwa*: *gwa riqi* ‘k.o. magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees’. The names of a few other plants also take *fa*, while most others do not. For example, *que* ‘lawyer-cane (plant)’ does; but so does *que* ‘external tumour on a body’. In the latter case, *fa* is used because tumours are (nearly) spherical. As far as the word for lawyer-cane is concerned, it is not clear whether some kind of connection is/was perceived between tumours and lawyer-cane, or whether the use of *fa* with *que* ‘lawyer-cane’ is an extension based on homonymy. *Kiikii*, which is a general term for giant clams, takes *fa*, but its synonym *qima* does not.

6.7.3. The classifier *gwa*

The classifier *gwa* is related to the noun *gwau* ‘head’. With a few nouns, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence or, rarely, with the classifier *fa*, but in most cases *gwa* is not contrastive, and it is not always used.

In one of its functions, *gwa* occurs with nouns that signify certain parts of the head or things associated with heads. It is also used with the word for ‘skull’:

(6-192) *gwa leelete qana imole*
 CLF skull GENP human.being
 ‘human skull’

However, it is not used with the noun *gwau* ‘head’:

- (6-193) **gwa gwau*
 CLF head
 (‘head’)

It is used with the words for teeth, including the general word for ‘tooth’:

- (6-194) *Teqe gwa lifo qe thakathaka qana lifo-ku.*
 one CLF tooth 3SG.NFUT wiggle GENP tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘One of my teeth wiggles/is wiggly.’ (Lit.: ‘One tooth wiggles
 among my teeth.’)

- (6-195) (*gwa*) *ulunga-ku*
 CLF wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘my wisdom tooth/teeth’

Gwa is used when the reference is to kinds of head hair, to facial hair, and also to the absence of head hair; and/or to a head that has a certain kind of hair style, is bald, etc.; and in a few cases to a person who has a certain kind of head hair. In some such cases, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence.

- (6-196) *gwa thaathate*
 CLF beard
 ‘beard’

Without the classifier, *thaathate* designates the chin and the jaws.

- (6-197) *gwa sufi*
 CLF k.o.hairdo
 ‘hair shaved off in the front in a straight line from ear to ear’

Compare *sufi* (intr.) ‘shave os.’, and *sufi* (tr.) ‘shave (hair, beard)’.

- (6-198) *gwa kookori*
 CLF shaved.head
 ‘person’s head whose hair has been completely shaved off’

There is an intransitive verb *kookori* ‘grate coconuts’, and the serializing compound *sufi kookori* expresses the meaning ‘completely shave sb.’s head’.

- (6-199) *gwa falai*
 CLF bald.head
 ‘bald head’

Compare *falai* ‘be bald’.

- (6-200) *gwa kwao*
 CLF white/grey.hair
 ‘person with white/grey head hair’

Compare *kwao* ‘of hair: be white, grey’.

Some other nouns that signify concepts associated with the head and/or hair that take *gwa* are:

- (6-201) *gwa qeda*
 CLF black.dye
 a. ‘hair dyed black’
 b. ‘black hair-dye’

- (6-202) *gwa bili*
 CLF mark.of.mourning
 ‘black marks worn on one’s face as a sign of mourning for sb.’s death’

Compare *biliqa* ‘be dirty’, where *qa* is most likely historically the proprietive suffix *-qa* (section 4.2.2.3), and *toobili*, ‘observe a period of mourning, wearing black marks on one’s face’ (*too* ‘of a person: be in a certain condition’).

Gwa is used with certain nouns that refer to categories or kinds of people. This may be an extension of the association of *gwa* with the head, the head being the most prominent part of the body. For example: *gwa reto* ‘mature person, no longer young (but not necessarily very old)’; *gwa tero* ‘person in a permanently bad physical or medical condition (e.g., crippled, paralyzed, constantly with sores)’.

Gwa is also used when reference is made to relatively large bones, including the general noun for ‘bone’. This may be an extension of its use with the noun for ‘skull’.

- (6-203) *gwa qogi qana qaba-ku*
 CLF bone GENP arm-1SG.PERS
 ‘the bone in my arm’, ‘my humerus’

- (6-204) *gwa laqo*
 CLF kneecap
 ‘kneecap bone, patella’

Compare *laqo* ‘large disc-like body ornament made from a clam shell with turtle-shell filigree, worn by men on one temple’ (related to *laqo* ‘kneecap bone?’).

And *gwa* is also used to refer to the rib cage: *gwa baabara*.

Gwa is also used when the reference is to a lump-shaped collectivity of something, possibly through a metaphorical extension from the meaning ‘head’. For example: *gwa gano* ‘lump of soil’, ‘small hump of soil on the ground’ (*gano* ‘ground, soil’); *gwa meme* ‘morsel, mouthful, lump of pre-chewed food (given to babies or to piglets)’ (*meme* [intr.] ‘pre-chew food [for a baby or a piglet]’, ‘of cooked food: be soft because pre-chewed or mashed’). Included here may perhaps also be *gwa rama* ‘flotsam’:

- (6-205) *Teqe gwa rama qe ni=i laa asi.*
 one CLF flotsam 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC IN sea
 ‘There is a patch of flotsam in the sea.’

The classifier is also used with the nouns that designate mountains and hills, hillocks (natural features that are large lumps?): *gwa tolo* ‘mountain’; *gwa ua* ‘relatively big hill’; cf. *fa ua* ‘relatively small hill’ (section 6.7.2); *gwa sulaa* ‘small piece of ground higher than the surrounding area; (small) hillock’. Without the classifier, *tolo* designates bush up on a mountain.

Gwa is used with the general words for fish, *iqa* (the usual term) and *sakwari* (not common):

- (6-206) *Ku dee-a kwalu gwa {iqa / sakwari}.*
 1SG.NFUT catch.fish-3.OBJ eight CLF fish / fish
 ‘I caught eight fish.’

There are also nouns *iqa* and *sakwari* that designate thrush (disease) in the mouth that affects mainly babies, but there *gwa* is not used:

- (6-207) *Wela, {iqa / sakwari} e thau-ngi-a.*
 child thrush/ thrush 3SG.NFUT afflict-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘The child is suffering from thrush.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, thrush has afflicted him/her.’)

Both *iqa* and *sakwari* are also used to refer to borderline leprosy, but there they occur with the classifier *maqe* (see the next section). It is not clear whether

the nouns for fish on the one hand and those for thrush and borderline leprosy on the other are related.

Another use of the classifier *gwa* is when reference is made to a relatively stationary body of water or another liquid, but not to water or another liquid in a man-made container. In some such cases, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence. For example, without the classifier, *kafo* refers to fresh water, streams, rivers, while with the classifier it may signify a puddle of water, continuous area flooded with water, or a pool in a stream where the water moves only slowly, even if the pool is man-made:

- (6-208) *Kera nao-fi-a gwa kafo qeri.*
 3PL.NFUT bail-TR-3.OBJ CLF water that
 ‘They bailed the water out of the pool [to be able to catch the shrimps in it].’ (Here *gwa kafo qeri* refers a place in a stream that has been enclosed with a barrier.)

The word for ‘blood’, *qabu*, occurs with *gwa* to refer to a pool or puddle of blood, to a subcutaneous accumulation of blood, and also to a placenta.

In some other cases the presence of *gwa* is not contrastive:

- (6-209) *gwa qirodo*
 CLF water.in.hollow.of.tree.or.of.rock
 ‘accumulation of water in a hollow in a tree or in a rock’

Gwa is also used with some nouns that signify concepts having to do with (mostly traditional) magic and religion. Here *gwa* is contrastive. *Biqu*, without *gwa*, signifies a traditional men’s house, while *gwa biqu (abu)* refers to traditional shrines (where men or women could be buried) and also to modern burial places (*abu* ‘be taboo, not allowed, forbidden’, ‘be sacred, holy [in the Christian sense]’). Possibly related is the use of *gwa* in *gwa rodo abu* ‘time of day: before day-break (still dark)’ (*rodo* ‘night’). *Riqi* (optionally) takes the classifier *fa* to refer to a species of a small tree (section 6.7.2), whereas *gwa riqi* designates a kind of magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees. *Funu*, without *gwa*, is an intransitive verb ‘be destroyed, ruined’, while *gwa funu* designates a kind of magic, sorcery that resides in its possessor’s hands. Even a slight touch can kill the person touched:

- (6-210) *Wane gwa funu e nii qani nia.*
 man CLF k.o.magic 3SG.NFUT exist GENP 3SG
 ‘The man possesses *funu* magic.’

Also included here is *gwa {fiu/lalaia}* ‘root of *fiu/lalaia* sp. of ginger’: chewed-up ginger root was used, together with chewed-up betel quid, in a kind of traditional healing.

Qai, without *gwa*, designates trees and wood. *Gwa qai* has several meanings: (a) ‘place for traditional worship’; (b) ‘k.o. magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees’, same as *gwa riqi*; (c) ‘stick used to beat a traditional wooden drum’. The last meaning links *qai* with other nouns that refer to sticks or stick-like objects used to beat or pound something (not people): *gwa kodo* ‘stick used to beat a drum’ (without *gwa*, *kodo* can refer to a stick used to beat a person), *gwa qaululu* ‘bamboo pole used to mash pudding in a large bowl’, *gwa lafuta* ‘stick, pole (not of bamboo) used to pound pudding or as a rammer’, *gwa fisi* ‘beater made out of a coconut frond split in half, used to beat the surface of the sea to drive fish into a desired place where they are then caught or speared’ (a group of people using such beaters). And further, there is a connection to words referring to coconut fronds (the stick of a coconut frond can also be used to beat drums): *gwa senga* ‘coconut frond’, and see also (6-211).

- (6-211) *gwa qaba qana niu*
 CLF arm GENP coconut
 ‘coconut frond’

Without *gwa*, *qaba*, designates a hand or an arm.

Gwa qaba can also designate a measure of length, a half-fathom (the distance from the centre of the chest to the tips of the fingers of one arm extended to the side’; also *gwa qaaqaba*.

Gwa is also used with reference to stones and rocks bigger than those that would be referred to using the diminutive particle *si* (section 6.6).

- (6-212) *teqe gwa fau*
 one CLF stone
 ‘one stone’

Unless the stone is very big, some speakers, especially young ones, use the classifier *fa* rather than *gwa* with *fau* ‘stone’. Furthermore, the classifier *maqe/maqa* (see the next section) is also possible with *fau*, when the stone, rock in question is relatively large.

The word for ‘reef’ can occur with *gwa* to signify the rocks of the reef: *gwa mai*.

Nouns that signify different kinds of armlet take *gwa*: *gwa kome* ‘armlet worn on the upper arm (general term)’, *gwa qimai* ‘k.o. armlet made from the

shell of a giant clam’ (cf. *qima* ‘giant clam’); and *gwa sifala* ‘k.o. armlet made from *sifala* shell’. Here it is likely that the use of the classifier is metonymically related to its use with nouns that signify relatively large bones, such as those of the upper arm ([6-203] further above); and compare also its use with *qaba* ‘arm’ to refer to coconut fronds.

There are also some uses of the classifier *gwa* that are not transparently related to any of those discussed above. For example: *gwa kurua* ‘depression in the ground’ (cf. [*maqe*] *kurua* ‘low-lying area’, ‘valley’); *gwa suku* ‘canarium nut tree that bears nuts with very small kernels’ (cf. *fa suku* ‘canarium nut with a very small kernel’); *gwa {kai/ufi}* ‘yam plant’ (cf. *si {kai/ufi}* ‘yam tuber’); and *gwa ngeqe* ‘sp. of grasshopper’.

6.7.4. The classifiers *maqe* and *maqa*

These two classifier forms are almost always interchangeable. Historically, *maqe* is a grammaticalization of *ma-qe*, the head of associative noun phrases, and *maqa* is most likely a backformation from *maqe* (see further below). *Ma-qe*, as the head of associative noun phrases, still exists in present-day Toqabaqita, and it and the classifier *maqe* are not always easily distinguishable. *Ma-* in the associative construction is a reduced form of *maa*, which has a variety of senses, loosely characterizable as ‘focal point’, ‘prominent part’, such as ‘eye’, ‘tip’, ‘cutting edge’, also ‘opening’ (e.g. a doorway or the mouth of a basket), ‘exterior front part of st.’, ‘lid’.²¹ The form *maa* occurs in the possessum position in possessive noun phrases, while *ma-* occurs as the head of associative noun phrases. (Compare *ree* ‘leaf’ in the possessum position in [6-181] further above and *re-* as the head of an associative noun phrase in [6-146] and [6-147].)

(6-213) *ma-qe* *suta*
 point-ASSOC comb
 ‘tooth of a comb’

(6-214) *maa-na* *suta*
 point-3.PERS comb
 ‘(all) the teeth of a comb’

(For the collective significance of the possessive construction in contrast to the type-identifying function of the associative construction see section 8.2.2.)

Ma-qe in associative constructions contrasts with *maa* in possessive constructions. On the other hand, the classifier *maqe* is, with just a few exceptions, in free variation with *maqa*:

- (6-215) {*maqe* / *maqa*} *kumu*
 CLF / CLF anvil.stone
 ‘anvil stone used in cracking canarium nuts’

Without the classifier, *kumu* signifies a kind of pudding made from mashed taro or mashed sweet potatoes, and there is also a transitive verb *kumu* ‘punch, pound’.

However, in some cases *maqe* and *maqa* contrast with *maa*, which is a reflection of the historical origin of *maqe* in *ma-qe*.²² As far as the origin of the variant *maqa* is concerned, it is most likely a later development from *maqe*. As discussed in section 8.2.1, nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable take the *-i* variant and possibly the *-e* variant, respectively, of the associative suffix rather than *-qi* and *-qe* variants; and with some nouns the final vowel of the base is deleted. The form *maqe*, from *ma-qe* (where *ma-* was a reduced form of *maa*), was most likely misanalyzed as coming from *maqa*, and *maqa* was created by backformation.

We can now consider the uses of the classifiers *maqe* and *maqa*. Unless specified otherwise, the two forms are interchangeable, even if only one form is given in an example. As the head of an associative construction, the noun *ma-qe* (with the associative suffix) may signify the point, tip or the cutting edge of an implement or a weapon:

- (6-216) *ma-qe* *naifa*
 edge-ASSOC knife
 ‘the cutting edge of a knife (including the tip)’

On the other hand, the classifiers *maqe* and *maqa* signify a wound or injury made with, or caused by, a given implement or weapon:

- (6-217) {*maqe* / *maqa*} *naifa*
 CLF / CLF knife
 ‘wound inflicted with a knife; knife injury’

- (6-218) *maqe subi*
 CLF k.o.warclub
 ‘wound inflicted with a *subi* club’

Perhaps by metonymical extension from the sense of ‘wound, injury’, {*maqe/maqa*} *ona* refers to a piece of vascular tissue of a species of tree fern (*fali*) sharpened at one end. Such spikes are placed around trees that their owner wants to prevent others from climbing. The spikes are stuck into the ground with only the sharp tips protruding in order to penetrate would-be transgressors’

feet. Without the classifier, *ona* signifies a species of sea urchin with long, sharp spikes, and also the spikes of a crayfish.

Maqe and *maqa* are also used with the general term for houseposts and house piles, *beta*. (With nouns that signify house beams and stick used in house construction, it is the classifier *fa* that is used.)

- (6-219) *Ngali-a mai ta ulu {maqe / maqa} beta.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT some three CLF / CLF housepost
 ‘Bring three (of the) houseposts.’

However, to refer collectively to all the posts of a house, the possessive construction is used:

- (6-220) *maa-na beta*
 focal.point?-3.PERS housepost
 ‘the posts (of a house)’

The classifiers are also used when reference is specifically to a housepost made from the wood of a *Vitex cofassus* tree. A living *Vitex cofassus* tree is referred to as *fata*, one that has been felled as *buu*, and a post made from its wood as *maqe buu*.

Perhaps related is the use with the noun *qai*. By itself *qai* designates a tree or wood. However, *qai* with *maqe* or *maqa* and with a modifying verb ‘be bad’ designates elephantiasis. In (6-221) the final vowel of the classifier has been deleted before a word that begins with *q*, and the two glottal stops are realized as one long one (section 2.2.1):

- (6-221) *maq=qai taqaa [máʔ:əi táʔa:a]*
 CLF=tree be.bad
 ‘elephantiasis’

The name of another type of (possibly) serious illness also takes the classifiers:

- (6-222) *maqe {iqa / sakwari}*
 CLF borderline.leprosy / borderline.leprosy
 ‘borderline leprosy’

Both *iqa* and *sakwari* also designate the mouth disease thrush, in which case they occur without a classifier. And as discussed in the preceding section, there are also nouns *iqa* and *sakwari* ‘fish’, which (may) take the classifier *gwa*. It is

conceivable that the use of *maqe/maqa* to designate elephantiasis and borderline leprosy is related to their use to refer to wounds and injuries.

With some nouns, *maqe* and *maqa* signify that the referent of the noun phrase is relatively large. In some such cases the classifiers contrast with their own absence, in some others they contrast with another classifier, and in still some others they are not contrastive. They are used with reference to large baskets. The general term for basket' is *waqi*, which can be used to refer to a basket of any type and size. *{Maqe/maqa} waqi* signifies a certain type of large basket, also referred to as *{maqe/maqa} foofote* (*fote* '[canoe] paddle', 'shoulder blade'). The noun *raraqai* can refer to a type of small personal basket (like a purse or a dilly-bag) or to a different type of basket that is large and is used to carry produce in, while *maqa raraqai* can designate only the latter. Here, only the *maqa* form of the classifier is used.

In contrast, the noun *maa* in relation to a basket signifies the mouth of a basket:

- (6-223) *maa-na* *waqi*
 opening-3.PERS basket
 'the mouth of a basket'

Maqe and *maqa* are also used to refer to stones, rocks that are relatively large:

- (6-224) *{maqe / maqa} fau*
 CLF / CLF stone
 '(large) rock, boulder'

Stones that are not particularly large (but not very small either) are referred to by means of the classifier *gwa*, or sometimes *fa* (section 6.7.3).

The nouns that signify anvil stones used in cracking canarium nuts all take *maqe/maqa*: *maqe kumu* (*kumu* [n.] 'k.o. pudding made from mashed taro or mashed sweet potatoes, *kumu* (tr. v.) 'punch, pound'); *maqe naanagi* (*nagi* 'chert', used for anvil stones); *maqe sadi* (*sadi* 'be hard [not soft]'). And there is also *maqe rafe* 'stone believed to have fallen from the sky during a thunderstorm' (found near trees split during thunderstorms; the trees are believed to have been split by the falling stones). *Rafe* has no other meaning.

The notion of relatively large size is also present in the use of *maqe/maqa* with the noun *kurua*: *maqe kurua* 'low-lying area', 'valley', as opposed to *gwa kurua* 'depression in the ground' (section 6.7.3).

Maqe and *maqa* are also used with the nouns for 'night' and 'darkness' to signify a long period of darkness and pitch darkness, respectively.

- (6-225) *maqe rodo*
 CLF night
 ‘long period of darkness at night before the moon appears’

Compare:

- (6-226) *si rodo*
 DIM night
 ‘short period of darkness at night before the moon appears’

- (6-227) *maqa keela*
 CLF pitchdark.night
 ‘pitch-dark night’

Maqa keela designates a night darker than *maqa kee* ‘moonless night’. Neither *keela* nor *kee* have other meanings. (There is another noun *kee* ‘sp. of wren’.)

Rodo and *kee* can take either the *maqe* or the *maqa* form of the classifier, while *keela* can only take the latter.

With the noun *era* ‘fire’, the classifier *maqe* signifies an area whose vegetation has been burnt down so that a new garden may be made there: *maqe era*. Here *maqe* contrast with the classifier *si*: *si era* ‘piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood’.

Maqe is used with one of the three nouns for ‘day (24-hour period)’: *maqe dani*. (The other two nouns, *thato* and *bongi*, take the *fa* classifier; see section 6.7.2).

Maqe and *maqa* are used with the noun *toaa* ‘household, homestead’, ‘hamlet, village’ with the significance of the homestead, hamlet or village as a person’s home.

- (6-228) *Nau ku thafaliqi futa qi laal-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INCEP be.born LOC inside-3.PERS
- naintin twenty eit, qi laa maqe toaa qi*
 nineteen twenty eight LOC IN CLF hamlet LOC

Malethau.

Malethau

‘I was originally born (lit.: I began to be born) in 1928 in the hamlet of (lit.: at) Malethau.’

However, only the form *maqa*, not *maqe*, is possible with the noun *fera* ‘family house’ (where traditionally a woman and her children, but not her husband, lived). *Maqa fera* has the meaning ‘one’s house as one’s home’.

- (6-229) *Lae i maqa fera.*
 go LOC CLF house
 ‘Go home (not necessarily into the house).’

And only *maqa*, not *maqe*, is used, obligatorily, with the noun for ‘forehead’, *dara*:

- (6-230) ... *ma fa io baa ka toqo qi*
 and CLF single.tip.arrow that 3SG.SEQ hit LOC

maqa daar-a
 CLF forehead-3SG.PERS
 ‘... and the arrow hit [him] in his forehead’

Finally, the classifiers are used with the words for ‘drum’ to signify drum beats:

- (6-231) *Wane baqita, laalae qe mae, keka*
 man be.important when 3SG.NFUT die 3PL.SEQ

buuleqemae qani nia fai taafuli
 beat.drum.to.announce.death GENP 3SG four ten

maqe oqo.
 CLF drum
 ‘An important man, when he died, they would give (lit.: beat) 40 drum beats for him.’

And from drum beats there is an extension to clock time, with *doo* ‘thing’ as the head noun. Presumably, the association with drum beats has to do with iron gongs that used to be (and still are) used in place of traditional drums to signal time for doing something (e.g. for attending a church service) and possibly also with time signals on the radio.

- (6-232) *Kamiliqa molo mili nii*
 1PL(EXCL) AFFTOP 1PL(EXCL).NFUT be.located

bo=naqa qi laa roo maqa doo neri.
 ASRT=PRF LOC IN two CLF thing NPAST.HERE
 ‘Where we are, it’s now two o’clock.’ (Lit.: ‘We are in two things now.’) (Speaking on the telephone to somebody in a different country and a different time zone.)

In comparison with the other two classifiers that have relatively large ranges of use, *fa* and *gwa*, the uses of *maqe* and *maqa* appear to be less tied to certain semantic areas and more lexically idiosyncratic. It is conceivable that this is due to their arising from the head of the associative noun phrase, and that the variety of uses is the result of selective grammaticalization of *ma-qe* in different associative constructions.

6.7.5. The classifier *si*

The element *si* functions primarily as a partitive and a diminutive particle, but with a few nouns it does function as a classifier. In some such cases, there is no necessary implication of partitiveness or small size. *Si* as a classifier may contrast with another classifier and/or with its own absence. As discussed in section 6.7.2, the terms for fruit, nuts, tubers, corms, and (plant) bulbs take the classifier *fa*. However, the words for ‘yam’ take *si* when the reference is to yam tubers (even though yams can be quite large), while the classifier *gwa* (section 6.7.3) is used to refer to yam plants:

(6-233) *roo si {kai / ufi}*
 two CLF yam / yam
 ‘two (whole) yam tubers’

(6-234) *roo gwa {kai / ufi}*
 two CLF yam / yam
 ‘two yam plants’

Si also functions contrastively with *thao* ‘sago’. *Si thao* designates panels of house thatching made of sago-palm leaves bent around, and sewn to, narrow wooden slats; compare *fa thao* ‘sago palm tree’ (section 6.7.2).

With the noun for ‘blood’, *si* functions to signify blood relationship between people:

(6-235) *Kamiliqa teqe si qabu.*
 1PL(EXCL) one CLF blood
 ‘We are one blood.’

However, with *qabu*, *si* could also be used in the diminutive function: *si qabu* ‘drop of blood’; compare also *gwa qabu* ‘pool of blood’, ‘subcutaneous accumulation of blood’, and ‘placenta’ (section 6.7.3).

In some cases, however, the classifying function of *si* cannot be neatly distinguished from its partitive or diminutive functions. For example:

- (6-236) *si era*
 CLF fire
 ‘piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood (which can be used to start a new fire)’

Although a burning or glowing piece of (fire)wood can be thought of as a small fire, *si era* is not used to refer to any small fire. This is shown in (6-237), where it is the adjective *kasi* ‘small’ that characterizes the fire as small:

- (6-237) *Tei n=e soqoni-a kasi era*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT light.fire-3.OBJ small fire

loo na kai tharu loqo?
 upward REL 3SG.IPFV burn up.there
 ‘Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?’

Besides *si era* ‘piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood’ there is also *maqe era* ‘area burnt out to make a new garden’, with the classifier *maqe*.

Similarly, while sticks can be thought of small pieces of wood or of trees, not every small piece of wood would be referred to by means of *si qai* (*qai* ‘tree’, ‘wood’). *Si qai* normally signifies a stick or a stick-like piece of wood. And as pointed out in section 6.6, the classifying and the diminutive and partitive functions are intertwined in *teqe si bauta* (*bauta* ‘boat’) ‘one dinghy’, ‘one life boat’ (example [6-145]).

Si is also used as a classifier with a few nouns where it does not contrast with another classifier or with its own absence: *si mamu*, also *si walota* ‘bait (used in fishing)’, *si omaleqewane* ‘proverb, customary saying’, ‘riddle’, *si onga* ‘tattoo’:

- (6-238) *Qui-a fasi si onga nau.*
 make.tattoo-3.OBJ PREC CLF tattoo 1SG
 ‘Make me a tattoo now.’

One tattoo pattern that consists of short horizontal lines under a person’s eyes is referred to as *si qai* ‘sticks’.

6.7.6. The classifier *noniqi*

This classifier is restricted in its use to a single noun *wane* ‘man’, ‘person (regardless of sex)’. There is no classifier specifically to designate women.

The classifier is historically the head of an associative noun phrase: *noni-qi*. There is no noun *noni* in present-day Toqabaqita, but closely related languages have a noun *noni*, which has ‘body’ among its meanings.²³ Since there is no related word *noni* in Toqabaqita, *noniqi* is treated as monomorphemic.

Noniqi is used only if there is a numeral or a quantifier present in the noun phrase, but it is not obligatory. Example (6-239) illustrates its use in reference to men and (6-240) in reference to a person, who, in fact, is a woman.

(6-239) *Si manga na keka ngali-a sikwa noniqi*
 PRTT time REL 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ nine CLF

wane baa ki, nain sif baa ki, keka alu-a
 man that PL nine chief that PL 3PL.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ

i laa brisen.
 LOC IN prison

‘When they took those nine men, the nine chiefs, they put them in prison.’

(6-240) *Teqe noniqi wane, teqe kini qi Japana,*
 one CLF person one woman LOC Japan

ka soe-toqo-na tha Franke uri nau,
 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR Frank ALL 1SG

ka quna qeri, “...”
 3SG.SEQ manner this

‘One person, a woman from (lit.: at) Japan, asked Frank about me, she said, “...”.’

6.7.7. Summary

As far as the classifier system of Toqabaqita is concerned, it is neither the case that the various classifiers are always independently meaningful, that is, contrastive; nor is it the case, with one exception, that they are never independently meaningful, contrastive. The one exception is the classifier *noniqi*, which occurs only with one noun and is optional. In most cases, when a classifier is con-

trastive, it contrasts with its own absence. Only in a relatively few cases does a classifier contrast with another one. Most nouns do not take any classifier; there is no general, default classifier in the language.

A few representative examples of classifiers that function contrastively are given in table 6.2. The presence of a classifier with a noun in the table does not signify that the classifier must be used. However, if one is used, it is the one specified in the table.

Table 6.2. Examples of contrastively functioning classifiers (continued on next page)

classifiers				
<i>fa</i>	<i>gwa</i>	<i>maqe/maqa</i>	<i>si</i>	nil
<i>fa qalo</i> 'taro corm'				<i>alo</i> 'taro plant'
<i>fa suku</i> 'canarium nut with a very small kernel'	<i>gwa suku</i> 'canarium-nut tree that bears nuts with very small kernels'			
<i>fa thao</i> 'sago palm'			<i>si thao</i> 'thatching panel'	
<i>fa thaqaro</i> 'any sp. of small bird'				<i>thaqaro</i> 'bird'
<i>fa riqi</i> 'sp. of tree'	<i>gwa riqi</i> 'k.o. magic'			
	<i>gwa kafo</i> 'stationary body of fresh (not sea) water'			<i>kafo</i> 'fresh water', 'stream, river'
		<i>maqe subi</i> 'injury made with a <i>subi</i> club'		<i>subi</i> 'k.o. warclub'
		<i>maqe waqi</i> 'large basket'		<i>waqi</i> 'basket'

		<i>maqa fera</i> 'one's home'		<i>fera</i> 'family house'
<i>fa kai</i> 'yam tuber' (not common)	<i>gwa kai</i> 'yam plant'		<i>si kai</i> 'yam tuber' (common)	
	<i>gwa fau</i> 'stone (some- what big)'	<i>maqe fau</i> 'large rock, boulder'		<i>fau</i> 'stone'
	<i>gwa qabu</i> 'pool, puddle of blood', 'subcutaneous accumulation of blood', 'placenta'		<i>si qabu</i> 'blood kinship relation'	<i>qabu</i> 'blood'
		<i>maqe era</i> 'area burnt out for a new garden'	<i>si era</i> 'firebrand, piece of glow- ing (fire) wood'	<i>era</i> 'fire'
	<i>gwa iqa</i> 'fish'	<i>maqe iqa</i> 'borderline leprosy'		<i>iqa</i> 'thrush (disease)'

In the case of the last entry in the table, it is not clear whether there is a pair of homonyms involved, *iqa* 'fish' and *iqa* 'borderline leprosy', 'thrush (disease)', or one polysemous word. The facts that besides *iqa* all three concepts can also be expressed by means of the noun *sakwari* and that *sakwari* is less common than *iqa* in all three meanings suggest three-way polysemy. However, it is not obvious what the semantic link between 'fish' on the one hand and 'borderline leprosy', 'thrush (disease)' on the other might be.

6.8. Noun phrase quantification

Toqabaqita has a morphosyntactically heterogenous set of forms and constructions that are used with quantification functions inside noun phrases. There are several types of prenominal elements: numerals, interrogative quantifiers, several other quantifiers, quantifying nouns, and an adjective; and two types of

postnominal elements: quantifying verbs and a particle. In some cases it is the quantifying element that is the head of a noun phrase. And there is also a quantifying noun that forms compounds with verbs (section 12.6).

6.8.1. The cardinal numerals

The set of the cardinal numerals is a decimal one; see table 6.3.

Table 6.3. Basic cardinal numerals

<i>teqe, eta</i>	‘one’
<i>roo, rua</i>	‘two’
<i>ulu</i>	‘three’
<i>fai</i>	‘four’
<i>lima</i>	‘five’
<i>ono</i>	‘six’
<i>fiu</i>	‘seven’
<i>kwalu</i>	‘eight’
<i>sikwa</i>	‘nine’
<i>taafulu, taafuli, tangafulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>talanga</i>	‘hundred’
<i>toqoni</i>	‘thousand’

The numerals 1-10 exhibit some peculiarities, and their morphosyntactic category is ambiguous. They exhibit one property they share with nouns: they take the third person (singular) personal suffix, but only when they have an ordinal-numeral function. On the other hand, when they have a cardinal-numeral function, they are unlike nouns. For expository reasons, the cardinal and the ordinal functions are discussed in separate sections. And the terms “cardinal numerals” and “ordinal numerals” are used for convenience. They are one and the same set of forms, but with different morphosyntactic properties in the cardinal and the ordinal functions.

As discussed in section 6.8.3, there is a set of nouns that designate numerically specific sets. However, the cardinal numerals 1-10 are not (quantifying) nouns. First, classifiers occur with them when the head noun is one of those that take classifiers. On the other hand, classifiers are not used when quantification is expressed by means of the numerically-specific quantifying nouns. Second, nearly all of those nouns function as the heads of associative noun phrases, whereas the numerals 1-10 do not. Third, apart from special forms for ‘one’ and ‘two’, with the numerals the entities being counted must be encoded, whereas this is not the case with the numerically-specific quantifying nouns. Finally,

unlike nouns, the cardinal numerals cannot be modified by noun-phrase particles (but the ordinal ones can).

Nearly all of the numerically-specific nouns designate sets of 10. They do not trigger the use of the classifiers (for an example see [6-245] further below), while the general terms for ‘ten’ do:

(6-241) *taafulu fa seleni*
 ten CLF ten.cent.coin
 ‘10 10-cent coins’

(6-242) *roo taafulu fa bongi*
 two ten CLF day
 ‘20 days’

That is, the absence of classifiers with the numerically specific sets is not due to their numerical value.

Unlike the terms for ‘one’ to ‘ten’, the cardinal terms for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ are indeed nouns, and there are no ordinal forms for ‘hundredth’ and ‘thousandth’. First, they function as the heads of associative noun phrases; see further below. And, second, the classifiers are not used in the presence of either numeral. For example, the classifier *fa* is used with the noun *alo/qalo* ‘taro’. (The basic form of the word for ‘taro’ is *alo*; *qalo* is used immediately after words that end in *a*, but not after transitive verbs that carry the object suffix *-a*.)

(6-243) *ulu fa qalo*
 three CLF taro
 ‘three taro corms’

However, the classifier is not used in the presence of the terms for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ or with the special quantifying noun *finita*, which designates a set of ten:

(6-244) *ulu toqoni alo*
 three thousand taro
 ‘3000 taros (corms or whole plants)’

In (6-245) the classifier occurs with the numeral ‘eight’ but not with ‘hundred’ and not with the quantifying noun *finita* ‘tensome’ used to count taros:

(6-245) *roo talanga qalo lima finita qalo kwalufa qalo*
 two hundred taro five tensome taro eight CLF taro
 ‘258 taro corms’

Nevertheless, the terms for ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ are included among the numerals here, because unlike the (other) quantifying nouns their use is not restricted to counting certain types of entities.

The forms *eta* ‘one’ and *rua* ‘two’ are used when there is no head noun, for example, when numbers are recited in sequence. The forms *teqe* ‘one’ and *roo* ‘two’ are used when there is a head noun. With all the other numerals the same form is used regardless of whether or not there is a head noun.

(6-246) *Eta, rua, ulu, fai, lima,*
 one two three four five
 ‘One, two, three, four, five,’

(6-247) *teqe madami*
 one month
 ‘one month’

(6-248) *roo fa qalo*
 two CLF taro
 ‘two taro corms’

(6-249) *lima bute-qe atha*
 five packet-ASSOC k.o.pudding
 ‘five packets of *atha* pudding’

There are three numeral forms for ‘ten’, in free variation. The form *tangafulu* is the least common one, while *taafulu* and *taafuli* are both common:

(6-250) *teqe {taafulu / taafuli} botho*
 one ten / ten pig
 ‘10 pigs’

In addition to the general numerals for ‘ten’, there are also several quantifying nouns that signify the value ‘ten’ and that are used to count certain types of entities; see section 6.8.3.

The numeral *kwalu* ‘eight’ is used in a few idiom constructions to signify a nonspecific, but usually large, number:

(6-251) *qolo-a kwalu lio*
 arrange-3.OBJ eight thought
 ‘have many, all kinds of, thoughts’

- (6-252) *kwalu kuduqi wane*
 eight large.quantity person
 ‘huge number of people’

(Most likely, *kuduqi* historically contains the associative suffix *-qi*, but there is no form *kudu* in the present-day language.)

- (6-253) *kwalu sui-fanua*
 eight be.finished-land
 ‘the four corners of the earth’, ‘the whole world’

Without *kwalu*, *sui-fanua* has the meaning ‘the geographic end of the world’.

The terms for ‘hundred’, *talanga*, and ‘thousand’, *toqoni*, with or without the associative suffix, function as the heads of associative noun phrases: ‘set of hundred’ and ‘set of thousand’, respectively. Their modifiers are noun phrases that designate the entities counted.

- (6-254) *teqe talange-qe imole*
 one hundredsome-ASSOC person
 ‘100 people’

To count hundreds of taros there is also a quantifying noun *anga* ‘hundreds’ (section 6.8.3).

- (6-255) *toqoni iqa*
 thousand dolphin.tooth
 ‘1000 dolphin teeth’

The noun *iqa* designates not only fish, but also a superordinate category that includes fish, whales, dolphins, turtles, and dugongs. It also designates dolphin teeth, which are used to make valuables.

The terms for ‘ten’, *taafulu/taafuli/tangafulu*, ‘hundred’, *talanga*, and ‘thousand’, *toqoni*, combine with the numerals 1-9 in numeral phrases to express the respective number of tens, hundreds, and thousands. The numerals 1-9 precede the terms for ‘ten’, ‘hundred’, and ‘thousand’: *fai taafuli* X ‘40 X’, *roo talange-qe* X ‘200 X’, *lima toqoni* X ‘5,000 X’. The numeral ‘one’ is optional here:

- (6-256) *(teqe) taafulu botho*
 one ten pig
 ‘10 pigs’

See also (6-254), and (6-255) above.

To form other numeral expressions, numeral phrases with coordinated constituents are used. Optionally, although commonly, the constituents are coordinated by means of the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ (also used to coordinate phrases and clauses). The entities being counted are expressed in every conjunct. The basic formula is given in (6-257). X represents the constituent that contains the noun designating the entities counted. (See [6-3] in section 6.1 for the internal structure of basic lexical noun phrases.). The conjunction ‘and’ can, of course, be present only if the numeral expression to its right in (6-257) is present.

(6-257) (‘thousand’ X) (‘and’) (‘hundred’ X) (‘and’) (‘ten’ X) (‘and’) (X)

(6-258) *taafulu uni-qi wane ma fiu*
 ten generation-ASSOC person and seven

uni-qi wane
 generation-ASSOC person
 ‘17 generations’

(6-259) *teqe taafalu fa ngali roo fa ngali*
 one ten CLF year two CLF year
 ‘12 years’

The position where one of the numerals for ‘ten’ occurs can instead be occupied by a numerically-specific noun with the value ‘ten’ (section 6.8.3). In (6-260) this position is filled by *akwale-qe*, used to count people:

(6-260) *teqe toqoni imola ma roo talange-qe*
 one thousand person and two hundred-ASSOC

imole ma lima akwale-qe imole
 person and five tensome-ASSOC person
 ‘1250 people’

(The form of the noun ‘person’ is optionally *imola*, rather than *imole*, after relatively high numerals, several tens and higher.)

For another example see (6-245) further above.

Apart from situations when numerals are recited in sequence, numeral expressions must contain an expression of the entities counted. Instead of a noun that explicitly designates a certain type of entity, the general noun *doo* (section 6.2) can be used:

(6-261) A: *Fita doo?*
 how.many? thing

B: *Fai doo.*
 four thing

A: 'How many (of them) [did you have]?'

B: 'Four.'

In (6-261) *doo* is used with reference to bags of copra.

(6-262) *ulu taafuli doo kwalu doo*
 three ten thing eight thing
 '38 (of them)'

Although Toqabaqita does have means to express large numbers, in practice, numerals borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin are normally used for numbers higher than ten. For example:

(6-263) ... *ka fula-toqo-na fulinga-na seven*
 3SG.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ value-3.PERS seven

hundred dola.

hundred dollar

'... (and) the amount reached 700 dollars.' (Lit.: '... it reached the value of 700 dollars.')

However, not infrequently Solomon Pijin numerals are used even for numbers 1-10 (chapter 40).

6.8.2. Other uses and meanings of *teqe*

The numeral *teqe* 'one' is also used to introduce new (singular) participants into discourse. In (6-264) there are three such instances of *teqe* (in bold). Two of the new participants are referred to again in the immediately following sentence, and the third one in a later sentence (not included here).

(6-264) *Si manga qeri nau kwai uqunu suli-a*
 PRTT time this 1SG 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL-3.OBJ

teqe *wane qe raqa-a teqe keekene*
 one man 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ one breadfruit

n=e takwe ninima-na teqe kilu. Qe
 REL=3SG.NFUT stand beside-3.PERS one hole 3SG.NFUT

raqa-a ura foa-na keekene qeri.
 climb-3SG.OBJ PURP fruit-3.PERS breadfruit that

‘This time I will tell a story about a man who climbed a breadfruit (tree) that stood beside/next to a hole. He climbed it for its fruit (lit.: for the fruit of the breadfruit).’

Teqe may also be used with the meaning ‘sole, only, single’: *teqe* X ‘sole X’, ‘only X’, ‘X alone’, ‘single X’.

(6-265) *Ai fuu ki kera lae teqefau,*
 woman downward PL 3PL.NFUT go every.one

teqe ni Qane bana na kai
 sole PERSMKR Qane LIM FOC 3SG.IPFV

kiili-a luma fuu.
 stay.alone.in(house)-3.OBJ house downward

‘The women have all gone away; only Qane alone is (staying) in the house.’

In this function *teqe* can modify personal pronouns, including plural ones:

(6-266) *Toqa naqi ki kera thaa-thaka ka*
 people this PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-flee 3SG.SEQ

sui naqa; teqe nau naqa ku too.
 be.finished PRF sole 1SG PRF 1SG.NFUT stay

‘The people have kept fleeing until they are all gone (lit.: it is finished now); I alone now stay [here].’

(6-267) *Teqe keeroqa bo=naqa n=e aqi*
 sole 3DU ASRT=INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT NEG

kesi mae
 3DU.NEG die

‘It was only the two of them who did not die’

And *teqe* can occur with this meaning in a plural noun phrase with a distributive interpretation, as in (6-268):

- (6-268) ... *tai wane ki keka thau-ngi-a*
 some.PL man PL 3PL.SEQ pound-TR-3.OBJ
- ba-da teqe bi-qi ngali*
 LIM-3PL.PERS single bamboo.container-ASSOC canarium.nut
- ki bana qi maqa fera kera ki bana.*
 PL LIM LOC CLF house 3PL PL LIM
 ‘... some men just crack (lit.: pound) only single containerfuls of
 canarium nuts (each) [to make pudding], just in their houses.’

6.8.3. Nouns designating numerically specific sets

Besides the cardinal numerals, there are several nouns that signify numerically specific sets. Most of these quantifying nouns have the significance of ‘tensome’, and each one is used to count certain kinds of entities. When the entities being counted are expressed, the quantifying nouns that signify sets of ten function as the head of an associative construction, and the entities counted are expressed in the modifier phrase. With none of these quantifying nouns do the nouns in the modifier phrase take a classifier even if they otherwise do.

Akwala ‘tensome’ is used to count people, dolphin teeth, which are used to make valuables, and by extension pounds sterling, used as currency in earlier times, at least by older speakers who still remember pounds sterling.

- (6-269) *fai akwale-qe kini*
 four tensome-ASSOC woman
 ‘40 women’
- (6-270) *roo akwale iqa*
 two tensome dolphin.tooth
 ‘20 dolphin teeth’
- (6-271) *Keka uusi nau boqo qana akwale-qe*
 3PL.SEQ pay.wage.to 1SG ASRT GENP tensome-ASSOC
- baoni ma fai baoni.*
 pound and four pound
 ‘They paid me the wages of 24 pounds [for one year of work].’

However, to count dollars, the Pijin numeral *ten* ‘ten’ is normally used: *ten dola* ‘10 dollars’.

Kobi (rarely *kubi*) ‘tensome’ is used to count sets of traditional shell money:

- (6-272) *teqe kobi-qi taafuliqae*
 one tensome-ASSOC set.of.shell.money
 ‘10 sets of shell money’

(The noun *taafuliqae* ‘set of shell money’ consists of the numeral *taafuli* ‘ten’ and *qae* ‘leg’.)

Finita, usually pronounced *finta*, ‘tensome’ is used to count tubers, corms, fruit, nuts, seeds, pods, medicine pills, bread rolls. Except for the words for ‘yam’, nouns that take *finita* take the classifier *fa* elsewhere, but the reverse is not true: not all nouns that occur with *fa* elsewhere are used with *finita*.

- (6-273) *roo finta qalo (ma) lima fa qalo*
 one tensome taro and five CLF taro
 ‘25 taros’
- (6-274) *teqe finte-qe kai*
 one tensome-ASSOC yam
 ‘10 yams’

Qada ‘tensome’ is used to count coconuts (fruit):

- (6-275) *roo qade-qe niu*
 two tensome-ASSOC coconut
 ‘20 coconuts’

Lama ‘tensome’ is used to count birds, flying foxes, and possums. (There are separate words for birds, flying foxes, and possums. However, the word *thaqaro*, which can specifically designate birds, also designates a superordinate category that includes birds, flying foxes, and possums.)

- (6-276) *teqe lame-qe lakwatho*
 one tensome-ASSOC flying.fox
 ‘10 flying foxes’

And *sinolo* ‘tensome’ is used to count relatively big fish that are not/cannot be wrapped together in packets (see below):

- (6-277) *roo sinolo-qe iqa*
 two tensome-ASSOC fish
 ‘20 (big) fish’

Sinolo can also designate 10 packets, parcels of small fish (the fish are normally wrapped in leaves), but in that case it does not occur in the associative construction:

- (6-278) *teqe sinolo qana kefa qana karusu*
 one tensome GENP sardine GENP packet.of.fish
 '10 packets of sardines' (lit.: one tensome of sardines in packets')

These quantifying nouns for sets of ten can combine with numerals in numeral phrases to form complex numeral expressions. They occupy the TEN position in the formula given in (6-257) in section 6.8.1:

- (6-279) *teqe kobi-qi malefo ma teqe malefo*
 one tensome-ASSOC shell.money and one shell.money
 '11 sets of shell money'

See also (6-260) and (6-272) further above.

Unlike the numerals, the quantifying nouns do not require expression of the entities counted.

- (6-280) *teqe akwala*
 one tensome
 '10 (people)'

In (6-281) a quantifying noun is combined with a numeral in a complex numeral expression, and it is only with the numeral that the entities counted are expressed:

- (6-281) *teqe kobi ma roo malefo*
 one tensome and two shell.money
 '12 sets of shell money'

There is one quantifying noun that signifies 'hundred', *anga*. It is used only when taros and yams are counted. Unlike the other quantifying nouns, it cannot combine with numerals to form complex numeral expressions:

- (6-282) *roo anga qalo*
 two hundredsome taro
 '200 taros'

Anga also functions as a quantifying noun with the meaning 'small number', 'few' with reference to entities other than taros and yams (section 6.8.11).

To form complex numeral constructions when taros are counted the (nominal) numeral *talanga* is used:

- (6-283) *roo talanga qalo lima finita qalo kwalufa qalo*
 two hundred taro five tensome taro eight CLF taro
 ‘258 taro corms’

The use of the specialized quantifying nouns for sets of 10 appears to be on the wane, with the younger speakers tending to use the numerals ‘ten’ instead. Thus, where an older speaker might use the construction in (6-284a), a younger speaker may be more likely to use the one in (6-284b):

- (6-284) a. *teqe finte-qe bereta*
 one tensome-ASSOC bread
 ‘10 bread rolls’
- b. *taafuli fa bereta*
 ten CLF bread
 ‘10 bread rolls’

Similarly, the quantifying noun for ‘hundred (taros, yams)’ may be replaced with the (nominal) numeral *talanga* ‘hundred’:

- (6-285) *roo talanga qalo*
 two hundred taro
 ‘200 taros’

6.8.4. The ordinal numerals

When the numerals 1–10 have the ordinal-numeral function, they carry either of the two third person singular personal suffixes, *-na* and *-a*. The form *-a* is used with bases that contain *l* or *n* in the last syllable: *ulu* ‘three’, *kwalu* ‘eight’, *taafulu* and *tangafulu* ‘ten’, and *ono* ‘six. In addition, there is metathesis of the *l* or *n* and the final vowel; for example *kwaul-a* ‘eighth’. The suffix *-na*, without metathesis, is used elsewhere.

For the ordinal numeral ‘first’, it is *eta* ‘one’, not *teqe*, that serves as the base; and for ‘second’ it is *rua*, not *roo*. For ‘tenth’ the base can be *taafulu* or *tangafulu*, not *taafuli*. The basic set of the ordinal numerals is given in table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Ordinal numerals 1–10

<i>eta-na</i>	‘first’
<i>rua-na</i>	‘second’
<i>uul-a</i>	‘third’
<i>fai-na</i>	‘fourth’
<i>lima-na</i>	‘fifth’
<i>oon-a</i>	‘sixth’
<i>fiu-na</i>	‘seventh’
<i>kwaul-a</i>	‘eighth’
<i>sikwa-na</i>	‘ninth’
<i>taafuul-a, tangafuul-a</i>	‘tenth’

The variation between the third person personal suffixes *-a* with metathesis and *-na* without metathesis is (also) found with the possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive construction (section 8.1.2) and with Class 2 transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.3.1.). Both possessum nouns and transitive verbs are the heads of their respective phrases. And there is evidence that in phrases with the ordinal numerals it is the numeral that is the head, specifically the head of a suffixing possessive construction. This in turn is evidence that the numerals are a subclass of nouns, when they have the ordinal-numeral function. For example, in (6-286) it is *lima-na* ‘fifth’ that is the head, not *wela* ‘child’:

- (6-286) *lima-na wela*
 five-3.PERS child
 ‘the fifth child’; lit.: ‘the fifth (one) of a child’

The evidence that the ordinal numerals are a subtype of nouns is as follows. First, it is the use of the third person singular personal suffix, which in a possessive noun phrase occurs on the possessum, head noun. Second, the ordinal numerals can occur by themselves, without any expression of the entity being counted. Similarly, the head of a suffixing possessive construction can occur without a possessor phrase. In (6-287) the ordinal numerals function as subjects of verbless clauses:

- (6-287) ... *eta-na baru-qi ongi,*
 one-3SG.PERS lined.up.set-ASSOC bamboo.sp

rua-na *thao,* *uul-a* *kaakaro.*
 two-3SG.PERS sago.panel three-3SG.PERS bamboo.panel
 [A traditional house has triple walls.] ‘... the first (innermost) one (is) (sticks of) *ongi* bamboo lined up, the second one (is) panels made out of sago leaves, the third one (is) panels made out of bamboo slats.’

Compare (6-288) where a possessum phrase occurs without a possessor phrase:

(6-288) *Thaina-na* *ka* *quna* *qeri,* “...”
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner this
 ‘His mother said, “...”.’

The sentence in (6-289) too contains an ordinal numeral without a modifier. The sentence comes from an account of the various uses of areca nuts. Here it is a third traditional kind of use of areca nuts that is being described:

(6-289) *Uul-a,* *si* *manga* *na* *wane* *qe*
 three-3SG.PERS PRTT time REL man 3SG.NFUT

thare-a *qa-n=ta* *kaluwani,*
 beget-3.OBJ SBEN-3SG.PERS=some son
 ‘Third, when a man had a son (lit.: when a man beget a son) (when the son was eight years old, he was taken to a priest’s house where he was given a new name. On that occasion he was given an areca nut to chew to make him fearless.)’

The ordinal numeral *rua-na* ‘second’ is modified by a prepositional phrase in the expression for ‘third day after tomorrow’:

(6-290) *rua-na* *qi* *fuleqe*
 two-3SG.PERS LOC second.day.after.tomorrow
 ‘third day after tomorrow’

(Alternatively, *rua-na* may be modified just by the noun phrase *fuleqe*: *rua-na fuleqe* ‘third day after tomorrow.’)

Similarly, nouns can be modified by prepositional phrases (section 6.13):

- (6-291) *aququa qi Malaqita*
 island LOC Malaita
 ‘the island of (lit.: at) Malaita’

And the ordinal numerals can be in the scope of particles that occur in noun phrases (table 7.1 in section 7.1). In (6-292) the particle is the perfect marker *naqa*. The sentence is a response to the question: ‘How many times have you been to the Solomons now?’. See (6-305) in section 6.8.5 for the question.

- (6-292) *Fai-na naqa si manga neri.*
 four-3.PERS PRF PRTT time NPAST.HERE
 ‘(This is) the fourth time.’ (Lit.: ‘Fourth now of time.’)

In (6-293) the ordinal numeral occurs with the combination of the assertive and the perfect markers:

- (6-293) *Rua-na bo=naqa si manga neri.*
 two-3.PERS ASRT=PRF PRTT time NPAST.HERE
 ‘This is the second time.’

There is, however, one difference between the ordinal numerals and nouns that can occur in the possessum position of a suffixing possessive construction. When a possessum phrase has dual or plural reference and there is no possessor phrase present, the possessum noun takes the dual or the plural personal suffix, respectively:

- (6-294) *thaina-da*
 mother-3PL.PERS
 ‘their mother’

On the other hand, the ordinal numerals can take only the third person singular personal suffix, even if there is no expression of the entities counted.

There is, then, strong evidence that the ordinal numerals, unlike the cardinal ones, function as a subclass of nouns.

Some more examples of ordinal numerals are given below:

- (6-295) *rua-na oomea*
 two-3.PERS fight
 ‘Second World War’

- (6-296) *Laala=e fula i fiu-na madami, mada*
 when=3SG.NFUT arrive LOC seven-3.PERS month or

oon-a madami, oqola qeri ka rafo
 six-3.PERS month garden that 3SG.SEQ be.ripe
 ‘After seven months, or six months [after planting], the (food in the) garden is ripe’ (Lit.: ‘When it arrives at the seventh month, or the sixth month, the [food in the] garden is ripe’)

(6-297) *Keka qolo suli-a kwalu fa bongi, fula*
 3PL.SEQ count PROL-3.OBJ eight CLF day arrive

i kwaul-a fa bongi, keko oli mai.
 LOC eight-3.PERS CLF day 3DU.SEQ return VENT
 ‘They counted off the eight days [one after another] [i.e., they waited for eight days], (and) when the eighth day arrived (lit.: when it arrived at the eighth day), they came back.’

The forms *taafuul-a* and *tangafuul-a* besides meaning ‘tenth’ are also used to refer to tithes given to the church:

(6-298) *{taafuul-a / tangafuul-a} si doo kamiliqa ki*
 ten-3.PERS / ten-3.PERS PRTT thing 1PL(EXCL) PL
 ‘our tithes’ (lit.: ‘the tenth (ones) of our things’)

To express ordinal numbers higher than ten, the coordinate construction for the cardinal numerals is used (see [6-257] in section 6.8.1), in which cardinal numeral phrases are conjoined to form a numeral that is one less than the number to be expressed, to which is coordinated, with or without the conjunction ‘and’, the next number in the sequence, as an ordinal number. Thus, ‘fifteenth X’ can be expressed as ‘ten X and four X and fifth X’:

(6-299) *Teqe akwale-qe wela ma fai wela ma*
 one tensome-ASSOC child and four child and

lima-na wela neq.
 five-3.PERS child here
 ‘This/Here is the 15th child.’

And ‘twentieth’ can be expressed as ‘ten X and nine X tenth X’:

(6-300) *Teqe akwale-qe kini ma sikwa kini*
 one tensome-ASSOC woman and nine woman

taafuul-a kini neq.
 ten-3.PERS woman here
 ‘This/Here is the 20th woman.’

When counting something in twos, the following grammatically idiosyncratic formula is used, which contains a mixture of cardinal and ordinal numerals:

(6-301) *Roo doo, fai doo, roo limani ma oon-a,*
 two thing four thing two five and six-3SG.PERS

roo fiu ma kwaul-a, roo sikwa
 two seven and eight-3SG.PERS two nine

taafuul-a.
 ten-3SG.PERS
 ‘Two, four, six, eight, ten.’ (Lit.: ‘Two things, four things, two five and sixth, two seven and eighth, two nine tenth.’)

The word for ‘five’ in the formula is *limani* rather than *lima*. Some, but not all, of the cardinal numerals occur without the head noun *doo*, while all three of the ordinal numerals occur without *doo*. If necessary, after reaching ten the speaker goes back to *roo doo*, etc.

6.8.5. *Fita* and *fita-na* interrogative quantifiers

Fita ‘how many?, how much?’ is a cardinal interrogative quantifier and *fita-na* its ordinal counterpart, ‘how manieth?’. Interrogative sentences with these two quantifiers are discussed in section 19.3.6, and here only information about their morphosyntactic status is given, with a few examples.

The cardinal quantifier is a noun modifier and occurs in the same position in which cardinal numeral expressions do. It can be used with count nouns as well as with mass nouns.

(6-302) *Qoe fita fa ngali?*
 2SG how.many? CLF year
 ‘How old are you?’ (Lit.: ‘You how many years?’)

(6-303) *Fita si kafo n=o kuqu-fi-a?*
 how.much? PRTT water FOC=2SG.NFUT drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘How much of the water did you drink?’

In its ordinal function, the quantifier functions as a noun, the way the ordinal numerals do. It carries the third person singular personal suffix *-na* and functions as the head of suffixing possessive noun phrases.

- (6-304) *Fita-na* *si* *manga* *neri?*
 how.many?-3.PERS PRTT time NPAST.HERE
 ‘What’s the time now?’ (Lit.: ‘How manieth of time now?’)

In (6-305) the quantifier is accompanied by the perfect marker, one of the particles that can function as noun-phrase constituents:

- (6-305) A: *Qoe*, *fita-na* *naqa* *si* *manga* *qo*
 2SG how.many?-3.PERS PRF PRTT time 2SG.NFUT

fula *i* *Solomoni* *neri?*
 arrive LOC Solomons NPAST.HERE

B: *Fai-na* *naqa* *si* *manga* *neri*.
 four-3.PERS PRF PRTT time NPAST.HERE

A: ‘You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?’
 (Lit.: ‘You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the Solomons?’)

B: ‘(This is) the fourth time.’ (Lit.: ‘Fourth now of time.’)

On the other hand, in its cardinal function, *fita* cannot be accompanied by noun-phrase particles.

6.8.6. *Ta* and *tai* indefinite quantifiers

These two quantifiers occur in the position before the one occupied by numerals and the interrogative quantifiers. One of them, *ta*, can cooccur with numerals but not with the interrogative quantifiers. Apart from one use of *ta*, both function as existential quantifiers and will be glossed ‘some’ in all cases. The two quantifiers are first discussed in positive contexts; their use in negative contexts will be considered subsequently.

Tai is a plural quantifier (‘some.PL’) and can only be used with count nouns. Sometimes, but not always, it signifies a subset of a larger set, but the larger set need not be overtly expressed. It is used both in referential and non-referential noun phrases.

Ta is used both with count nouns and with mass nouns. It has three functions. First, it is used to form non-referential noun phrases. With count nouns, it

is — strictly speaking — neutral with respect to number, but its default value is singular. A noun phrase with *ta* is normally interpreted as singular unless the context suggests otherwise. Second, it is used to denote numerically-specific subsets, in which function it cooccurs with numerals higher than one. And third, it is used to signify an approximate quantity, number; in this case too it cooccurs with a numeral. In the glosses, *ta* is not specified for number.

The next several examples illustrate the number contrast between *ta* and *tai*. In (6-306) the normal interpretation of *ta* is as having a singular value, while *tai* in (6-307) can only have a plural value. In both sentences the relevant noun phrases are non-referential.

(6-306) *Ngali-a mai ta thakia.*
 take-3.OBJ VENT some tongs
 ‘Bring a pair of tongs.’

(6-307) *Ngali-a mai tai thakia.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT some.PL tongs
 ‘Bring some tongs (more than one pair).’

Similarly in the next example: in the first sentence the noun phrase with *ta* is non-referential and singular (the person wants to buy only one fish); in the second sentence with *tai* the noun phrase is non-referential and plural.

(6-308) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai uusi-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT buy-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT buy-3.OBJ

ta iqa. Tai iqa qe too quu
 some fish some.PL fish 3SG.NFUT remain ANTCONT

ba-na?
 LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I want to buy a fish. Are there still any fish left?’

In the next two examples the relevant noun phrases are referential. In both, *ta* and *tai* occur with the noun *manga* ‘time’, and in both cases more than one occasion is involved. However, with *ta* each occasion is conceptualized individually, while with *tai* the multiple occurrences are taken collectively.

(6-309) *Ta si manga keeroqa sui bana keki raqa.*
 some PRTT time 3DU EXHST LIM 3PL.IPFV climb
 ‘Sometimes both of them would climb (a tree).’

That is, there would be a time when both of them climb the tree, and there is more than one such time.

(6-310) *Tai si manga keko lae, keko ngali-a*
 some.PL PRTT time 3DU.SEQ go 3DU.SEQ take-3.OBJ

mai denge na=i laa kafo ki. Tai
 VENT shrimp REL=LOC IN stream PL some.PL

si manga keka lae ura futa
 PRTT time 3PL.SEQ go PURP possum

‘Sometimes they would go and bring [home] shrimp (that were) in the streams.... Sometimes they would go [hunting] for possums’

That is, these were things that they often, customarily did.

The next set of examples illustrates differences between *ta*, the numeral *teqe* ‘one’, and *tai*. In (6-311) the noun phrase with *ta* is non-referential, and one or more person may be involved. The speaker assumes that someone has been stealing the coconuts but does not know who the perpetrator(s) is/are.

(6-311) *Ta wane togo n=e bili-a*
 some person probably FOC=3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ

niu kulu naqi ki.
 coconut PL(INCL) this PL

‘Someone probably has been stealing these coconuts of ours.’
 (‘These coconuts of ours have probably been being stolen by someone.’) (Lit.: ‘It is probably some person/people who has/have been stealing these coconuts of ours.’)

In (6-312) the noun phrase with *teqe* ‘one’ is singular and referential. The speaker knows (or assumes he knows) the identity of the perpetrator.

(6-312) *Teqe wane qe bili-a niu kamiliqa ki*
 one man 3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ coconut 1PL(EXCL) PL

ka too-too ba-na.
 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS

‘A (certain) man keeps stealing our coconuts.’

In (6-313) the noun phrase with *tai* is plural and can be either referential or non-referential:

- (6-313) *Tai wane kera bili-a niu*
 some.PL person 3PL.NFUT steal-3.OBJ coconut

kamiliqa ki ka too-too ba-na.
 1PL(EXCL) PL 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘Some/Certain people keep stealing our coconuts.’

The three functions of *ta* can now be considered in turn. First, *ta* is used in non-referential noun phrases, count or mass. Examples of count noun phrases have been given further above, in (6-308) and (6-311). In (6-314) *ta* occurs in a noun phrase headed by *toqa* ‘people’, which necessarily has plural significance:

- (6-314) *Kulu bona qa-kuluqa ada ta*
 PL(INCL).NFUT be.silent SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS TIM some

toqa ka rongo kulu.
 people 3SG.SEQ hear PL(INCL)
 ‘Let’s be quiet in case some people might hear us.’

The sentences in (6-315) and (6-316) show *ta* in mass noun phrases. In (6-315) *ta* has fused with the transitive verb, and as a consequence the object marker is not present

- (6-315) *Kuki=ta kafo.*
 boil:3.OBJ=some water
 ‘Boil some water.’

- (6-316) *Tootoo kwai uusi-a qa-karoqa ta*
 later 1SG.FUT buy-3.OBJ RECBEN-DU(INCL).PERS some

kofe.
 coffee
 ‘I’ll buy us coffee [instant coffee to be used to make coffee].’

In another function, *ta* is used to signify numerically-specific subsets. If the membership of the subset is higher than one, the corresponding numeral phrase is used. If the subset consists of only one member, no numeral is used. (However, *ta* can be used in combination with *teqe* ‘one’ in negative contexts, where it has a different value; see further below.)

- (6-317) *Ta fai noniqi wane keka lae uri-a*
 some four CLF man 3PL.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ

raraqe-laa, ma ta fai noniqi wane
 hunt.possum-NMLZ and some four CLF man

keka lae uri-a nao-laa qi laa kafo.
 3PL.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ bail-NMLZ LOC IN stream
 'Four of the [eight] men were going to go possum-hunting, and (the other) four men were going to go and bail water out of (lit.: in) the stream.'

In (6-318) *ta* first cooccurs with a numeral to signify a subset of three and then without a numeral to signify a subset of one:

(6-318) *Ta ulu wela qe ni=i*
 some three child 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

laal-a gwa kafo qeri ... ma ta wela
 inside-3SG.PERS CLF water that and some child

ka dudu ka too ma=i laa
 3SG.SEQ move.backwards 3SG.SEQ stay VENT=LOC IN

babaruqu lokoo
 cave that(3)

'Three of the [four] children were in the pool ... and the other child backed into the cave and stayed there (lit.: and the other child moved backwards and stayed in the cave)'

In the third function too *ta* cooccurs with a numeral. It signals that the quantity expressed by the numeral is only approximate.

(6-319) ... *mili raqu faafi-a fulinga-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT possess CONF-3.OBJ amount-3.PERS

ta tri hundred dolas toqo.
 some three hundred dollar perhaps
 '... we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.'

(6-320) *Miki too laqu boqo, buria-na ta*
 1PL(EXCL).IPFV live ADD ASRT after-3.PERS some

roo fa ngali qe suqusia, maka nau
 two CLF year 3SG.NFUT elapse father 1SG

ka nofi.

3SG.SEQ die

‘We were living [like that] again, (then) after about two years (had elapsed) my father died.’

The plural quantifier *tai* may, but need not, signify a subset. In (6-321) it does not:

(6-321) *Kwai lae, kwai kwaqe-a mai tai doo*
1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT hit-3.OBJ VENT some.PL thing

n=e maruki, doo mala tai loi
REL=3SG.NFUT be.alive thing EQT some.PL snake

mala baqekwa, tai kooseqe, tai kuqunao,
EQT snake.sp some.PL frog.sp some lizard.sp

tai qiiqilo,

some skink.sp

‘I’ll go and kill (lit. hit) (and bring here) some living things, things such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs, some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks, (and) ...’

When *tai* does signify a subset, the subset is not numerically specific. The larger set may be expressed in the clause, as in (6-322) or not, as in (6-323):

(6-322) *Tai qanamola ki na ni nau lio kwa*
some.PL animal PL REL PROFORE 1SG look 1SG.SEQ

riki-da, qe aqi kwasi rii-riki-a
see-3PL.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG RDP-see-3.OBJ

quu boqo seqe-da.

ANTCONT ASRT body-3PL.OBJ

‘Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality before.’ (Lit.: ‘Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen their bodies.’)

(6-323) *Tai wane keka fale-a thao,*
some.PL man 3PL.SEQ hand-3.OBJ thatching.panel

tai toqa ki keka kani-a.

some.PL people PL 3PL.SEQ tie-3SG.OBJ

‘Some of the men hand the thatching panels (to others), (and) some of the people tie them down.’ (Describing what men do when building a house.)

The notion of subsets can also be expressed by means of the quantifier *tootoqe* (see section 6.8.7).

The use of *tai* and *ta* in negative clauses is considered next. With the exception of negative existential clauses where the noun phrase that contains *tai* designates the type of entity that does not exist, *tai* functions as an existential quantifier (‘some not’), just as it does in positive sentences: the negation applies to some but not all of the relevant entities. Compare the positive sentence in (6-324) and the negative sentence in (6-325) below. In both cases *tai* signifies subsets:

(6-324) *Kini qeri qe fale fanga ba-na*
 woman that 3SG.NFUT give food LIM-3SG.PERS

qan=tai wela.

GENP=some.PL child

‘The woman only gave food to some (of the) children.’

(6-325) *Kini qeri qe aqi si fale fanga*
 woman that 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG give food

qan=tai wela.

GENP=some.PL child

‘The woman did not give food to some (of the) children (but to some she did).’

The negative sentence in (6-326) too contains *tai*:

(6-326) *Tai wane ma tai kini qe aqi*
 some.PL man and some.PL woman 3SG.NFUT NEG

kesi thathami-a araqi kwao naqi.

3PL.NEG like-3.OBJ mature.man be.white this

‘Some men and some women do not like this white [Caucasian] man.’

In the subject position of negative existential clauses (section 26.1.2.2) *tai* functions as a universal quantifier: no entities of a given type exist, are found (perhaps at a certain location):

- (6-327) *Qe aqi tai toqa qi laa*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist some.PL people LOC IN
aququa naqi.
 island this
 ‘There are no people on this island.’

Ta always has the force of a universal quantifier in negative clauses (‘not any’). Compare (6-325) further above with *tai* and (6-328) below with *ta*:

- (6-328) *Kini qeri qe aqi si fale fanga*
 woman that 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG give food
qa=ta wela.
 GENP=some child
 ‘The woman did not give food to any child.’ ‘The woman did not give food to any (of the) children.’

Further examples:

- (6-329) *Qe aqi kwasi alu-a ta malefo.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG have-3.OBJ some money
 ‘I don’t have any money.’

In (6-330) the noun phrase with *ta* functions as the subject of a negative existential clause:

- (6-330) *Nau ku kwaa-kwai-amasi, ka aqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-LIP-call.for.help 3SG.SEQ not.exist
ta wane si fula boqo.
 some person 3SG.NEG arrive ASRT
 ‘I kept calling for help, but nobody came (lit.: but there was not any person who arrived).’

Ta can be used in a negative clause together with the numeral *teqe* ‘one’ in a noun phrase. The construction [*ta teqe* noun] is used with two kinds of mean-

ing. One, the more common one, is to emphasize total absence. Compare (6-331) with only *ta* and (6-332) with *ta teqe*:

(6-331) *Qe aqi kwasi riki=ta wane.*
 3SG.NFUT NEG 1SG.NEG see:3.OBJ=some person
 ‘I did not see anybody.’

(6-332) *Qe=aqi kwasi riki=ta teqe wane*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG see:3.OBJ=some one person

mena.

CONC

‘I did not see even a single person.’

Less commonly, a [*ta teqe* noun] phrase functions to state emphatically that not just one single entity is involved, but more than one:

(6-333) *Doo e aqi kesi alu-a laqu sa*
 thing 3SG.NFUT NEG 3PL.NEG put-3SG.OBJ ADD GOAL

ta teqe noniqi wane
 some sole CLF man

‘The thing [a job to do] they won’t always assign to (lit.: put onto) just one man (rather different men will take turns doing it).’

6.8.7. *Tooteqe* ‘each’, *tootoqe* ‘some’

These two pronominal quantifiers are used in relation to sets of entities. *Tooteqe* serves to emphasize that the relevant state of affairs applies to all the candidates ‘each (in a set)’. The form *tootoqe* may have some historical relation to the numeral *teqe* ‘one’.

(6-334) *Uka-li-a fanga neqe i*
 divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ food this LOC

fa-kuluqa tooteqe wane, qe aqi
 REC-PL(INCL).PERS each person 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta wane si ore.
 some person 3SG.NFUT be.left.out

‘Divide the food to each one of us, no one to be left out.’

On the other hand, *tootoqe* signifies that the relevant state of affairs applies only to some, not all, members of a set of candidates.

- (6-335) *Tootoqe si manga mili thaofa.*
 some PRTT time 1PL(EXCL).NFUT be.hungry
 ‘Sometimes [during a certain period], at times, we were hungry.’

The idea of a state of affairs applying only to some potential candidates can also be expressed by means of *tai* (section 6.8.6).

6.8.8. *Toqo* distributive

The prenominal quantifier *toqo* has a distributive function: the same number of entities expressed in the noun phrase applies to all the relevant participants. The noun phrases may, but need not be repeated in a clause.

- (6-336) *Ku uka-li-a fanga naqi, toqo*
 1SG.NFUT divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ food this DSTR
- roo wane kai fanga ofu qi laa*
 two person 3SG.FUT eat be.together LOC IN
- teqe beleta, toqo roo wane kai fanga*
 one plate DSTR two person 3SG.FUT eat
- ofu, toqo roo wane kai fanga ofu.*
 be.together DSTR two person 3SG.FUT eat be.together
 ‘I have divided the food (in such a way that) two people will eat from (lit.: in) one plate, (another) two people will eat together, (another) two people will eat together.’

On the other hand, in (6-337) the noun phrase with the distributive quantifier is present only once:

- (6-337) *Kulu uka-li-a fanga naqi,*
 PL(INCL).NFUT divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ food this
- toqo roo wane kai fanga i laa teqe*
 DSTR two person 3SG.FUT eat LOC IN one

beleta.

plate

'Let's divide the food (in such a way that) always two people will eat from one plate.'

6.8.9. Quantification by means of verbs and by means of an adjective

As discussed in section 6.2, Toqabaqita has the verbs *qoro* 'be many, numerous', used with count nouns, and *baqita* 'be big, large', 'be plentiful, a lot', and *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity', both used with mass nouns. Being stative verbs, they can function as noun modifiers in noun phrases (see section 6.10 for detail).

(6-338) *Kaala doo qoro qe taqe i fafo-na*
 little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

kwaingaqia qeri

grave that

'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave'

(6-339) *fanga baqita*
 food be.big
 'a large quantity of food; a lot of food'

The verb *faqekwa* 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity' is exemplified in (6-340) below.

Toqabaqita has only one adjective, which has the meaning 'small, little' (section 6.12). The adjective has three forms, and one of these, *kasi*, can also have the quantification meaning 'little (in quantity)'. In this function it is used with mass nouns, and normally cooccurs with the modifying verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be little in quantity':

(6-340) *Kasi malefo faqekwa qasia naqa na*
 little.SG money be.little.in.quantity INTS INTS FOC

kulu alu-a.

PL(INCL).NFUT have-3SG.OBJ

'It's only very little money that we have.'

6.8.10. *Sui* quantifying particle

Several particles can function as modifiers within a noun phrase (chapter 7). One of them is the exhaustive particles *sui*, which also occurs as an exhaustive and completive particle in verb phrases (section 5.2.4). In noun phrases, *sui* has the quantifying meaning ‘all, every’. It is normally accompanied either by the limiting particle *bana* or the assertive particle *boqo*. The quantified noun phrase may be lexical or pronominal. For the latter see (6-344) and (6-346a) further below. In examples (6-341) – (6-343) the noun phrases with *sui* occur in grammatically possessive sentences.

- (6-341) *Wela naqi ki sui {boqo / bana} kera*
 child this PL EXHST ASRT / LIM 3PL.NFUT

thaofa.

be.hungry

‘All of these children are hungry.’

- (6-342) *Qi laa fa quuqungadia ki sui bana kere*
 LOC IN CLF morning PL EXHST LIM 3PL.NFUT

fita ba-da sula tala qe=ki, ...

run LIM-3PL.PERS PROL road that=PL

‘Every morning they run [jog] on (lit. along) the roads, ...’

In (6-343) the exhaustive particle occurs in a predicate noun phrase:

- (6-343) *Toqa na=i fanu qe=ki toqa leqa*
 people REL=LOC country that=PL people be.good

ki sui boqo.

PL EXHST ASRT

‘The people in those countries are all good people.’

In grammatically negative clauses, *sui* may have the negation in its scope or may be in the scope of the negation, even if the linear order of *sui* and the negative elements is the same, as in (6-344) and (6-345), where *sui* occurs in the subject phrases, before the negative elements. In (6-344) *sui* has the negation in its scope: ‘all not’.

- (6-344) *Toq=qe=ki sui bana qe aqi*
 people=that=PL EXHST LIM 3SG.NFUT NEGV

kesi lae mai.
 3PL.NEG go VENT
 ‘None of the people came.’ (Lit.: ‘All the people did not come.’)

And in (6-345) *sui* is in the scope of the negation: ‘not all’.

(6-345) *Faa-li-la-na teeteru qe qafetaqi,*
 weave-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS fan 3SG.NFUT be.difficult

imole ki sui bana qe aqi kesi
 person PL EXHST LIM 3SG.NFUT NEG V 3PL.NEG

thaitoqoma-na.
 know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Fan-weaving is difficult; not everybody knows (how to do) it (lit.: all the people do not know it).’

Sometimes the exhaustive particle can occur in a noun phrase or in a verb phrase, without any significant difference in meaning:

(6-346) a. *Kulu sui boqo kuki nguu.*
 PL(INCL) EXHST ASRT PL(INCL).FUT sing
 ‘Let’s sing, all of us.’

b. *Kulu kuki nguu sui boqo.*
 PL(INCL) PL(INCL).FUT sing EXHST ASRT
 ‘Let’s all sing.’

Similarly in (6-347):

(6-347) a. *Wela naqi ki sui boqo kera*
 child this PL EXHST ASRT 3PL.NFUT

thaofa.
 be.hungry
 ‘All of these children are hungry.’

b. *Wela naqi ki kera thaofa sui boqo.*
 child this PL 3PL.NFUT be.hungry EXHST ASRT
 ‘These children are all hungry.’

This kind of alternation is reminiscent of quantifier floating, but in Toqabaqita it is a reflection of the fact that *sui*, just as many other particles (chapter 7), may occur in verb phrases or in noun phrases with similar functions. Furthermore, while exhaustive *sui* can occur in combination with assertive *boqo* both in noun phrases and in verb phrases, in combination with the limiter *bana* it can occur only in noun phrases, not in verb phrases, and so there is no alternation in such cases.

When there is a pronominal direct object in a clause, the position of the combination of the exhaustive particle and the assertive marker or the limiter may be indeterminate. Thus, in (6-348) *sui* and *boqo* could be in the noun phrase headed by the pronoun *kerā* or they could be postverbal particles that follow the pronominal direct object:

- (6-348) a. *Toq=qe=ki_i, kerā_j [hangim [kerā*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT hang 3PL

sui boqo]_i].
 EXHST ASRT
 ‘Those people_i, they_j hanged them_i all.’ ‘All those people were hanged.’
- b. *Toq=qe=ki_i, kerā_j [hangim kerā_i*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT hang 3PL

sui boqo].
 EXHST ASRT
 ‘Those people_i, they_j hanged them_i all.’ ‘All those people were hanged.’

6.8.11. Quantification by means of heads of phrases

In section 6.8.3 nouns that designate numerically specific sets were discussed. Those nouns function as the heads of their phrases. There are several other elements with a quantification meaning that occur in the head position of a phrase. They are a heterogeneous group, both in terms of their semantic properties and their formal properties. Two of these elements are nouns and function as the head of an associative noun phrase, with or without the associative suffix (section 8.2). They are *ngada* ~ *ngade-qe* and *anga* ~ *ange-qe* ‘small number’, ‘few’, and they are used with count nouns. The entities characterized as being few in number occur in the modifier noun phrase.

- (6-349) *{ngada / ngade-qe / anga /*
 small.number / small.number-ASSOC / small.number /
ange-qe} *gwa iqa*
 ‘small.number-ASSOC CLF fish
 ‘small number of fish’, ‘few fish’

All these forms are synonymous, except that *anga* is not normally used with reference to taros and yams, because there it expresses the numerical value 100 (section 6.8.3). As (6-349) above shows, although the four forms are nouns, they do trigger the use of the classifiers, unlike the nouns with the numerically specific value 10 (section 6.8.3).

Below are given two more examples of the quantifying nouns:

- (6-350) ... *mili ngali-a ange-qe si*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT take-3.OBJ small.number-ASSOC PRRT
doo qe=ki
 thing that=PL
 ‘... we took (only) a few of those things’

In (6-351) the noun ‘money’ is treated as a count one: ‘pieces of money, coins’:

- (6-351) *Nau, ngada fa seleni boqo na ku*
 1SG small.number CLF money ASRT FOC 1SG.NFUT
alu-a.
 have-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I, I only have little money.’ (Lit.: ‘I, it is only small number of money/coins that I have.’)

And there are three quantifying elements that exhibit properties of verbs: *talifili*, *teqefili*, and *talitogo*, all of which have the meaning ‘only, sole, alone (without anybody or anything else)’. However, none of these forms can form the head of a predicate. They are used only in the functions discussed here. Of the three forms, *teqefili* is least common. Evidently, it has some historical relation to *teqe* ‘one’, also ‘sole, only, single’. There are Class 1 transitive verbs *fili* ‘choose, select, prefer’, ‘appoint, elect’, and *tali* ‘clear the ground in order to make a new garden’ in the language, but whether they have any kind of relation to the quantifiers is not clear. The structure of this type of quantifier phrase is given in (6-352). The quantifier is the head.

(6-352) QUANTIFIER (NP)

Talifili and *teqefili* are like Class 1 transitive verbs in the sense that they take the third person (singular) object suffix *-a* to index the noun phrase that encodes the entity characterized as being sole, but only when the noun phrase is lexical. The suffix is also present when there is no noun phrase encoding the entity characterized as being sole. And when such an entity is expressed by means of a personal pronoun, the quantifiers do not take the object suffix, just as is the case with Class 1 transitive verbs with pronominal direct objects. Compare *talifili-a kini* ‘woman alone, by herself’ and *talifili nau* ‘I alone, I by myself’ in (6-353) and (6-354), respectively:

- (6-353) *Maqa fera qeri qe gwaqu, talifili-a*
 CLF house that 3SG.NFUT be.empty only-3.OBJ
- kini na=i kula qeri bana, gwauliqi*
 woman REL=LOC place that LIM married.person
- ai na=i laa toaa qeri bana, kai*
 woman REL=LOC IN homestead that LIM 3SG.IPFV

too.

be.at.home

‘The house is empty; only the woman of (lit.: at) the place, only the married woman of the homestead, is at home.’

(Both *kini* and *ai* have the meaning ‘woman’.)

- (6-354) ... *fasi kini qeri ka qadomi nau ka*
 PURP woman that 3SG.SEQ help 1SG 3SG.SEQ
- too i sa-ku, uri-a talifili nau,*
 reside LOC ADJC-1SG.PERS REAS-3.OBJ only 1SG
- nau ku feda naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired PRF
- ‘[I wish very much you would marry a woman,] so that the woman might help me (and) live with me, because (I am) by myself (lit.: only me) (and) I am tired.’

The next two examples illustrate the quantifier *teqefili*. In (6-355a) the quantifier has a pronominal complement. In the synonymous sentence in (6-355b)

there is no complement, and the relevant entity is encoded only by means of the object suffix on the quantifier:

- (6-355) a. *Wela qe maqu qana lae-laa*
 child 3SG.NFUT be.afraid GENP go-NMLZ
- teqefili nia qi laa masuqu.*
 only 3SG LOC IN bush
 ‘The child is afraid to go into the bush alone.’
- b. *Wela qe maqu qana lae-laa*
 child 3SG.NFUT be.afraid GENP go-NMLZ
- teqefili-a qi laa masuqu.*
 only-3SG.OBJ LOC IN bush
 ‘The child is afraid to go into the bush alone.’

The third quantifier *talitoqo* is like Class 2 transitive verbs: it takes the same set of object suffixes for all grammatical persons and numbers. Furthermore, the *toqo* part of the quantifier may be historically the same morpheme as the TEST suffix found in many Class 2 transitive verbs. Whether there is also some historical relation to the distributive quantifier *toqo* (section 6.8.8) is not clear.

- (6-356) ... *talitoqo-na fanga na mili qani-a*
 only-3.OBJ food REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
- bo=naqa na nga alo,*
 INTS=INTS FOC IDENT taro
 ‘... really the only (kind of) food we ate was taro,’, ‘... taro was really the only (kind of) food we ate’

Compare the synonymous sentences in (6-357). In the first one, the quantifier is *talifili* with the first person singular pronoun as its complement, while in the second one the quantifier *talitoqo* carries the first person singular object suffix:

- (6-357) a. *Talifili nau bana ku too.*
 only 1SG LIM 1SG.NFUT stay
 ‘Only I stayed.’

- b. *Talitoqo-ku bana ku too.*
 only-1SG.OBJ LIM 1SG.NFUT stay
 ‘Only I stayed.’

6.9. *Ki* plural marker

Pronominal noun phrases make a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural (section 6.3). In lexical noun phrases, there is only a binary number contrast, singular vs. plural. The plural is marked by the particle *ki*; there is no overt marking of the singular, as shown in (6-358) and (6-359), respectively:

- (6-358) *wela baa ki*
 child that PL
 ‘those children’

- (6-359) *wela baa*
 child that
 ‘that child’

The plural marker and the demonstrative *qeri* ‘this’, ‘that’ normally fuse together as *qe=ki*:

- (6-360) *doo qe=ki*
 thing that=PL
 ‘those things’

The plural marker can cooccur with proper nouns:

- (6-361) *roo Fiona ki sui boqo*
 two Fiona PL EXHST ASRT
 ‘both Fionas’ (i.e., both of the girls called Fiona)

However, the plural marker is not obligatory, and its presence is variable. It is more likely to be used in noun phrases with higher-animate, especially human referents than in noun phrases with nonhuman or inanimate referents. And it is more likely to be used when the noun phrase is definite rather than indefinite. On the other hand, it is less likely to be used if there is some other indication of plurality in the noun phrase, such as a numeral or the plural quantifier *tai*, especially in indefinite noun phrases with referents other than human. The examples below illustrate the variable presence of the plural marker.

In (6-362) the plural marker is absent from the two indefinite noun phrases with human referents but present in the subsequent definite noun phrase with the same referents:

(6-362) ... *nia ka thare-a roo wela; qe*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ give.birth.to-3.OBJ two child 3SG.NFUT

thare-a roo wela wane. Si manga
 give.birth.to-3.OBJ two child man PRTT time

n=e thare-a roo wela wane
 REL=3SG.NFUT give.birth.to-3.OBJ two child man

qe=ki qe sui, ...
 that=PL 3SG.NFUT be.finished

‘... she gave birth to two children; she gave birth to two boys. After she had given birth to the two boys (lit.: at the time she gave birth to the two boys [and] it was finished) ...’

In (6-363) the noun phrase has a human referent but is indefinite and contains the plural quantifier *tai*, and the plural marker is absent:

(6-363) *Kwa riki-a tai wane baqita.*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ some.PL man be.big
 ‘I saw some big men.’

In (6-364) the noun phrase has nonhuman referents, it contains the plural form of the adjective ‘little’ and the quantifying verb ‘be many, numerous’, and the plural marker is not used:

(6-364) *Kaala doo qoro qe taqe i fafo-na*
 little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

kwaingaqia qeri
 grave that

‘Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave’

On the other hand, in (6-365) there are two noun phrases with inanimate referents, but they are both definite and the plural marker is present in both:

(6-365) *Kera thau-ngani-a biqu qe=ki qi*
 3PL.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ house that=PL LOC

qaaqae-na ngali kera ki
 foot-3.PERS canarium.nut 3PL PL
 ‘They build the houses [here: sheds] at the foot of their canarium-nut trees’ (The canarium nuts that have been harvested will be processed in the sheds.)

With the noun *toqa* ‘people’, which inherently has plural significance, the plural marker may be present or absent, even if the noun phrase is definite:

(6-366) *Toqa baa ki keka fita mai*
 people that PL 3PL.SEQ run VENT
 ‘The people came running’

(6-367) *Toqa baa kera thaka*
 people that 3PL.NFUT flee
 ‘The people fled’

When a noun phrase is definite, has a human referent and there is no other indication of plurality in the noun phrase, the plural marker is, as a rule, used.

When there is a relative clause present, the plural marker may occur inside the head noun phrase, or inside the relative clause, or in both positions simultaneously; see section 30.3 for discussion.

6.10. Modification of nouns by verb complexes

Nouns can be modified by verbs, and it is even possible for certain particles that occur with verbs in verb phrases (chapter 5) to occur with verbs that modify nouns.²⁴ A noun-modifying construction that consists of a verb and possibly one or more particles is referred to here as a “verb complex”. (Cf. the notion of the verb complex within verb phrases introduced in section 6.1.) A large majority of verbs that can modify nouns are intransitive stative verbs. Verbs that have a stative meaning as part of their semantic range can modify nouns only in their stative meaning. There is (at least) one intransitive stative verb that cannot modify nouns. Noun-modifying verb complexes follow their head nouns.

There are also a few transitive verbs that can function as noun modifiers. However, this kind of noun modification is not productive and is restricted to a small number of compounds. Such compounds are discussed in section 12.3.3.

The discussion will focus first on noun-modifying verb complexes that consist only of a verb. Example (6-368) shows the verbs *nguunguru* ‘be short’ and *suukwaqi* ‘be strong’ in their predicative function, and (6-369) and (6-370) show the same two verbs as modifiers in noun phrases:

(6-368) *Wane qeri, dooqanitaa ka nguunguru mena,*
 man that CONC 3SG.SEQ be.short CONC

nia e suukwaqi.

3SG 3SG.NFUT be.strong

‘The man, even though he is short, he is strong.’

(6-369) *naifa nguunguru baa*
 knife be.short that
 ‘that short knife’

(6-370) *Toqa maamaelia, toqa suukwaqi, toqa leqa.*
 people be.powerful people be.strong people be.good
 ‘[That was what I saw during my visit to that country.] Powerful
 people, strong people, good people.’

In (6-370) *maamaelia* ‘be powerful’ and *leqa* ‘be good’ also are verbs that function as modifiers in the noun phrases.

Hengeveld (1992) and Hengeveld, Rijkhoff, and Siewierska (2004) define verbs as lexemes that can function only as heads of predicate phrases. However, as argued in Lichtenberk (2005b), in Toqabaqita, the lexemes discussed in this section are indeed verbs, but they can also function as noun modifiers. Importantly, when verbs function as noun modifiers in the sense the term is employed here, they do not form the heads of predicates in relative clauses. Of course, nouns can be modified by relative clauses (chapter 30). Relative clauses are usually (although not always) introduced by *na*, reduced to *n=* in (6-371). The relative clause and its head noun are in bold.

(6-371) *Qoko suqu-si-a raa-la-na wane qeri,*
 2SG.SEQ block-TR-3.OBJ work-NMLZ-3.PERS man this

*tha Saetana; nia **wane n=e taqaa**,*

PERSMKR Satan 3SG man REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad

‘Block the workings of this man, Satan; he is a man who is bad,’

On the other hand, in (6-372) *taqaa* functions as a noun modifier. It does not occur in a clause of its own. There is no relative marker and no subject marker with *taqaa*. The noun phrase is in bold.

(6-372) *Doo, **kusi taqaa qena**, kai tee-teo*
 thing cat be.bad that(2) 3SG.IPFV RDP-lie

ba-n=i *fafo-na* *nena, ...*
 LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC top-3SG.PERS NPAST.THERE
 ‘The thing, the no-good (lit.: bad) cat, is just lying on top of it [a piece of timber],’

Furthermore, the noun phrase in (6-372) contains the demonstrative *qena* ‘that(2)’, which follows the verb *taqaa* ‘be bad’, but relative clauses follow noun-phrase internal demonstratives (see [6-3] in section 6.1); see (6-373). In (6-373) the “heavy” direct object noun phrase that contains the relative clause has been postposed to the right of the first situational demonstrative *nena*:

(6-373) *Qoe* *n=o* *thaitoqoma-na* *leqa* *qasia naqa*
 2SG FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ be.good INTS INTS

nena *school* *kamaluqa* *qena* *n=e*
 NPAST.THERE school 2PL that(2) REL=3SG.NFUT

leqa *nena, ...*
 be.good NPAST.THERE
 ‘It’s you who knows which of your schools there is good,’ (Lit.:
 ‘It is you who knows the school of yours that is good,’)

In addition, some of the particles that can occur with verbs in relative clauses cannot occur with verbs in the constructions discussed here, such as the directionals. (The directionals can occur in noun phrases, but in that case they function as modifiers of the head noun.) And, finally, in the type of construction discussed here a verb may be accompanied by one or more particles, as in verb phrases. There is, however, an important difference: in the construction discussed here, a postverbal particle can be linked to the verb by means of the ligature *ni*, which is not the case in verb phrases. Examples are given further below.

If the constructions discussed in this section were to be considered to be reduced relative clauses, there would be no explanation for the various differences from relative clauses. The constructions in question do not, then, involve relative clauses but verbs that modify nouns. A few more examples of noun-modifying verbs are given below. All of those lexemes can also function predicatively.

(6-374) *Thala* *taa* *n=o* *thathamia?* *Thala*
 cloth which? FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ cloth

meemenaqa mada thala kwaakwaoqa?
 be.red or cloth be.white
 ‘Which cloth do you want? The red cloth or the white cloth?’

(6-375) *Tarausisi tekwa nau baa na qoki wasi-a.*
 trousers be.long 1SG that FOC 2SG.FUT wash-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It’s my long trousers that you will wash.’

The interrogative verb *qufita* ‘be how?’ (section 19.3.5) too can function as a noun modifier:

(6-376) A: *Nau qa-kuqa teqe banikeni.*
 1SG POSS-1SG.PERS one cup

B: *Banikeni qufita?*
 cup be.how?

A: *Banikeni nau qeri qe ilingi-a*
 cup 1SG that 3SG.NFUT be.just.like-3.OBJ

banikeni naqi.
 cup this

A: ‘I have a cup.’ (Lit.: ‘I, of mine there is one cup.’)

B: ‘What (kind of) cup?’ ‘What is the cup like?’

A: ‘My cup (lit.: that cup of mine) is/looks just like this cup.’

In (6-377) the modifying verb is a depatientive one (section 21.4):

(6-377) *wane kwai-faqa-maqu-i*
 man LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
 ‘frightening man’

And in (6-378) the noun is modified by a (serializing) [verb verb] compound:

(6-378) *kini raa kwasi*
 woman work be.wild
 ‘very hard-working woman’, ‘woman who works very hard’

The verb *kwasi*, which has a number of senses, one of which is ‘of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild’, is used as a non-final member of verb-verb compounds to signify that the activity encoded by the preceding verb

is performed very intensively, or very often, or to excess, immoderately. For another example see (6-389) further below.

Verbs that modify nouns can be accompanied by one or more of the particles that occur with verbs in predicates. However, not all of the particles that occur in predicates occur in noun-modifying verb complexes. Those that can are illustrated below. When postverbal particles occur with verbs that modify nouns, they may be joined to the noun by means of the ligature *ni*. (The ligature does not occur when verbs function predicatively.) If there is more than one postverbal particle, it is the particle complex as a whole that has the ligature. In (6-379) it is the perfect marker *naqa* that is present:

- (6-379) *Kafa qeri, wane mae naqa n=e*
 comb this man be.dead PRF FOC=3SG.NFUT

alu-lu-a.

own-RDP-3SG.OBJ

‘This comb, it was the dead man (lit.: the now-dead man) who used to own it.’

In (6-380) the perfect marker is joined to the verb by means of the ligature *ni*. The ligature and the perfect marker have fused, the *i* of the ligature has dropped out, and the *n* of the ligature and the *n* of the perfect marker are jointly realized as long *n*:

- (6-380) *Wane qeri wan=daraa n=naqa [n:áʔa]*
 man that man=be.young.and.single LIG=PRF
 ‘The man was already a *daraa* man’ (*Daraa* is used about males who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young and not yet married.)

In (6-381) the noun-modifying verb is accompanied by the intensifier combination *qasia naqa*, and in (6-382) the same intensifier combination is linked to the head noun by the ligature *ni*.

- (6-381) *Keko figu-a botho qoro qasia naqa,*
 3DU.SEQ gather-3.OBJ pig be.many INTS INTS
 ‘They gathered very many pigs [for a feast],’

- (6-382) *wane maamaelia ni qasia naqa*
 man be.powerful LIG INTS INTS
 ‘very powerful man’

In (6-383) there are two instances of the modifying verb *baqita* ‘be big’, one with the preverbal immediate (past) marker *biqi* and one with the perfect marker *naqa*:

(6-383) ... *ta fai, ta lima wane biqi baqita bii*
 some four some five man IMM be.big COM

kamiliqa, ta fai wane baqita naqa.

1PL(EXCL) some four man be.big PRF

‘[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big), (together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.’

The postverbal self-benefactive and recipient-benefactive marker *qa* cannot occur with noun-modifying verbs, and neither can the self-benefactive construction used with some of the other postverbal particles (section 5.2.10). One of those particles is the limiter, which obligatorily has the form *ba-*, with a personal suffix, in verb phrases. With a noun modifying verb, the limiter can only occur in its full form *bana*, without a personal suffix:

(6-384) *wela faqekwa quu bana*
 child be.little ANTCONT LIM
 ‘child that is still only little’

Occurrence of particles with verbs modifying nouns must be distinguished from occurrence of particles that may also occur postverbally in noun phrases but that are noun-phrase level particles and have the whole noun phrase in their scope, not just the verb. They can occur without a noun-modifying verb. These are discussed in chapter 7.

A noun-modifying verb can be negated. As discussed in chapter 17, there are several negating strategies for verbs that head verb phrases, but only one of them can be used with noun-modifying verbs, the one that consists of the negative marker *si*.

(6-385) *Wane baa wane si maqu.*
 man that man NEG be.afraid
 ‘That man (is) a man (who is) not afraid.’ ‘That man is a man without fear.’

In (6-386) the negated verb modifies the head noun in a lexicalized phrase (section 12.8):

- (6-386) *fanua si rodo*
 place NEG be.dark
 ‘place (that is) not dark’, ‘place without darkness’ (referring to Christian heaven)

Similarly in (6-387) the verb *baqita* ‘be big’ together with the immediate-past preverbal particle *biqi* modifies the head noun in a lexicalized phrase.

- (6-387) *ai biqi baqita ki*
 woman IMM be.big PL
 ‘girls’, ‘young, unmarried women’ (lit.: ‘women just/recently big’)

The combination of the verb *baqita* ‘be big’ and the immediate-past marker *biqi* is used to designate adolescent, unmarried people. See also *ta lima wane biqi baqita* ‘some five adolescent men’ in (6-383) further above. In (6-383) there is another instance of *baqita* ‘be big’ modifying a noun. There the verb is accompanied by the perfect marker *naqa*: *ta fai wane baqita naqa* ‘some four men already grown up’.

[Verb verb] compounds of a certain type cannot have a direct object (section 12.5). Instead, what would be the direct object of a transitive verb outside a compound is realized as an oblique object of the compound. In (6-388) below the oblique object is *kofe* ‘coffee’. The compound also contains the verb *kwasi* ‘of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild’, which is used in compounds to signify that the activity encoded by the preceding verb is performed very intensively, or very often, or to excess, immoderately; see also (6-378) further above.

- (6-388) *Wane qe kuqu kwasi qana kofe.*
 man 3SG.NFUT drink be.wild GENP coffee
 ‘The man is an inveterate coffee drinker.’ ‘The man is an inveterate drinker of coffee.’

And in (6-389) the same construction with a verb-verb compound and an oblique object functions as a noun modifier:

- (6-389) *wane kuqu kwasi qana kofe*
 man drink be.wild GENP coffee
 ‘inveterate coffee drinker’, ‘man (who is) an inveterate drinker of coffee’

The prepositional phrase *qana kofe* has been incorporated: *kuqu kwasi qana kofe* is a lexicalized phrase that functions as a complex intransitive verb. An-

other example of such oblique object-incorporation, this time in a predicate, appears in (12-194) in section 12.8.

Modification of nouns by intransitive stative verbs is productive, but there is (at least) one intransitive stative verb that cannot function in this way. The verb is *sukani* ‘be of little quantity, degree’, even though its near synonym *faqekwa* ‘be not plentiful, be little in quantity’ can (see [6-340] in section 6.8.9).

Many intransitive stative verbs that can modify nouns can also function as modifiers of verbs in verb-verb compounds.

6.11. Modification of nouns by nouns

To attribute the property of being big or plentiful, in large quantity, to an entity, the verb *baqita* ‘be big, large’, ‘be plentiful, a lot’ may be used as a modifying verb:

(6-390) *botho baqita*
 pig be.big
 ‘big pig’

(6-391) *fanga baqita*
 food be.plentiful
 ‘a large quantity of food, a lot of food’

However, there is another way, which is to use one of two nouns in a noun-modifying construction. The two nouns are *thaama*, which is the archaic word for ‘(classificatory) father’, but has other uses as well, and *thaina* ‘(classificatory) mother’, which is not archaic.²⁵ Before their noun-modifying function is considered, here are some examples of their other uses, starting with *thaama*. *Thaama* takes personal suffixes to encode the possessor:

(6-392) *Thaama-ku qe nii qi Honiara.*
 father-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.located LOC Honiara
 ‘My father (arch.) is in Honiara.’

In everyday speech, *thaama* is not normally used with the meaning ‘father’, having been almost completely replaced by *maka* (see section 8.1.5). However, *thaama* is used even today in a swearing formula:

(6-393) *Fee-feqe-si-a gwau-na thaama-na!*
 RDP-defecate-TR-3.OBJ head-3.PERS father-3SG.PERS
 ‘Shit on his father’s head!’ (Swearing about a third person.)

And *thaama* is commonly used in an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation, which need not be directed at one's (classificatory) father. In this use, *thaama* takes the archaic plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* (section 8.1.2) and is often followed by the vocative marker *qae* (section 6.16): *Thaama-ka qae!* (lit. 'Our father!').

Thaina '(classificatory) mother' also takes personal suffixes to encode the possessor:

- (6-394) *Thaina-na ka quna qeri*, "..."
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner this
 'His mother said, "...'.'

Below is given an example of the two nouns in their noun-modifying function. *Thaama* can carry either the third person singular personal suffix or the associative suffix, while *thaina* can carry only the latter. Both nouns are given their literal glosses 'father' and 'mother', respectively. The details of the constructions will be discussed subsequently.

- (6-395) {*thaama-na* / *thaame-qe* / *thaine-qe*} *fanga*
 father-3.PERS / father-ASSOC / mother-ASSOC] food
 'a large quantity of food, a lot of food'

(The change of the final *a* to *e* in *thaama* and *thaina* takes place with other nouns before the associative suffix [section 8.2.1]).

In the noun-modifying function, *thaina* cannot occur with the personal suffix:

- (6-396) **thaina-na fanga*
 mother-3.PERS food
 ('a large quantity of food, a lot of food')

The phrase in (6-396) would be grammatical with the implausible meaning 'food's mother'.

The personal suffixes are used on the head, possessum noun in one type of possessive construction to index the possessor (section 8.1.2); and the associative suffix is used on the head noun in the associative construction (section 8.2.1). The noun phrases in (6-395) further above then have the appearance of a possessive construction and two associative constructions: 'father of (the) food', 'father/mother food'. However, there is evidence that *thaama* and *thaina* are not the heads but rather modifiers. First, in (6-395) *fanga* is the head semantically. The referent of the noun phrase is food, not a father or a mother, and the nouns *thaama-na*, *thaame-qe*, and *thaine-qe* function attributively: they attrib-

ute the property of being plentiful to the food. *Fanga* is also the head grammatically: it could occur on its own. It is true that the noun *thaama-na* could also occur on its own, but then its meaning would be ‘his/her father’, and it would be archaic. On the other hand, there is nothing archaic about *thaama-na fanga* ‘a large quantity of food, a lot of food’. Neither *thaame-qe* nor *thaine-qe* could occur on their own even if they were heads, because the heads of associative constructions cannot occur without a modifier. Additional evidence that *thaama* and *thaina* are modifiers rather than heads is given further below.

Of the three constructions, *thaine-qe* is the least common one, and is, in fact, quite rare. One more example is given in (6-397):

- (6-397) *thaine-qe* *botho*
 mother-ASSOC pig
 ‘big pig’

Compare the synonymous *botho baqita* ‘big pig’ in (6-390) above.

Thaama-na and *thaame-qe* are both common, the former somewhat more so, and all of the subsequent examples contain one or the other. In (6-398) it is the noun *rara* that is the (semantic) head: what is built is a wall, not somebody’s father.

- (6-398) *Kera* *thau-ngani-a* *teqe* *thaama-na* *rara*
 3PL.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ one father-3.PERS wall

kaa-kali-a *biqu kera.*
 RDP-surround-3.OBJ house 3PL
 ‘They built a big wall all the way around their house.’

Thaama-na is freely omissible from (6-398) with a predictable semantic consequence: the wall is not characterized as big; see (6-399).

- (6-399) *Kera* *thau-ngani-a* *teqe* *rara* *kaa-kali-a*
 3PL.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ one wall RDP-surround-3.OBJ

biqu kera.
 house 3PL
 ‘They built a wall all the way around their house.’

There is also grammatical evidence that in (6-398) above *thaama* is not the head of the noun phrase *teqe thaama-na rara* ‘a/one big wall’. As discussed in section 8.1.7, in a suffixing possessive noun phrase, where the possessum noun carries a personal suffix indexing the possessor, there cannot be a numeral

modifier (or a demonstrative modifier, a verbal modifier or an adjectival modifier). An alternative construction must be used instead. *Thaama-na rara* in (6-398) is, then, not a possessive noun phrase.

In (6-400) it is the nominalization *qai-laa* ‘shouting’ that is the head: the man gave a loud shout.

(6-400) ... *nia ka qai qana teqe*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout INS one

thaame-q=qai-laa n=e baqita.
 father-ASSOC-shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT be.big
 ‘... he gave a very loud shout.’ (Lit.: ‘... he shouted with big shouting that was big.’)

In (6-400) the shouting is characterized as ‘loud, big’ by prenominal *thaame-qe* and also by the verb *baqita* ‘be big’ in the predicate of the relative clause. *Baqita* can also function as a postnominal modifier in conjunction with prenominal *thaame-qe/thaama-na* (see further below).

In the situation expressed in (6-401) what is falling is rain:

(6-401) *Thaama-na langabuu e qaru.*
 father-3.PERS heavy.rain 3SG.NFUT fall
 ‘It’s raining very heavily.’ (Lit. ‘Big heavy rain is falling.’)

Compare:

(6-402) *Dani qe qaru.*
 rain 3SG.NFUT fall
 ‘It’s raining.’

Thaama-na, *thaame-qe*, and *thaine-qe* function as modifiers in the type of construction discussed here, but historically such constructions do correspond to possessive and associative constructions, with *thaama-na* as the head of the former type and *thaame-qe* and *thaine-qe* as the heads of the latter type. What has occurred is dependency reversal (Malchukov 2000; see also Ross 1998a, b; Lichtenberk 2005b): the former head position has become a dependent position, and the former dependent position has become the head position.

As in possessive constructions, the “singular” personal suffix *-na* is used on noun-modifying *thaama* even if the noun phrase is plural. In (6-403) the noun phrase *thaama-na baqekwa ki* ‘big sharks’ functions as the predicate of a verbless subjectless clause (section 27.2.4):

(6-403) ... *mika lio, mika riki-a iqa*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ fish

qe=ki na thaama-na baqekwa kima
 that=PL REL father-3.PERS shark PL and

thaama-na fali qe=ki
 father-3.PERS stingray that=PL

‘... we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks ... and (we saw) the big stingrays’

To emphasize the big size or the large quantity of an entity, one of the modifying nouns and the modifying verb *baqita* ‘be big’, ‘be plentiful’ can occur simultaneously with the same head noun:

(6-404) *thaama-na wane baqita*
 big-3.PERS man be.big
 ‘very big man’

(6-405) ... *qi roqo mika laa-lae qana*
 LOC yesterday 1PL(EXCL).SEQ RDP-go GENP

teqe thaame-qe bilei baqita.
 one father-ASSOC play be.big

‘... yesterday we went to a very big (sports) play [a great (sports) event].’

In (6-406) there is further intensification by means of the intensifier combination *qasia naqa* with the modifying verb:

(6-406) *Uul-a maama kera qalangi-a qana*
 three-3.PERS mortuary.feast 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP

“lekwesi”, thaama-na maama baqita qasia naqa
lekwesi father-3.PERS mortuary.feast be.big INTS INTS

neri.

VIVID

‘The third mortuary feast (in a series of mortuary feasts) is called (lit. they name it) “*lekwesi*”; (it is) a really huge mortuary feast.’

6.12. Modification of nouns by the adjective

To attribute the property of being small in size or little in quantity to an entity, the intransitive stative verb *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’, ‘be not plentiful, be little in quantity’ can be used as a noun modifier:

(6-407) *biqu faqekwa*
house be.small
‘small house’

(6-408) *si kafo faqekwa*
PRTT water be.little.in.quantity
‘little (of the) water’

Another way is to use an adjective that means ‘small, little (in size or in quantity)’. Unlike the verb *faqekwa*, the adjective occurs prenominally:

(6-409) *kasi biqu*
small house
‘small house’

(6-410) *kasi kafo*
little water
‘little (of the) water’

The adjective ‘small, little’ is the sole adjective in the language, but it has three variant forms: *kasi*, *kali*, and *kaala*. *Kasi* is illustrated in (6-409 and (6-410) above. *Kali* and *kaala* are illustrated in (6-411) and (6-412), respectively:

(6-411) *kali wela*
small/little.SG child
‘small/little child’

(6-412) *kaala wela*
small/little.PL child
‘small/little children’

The use of the variants is determined, partly, by certain properties of the nouns they modify and of the noun phrases in which they occur. *Kasi* occurs with nouns that are inanimate, count or mass. With count nouns, *kasi* has a singular-number value, while with mass nouns it signifies a small amount.

- (6-413) *Tei n=e soqoni-a kasi era*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT light.fire-3.OBJ small fire

loo na kai tharu loqo?
 upward REL 3SG.IPFV burn up.there
 ‘Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?’

- (6-414) *Kwai reri fasi qa=ta kasi manga.*
 1SG.FUT lie PREC GENP=some little time
 ‘I’m going to lie (down) for a short time.’

Kali is used with count nouns, animate or inanimate, and it has a singular-number value:

- (6-415) *Kali wela baa kai angi.*
 little.SG child that 3SG.IPFV cry
 ‘The little child is crying.’

- (6-416) ... *kali fa wasi, riki-la-n=e*
 little.SG CLF watch look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

leqa qasia naqa.
 be.nice INTS INTS
 ‘... the little watch, it looks very nice. (Lit.: ‘... the little watch, its looking-at is very nice.’)

With inanimate count nouns either *kasi* or *kali* can be used in singular noun phrases:

- (6-417) {*kasi / kali*} *naifa*
 small / small.SG knife
 ‘small knife’

Kaala, like *kali*, is used with count nouns, animate or inanimate, but it has a plural-number value:

- (6-418) *Wane ki na kwa lio kwa rik=kera,*
 person PL REL 1SG.SEQ look 1SG.SEQ see=3PL

kere quri-a naqa tai kaala wela ki.
 3PL.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ PRF some.PL little.PL child PL
 ‘The people that I saw (lit.: that I looked and saw them) [after getting to the top of a very high building] then looked like (some) little children.’

(6-419) *Kaala doo qoro qe taqe i fafo-na*
 little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

kwaingaqia qeri na tha Boranigao
 grave that REL PERSMKR Boranigao

qe teo qi ei.
 3SG.NFUT lie LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave where Boranigao lay.’

Kasi, *kali*, and *kaala* can function only as noun modifiers. They cannot head verb phrases or noun phrases. They are neither verbs nor nouns; they are adjectival forms. Historically, they are related to the noun *kale*, whose meanings include ‘baby, child, offspring, young (of an animal)’.²⁶ The form *kasi* is historically *ka-si*, where the *si* syllable is the partitive and diminutive marker *si* (section 6.6). The form *kaala* is historically *kaal-a*, where the final *a* was originally the third person singular personal suffix, and there was metathesis of the *l* and the second *a* (from *kala*). (For more detail on the history of the adjectival forms see Lichtenberk [2005b].)

The pronominal adjectival forms ‘small, little’ can be combined with the postnominal verb *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’, ‘be not plentiful, be little in quantity’ in the same noun phrase when the small size or quantity of the referent of the noun phrase is to be emphasized:

(6-420) *Wela qeri kali wela faqekwa ni bana.*
 child that little.SG child be.little LIG LIM
 ‘He was just a very little child.’ (Lit.: ‘The child [was] just a very little child.’)

In (6-421) the combination of *kasi* and *faqekwa* is further strengthened by the intensifier combination *qasia naqa* with the verb:

(6-421) *Kasi malefo faqekwa qasia naqa na*
 little.SG money be.little.in.quantity INTS INTS FOC

kulu *alu-a.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT have-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It’s only very little money that we have.’

The sole adjective does not take any modifiers or particles, and consequently there is no basis for positing an adjective-phrase category in the language.

6.13. Modification of nouns by prepositional phrases

Two basic types of modification of nouns by prepositional phrases can be distinguished. These will be referred to as “direct modification” and “relative modification”, respectively. In relative modification, the prepositional phrase is introduced by the relative marker; in direct modification there is no relative marker. Direct modification of nouns by prepositional phrases is also found in lexicalized phrases (section 12.8).

6.13.1. Direct prepositional-phrase modification

In direct modification a noun is modified by a prepositional phrase of one of the types discussed in Chapter 10. The prepositional phrase directly follows the head noun or the immediately preceding modifier. For example:

(6-422) *roo wane fasi-a saoth*
 two man ABL-3.OBJ south
 ‘two men from the south’

(6-423) *biqu naqi qi Fuusai*
 house this LOC Fuusai
 ‘this house at Fuusai [a place]’

(6-424) *Wane qi fei ba=ku riki-a bii qoe*
 man LOC where? that=1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ COM 2SG

qi roqo?
 LOC yesterday
 ‘Where was the man from, (the one) I saw with you yesterday?’
 (Lit.: ‘Man from where I saw him with you yesterday?’)

Stacked prepositional phrases, where a preposition has a prepositional-phrase complement (section 10.5), also can function as noun modifiers. In noun-modifying stacked prepositional phrases, the higher preposition is (general) locative *qi ~ i* and the lower preposition is inessive *laa*.

(6-425) *tha wela qeri i laa bang*
 PERSMKR chap that LOC IN bank
 ‘the chap in the bank’

(6-426) *Fanga kulu baa ki qi laa raa qe*
 food PL(INCL) that PL LOC IN garden 3SG.NFUT

sui naqa.

be.finished PRF

‘Our food (lit.: foods) in the garden is finished now.’ (That is, there is no food of any kind left in the garden.)

Particles in the noun-phrase particle complex (chapter 7) and relative clauses follow noun-modifying prepositional phrases in a noun phrase (see [6-3] in section 6.1). In (6-427) the noun phrase is in the predicate position of a verbless and subjectless clause. The limiter particle *bana* is a noun-phrase level particle.

(6-427) *Si fanga fa-na wela kera ki bana.*
 DIM food BEN-3.PERS child 3PL PL LIM
 ‘(It’s) just a little food for their children.’

In (6-428) the noun *uqunu* is modified by a relative clause, among other modifiers. The noun phrase is in square brackets:

(6-428) [*Si uqunu nguuguru suli-a saiklon Namu*]
 DIM story be.short PROL-3.OBJ cyclone Namu

n=e thau-ngi kamiliqa] neri.

REL=3SG.NFUT hit-TR 1PL(EXCL) NPAST.HERE

‘This/Here now is the story about Cyclone Namu, which hit us.’

Occasionally, however, noun-modifying prepositional phrases are extraposed to the right, out of the noun phrase. In (6-429) the prepositional phrase *i a-kuluqa*, here ‘of us/ours’, has been postposed to the right of the clause-level foregrounding-additive marker *mena* (chapter 28.6):

(6-429) *Tai wane ki mena i a-kuluqa*
 some.PL person PL FADD LOC BEN-PL(INCL).PERS

qe aqi kesi riki-a quu doo
 3SG.NFUT NEG 3PL.NEG see-3.OBJ ANTCONT thing

maruki qe=ki.
 be.alive that=PL

‘Some people of ours had not seen those (kinds of) living things [animals] either.’ (Lit.: ‘Some people also for us had not seen those live things.’)

6.13.2. Relative prepositional-phrase modification

In this type of construction, modification is achieved by means of a “relative prepositional phrase”. The term “relative prepositional phrase” is used here by analogy to “relative clause”. Like relative clauses (chapter 30), relative prepositional phrases are introduced by the marker *na*. Relative prepositional phrases are headed by the general locative preposition *qi*. The preposition and the relative marker always fuse together as *na=i*. A relative prepositional phrase characterizes, identifies the referent of the noun phrase within which it is a modifier in terms of its location in space or in time. The characterizing location is permanent or long-term, rather than temporary.

(6-430) *figu-a na=i Irobuli*
 gather-DVN REL=LOC Irobuli
 ‘the congregation of/at Irobuli [church]’ (the people who belong to the Irobuli church)

(6-431) *fa bongi na=i dini*
 CLF day REL=LOC relatively.distant.past
 ‘days of distant past’

Relative noun phrases need to be distinguished from locative relative clauses. Locative relative clauses contain a locative verb with its own subject marker, whereas relative noun phrases contain neither. In (6-432) the noun phrase contains a locative relative clause

(6-432) *toqa na kere too i laa siti*
 people REL 3PL.NFUT be.located LOC IN city
 ‘the people who were in the city’

Example (6-433) contains both a relative prepositional phrase and a relative clause. The former characterizes the people in permanent terms as being from Malaita, while the latter describes them in more transient terms as being involved in a certain activity at a given period of time:

- (6-433) *toqa na=i Malaqita na kera too*
 people REL=LOC Malaita REL 3PL.NFUT be.located
- i laa si doo qeri*
 LOC IN PRTT thing that
 ‘the people of Malaita who were (involved) in that thing’

Below are given a few sentential examples that contain relative prepositional phrases. The first two have to do with locations in space.

- (6-434) ... *ka ngali-a mai ka ano-a qi*
 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ VENT 3SG.SEQ plant-3SG.OBJ LOC
- maa-na biqu nia na=i Fuusai.*
 front-3.PERS house 3SG REL=LOC Fuusai
 ‘... he brought it [a sugar-cane plant] and planted it in front of his house at Fuusai.’

- (6-435) *Mika fiitoqo-mu, mika too qani*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ trust-2SG.OBJ 1PL(EXCL).SEQ stay GENP
- qoe, mika ngado qi qaba-mu, Good*
 2SG 1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.still LOC hand-2SG.PERS God
- na=i heven.*
 REL=LOC heaven
 ‘(And) we trust you, we stay with you, we are still/calm in your hands, God in heaven.’

In (6-436) there are two temporal relative prepositional phrases:

- (6-436) *Qi laa fa thato na=i taraqena,*
 LOC IN CLF day REL=LOC today
- uni-qi imole na=i manga qeri*
 generation-ASSOC person REL=LOC time this

- b. *aququa na=i Malaqita*
 island REL=LOC Malaita
 ‘the island of Malaita’

6.14. Modification of nouns by a noun phrase

There is one (and only one) type of noun phrase that can modify nouns. Such noun phrases are headed by the noun *quna* ‘manner, way’ with a demonstrative as a modifier. Noun phrases headed by *quna* are unique in other ways. They can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs (section 4.7), and they can function as verb-phrase internal constituents (see [4-1] in section 4.1 and examples [4-231] and [4-232] in section 4.7). And noun phrases headed by *quna* can modify nouns.

In (6-441) *quna qeri* modifies the noun *tala* ‘way, means of doing st.’:

- (6-441) ... *m=e thau-ngani-a tala quna qeri*
 and=3SG.NFUT make-TR-3.OBJ way manner that

fasi qaburu qeri ka kwai-mangosi qana
 PURP ogre that 3SG.SEQ LIP-be.unable GEN

lae-laa mai.
 go-NMLZ VENT

‘... and she realized, put into practice that kind of way [mentioned previously] to prevent the ogre from coming.’ ‘... and that’s what she did in order to prevent the ogre from coming.’ (That is, the woman followed up on the ideas she had about how to prevent the ogre from coming.)

In (6-442) the *quna* phrase contains the elevational demonstrative *loo* ‘upward’:

- (6-442) ... *biqu na kera too-too qi ei*
 house REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-reside LOC LOCPRO

qe ni=i kula quna loo.
 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC place manner upward

‘...the house they used to live in is at the place up there (lit.: at the place (in) the upward manner).’

In the next example the modifying *quna* phrase contains a combination of a demonstrative and the plural marker *ki*. In addition, the noun-phrase level lim-

iter *bana* is present. The structural position of the limiter is not clear. It could be part of the *quna* phrase: ‘food only like that’, that is ‘food of only those kinds’. Alternatively, it could be part of the larger noun phrase: ‘only food like that’. The two possibilities are shown in (6-443a) and (6-443b), respectively.

- (6-443) a. *[Fanga [quna qe=ki bana]] na ni*
 food manner that=PL LIM FOC PROFORE
- kamiliqa miki qani-a bia alo.*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ COM taro
 ‘It was food (lit.: foods) only like that that we would eat with taro.’ (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)
- b. *[Fanga [quna qe=ki] bana] na ni*
 food manner that=PL LIM FOC PROFORE
- kamiliqa miki qani-a bia alo.*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ COM taro
 ‘It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with taro.’ (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

In principle, *quna* noun phrases modifying nouns are analyzable in two ways. First, since *quna* phrases can modify verbs, they can be analyzed straightforwardly as noun phrases modifying nouns. But, since *quna* phrases can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs, and since certain verbs can modify nouns, *quna* phrases could be seen as pseudo-verbs modifying nouns. However, in the absence of additional evidence that noun-modifying *quna* phrases have been re-ranked as pseudo-verbs, the first analysis is adopted here.

6.15. Modification of nouns by ligature phrases

This type of modification occurs in lexicalized phrases; see section 12.8.

6.16. The vocative phrase

The vocative phrase is not a type of noun phrase. It is discussed here for convenience, because it involves noun phrases. In the vocative phrase, a noun phrase is followed by the vocative marker *qae*. Vocative noun phrases serve as terms of address. They are particularly common when calling a person but are not restricted to such situations.

- (6-444) *Lifuna qae!*
 Lifuna VOC
 ‘Lifuna! (Calling her.)’
- (6-445) *Wane leqa nau qae, misi fii qoe*
 man be.good 1SG VOC 1PL(EXCL).NEG expect 2SG
- boqo qoki tona fale i a-miliqa.*
 ASRT 2SG.FUT RESTR give LOC REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘My good man, we did not expect you at all to just give us (things)
 (without being asked, without expecting anything in return).’

The vocative marker is typically used when addressing a person, but can also be used when speaking to a pet or domestic animal, as in (6-446), which comes from a traditional story. Binamaakwao was a pig that two boys kept.

- (6-446) *Binamaakwao qae, bongi kulu fanga ofu*
 Binamaakwao VOC day PL(INCL).NFUT eat together
- ka sui naqa neqe.*
 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF VIVID
 ‘Binamaakwao, the days when we eat together are over.’ ‘Binamaakwao, the days of us eating together are over.’

The vocative marker is typically present in the exclamation in (6-447). The noun phrase contains the archaic term for ‘father’, and the expression has the form of address, but today it is commonly used as an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation. It need not be directed at one’s (classificatory) father; in fact, it need not be directed at anyone.

- (6-447) *Thaama-ka qae!*
 father-PL(INCL).PERS VOC
 Exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation.

The vocative particle is not obligatory with terms of address:

- (6-448) *Thaina-ka, maka kamareqa qe*
 mother-PL(INCL).PERS father 1DU(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT
- ni=i fei?*
 be.located=LOC where?
 ‘Mother (lit.: our mother), where is our father?’

For the use of the archaic plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* with *thaama* and *thaina* see section 8.1.2.

Chapter 7

The noun-phrase internal particle group

7.1. Introduction

Noun phrases may contain one or more postnominal particles that together form a particle group. For the position of the particle group in a noun phrase see (6-3) in section 6.1. The particle group may be linked to the preceding element — the noun or a noun modifier — by means of the ligature *ni*. Only one instance of the ligature is possible regardless of the number of particles. However, it is not common for a particle group to contain more than two particles. A particle or a combination of particles has the whole noun phrase to its left in its scope. In (7-1) the noun phrase in the scope of the particle group consists of just a noun.

(7-1) *toqa ni sui bana*
 people LIG EXHST LIM
 ‘all the people’

In (7-2) it is the whole possessive noun phrase that is in the scope of the particle group, not just the pronoun:

(7-2) [*ai nia*] *ni laqu boqo*
 wife 3SG LIG ADD ASRT
 ‘his wife as well [in addition to one or more other people]’

The particle group in (7-3) contains three particles, and there is no ligature:

(7-3) *kera sui bo=naqa*
 3PL EXHST ASRT=INTS
 ‘all of them’

The noun-phrase particles are listed in table 7.1 in the order in which they occur in noun phrases. (This is also the order in which they are discussed.) Those that occupy the same position in the group and so are mutually exclusive are listed under the same letter.

Table 7.1. Membership of the noun-phrase internal particle group

a.	<i>tona, toneqe</i>	‘of little significance’
b.	<i>quu</i>	distal; restrictive
	<i>sui</i>	exhaustive
c.	<i>laqu</i>	additive
d.	<i>boqo</i>	assertive; intensifier
e.	<i>bana</i>	limiter
	<i>naqa</i>	perfect; intensifier
	<i>feteqi</i>	intensifier
	<i>qana</i>	intensifier
f.	<i>mai</i>	ventive
	<i>kau</i>	andative

With one exception, all the members of the noun-phrase particle group also function as particles in the verb complex (chapter 5), and in most cases the functions of a given particle in the two types of phrase are very similar. The particle that does not occur in the verb complex is the intensifier *qana*. And with the exception of the particles *tona, toneqe*, all those that occur in verb phrases are postverbal, and they are postnominal in noun phrases. *Tona* and *toneqe* are preverbal and prenominal.

It is necessary to distinguish situations where a particle functions as a noun-phrase particle and has the whole noun phrase in its scope and those where a particle is a verb-complex particle and has a verb that modifies a noun (section 6.10) in its scope. In (7-4) *naqa* functions as a noun-phrase particle and has the whole possessive noun phrase in its scope:

- (7-4) ... [*qiiqisi-la-na* *fa* *ngali qeri naqa*] *na*
 be.last-NMLZ-3.PERS CLF year this PRF FOC
- keki* *faqa-danga-a* *biqu qeri,*
 3PL.FUT CAUS-be.finished-3.OBJ house that
 ‘... it will be (at) the end (lit. being last) of this year that they will finish [building] the house,’

On the other hand, in (7-5) *naqa* functions as a postverbal particle and has only the verb *mae* in its scope:

- (7-5) *Kafa* *qeri, wane [mae naqa]* *n=e*
 comb this man be.dead PRF FOC=3SG.NFUT

alu-lu-a.

own-RDP-3SG.OBJ

‘This comb, it was the dead man (lit.: the now-dead man) who used to own it.’

The particles will now be discussed in turn.

7.2. *Tona, toneqe* ‘of little significance, etc.’

As discussed in section 5.1.1, the *qe* element in *toneqe* is, historically, the de-transitivizing suffix *-qe*.

Tona and *toneqe* serve to express the fact that the referent of the noun phrase is judged to be of little significance, relevance, consequence, value:

(7-6) *Nau tona wane ni bana.*
 1SG of.little.significance person LIG LIM
 ‘I am a nobody.’ ‘I am an unimportant person.’

(7-7) *Sui taa nau ku riki-a*
 but but 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ

thaitoqoma-na-laa qena, toneqe doo
 know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ that(2) of.little.value thing

nenā,

NPAST.THERE

‘[Some of these men have seen the service of worship (in church) many times, and they now know how to conduct it.] However, I have seen this “knowledge”, (and) it’s not much (lit.: [it is] a thing of little value)’

In saying the sentence in (7-7) the speaker is being sarcastic about the value, quality of the knowledge that the others have about how to conduct worship services. See (28-31) in section 28.3 for context.

7.3. *Quu* distal, restrictive

The particle *quu* has two functions in noun phrases. First, it is used in temporal noun phrases to signal time relatively distant from the time of reference, in the

past or in the future. This distal notion has to do with distance in time, not in space.

(7-8) *fa sadee baa quu*
 CLF Sunday that DIST
 ‘last Sunday (which was several days ago)’

(7-9) *dini quu naqa*
 relatively.distant.past DIST INTS
 ‘somewhat distant past’

(7-10) *madami loo quu mai*
 month upward DIST VENT
 ‘next month (still some time away)’

(7-11) *si manga loo ki quu mai*
 PRTT time upward PL DIST VENT
 ‘in relatively distant future (times)’

In the second function, *quu* is used in combination with the assertive marker *boqo* in a restrictive function. The combination *quu boqo* asserts that only the referent of the noun phrase in their scope qualifies; none other does. Only that entity or those entities (can) play that role in a given state of affairs.

(7-12) ... *kwai-mu quu boqo qoki*
 spouse-2SG.PERS RESTR ASRT 2SG.IPFV

laebiibii bii-a.
 walk.close.to.sb. COM-3SG.OBJ

‘[In the old days you would not walk closely behind the wife of another man.] ... only your wife (and no other woman) would you walk close to (lit.: with).’

(7-13) *Fa silifa ki quu boqo na kera quu*
 CLF coin PL RESTR ASRT FOC 3PL.NFUT throw

qani-a.
 GENP-3SG.OBJ

‘It’s strictly coins (and nothing else, no paper money) that they throw (lit.: throw with it) [into the pool in a zoo].’

With temporal noun phrases that refer to a moment in time, *quu boqo* signifies the immediacy of the time: ‘at that very time (and none other)’:

- (7-14) *Ma doo qeri ka dola bo=naqa si*
 and thing that 3SG.SEQ disappear ASRT=INTS PRRT
- kade-qe manga qeri quu boqo, ka*
 block-ASSOC time that RESTR ASRT 3SG.SEQ
- aqi si riki-a laqu.*
 NEG V 3SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ ADD
 ‘And that thing disappeared at that very point in time; he did not see it again.’

7.4. Sui exhaustive

As a noun-phrase particle, *sui* functions as a quantifying particle that signifies that the situation encoded in the clause applies to all the relevant participants. *Sui* is discussed in detail and exemplified in section 6.8.10 under noun phrase quantification. Here it is treated only briefly, from the perspective of its membership in the noun-phrase particle group. As a rule, *sui* is accompanied either by the assertive marker *boqo* or by the limiter *bana*. It is only rarely that it occurs by itself. Here is an example:

- (7-15) *Mili gani-a si doo qe=ki*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT ask.for-3.OBJ PRRT thing that=PL
- sui qana thata-mu, Diises,*
 EXHST INS name-2SG.PERS Jesus
 ‘We ask for all those things through [i.e., appealing to] your name, Jesus,’

In (7-16) *sui* cooccurs with the limiter *bana*, and in (7-17) with the assertive-intensifier combination *bo=naqa*:

- (7-16) *si doo ki sui bana n=e taqaa*
 PRRT thing PL EXHST LIM REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad
 ‘all the things that are bad’
- (7-17) *Toqa ni sui bo=naqa na kere*
 people LIG EXHST ASRT=INTS FOC 3PL.NFUT

ili=si doo qeri si manga na uni
 do:3.OBJ=PRTT thing this PRTT time REL season

qai.
 tree

‘Everybody does this (kind of) thing when it is the season of canarium-nut harvest.’ (Lit.: ‘It is all the people that do this thing when it is the time which is the season of trees.’)

Some more examples of *sui* with *bogo* and *bana* are given in sections 7.6 and 7.7, respectively.

7.5. *Laqu* additive

The function of the additive particle *laqu* is to signal the fact that one or more additional participants or circumstances are involved in the same way in a given situation or a type of situation as some other(s). The other participant(s) or circumstance(s) may, but need not be specified. If the other participants or circumstances are expressed, the additive noun phrase may, but need not be joined to that noun phrase with the conjunction ‘and’; see (7-18) and (7-19), respectively:

(7-18) ... *ka lae bia kaluwani nia ma tai*
 3SG.SEQ go COM son 3SG and some.PL

wane laqu
 man ADD

‘... he went with his son and some other men’

(7-19) ... *kera fale-a mai fanga i*
 3PL.NFUT give-3.OBJ VENT food to

qa-miliqa, raisi, tai si fanga laqu
 REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS rice some.PL PRTT food ADD

....

‘... they gave us food, rice, (and) some other food’

In the elliptical sentence in (7-20) only a noun phrase with the additive marker is present:

- (7-20) *Taa laqu?*
 what? ADD
 ‘What else?’ (A shop assistant asking a customer: ‘What else do you want to buy?’.)

Not infrequently, the additive marker combines with assertive/intensifying *boqo*:

- (7-21) ... *kerā anikaba-a qaba-na mā*
 3PL.NFUT handcuff-3.OBJ hand-3SG.PERS and

qae-na laqu boqo.
 leg-3SG.PERS ADD ASRT
 ‘... they handcuffed his hands as well as his legs.’

- (7-22) *Lae naqa! Qoe laqu boqo!*
 go PRF 2SG ADD ASRT/INTS
 ‘[To one person:] Go now! [To another person:] You too!’

In a negative clause, the additive marker signals the absence of a (type of) entity after its presence earlier:

- (7-23) *Ma ka aqi naqa ta si*
 and 3SG.SEQ not.be.available PRF some PRTT

thaqegano laqu uri-a fasi wane ka
 ground ADD PURP-3.OBJ PURP person 3SG.SEQ

fasi-a fanga qi ei ka leqa.
 plant-3.OBJ food LOC LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ be.good
 ‘And there is now no more ground for a person to plant food where it would do well.’ (Lit.: ‘There is now not more ground so that a person might plant food there and it would be good.’)

In the next example, *laqu* occurs three times: twice as a-noun phrase particle and once in a verb complex:

- (7-24) *Si manga qeri laqu, nau kwai uqunu laqu*
 PRTT time this ADD 1SG 1SG.FUT narrate ADD

suli-a rua-na si uqunu laqu boqo,
 PROL-3.OBJ two-3.PERS DIM story ADD ASRT
 ‘This time too/again I will tell another little story,’ (Lit.: ‘This time too I will again narrate about another little story,’)

Multiple use of additive *laqu* within the same clause is not unusual. In some cases, as in (7-24), such multiple use is pleonastic; it adds little, if anything, to the meaning of the clause. In other cases, it is meaningful. In the next example, *laqu* occurs twice, in a noun phrase and in a verb complex. The *laqu* in the noun phrase signifies that the men will be there in addition to other men (mentioned earlier), while the *laqu* with the verb signifies that those men too will take out the kernels of the cracked canarium nuts, together with the women. Cracking large quantities of canarium nuts is a collective activity. The cracking is done by men; the kernels are taken out by women, with men sometimes joining in.

(7-25) *Tai wane ki laqu boqo keka qegwe laqu*
 some.PL man PL ADD ASRT 3PL.SEQ shell.nuts ADD

boqo bia kini qe=ki.
 ASRT COM woman that=PL
 ‘Some other men will also shell [the cracked canarium nuts], together with the women.’

7.6. *Boqo* assertive, intensifier

One function of *boqo* is to signal an assertion concerning the identity of the referent of its noun phrase, or the identity of the type of referent. *Boqo* has a combining form *bo=* used in combination with the intensifier *naqa*; see further below for examples.

(7-26) ... *kukeqe nau ni boqo n=e aqi*
 wife 1SG LIG ASRT FOC=3SG.NFUT NEG V

si maqu.
 3SG.NEG be.afraid
 ‘[My children and I were afraid;] my wife was the one who was not afraid.’

(7-27) A: *Teqe doo ku rongo-a;*
 one thing 1SG.NFUT hear-3SG.OBJ

linga-na *qe* *quri-a* *tarake.*
 sound-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ truck

B: *Qoo, nga tarake ni boqo.*
 oh IDENT truck LIG ASRT

A: ‘I can hear something; it sounds like a truck (lit.: its sound is like a truck).’

B: ‘Oh, it *is* a truck.’

(7-28) *Roo baoni boqo teqe madami.*

two pound ASRT one month

‘Two pounds a month, no more, no less.’ (Speaking about wages.)

Boqo may have an interrogative noun phrase in its scope. In such cases, it functions as an intensifier: the speaker’s wish is to have a definite, explicit answer to what is under interrogation.

(7-29) *Koro, taa ni boqo koki ade-a?*

DU(INCL) what? LIG ASRT DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ

‘You and I, *what* will we do?’

Boqo often combines with restrictive *quu*, additive *laqu*, or exhaustive *sui*, whose values it strengthens; see (7-30), (7-31) and (7-32), and (7-33) below, respectively. The distinction between the assertive and the intensifying functions is not always clear-cut.

(7-30) ... *kwai-mu quu boqo qoki*
 spouse-2SG.PERS RESTR ASRT 2SG.IPFV

laebiibii bii-a.
 walk.close.to.sb. COM-3SG.OBJ

‘[In the old days you would not walk closely behind the wife of another man.] ... only your wife (and no other woman) would you walk close to (lit.: with).’

See also (7-13) in section 7.3.

(7-31) *Tha God ka thuu-fi goe, wane nau,*
 PERSMKR God 3SG.SEQ protect-TR 2SG man 1SG

ma ni nau laqu boqo.
 and PROFORE 1SG ADD INTS
 ‘May God protect you, my man, and me too.’

(7-32) *Lae naqa! Qoe laqu boqo!*
 go PRF 2SG ADD ASRT/INTS
 ‘[To one person:] Go now! [To another person:] You too!’

(7-33) *Ni kamiliqa sui boqo miki*
 PROFORE 1PL(EXCL) EXHST ASRT 1PL(EXCL).IPFV

too leqa ba-miliqa
 be.in.certain.condition be.good LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

qa=si manga qeri.
 GENP=PRTT time this
 ‘We, all of us, are just fine at this time.’

Boqo can also have the consequence marker *adelana*, which is a nominalization of *ade* ‘do’, in its scope; see example (34-6) in chapter 34.

Conversely, the assertive or intensifying value of *boqo* may be strengthened by the intensifier *naqa*. *Boqo* and *naqa* obligatorily fuse together as *bo=naqa*. In (7-34) *bo=naqa* has in its scope a nominalization with an incorporated object:

(7-34) *Kwade-qe doo naqi, kwade-qe doo*
 hollow.object-ASSOC thing this hollow.object-ASSOC thing

uri-a taqu-kaleko-laa ni bo=naqa, qe
 PURP-3.OBJ wash-clothes-NMLZ LIG ASRT=INTS 3SG.NFUT

aqi qosi alu-a fanga ki qi ei.
 NEGV 2SG.NEG put-3.OBJ food PL LOC LOCPRO
 ‘This bucket (lit.: this hollow object of a thing), it’s a bucket for washing clothes (and for nothing else); don’t put food in there.’

(7-35) *Meka tatha-fi-a laa fanua naqi sui*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ pass.by-TR-3.OBJ IN area this EXHST

bo=naqa,

INTS=INTS

‘We passed through (lit.: by) the entire area, [there was no place we did not visit].’

The force of the combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles may be further strengthened by means of the focus construction:

(7-36) *Fa bongi baa bo=naqa na kwai oli*
 CLF day that ASRT=INTS FOC 1SG.FUT return

kau.

AND

‘It will be on *that* day (and not on any other) that I will go back.’

For more examples of *bo=naqa* see section 7.8.

7.7. *Bana limiter*

As a noun-phrase particle, the limiter *bana* has several functions. Its core function is to make it explicit that the proposition expressed in the clause applies only to those entities encoded in the noun phrase in its scope, excluding any other potential candidates:

(7-37) *Tai wane bana kera lae mai qa=fa*
 some.PL man LIM 3PL.NFUT go VENT GENP=CLF

rodo.

night

‘Only some (of the) men came last night (lit.: at night).’

(7-38) *Qoe ban=o thaitoqoma-na.*
 2SG LIM=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘You know best.’ (Lit.: ‘Only you know it.’)

In the next sentence, *bana* has one of the conjuncts in a coordinate noun phrase in its scope: only the woman’s son was living with her, his father having died.

(7-39) *Nia bana bia thaina-na kero too*
 3SG LIM and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside

qana teqe kasi maqa toaa.
 GENP one small CLF hamlet
 ‘Only he and his mother were living in a small hamlet.’

Quite commonly a noun phrase with the limiter is placed in focus:

- (7-40) *Fanga quna qe=ki bana na ni*
 food manner that=PL LIM FOC PROFORE

kamiliqa miki qani-a bia alo.
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ COM taro
 ‘It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with taro.’
 (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

The sentence in (7-40) also appears in (6-443) in section 6.14. As mentioned in the paragraph preceding (6-443), the structural position of the limiter is not clear: it could be a constituent of the noun phrase *quna qe=ki bana* ‘food only like that’, or it could be an immediate constituent of the larger noun phrase *fanga quna qe=ki bana* ‘only food like that’. The way the sentence is translated in (7-40) above corresponds to the structure in (6-443b).

The limiter can also be used in non-referential noun phrases. There it signifies that there is no characterization that applies other than the one given:

- (7-41) *Nau ku dora qana wane naqi, sui*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP man this but

mena nau ku toqomatafa-na wane
 but 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ man

leqa ni bana.
 be.good LIG LIM
 ‘I don’t know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is) just a good man.’ (There is nothing bad about him.)

Bana can also have the consequence marker *adelana* in its scope; see example (34-7) in chapter 34.

Another function of *bana* can be loosely characterized as “downgrading”. *Bana* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is in some sense of lesser value, significance, interest, extent, size, effect than some other, comparable entity. The downgrading is normally only implicit: neither the entity to which the noun-phrase referent is compared nor the respect in which it is viewed as being of lesser value, etc. is normally expressed. Usually, but not necessarily,

the evaluation of the referent is negative, disparaging, belittling, even if perhaps only slightly so. In (7-42) traditional bush medicine is implicitly contrasted with Western medicine, which, on the whole, enjoys higher prestige:

(7-42) *Nau, meresina kwasi ni bana n=e*
 I medicine be.wild LIG LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT

faqa-qakwaa nau.

CAUS-be.cured 1SG

‘Me, it was just bush medicine (lit. wild medicine, i.e. medicine from wild plants) that cured me.’

Two more examples of (slightly) negative downgrading are (7-43) and (7-44):

(7-43) *Fa sobe ni bana.*
 CLF bird.sp. LIG LIM

‘It’s just a *sobe* [bird].’ (When asked by another person what kind of bird it was. The *sobe* is a little bird of no particular importance or significance.)

(7-44) *gita kokoto ni bana*
 guitar be.straightforward LIG LIM

‘just an ordinary [here: acoustic] guitar’ (not an electric guitar, electric guitars being valued more highly)

As the next examples show, the downgrading need not be negative. Compare (7-44) above and (7-45) below with the same verb modifying the head noun:

(7-45) *Mataqi-a kokoto ni bana.*
 be.ill-DVN be.straightforward LIG LIM

‘[It’s] not a serious illness.’ (Lit.: ‘[It’s] just a straightforward illness.’)

Similarly, there is nothing disparaging in characterizing a child as being only little in (7-46). The limiter occurs in a non-referential noun phrase: the characteristic of being a little child is implicitly compared to that of being a big, bigger child.

- (7-46) *Wela qeri kali wela faqekwa ni bana.*
 child that little.SG child be.little LIG LIM
 ‘He was just a little child.’ (Lit.: ‘The child [was] just a little child.’)

In another type of use, *bana* occurs in combination with the exhaustive particle *sui*. (See also sections 7.4 and 6.8.10.)

- (7-47) *Kamiliqa sui bana qana fanu naqi*
 1PL(EXCL) EXHST LIM GENP area this

mika isifuufuli faqa-maqu.
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ rush.back.and.forth CAUS-be.afraid
 ‘All of us in this area rushed back and forth a lot [as a cyclone was approaching].’

(*Faqa-maqu* ‘be of great quantity, degree’ also functions as an intensifier after other verbs; cf. also the Class 1 transitive verb *faqa-maqu* ‘frighten, scare, make afraid’.)

Bana is also used in two constructions that signal unrestricted choice: any member of a given class satisfies the proposition expressed in the clause; or, conversely, the proposition expressed in the clause applies to any member of a given class of entities. In one of the constructions, *bana* has an interrogative noun phrase in its scope (section 24.2):

- (7-48) *Tei bana na qoki ngata bii-a,*
 who LIM REL 2SG.IPFV speak COM-3SG.OBJ

qoko ngata leqa bii-a.
 2SG.SEQ speak be.nice COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whoever you speak with, you should speak nicely with them.’

In the other construction *bana* has a noun phrase headed either by *mamalana* ‘any one’ or by *qatona* ‘any one’ in its scope (section 24.3).

- (7-49) *Mamalana bana ta wane qe lae*
 any.one LIM some person 3SG.NFUT go

ma=i biqu nau, nau kwai fale-a fanga
 VENT=LOC house 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT/IPFV give-3.OBJ food

i a-na.

LOC REC-3SG.PERS

‘(If) anyone comes to my house, I’ll give food to him/her.’ ‘Anyone who comes to my house, I give food to him/her.’ ‘Whoever comes to my house, I give food to him/her.’

7.8. Naqa perfect, intensifier

As a postverbal particle, *naqa* functions as a perfect marker and as an intensifier. As a noun-phrase particle, it has, broadly speaking, the same two functions. The perfect-marking function will be considered first. The core function of postverbal perfect-marking *naqa* is to signal that a new state of affairs obtains at the time of reference. As a noun-phrase particle, it also signals a new state of affairs at the time of reference, but specifically that a different participant is involved, different from the relevant participant(s) involved in an earlier situation, or that there is a change in some aspect or circumstance of the situation, or in some characteristic(s) of a participant. The new participant or circumstance is in implicit or explicit contrast with one or more other ones that were involved in an earlier situation.

As in its postverbal function, in its noun-phrase internal function *naqa* has a combining variant *na=*. *Na=* is used when another noun-phrase particle follows, which can only be one of the directionals.

The first set of examples has to do with a change in participants. In the states of affairs expressed in (7-50), it is the people who were fleeing that are in the foreground at first. As a result of their fleeing, one lone person was left behind. This is the new situation, and it is the sole remaining person who is now in the foreground. The noun phrase encoding that participant contains the perfect marker.

(7-50) *Toqa naqi ki kera thaa-thaka ka*
 people this PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-flee 3SG.SEQ

sui naqa; teqe nau naqa ku too.
 be.finished PRF sole 1SG PRF 1SG.NFUT stay

‘The people have kept fleeing until they are all gone (lit.: it is finished now); I alone now stay [here].’

In (7-51) the exchange between A and B is about turns when playing cards. With each turn, the situation is new because the player is different from the preceding one. The perfect marker occurs both in the question and in the an-

swer. In both cases the contrast is between the person to play next and the previous player.

(7-51) A: *Tei naqa neri?*
 who? PRF NPAST.HERE

B: *Qoe naqa neri.*
 2SG PRF NPAST.HERE

A: ‘Whose turn is it now?’ (Lit.: ‘Who now?’)

B: ‘Your turn.’ (Lit.: ‘You now.’)

In the overall situation described in (7-52) below, it is first the speaker that is in the foreground. The sentence describes how he would behave according to tradition. In the second sentence, a different participant is placed in the foreground. The sentence describes what *she* would do. The switch in the individuals is highlighted by means of *naqa*.

(7-52) *Nau kwai alu-a ba-kuq=i thaqegano*
 1SG 1SG.IPFV put-3SG.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS=LOC ground

kwa quna qeri, “Si doo qeri neri.”
 1SG.SEQ manner this PRTT thing this NPAST.HERE

Nia naqa ka gwee-a.
 3SG PRF 3SG.SEQ pick.up-3SG.OBJ

‘[In the old days, when a woman who was the wife of another man asked me to give her something, I would not hand it to her directly.] I would just put it on the ground and say, “Here is the thing.”. (And *she* would pick it up.’

In (7-53) the speaker is wondering what the child is eating at that particular time, compared to what the child had eaten earlier. The perfect marker is linked to the head noun by the ligature *ni*.

(7-53) *Taa ni naqa na wela kai qani-a?*
 what? LIG PRF FOC child 3SG.IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What’s the child eating now?’ ‘What is it now that the child is eating?’

While the perfect marker serves to foreground a new participant, this use of the perfect marker is different from focusing. In (7-53) the noun phrase with the perfect marker is additionally in focus. (For focusing see chapter 39.)

In (7-54) there are three instances of noun-phrase internal *naqa* (and one instance of *naqa* as a postverbal perfect marker). What is new is the kinds of food some people eat nowadays, and they are implicitly contrasted with traditional, local kinds of food.

(7-54) *Tai wane ki ma tai toqa ki kera*
 some.PL man PL and some.PL people PL 3PL.NFUT

qarutoqo-na naqa fanga araqi kwao ki
 use-3.OBJ PRF food mature.man be.white PL

naqa neq, raisi naqa, tii naqa, doo quna
 PRF VIVID rice PRF tea PRF thing kind

qe=ki bana
 this=PL LIM

‘Some people (lit.: some men and some people) now use white people’s food, rice, tea, only things like these’

(*Araqi kwao* ‘white, Caucasian man’ is also used to refer to white people in general, regardless of sex.)

In (7-55) the perfect marker cooccurs with the adative directional and consequently has the form *na=*:

(7-55) *Si doo qoe na=kau nena.*
 PRTT thing 2SG PRF=AND there(2)

‘That’s your food (lit.: thing).’ (As opposed to the food given to other people a short while previously.)

In the next example *naqa* has in its scope possessum noun phrases, one that contains the ordinal interrogative quantifier noun *fita-na* ‘how many?’ and one with the ordinal numeral noun *fai-na* ‘fourth’. The speaker is asking how many times the addressee had been to the Solomon Islands by that time. It is the number of the latest visit that is new, compared to the previous visits.

(7-56) A: *Qoe, fita-na naqa si manga qo*
 2SG how.many?-3.PERS PRF PRTT time 2SG.NFUT

fula i Solomoni neri?
 arrive LOC Solomons NPAST.HERE

B: *Fai-na naqa si manga neri.*

four-3.PERS PRF PRTT time NPAST.HERE

A: 'You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?'
(Lit.: 'You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the Solomons?')

B: '(This is) the fourth time.' (Lit.: 'Fourth now of time.')

In its other function, *naqa* functions as an intensifier. In this function it cooccurs with the assertive/intensifying particle *boqo*. The two particles obligatorily fuse together as *bo=naqa*.

(7-57) *Ma moki lone neri. Nia bo=naqa*
and 2DU.IPFV tell.lie NPAST.HERE 3SG ASRT=INTS

neqe!

here

'But (lit.: and) you are lying [when you say you have not brought a possum]. It's (right) here!'

In (7-58) it is identity of type that is strongly asserted:

(7-58) *Nau kwa riki-a ba-kuqa doo kera*
1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

keda-a, mada sa ka qisu, wane
paint-3SG.OBJ or IRR 3SG.SEQ move person

ni bo=naqa.

LIG ASRT=INTS

'(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.'
(Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

Noun phrases that contain *bo=naqa* are often in focus:

(7-59) *Qoe bo=naqa n=o thaitoqoma-na.*
2SG ASRT=INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ
'You know best.' (Lit.: 'It is you who knows it.')

Compare a semantically close sentence with the limiter *bana* rather than *bo=naqa* in (7-38) in section 7.7.

- (7-60) *Nia bo=naqa na keki lio uri-a, ma*
 3SG ASRT=INTS FOC 3PL.FUT look ALL-3SG.OBJ and
- nia bo=naqa na keki faqa-baqita-a*
 3SG ASRT=INTS FOC 3PL.FUT CAUS-be.important-3SG.OBJ

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

‘It’s *him* that they will look to, and it’s *him* that they will honour (lit.: make important) greatly.’

In (7-61) *bo=naqa* occurs in combination with the exhaustive particle *sui*:

- (7-61) *Meka tatha-fi-a laa fanua naqi sui*
 1DU(ECXL).SEQ pass.by-TR-3.OBJ IN area this EXHST

bo=naqa,

INTS=INTS

‘We passed through (lit.: by) the entire area, [there was no place we did not visit].’

Bo=naqa occurs in a verbless closing formula:

- (7-62) *Nia bo=naqa neri.*
 3SG ASRT=PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘That’s all (I have to say).’ ‘That’s it.’ ‘That’s the way it is/was.’

For more examples of *bo=naqa* see section 7.6.

7.9. Feteqi intensifier

One function of *feteqi* is to emphasize in declarative sentences that the referent of the noun phrase is indeed such and such, possibly against what is normal or what might be expected. What is emphasized in (7-63) is that the speaker took two naps during the day, which is not what he normally does:

- (7-63) *Nau, roo fa biinga-a feteqi qa=fa thato qeri.*
 1SG two CLF sleep-DVN INTS GENP=CLF day this
 ‘I [had] *two sleeps* during the day.’ ‘I [took] *two naps* during the day.’

And what is emphasized in (7-64) is that it is only at some times that a possum hunter is up in a tree searching for possums. At other times he is on the ground, looking for possums from there. To foreground the former information even more, the noun phrase with the intensifier is in focus:

- (7-64) *Tai si manga feteqi na kai*
 some.PL PRTT time INTS FOC 3SG.IPFV

i=i gwau-na qai qena ki, ...
 be.located=LOC top-3.PERS tree that(2) PL
 ‘It is only sometimes that he is up in the top of the trees, [at other times he just looks around, standing on the ground].’

And second, *feteqi* is used in interrogative phrases to highlight the kind of information being requested (section 19.3.11):

- (7-65) *Maeori, taa feteqi n=o*
 Maeori what? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT

kaa-kasi-a qa=fa thato naqi, laa-lae,
 RDP-chop-3SG.OBJ GENP=CLF day this RDP-go

fanua ka rodo naqa?
 place 3SG.SEQ be.night PRF
 ‘Maeori, what on earth have you been chopping [here: carving wood] the whole day until the night?’ (Lit.: ‘Maeori, what on earth have you been chopping on this day until it has become night?’)

However, *feteqi* occurs only rarely in interrogative phrases. There another intensifier, *qana*, is normally used; see the next section.

7.10. *Qana* intensifier

The intensifier *qana* is used primarily in interrogative noun phrases in open interrogatives. Its function is to make a question more emphatic, more insistent, to request a more accurate, detailed, elaborate answer. Emphatic open inter-

rogatives are discussed further in section 19.3.11, and here only one example is given.

- (7-66) *Ni tei qana n=o riki-a?*
 PERSMKR who? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Who did you see?’ ‘Who was it that you saw?’

It is only rarely that *qana* is used in sentences other than interrogative. In (7-67) it functions to emphasize the strangeness of the fish:

- (7-67) *Nau ku deedee, kwa dee-toqo-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT fish 1SG.SEQ catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ
- teqe iqa qeeqeta qana, iqa kwasi*
 one fish be.strange INTS fish 1SG.NEG
- rii-riki-a.*
 RDP-see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had not seen (before).’

7.11. *Mai ventive* and *kau andative*

The core function of *mai* and *kau* as postverbal particles is to signal directionality of movement, ventive and andative respectively. As noun-phrase particles, they signal distance of the referent of the noun phrase from the deictic centre. *Mai* is used both in spatial and in temporal noun phrases, while *kau* is used only in temporal noun phrases. The uses of *mai* are considered first.

As a postverbal particle, *mai* can signal that a state of affairs obtains away from the deictic centre. This function is due to a metonymic extension from the ventive function: movement to the deictic centre can only be from a location away from it (section 5.2.14.7). The notion of distance from the deictic centre is also present in the use of *mai* as a spatial noun-phrase internal particle. The link between movement to the deictic centre and a location away from it can be clearly seen in the next two examples. In (7-68) the speaker says that his family line originally lived in a place other than the one where they live now, implying that his ancestors moved to the area they are in now.

- (7-68) *Kamiliqa toqa qi West Fataleka mai.*
 1PL(EXCL) people LOC West Fataleka VENT
 ‘We are people (originally) from (lit.: at) West Fataleka.’ (Like the Toqabaqita area, the West Fataleka area is in North Malaita; see map 1.3 in section 1.3.)

Similarly in the next example: the people in the surrounding areas, away from the deictic centre, which is where the feast is to be held, bring pigs and taros for the feast. The movement to the deictic centre, the location of the feast, is signalled by postverbal *mai*. The noun-phrase internal *mai* and the postverbal *mai* are in bold.

- (7-69) ... *toqa kaa-kali ki mai na kera nii*
 people RDP-be.around PL VENT REL 3PL.NFUT reside

karangi kera, kera ngali-a laqu boqo mai
 be.near.to 3PL 3PL.NFUT take-3.OBJ ADD ASRT VENT

botho ki ma alo ki,
 pig PL and taro PL

‘people (from) all around who live near them [the people giving the feast] also bring pigs and taros’

Even though in (7-69) the noun *toqa* ‘people’ is modified by the verb *kaa-kali* ‘be all around’, the ventive particle in the noun phrase is not a postverbal particle there. The verb and the ventive marker are separated by the plural marker *ki*. That is, *mai* has the whole plural noun phrase in its scope.

Mai can also signal temporal distance from the time of reference with noun phrases that are not inherently temporal. (For the use of both *mai* and *kau* with inherently temporal noun phrases see further below.) In (7-70) it has the noun ‘generation(s)’ in its scope:

- (7-70) *kwalafaa ni mai*
 generation LIG VENT
 ‘earlier generation(s)’

In (7-71) there are two instances of the ventive marker. The first *mai* is noun-phrase internal: ‘a custom of ours from before; i.e., a custom of ours that existed already in earlier times’. The second *mai* is in the verb complex and signals that the customs have persisted until now (section 5.2.14.5).

- (7-71) *Biibirangaa kulu ni mai neri,*
 custom PL(INCL) LIG VENT NPAST.HERE
- qe teo quu na=mai.*
 3SG.NFUT stay ANTCONT PRF=VENT
 ‘This is a custom of ours from before; (and) it has stayed (with us)
 up until now.’

Both directionals can occur in temporal noun phrases that signify periods of time, such as days and months, distant from the time of reference. Under some conditions, either directional can be used without any apparent difference in meaning, while elsewhere only one of them is grammatical. On the whole, where both are possible, ventive *mai* is more common than andative *kau*. In addition to a directional marker, temporal noun phrases may contain a demonstrative that signals the direction of the displacement in time, past or future.

Either directional is possible when the noun phrase contains the demonstrative *qeri* ‘this’ or *naqi* ‘this’, signalling the next, “coming” time period:

- (7-72) *fa Sandee {qeri / naqi} {mai / kau}*
 CLF Sunday this this VENT / AND
 ‘this coming Sunday’

To express the fact that the future time period is not the next, coming one but the one after it, the noun phrase contains the elevational demonstrative *loo* ‘upward’, optionally followed by ventive *mai*:

- (7-73) *fa Sandee loo (mai)*
 CLF Sunday upward VENT
 ‘the Sunday after next’

To signal a relatively great distance in time, the distal particle *quu* is used in addition:

- (7-74) *madami loo quu mai*
 month upward DIST VENT
 ‘next month (still some time away)’

Future time is conceptualized as being up and moving towards the time of reference (see also section 13.4).

On the other hand, to refer to the most recent preceding period of time, the noun phrase contains the demonstrative *baa* ‘that’, optionally followed by andative *kau*:

- (7-75) *fa Sandee baa (kau)*
 CLF Sunday that AND
 'last Sunday'

However, if a temporal noun phrase contains the distal marker *quu*, *mai* rather than *kau* is used:

- (7-76) *fa Sandee baa quu mai*
 CLF Sunday that DIST VENT
 'last Sunday (some days ago)'

Baa is a demonstrative of absence, and it also functions anaphorically; see sections 13.3.2.4 and 13.5.1, respectively. It does not have an elevational meaning.

Mai is also used in temporal phrases that contain a lexical element that signifies past time:

- (7-77) *qa=fa thato na=i dini mai*
 GENP=CLF day REL=LOC relatively.distant.past VENT
 'in the days of the past'

- (7-78) *birangaa qi naqo quu mai*
 custom LOC earlier.time DIST VENT
 'custom(s) of (lit.: at) long time ago'

Chapter 8

Possessive and associative noun phrases

Even though possessive noun phrases and associative noun phrases are different from each other both structurally and semantically, they are best discussed together in one chapter, in order that the differences between them may be brought to the fore, especially since some nouns can form the heads of both types of construction.

8.1. Possessive noun phrases

8.1.1. Introduction

The term “possessive noun phrases” is inaccurate because it suggests that the primary function of the constructions is to express possession, ownership. This, however, is far from being the case. Similarly, the terms for the two constituents of a possessive construction, the “possessor” noun phrase and the “possessum” noun phrase, do not always signify an owner and that which is owned, respectively. Nevertheless, all these terms have been retained here in keeping with the tradition in Oceanic linguistics and elsewhere. And, for convenience, the terms “possessor” and “possessum” will be used in two senses: to refer to the constituents of a possessive noun phrase and to their referents.

Possessive constructions are relational: there are two entities that are in a certain relation to each other. The relation may be one of true possession, ownership (the possessor owns the possessum), but there may be many other kinds of relation: the possessum may be part of the possessor, the two may be in a kinship relation to each other, the possessor may use or control the possessum without owning it, the possessor may produce the possessum without owning it, the possessor may be an agent in an event treated grammatically as a possessum, etc. In fact, one of the two main types of possessive noun phrase in Toqabaqita does not express ownership.

On formal grounds, two basic types of possessive noun phrase are distinguished in Toqabaqita. These will be referred to as “bare” and “suffixing”, respectively. It is bare possessive noun phrases that may, but need not, encode ownership. The formal properties of the two types of possessive construction are discussed first; their semantic/pragmatic properties will be discussed subsequently. The choice between the two types of noun phrase is to a large extent,

but not fully, determined by semantic and pragmatic factors, specifically by the nature of the relation between the referents of the possessor and the possessum phrases. If it were not for this semantic/pragmatic contrast between the two types of construction, there would really be no justification for treating them as subtypes of one category.

8.1.2. Suffixing possessive noun phrases

The basic structure of the suffixing possessive noun phrase is given in (8-1):

(8-1) [(CLF) POSSESSUM.NOUN-PERS]_{NP} ([lexical.possessor]_{NP})

The possessum noun is the head of the construction. The only noun-phrase element that can occur with the head noun in the possessum noun phrase is a classifier. The possessum noun carries a personal suffix that indexes the possessor. Possessor noun phrases are optional, and they can only be lexical, not pronominal. There are some further restrictions on the structure of the suffixing possessive construction. Those are discussed in the appropriate places later.

The personal suffixes correspond to, and in some cases are cognate with, what in the descriptions of other Oceanic languages are usually termed “possessive suffixes”. Here the term “personal” is preferred over “possessive” for two reasons. First, the suffixes are also used in constructions other than possessive: with Class 2 transitive verbs to index their objects; with certain postverbal particles, where they index the subject referent, or in one type of construction the recipient/beneficiary; with certain prepositions, where they index the complement. And the term “personal” is intended to capture certain parallels between the suffixes and the independent personal pronouns: the two categories make the same person, number, and inclusive/exclusive distinctions.

Toqabaqita suffixing possessive constructions correspond to direct possessive constructions of other Oceanic languages, where the possessum noun takes possessive suffixes indexing the possessor (Lichtenberk 1985). However, since unlike those other languages Toqabaqita does not have a category of indirect possessive constructions, where it is possessive classifiers that carry the possessive suffixes, the type of constructions is termed “suffixing”, as opposed to the other, “bare” type.

The personal suffixes are listed in table 8.1 below. With two exceptions (see below), the list is the same as the list of the object suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs given in table 4.4 in section 4.2.3.3.1.

Table 8.1. Personal suffixes

	singular	dual	plural
1EXCL	-ku, -kuqa	-mareqa	-miliqa, -maliqa, -mi [†] , -miqa [†]
INCL		-karoqa	-kuluqa, -kaluqa, -ka [†]
2	-mu, -muqa	-maroqa	-muluqa, -maluqa, -miu [†]
3	-na, -a	-daroqa	-da, -daluqa

In the first and the second persons singular, the longer forms *-kuqa* and *-muqa*, respectively, do not function as object suffixes. They are not used in the suffixing possessive construction either, but are listed here for the sake of completeness. They are only used with certain postverbal particles in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10), where the short forms are rare.

Many of the personal suffixes used in the suffixing possessive construction have variant forms. In the plural category, the forms marked with “†” were characteristic of women’s speech in earlier times, and, with one exception to be discussed later, are not in normal use today. Among the other plural variants, the one that is more common is listed first. The second person plural form *-maluqa* and even more so the third person plural form *-daluqa* are infrequent. The use of the two variants in the third person singular is discussed further below.

There are some partial similarities among many of the suffixes. The final syllable *qa* is found in all persons other than third singular. The initial syllable of each dual form is identical with the initial or the sole syllable of at least one of the corresponding plural forms; for example *da* in the third person. The dual forms have mid vowels in the second syllable, while the tri-syllabic plural forms have the corresponding high vowels in the second syllable: *o* vs. *u*, and *e* vs. *i*. The most common first person plural exclusive, plural inclusive, and second plural variants exhibit assimilation of the vowel in the first syllable to that in the second syllable. And as is the case with the independent pronouns (section 6.3.1), the dual number is associated with the consonant *r*, and the plural number with the consonant *l* in the polysyllabic forms. Most likely, these consonants have a historical link with the numerals *rua* and/or *roo* ‘two’ and *ulu* ‘three’, respectively. The present-day trisyllabic plural forms were originally

most likely trial (or paucal) forms. In spite of these partial similarities, the personal suffixes are treated here as unanalyzed wholes.

The first set of examples below illustrates some of the personal suffixes:

(8-2) *gwalusu-ku*
nose-1SG.PERS
'my nose'

(8-3) *thaina-maroga*
mother-2DU.PERS
'your mother'

(8-4) *ngata-la-kuluqa*
speak-NMLZ-INCL(PL).PERS
'our speaking'

In the third person singular, there are two variants *-na* and *-a*. Their distribution is determined partly phonologically and partly lexically. With the exception of nominalizations and a few nouns, the form *-a* is used when the last syllable of the noun base contains *l* or *r*; and it is also used with at least one noun that contains *n* in the final syllable. In addition, there is metathesis of the *l*, *r*, or *n* and the vowel of that syllable. The suffix *-a*, with metathesis, is not used with nominalizations, which contain the suffix *-la* immediately before the personal suffix, and, exceptionally, they are not used with a few nouns that have *l* or *r* in the final syllable. The form *-na*, without metathesis, is used elsewhere. In a few cases, *-a* (with metathesis) and *-na* are in free variation. The *-a* variant is illustrated first with nouns where it is the only form possible. (The reason for the absence of specification of the singular number in some of the glosses will be given later.)

(8-5) a. *suil-a*
back-3SG.PERS
'his/her/its back'

cf. b. *suli-ku*
back-1SG.PERS
'my back'

(8-6) a. *boor-a* *kilu*
bottom-3.PERS hole
'the bottom of a hole'

cf. b. *boro-mu*
bottom-2SG.PERS
'your bottom (body part)'

The next two examples illustrate variation between the two suffixes found with just a few nouns. In such cases the *-a* variant is more common.

(8-7) {*lail-a* / *lali-na*} *qai neqe*
root-3.PERS / root-3.PERS tree this.here
'the root of this tree'

- (8-8) *maqa* {*daar-a* / *dara-na*} *wane*
 CLF forehead-3.PERS / forehead-3.PERS man
 ‘a/the man’s forehead’

Example (8-9) shows the regular use of the *-na* variant with nominalizations:

- (8-9) *nguu-la-na* *kini*
 sing-NMLZ-3.PERS woman
 ‘a/the woman’s singing’

Just a few nouns that have *l* or *r* in the last syllable exceptionally require the *-na* variant:

- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|---|
| (8-10) | <i>babali-na</i>
cheek-3SG.PERS
‘his/her cheek(s)’ | (8-11) | <i>gwero-na</i> <i>kuukua</i>
crest-3.PERS chicken
‘a/the chicken’s crest’ |
|--------|--|--------|---|

As discussed in section 6.8.4, the ordinal numerals are a subcategory of nouns, and they take the third person singular suffix, *-na* or *-a*. In the case of some of them, the corresponding cardinal numeral contains *l* in the final syllable. Such ordinal numerals take the *-a* variant of the personal suffix and undergo metathesis. For example:

- | | | | |
|-----------|--|--------|-------------------------|
| (8-12) a. | <i>kwaul-a</i>
eight-3SG.PERS
‘eighth’ | cf. b. | <i>kwalu</i>
‘eight’ |
|-----------|--|--------|-------------------------|

The ordinal numeral ‘sixth’ also takes *-a* and undergoes metathesis, even though the corresponding cardinal numeral has *n*, not *l* or *r*, in the final syllable

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|--------|---------------------|
| (8-13) a. | <i>oon-a</i>
six-3SG.PERS
‘sixth’ | cf. b. | <i>ono</i>
‘six’ |
|-----------|---|--------|---------------------|

This is the only known case where the suffix *-a* is used with a lexeme that contains *n* in the final syllable. However, there is one other noun that contains *n* in the final syllable, exhibits metathesis and ends in *a*: *wai-waena* ‘(classificatory) sibling of opposite sex’. A few kinship terms and a few other nouns contain the prefix *wai* (for the former see table 8.2 in section 8.1.5), and while there is no word **waena*, there is *wane* ‘man’. It is very likely that at one point *wai-waena* was **wai-waen-a*, with the suffix-*a* and metathesis. However, in the

present day language the final *a* in *wai-waena* does not function as the third person singular personal suffix. *Wai-waena* does not occur as the possessum noun in a suffixing possessive noun phrase but in a bare possessive noun phrase (section 8.1.3):

- (8-14) *wai-waena* *nau*
 LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex 1SG
 ‘my sister (man speaking), my brother (woman speaking)’, also ‘my
 cousin of opposite sex’

The third person dual and plural personal suffixes can only be used in the absence of a possessor phrase:

- (8-15) *nuu-daroqa*
 picture-3DU.PERS
 ‘their picture’ in the sense of a picture that depicts the two of them
- (8-16) *nuu-da*
 picture-3PL.PERS
 ‘their picture’, ‘a picture that depicts them’

When there is a possessor phrase present, the possessum noun must carry the third person singular suffix, *-na* or *-a*, regardless of the grammatical number of the possessor. In (8-17), (8-18), and (8-19) the possessor phrases are singular, dual, and plural, respectively. Because in the presence of a possessor phrase there is no contrast in number, the personal suffix is not specified for number:

- (8-17) *nuu-na* *teqe wane*
 picture-3.PERS one man
 ‘picture of a/one man’
- (8-18) *nuu-na* *roo wane*
 picture-3.PERS two man
 ‘picture of two men’
- (8-19) *nuu-na* *wane ki*
 picture-3.PERS man PL
 ‘picture of men’

That is, there is only partial indexing of non-singular lexical possessors, in person but not in number. (Similarly, transitive verbs must take the singular

object suffixes if there is a (lexical) object present, regardless of its grammatical number; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1.)

A different kind of partial indexing concerns the third person dual number. When there is no lexical possessor phrase present, the plural personal suffix is not uncommonly used instead of the dual suffix, even though the reference is to two entities. In (8-20) there are two such instances. The nouns *thaina* ‘mother’ and *rake* ‘belly’ carry the plural suffix even though the possessor is dual: there are two children. The nouns are in bold.

- (8-20) ***Thaina-da*** *ka* *quna* *qeri*, “*Qe*
 mother-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT
- aqi*; *kamaroqa* *qe* *aqi* *mosi* *lae*
 not.be.so 2DU 2SG.NFUT NEGV 2DU.NEG go
- uri-a*”. ... *Roo* *wela* *baa* *ki*, ***rake-da***
 ALL-3SG.OBJ two child that PL belly-3PL.PERS
- ka* *qiri*; *keka* *thathami-a* *bo=naqa* *keki*
 3SG.SEQ be.angry 3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ INTS=INTS 3DU.FUT
- thau-ngi-a* *qaburu* *baa*.
 kill-TR-3.OBJ ogre that
 ‘Their mother said, “No, don’t you two go there.” The two children were angry (lit.: the two children, their bellies were angry); they wanted very much to kill the ogre.’

(Note also the use of the third person plural sequential marker *keka* with the dual subject; see section 4.9 for discussion.)

Suffixing possessive constructions can only have a lexical noun phrase in the possessor position. Pronominal possessor phrases are ungrammatical, regardless of grammatical person:

- (8-21) *gwau-ku* (**nau*)
 head-1SG.PERS 1SG
 ‘my head’
- (8-22) *thaina-na* (**nia*)
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG
 ‘his/her/its mother’

(Similarly, an object suffix on a verb and a coreferential independent pronoun in the direct object position cannot cooccur in a verb phrase; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1.)

However, a pronominal noun phrase that encodes the possessor but does not occur inside the possessive noun phrase is grammatical. Compare the ungrammatical (8-23a) with a personal pronoun in the possessor position and the grammatical (8-23b), where the possessor phrase has been fronted for topicalization.

- (8-23) a. **Nuu-marōqa* *kamarōqa* *qe* *leqa*
 picture-2DU.PERS 2DU 3SG.NFUT be.nice

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

(‘The picture of you two is very nice.’)

- b. *Kamarōqa,* *nuu-marōqa* *qe* *leqa*
 2DU picture-2DU.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

‘You two, the picture of you (lit. your picture) is very nice.’

Table 8.1 lists several personal suffixes that used to be characteristic of women’s speech in earlier times but are not normally used today, although they are known by some, especially older, people. There is, however, one type of exception. The plural inclusive suffix *-ka* is used with two nouns, and is used both by women and by men. One of the nouns is *thaina* ‘(classificatory) mother’. The form *thaina-ka* literally ‘our (pl, incl) mother’ is the term of address to one’s own (classificatory) mother. The suffix is used regardless of the number of possessors, including a single one, as in (8-24):

- (8-24) ... *ka* *faqa-rongo-a* *thaina-na,* *ka*
 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

quna, “*Qoo,* *thaina-ka* *qae,* *si*
 manner oh mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC PRTT

do=e *taqaa* *mamana boqo*”

thing=3SG.NFUT be.bad be.real ASRT

‘... he told his mother, he said, “Oh, Mother, it’s really bad (lit.: the thing is really bad)”.’

The other lexical item is *thaama*, which is the archaic term for ‘(classificatory) father’. The expression *thaama-ka*, typically followed by the vocative marker *qae*, is commonly used as an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation. It may be directed at anybody or at nobody at all; and it is not archaic. (See also section 6.16.) The exclamation in (8-25) expressed the person’s fear and was not directed at any specific person among those present:

- (8-25) *Thaama-ka* *qae!*, *teqe* *kui* *mai*
 father-PL(INCL).PERS VOC one dog VENT
- nenā*, *ada* *ka* *qale* *kulu*.
 there(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ bite PL(INCL)
 ‘Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.’

The only modifier that can occur with the possessum noun in the possessum noun phrase is a classifier:

- (8-26) *gwa ulunga-ku*
 CLF wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘my wisdom tooth/teeth’
- (8-27) *maqa daar-a* *wane*
 CLF forehead-3.PERS man
 ‘a/the man’s forehead’

However, the use of a classifier with the possessed noun in a suffixing construction is possible only if the classifier is not contrastive; either because it is obligatory or because in its absence the possessum noun phrase would not refer to a different kind of entity. If the possessum noun is to be modified by, for example, a numeral, an adjective or a contrastive classifier, the bare possessive construction is required. This is discussed in section 8.1.7.

8.1.3. Bare possessive noun phrases

The basic structure of bare possessive noun phrases is given in (8-28):

- (8-28) [... POSSESSUM.NOUN ...]_{NP} [possessor]_{NP}

In bare possessive noun phrases there is no indexing of the possessor on the possessum noun. For that reason, a possessor noun phrase must be present. In the absence of a possessor phrase, a noun phrase cannot be interpreted as a

possessum one. The possessor noun phrase may be lexical or pronominal (however see further below for lexical possessor phrases):

(8-29) *biqu tha Liliqa*
 house PERSMKR Liliqa
 ‘Liliqa’s house’

(8-30) *maka nau*
 father 1SG
 ‘my father’

The possessum noun can be modified by various pronominal modifiers. As far as postnominal modifiers are concerned, possessum nouns can only be modified by verbs. All the other post-nominal modifiers can only occur after the possessor noun phrase and they have the possessive construction as a whole in their scope:

(8-31) *[[kali fa wasi] qoe] baa*
 small.SG CLF watch 2SG that
 ‘that small watch of yours’

(8-32) *[[roo qae] nia] ki*
 two leg 3SG PL
 ‘his two legs’, ‘both of his legs’

(8-33) *[[tarausisi tekwa] nau] baa*
 trousers be.long 1SG that
 ‘those long trousers of mine’

(8-34) *[biqu keeroqa] na=i Takwaraasi*
 house 3DU REL=LOC Takwaraasi
 ‘their house at Takwaraasi [a place]’

(8-35) *[[si kula] kera] ki na kera nii ki i*
 PRRT place 3PL PL REL 3PL.NFUT dwell PL LOC

ei
 LOCPRO
 ‘their places that they live in’

In all of the examples above with modified possessum nouns the possessor noun phrases are pronominal. Lexical possessors are also possible:

- (8-36) *kaleko faalu wela*
 clothes be.new child
 ‘the child’s new clothes’

See also (8-39) and (8-40) further below.

However, there is a tendency to keep bare possessive constructions with lexical possessors structurally relatively simple. If either the possessum noun has one or more modifiers or the possessor phrase is complex, the possessor phrase is often displaced from inside the possessive construction. It may be topicalized and fronted, or it may be postposed, and in either case a coreferential pronominal possessor phrase is used inside the possessive construction. In (8-37) the lexical possessor phrase has been topicalized:

- (8-37) *Boranigao, roo kaluwani nia ki na tha*
 Boranigao two son 3SG PL REL PERSMKR

Walanifau ma tha Bualigia.
 Walanifau and PERSMKR Bualigia
 ‘Boranigao, his two sons were Walanifau and Bualigia.’ ‘Boranigao had two sons, who were Walanifau and Bualigia.’

In (8-38) the lexical noun phrase that encodes the possessor is complex, and it has been postposed to after the possessive construction: *hapa kera, toqa lo=i Da’i* ‘their harbour, the people up there at Da’i’, rather than *hapa [toqa lo=i Da’i]* ‘the harbour of the people up there at Da’i’.

- (8-38) ... *kuki lae i laa hapa kera, hapa*
 PL(INCL).FUT go LOC IN harbour 3PL harbour

kera, toqa lo=i Da’i.
 3PL people upward=LOC Da’i
 ‘... let’s go into their harbour, their harbour, the people up there at Da’i (Island).’

Cases of modifiers that have a whole possessive noun phrase in their scope must be distinguished from ones where post-nominal modifiers are part of the possessor phrase:

- (8-39) *raa [araqi loo]*
 work mature.man upward
 ‘God’s work’

- (8-40) *biqu* [*wane baa ki*]
 men's.house man that PL
 'those men's men's house'

At present *biqu* can designate a variety of types of house (other than a family house), but traditionally it designated men's houses, in which the men of a hamlet slept. This is the interpretation intended here: one house for the men. To signify that more than one house is intended, a collective-plural noun *tale* would be used as the head of an associative construction:

- (8-41) *tale-qe* *biqu* *wane baa ki*
 totality-ASSOC house man that PL
 '(all) the (men's) houses of those men'

A demonstrative that follows a possessor noun can only function as a modifier of that noun:

- (8-42) a. *kaleko* [*wela qena*]
 clothes child that(2)
 'that child's clothes'
- not: b. **[kaleko wela]* *qena*
 clothes child that(2)
 ('those clothes of the child')

To place a possessive construction with a lexical possessor in the scope of a locative demonstrative element, a presentative locative demonstrative adverb is required instead. The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs are predicate-level elements (section 13.16.2).

- (8-43) *Ngali-a* *mai* [*kaleko wela*] *nena!*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT clothes child there(2)
 'Bring the child's clothes, (those) there.'

When the possessor is pronominal, the following demonstrative has the whole possessive noun phrase in its scope, not the pronoun; see (8-31) and (8-33) further above.

8.1.4. Recursiveness in possessive constructions

Possessive constructions can be recursive, in any combination of the suffixing and the bare types:

- (8-44) *ngata-la-na* *thaina-da*
 speak-NMLZ-3.PERS mother-3PL.PERS
 ‘their mother’s speaking’
- (8-45) *wela doqora-ku*
 child sibling-1SG.PERS
 ‘my brother’s/sister’s child’
- (8-46) *manta-na* *wela nau*
 mind-3.PERS child 1SG
 ‘my child’s mind’
- (8-47) *biqu* *maka* *kamiliqa* *ki*
 men’s.house father 1PL(EXCL) PL
 ‘our (classificatory) fathers’ men’s house’

However, recursiveness in possessive constructions tends to be restricted to constructions that are relatively simple, without many modifiers, especially in the possessum phrase. While constructions such as the one in (8-48) are grammatical, they are not in normal use:

- (8-48) *[[roo kome baqita [maka nau]]]*
 two armring be.big father 1SG
 ‘my father’s two big armrings’

However, there is one type of recursive possessive construction that, apparently, used to be used commonly, although today it is encountered only rarely. Its basic structure is given in (8-49):

- (8-49) POSSESSUM.NOUN [*thata*-PERS]_{possessor.NP}
 ‘name’

The possessor noun phrase is itself a suffixing possessive phrase with *thata* ‘name’ as its head. Within the possessor phrase, the possessor is expressed only by means of a personal suffix on *thata*. This construction is used only where otherwise a simple bare possessive noun phrase would be grammatical, as a respectful alternative.

- (8-50) a. *ai nia*
 wife 3SG
 ‘his wife’
- b. *ai thata-na*
 wife name-3SG.PERS
 ‘his wife (respectful)’ (lit.: ‘the wife of his name’)

This construction is used as a polite, respectful expression when giving something to somebody, especially when offering food, or when one takes food for oneself, having offered food to the others first. (*Doo* ‘thing’ is a respectful way of designating food that is being offered.)

- (8-51) *Si doo thata-mu neri.*
 PRTT thing name-2SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 ‘Here you are.’ (Lit.: ‘Here is the thing of your name.’)

- (8-52) *Si doo thata-ku naqa na=nia.*
 PRTT thing name-1SG.PERS PRF this=3SG
 ‘Here is mine now.’ (Lit.: ‘Thing of my name now, this one.’)

8.1.5. The semantics of possessive noun phrases

With some exceptions to be discussed further below, the suffixing construction is used with “relational nouns” as heads of possessum phrases. Relational nouns are nouns that designate inherently relational concepts (see, for example, Partee 1997, Partee and Borschev 2003, Dowty 2003, and also Barker 1995.) The type of relation between a possessum and its possessor is of a kind usually referred to as inalienable possession. As discussed in the next section, it is possible for a polysemous noun to be relational in some of its senses but not in others. The use of the bare construction is best defined negatively: it is used wherever the suffixing construction is not grammatical. As will be shown later, under certain conditions it is also used with inherently relational nouns. Some such cases are lexical exceptions, while others are systematic.

The broad categories of possessum-possessor relations where the suffixing construction is used are given below.

Parts of a whole, body parts. Included here is also the body itself, the inner chest, which is viewed as the locus of psychological, mental processes and states, and the integral contents of a possessor, such as juice (of fruit) and blood (in the possessor’s body).

- (8-53) *rake-da*
 belly-3PL.PERS
 ‘their bellies’
- (8-54) *sege-na botho*
 body-3.PERS pig
 ‘a/the pig’s body’

- (8-55) *lio-mu*
inner.chest/mind-2SG.PERS
a. 'your chest'
b. 'your mind'
- (8-56) *suul-a qasai*
juice-3.PERS mango
'the juice of a/the mango'

Also included here are non-kinship nouns designating people, even though such nouns are not relational. They occur in the possessum phrase of the suffixing construction with the collective-plural meaning 'the occupants, inhabitants of (a place)':

- (8-57) *wane-na Malaqita*
person-3.PERS Malaita
'the people of Malaita'

Natural products of possessors, such as tears, sweat, urine, faeces, semen, eggs, breath, voice/sound, shadow/shade/reflection (e.g., in water or in a mirror)/picture (depicting the referent of the possessor phrase), something that emanates from the possessor.

- (8-58) *qiiqida-ku*
sweat-1SG.PERS
'my sweat'
- (8-59) *linga-na oqo qeri*
sound-3.PERS drum that
'the sound of that drum'
- (8-60) *nuu-na wane*
shadow/reflection/picture-3.PERS man
a. 'a/the man's shadow'
b. 'a/the man's reflection'
c. 'picture of a/the man'

Attributes of the possessor, such as his/her/its name; customary, characteristic behaviour; and numerical value and monetary price. See also under nominalizations further below.

- (8-61) *thata-na faka qeri*
name-3.PERS ship that
'that ship's name'
- (8-62) *biranga-na araqi kwao*
custom-3.PERS mature.man be.white
'the white (Caucasian) people's way(s), custom(s)'

Biranga is also used in the suffixing construction in the sense of ‘custom associated with (possessor)’

- (8-63) *biranga-na ngali*
 custom-3.PERS canarium.nut
 ‘customary behaviour associated with canarium nuts’ (what people customarily do with respect to canarium nuts, especially during harvest time) (lit.: ‘custom of canarium nuts’)
- (8-64) *fulinga-na lima fa ngali*
 value-3.PERS five CLF year
 ‘period of five years’
- (8-65) *Si doo naqi fulinga-na tu dola.*
 PRTT thing this value-3.PERS two dollar
 ‘This thing costs two dollars.’ (Lit.: ‘This thing, its value (is) two dollars.’)

Spatial and temporal relations. Here the head of the possessum phrase is a locational noun (section 10.8).

- (8-66) *qi naqofa-na tarake*
 LOC front-3.PERS truck
 ‘in front of the truck’

Some of the locational nouns are used both with spatial and with temporal significance:

- (8-67) *qi qintoqo-na biqu naqi*
 LOC centre-3.PERS house this
 ‘in the centre of this house’
- (8-68) *qi qintoqo-na thato*
 LOC middle-3.PERS day
 ‘in the middle of the day’

Kinship relations. In this semantic area, only relatively few nouns occur in the suffixing construction; most do not.

- | | | | |
|--------|---|--------|---|
| (8-69) | <i>doqora-mu</i>
sibling-2SG.PERS
‘your brother/sister’ | (8-70) | <i>thaina-na wela naqi</i>
mother-3.PERS child this
‘this child’s mother’ |
|--------|---|--------|---|

Table 8.2 shows which of the kinship terms occur in the suffixing construction and which ones occur in the bare construction.

Table 8.2. Kinship terms as possessums in the suffixing and in the bare possessive constructions (continued on next page)

suffixing construction	bare construction
<i>thaama</i> (arch.) 'father', 'father's brother'	<i>maka</i> 'father', 'father's brother'
	<i>makarua</i> 'father's brother'
<i>thaina</i> 'mother', 'mother's sister', 'father's brother's wife'	<i>thainarua</i> 'mother's sister'
<i>kale</i> 'baby', 'young (of animal)'	<i>kale, waikale</i> 'wife's brother', 'wife's sister', 'husband's brother'
	<i>wela</i> 'child'
	<i>welarua</i> 'man's brother's child', 'woman's sister's child'
	<i>kaluwani</i> 'son', 'sibling's son'
	<i>thaari</i> 'daughter', 'sibling's daughter'
<i>doqora</i> 'sibling, regardless of sex and age', 'cousin regardless of sex and age'	<i>doqorarua</i> 'cousin, regardless of sex and age'
<i>thaasi</i> 'younger sibling'	<i>waiwaena</i> 'sibling of opposite sex', 'cousin of opposite sex'
<i>thooqo</i> 'older sibling'	<i>waiwaenarua</i> 'cousin of opposite sex'
	<i>digi, waidigi</i> 'cross-cousin'
<i>kwai</i> 'spouse'	<i>makaru</i> (arch.) 'one's own husband'
	<i>wane</i> 'man', 'husband'
	<i>araq</i> 'mature man', 'husband'
	<i>ai, kini</i> 'woman', 'wife'
	<i>kukeqe</i> 'mature woman', wife'
<i>thaiifa</i> 'husband's sister'	<i>funga, waifunga</i> 'parent-in-law', 'parent-in-law's sibling'
<i>thaula</i> 'wife's sister's husband', 'husband's brother's wife'	<i>fungao</i> 'son-in-law', 'sibling's daughter's husband', 'sister's husband', 'parent's sister's husband'
	<i>kini fungao</i> 'daughter-in-law', 'sibling's son's wife', 'sister-in-law'

<i>kwaliqa</i> ‘member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending’ ‘mother’s sibling’, ‘father’s sister’, ‘sibling’s child’ (same as <i>koqo</i> , <i>kookoqo</i>)	<i>koqo</i> , <i>kookoqo</i> ‘member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending’; ‘mother’s sibling’, ‘father’s sister’, ‘sibling’s child’ (same as <i>kwaliqa</i>)
<i>inalaa</i> ‘one’s kin, collectively, descended from the same ancestors some generations back’	

There is no evidence that the kinship relations in the two sets are conceptualized differently by the Toqabaqita people, that, for example, the mother relation is conceptualized differently from the father relation, and that that is the reason why the two terms select different possessive constructions. Rather, there are other factors that appear to be responsible for the difference. First, nouns that are replacements of old etyma occur in the bare possessive construction, even though the items they have replaced occurred in the suffixing construction. For example, the archaic term for ‘father’ *thaama* continues the Proto Oceanic form *tama and occurs in the suffixing construction, while the new term *maka* occurs in the bare construction. Similarly, *wela* ‘child’ is a lexical innovation, replacing Proto Oceanic *natu, and it too occurs in the bare construction. This, however, does not explain why *thaari* ‘daughter’ occurs in the bare construction, because it continues a Proto Oceanic form (with some secondary developments; see Lichtenberk 1986). However, *thaari* is also used with the non-kinship sense ‘girl (not married)’, and it may be that this non-kinship sense has become dominant, which has resulted in the reassignment of the noun into the bare-construction category. This factor may also be relevant to *wela* ‘child’, which too has a kinship sense and a non-kinship sense: ‘child: offspring’ and ‘child: young person, not an adult’. And there are other nouns whose primary senses are non-kinship but that can be used in kinship senses, and they always appear in the bare construction; for example, *kini* ‘woman’, ‘wife’, and *araqi* ‘mature man’, husband’.

For an explanation why *thainarua* ‘mother’s sister’ occurs in the bare construction even though *thaina* ‘(classificatory) mother’ occurs in the suffixing construction see section 8.1.7.

There are several nouns based on kinship terms that have a collective significance and that contain what historically was the third person singular personal suffix *-na*, which, however, does not function as such in those terms; for example, *wai-kwaina* ‘married couple’ (cf. *kwai* ‘spouse’), (*wai-*)*doqorana* ‘set of siblings’ (cf. *doqora* ‘sibling’), and *wai-makana* ‘group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their father(s), and possibly also their mother(s)’. *Wai-makana* has the frozen suffix *-na*, even

though *maka*, unlike the bases of the other collective terms, occurs in the bare construction, not the suffixing construction. This may be due to analogy with those other collective nouns. And, as mentioned in section 8.1.2, *wai-waena* ‘(classificatory) sibling of opposite sex’ historically contains the *-a* variant of the third person singular personal suffix. The prefix *wai-* found in the collective terms is discussed in section 21.6, where more forms that contain the frozen suffix *-na* are listed.

The term for ‘trading partner’ and more recently ‘friend’, *ruana*, even though relational, occurs in the bare construction:

- (8-71) *ruana* *nau*
 friend/trading.partner 1SG
 a. ‘my friend’
 b. ‘my trading partner’

(This term is historically the same etymon as the ordinal numeral *rua-na* ‘second’ [section 6.8.4].)

The last category of possessums in the suffixing construction are nominalizations of verbs (section 9.1), although there is some variation between the suffixing and the bare constructions. In the large majority of cases, it is the suffixing construction that is used:

- (8-72) *thau-ngi-la-na* *kumu*
 pound-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS k.o.pudding
 ‘pounding of *kumu* pudding’

- (8-73) *nguu-la-na* *kini*
 sing-NMLZ-3.PERS woman
 ‘a/the woman’s singing’

- (8-74) *makwa-la-na* *botho*
 smell-NMLZ-3.PERS pig
 ‘the smell (lit.: smelling) of a/the pig’

Some nominalizations express attributes of the possessor (see further above):

- (8-75) ... *baqita-la-na* *biqu qeri*,
 be.big-NMLZ-3.PERS house that

tage-la-na *biqu* *qeri*,
 be.extended.vertically-NMLZ-3.PERS house that

ree-reba-qa-la-na *biqu* *qeri, ma*
 RDP-board-PROP-NMLZ-3.PERS house that and

tekwa-la-na *biqu qeri, ...*
 be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS house that
 [Before a man starts to build a house, he will first think about the house,] ‘the size of the house, the height of the house, the width of the house, and the length of the house, ...’

(*Ree-reba-qa* is a propriative verb [section 4.2.2.3] ‘be wide’, based on the noun *reba* ‘board’ [e.g. wooden board], ‘[solid] sheet’.)

(8-76) *Kuluqa-la-na* *baeka* *kafara* *qe*
 be.heavy-NMLZ-3.PERS bag copra 3SG.NFUT

baqita.
 be.big
 ‘The weight of the bag of copra is great.’

However, some nominalizations may occur in the bare construction. This is briefly mentioned in the next section and discussed in more detail in section 9.1.3.

8.1.6. Fluidity in the possessive system

Following Nichols (1992), the term “fluidity” is used here to refer to the possibility of nouns occurring in the possessum phrase both of the suffixing construction and of the bare construction, normally with some semantic difference. Such fluidity must be distinguished from the appearance of one and the same possessum noun in the two types of construction depending on whether the referent of the possessum phrase is or is not individuated. This latter type of case is discussed in section 8.1.7.

There may be fluidity with polysemous nouns, where certain senses are inherently relational and so require the suffixing construction (unless the possessum has been individuated), while other senses are not inherently relational and so require the bare construction. For example, *gona* can signify the heart, in which case the suffixing construction is used; but it can also signify a species of tree, *Burckella* sp., whose fruit is said to resemble the heart, in which case the bare construction is used:

(8-77) *gona-ku*
heart-1SG.PERS
'my heart'

(8-78) *gona nau*
Burckella.spp 1SG
'my *Burckella* tree'

And to refer to the (edible) fruit of the tree, *gona* occurs with the classifier *fa*, also in the bare construction:

(8-79) *fa gona nau*
CLF Burckella.spp 1SG
'my *Burckella* fruit'

The primary sense of the noun *keekene* is 'breadfruit (tree and fruit)', and it requires the bare construction. The noun also has the body-part sense 'stomach', and there it is the suffixing construction that is used. (Stomachs are said to look like breadfruit fruit.)

(8-80) *keekene nau*
breadfruit 1SG
'my breadfruit (tree)'

(8-81) *keekene-ku*
stomach-1SG.PERS
'my stomach'

To refer to breadfruit fruit, *keekene* occurs with the classifier *fa* in the bare construction.

The noun *thata* can signify the name that someone or something bears, in which case the suffixing construction is used; but it can also signify a person's namesake, in which case the bare construction is required:

(8-82) *Thata-ku tha Maeli.*
name-1SG PERSMKR Maeli
'My name is Maeli.'

(8-83) *Thata nau.*
namesake 1SG
'My namesake.' (A friendly form of address to one's namesake.)

As a rule, nominalizations occur in the suffixing construction. However, there are nominalizations that have acquired more of a noun status with their own meanings, other than signifying a state of affairs. For example, *leqa-laa* in the suffixing construction has the meaning 'being good', while in the bare construction it has the meaning 'goodness'. (The nominalizing suffix *-laa* becomes *-la* before a personal suffix.)

(8-84) *Nau ku thaitoqoma-na leqa-la-na.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ be.good-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
 ‘I know (about) him being good.’

(8-85) *leqa-laa qoe na=i thalo loo*
 be.good-NMLZ 2SG REL=LOC heaven upward
 ‘your goodness (which is) in heaven’

The occurrence of nominalizations in the possessum position is discussed in detail in section 9.1.3 in the next chapter.

There are also cases of polysemy where a figurative sense is (presumably) still perceived as such, rather than as a fully established sense. For example, there are several nouns for ‘penis’ and they occur in the suffixing construction:

(8-86) *{fotho-na / thee-na / mego-na} wane*
 penis-3.PERS / penis-3.PERS / penis-3.PERS man
 ‘a/the man’s penis’

However, when a man’s penis is referred to, for example, jocularly, as his ‘dibble stick’ (used in planting and to husk coconuts) or his ‘stick’, it is the bare construction that is used:

(8-87) *kwato qoe* (8-88) *qai nau*
 dibble.stick 2SG stick 1SG
 ‘your dibble stick [penis]’ ‘my stick [penis]’

There is also fluidity that does not involve polysemy. One and the same noun used with one and the same sense can occur in the possessum position in either type of possessive construction, but the two constructions differ in their pragmatic significance. What determines the choice of the construction is the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor entities. If the relation is of the inalienable kind, it is the suffixing construction that is used (again provided the possessum has not been individuated); if not, it is the bare construction that is required. Both in (8-89) and in (8-90) the noun *gwau* ‘head’ has the sense of a body part. In (8-89) the meaning is that of the head as part of the possessor’s own body and there the suffixing construction is required. On the other hand, in (8-90) that is not the case: the head is not part of the possessor’s own body, and there it is the bare construction that is required:

- (8-89) *gwau-ku*
 head-1SG.PERS
 ‘my head’ (part of
 my own body)
- (8-90) *gwau nau*
 head 1SG
 ‘my head’ (e.g., my fish
 head as food)

The sense of *gwau* ‘head’ is inherently relational both in (8-89) and in (8-90). What makes the two cases different from each other is the nature of the relations between the possessums and the possessors. There can also be fluidity when a noun whose meaning is not inherently relational is used to express a relational meaning. The noun *toqa* ‘people’ is not inherently relational. In (8-91) the possessive construction *toqa nia ki* ‘his people’ is of the bare type. It refers to the people who are helping to build the person’s house.

- (8-91) ... *ka faqa-rongo-a toqa nia ki na*
 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ people 3SG PL REL
- kere raa ofu bii nia neri ...*
 3PL.NFUT work be.together COM 3SG NPAST.HERE
 ‘... he tells his people who are working with him [what to do].’

On the other hand, in (8-92) the people in question are viewed as the inhabitants of a place, which is a relational, part-whole sense, and there the noun *toqa* occurs in the possessum position of the suffixing construction:

- (8-92) *Moro uufi-a bungu qena uri-a*
 2DU.NFUT blow-3.OBJ conch.shell that(2) PURP-3.OBJ
- toqa-na fanu qena.*
 people-3.PERS place that(2)
 ‘Blow the conch shell for the people of the place [to come].’

The crucial role of the conceptualization of the relation between a possessum and its possessor can also be seen from the next pair of examples. The noun *nuu* has these senses: ‘shadow’, ‘reflection (e.g. in water or in a mirror)’, ‘likeness, such as a picture, photograph, carving, statue’, and ‘personal luck (good or bad) that a person generally has when doing something’. It is relational in all its senses. In the sense ‘likeness, picture, photograph, etc.’, when the referent of the possessor phrase is depicted in the picture, it is the suffixing construction that is used:

- (8-93) *nuu-ku*
 picture-1.PERS
 ‘picture of me’

However, when the referent of the possessor phrase is conceptualized as the owner of the picture, the noun *nuu* occurs as the head of an associative construction with the general noun *doo* ‘thing’ in the modifier phrase (section 8.2), and the associative construction as a whole functions as the possessum phrase in a bare possessive construction:

- (8-94) [*Nuu-qi doo*] *nau nena.*
 picture-ASSOC thing 1SG there(2)
 ‘That’s my picture (it belongs to me).’

This type of construction is used regardless of what is depicted in the picture. The sentence in (8-94) could be used even if it were the speaker who was depicted in the picture. What is important is that at that time the speaker thinks of himself/herself as being the owner of the picture.

In some cases, fluidity is due to different senses of polysemous possessum nouns. But as the examples of fluidity that do not involve different senses show, fluidity may also be due to purely pragmatic factors: is a body part part of the possessor’s own body or not?; are people viewed as the inhabitants of a place or not?; is a picture conceptualized as being a depiction of someone/something or as, for example, an item of possession?

The role of the relation between a possessum and its possessor is also fundamental in another respect, to be discussed next.

8.1.7. Individuation of the possessum

The suffixing possessive construction is used when the possessum noun is a relational one (including polysemous nouns used in their relational senses), when the possession is of the inalienable kind. However, the converse is not true. It is not the case that every time the possessive relation is of the inalienable kind it is the suffixing construction that is required. First, there are exceptions in the kinship category. And second, and this is the subject of this section, there are systematic exceptions to the overall pattern. Under certain conditions, a possessum noun that is relational must occur in the bare construction, even though elsewhere it must occur in the suffixing construction. There is no difference in the senses involved, and there is no difference in the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor. That is, such cases do not involve fluidity discussed in the preceding section.

It is necessary to distinguish cases where the possessor is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase and cases where the possessor is expressed by means of a personal suffix on the possessum noun or by means of an independent personal pronoun. Cases of the latter type are discussed first, but what is said about the semantic aspects of those constructions applies equally to constructions of the former type.

In (8-95) the noun *maa*, there used in the sense ‘eye’, occurs in the possessum phrase of the suffixing construction, as expected:

- (8-95) *maa-ku*
eye-1SG.PERS
‘my eye(s)’

However, in (8-96) and (8-97) the same noun, used in the same sense, occurs in the possessum position of the bare construction:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|-----------------|--|------------|--------|--------------------|------------|-------------|
| (8-96) | <i>maa</i> | <i>mauli</i> | | <i>nau</i> | (8-97) | <i>maa</i> | <i>nau</i> | <i>naqi</i> |
| | eye | be.on.left.side | | 1SG | | eye | 1SG | this |
| | ‘my left eye’ | | | | | ‘this eye of mine’ | | |

Both in (8-95) on the one hand and in (8-96) and (8-97) on the other, the relations between the possessum and the possessor are the same: the eye/eyes is/are part of the possessor’s own body. There is no difference in inalienability.

Similarly, the nouns *qaba* ‘arm, hand’ and *qae* ‘leg, foot’ occur in the suffixing construction in (8-98), but in the bare construction in (8-99), even though in both cases the arms/hands and the legs/feet are part of the possessor’s own body:

- (8-98) ... *kerā* *anikaba-a* *qaba-na* *ma*
3PL.NFUT handcuff-3.OBJ hand-3SG.PERS and

qae-na *laqu boqo.*
foot-3SG.PERS ADD ASRT
‘... they handcuffed his hands as well as his feet.’

- (8-99) ... *keki* *tekwa-si-a* *roo* *qaba nia* *ki ma*
3PL.FUT be.long-TR-3.OBJ two arm 3SG PL and

roo qae nia ki.
two leg 3SG PL
‘[He told them] they should stretch out both of his arms and both of his legs.’

And in (8-100) *qaba* ‘arm, hand’ is the head component of a compound, modified by the noun *suukwaqi-a* ‘strength’. Even though the reference is to the addressee’s own arm, it is the bare possessive construction that is used:

(8-100) *Qoko raku qani-a qana qaba suukwaqi-a*
 2SG.SEQ hold GENP-3SG.OBJ INS hand be.strong-DVN

qoe.

2SG

‘Hold it with your strong arm.’

Qaba suukwaqi-a, lit. ‘arm (of) strength’, signifies a person’s strong arm, such as the right arm of a right-handed person.

The noun *thata* ‘name’ occurs in the suffixing construction in (8-101) and in the bare construction in (8-102). Here too, there is no difference in the relation between the possessum and the possessor. In both cases the question is about the addressee’s own name:

(8-101) *Thata-mu ni tei?*
 name-2SG.PERS PROFORE who?
 ‘What (lit.: who) is your name?’

(8-102) *Rua-na thata qoe ni tei?*
 two-3.PERS name 2SG PROFORE who?
 ‘What is your second name?’

As argued in Lichtenberk (2005c), the relevant factor is possessum individuation, specifically the individuation of the possessum vis-à-vis the possessor. The suffixing construction is used when there is no modification of the possessum noun other than by the possessor noun phrase. That is, the possessum is not individuated vis-à-vis the possessor. It is viewed more just as an aspect of the possessor, rather than as an entity in its own right. Thus, for example, the meaning of *maa-ku* in (8-95) further above is really something like ‘the eye aspect of me, my “eyeness”’, rather than ‘my eye(s)’, and the meaning of *thata-mu* in (8-101) is something like ‘the name aspect/property of you’ rather than ‘your name’. Note also the absence of plural marking with the suffixing constructions *qaba-na* ‘his hands’ and *qae-na* ‘his feet’ in (8-98) and its presence with the bare constructions *roo qaba nia ki* ‘both of his arms’ and *roo qae nia ki* ‘both of his legs’ in (8-99). In (8-98) the hands and the feet are not individuated; they are merely aspects of the possessor’s body, not entities in their own right.

When an entity has more than one part of a certain type, the suffixing construction normally has a collective-plural meaning, or the exact number is irrelevant.

- (8-103) *qunga-na iqa*
 scale-3.PERS fish
 ‘the scales of a/the fish’
- (8-104) *ree-na qai*
 leaf-3.PERS tree
 ‘the leaves of a/the tree’
- (8-105) *ifu-na thaqaro naqi*
 feather-3.PERS bird this
 ‘this bird’s feathers’

This kind of collective plural does not necessarily have to subsume every single part, especially if the number is large, only a significant number of them. Thus, (8-105) does not necessarily have to signify every single feather of the bird. However, the parts are conceptualized as a collectivity.

In the situation expressed in (8-106) both eyes are involved:

- (8-106) *Maa-ku qe bii-biinga-la.*
 eye-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT RDP-sleep-PROP
 ‘I am sleepy.’ ‘My eyes are sleepy.’

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (8-107) it could be either just one eye or both eyes that are involved:

- (8-107) *Maa-ku e fii.*
 eye-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT hurt
 ‘My eye hurts.’ ‘My eyes hurt.’

A more accurate characterization of the meaning of (8-107) would be something like: ‘The eye aspect/part of me hurts.’ or ‘My “eyeness” hurts.’

A possessum can be individuated by specification: ‘my left eye’ (rather than the right one), ‘this eye of mine’ (rather than the other one), ‘both arms’, ‘both legs’ (rather than just one of them), ‘your strong arm’ (not the other one), ‘your second name’ (not the first one). Even though the relation between the possessum and the possessor has not changed and is still of the inalienable kind, the possessum is given an identity of its own vis-à-vis the possessor.

It is possible for a possessum to be individuated by means of a classifier, in those cases where the classifier is contrastive. The noun *thaathate*, without a classifier, designates the chin and jaw region of the face up to the cheek bones, and it occurs in the suffixing construction, unless individuation has taken place:

- (8-108) *thaathate-ku*
 chin.and.jaws-1SG.PERS
 ‘my chin and jaws’, ‘the chin-and-jaw part of my face’

With the classifier *gwa* the reference is to a person’s beard, and it is the bare construction that is required:

- (8-109) *gwa thaathate nau*
 CLF chin.and.jaws/beard 1SG
 ‘my beard’

Without the classifier, *thaathate* signifies the chin-and-jaw part of the face, regardless of whether it has a beard or not. With the classifier, there is individuation: it is specifically the beard part of the chin and the jaws that is signified.

On the other hand, with the noun *ulunga* ‘wisdom tooth’ the classifier *gwa* is not contrastive. While it is normally used, it need not be, but the sense remains the same. Here the classifier does not individuate, and it is the suffixing construction that is used:

- (8-110) (*gwa*) *ulunga-ku*
 CLF wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘my wisdom tooth/teeth’

We can now consider constructions where the notional possessor is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase, although not necessarily in the grammatical-possessor position. In (8-111) the possessum is not individuated and it is the suffixing construction that is used:

- (8-111) *qaba-na wane*
 hand-3.PERS man
 ‘the man’s arm/arms’

When the possessum is individuated, the notional possessor normally occurs inside a prepositional phrase that modifies the noun phrase expressing the possessum. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana* (section 10.3.7).

(8-112) *qaba aqolo qana wane*
 arm be.on.right.side GENP man
 ‘the man’s right arm’ (lit.: ‘the right arm of/on the man’)

(8-113) *roo qaba qana wane*
 two arm GENP man
 ‘both of the man’s arms’

(8-114) *qaba naqi qana wane qeri*
 arm this GENP man this
 ‘this arm of this man’

(Both *naqi* and *qeri* have the meaning ‘this’ in [8-114].)

Constructions where the notional possessor is expressed in the possessor position of a bare possessive construction, parallel to constructions with pronominal possessors, are of marginal grammaticality and sometimes rejected outright:

(8-115) *?qaba aqolo wane*
 hand be.on.right.side man
 ‘the man’s right hand’

Below are given a few more examples of constructions where the notional possessor is expressed in a modifying prepositional phrase:

(8-116) *alinga mauli qana wela*
 ear be.on.left.side GENP child
 ‘the child’s left ear’

(8-117) *roo alinga qana wela*
 two ear GENP child
 ‘both of the child’s ears’

Compare:

(8-118) *alinga-na wela*
 ear-3.PERS child
 ‘the child’s ear(s)’

(8-119) *Rua-na maa qana wane e taqaa.*
 two-3.PERS eye GENP man 3SG.NFUT be.bad
 ‘The man’s other (lit.: second) eye is no good.’

Compare:

- (8-120) *maa-na wane*
 eye-3.PERS man
 ‘the man’s eye(s)’

Another possible strategy to express a notional possessor by means of a lexical noun phrase is to place that noun phrase outside the noun phrase that contains the possessum phrase, especially by placing it in the topic position. The topicalized phrase is referred to anaphorically by a personal pronoun in the possessor position of a bare possessive construction of the type discussed further above. In fact, where topicalization is possible, that strategy is preferred. Thus, for example, instead of (8-119), (8-121) might be used:

- (8-121) *Wane, rua-na maa nia e taqaa.*
 man two-3.PERS eye 3SG 3SG.NFUT be.bad
 ‘The man’s other eye is no good.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, his second eye is bad.’)

In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topics (section 38.1). While in the situation expressed in (8-119) and (8-121) it is one of the the man’s eyes that is affected, it is ultimately the man who is affected, and this is better expressed by making the man the topic. See section 38.3.5 for discussion of possessor topicalization.

The notion of possessum individuation also applies to some kinship terms. The term for ‘classificatory mother’ occurs in the suffixing constructions when the subcategory of ‘mother’ is not specified (and there is no other individuation):

- (8-122) *thaina-da*
 mother-3PL.PERS
 ‘their mother, their mother’s sister, their father’s brother’s wife’

It is possible to identify a woman specifically as somebody’s biological mother by means of the verb *mamana* ‘be real, true’ modifying *thaina*. In that case it is the bare construction that is required:

- (8-123) *thaina mamana kera*
 mother be.true 3PL
 ‘their true, biological mother’

There is also a compound that contains *thaina* and that specifically identifies a woman as somebody's mother's sister, and in that case too it is the bare construction that is required:

- (8-124) *thaina-rua nau*
 mother-two 1SG
 'my mother's sister'

The same applies to *doqora* 'classificatory sibling', whose range of reference includes siblings and cousins. When the reference is not narrowed down in any way, the noun occurs in the suffixing construction, but when the reference is narrowed down, the bare construction is required:

- (8-125) *doqora-ku*
 sibling-1SG.PERS
 'my brother, my sister, my cousin'

- (8-126) *doqora mamana nau*
 sibling be.true 1SG
 'my brother, my sister'

- (8-127) *doqora-rua nau*
 sibling-two 1SG
 'my cousin'

The notion of possessum individuation has grammatical relevance only with respect to inalienable possession. When the relation between a possessum and its possessor is of the alienable kind, the possessum is always individuated vis-à-vis the possessor and so it is the bare construction that is always used, regardless of whether or not the possessum is characterized in any way:

- (8-128) *waqi nau*
 basket 1SG
 'my basket'

- (8-129) *waqi baqita nau naqi*
 basket be.big 1SG this
 'this big basket of mine'

The notion of possessum individuation is also relevant to inalienable possession in the following way. When a noun that designates multiple parts of a whole occurs in the suffixing possessive construction, the construction tends to

have a collective-plural significance, unless context specifies otherwise; see (8-103) ('the scales of a/the fish'), (8-104) ('the leaves of a/the tree'), and (8-105) ('this bird's feathers') further above. The possessum is not individuated. Sometimes, the interpretation of a possessive construction is indeterminate as to how many parts of a whole are involved. The interpretation of the sentence in (8-130) is indeterminate as to how many teeth ache:

- (8-130) *Nau lifo-ku e fii.*
 1SG tooth-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT ache
 'My tooth aches.' 'My teeth ache.' 'I have a toothache.' ('I ache with respect to my teeth.') (Lit.: 'I, my tooth/teeth ache[s].')

To identify more closely the subset involved, the notional possessum noun can be modified by a numeral or a quantifier, but in that case the suffixing possessive construction cannot be used. Rather, the notional possessum noun is modified by a prepositional phrase that identifies the whole. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana*.

- (8-131) *Teqe gwa lifo qe thakathaka qana lifo-ku.*
 one CLF tooth 3SG.NFUT wiggle GENP tooth-1SG.PERS
 'One of my teeth wiggles/is wiggly.' (Lit.: 'One tooth wiggles among my teeth.')

The suffixing possessive construction is ungrammatical in such cases:

- (8-132) **teqe lifo-ku*
 one tooth-1SG.PERS
 ('one of my teeth')

The construction that individuates a subset of a whole is the same as that used with lexical noun-phrase possessors discussed further above; see, for example, (8-112), (8-113), and (8-114). However, there the noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase refers to the notional possessor, whereas here the noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase identifies the whole, the total set.

One more example is given in (8-135) and (8-136). The noun *sii* 'piece (of), portion (of)' occurs in the suffixing construction when the number of the pieces is left unspecified:

- (8-133) *sii-na fanga naqi*
 portion-3.PERS food this
 'portion(s) of this food', 'the portions of this food'

However, when the subset is specified more closely, the suffixing construction cannot be used. The quantifier *ta* ‘some’ has a singular-number value as its default (section 6.8.6), and this would be the normal interpretation of (8-134) unless context specified otherwise:

- (8-134) *ta sii qana fanga naqi*
 some portion GENP food this
 ‘a portion of this food’

Putting aside the lexical exceptions (some of the kinship terms), it is possessum individuation that is the central factor that determines the choice of the suffixing or the bare construction, and only secondarily the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession, between nouns that are relational and those that are not. In alienable possession, the possessum is always individuated, and so it is always the bare construction that is required. In inalienable possession, the possessum may but need not be individuated. If it is, it is the bare construction that is required; if it is not, it is the suffixing construction that is required.²⁷

8.2. The associative noun phrase

The formal properties of the associative noun phrase are considered first, and its semantics subsequently.

8.2.1. The form

The basic form of the associative noun phrase is given in (8-135):

- (8-135) (X) [NOUN(-ASSOC) NP] (Y)

The head noun optionally carries the associative suffix. Although the suffix is optional, it is considerably more common for it to be present than absent. The head noun must be modified by a noun phrase. That noun phrase can only be non-referential. It can itself be of the associative type, in a recursive structure; see example (8-167) further below. An associative construction may have its own modifiers, before or after it, represented by X and Y, respectively, in (8-135). The X modifiers are those that occur prenominal in the basic type of lexical noun phrase, and the Y modifiers are those that occur postnominally in the basic type of lexical noun phrase; see (6-3) in chapter 6.

Among the pre-nominal modifiers, the person markers do not occur with the associative noun phrase, because the construction does not take proper nouns as its head.

The associative suffix has several alternative forms, whose distribution is conditioned phonologically. There is a pair of allomorphs *-qi* and *-qe*, and there is an allomorph *-i*. One would also expect an allomorph of the form *-e*, but there is no unequivocal evidence of that form. (The forms *-qi* and *-qe* also function as detransitivizing suffixes; see section 4.6.) The variants *-qi* and *-qe* are used with nouns that do not contain *q* in the last syllable: *-qi* is used if the last vowel of the noun is high (*i* or *u*) (but see 8-172 further below), and *-qe* is used if the last vowel of the noun is non-high (*e*, *o*, or *a*). The variant *-i* is used with nouns that contain *q* and a high vowel in the final syllable. And one would expect there to be an allomorph *-e* used with nouns that contain *q* and a non-high vowel in the final syllable. There are relatively few nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable and qualify to function as the head of the associative noun phrase, and the evidence is not straightforward to interpret, as discussed further below. The three examples below illustrate the *-qi*, *-qe*, and *-i* variants of the associative morpheme.

(8-136) *thaalu-qi* *thaqaro*
egg-ASSOC bird
'bird egg'

(8-137) *waino-qe* *butete*
soup-ASSOC sweet.potato
'soup made of sweet
potatoes'

(8-138) *biqu-i* *dudualinga*
house-ASSOC bee
'bees' nest', 'beehive'

There are also some phonological changes that the nouns that take the associative suffixes undergo or may undergo. Because of the additional complexities having to do with the *-i* (and *-e*?) allomorph(s), they will be discussed only later. Until specified otherwise, the discussion of the stem-internal changes that follows concerns nouns that take the *-qi* or *-qe* variants.

In many nouns that end in *a*, the *a* is replaced with *e* before the associative suffix; and in a few nouns that end in *o*, the *o* is replaced with *e* before the suffix:

(8-139) *qite-qe* *alo*
k.o.basket-ASSOC taro
'qita-basketful of taros'

(8-140) *qoke-qe* *qai*
vine/rope-ASSOC wood
'bundle, pile of (fire)wood'
(even if not tied with rope)

Compare *qita* ‘k.o. basket’ and *qoko* ‘rope’.

Nominalizations of verbs can function as heads of associative noun phrases. The nominalizing suffix has the form *-laa*, when no suffix follows. When a personal suffix follows, the form of the nominalizing suffix is *-la*, and when the associative suffix follows, the form of the nominalizing suffix is obligatorily *-le*:

- (8-141) *manta-le-qe* *doo*
 think-NMLZ-ASSOC thing
 ‘thinking’, ‘a/the thought’ (lit.: ‘thing thinking’)

The associative construction in (8-142) is a lexicalized phrase:

- (8-142) *thaka-le-qe* *thaqaro*
 flee/go.into.hiding-NMLZ-ASSOC possum
 ‘place where possums stay, where they can be usually found’

In a few nouns that end in *u*, the *u* is replaced with *i* before the associative suffix, in some cases only optionally.

- (8-143) *fungi-qi* *qota*
 cluster-ASSOC areca.nut
 ‘cluster of areca nuts’

Compare:

- (8-144) *fungu-na* *qota*
 cluster-3.PERS areca.nut
 ‘(all) the clusters of areca nuts (on a tree)’

With nouns that can occur both in the associative construction and in the suffixing possessive construction, if there is variation in the form of the noun, it is the form in the possessive construction that is the basic one. That is also the form that occurs without the personal suffix, for example when the noun occurs in the bare possessive construction because the possessum has been individuated, as discussed in section 8.1.7.

In a few nouns that end in two vowels, the final vowel is deleted before the associative suffix:

- (8-145) *bi-qi* *ngali*
 bamboo.container canarium.nut
 ‘bamboo-containerful of canarium nuts’

Compare *bii* ‘bamboo container’.

- (8-146) *thaki-qi* *ongi*
 tongs-ASSOC bamboo.sp.
 ‘tongs made out of *ongi* bamboo’

Compare *thakia* ‘tongs’.

- (8-147) *nga-qe* *botho*
 excrement-ASSOC pig
 ‘pig excrement’

Compare:

- (8-148) *ngae-na* *botho*
 excrement-3.PERS pig
 ‘the pig’s excrement’

The associative suffix is sometimes omitted. Such omission is more likely if the stem undergoes one of the phonological changes mentioned above, but is not restricted to such cases. If a noun does undergo a change in the presence of the associative suffix, the change is likely to be manifested in the absence of the suffix as well.

- (8-149) *{fungi-qi / fungi}* *baqu*
 bunch-ASSOC bunch banana
 ‘the full bunch of bananas (e.g. still on a tree)’

The basic form of the noun ‘bunch’ is *fungu*; cf. *fungu-na qota* ‘(all) the clusters of areca nuts (on a tree)’ in (8-144) further above.

- (8-150) *qoke* *ongi*
 vine/rope bamboo.sp
 ‘bundle of *ongi* bamboo’

The basic form of the noun ‘vine, rope’ is *qoko*. See also *qoke-qe qai* ‘bundle, pile of (fire)wood’ in (8-140) further above.

In (8-151) there are three variants, including one without a phonological change in the noun:

- (8-151) {*baeke-qe* / *baeke* / *baeka*} *raisi*
 bag-ASSOC / bag / bag} rice
 ‘bag(ful) of rice’

Even though the form *baeka* may occur without the associative suffix, when the suffix is present, the form is always *baeke-qe*, with the replacement of the *a* with *e*.

At this point we will consider the use of the forms *-i* and possibly *-e* of the associative morpheme with nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable. The form *-i* is exemplified and discussed first.

- (8-152) *biqu-i* *dudualinga*
 house-ASSOC bee
 ‘bees’ nest’, ‘beehive’

The form of the noun ‘house’ is *biqu*.

- (8-153) *fai* [*suqu-i* *fanua*]
 four corner-ASSOC area
 ‘the four corners of the earth; the whole world’

The form of the noun ‘corner’ is *suqu*. The basic meaning of *suqu* is ‘sea inlet, sea arm penetrating inland’. The expression *fai suqu-i fanua* is probably a partial calque from English.

Both in (8-152) and in (8-153) the head noun ends in *u*. On the other hand, the noun for ‘basket’ ends in *i*, and there the suffix does not occur:

- (8-154) *waqi* *iqa*
 basket fish
 ‘basket(ful) of fish’

As mentioned above, the *-qi* and the *-qe* variants of the associative marker can also be omitted, but such omission is never obligatory. One could speculate that there is a prohibition on ...*qi-i* sequences in associative constructions, but since this is the only instance that has been identified of a noun that ends in *qi* and can occur as the head of an associative construction, it is impossible to be certain. There are no general phonotactic constraints on *qii* sequences in the language; for example *qiiqiir-a baqu* (bottom.part.of.bunch.of.bananas-3.PERS banana) ‘the bottom part of a full bunch of bananas, where the bananas are relatively small’. However, there is some support for the hypothesis that there may be a constraint in associative constructions against ...*qi-i* sequences when

we consider cases where an *-e* variant of the associative morpheme would be expected.

- (8-155) *taqe* *niu*
 husk-ASSOC coconut
 ‘coconut husk’

Compare:

- (8-156) *taqa-na* *niu*
 husk-3.PERS coconut
 ‘the husk of a/the coconut’

The basic form of the noun ‘husk’ is *taqa*. Is the *e* in *taqe* the associative suffix or is it a replacement of the stem-final *a* as happens elsewhere in associative constructions in the absence of the associative suffix?

Similarly in (8-157), which shows variation between *kwaqo* and *kwaqe*:

- (8-157) {*kwaqo* / *kwaqe*} *botho*
 intestine-ASSOC / intestine pig
 ‘pig intestine(s)’

The basic form of the noun ‘intestine’ is *kwaqo*.

If one were to assume that *taqe* is really *taq-e* and *kwaqe* is really *kwaq-e*, one would have to assume that in these cases the final vowel of the noun has been deleted. There is, however, no independent evidence that such deletion takes place in the presence of the associative suffix. It is much more likely, then, that the final *e*’s in those two forms are the result of vowel replacement rather than instances of the associative suffix. This in turn suggests that the associative suffix is absent because of a prohibition on ...*qe-e* sequences in associative constructions.

Importantly, it is the presence of *q* in the last syllable of the basic form of a noun that determines whether the associative suffix will have *q* or not. For example, the word for ‘leg, foot’ and ‘handle (of a tool)’ is *qae*, and it is disyllabic (section 2.2.3):

- (8-158) *qae-na* *qila neqe*
 handle-3.PERS knife this
 ‘the handle of this knife’

In (8-159) the noun for ‘handle’ occurs as the head of an associative construction, and the form is *qa-qe*:

- (8-159) *qa-qe* *qila*
 handle-ASSOC knife
 ‘knife handle’

The form *qae-qe* is also possible, but not **qa-e*. While in *qa-qe* the syllable before the suffix contains *q*, the last syllable of the basic, full form *qae* does not.

To summarize: The associative morpheme has *-i* as one of its variants. One would expect there to be an *-e* variant as well. Although this variant has not been encountered, this is presumably because of the very restricted distribution it has/would have.

The modifying noun phrase in an associative construction can only be non-referential, but it may contain modifiers in addition to the noun. In (8-160) the modifying phrase contains a classifier, and the one in (8-161) a modifying verb:

- (8-160) *ulu talange-qe* *fa* *bongi*
 three hundred-ASSOC CLF day
 ‘300 days’

- (8-161) [*linge-qe* *oqo bulu*] *baa*
 sound-ASSOC drum be.dark that
 ‘that sound of a deep-sounding drum’

Oqo bulu, literally ‘dark drum’, signifies a kind of drum that produces a deep sound.

A modifying noun phrase may be a coordinate one:

- (8-162) *teqe [maame-qe* *ngasi,* *alo ma botho]*
 one mortuary.feast-ASSOC sugar.cane taro and pig
 ‘a mortuary feast with sugar cane, taro, and pigs’

In (8-161) above the associate noun construction is modified by a demonstrative and the one in (8-162) by a numeral. A few more examples of associative constructions with pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers are given below:

- (8-163) *teqe si* *abe-qe* *ongi*
 one DIM strip-ASSOC bamboo.sp.
 ‘one small strip of *ongi* bamboo’

(8-164) *fu-qi ngasi nau*
 clump-ASSOC sugar.cane 1SG
 ‘my clump of sugar cane’ (not: *‘clump of my sugar cane’)

(8-165) *waqi iqa baqita neqe ki*
 basket fish be.big this PL
 ‘these big baskets/basketfuls of fish’ (not: *‘these basketfuls of big fish’; and not: *‘basketfuls of these big fish’)

(8-166) *tai bi-qi doo ki na ka*
 some.PL bamboo.container-ASSOC thing PL REL 3SG.SEQ

nanga takatabolo qani-a
 throw mess.up.place GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘some (broken up) bamboo containers that he threw all around, thus making the place messy (with them)’

(*Nanga* ‘throw’ is an intransitive verb; the entity thrown is expressed as an oblique object.)

For the use of *doo* ‘thing’ in the modifier phrase in associative constructions see further below.

Associative constructions can be recursive:

(8-167) *bore-qe [bi-qi doo]*
 bottom-ASSOC bamboo.container-ASSOC thing
 ‘food remaining at the bottom of a cooking bamboo after most, much of the food has been taken out’ (lit.: ‘bottomful of a bamboo container’)

In an associative construction, the head noun must have a modifying noun phrase. In place of a semantically-explicit noun in the modifier phrase, the noun *doo* ‘thing’ is used as a semantically-empty head. Compare (8-168) with an explicit modifier noun and (8-169) with *doo*:

(8-168) *bi-qi ngali*
 bamboo.container-ASSOC canarium.nut
 ‘bamboo-containerful of canarium nuts’

(8-169) *bi-qi doo*
 bamboo.container-ASSOC thing
 ‘bamboo-containerful of unspecified contents’ (the container does contain something)

Similarly in the next pair of examples:

- (8-170) *re-qe* *baqu*
 leaf-ASSOC banana
 ‘banana leaf’
- (8-171) *Alu-a* *re-qe* *doo* *faafi-a* *maa-na*
 put-3.OBJ leaf-ASSOC thing SUPER-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS
- kuki* *qena.*
 saucepan that(2)
 ‘Put a leaf over the (mouth of the) saucepan (as a lid).’

See section 6.2 for the use of *doo* ‘thing’ as a “semantically light” noun.

There is at least one noun that contains what historically was the associative suffix but that does not occur in the associative construction and so need not have a modifier: *weleqi* ‘chap, guy’, also used as a familiar form of address; cf. *wela* ‘child’:

- (8-172) *Weleqi, qoko* *mamalo naqa.*
 man! 2SG.SEQ rest PRF
 ‘Man! Take a rest now.’

Exceptionally, it is the *-qi* form of the associative suffix that is present in *weleqi*, even though the vowel in the preceding syllable is not high.²⁸ There is also a form *wele-qe*, which takes as its modifiers noun phrases with the nouns ‘man’ and ‘woman’ to designate boys/relatively young men and girls/relatively young women, respectively.

- (8-173) *wele-qe* *ai*
 child-ASSOC woman
 ‘girl, young woman’

8.2.2. The semantics

The associative construction expresses a variety of meanings. In one of its uses, it contrasts with the suffixing possessive construction. One type of relation between possessums and their possessors that the suffixing possessive construction can express is a part-whole relation: the possessum is part of the possessor.

- (8-174) *lail-a abalolo baa*
 root-3.PERS *Ficus.sp* that
 ‘the root of that *Ficus* tree’

On the other hand, since in associative constructions the modifier phrase is non-referential, associative constructions do not express relations between entities. In some cases the modifier phrase designates the type of the entity denoted by the whole associative noun phrase:

- (8-175) *lali-qi abalolo naqi*
 root-ASSOC *Ficus.sp.* this
 ‘this *Ficus* root’

The same basic kind of semantic contrast exists between (8-176) and (8-177):

- (8-176) *qae-na qila neqe*
 handle-3.PERS knife this
 ‘the handle of this knife’

- (8-177) *qa-qe qila*
 handle-ASSOC knife
 ‘knife handle (as opposed to other kinds of handle)’

If a whole has a large number of constituent parts of the same kind, the suffixing possessive construction normally designates such parts collectively. (See also examples [8-103] – [8-105] in section 8.1.7.).

- (8-178) *Taga-na taatali qe qabu-qabu-qa.*
 flower-3.PERS hibiscus 3SG.NFUT RDP-blood-PROP
 ‘The flowers of the hibiscus (bush) are blood-red.’

On the other hand, the corresponding associative construction identifies more closely the type of entity designated by the head noun:

- (8-179) *Kwai kulu-thango qana tage-qe taatali.*
 1SG.FUT hang-cordyline INS flower-ASSOC hibiscus
 ‘I’ll make an ear ornament for myself from a hibiscus flower.’

(There is a noun *kulu-thango* (‘hang’-‘cordyline’) that designates any makeshift ear ornament, such as a flower or a rolled up leaf, worn through a hole in an

earlobe. The verb *kulu-thango* refers to putting such an ornament in one's ear or to wearing one.)

The “type-of” semantic contribution of the modifier phrase in associative phrases is also found in cases where in the corresponding suffixing possessive constructions the possessum expresses something produced by the possessor or something that emanates from the possessor:

- (8-180) *linge-qe* *oqo*
 sound-ASSOC drum
 ‘sound of a drum’, ‘drum sound’

Compare:

- (8-181) *linga-na* *oqo qeri*
 sound-3.PERS drum that
 ‘the sound of that drum’

In another function, associative constructions designate collectivities, conglomerates, groupings, sets of entities. The head noun designates the kind of collectivity, and the modifier phrase designates the kind of entity making up the collectivity:

- (8-182) *[tale-qe lifo]* *i* *aa*
 row-ASSOC tooth LOC space.up
 ‘upper row of teeth’

- (8-183) *fu-qi* *ngasi* *baqita*
 cluster-ASSOC sugar.cane be.big
 ‘big clump of sugar cane’, ‘a large number of sugar cane plants growing closely together’

Included here are also quantifying nouns and the nouns designating numerically specific sets (usually of ten; section 6.8.3):

- (8-184) *teqe* *talanqe-qe* *imole*
 one hundred-ASSOC person
 ‘100 people’

- (8-185) *ange-qe* *fa* *qalo*
 small.number-ASSOC CLF taro
 ‘small number of taro corms’, ‘few taro corms’

- (8-186) *fai akwale-qe kini*
 four tensome-ASSOC woman
 '40 women'

The collectivity in question may form the contents of a container. The head noun designates the type of container:

- (8-187) *baeke-qe kafara*
 bag-ASSOC copra
 'bag(ful) of copra'

- (8-188) *lequ-qi kafo*
 leaf.cup-ASSOC water
 'leaf-cupful of water' (*legu* designates a kind of drinking cup made by rolling up a leaf)

The head of an associative noun phrase may designate a portion, fragment, unit, or a measure of that designated by the modifier phrase. In a sense, these are collectivities too, but collectivities that used to be part of a bigger whole:

- (8-189) *naanafu-qi alo*
 fragment-ASSOC taro
 'taro crumb'

- (8-190) *roo [qabale-qe kaleko]*
 two fathom-ASSOC cloth
 'two fathoms of cloth' (e.g., cut from a bale of cloth)

The modifier phrase may designate the kind of material or the principal, defining ingredient in the type of entity designated by the head noun:

- (8-191) *atha-qe koqa*
 k.o.pudding-ASSOC mangrove
 'k.o. pudding made from mangrove fruit (and other ingredients)'

- (8-192) *sofusoqu-qi kai*
 soup-ASSOC yam
 'yam soup'

When the modifying phrase contains a mass noun, it is sometimes possible to view the meaning of an associative construction from two different perspectives: (a) the modifier designates the kind of stuff out of which the entity designates

nated by the whole construction is made (or in which it is the main ingredient); or (b) the head noun designates the kind of collectivity of the stuff designated by the modifier:

- (8-193) *nini-qi* *ongi*
 knife-ASSOC bamboo.sp.
 a. 'knife made out of *ongi* bamboo'
 b. '(piece of) *ongi* bamboo that has been made into a knife'
- (8-194) *kodo-qe* *thalo*
 stick-ASSOC iron
 a. 'iron rod', 'rod made out of iron'
 b. '(piece of) iron in the shape of a rod'

In some cases, the head of an associative construction has a classifier-like meaning. For example, there is a noun *reba*, whose basic meaning is '(wooden) board'. *Reba* occurs in the possessum position of a possessive noun phrase in (8-195) and in the head position of an associative noun phrase in (8-196):

- (8-195) *reba-na* *qai*
 board-3.PERS wood
 '(the) timber board(s) (for building a house)'
- (8-196) *rebe-qe* *ngali*
 board-ASSOC canarium.nut
 'timber board from a canarium-nut tree'

And associative noun phrases headed by *reba/rebe-qe* can also designate other kinds of rigid, loosely speaking board-like kinds of entities:

- (8-197) *reba* *fisketi*
 board biscuit/cracker
 'square or rectangular biscuit or cracker'
- (8-198) *rebe-qe* *iqa*
 board-ASSOC fish
 'half of a fish split lengthwise'

There is a noun *ree*, whose basic meaning is 'leaf':

- (8-199) *ree-na* *kaufa*
 leaf-3.PERS pandanus.sp
 ‘(the) leaf/leaves from a *kaufa* pandanus plant’

And the noun can also be used to designate relatively thin, non-rigid, loosely speaking leaf-like entities:

- (8-200) *re-qe* *befa*
 leaf/sheet paper
 ‘sheet of paper’

- (8-201) *re-qe* *buka*
 leaf/sheet-ASSOC book
 ‘leaf in/from a book’

See also example (6-149) in section 6.7.1: ‘lightbulb’, lit.: ‘fruit of electric light’.

The associative suffix is, historically, part of the classifiers *maqe* and *noniqi* (sections 6.7.4 and 6.7.6, respectively), although it does not function as such there any more.

There are also a number of fixed associative constructions that do not fit neatly into any of the categories enumerated above and that involve some kind of figurative extension. Only a few examples are given here.

- (8-202) *rake-qe* *que*
 belly-ASSOC lawyer.cane
 ‘waist strap made from layer cane (worn by men)’

- (8-203) *kifi-qi* *botho*
 hat-ASSOC pig
 ‘kind of hat made from pig tails’

- (8-204) *oqole-qe* *maama*
 garden-ASSOC mortuary.feast
 ‘special garden in which food is grown for a mortuary feast’

Chapter 9

Nominalizations and deverbal nouns

There are two types of noun derived from verbs in Toqabaqita. These will be referred to as nominalizations and deverbal nouns, respectively. Derivation of nominalizations is fully productive, while derivation of deverbal nouns is lexically restricted. Deverbal nouns behave syntactically just like basic, non-derived nouns, while nominalizations exhibit not only nominal properties but also some properties characteristic of verbs.

9.1. Nominalizations

9.1.1. Formation of nominalizations

Nominalizations are formed from verbs by means of the suffix *-laa*, which becomes *-la* or *-le* if another suffix follows. Only the personal suffixes and the associative suffix can follow the nominalizing suffix. The *-la* form of the nominalizing suffix is used in the presence of a personal suffix, and the *-le* form in the presence of the associative suffix. As discussed in section 8.2.1, in nouns that end in *a* the *a* changes, optionally or obligatorily, to *e* before the associative suffix. With nominalizations, the *a-to-e* change is obligatory in the nominalizing suffix. The nominalization in (9-1) does not carry any additional suffix, the one in (9-2) carries a personal suffix, and the one in (9-3) carries the associative suffix:

(9-1) *qaranga-laa*
 swim-NMLZ
 ‘swimming’

(9-2) *ngata-la-ku*
 speak-NMLZ-1SG.PERS
 ‘my speaking’

(9-3) *manta-le-qe* *doo*
 think-NMLZ-ASSOC thing
 ‘thinking’, ‘a/the thought’ (lit.: ‘thing thinking’)

There are also double nominalizations, which contain two instances of the nominalizing suffix:

- (9-4) *thau-ngi-la-da-laa*
 kill-TR-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ
 ‘killing (of) them’

Double nominalizations are discussed in section 9.1.2.

Nominalizations may be based on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs. In (9-5) the nominalization is based on an intransitive verb:

- (9-5) *lae-la-na toqa qe=ki*
 go-NMLZ-3.PERS people that-PL
 ‘those people’s going’

In the case of Class 1 long transitive verbs, which have two basic allomorphs of the (long) transitive suffix, *-Cani* and *-Caqi*, it is the latter that is present in nominalizations. Examples (9-6) – (9-9) below illustrate nominalizations based on Class 1 transitive verbs: a bare transitive, a short transitive, a long transitive, and an extended long transitive, respectively.

- (9-6) *ngali-la-na botho*
 carry-NMLZ-3.PERS pig
 ‘carrying (of) a pig’
- (9-7) *raqa-fi-la-na ngali*
 climb-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS canarium.nut
 ‘climbing (of) a canarium-nut tree’
- (9-8) *fuqaro-taqi-la-na wane*
 whisper-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS person
 ‘whispering about a person’
- (9-9) *sifo-la-ngaqi-la-na kako*
 descend-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS cargo
 ‘unloading (of) cargo’

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs exhibits some properties significantly different from those of Class 1 transitive verbs. When Class 2 transitive verbs are nominalized, they are nominalized together with object suffixes. The nominalizing suffix is added to the verb-OBJ stem. In (9-10) the verb *thaito-goma* ‘know’ carries the third person (singular) object suffix *-na*:

- (9-10) *Nau ku thaitoqoma-na wane qeri.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ man that.
 ‘I know that man.’

An object suffix must also present when the verb is nominalized:

- (9-11) *Tai toqa, thaitoqoma-na-laa kera qe*
 some.PL people know -3SG.OBJ-NMLZ 3PL 3SG.NFUT

faqekwa qasia boqo.
 be.little INTS ASRT
 ‘Some people have very little knowledge.’ Some people *do* know
 (just) very little.’ (Lit.: ‘Some people, their knowing it is very lit-
 tle.’)

Class 2 transitive verbs also retain object suffixes in compounds in positions where Class 1 verbs do not (section 12.5).

There are two arguments of the source verb encoded in connection with the nominalization in (9-11): (i) there is an object suffix on the nominalization that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb; and (ii) there is a personal pronoun in the possessor position that corresponds to the subject of the source verb: ‘their knowing it’.

In (9-12) the Class 2 transitive verb verb *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (about sb., st.)’ carries the second person singular object suffix *-mu*.

- (9-12) ... *kwa soe-toqo-mu, “Taa na qo*
 1SG.SEQ ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ what? FOC 2SG.NFUT

manata-toqo-na?”
 think-TEST-3SG.OBJ
 ‘... (and) I asked you, “What are you thinking about?”.’

The sentence in (9-13) contains a nominalization of *soe-toqo* ‘ask’, and the nominalization contains the second person singular object suffix. Here there is no possessor encoding the subject of the source verb.

- (9-13) *Wane naqi seqe-n=e noni uri-a*
 man this body-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.shy PURP-3.OBJ

soe-toqo-mu-laa *uri-a* *wela qoe ki.*
 ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ-NMLZ PURP-3.OBJ child 2SG PL
 ‘This man is (too) shy to ask you about your children.’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his body is shy for asking you about your children.’)

And in (9-14) the nominalization of *soe-toqo* ‘ask’ carries the third person singular object suffix. (*Dora* ‘forget’, also ‘not know’ [see (9-19) further below] is an intransitive verb.) The nominalization also carries a personal suffix. Its presence is discussed below.

(9-14) *Nau* *ku* *lio-dora* *qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP

soe-toqo-na-la-na *toq=qe=ki* *manga*
 ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS people=that=PL time

taa *na* *keki* *lae* *mai.*
 what? FOC 3PL.FUT go VENT

‘I forgot to ask the people when they would come.’ (Lit.: ‘I mind-forgot asking the people what time they would come.’)

In (9-14) the nominalization of *soe-toqo* carries the third person singular object suffix *-na* and also the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The object suffix is singular because in the presence of a lexical direct object the singular suffix is used regardless of the grammatical number of the object. And the set of object suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs is, with some minor exceptions, the same as the set of the personal suffixes. See table 4.4 in section 4.2.3.3.1 and table 8.1 in section 8.1.2.

In (9-15) the nominalization carries the third person plural object suffix and the third person singular personal suffix:

(9-15) B: *Qoo, nau* *lio-ku* *qe* *dora* *qana*
 oh 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP

soe-toqo-da-la-na.
 ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

[A: ‘When will those people arrive?’]

B: ‘Oh, I forgot to ask them.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I, my mind forgot asking them.’)

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs must carry an object suffix. Additionally, like other nominalization, they can carry a personal suffix. With

nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs, the personal suffix indexes the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the verb. However, with Class 2 transitive verbs the argument that corresponds to the direct object is indexed by an object suffix. With Class 2 transitive verbs, the personal suffix is semantically empty. It does not index a participant. What (9-15) says more literally is ‘Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them’. Similarly, what (9-14) says more literally is ‘I mind-forgot its asking the people what time they would come.’ Although the third person singular personal suffix is semantically empty, it is used only if the object suffix is third person, whether singular or not, as in (9-14) and (9-15), respectively. It is not used when the object suffix is other than third person; see (9-13).

A few more examples of the presence of the semantically empty third person singular personal suffix on a nominalization are given below. The sentence in (9-16) contains the Class 2 transitive verb *qaru-toqo* ‘use’ (section 4.2.3.3.2.2):

- (9-16) *Qaru-toqo-na* *gete.*
 fall-TEST-3.OBJ gate
 ‘Use the gate (to go in).’

The nominalization of *qaru-toqo* in (9-17) carries both the third person singular object suffix *-na*, which indexes the theme noun phrase *ta doo mala ta qamplifae, doo quna qeri* ‘something like an amplifier, something like that’ and also the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The nominalization is in bold.

- (9-17) *Meka* *man-toqo-na* *uri-a* *sa*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ think-TEST-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ IRR
- meki* *ngali-a* *ta* *doo* *mala* *ta*
 1DU(EXCL).FUT take-3.OBJ some thing EQT some
- qamplifae, doo quna qeri, ura*
 amplifier thing manner that PURP
- qaru-toqo-na-la-na*** *qi* *laa* *raa* *qeri.*
 fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LOC IN work that
 ‘We thought we might take something like an amplifier, something like that, to use in that work [a musical group].’ (Lit.: ‘We thought it so that we might take something like an amplifier, [a] thing like that, for its using it in that work.’)

The sentence in (9-18) contains the Class 2 transitive verb *naqare-tele* ‘roast food other than meat’. (The noun *tele* designates items of food other than meat

that have been roasted or are intended for roasting, such as taros, yams, breadfruit, and sweet potatoes.)

- (9-18) *Qi laa rodo qi taraqena kuki*
 LOC IN night LOC today PL(INCL).FUT

naqare-tele-na keekene.
 roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ breadfruit
 ‘Tonight we’ll roast breadfruit.’

And the nominalization of *naqare-tele* in (9-19) carries an object suffix and a personal suffix:

- (9-19) *Thaari naqi qe dora qana*
 girl this 3SG.NFUT not.know GENP

naqare-tele-na-la-na keekene.
 roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS breadfruit
 ‘This girl does not know how to roast breadfruit.’ (Lit.: ‘This girl does not know its roasting breadfruit.’)

One more example is given in (9-20). Here it is the coordinate noun phrase ‘reading and writing’ that is indexed by the object suffix. The coordinate noun phrase itself contains nominalizations.

- (9-20) *Thaitoqoma-na-la-na keekeda-laa ma*
 know-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS write-NMLZ and

teqe-maqi-laa si doo taingaqi neri.
 one-TR-NMLZ PRTT thing be.important VIVID
 ‘Knowing how to write and read is important.’ (Lit.: ‘Its knowing writing and reading (is) an important thing.’)

(The verb *teqe-maqi* is based on *teqe* ‘one’ and means both ‘count’ and ‘read’.)

The process of deriving nominalizations is fully productive. Any verb can be made into a nominalization, and the process is highly regular semantically as well (but see further below). Nominalizations function as “action nominals”, except that they can designate not only physical, dynamic situations (e.g. running), but also non-dynamic situations such as sensory perception (e.g. seeing), psychological and other states (being afraid), and properties, characteristics (e.g. being tired).

Verbal compounds with incorporated objects or incorporated subjects and [verb verb] compounds (chapter 12) can be nominalized; see (9-21), (9-22), and (9-23), respectively:

(9-21) *kwaqi-botho-laa*
carve-pig-NMLZ
'pig-carving, carving (cutting up) of (a) pig(s)'

(9-22) *lio-dora-laa*
mind-forget-NMLZ
'forgetting'

(9-23) *abula-taqaa-laa*
behave-be.bad-NMLZ
'behaving badly', 'behaving sinfully'

Complex compounds, one of whose constituents is itself a compound, also can be nominalized:

(9-24) *Kwaqe-fole-niu-laa* *e* *faqa-ulafu*
hit-split-coconut-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT CAUS-work.hard

qasia naqa.
INTS INTS
'Coconut-splitting is very hard work.'

(*Faqa-ulafu* in [9-24] is an intransitive verb 'be hard work'. There is also a transitive verb *faqa-ulafu* 'make sb. work hard'.)

However, such nominalizations are usually considered awkward, and other constructions are used instead. Instead of the notional direct object being inside a nominalized compound, it may be placed outside of the nominalization as its (grammatical) possessor:

(9-25) *Kwaqe-fole-la-na* *niu* *e*
hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS coconut 3SG.NFUT

faqa-ulafu *qasia naqa.*
CAUS-work.hard INTS INTS
'Splitting of coconuts is very hard work.'

Nominalizations are freely formed from verbs borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin, regardless of whether the verb is accommodated to the phonology of Toqabaqita or not; see (9-26) and (9-27), respectively:

(9-26) *bekamu-la-na* *bret*
 bake-NMLZ-3.PERS bread
 ‘baking of bread’

(9-27) *qarestim-la-na* *toq=qe=ki*
 arrest-NMLZ-3.PERS people=that=PL
 ‘arresting (of) those people’

Some nominalizations have developed additional and less predictable meanings. For example, the nominalization of the intransitive verb *oli* ‘return, go/come back’ can function not just as an action nominal, but also as a noun with the meaning of ‘(land) boundary’:

(9-28) *oli-la-na* *fanua*
 return-NMLZ-3.PERS land
 ‘land boundary’

The nominalization of the transitive verb *uusi* ‘buy’ has, besides ‘buying’, also the meaning ‘(commercial) price’:

(9-29) *Uusi-la-na* *redio e* *baqita* *qasia naqa.*
 buy-NMLZ-3.PERS radio 3SG.NFUT be.big INTS INTS
 ‘The price of a radio is very high.’ ‘The prices of radios are very high.’

The nominalization of *riki* ‘see’, ‘look at’ can be used with the meaning ‘mien, appearance, the way someone or something looks, appears to be to an observer’:

(9-30) *Riki-la-mu* *qe* *quri-a* *qo*
 look.at-NMLZ-2SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT

mataqi.

be.sick

‘You look like you are sick.’ ‘You seem to be sick.’ (Lit.: ‘Your looking-at is like you are sick.’)

See section 18.4.3 for more detail on the use of *riki-la-* with this function.

The nominalization of *ade* ‘do’ with the third person singular personal suffix, *ade-la-na*, introduces consequence clauses (chapter 34; there written as *adelana*).

9.1.2. Double nominalizations

The term “double nominalization” designates nominalizations that contain two instances of the nominalizing suffix. They can be formed only from transitive verbs, and they always carry a personal suffix indexing the possessor. One instance of the nominalizing suffix occurs before and the other after the personal suffix:

- (9-31) *gani-la-na-laa*
 ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
 ‘asking him/her (for st., to do st.)’

Double nominalizations are possible only if there is no possessor noun phrase. If there is a possessor noun phrase, only single nominalizations are grammatical:

- (9-32) a. **gani-la-na-laa* *wane*
 ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3.PERS-NMLZ man
 (‘asking the man [for st., to do st.]’)
- b. *gani-la-na* *wane*
 ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3.PERS man
 ‘asking the man (for st., to do st.)’

Double nominalizations are never obligatory; single nominalizations can always be used instead. Most commonly, double nominalizations occur in oblique-object positions, where they are sometimes judged to be “stronger”, “more forceful” than single nominalizations. The first example below shows the free variation between a single and a double nominalization:

- (9-33) A: *Qo* *gani-a* *naqa wane baa ura*
 2SG.NFUT ask.sb.(for.st.)-3.OBJ PRF man that ALL

seleni?
 money

B: *Qe aqi boqo. Seqe-ku*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so ASRT body-1SG.PERS

qe noni qana
 3SG.NFUT be.ashamed GENP

{*gani-la-na* /
 ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS /

gani-la-na-laa}.
 ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ

A: ‘Have you asked the man for money?’

B: ‘No, I haven’t. I am ashamed to ask him.’ (Lit.: ‘My body is ashamed about asking him.’)

In (9-34), where the nominalization does not have a possessor noun phrase, double nominalization is possible, while in (9-35), where the nominalization has a lexical possessor, only single nominalization is possible:

(9-34) *Qo lae mai uri-a*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ

faq-maruki-la-miliqa-laa,

CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS-NMLZ

‘You [Christ] came to save our lives,’ (Lit.: ‘You came for causing us to be alive,’)

(9-35) *Qo lae mai uri-a*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ

faq-maruki-la-na imole.

CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-3.PERS human.being

‘You came to save human beings.’

Further examples of double nominalizations:

(9-36) *Keka kwaqe nau qana*
 3PL.SEQ beat 1SG GENP

faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa,

CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ

‘They [the speaker’s parents] would give me whippings to straighten me,’ (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give him whippings to make him behave.)

In (9-37) the double nominalization is based on a Class 2 transitive verb. Not only is the nominalization double, but it also contains both an object suffix and a personal suffix:

(9-37) B: *Qoo, nau lio-ku* *qe* *dora* *qana*
oh 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP

soe-toqo-da-la-na-laa.

ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ

[A: ‘When will those people arrive?’]

B: ‘Oh, I forgot to ask them.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them.’)

See the synonymous sentence in (9-15) in section 9.1.1 with a single nominalization.

Double nominalizations are not ungrammatical in positions other than oblique object, but there single nominalizations are clearly preferred. Example (9-38) shows a double nominalization in the direct-object position, as a possible, but dispreferred alternative to the single nominalization:

(9-38) *Ili-toqo-na* {*qani-la-na* /
do-TEST-3.OBJ eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS /

qani-la-na-laa}.

eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ

‘Try eating it.’

9.1.3. Nominal and verbal properties of nominalizations

In Toqabaqita, nominalizations exhibit properties both of nouns and of verbs.²⁹ Their nominal characteristics will be considered first. Nominalizations occur in positions in which nouns occur, and they take modifiers that only nouns can take, albeit with some restrictions.

There are some complexities when nominalizations head the possessum phrase in possessive noun phrases, and these constructions are discussed first.

The distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is relevant here, and so is the distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs.

First, nominalizations of intransitive verbs need not occur in a possessive construction:

- (9-39) *Raa-laa naqi e tekwa quu.*
 work-NMLZ this 3SG.NFUT be.long ANTCONT
 ‘There is still a lot of this work (to be done).’ (Lit.: ‘This working is still long.’)

When a nominalization of an intransitive verb heads a possessum phrase, the possessor always corresponds to the subject of the source verb. As a norm, nominalizations of intransitive verbs occur in the suffixing possessive noun phrase. However, nominalizations of some verbs can occur in the possessum position of the bare possessive noun phrase (see further below). The next two examples show nominalizations in the possessum position of the suffixing possessive construction:

- (9-40) *tekwa-la-na biqu qeri*
 be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS house this
 ‘the length of this house’

- (9-41) *Ngata-la-da qe leqa.*
 speak-NMLZ-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good
 ‘Their speaking is/was good.’ (For example: what they said was good; or the way they spoke was good.)

Some nominalizations have acquired more of a noun status with their own meanings, other than signifying a state of affairs. For example, the nominalization of the depatientive verb *kwai-qadomi* ‘help (people)’ occurs in the possessum position of the bare possessive construction with the meaning ‘help, assistance’:

- (9-42) *kwai-qadomi-laa qoe*
 LIP-help-NMLZ 2SG
 ‘your help (help that you provide)’

And the nominalization of *qafetaqi* ‘be difficult to do, difficult to cope with, difficult to do st. about’ occurs in the possessum position of the bare possessive construction with the meaning ‘difficulty, problem (that one has encountered)’:

- (9-43) *qafetaqi-laa kera ki*
 be.difficult-NMLZ 3PL PL
 ‘their difficulties, problems’, ‘difficulties, problems they have encountered’

See also examples (8-84) and (8-85) in section 8.1.6 on fluidity in possessive constructions for the difference between the nominalization of *leqa* ‘be good’ in the suffixing construction (‘his being good’) and in the bare construction (‘your goodness’).

Nominalizations of a few verbs can be used in either type of possessive constructions without any appreciable difference in meaning:

- (9-44) a. *Too-la-ku qe*
 be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

leqa ba-na.
 be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I am fine.’ ‘My life is fine.’
- b. *Too-laa nau qe leqa*
 be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ 1SG 3SG.NFU be.good

ba-na.
 LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I am fine.’ ‘My life is fine.’

(The verb *too* has a variety of meanings, one of which can be characterized as ‘be in a certain condition’. It is used with this meaning in questions and statements about a person’s well-being.)

- (9-45) *Ku riki-a raa-la-mu*
 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ work-NMLZ-2SG.PERS

ka leqa.
 3SG.SEQ be.good
 ‘I saw your working, and it was good.’

- (9-46) *Ku riki-a raa-laa qoe*
 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ work-NMLZ 2SG

ka leqa.
 3SG.SEQ be.good
 ‘I saw your work(ing), and it was good.’

There is also some variability among speakers as to how readily they accept nominalizations of intransitive verbs in the bare construction. For example, while the suffixing construction in (9-47a) is fully acceptable, the corresponding bare construction is not always acceptable. And to the extent that it is acceptable, its range of meaning is narrower than that of the suffixing construction:

- (9-47) a. *ngata-la-da*
 speak-NMLZ-3PL.PERS
 ‘their speaking’ (for example, what they said, the way they speak, their language)
- b. *ngata-laa kera*
 speak-NMLZ 3PL
 ‘their language’

The suffixing construction is not used if there is a related bare Class 1 transitive verb of the same form, because with nominalizations of such transitive verbs the personal suffix can only index the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. For example, there is an intransitive verb *luqu* ‘answer, respond’, and a bare transitive verb *luqu* ‘answer (somebody, question, letter, etc.), respond to’; see (9-48) and (9-49) below, respectively. The nominalization of the intransitive verb occurs in the bare possessive construction; the possessor corresponds to the subject. On the other hand, the nominalization of the transitive verb occurs in the suffixing construction; the possessor corresponds to the direct object.

(9-48) *Nau ku lalakwa qana luqu-laa qoe.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP answer-NMLZ 2SG
 ‘I don’t like your answer (lit.: answering).’

(9-49) *Nau ku lalakwa qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.want GENP

luqu-la-mu.
 answer-NMLZ-2SG.PERS
 ‘I don’t want to answer you (lit.: answering of you).’

Transitive verbs too can occur in the possessum phrase both of the suffixing and of the bare types of possessive construction, but with some additional differences. Furthermore, there are differences between nominalizations of Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs. Nominalizations of Class 1 verbs are discussed first.

With nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs in the suffixing construction, the possessor corresponds to the direct object of the source verb.

(9-50) *qadomi-la-miliqa*
 help-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘helping us’

(9-51) *Wela qe lalakwa qana qani-la-na*
 child 3SG.NFUT not.like GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS

butete.

sweet.potato

‘The child does not like to eat sweet potatoes.’

In (9-52) the nominalization is of the double type:

(9-52) *Toqa baa kera lae mai uri-a*
 people that 3PL.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ

riki-la-ku-laa, ...

see-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ

‘The people came to see me, ...’

When a nominalization of a Class 1 transitive verb occurs in the bare type of possessive construction, the possessor corresponds to the subject of the source verb. The argument that corresponds to the direct object is expressed in a prepositional phrase that modifies the nominalization. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana*.

(9-53) *Fasi-laa qoe qana baqu qena ki,*
 plant-NMLZ 2SG GENP banana that(2) PL

riki-la-na qe leqa.

look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good

‘Your planting of those bananas looks good.’ ‘The way you planted those bananas looks good.’ (Lit.: ‘Your planting of those bananas, its looking-at is good.’)

Compare (9-54), where the nominalization of the verb *fasi* ‘plant st.’ occurs in the suffixing possessive construction and the possessor corresponds to the direct object:

- (9-54) *fasi-la-na* *baqu*
 plant-NMLZ-3.PERS banana
 ‘planting of bananas’

Similarly in (9-55) the argument that corresponds to the direct object of *riki* ‘look at’ is expressed in a prepositional phrase that modifies the nominalization:

- (9-55) *Riki-laa* *nau* *qana misina* *naqi* *qe*
 look.at-NMLZ 1SG GENP sewing.machine this 3SG.NFUT

leqa *qasia naqa.*
 be.good INTS INTS

‘This sewing machine looks very good to me.’ (Lit.: ‘My looking-at of this sewing machine is very good.’)

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs were discussed in detail in section 9.1.1. They carry an object suffix that indexes the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. They can occur in the possessum position of the bare type of possessive construction, where the possessor corresponds to the subject of the source verb. However, in that case the argument that corresponds to the direct object can only be expressed by an object suffix on the nominalization. The argument cannot be additionally expressed by a noun phrase. In (9-56) *wane qeri* ‘the/that man’ corresponds to the subject. There can be no phrasal expression of the direct-object argument. (The noun ‘father’ functions as a modifier of the nominalization to express a great degree; see section 6.11.)

- (9-56) *Nau* *ku* *kwele* *qana thaama-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.amazed GENP father-3.PERS

thaitoqoma-na-laa *wane qeri.*
 know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ man that

‘I was amazed at how much the man knew about it.’ (Lit.: ‘I was amazed at the man’s big knowing [about] it.’)

On the other hand, in (9-57) there is no possessor phrase expressing the subject argument, and so there can be a phrasal expression of the direct-object

argument, *keekene* ‘breadfruit’. As discussed in section 9.1.1, nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs can also carry the third person singular personal suffix, which, however, is semantically empty.

(9-57) *Thaari naqi qe dora qana*
 girl this 3SG.NFUT not.know GENP

naqare-tele-na-la-na keekene.
 roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS breadfruit
 ‘This girl does not know how to roast breadfruit.’ (Lit.: ‘This girl does not know its roasting breadfruit.’)

The various types of construction in which nominalizations can occur as the heads of possessum phrases are summarized in table 9.1.

Table 9.1. Nominalizations in the possessum position

Nominalizations based on intransitive verbs

In the suffixing construction (the usual case) or, in some cases, in the bare construction; the possessor always corresponds to the subject of the source verb.

Nominalizations based on transitive verbs:

A. *When only one argument of the source verb is expressed:*

Class 1 transitive verbs: in the suffixing construction; the possessor corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. Class 2 transitive verbs: an object suffix indexes the direct-object argument; the direct object may, in addition, be expressed by a lexical noun phrase.

B. *When two arguments of the source verb are expressed:*

In the bare construction; the possessor corresponds to the subject. Class 1 transitive verbs: the direct object is expressed as a prepositional-phrase modifier of the nominalization. Class 2 transitive verbs: an object suffix indexes the direct-object argument; the direct object cannot be additionally expressed by a noun phrase.

Nominalizations can occur not only in the possessum position but also in the possessor position:

(9-58) *Keda-la-na ngata-la-miliqa qe*
 write-NMLZ-3.PERS speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS 3SG.NFUT

sukani qafetaqi.
 be.of.little.degree be.difficult
 ‘Writing how we speak is a little difficult.’ (Lit.: ‘Writing of our speaking is a little difficult.’)

Nominalizations can function as the heads of associative noun phrases:

(9-59) *Manta-le-qe doo ki qe kuluqa i*
 think-NMLZ-ASSOC thing PL 3SG.NFUT be.heavy LOC

sa-miliqa.
 GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘(Some people’s) thinking/thoughts is/are unfriendly (lit.: heavy) towards us.’

Nominalizations can cooccur in a clause with the same verb they are based on. An example of such “cognate nominalization” is given in (9-60), where the nominalization *too-laa* ‘staying’ cooccurs with the verb *too* ‘stay’:

(9-60) ... *kwa fula kwa riki-a na muki*
 1SG.SEQ arrive 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ COMP 2PL.IPFV

too ba-muluqa qan=teqe si too-laa qeri
 stay LIM-2PL.PERS GENP=one PRTT stay-NMLZ that

bana, nau kwai ngali kamuluqa i laa lokap.
 LIM 1SG 1SG.FUT take 2PL LOC IN jail
 ‘[If, after the 14 days of warning to you to abandon the Marching Rule movement] I arrive and see that you haven’t budged [i.e., that the addressees have not abandoned the movement], I will put you in jail.’ (Lit.: ‘... I arrive and see that you are staying in just that one staying, I will take you in jail.’)

For another example of cognate nominalization see (30-49) in section 30.5.

However, what is considerably more common is a pattern referred to as “cognate relativization” in section 30.5. In cognate relativization, a nominalization functions as a head modified by a relative clause and the relative clause contains the same verb on which the head nominalization is based. See section 30.5 for discussion. Nominalizations can also head noun phrases in the focus position where a/the clause in the presupposition domains contains the same verb the nominalization is based on; see section 39.2 for such “cognate focusing”.

Nominalizations can occur with other noun modifiers, pre-nominal as well as post-nominal. In (9-62) the nominalization occurs with a numeral and a modifying verb:

- (9-61) ... *teqe oge-laa faqa-maqu fula ka*
 one break-NMLZ CAUS-be.afraid happen 3SG.SEQ
- thau-ngi kamiliqa.*
 hit-TR 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘... there was a terrible break(ing) up [of a musical group], and it hit us (badly).’

And in (9-62) the nominalization occurs with the diminutive marker and a demonstrative:

- (9-62) *Nau ku thatana-a ba-kuqa si*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT contribute-3.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS DIM
- fale-laa naqi.*
 give-NMLZ this
 ‘I provide only this small contribution.’ (Lit.: ‘I only contribute this small giving.’)

Besides properties characteristic of nouns, nominalizations also exhibit characteristics of verbs. First, in nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs the object suffixes are used in a way parallel to their use with the verbs; see the discussion further above.

As discussed in chapter 5, verbs can be accompanied by particles. Some particles can occur both with verbs and with nouns, but with different functions. For example, the ventive directional can signal the directionality of movement with verbs (section 5.2.14.3), but not with (true) nouns. They can, however, have this function with nominalizations:

- (9-63) *Maqasi nau qana oli-la-ku mai.*
 wait.for 1SG GENP return-NMLZ-1SG.PERS VENT
 ‘Wait for me to come back.’ ‘Wait for me until I come back.’ (Lit.: ‘Wait for me until my returning here.’)

Postverbal particles precede lexical direct objects. Similarly, when a nominalization is formed from a transitive verb and there is a lexical possessor phrase present that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb, postverbal particles associated with the nominalization precede the possessor phrase:

- (9-64) *Qo talaqa-na ngali-la-na kau kada*
 2SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ carry-NMLZ-3.PERS AND block

qai qena?

wood that(2)

‘Are you able to carry (away) that log?’

(In verb phrases the postverbal particles follow pronominal objects. However, with nominalizations pronominal possessor phrases corresponding to direct objects are not possible. Participants that would be encoded as pronominal direct objects can only be encoded by means of personal suffixes or as prepositional-phrase modifiers in the case of nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs, and by object suffixes in the case of nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs.)

Nominalizations can take the same type of oblique complement or adjunct that their source verbs take, introduced by the same prepositions. For example, both the verb *lio* ‘look’ and its nominalization take complements introduced by the prolativ preposition *suli* ‘look/looking after (someone)’:

- (9-65) *Qoko lio suli-a wela.*
 2SG.SEQ look PROL-3.OBJ child
 ‘Look after the child.’

- (9-66) *Lio-laa suli-a wela faqekwa qe*
 look-NMLZ PROL-3.OBJ child be.little 3SG.NFUT

faqa-ulafu.

CAUS-work.hard

‘Looking after a little child is hard work.’

And both the verb *ngata* ‘speak’ and its nominalization take comitative oblique objects:

- (9-67) *Qo ngata bii nia?*
 2SG.NFUT speak COM 3SG
 ‘Did you speak with him?’

- (9-68) *Nau ku lalakwa qana ngata-laa bii nia.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP speak-NMLZ COM 3SG
 ‘I don’t like speaking with him.’

Locative nouns are not indexed on the allative preposition *uri*, and noun phrases headed by such nouns may occur without any preposition when the verb is ‘go’ and the locative noun phrase expresses the goal of the movement (section 6.2). This is also the case when such locative phrases are modifiers of nominalizations. In (9-69) the goal object *fanu kera* ‘their home place’ is not indexed on allative *uri*, and in (9-70) the goal modifier *sukulu* ‘church’ has no preposition.

- (9-69) *Oli-laa uri fanu kera kera dele*
 return-NMLZ ALL home.place 3PL 3PL.NFUT be.jailed

uri-a

PURP-3SG.OBJ

‘On account of [here: in order to prevent them from] returning to their home places they were jailed (Lit.: ‘Returning to their home places they were jailed for’)

- (9-70) *manga qana lae-laa sukulu*
 time GENP go-NMLZ church
 ‘time to go to church’, ‘time for going to church’

Like verbs, nominalizations can be reduplicated to signal continuativity or iterativity: a state of affairs has a relatively long temporal extension (section 15.2.3). In (9-71) both the verb *fita* ‘run’ and its nominalization are reduplicated:

- (9-71) *Fii-fita-laa qeri na kera kere fii-fita*
 RDP-run-NMLZ that REL 3PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-run

suli-a, kera kera qoo-qono ki

PROL-3SG.OBJ 3PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-sit PL

‘... the running [here: jogging] that they do, they/those who are always sitting (in offices all day long and get a little fat).’ (Lit.: ‘... the runnings that they run along, they who sit’)

And the verb *too* ‘stay’ is used to form the frequentative aspect: a clause that encodes a state of affairs is followed by a clause with *too* (section 15.2.4). The verb *too* can be reduplicated to emphasize the high frequency of occurrence of the state of affairs. This construction can be used not only when the state of affairs is encoded by a finite clause preceding the *too* clause, but also when the state of affairs is encoded by means of a nominalization; see (9-72) and (9-73), respectively.

- (9-72) *Mili fale fanga qi fa-da*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food LOC REC-3PL.PERS
- ka too-too ba-na, laa-lae, mika*
 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ
- feda naqa.*
 be.tired PRF
 ‘We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired (of it) now.’

- (9-73) *Kamiliqa mili feda qana*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT be.tired GENP
- fale-fanga-laa qi fa-da ka too-too*
 give-food-NMLZ LOC REC-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay
- ba-na.*
 LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘We are tired of giving them food all the time.’

Like verbs, nominalizations can have their own complement clauses. For example, the Class 2 transitive verb *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb.’ takes as its direct object the addressee, and in addition there is a (paratactic) complement clause expressing the content of the asking:

- (9-74) *Ka lae mai, ka soe-toqo-na tha*
 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR
- Nori qe, qe ngali-a doo*
 Nori 3SG.NFUT 3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ thing
- qeri qi fei.*
 that LOC where?
 ‘It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government] came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.: taken) that thing.’

And in (9-75) the nominalization of ‘ask’ takes a complement clause that expresses the content of the question.

- (9-75) *Nau ku lio-dora qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP
- soe-toqo-na-la-na toq=qe=ki manga*
 ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS people=that=PL time
- taa na keki lae mai.*
 what? FOC 3PL.FUT go VENT
- ‘I forgot to ask the people when they would come.’ (Lit.: ‘I mind-forgot its asking the people what time they would come.’)

Nominalizations are also used in complementation structures that correspond in their function to finite complement clauses (Chapter 29).

In Toqabaqita, nominalizations can also be used with a “stance” function (Yap and Matthews 2008, also Noonan 1997). In the stance function, Toqabaqita nominalizations express disapproval of, or annoyance with, the state of affairs the sentence expresses. A nominalization and its complements or adjuncts, if any, and particles, if any, constitute a clause. There is no finite verb, but such clauses are not verbless in the same sense that verbless clauses with a predicate noun phrase are (chapter 27). And they are not elliptical.

- (9-76) *Liu-laa ni boqo neri!*
 walk.aimlessly-NMLZ LIG ASRT NPAST.HERE
 ‘Walking/running all over the place (all the time)! (This could be said, for example, to a child who has been moving, running around to make him/her stop. Or it could be said to a person who has had an accident while walking from place to place without a goal in mind.)’
- (9-77) *Qaa! Ngata-laa sula doo qoro qeri!*
 hey! talk-NMLZ PROL thing be.many that
 ‘Hey! All this talking about the things!’ ‘Hey! Too much talking about the things!’ (Lit.: ‘Hey! Talking about those many things!’)

In (9-78) below, *fau-la-ngaqi-la-na* has the form of a nominalization, but there is no verb *fau-la-ngani/fau-la-ngaqi* in the present-day language, although there is *fau-ngani* ‘cut with (e.g. a knife) in an idle manner, not really cutting, just playing around with the implement’. *Fau-la-ngaqi-la-na* appears to be a nominalization of an extended Class 1 transitive verb. There is a noun *fau* ‘stone, rock’, which probably has some historical relation to the verb(s).

- (9-78) *Fau-la-ngaqi-la-na naifa nau ada*
 cut.idly.with-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS knife 1SG TIM

ka foo!
 3SG.SEQ be.blunt
 ‘Cutting around with my knife; it might get blunt!’

While nominalizations are a kind of noun, they at the same time exhibit a number of syntactic properties characteristic of verbs. In that respect they are very different from deverbal nouns, discussed next.

9.2. Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns are formed from verbs by means of the suffix *-a*. Sometimes the base to which *-a* is added is a reduplication of the source verb.

(9-79)	<i>mataqi-a</i> be.sick-DVN ‘sickness’	(9-80)	<i>faa-fanga-a</i> RDP-eat-DVN ‘feast’
--------	--	--------	--

The process of forming deverbal nouns is lexically restricted. Deverbal nouns are mostly based on intransitive verbs, as those in (9-79) and (9-80) above are; but not every intransitive verb has a deverbal-noun counterpart.

When the base is a transitive verb, there are several patterns. With bare Class 1 verbs, long Class 1 transitive verbs, and Class 2 transitive verbs, the suffix *-a* is simply added to the verb stem:

(9-81) *nii-a*
 break/cut.into.pieces-DVN
 ‘pieces of food broken up/cut up (especially about food to be given to pigs)’

Nii is a bare transitive verb.

With long Class 1 transitive verbs, which have two basic allomorphs of the (long) transitive suffix, *-Cani* and *-Caqi*, it is the *-Caqi* variant that occurs in deverbal nouns:

(9-82) *ala-ngaqi-a*
 promise/threaten-TR-DVN
 ‘a promise, a threat’

In (9-83) the deverbal noun is based on the Class 2 transitive verb *qaru-toqo* ‘use’:

- (9-83) *qaru-toqo-a*
 fall-TEST-DVN
 ‘implement, tool’

In the case of short Class 1 transitive verbs, there is some variability with respect to the (short) transitive suffix. In some cases, the deverbal suffix follows the transitive suffix, which remains intact; in some others, the *i* of the suffix is replaced with *a* (this *a* is not the DVN suffix); and in still others, the *i* is omitted altogether; see (9-84), (9-85), and (9-86), respectively.

- (9-84) *kwai-tag-i-si-a*
 LIP-take.good.care-TR-DVN
 ‘reconciliation (between parties in a dispute)’

Compare *kwai-tag-i-si* ‘of opposing parties in a dispute: reach reconciliation’ and *tag-i-si* ‘take great care with st., sb., so that the result may be good’.

- (9-85) *thuu-fa-a*
 cover-TR-DVN
 ‘protective, guardian spirit’, ‘Saviour (Christ)’

Compare *thuu-fi* ‘cover’, ‘of an ancestral spirit, God, Jesus: protect’.

- (9-86) *laa-lae-f-a*
 RDP-go-TR-DVN
 ‘ladder; anything used as a ladder’, ‘baby walker: a stick placed horizontally above the ground or the floor and secured at both ends, so that a baby beginning to learn to walk can hold onto it’

There are a few cases where two deverbal nouns are derived from the same base verb, the only difference being reduplication of the base in one of them:

- | | | | |
|-----------|--|----|---|
| (9-87) a. | <i>moqosu-a</i>
sleep-DVN
‘(a) sleep’ | b. | <i>moo-moqosu-a</i>
RDP-sleep-DVN
‘the day before a certain event’, ‘the eve on an event’ (e.g. the day before a feast, or the eve of the market day) |
| (9-88) | <i>baqe-a</i>
speak-DVN
‘speech’, ‘words’,
‘that which is said’ | b. | <i>baa-baqe-a</i>
RDP-speak-DVN
‘k.o. chant-like recitation’ |

In other cases, the two deverbal nouns have the same verbal root but different stems:

- (9-89) a. *lae-a*
go-DVN
a. ‘going, occasion of going somewhere (not necessarily involving a group)’
b. ‘group of people going somewhere’
- b. *laa-lae-f-a*
RDP-go-TR-DVN
‘ladder; anything used as a ladder’, ‘baby walker: a stick placed horizontally above the ground or the floor and secured at both ends, so that a baby beginning to learn to walk can hold onto it’
- (9-90) a. *futa-a*
be.born-DVN
‘descent line’
- b. *fuu-futa-nga-a*
RDP-be.born-TR-DVN
‘apical ancestor of a descent line’

The existence of *fuu-futa-nga-a* suggests the presence of a short transitive verb **futa-ngi*, but there is no such verb in present-day Toqabaqita. However, there is a long transitive verb *futa-ngani-a* ‘beget (a child)’, ‘give birth to’, also with *ng* as its thematic consonant.

Deverbal nouns can be based on compound verbs of various types: verb-noun (object-incorporation), noun-verb (subject-incorporation), and verb-verb (verb serialization); see (9-91), (9-92), and (9-93), respectively:

- (9-91) *thau-wane-a*
kill-person-DVN
‘killing, murder’
- (9-92) *rake-boko-a*
belly-be.blocked-DVN
‘constipation’
- (9-93) *ngata-ofu-a*
speak-be.together-DVN
‘coming together and having a discussion; discussion meeting’

Deverbal nouns bear a variety of semantic relations to their source verbs. They can signify the type of event, state, condition, or characteristic designated by the source verb:

(9-94) *firu-a*
fight-DVN
'fight, war'

(9-95) *maqu-a*
be.afraid-DVN
'fear'

Some deverbal nouns denote the outcome or result of the event designated by the source verb:

(9-96) *qaa-qafu-a*
RDP-wrap-DVN
'human corpse wrapped
in a mat for burial'

(9-97) *manata-a*
think-DVN
'thought, idea'

Some deverbal nouns signify the place or, less commonly, the time where or when the situation denoted by the source verb takes place:

(9-98) *uusi-a*
buy/sell-DVN
'market'

(9-99) *arakwa-a*
(moon)be.full-DVN
'time of full moon'

A few deverbal nouns denote means, instruments, tools:

(9-100) a. *laungi-a*
decorate-DVN
'personal ornaments,
decorations'

also b. *laa-laungi-a*
RDP-decorate-DVN
'personal ornaments,
decorations'

(9-101) *qaru-toqo-a*
fall-TEST-DVN
'implement, tool'

A few deverbal nouns denote the performer of the event designated by the source verb:

(9-102) *thuu-fa-a*
cover-TR-DVN
'protective, guardian spirit', 'Saviour (Christ)'

There is a minor pattern where a deverbal noun refers both to a type of action and to the performer(s) of the action. When such a deverbal noun refers to the performers of the action, it always signifies a group of people acting collectively. When the same deverbal noun refers to the action, the normal signifi-

cance is that of collectivity of people involved, although this is not necessarily the case.

- (9-103) *luqu-a*
 shift.residence-DVN
 a. ‘movement, relocation of people to a different area’
 b. ‘group of people moving to a different area’
- (9-104) *lae-a*
 go-DVN
 a. ‘going, occasion of going somewhere’
 b. ‘group of people going somewhere’
- (9-105) *quu-a*
 ‘crack.canarium.nuts-DVN
 a. ‘collective occasion of cracking (and shelling) canarium nuts’
 b. ‘people jointly cracking (and shelling) canarium nuts’
 also c. ‘heap of cracked canarium nuts (but not shelled yet)’

There are also deverbal nouns whose semantics is more idiosyncratic. Some examples are:

- (9-106) *qoo-a*
 be.broken-DVN
 ‘taboo sign: a partly broken sapling/twig placed next to/on a tree to stop people from taking its fruit’
- (9-107) *faalu-a*
 be.new-DVN
 a. ‘newly-married person, newlywed’
 b. ‘person/people who stay with newlyweds for some time after the wedding to help them out’
- (9-108) *faa-taqi-a*
 show/point.at-TR-DVN
 ‘part of one’s garden whose crop has been sold or given to sb. (the buyer/recipient will harvest the crop)’

Unlike nominalizations, deverbal nouns are fully-fledged nouns and exhibit only nominal properties. They can only take modifiers that occur with nouns, not those that occur exclusively with verbs. Below are given three sentential examples with deverbal nouns:

- (9-109) *Nau, roo fa biinga-a feteqi qa=fa thato*
 1SG two CLF sleep-DVN INTS GENP=CLF day

qeri.

this

‘I [had] two sleeps during the day.’ ‘I [took] two naps during the day.’

- (9-110) *Si faqa-rongo-a leqa neri.*
 PRIT CAUS-hear-DVN be.good NPAST.HERE
 ‘This is good news.’

Since nominalizations can be formed from any verb but deverbal nouns only from some, the former are sometimes used on a par with the latter. In (9-111) two nominalizations are in coordination with a deverbal noun:

- (9-111) *Beta nia fasa mataqi-a, feda-laa,*
 protect 3SG ABL be.sick-DVN be.tired-NMLZ

taqaa-laa.

be.bad-NMLZ

‘Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].’

Chapter 10

The prepositional phrase

10.1. Introduction

The category of prepositions in Toqabaqita is formally quite heterogeneous. Some prepositions index their complements by means of affixes; others do not; for the latter see (10-1) and (10-3) below. Some of the prepositions that index their complements do so by means of object suffixes also used with Class 1 transitive verbs (see [10-2]), others by means of personal suffixes (see [10-4]). The complement of a preposition may be a noun phrase (see [10-1], [10-2], and [10-4]), an adverb phrase (see [10-3]), or a prepositional phrase (see [10-4]). In (10-1) – (10-4) the prepositions are in bold:

- (10-1) ***mala*** *kali* *wela*
 EQT little.SG child
 ‘like a little child’
- (10-2) ***fasi-a*** *biqu lakoo*
 ABL-3.OBJ house that(3)
 ‘from that house’
- (10-3) ***i*** *loori*
 LOC up.there
 ‘(at) up there’
- (10-4) ***qi*** [***sa-na*** *maka* *qoe*]
 LOC GOAL-3.PERS father 2SG
 ‘to your father’

The prepositions that do not index their complements are referred to as “bare”, those that index their complements by means of the object suffixes as “verb-like”, and those that index their complements by means of the personal suffixes as “noun-like”.

The complement of a preposition is typically a noun phrase. A few prepositions may have an adverb phrase as their complement. One of those prepositions, general locative *qi*, takes as its complements adverb phrases that consist

of the general locative demonstrative adverbs *loori* ‘up there’ or *fuuri* ‘down there’, or of the interrogative adverbs *fei* ‘where?’ or *angita* ‘when?’. The others, allative *uri* and ablative *fasi*, take only *fei* ‘where?’ phrases as their complements. (For adverb phrases see section 4.11.)

A few forms that functions as prepositions also take clauses as their complements. Those are discussed in chapter 33.

Those prepositions that index their complements by means of suffixes (object or personal) may occur without a complement phrase:

(10-5) *bii-da*
COM-3PL.OBJ
‘with them’

(10-6) *i [a-ku]*
LOC REC-1SG.PERS
‘to me’

Prepositions are sometimes omitted, but this normally happens only with the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.1) and with the general preposition *qani* (section 10.3.7).

The various subtypes of prepositions and prepositional phrases will now be discussed in turn. Included here are also locational nouns, which primarily express locative concepts and whose use typically involves prepositions. Also included here is discussion of a locative pro-form, which can only occur with one of the prepositions.

10.2. The bare prepositions

The bare prepositions do not index their complements in any way. The following are the bare prepositions: *qi* general locative, *laa* inessive, and *mala* equative.

10.2.1. *Qi* general locative

Qi is a general locative preposition. It may express a location at a place or in time, or a goal location. The preposition is commonly realized as *i*, especially in fast speech, but not sentence initially or after a pause. A few examples of the general locative preposition as the head of simple prepositional phrases follow. In (10-7) – (10-9) it serves to express locations in space.

- (10-7) *Kera keka teo qi kula qeri.*
 3PL 3PL.SEQ lie LOC place that
 ‘They lay (down) at that place.’

In (10-8) the prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase:

- (10-8) *tale-qe lifo i ano*
 row-ASSOC tooth LOC ground
 ‘the bottom row of teeth’

In (10-9) the preposition *qi* has a temporal noun phrase complement:

- (10-9) *Qi manga taa na qoki fula?*
 LOC time what? FOC 2SG.FUT arrive
 ‘(At) what time will you come?’

Besides noun phrases, the general locative preposition takes adverb phrases as its complements. The adverb phrase may consist of the general locative demonstrative adverbs *loori* ‘up there’ or *fuuri* ‘down there’ (section 13.6.3), or of the interrogative adverbs *fei* ‘where?’ (section 19.3.7) or *angita* ‘when?’ (section 19.3.9). In (10-10) the adverb phrase contains *fei* ‘where?’. The location is a goal one.

- (10-10) *Qo alu-a qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT put-3SG.OBJ LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put it?’

In (10-11) the adverb phrase contains the general locative demonstrative adverb *loori* ‘up there’:

- (10-11) *Teqe wane kai ngata-ngata i loori.*
 one person 3SG.IPFV RDP-speak LOC up.there
 ‘Somebody has been speaking up there.’

The preposition also takes a locative pro-form as its complement; see section 10.2.2.

The general locative preposition is sometimes omitted:

- (10-12) *(Qi) qusungadi kwai lae qana uusi-a.*
 LOC tomorrow 1SG.FUT go GENP buy-DVN
 ‘Tomorrow I’ll go to the market.’

- (10-13) *Qo lae (i) fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go LOC where?
 ‘Where are you going?’

In (10-14) the preposition has been omitted before the noun phrase *teqe daadaku qi fafo-na qamali* ‘the foot of a *daadaku* tree by the sea’. The position where it would be expected to occur is immediately before *qae-na*:

- (10-14) ... *ka too ba-na qae-na teqe*
 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS foot-3.PERS one
- daadaku qi fafo-na qamali.*
 Calophyllum.sp LOC top-3.PERS sea
 ‘... she stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*]
 tree by (lit. on top of) the sea.’

Because the meaning of *qi* is fairly general with respect to the exact nature of the spatial relation between two entities, the preposition frequently takes as its complement a phrase headed by a more specific locative form, either the inessive preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3) or a noun phrase headed by locational noun (section 10.8); see (10-15) and (10-16), respectively:

- (10-15) *qi laa biqu*
 LOC IN house
 ‘in the house’
- (10-16) *qi fafo-na biqu*
 LOC top-3.PERS house
 ‘on top of the house’

The general locative preposition also takes recipient, benefactive and goal prepositional phrases as its complements, which are headed by noun-like prepositions (section 10.4). On the other hand, a prepositional phrase headed by the locative preposition may itself be the complement of a verb-like preposition, although this is somewhat rare, and is possible only with those prepositions that have locative significance, the allative one and the ablative one. Stacked prepositional phrases are discussed in section 10.5.

The general locative preposition is the only preposition that can be used with the locative pro-form *ei*. Such prepositional phrases are discussed in the next section.

10.2.2. Prepositional phrases with the locative pro-form

Toqabaqita has a locative pro-form *ei*, which must occur as a complement in a prepositional phrase headed by the bare preposition *qi*: *qi ei*. The preposition normally cliticizes to the pro-form: [ʔiɛi] or [iɛi].

Ei is a locative anaphoric pro-form. It can be used only endophorically; there must be a preceding antecedent, either in the same clause or a preceding clause. With some minor, partial exceptions to be discussed later, the antecedent must be locative, spatial.

When a locative phrase is fronted for topicalization or focusing, the prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form occurs in the extraction site; see (10-17) and (10-18), respectively:

- (10-17) *Qi laa toaa naqi mena kwasi*
 LOC IN village this FADD 1SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na boqo ta wane qi ei.
 know-3.OBJ ASRT some person LOC LOCPRO
 ‘In this village too I don’t know anybody (there).’

- (10-18) *Qi fei n=o alu-a koafa baa ki*
 LOC where? FOC=2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ guava that PL

qi ei?
 LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where did you put those guavas?’

In relativization on locatives, the prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form occurs in the position relativized:

- (10-19) *Kaala doo qoro qe taqe i fafo-na*
 little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

kwaingaqa qeri na tha Boranigao qe
 grave that REL PERSMKR Boranigao 3SG.NFUT

teo qi ei.
 lie LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave where [in which] Boranigao lay.’

The antecedent of the locative pro-form may be in a preceding coordinate clause:

- (10-20) ... *keko soqoni-a era, keko qaru-a*
 3DU.SEQ light.fire-3.OBJ fire 3DU.SEQ drop-3.OBJ

fau i ei, ...
 stone LOC LOCPRO
 ‘...they lit a fire (and) they dropped stones there [into the fire], (and) ...’

The antecedent may be in a preceding sentence, as in (10-21) below. As this example also shows, there may be more than one instance of the locative pro-form with the same (ultimate) antecedent. The first instance of the pro-form is inside a relative clause, and the second one in the following sentence:

- (10-21) ... *keka riki-a naqa kula na tha kale*
 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ PRF place REL PERSMKR guy

baa qe agwa-a gu-qi doo baa
 that 3SG.NFUT hide-3.OBJ head-ASSOC thing that

qi ei. Teqe doo qe tagwasu naqa
 LOC LOCPRO one thing 3SG.NFUT sprout PRF

qi ei.
 LOC LOCPRO

‘... they saw the place where the guy had hidden the head (lit.: that head thing). Something had sprouted there.’

In (10-21) above it is the first instance of the locative pro-form that can be seen as the (immediate) antecedent of the second instance of the locative pro-form. The two are separated by one sentence boundary. However, the locative pro-form may be separated from its antecedent by more than one clause boundary. In (10-22) the locative pro-form occurs in the last clause, and is separated from its antecedent *biqu qeri* ‘the house’ by a relative clause.

- (10-22) *Ma kera lio, kera riki-a biqu qeri*
 and 3PL.NFUT look 3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ house that

mena qe fura naqa, ma doo ni
 FADD 3SG.NFUT rot PRF and thing LIG

thau wane na kera fii-firu ki qani-a
 kill person REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-fight PL INS-3SG.OBJ

ka too ba-n=i ei.
 3SG.SEQ be.located LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC LOCPRO

‘And they looked and saw that the house too had rotted, but (lit.: and) the weapons (lit.: things for killing people) that they [the earlier inhabitants of the house] used to fight with were there OK (lit. were simply there; i.e., in good condition, not rotten).’

The location that the locative pro-form refers to may be a metaphorical one rather than a physical one. In (10-23) the antecedent of the locative pro-form is *Masin Ruul* Marching Rule, a political-social-cultural movement (see note 15). Note the use of the negated locative verb *too* ‘be located (at a place)’ when speaking about not joining, not participating in, the movement. The pro-form occurs at the very end.

(10-23) *Ni nau ma maka nau ki qe=aqi*
 PROFORE 1SG and father 1SG PL 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

misi too boqo qi laa Masin
 1PL(EXCL).NEG be.located ASRT LOC IN Marching

Ruul, qe aqi misi join qap boqo
 Rule 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG join up ASRT

qana Masin Ruul, uri-a mili
 GENP Marching Rule REAS-3.OBJ 1PL(EXCL).NFUT

riki-a doo qeri qe garo. Nau
 see-3.OBJ thing that 3SG.NFUT be.wrong 1SG

mena kwa riki-a qe garo,
 FADD 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT be.wrong

ka aqi kwasi too boq=i ei.
 3SG.SEQ NEGV 1SG.NEG be.located ASRT=LOC LOCPRO

‘I and my (classificatory) fathers were not in Marching Rule [never joined the Marching Rule movement]; we didn’t join Marching Rule, because we saw that thing was wrong. I too saw it was wrong; (and so) I was not in it.’

Most commonly, the locative pro-form refers to a location, as in all the examples above, but it can also refer to a locative goal:

- (10-24) *Biqu nia e kaa-karangi-a naqa,*
 house 3SG 3SG.NFUT RDP-approach-3SG.OBJ PRF
- kuki fula i ei.*
 PL(INCL).FUT arrive LOC LOCPRO
 ‘His house is very close now (lit.: his house has approached it); we will arrive there [soon].’

Marginally, the locative pro-form can be used with temporal antecedents. While the pro-form is obligatory when the antecedent is locative, unless some other expression is used (see further below), it is never obligatory with temporal antecedents. Furthermore, it is possible only when the temporal antecedent refers to a relatively long period of time inside which a state of affairs may be metaphorically located. In the next example, the locative pro-form is possible although not preferred.

- (10-25) (*Qi laa*) *ulu madami qe=ki, dani qe qarū*
 LOC IN three month this=PL rain 3SG.NFUT fall
- (*qi ei*) *ka lado ba-na.*
 LOC LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ be.joined LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘(During) these three months, it has just kept raining.’ (Lit.: ‘In these three months it has rained, it has just been joined [end to end].’)

The pro-form is ungrammatical when reference is being made to a temporal “point” (even though not necessarily momentaneous) at which something happens. In (10-26) the temporal noun is *thato*, which can signify a day as a period of time, but which functions here to identify the time when the travel took place, and the locative pro-form is ungrammatical:

- (10-26) *Fa thato na ku lae qi laa faka uri*
 CLF day REL 1SG.NFUT go LOC IN ship ALL
- Honiara (*i ei,) qamali qe luulua-qa*
 Honiara LOC LOCPRO sea 3SG.NFUT wave-PROP

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

‘The day I went by ship to Honiara, the sea was very choppy/rough.’

Since the general locative preposition is the only one that can govern the locative pro-form, such prepositional phrases cannot distinguish between different kinds of location or orientation of the antecedent’s referent with respect to another entity. However, context and/or knowledge of the world usually makes it clear what the relative location or orientation is. So it is a safe assumption that in the event encoded in (10-27) the objects will be placed *on* the (bed of the) truck:

(10-27) *Tarake naqi na ku ngali-a mai*
 truck this FOC 1SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ VENT

goko-na doo nau ki qi ei.
 pile-3.PERS thing 1SG PL LOC LOCPRO

‘It was this truck that I brought (the pile of) my things on.’

To specify more closely the location or orientation, it is possible to use means of expression other than the locative pro-form. Compare (10-28a), with the locative pro-form, which only signifies that the food was placed in some location relative to the box, and (10-28b), with the locational noun *laal-a* (section 10.8.9), which specifies that the food was placed *inside* the box:

(10-28) a. *Nii fei bakosi baa ku*
 be.located where? box that 1SG.NFUT

alu-a fanga baa i ei?
 put-3.OBJ food that LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where is the box where I put the food?’

b. *Nii fei bakosi baa ku*
 be.located where? box that 1SG.NFUT

alu-a fanga baa i laal-a?
 put-3.OBJ food that LOC inside-3SG.PERS
 ‘Where is the box I put the food in (lit.: inside it)?’

And although there is no great danger of ambiguity or vagueness in (10-29a), with the locative pro-form, the speaker has the option of using the more

explicit verb-like prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4) instead; see (10-29b):

(10-29) a. *Mere* *garo,* *qe* *aqi*
 1DU(EXCL).NFUT lose.way 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta *tala* *fasi* *meka* *lae* *qi*
 some path PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go LOC

ei.

LOCPRO

‘We had lost our way; there was no path for us to walk (on).’
 (Lit.: ‘...; there was no path so that we might walk there.’)

b. *Mere* *garo,* *qe* *aqi*
 1DU(EXCL).NFUT lose.way 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta *tala* *fasi* *meka* *lae*
 some path PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go

suli-a.

PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘We had lost our way; there was no path for us to follow.’
 (Lit.: ‘...; there was no path so that we might walk along it.’)

And in (10-30) the location is specified more closely by the (postposed) locative phrase *qana beta-na abu qeri* ‘on the posts of that sacred house’:

(10-30) *Qi* *laa* *abu* *laungi-a* *ker*
 LOC IN sacred.house decorate-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT

thau-ngani-a *nuu-na* *doo* *ki,* *quri-a*
 make-TR-3.OBJ likeness-3.PERS thing PL look.like-3.OBJ

qa-na *sa* *tai* *baqekwa,* *qana*
 SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR some.PL shark GENP

beta-na *abu* *qeri.*
 post-3.PERS sacred.house that

‘Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks, on the posts of that sacred house.’ (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

There is a general verb-like preposition *qani/qana*, which is used with a variety of functions (section 10.3.7). It can take locative complements (see *qana beta-na abu qeri* ‘on the posts of that sacred house’ in [10-30]), and in that function is occasionally used where the locative pro-form *ei* would be used otherwise. In such cases the preposition occurs in the form *qani* and carries an object suffix; see (18-89) in section 18.6.3 for an example.

10.2.3. *Laa* inessive

Laa is an inessive locative preposition, whose meaning is ‘in’. *Laa* is different in several respects from the other two bare prepositions (general locative *qi* and equative *mala*), and its status as a preposition is somewhat ambivalent. First, phrases headed by *laa* usually (although not necessarily) occur as the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*. And second, phrases headed by *laa* not uncommonly function as subjects or direct objects.

Historically, *laa* is probably related to the locational noun *laal-a* ‘inside’ (section 10.8.9). However, unlike *laal-a* and the other locational nouns, but like the other bare prepositions, *laa* must have a complement phrase.

Laa can take locative complements, including locative goals, and temporal complements; see (10-31), (10-32), and (10-33), respectively:

(10-31) ... *qo uqunu mai bii nau laa leta baa.*
 2SG.NFUT converse VENT COM 1SG IN letter that
 ‘... you conversed with me in the letter.’

(10-32) ... *keka alu-a laa fanga.*
 3PL.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ IN food
 ‘... they put it [love magic] in the [woman’s] food.’

(10-33) *Laa thato!*
 IN sun/daytime
 ‘Good day!’ (Greeting used around the middle of the day.)

In the next two examples *laa* prepositional phrases occur as complements of the general locative preposition *qi* in stacked prepositional phrases (section 10.5). This is the commonest way in which *laa* phrases function.

(10-34) ... *tha Bariqi kai teo i [laa teqe*
 PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.FUT lie LOC IN one

gwa kurua].

CLF depression.in.ground

‘[She said that] Bariqi should lie in a depression in the ground.’

- (10-35) *qi [laa rua-na oomea]*
 LOC IN two-3.PERS fight
 ‘in the Second World War’

Laa prepositional phrases may function as complements of other prepositions as well; see (10-192) in section 10.5.

Laa prepositional phrases are sometimes interchangeable with possessive noun phrases with the locational noun *laal-a* ‘inside’ as the head of the possessive phrase (section 10.8.9):

- (10-36) a. *Nau ku alu-a fanga i laa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ food LOC IN

bakosi naqi.

box this

‘I put the food in this box.’

- b. *Nau ku alu-a fanga i*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ food LOC

laal-a bakosi naqi.

inside-3.PERS box this

‘I put the food inside this box.’

However, *laa* and *laal-a* are not always interchangeable. *Laal-a* normally signifies one entity being inside another entity, significantly enclosed in it, such as being inside a container; while *laa* can have the significance of ‘on top’ with noun phrases that refer to objects with extended horizontal surfaces on which something or someone can be placed or can place himself/herself:

- (10-37) *Kwai qono ba-kuqa qi laa tafe.*
 1SG.FUT sit LIM-1SG.PERS LOC IN bench
 ‘I’ll just sit on (lit.: in) the bench.’

And second, unlike *laal-a*, *laa* must be followed by a complement phrase:

- (10-38) a. *Bakosi naqi ku alu-a fanga*
 box this 1SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ food

i laal-a
 LOC inside-3SG.PERS
 ‘This box I put food in (lit.: inside it) (not clothes).’

b. **Bakosi naqi ku alu-a fanga*
 box this 1SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ food

i laa
 LOC IN
 (‘This box I put food in’)

In (10-38b) the locative pro-form *ei* could be used in place of *laa* to make the sentence grammatical.

Unlike any other type of prepositional phrase, those headed by *laa* may function as the subject and the direct object arguments of verbs. Examples (10-39) and (10-40) illustrate *laa* prepositional phrases in the subject position. As is the case with subjects, the prepositional phrase precedes the subject-tense marker; and there is no (other) noun phrase for the subject marker to index:

(10-39) *Laa qamali e sinasina.*
 LOC sea 3SG.NFUT sparkle
 ‘The sea (lit.: in the sea) is sparkling.’

(10-40) *Laa taofa e biliqa.*
 LOC porch 3SG.NFUT be.dirty
 ‘The porch is dirty.’

When a *laa* prepositional phrases occurs in the direct-object position, it is indexed on the verb by means of an object suffix, the way lexical objects are:

(10-41) *Dani e qaru, ma kafo ka*
 rain 3SG.NFUT fall and water 3SG.SEQ

luqu ka dalafa-a laa
 (water)run.in.strong.current 3SG.SEQ flood-3.OBJ IN

toaa.
 village
 ‘It rained, and the water ran in a strong current and flooded the vil-
 lage.’

- (10-42) *rasa-a laa kuki qana uugula*
 scrub-3.OBJ LOC saucepan INS Ficus.spp
 ‘scrub the inside of a saucepan with *uugula* leaves’ (The rough leaves of *uugula* trees are used as abrasive.)

10.2.4. *Mala* equative

The equative preposition is related to the transitive verb *mala* ‘act, behave in one’s usual way, the way one usually does’, ‘stay the way one usually, normally is’. The direct object of the verb is coreferential with the subject; that is, ‘act, behave (like) oneself’, ‘stay (like) oneself’. In (10-43) the verb is reduplicated:

- (10-43) *Ada qoko maa-mala qoe.*
 TIM 2SG.SEQ RDP-behave 2SG
 [I am concerned.] ‘Don’t act the way you normally, always do.’
 (E.g., this is a special occasion, and so do something different from what you would normally do.)

The verb *mala* is also found in the intransitive compound *mala-quri* ‘be a likeness (of sb., st.)’ (*quri* [tr.] ‘resemble, be like’): *mala-quri qana X* ‘be a likeness of X’ (e.g. a carving representing X). (*Qana* is a general preposition; see section 10.3.7.)

The equative preposition has two functions, each function being associated with different syntactic properties. In one, prepositional phrases headed by *mala* express comparison of equality: one entity encoded in a clause is characterized as being in some relevant respects similar or equivalent to the referent of the complement of *mala*. The *mala* prepositional phrase is an adjunct of the verb. Most commonly the entity that is being likened to the referent of a *mala* prepositional phrase is encoded as the subject, as in examples (10-44) – (10-46). The respect in which that entity is likened to the other one is expressed by the verb and its complement(s), if any.

- (10-44) ... *ma qoko seqe-thaathala laqu boqo mala nau.*
 and 2SG.SEQ body-be.light ADD ASRT EQT 1SG
 ‘(Do such and such) and you will be as happy as I am (lit.: and you too will be body-light like me).’
- (10-45) *Weleqi!, qoto ade-de mala tha Liliqa.*
 man! 2SG.DEHORT act-RDP EQT PERSMKR Liliqa.
 ‘Man!, don’t act like Liliqa.’ (Liliqa is a character in a traditional story. The meaning of the saying is something like: ‘Don’t count

your chickens before they are hatched.’.) (For more detail see section 20.3.2, where the example, there given as [20-47], is discussed. See also text 2 in the Appendix.)

- (10-46) *eno mala gwiigwia*
 be.calm EQT poison.scorpion.fish
 ‘be (calm) like a Poison Scorpion-fish’ (said about a person who is outwardly calm but who can suddenly explode in anger)

Less commonly, the entity being compared to another one is encoded in a non-subject position. In (10-47) it is encoded as the direct object:

- (10-47) ... *ma keka stakim kera bo=naqa qi*
 and 3PL.SEQ stack 3PL ASRT=INTS LOC

boor-a faka mala tai baeka-na kafara.
 bottom-3.PERS ship EQT some.PL bag-3.PERS copra
 ‘... and they stacked them [prisoners] in the lower deck of the ship like some bags of copra.’ (That is, the prisoners were stacked as if they were bags of copra.)

In their other use, prepositional phrases headed by *mala* function as modifiers in noun phrases. Here no comparison is being expressed; rather, the referent of the noun phrase is characterized by the prepositional phrase *mala X* as being of the X kind, sort, as being included among entities of the X kind. For example, in (10-48) below, the speaker says what kinds of animals she is going to look for; she is not comparing one kind of animal to another. There are two *mala* prepositional phrases in (10-48), one within the other. The inner one, *mala baqekwa* ‘such as *baqekwa* snakes’, modifies *loi* ‘snakes’, and the outer one, *mala tai loi mala baqekwa, tai kooseqe, tai kuqunao, tai qiiqilo* ‘such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs, some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks’ modifies *doo* ‘things’:

- (10-48) *Kwai lae, kwai kwaqe-a mai tai doo*
 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT hit-3.OBJ VENT some.PL thing

n=e maruki, doo mala tai loi,
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.alive thing EQT some.PL snake

mala baqekwa, tai kooseqe, tai kuqunao,
 EQT snake.sp some.PL frog.sp some lizard.sp

tai qiiqilo,

some skink.sp

‘I’ll go and kill (lit. hit) (and bring here) some living things, things such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs, some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks, (and)’

In (10-49) only one type of entity is mentioned explicitly; others, also needed by a musical group, are not specified:

(10-49) *Meka* *man-toqo-na* *uri-a* *sa*
1DU(EXCL).SEQ think-TEST-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ IRR

meki *ngali-a* *ta* *doo mala ta*
1DU(EXCL).FUT take-3.OBJ some thing EQT some

qamplifae, doo quna qeri, ura
amplifier thing manner that PURP

qaru-toqo-na-la-na *qi* *laa* *raa qeri.*
use-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LOC IN work that

‘We thought we might take something like an amplifier, something like that, to use in that work [a musical group].’ (Lit.: ‘We thought it so that we might take something like an amplifier, [a] thing like that, for its using it in that work.’)

10.3. The verb-like prepositions

10.3.1. The full and the reduced forms

Toqabaqita has a set of six prepositions that exhibit a property characteristic of one class of transitive verbs: with qualifications to be elaborated on presently, they index their complements in the same ways that Class I transitive verbs index their direct objects. At the same time, these “verb-like” prepositions are unlike verbs because they cannot form predicates; they can only function as prepositions, not as verbs. These prepositions (and their history) have been discussed in detail in Lichtenberk (1991b), and here only the salient points are presented. The verb-like prepositions are: *uri* allative, purpose, reason; *fasi* ablative; *suli* prolative, reason; *faafi* superessive, confective, ‘concerning’; *bii* comitative; and *qani* general and instrumental.

All of these prepositions have two forms: a full form and a reduced form. The full forms are those listed at the end of the preceding paragraph, and it is

these forms that are verb-like. They are full in the sense that, under the appropriate conditions, they take object suffixes that index their complements. On the other hand, the reduced forms do not take the suffixes; more accurately, the suffixes have been phonologically absorbed into the prepositions themselves. The full forms are discussed first.

The full forms of the verb-like prepositions employ the same third-person object-indexing suffixes that Class 1 transitive verbs use to index their direct objects, and they employ them in the same way, with some minor exceptions. The plural and the dual suffixes are used to index plural and dual objects, respectively, provided there is no lexical object:

- | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|---------|-----------------------|
| (10-50) | <i>ngata suli-da</i> | (10-51) | <i>lae bii-daroqa</i> |
| | speak PROL-3PL.OBJ | | go COM-3DU.OBJ |
| | ‘speak about them’ | | ‘go with them (two)’ |

The singular object suffix *-a* is used to index singular objects when there is no lexical object phrase, and to index lexical objects regardless of their grammatical number when the object occurs in its canonical position to the right of the preposition:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| (10-52) | <i>nanga qani-a</i> |
| | throw GENP-3SG.OBJ |
| | ‘throw it away’ |
| | |
| (10-53) | <i>thamo uri-a subi</i> |
| | reach.out ALL-3.OBJ k.o.war.club |
| | ‘reach out for a <i>subi</i> club’ |
| | |
| (10-54) | <i>fali faafi-a roo subi baa ki</i> |
| | take.step CONF-3.OBJ two k.o.war.club that PL |
| | ‘take steps with [i.e. holding] the <i>subi</i> clubs’ |

Objects other than third person can be encoded only by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun, which is not indexed on the preposition:

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|
| (10-55) | <i>bili-a fanga fasi kamiliqa</i> |
| | steal-3.OBJ food ABL 1PL(EXCL) |
| | ‘steal food from us’ |

With objects that are third person and are not expressed by a lexical noun phrase, either an object suffix or an independent pronoun in the object position can be used, but not both at the same time:

- (10-56) a. *lae bii-daroqa*
 go COM-3DU.OBJ
 ‘go with them (two)’
- b. *lae bii keeroqa*
 go COM 3DU
 ‘go with them (two)’

Objects that are backgrounded, for example because they are non-referential or because their referents are not salient, are not indexed. (This corresponds to one type of object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds; see section 12.4.2.)

- (10-57) ... *qe aqi kwasi lae bo=mai*
 3SG.NFUT NEG 1SG.NEG go ASRT=VENT

suli tala,

PROL path

‘... I didn’t come here [walking] on a path, (I walked through the bush).’

Objects that are headed by place names and by locative nouns are not indexed on the allative preposition *uri*, subject to some conditions, and the names of places, as names, are sometimes not indexed on the general preposition *qani*; see section 6.2 for detail. The allative and the ablative prepositions can take as their complements an adverb phrase that consists of *fei* ‘where?’. The adverb phrase is not indexed on the preposition:

- (10-58) *Qo lae uri fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL where?
 ‘Where are you going?’

See also (4-285) in section 4.1. For an example with ablative *fasi* see (10-88) in section 10.3.3.

The reduced forms of the prepositions are discussed next. (There are no corresponding reduced forms of Class 1 transitive verbs.) The reduced forms are listed in Table 10.1. For comparison the full forms with the object suffix *-a* are listed as well.

Table 10.1. Full and reduced forms of the verb-like prepositions

	full form	reduced form
allative, purpose, reason	<i>uri-a</i>	<i>ura</i>
ablative	<i>fasi-a</i>	<i>fasa</i>
prolative, reason	<i>suli-a</i>	<i>sula</i>
superessive, connective, 'concerning'	<i>faafi-a</i>	<i>faafa</i>
comitative	<i>bii-a</i>	<i>bia</i>
general, instrumental	<i>qani-a</i>	<i>qana</i>

In the reduced forms the final *i* of the root of the full form is omitted and the suffix *-a* becomes part of the preposition. As discussed in Lichtenberk (1991b), the reduced forms are monomorphemic, even though they contain the erstwhile suffix *-a*. The *a* is not a morpheme in the reduced forms. First, it does not contrast with the dual and the plural suffixes, and it does not contrast with its own absence the way it does in the full forms when the object is a personal pronoun or when a lexical object is backgrounded. And second, unlike the full forms, the reduced forms cannot be used without a complement phrase. The conditions under which the reduced forms are used are discussed further below.

Being monomorphemic, the reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions are like the bare prepositions: they too do not index their complements in any way. And like the bare prepositions, they must have a complement *in situ*. However, unlike the bare prepositions, they have full counterparts, which do index their complements (under the appropriate conditions).

The reduced forms can only be used with lexical, non-backgrounded complements in their canonical position, which is also the environment under which the full forms are used with the suffix *-a*. They cannot be used with pronominal objects or with backgrounded objects, where *-a* does not occur.

Examples of the reduced forms are given in (10-59) – (10-64):

(10-59) *thamo ura teqe gafa*
 reach.out ALL one three.tip.arrow
 'reach for a three-tip arrow'

(10-60) *thaka fasa luma*
 run.away ABL house
 'run away from the house'

- (10-61) *lio sula wela*
look PROL child
'look after a child'
- (10-62) *thau-ngi-a faafa bili-a*
kill-TR-3SG.OBJ CONF steal-DVN
'kill him/her because of a theft'
- (10-63) *lae bia kaluwani nia*
go COM son 3SG
'go with his son'
- (10-64) *nanga qana fau*
throw GENP stone
'throw away the stone'

The reduced forms can only be used with their complements in their canonical position. They cannot be used when the complement has been displaced; that is, they cannot be stranded. (See section 10.6 on preposition stranding.) In (10-65) the complement occurs immediately after the preposition and both the full form and the reduced form are possible:

- (10-65) *Toqa naqi keki kani-a teqe taafulu botho*
people this 3PL.FUT tie-3.OBJ one ten pig
- {uri-a / ura} faa-fanga-a naqi.*
PURP-3.OBJ / PURP RDP-eat-DVN this
'These people will tie up 10 pigs for this feast.'

On the other hand, in (10-66) the object of the preposition has been fronted for topicalization, the preposition has been stranded behind, and only the full form is grammatical:

- (10-66) *Faa-fanga-a naqi, toqa naqi keki kani-a*
RDP-eat-DVN this people this 3PL.FUT tie-3.OBJ
- teqe taafulu botho {uri-a / *ura}.*
one ten pig PURP-3.OBJ / PURP
'This feast, these people will tie up 10 pigs for (it).'

The reduced forms are innovative (Lichtenberk 1991b). Although the innovative, reduced variants exist for all six verb-like prepositions, there are differ-

ences among them with respect to their distribution and frequency of use. Those prepositions that can take complements headed by place names do not occur in the reduced form there. The reduced forms of the allative and the ablativ prepositions cannot be used when the complement is an adverb phrase with *fei* ‘where?’ (section 4.11).

The comitative preposition must occur in the reduced form *bia* in the relevant environment (with a lexical object *in situ*); the non-reduced form *bii-a* is ungrammatical there (although it occurs in other environments).

The general/instrument preposition must occur in the reduced form *qana* in the relevant environment, except for two types of case. First, the form *qani* is used, optionally, when the complement is headed by a place name and the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *qalangi* ‘call st., sb. by a certain name’, ‘bestow a certain name on st., sb.’. The complement is not indexed on the *qani* form of the preposition. See section 6.2, examples (6-53) and (6-54). And second, when, rarely, a prepositional phrase headed by the general preposition is itself a complement of the prolativ preposition, it is the form *qani-a*, with the object suffix, that is used. In that case, the prolativ preposition normally occurs in its reduced form *sula*. Compare (10-67), where only the reduced form is grammatical, and (10-68), with *qani-a*. In fact, *qani-a* is optional in (10-68); the prolativ preposition (in its reduced or full form) is sufficient by itself.

- (10-67) *Nau ku dora {qana/ *qani-a} kini*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP / GENP-3.OBJ woman

naqi.

this

‘I don’t know this woman.’

- (10-68) *Kwai uqunu {sula qani-a / sula /*
 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL GENP-3.OBJ / PROL /

suli-a} roo wela}.

PROL-3.OBJ two child

‘I will tell a story about two children.’

The form *qani* is also used when the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *tatha* ‘pass, pass by’, where *tatha qani-a X* has the meaning ‘especially X’, ‘X in particular’; see (10-143) in section 10.3.7.

For the remaining four prepositions, a study of texts (Lichtenberk 1991b) showed the relative frequencies of use of the reduced and the full variants in the

contexts where both can occur (before lexical complements). The frequencies are given in table 10.2.

Table 10.2. Relative frequencies of use of the reduced and the full forms of four of the verb-like prepositions in a corpus of texts, in environments where both variants are grammatical (after Lichtenberk 1991b)

	reduced form		full form	
	allative, purpose, reason	<i>ura</i>	35%	<i>uri-a</i>
prolative, reason	<i>sula</i>	20%	<i>suli-a</i>	80%
ablative	<i>fasa</i>	3%	<i>fasi-a</i>	97%
superessive, connective, 'concerning'	<i>faafa</i>	0%	<i>faafi-a</i>	100%

There was no occurrence in the corpus of the reduced variant of the superessive/connective/'concerning' preposition *faafa*, but the form is grammatical.

The verb-like prepositions will now be discussed individually. Typically, the prepositions can express a variety of meanings, and general labels, such as "ablative" and "superessive", do not always do justice to them.

10.3.2. *Uri* allative, purpose, reason

The preposition *uri* has three functions. One is allative, expressing directionality to, towards. Often, but not always, it is directionality of movement that is being expressed:

(10-69) *Wela e fita mai uri nau.*
 child 3SG.NFUT run VENT ALL 1SG
 'The child ran to, towards me.'

(10-70) *Qe lae ura kula baa*
 3SG.NFUT go ALL place that
 'He went to that place'

The complement may be an adverb phrase with *fei* 'where?':

(10-71) *Qo lae uri fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go ALL where?
 'Where are you going?'

In the next two examples the directionality does not involve movement:

- (10-72) *Nia ka baqe mai uri-a tha*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ speak VENT ALL-3.OBJ PERSMKR

Maeori, ka quna qeri, "..."
 Maeori 3SG.SEQ manner this
 'She spoke to Maeori, she said, "...'.

In (10-73) the goal prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase. The complement of the preposition is non-referential and so is not indexed on the preposition.

- (10-73) *ngata-laa uri gwauliqi ai ma*
 speak-NMLZ ALL married.person woman and

gwauliqi wane
 married.person man
 '[the manner of] speaking to married women and married men'

Another function of *uri* is to express the purpose, goal of an event. Sometimes the event involves movement:

- (10-74) *Nau kwai lae uri-a ta sokara*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go PURP-3.OBJ some forked.stick
 'I'll go for a forked stick' 'I'll go to get a forked stick'

- (10-75) *Qe raga-a ura foa-na keekene*
 3SG.NFUT climb-3SG.OBJ PURP fruit-3.PERS breadfruit

qeri.
 that
 'He climbed it [a breadfruit tree] for fruit of the breadfruit tree.'

In other cases, there is no movement:

- (10-76) *Kera gani kamiliqa ura alo.*
 3PL ask.sb.(for.st.) 1PL(EXCL) PURP taro
 'They asked us for taro.'

In (10-77) the prepositional phrase of purpose functions as a noun modifier:

- (10-77) *kote uri-a ifu-na imole*
 scissors PURP-3.OBJ hair-3.PERS person
 ‘scissors for (cutting) people’s hair’

Complements of *uri* with a nominalization as their head express states of affairs that are the purpose of another state of affairs:

- (10-78) *Kera lae ura sula-niu-laa.*
 3PL.NFUT go PURP husk-coconut-NMLZ
 ‘They went to husk coconuts.’

The complement of *uri* may simultaneously encode purpose and a beneficiary:

- (10-79) *Nau ku foqa qasia naqa uri qoe ...*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT pray INTS INTS PURP 2SG
 ‘I pray a lot for you ...’

When the complement of *uri* is a noun phrase with the interrogative noun *taa* ‘what?’, several different meanings can be expressed. Often *taa* is fronted, and the preposition is stranded behind (section 10.6). In such cases *taa* sometimes serves to inquire about an entity:

- (10-80) *Taa n=o lae mai uri-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you come for?’ ‘What did you come to get?’

More commonly, however, *uri* with *taa* inquires about the purpose of a state of affairs, rather than about an entity:

- (10-81) *Taa n=o fele-si nau uri-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT press-TR 1SG PURP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you “press” me for?’ ‘Why did you “press” me?’

(*Fele-si* designates the action of one person gently and discretely pressing part of another person’s body to attract their attention, for example, for a private conversation.)

- (10-82) *Taa n=o kefu-a uri-a?*
 what FOC=2SG.NFUT uncover-3SG.OBJ PURP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you uncover it [a saucepan] for? ‘Why did you uncover it?’

Uri with *taa* as its complement may also express reason, rather than purpose. In that case it is normally the whole prepositional phrase that is fronted. This is the only situation where a verb-like preposition is not stranded behind. This suggests that when *uri-a taa* expresses reason, rather than purpose, it is an indivisible syntactic unit.

- (10-83) *Uri-a taa na wane baa qe aqi*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? FOC man that 3SG.NFUT NEGV

si fula qi roqo? Mada e
 3SG.NEG arrive LOC yesterday or 3SG.NFUT

mataqi?
 be.sick
 ‘Why didn’t the man come yesterday? Was he perhaps sick?’

Similarly in the next example: the speaker is inquiring about the reason why the addressee, having gone to the garden, had come back without any food. (Because of the relatively long distances of gardens from people’s houses, when a person goes to a garden, for whatever purpose, they tend to bring some food back with them.)

- (10-84) *Uri-a taa qo laa-lae i laa*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? 2SG.NFUT RDP-go LOC IN

oqola qoko qolo-si qoe bo=ma-muqa?
 garden 2SG.SEQ straighten-TR 2SG INTS=VENT-2SG.PERS
 ‘Why did you go to the garden and come back empty-handed?’
 (That is, why didn’t you bring any food back?)

(The expression ‘straighten oneself’ has the idiomatic meaning ‘go somewhere empty-handed’.)

With *taa* as its complement, it is usually the full form of the preposition that is used, but the reduced form is possible too:

- (10-85) *Ura taa na qosi qani-a ta si doo?*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ some PRTT thing
 ‘Why didn’t you eat anything?’

The use of *uri* with *taa* is also considered in section 19.3.4 in the chapter on interrogatives.

Uri can also take reason and purpose clauses as its complements (sections 33.2 and 33.3, respectively).

10.3.3. *Fasi* ablative

The ablative preposition expresses two main notions. One is that of locative source, origin, usually, although not necessarily, the source of movement:

- (10-86) *Nau ku lae kau fasi-a Solomon Aylen*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go AND ABL-3.OBJ Solomon Island
 ‘I went from the Solomon Islands ...’

- (10-87) *Ngali-a naifa qena fasi nia!*
 take-3.OBJ knife that(2) ABL 3SG
 ‘Take the knife away from him!’

The ablative preposition may take as its complement an adverb phrase that contains *fei* ‘where?’. In (10-88) the ablative phrase functions as a noun modifier in a lexicalized phrase (section 12.8).

- (10-88) *Wane fasi fei?*
 man ABL where
 ‘A man from where?’

Metaphorical sources can also be encoded by means of ablative prepositional phrases:

- (10-89) *Nau ku gege-a bili-a fasi nau.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT push-3.OBJ steal-DVN ABL 1SG
 ‘I denied stealing.’ ‘I rejected the accusation of stealing.’ (Lit.: ‘I pushed the theft away from me.’)

In its other function, the ablative preposition signals separation, distancing, rather than a locative source: one entity is separated, distant from the entity encoded as the complement of the ablative preposition. In the situation ex-

pressed (10-90) the children are not a source location; on the contrary, the intention is to keep the candies away from them. The use of the demonstrative of absence *baa* (section 13.3.2.4) with *wela* ‘child(ren)’ signifies that the children were not present at the time:

- (10-90) *Agwa-fani-a lole naqi ki fasi-a wela baa ki.*
 hide-TR-3.OBJ candy this PL ABL-3.OBJ child that PL
 ‘Hide the candies from the children.’

In the situation expressed in (10-91), the movement is not away from the village but rather past the village, some distance away from it:

- (10-91) *Kulu gali fasi-a toaa naqi.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT skirt.place ABL-3.OBJ village this
 ‘Let’s walk by the village (rather than through it).’ ‘Let’s skirt the village.’

Metaphorical separation or distancing also can be expressed by means of *fasi*:

- (10-92) *Beta nia fasa mataqi-a, feda-laa,*
 protect 3SG ABL be.sick-DVN be.tired-NMLZ

taqaa-laa.

be.bad-NMLZ

‘Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].’

The verb *beta* ‘protect’ normally has a positive connotation. With verbs that do not inherently have positive connotations, the ablative construction with the meaning of distance, separation often carries an adversative meaning. The referent of the complement of the preposition is a maleficiary.

- (10-93) *Oli-li naqa ada fanua ka rodo fasi qoe.*
 return-RDP PRF TIM place 3SG.SEQ be.dark ABL 2SG
 ‘Go back right now so that it doesn’t get dark on you.’ (That is, go back now before it [lit.: the place] gets dark.)

- (10-94) *Era neqe qe mae naqa fasi nau.*
 fire this 3SG.NFUT die PRF ABL 1SG
 ‘The fire has died on me.’

(10-95) *Ma nia qe ade fasi-a maka nia*
 and 3SG 3SG.NFUT act ABL-3.OBJ father 3SG

bia thaina-na

and mother-3SG.PERS

‘And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother’

Ade ‘act, behave’ together with the ablative preposition expresses the meaning ‘disobey’ (‘act away from’), while with the prolative preposition *suli* it expresses the meaning ‘obey’ (‘act along’); see (10-110) in section 10.3.4.

Conceptual distance also may be expressed by means of a *fasi* phrase. In (10-96) the ablative phrase serves to express a difference in appearance:

(10-96) ... *kwai thau-ngani=ta doo na*
 1SG.FUT make-TR:3.OBJ=some thing REL

riki-la-na kai qeeqeta fasi-a
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.FUT be.different ABL-3.OBJ

subi na tha Fiuomea e
 k.o.war.club REL PERSMKR Fiuomea 3SG.NFUT

thau-ngani-a.

make-TR-3SG.OBJ

‘... I will make something that will look different (lit.: whose looking-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuomea made.’

Fasi has an archaic and hardly ever used variant *faqisi*. *Faqisi* does not have a reduced variant **faqisa*, which suggests that the emergence of the reduced form *fasa* is a relatively recent development; and, indeed, *fasa* is not common at all: see table 10.2 in section 10.3.1. The only naturally occurring example of *faqisi* in the corpus comes from a (Christian) prayer:

(10-97) *Qoko faqa-rodo-a maa=tha*
 2SG.SEQ CAUS-(eye)not.see.well-3.OBJ eye:3.PERS=PERSMKR

Saetana ka roo-rodo-qa, ka
 Satan 3SG.SEQ RDP-(eye)not.see.well-PROP 3SG.SEQ

dangathabuluqa, ka isifuraqa, Lood, faqisi
 (eye)be.bedazzled 3SG.SEQ be.rotten Lord ABL

kamiliqa.

1PL(EXCL)

‘Make Satan’s eyes not see well (so that) they will become blinded and dazzled and rotten, Lord, from us [that is, so that he cannot see us].’

Fasi, but not *faqisi*, can also take purpose clauses as its complements (section 33.3).

10.3.4. *Suli* prolative, reason

The prolative preposition is used with several meanings. Its basic, locative meaning is ‘along’, whether in a dynamic sense, involving motion of one physical entity along another one, or not:

(10-98) *Kamiliqa mili abuli-si-a fau*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT roll-TR-3.OBJ stone

suli-a tala fuu.

PROL-3.OBJ path downward

‘We rolled the rock along the path down there.’

(10-99) *Ku liiliu qa-kuqa sula qamali.*
 1SG.NFUT stroll SBEN-1SG.PERS PROL sea
 ‘I strolled by, along the sea.’

(10-100) *Iu, manga na ku mae sui naqa,*
 OK time REL 1SG.NFUT die COMPL PRF

kamaroqa moka qolo-toqo suli nau
 2DU 2DU.SEQ arrange-TEST PROL 1SG

[A dying man speaking.] ‘OK, when I have died, you will measure me (lit.: measure along me) [so that addressees could dig a grave of the right size]’

(10-101) *Nia ka lio suli nia*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ look PROL 3SG

‘She looked at herself, up and down [scanning herself with her eyes],’

Prolative phrases are used with *verba dicendi*, with verbs of mental processes or states, and with some verbs of sensory perception to encode the subject matter or the percept, as if speaking, thinking, and perception involved movement along the subject matter or the percept:

- (10-102) ... *kera keki baqe suli-a faa-fanga-a*
 3PL 3PL.FUT speak PROL-3.OBJ RDP-eat-DVN

qeri

that

‘... they will speak about the feast’

- (10-103) *Nau ku manta suli-a wela nau.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think PROL-3.OBJ child 1SG
 ‘I think about my child.’

- (10-104) ... *mika rongo suli-a toqa i*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ people LOC

Tokio

Tokyo

‘... we heard about the people in Tokyo’

- (10-105) *Nau ku moqosubole suli qoe.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT dream PROL 2SG
 ‘I dreamt about you.’

In (10-106) there are two instances of the prolative preposition. First, a prolative prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase. The second instance involves stranded *suli* whose complement has been topicalized. The topicalized noun phrase *si doo baa* ‘that thing’ refers to an earlier discussion.

- (10-106) *Iu, si doo baa suli-a course in*
 OK, PRTT thing that PROL-3.OBJ course in

physiotherapy, qosi worry qasia naqa suli-a.

physiotherapy 2SG.NEG worry INTS INTS PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘OK, that thing about a course in physiotherapy, don’t worry too much about it.’

Similarly, a text, a conversation, or a mental process moves, metaphorically, along its contents:

(10-107) *Si uqunu qeri qe lae suli-a teqe*
 PRTT story this 3SG.NFUT go PROL-3.OBJ one

wane bia kwai-na bia qa-daroqa
 man and spouse-3SG.PERS and POSS-3DU.PERS

teqe wela, wela wane.
 one child child man

‘This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of theirs, a boy.’

A metaphorical notion of movement along can also serve to express the notion of an entity affecting other entities one after another:

(10-108) *Teqe qaburu qe fanga suli kera*
 one ogre 3SG.NFUT eat PROL 3PL
 ‘An ogre ate them [people] one after another’

With temporal complements that signify units of time, the prolative preposition serves to express the extent of time, in terms of the time units, for which a state of affairs holds:

(10-109) ... *[keka] dele suli-a ono madami.*
 3PL.SEQ be.jailed PROL-3.OBJ six month
 ‘... they were jailed for six months.’

The verb *ade* ‘act, behave’ with the prolative preposition has the meaning ‘obey’, lit. ‘act along’:

(10-110) *Ade naqa suli nau!*
 act PRF PROL 1SG
 ‘Obey me, now!’

Here the prolative preposition contrasts with the ablative one: *ade fasi* ‘dis-obey’; see (10-95) in section 10.3.3.

The preposition *suli* can also express a reason/cause, but it is only relatively rarely that it has this function.

- (10-111) *Adelana toqa naqi keka firu, suli-a*
 CONS people this 3PL.SEQ fight PROL-3.OBJ

kwala-laa ba=i naqo quu mai.
 swear-NMLZ that=LOC earlier.time ANTCONT VENT
 ‘And so/That’s why these people fought, because of the swearing
 [that is, insults] (that happened) a long time ago.’

In some cases, a *suli* phrase can be seen as having simultaneously a (metaphorical) prolative function and a reason/cause function:

- (10-112) *Mili mamathaqa suli qoe.*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT be.worried PROL 2SG
 ‘We are worried, concerned about you.’

As mentioned in section 10.3.1, the *sula* form of the prolative preposition can cooccur with the *qania* form of the general preposition, but this is rare; see example (10-68) there.

Suli can also take clauses of reason as its complements (section 33.2).

10.3.5. *Faafi* superessive, confective, ‘concerning’

The preposition *faafi* has a fairly wide range of uses. Most of these fall into three broad categories. The broadest of these is a locative one, where *faafi* is used with a superessive significance, with or without contact: ‘on (top of)’, ‘on the surface of’, ‘over’, ‘above’. In the superessive contact meaning *faafi* usually implies the presence of weight, pressure, force exerted by the upper entity on the lower one, or some other kind of effect. As will be seen in section 10.8.5, superessive contact meaning without the implication of weight, pressure, or force, is expressed by the locational noun *fafo* ‘on (top of)’. There are also various metaphorical extensions from these basic locative uses. The next two examples illustrate superessive contact situations where force, pressure is involved:

- (10-113) *Fela faafi-a tiba fasi ka ngado.*
 press SUPER-3.OBJ timber PURP 3SG.SEQ be.firm
 ‘Press down (on) the timber so that it does not move.’
- (10-114) *Qosi uru faafi-a kaleko nau!*
 2SG.NEG step SUPER-3.OBJ clothes 1SG
 ‘Don’t step on my clothes!’

In the situation expressed in the next example, the weight is only minimal, but the leaf is to rest on the mouth of a saucepan to serve as a lid:

- (10-115) *Alu-a re-qe doo faafi-a maa-na*
 put-3.OBJ leaf-ASSOC thing SUPER-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS

kuki qena.
 saucepan that(2)

‘Put a leaf over the (mouth of the) saucepan (as a lid).’

In (10-116) and (10-117) *faafi* is used with a superessive non-contact function:

- (10-116) *Teqe noqo-abu e lofo ka tatha*
 one bird-be.taboo 3SG.NFUT fly 3SG.SEQ pass

faafi-a gwa tolo.
 SUPER-3.OBJ CLF mountain

‘There is an eagle flying above the mountain.’

- (10-117) ... *keru alu=i makwa-thasu, faafi-a*
 3PL.NFUT put:3SG.OBJ=LOC smell-smoke SUPER-3.OBJ

era,
 fire

‘... they put them [canarium nuts] up (on a shelf), above the fire, [so that they may be smoke-dried].’

(*Makwa-thasu* designates space, area around and above a fire where the heat of the fire extends.)

The term “superessive” as used here does not necessarily mean ‘vertically on (top of)’ or ‘above’. In some cases a more accurate characterization would be something like ‘in contact with the surface of’ or ‘some distance from the surface of’, the entity in question being more or less fully enveloped. Only a part of the enveloping is truly above, over the object.

- (10-118) *koko faafi-a teeteru*
 hold SUPER-3.OBJ fan
 ‘hold a fan by its handle, with one’s hand around the handle’

- (10-119) *Alu-a taunamo qena faafi-a wela qena.*
 put-3.OBJ mosquito.net that(2) SUPER-3.OBJ child that(2)
 ‘Put the mosquito net over the child.’ (The mosquito net will not be
 in contact with the child.)

Faafi is also used metaphorically with the sense of a state of affairs affect-
 ing, “descending on”, “weighing on” someone:

- (10-120) *Seqe-thaathala-laa baqita e fula*
 body-be.light.in.weight-NMLZ be.big 3.NFUT arrive

faafi kamiliqa.
 SUPER 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘Great happiness (lit.: big body-being-light) came to, upon us.’

- (10-121) *Mataqi-a e bibithata faafi-a wane.*
 be.ill-DVN 3SG.NFUT affect SUPER-3.OBJ man
 ‘The illness has seriously affected the man.’ ‘The man has been
 seriously ill.’

The second main function of *faafi* is confective. Confective participants
 correspond to what Andrews (1985: 70) calls “Circumstantial Comitatives”:
 “something that accompanies a participant, but does not itself participate”.³⁰
 Typically, a confective participant, encoded as a complement of *faafi*, is held
 and carried by a moving agent:

- (10-122) *Afa e lofo faafi-a kuukua.*
 eagle 3SG.NFUT fly CONF-3.OBJ chicken
 ‘The eagle flew (off) with the chicken (after snatching it).’ (That is,
 the eagle carried the chicken; the chicken itself was not flying.)

- (10-123) *Oli faafi-a naifa kera.*
 return CONF-3.OBJ knife 3PL
 ‘Take their knife back.’ (Lit.: ‘Return/Go back with their knife.’)

- (10-124) *Keka waqe mai faafi-a tale-qe doo*
 3PL.SEQ dance VENT CONF-3.OBJ row-ASSOC thing

na kera thau-ngaqi-da ki.
 REL 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3PL.OBJ PL
 ‘They came dancing with (i.e. holding) all the things [carved danc-
 ing sticks] they had made.’

In the next pair of examples, *faafi* has a confective and a superessive meaning, respectively, with the same verb, *toli* ‘descend’:

(10-125) *Maka qae, nau ku fula neri,*
 father VOC 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive NPAST.HERE

ku toli faafi-a ifi
 1SG.NFUT descend CONF-3.OBJ bunch

nono-m-a naqi, ifi
 rub.with.healing.leaves-TR-DVN this bunch

sulu-a neqe.
 heal-DVN this

‘Father, I have arrived, I have come down with this bunch of *nonoma* healing leaves, this bunch of *sulu* healing leaves.’

(10-126) *Holi Spirit e toli faafi-a teqe*
 Holy Spirit 3SG.NFUT descend SUPER-3.OBJ one

talange-qe wane ma roo akwala qi laa
 hundred-ASSOC person and two tensome LOC IN

qabarum.
 upper.room

‘The Holy Spirit descended upon the 120 people in the upper room.’

Although a confective participant is usually literally held, carried by the agent, this is not necessarily the case:

(10-127) *Keka oli mai faafi-a sikwa noniqi*
 3PL.SEQ return VENT CONF-3.OBJ nine CLF

wane baa kera tatha k=i naqo, keka oli
 man that 3PL.NFUT pass PL=LOC front 3PL.SEQ return

faafi-da uri fanu kera ki.
 CONF-3PL.OBJ ALL place 3PL PL

‘They came back with the nine men who were the leaders [of the Marching Rule movement] (lit.: with the men who passed in front); they went back with them to their places.’

The leaders of the Marching Rule movement, who had been held prisoner, were transported by government people on a ship.

And with some verbs, the referent of a confective complement is not necessarily something that is held and carried. One such verb is *raqu* ‘hold, grab’: *raqu faafi-a* X has the meaning ‘have, possess X’.

(10-128) *Qe=aqi* *misi* *raqu* *quu* *boqo*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG possess ANTCONT ASRT

faafi-a *ta* *teqe* *kasi* *qamplifae* *mena,*
CONF-3.OBJ some one small amplifier FADD

mada *ta* *si* *spika* *mena,* *mada* *ta*
or some DIM speaker FADD or some

maekrofon *mena,* *ma* *gita* *ni* *mena*
microphone FADD and guitar LIG FADD

ka *aqi.*

3SG.SEQ not.be.available

‘We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.’

Metaphorically, *faafi* phrases are used as confective complements of the verb *lae* ‘go’ to express the notion of carrying out, or being involved in, an activity, undertaking:

(10-129) *Si* *manga* *na* *mili* *lae* *faafi-a*
PRTT time REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT go CONF-3.OBJ

raa *qeri*

work that

‘When we were involved in that work’ ‘When we were doing that work’

(10-130) *toq=qe=ki* *na* *kera* *lae* *faafi-a*
people=that=PL REL 3PL.NFUT go CONF-3.OBJ

Masin *Ruul*

Marching Rule

‘the people who were involved in, went ahead with, Marching Rule’

In its third function, *faafi* has the meaning ‘concerning, with regard to, on account of’. The gloss ‘concerning’ is uniformly used in such cases. Such prepositional phrases function as complements of a relatively small number of verbs.

(10-131) *Uri-a taa qoko lole faafi nau?*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? 2SG.SEQ tell.lie concerning 1SG
 ‘Why did you tell lies about me?’

(10-132) *Nau ku thathami-a wela nau ki keki*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ child 1SG PL 3PL.FUT

qadomi nau faafa raa nau ki.
 help 1SG concerning work 1SG PL
 ‘I want my children to help me with my work (lit.: works).’

Sometimes, complements of *faafi* in this function express reason, as in the next two examples:

(10-133) *Kere firu faafi-a karango i Da’i.*
 3PL.NFUT fight concerning-3.OBJ shellfish LOC Da’i
 ‘They fought over, on account of, shellfish at Da’i (Island).’ (Both sides claiming the shellfish for themselves.)

In (10-134) the *faafi* phrase functions as a complement of a noun:

(10-134) *oli-suusuqu-a faafi-a thaqegano*
 return-insist-DVN concerning-3.OBJ land
 ‘land dispute; argument over land’

(The deverbal noun *oli-suusuqu-a* has the meaning ‘dispute, argument, especially a lengthy, extended one.’)

10.3.6. *Bii* comitative

The preposition *bii* has an exclusively comitative function. As discussed in section 10.3.1 above, *bii* has a reduced variant *bia*, which must be used with non-backgrounded lexical complements in the canonical position; *bii-a* is ungrammatical there. Below are given a few examples of comitative *bii* and *bia*.

(10-135) A: *Nau ku riki-a doqora-mu.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS

B: *Qo ngata bii nia?*
 2SG.NFUT speak COM 3SG

A: 'I saw your brother.'

B: 'Did you speak with him?'

(10-136) *Tai wane ki laqu boqo keka qegwe laqu*
 some.PL man PL ADD ASRT 3PL.SEQ shell.nuts ADD

boqo bia kini qe=ki.
 ASRT COM woman that=PL

'Some other men will also shell the [cracked] canarium nuts, together with the women.'

(10-137) *Lae bii-a.*
 go COM-3SG.OBJ
 'Go with her.'

A somewhat metaphorical use of a comitative phrase is seen in the next example: the custom under discussion died out with the people of the older generations dying:

(10-138) *Qe sui na=mai bia uni-qi*
 3SG.NFUT finish/die PRF=VENT COM generation-ASSOC

wane na kera tatha sui naqa.
 person REL 3PL.NFUT pass.by COMPL PRF

'It [a custom] finished, died together with the old generations.' (Lit.: 'It finished/died together with the people that have passed by.')

(The verb *sui* has the senses 'end, finish; be finished' and 'die'.)

Comitative phrases may express accompaniment of participants other than those encoded in the subject position, as in the next two examples:

(10-139) *Wane qi fei ba=ku riki-a bii qoe*
 man LOC where? that=1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ COM 2SG

qi roqo?

LOC yesterday

‘Where is the man I saw with you yesterday from?’ (Lit.: ‘That man from where I saw him with you yesterday?’)

Comitative participants are usually human, but they can even be inanimate:

(10-140) *Fanga quna qe=ki bana na ni*
 food manner that=PL LIM FOC PROFORE

kamiliqa miki qani-a bia alo.
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ COM taro

‘It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with taro.’
 (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

See also the next example.

Comitative phrases can function as modifiers within noun phrases:

(10-141) *gwagwari-a bia doo fii*
 be.cold-DVN COM thing be.painful
 ‘feeling of being cold accompanied by pain’ (lit.: ‘cold with a painful thing’) (describing the symptoms of pneumonia)

The forms *bii* and *bia* also function as a conjunctive coordinator ‘and’ (sections 11.2.1 and 28.2.3).

10.3.7. *Qani* general preposition, instrumental

The preposition *qani* is used with a large variety of functions, and it is for this reason that it is referred to as a “general” preposition. One of its functions is to mark instruments, but since in this function it has some properties that are significantly different from those in the other functions, the instrument-marking function is separated off from the others and the preposition is given the gloss ‘INS(trumental)’.

The reduced variant *qana*, is, with some minor exceptions, obligatory with non-backgrounded lexical complements in the canonical position. One exception to this rule is when an *qani* phrase is itself a complement in a stacked prepositional phrase under the prolicative preposition, normally in its form *sula*: *sula [qani-a [lexical NP]]*. In such cases the general preposition is optional; the prolicative meaning is carried by the prolicative preposition.

- (10-142) *Kwai uqunu {sula qani-a / sula /*
 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL GENP-3.OBJ / PROL /
suli-a} roo wela}.
 PROL-3.OBJ two child
 ‘I will tell a story about two children.’

For a possible history of this construction see section 33.2.1

And the full form *qani-a* is also used when the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *tatha* ‘pass, pass by’, when the construction *tatha qani-a X* has the idiomatic meaning ‘especially X, X in particular’:

- (10-143) ... *kerā thau-ngani-a qana imole, tatha*
 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person pass.by
qani-a wela kini.
 GENP-3.OBJ child woman
 ‘... they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.’

(Prepositional phrases headed by the general preposition are also used with the verb *tatha* to express comparison of inequality [chapter 25]. There the preposition occurs in the reduced form *qana* under the relevant condition.)

Complements of the general preposition can signify location in space or in time:

- (10-144) *Keka too naqa qana ua qeri.*
 3PL.SEQ stay PRF GENP hill that
 ‘They stayed on that hill.’
- (10-145) ... *i laa fa ngali qe=ki n=e qita*
 LOC IN CLF year that=PL REL=3SG.NFUT begin
qana footi faiv, ...
 GENP forty five
 ‘... in the years that began in [19]45 ...’

They can encode locative goals, with or without movement in space:

- (10-146) *Qo lae qana uusi-a?*
 2SG.NFUT go GENP buy-DVN
 ‘Did you go to the market?’

- (10-147) *redu-a foko-na qana wane*
 turn.inside.out-3.OBJ mouth-3SG.PERS GENP person
 ‘make a facial gesture of anger at a person by pursing one’s lower lip and turning it inside out’

They can encode recipients:

- (10-148) *Kini qeri qe fale fanga ba-na*
 woman that 3SG.NFUT give food LIM-3SG.PERS

qan=tai wela.
 GENP=some.PL child
 ‘The woman only gave food to some (of the) children.’

The general preposition can also signal purpose:

- (10-149) *Keka kwaqe nau qana*
 3PL.SEQ beat 1SG GENP

faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa, ...
 CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ
 ‘They [the speaker’s parents] would give me whippings to straighten me,’ (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give him whippings to make him behave.)

Phrases headed by the general preposition function as complements of a large number of, mostly intransitive, verbs: *dora qana X* ‘not know X’; *raqu qana X* ‘hold (onto) X’; *mae qana X* ‘die of X (e.g. illness)’; *raa qana X* ‘work on X, work on making, fixing, etc. X’; *fungu qana X* ‘be full of X’; *nanga qana X* ‘throw away X’; *maqu qana X* ‘be afraid of X’; *liothau qana X* ‘love X’; *qana qana X* ‘own X, be the owner of X’; *qalangi-a X qana “Y”* ‘call X “Y”, ‘bestow the name “Y” on X’, also ‘accuse X of Y’; and many others. For example:

- (10-150) *Qoko raqu qani nau.*
 2SG.SEQ hold GENP 1SG
 ‘Hold (onto) me.’

- (10-151) *Ta maama laqu kera qalangi-a*
 some mortuary.feast ADD 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ

qana “*booa*”.

GENP *booa*

‘Another mortuary feast [in a sequence of mortuary feasts] was called (lit.: they named) “*booa*”.’

Oblique objects of *qalangi* ‘call st., sb. by a certain name’, ‘bestow a certain name on st., sb.’ sometimes take the *qani* form of the preposition, rather than the reduced form *qana*, and are not indexed on it (section 6.2):

(10-152) *kula kera qalangi-a qani* “*Makira*”
 place 3PL.NFUT name-3.OBJ GENP Makira
 ‘place called “*Makira*”’

Qani phrases can also function as modifiers within noun phrases:

(10-153) *bali loo qana qiist*
 side upward GENP east
 ‘the eastern side’ (lit.: ‘the up side in the east’)

(10-154) *manga qana dani*
 time GENP rain
 ‘rainy season’, ‘time of rain’

Finally, the general preposition can also be used with an instrument-marking function:

(10-155) *Nia qe kwaqe nau qana alafolo.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT hit 1SG INS k.o.warclub
 ‘He hit me with an *alafolo* club.’

With instrumental phrases, “instrument inversion” takes places under certain syntactic conditions; see section 10.7 for discussion.

The general/instrument prepositions *qana* has a combining form *qa=*, used when the preposition fuses, optionally, with the following word that is monosyllabic (and so is a grammatical element):

(10-156) *Ma ni qoe qo qufita qa=si*
 and PROFORE 2SG 2SG.NFUT be.how? GENP=PRTT

manga qeri?
 time this
 ‘And you, how are you at this time?’

See (10-160) further below for the form *qana* of the preposition with the same noun phrase *si manga qeri* ‘this time’.

- (10-157) *Nau kwasi lae qa=ta kula,*
 1SG 1SG.NEG go GENP=some place
 ‘I did not go anywhere,’

The preposition may also fuse with the following word and have the form *qan=*, when the following word begins with a dental consonant, in particular /t/:

- (10-158) *Qan=teqe fa bongi roo wela qe=ki kero*
 GENP=day CLF day two child that=PL 3DU.NFUT

lae, ...
 go
 ‘One day the two children went,’

When the following word begins with /n/, the /n/ of the preposition and the following /n/ are realized as one long /n/:

- (10-159) *Nau ku ruana qan=nia. [ʔə̀n:íə]*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.friends GENP=3SG
 ‘I am friends with him.’

One type of complement that the preposition takes is noun phrases headed by the noun *manga* ‘time’. The partitive particle *si* (section 6.6) is normally present as well:

- (10-160) *Meka to=ofu qana si*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ stay=be.together GENP PRTT

manga qeri.
 time this
 ‘We are staying together at this time.’

See also (10-156) further above, where the preposition occurs in its combining form *qa=*.

However, the preposition is frequently omitted when a temporal noun phrase headed by *manga* ‘time’ functions as a clause-level adjunct:

- (10-161) *Kulu foqa si manga qeri.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT pray PRTT time this
 ‘Let’s pray now/(at) this time.’

The omission of the preposition is particularly common when the temporal adjunct phrase has been topicalized:

- (10-162) *Si manga qeri, araqi kwao qoro ki*
 PRTT time this mature.man be.white be.many PL

kera ni=i Solomoni Aflen.
 3PL.NFUT exist=LOC Solomon Islands
 ‘(At) this time there are many white people in the Solomon Islands.’

(The basic meaning of *araq* is ‘mature man’, but in the compound *araq kwao* it can signify persons of both sexes when the reference is to a number of people: ‘white, Caucasian people’.)

The preposition is not used when *manga* ‘time’ (or much less commonly *kada* ‘time’) functions as the head of a temporal relative clause (section 35.2.1):

- (10-163) *Si manga na kera raa qana fanga kera*
 PRTT time REL 3SG.NFUT work GENP food 3PL

qeri, dani ka qaru-ngi-a qasia naqa.
 that rain 3SG.NFUT fall-TR-3SG.OBJ INTS INTS
 ‘When they worked (on preparing) their food (lit.: that food of theirs), it [the food] got rained on a lot (lit.: ‘rain fell on it a lot).’

10.4. The noun-like prepositions

10.4.1. Introduction

The noun-like prepositions index their complements by means of the personal suffixes, which are also used in suffixing possessive noun phrases on the possessum noun to index the possessor. In fact, prepositional phrases headed by the noun-like prepositions have the same basic structure as suffixing possessive constructions: the preposition corresponds to the possessum and its complement to the possessor. Compare (10-164), which is a suffixing possessive construction, and (10-165), which is a prepositional phrase, itself headed by the locative preposition *qi*:

(10-164) *thaina-na wela*
 mother-3.PERS child
 ‘the child’s mother’

(10-165) *qi [fa-na wela]*
 LOC REC-3.PERS child
 ‘to the child’

The rules for the use of the personal suffixes on the noun-like prepositions are the same as those for their use on possessum nouns. The “singular” personal suffix *-na* is used regardless of the grammatical number of the complement noun phrase when there is a lexical complement in the canonical position, to the right of the preposition. Compare (10-165) above with a singular complement and (10-166) with a plural complement:

(10-166) *qi [fa-na wela ki]*
 LOC REC-3.PERS child PL
 ‘to the children’

The dual and the plural suffixes can only be used in the absence of a complement noun phrase in the canonical position:

(10-167) *qi [sa-da]*
 LOC GOAL-3PL.PERS
 ‘to them’

Independent personal pronouns cannot function as complements of the noun-like prepositions. If there is no lexical complement, the participant can only be encoded by means of a personal suffix on the preposition:

(10-168) *qi [a-na (*nia)]*
 LOC REC-3.PERS 3SG
 ‘to him/her’

(10-169) *qi [sa-ku]*
 LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS
 ‘to me’

With some exceptions, prepositional phrases headed by a noun-like preposition occur as complements in stacked prepositional phrases (section 10.5). The higher preposition is the general locative one, *qi*. This is the case in all the examples above. The locative preposition is not used if a benefactive preposi-

tional phrase functions as a noun modifier; see example (10-178) in section 10.4.2. And *qi* is occasionally not used as a higher preposition even if a prepositional phrase functions as a predicate-level or a clause-level constituent, as in (10-170) and (10-171):

(10-170) *Nau ku fale-a kau teqe necklace*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT send-3.OBJ AND one necklace

fa-mu.

REC-2SG.PERS

‘I am sending you a necklace.’

(10-171) *Nia ka lae mai ka fula sa-na*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ arrive GOAL-3.PERS

thaina-na

mother-3SG.PERS

‘He came and arrived at his mother’s place (lit.: to his mother)’

There are three noun-like prepositions, *fa* and *a* recipient, benefactive; and *sa* goal, adjacency. They will now be discussed in detail.

10.4.2. *Fa-* and *a-* recipient, benefactive

The prepositions *fa-* and *a-* are synonymous and interchangeable in most of their uses. Where either preposition is grammatical, some speakers consider *a-* to be the real, “proper” form, but both *fa-* and *a-* are common, with *fa-* used more by younger people. The first pair of examples shows the two prepositions in their recipient-marking function:

(10-172) *Fale-a tai fa qota*
 give-3.OBJ some.PL CLF areca.nut

{*qi a-na* / *qi fa-na*} *wane qena.*

LOC REC-3.PERS / LOC REC-3.PERS man that(2)

‘Give some areca nuts to the man.’

(10-173) *Toqa na kera raa bii kamiliqa,*
 people REL 3PL.NFUT work COM 1PL(EXCL)

mili fale-a fanga qi a-da.
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give-3.OBJ food LOC REC-3PL.PERS
 ‘The people who worked with us, we gave food to them.’

In the recipient-marking function, prepositional phrases with *fa-* or *a-* are interchangeable with the recipient-benefactive construction (see example [5-137] in section 5.2.10.3), except that the recipient-benefactive construction cannot be used if the recipient is expressed by means of a lexical phrase.

In the beneficiary-marking function, prepositional phrases with *fa-* or *a-* are used only if the beneficiary is distinct from the referent of the subject. If the two are identical, the self-benefactive construction is used (section 5.2.10.2).

(10-174) ... *keka foqe-a kini qeri*
 3PL.SEQ pay.bride.price.for-3.OBJ woman that

qi fa-ku.
 LOC BEN-1SG.PERS
 ‘... they paid the bride price for that woman for me.’ ‘... they bought that woman for me [as my wife].’

(10-175) *Lima, lima fa ngali, oo, ono fa ngali nau*
 five five CLF year, oh, six CLF year 1SG

ku raa ma=i a-na.
 1SG.NFUT work VENT=LOC BEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘Five, five years, oh, six years, I worked for him [as a houseboy].’

The effect on a beneficiary participant need not be positive:

(10-176) *Mada sa kwasi kuqu meresina qi*
 or IRR 1SG.NEG drink medicine LOC

roqo, qoo, ka taqaa qasia naqa qi
 yesterday oh 3SG.SEQ be.bad INTS INTS LOC

a-ku.
 BEN-1SG.PERS
 ‘If I hadn’t drunk medicine yesterday, oh, that would have been very bad for me.’

Beneficiaries are typically human or at least animate, but they need not be:

- (10-177) *doo na kai ili-a i fa-na biqu*
 thing REL 3SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ LOC BEN-3.PERS house

qe=ki

that=PL

‘the things that he will do for the houses [that he is going to build]’

A beneficiary prepositional phrase can function as a noun modifier. In such cases the prepositional phrase does not occur in a stacked prepositional phrase under the locative preposition *qi*. In this function, only *fa* is used, not *a*.

- (10-178) *Si fanga fa-na wela kera ki bana.*
 DIM food BEN-3.PERS child 3PL PL LIM
 ‘(It’s) just a little food for their children.’

The benefactive meaning can be extended to include notions that are somewhat possessive like:

- (10-179) *Tai wane ki mena i a-kuluqa*
 some.PL person PL FADD LOC BEN-PL(INCL).PERS

qe aqi kesi riki-a quu doo
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG see-3.OBJ ANTCONT thing

maruki qe=ki.

be.alive that=PL

‘Some people of ours had not seen those (kinds of) living things [animals] either.’ (Lit.: ‘Some people also for us had not seen those live things.’)

10.4.3. *Sa* goal, adjacency

The preposition *sa* has two main functions. In both it typically takes complements with human referents. (For an example with an inanimate referent see [38-67] in section 38.6.) In one function, it marks goal entities. The relevant state of affairs may, but need not, involve translational movement. In the situations expressed in (10-180) and (10-181) there is translational movement:

(10-180) *Lae ma=i sa-ku.*
 go VENT=LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS
 ‘Come to me.’

(10-181) *Ngali-a kaseti qi sa-na maka qoe.*
 carry-3.OBJ cassette LOC GOAL-3.PERS father 2SG
 ‘Take the cassette to your father.’

A number of verbs that do not denote translational movement select goal prepositional phrases. For example:

(10-182) *Nau ku faa-tani-a nuu-qi doo*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT show-TR-3.OBJ picture-ASSOC thing

qi sa-na kini.
 LOC GOAL-3.PERS woman
 ‘I showed the picture to the woman.’

(10-183) *Mada s=o thathami-a, kwai toqo-a*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.FUT teach-3.OBJ

faa-teeteru-laa qi sa-mu.
 weave-fan-NMLZ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
 ‘If you want, I’ll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).’

(10-184) *Nau ku ngata qi sa-na wela nau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak LOC GOAL-3.PERS child 1SG

fasi ka sukulu leqa.
 PURP 3SG.SEQ study be.good
 ‘I had a word with my child to make him study well.’ (Lit.: ‘I spoke to my child so that he may study well.’)

Occasionally, although only relatively rarely, a goal prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the allative verb-like preposition *uri*, rather than the locative preposition:

(10-185) *Laalae qo thathami keekeda mai*
 if 2SG.NFUT DES write VENT

uri-a *sa-ku*, ...
 ALL-3.OBJ GOAL-1SG.PERS
 ‘If you want to write to me, ...’

In its other function, *sa* signals spatial adjacency of an entity, a figure, to another one, the ground. Adjacency is often the result of prior movement to the other participant or to a location, but the verb in the clause with adjacency-marking *sa* does not express that movement. In (10-186) the movement that results in adjacency is expressed in the clause that precedes the one with *sa*:

(10-186) *Lae mai qono qi sa-ku.*
 go VENT sit LOC ADJC-1SG.PERS
 ‘Come here (and) sit next to me.’

In the situation expressed in (10-187) the man’s sons had come to stay with him from a different place:

(10-187) *Kera too-too i sa-na maka keeroqa ...*
 3PL.NFUT stay-RDP LOC ADJC-3.PERS father 3DU
 ‘They stayed with their father [until he became old].’

Adjacency-marking prepositional phrases can function as noun modifiers, in which case the prepositional phrase does not occur as a complement in a stacked prepositional phrase:

(10-188) *malefo baa sa-na tha Danikalia*
 money that ADJC-3.PERS PERSMKR Danikalia
 ‘the money (that is) with Danikalia’

10.5. Stacked prepositional phrases

In a stacked prepositional phrase, a prepositional phrase is itself the complement of another preposition: [P [PP]]_{PP}. Stacked prepositional phrases are not at all rare in Toqabaqita, and some types are, in fact, the norm. Not all of the prepositions can head a stacked prepositional phrase. Most commonly, stacked prepositional phrases are headed by the general locative preposition *qi*, where the complement prepositional phrase is headed by the inessive preposition *laa* or by a noun-like preposition. Conversely, phrases headed by *laa* and by the noun-like prepositions normally occur as complements in stacked prepositional phrases. A number of examples of such stacked prepositional phrases headed by *qi* were given in the preceding sections, and so only a few are given here:

(10-189) *Qe aqi kwasi lae qi laa oqola*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG go LOC IN garden
 ‘I didn’t go to the garden’

(10-190) *Kera naqare alo qi fa-miliqa.*
 3PL.NFUT roast taro LOC BEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘They roasted taros for us.’

(10-191) *Lae i sa-na kookoqo qoe.*
 go LOC GOAL-3.PERS grandparent 2SG
 ‘Go to your grandfather.’

Some of the verb-like prepositions also may head a stacked prepositional phrase, usually, although not always, with locative significance. The ablative preposition *fasi* and the allative preposition *uri* function in this way. The complement prepositional phrase may be headed by the inessive preposition *laa*, by the general locative preposition *qi*, or by a noun-like preposition:

(10-192) *Nau kwa tataqe fasi-a laa biqu naqi*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ get.up ABL-3.OBJ IN house this

qi Fuusai, qoe mena qoki lae laqu boqo
 LOC Fuusai 2SG FADD 2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT

fasi-a laa biqu naqi.

ABL-3.OBJ IN house this

‘I will get up (and depart) from this house at Fuusai, and you, you too will go away from this house.’

(10-193) ... *qoki lae uri-a qi America.*
 2SG.FUT go ALL-3.OBJ LOC America
 ‘... you will go to America.’

(10-194) *Laalae qo thatham i keekeda mai*
 if 2SG.NFUT DES write VENT

uri-a sa-ku,

ALL-3.OBJ GOAL-1SG.PERS

‘If you want to write to me,’

The prolative verbal preposition, normally in the reduced form *sula*, occasionally heads a stacked prepositional phrase that is headed by the general verb-like preposition *qani*:

- (10-195) *Kwai uqunu [sula [qani-a roo wela]].*
 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL GENP-3.OBJ two child
 ‘I will tell a story about two children.’

It is even possible for a prepositional phrase to be doubly stacked: [P [P [PP]]_{PP}]_{PP}. However, such constructions are rare, and they appear restricted to cases where the innermost preposition is inessive *laa*. (Unlike the other types of prepositional phrase, prepositional phrases headed by inessive *laa* can also function as subjects and direct objects; see section 10.2.3.) In (10-196) a prepositional phrase headed by *laa* is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*, and that prepositional phrase is in turn the complement of the allative preposition *uri*:

- (10-196) *Ma ni kulu kuki thaka bo=naqa*
 and PROFORE PL(INCL) PL(INCL).FUT flee ASRT=INTS
- uri=qi laa aququa fu=i laa*
 ALL:3.OBJ=LOC IN island downward=LOC IN
- qamali....*
 sea
 ‘And we will run away to (lit.: towards in) the island down there in the sea’

The use of stacked prepositional phrases is usually semantically motivated. Thus, there is a semantic difference between (10-197) and (10-198), and the difference is due to the higher preposition, general locative *qi* vs. ablative *fasi*:

- (10-197) *qi laa masuqu*
 LOC IN bush
 ‘in the bush’
- (10-198) *fasi-a laa masuqu*
 ABL-3.OBJ IN bush
 ‘out of the bush’

Occasionally, however, the use of two prepositions rather than just one is not semantically significant. For example, (10-199) below contains a stacked

prepositional phrase with allative *uri* as the higher preposition and general locative *qi* as the lower one, even though either preposition can be used by itself to introduce the locative goal with the verb *lae* ‘go’, as shown in (10-200a) and (10-200b), respectively:

(10-199) *Tai si manga ku lae*
 some.PL PRTT time 1SG.NFUT go

*uri qi Qauki.*³¹
 ALL LOC Auki

‘Sometimes I go to Auki [the capital of Malaita Province].’

(10-200) a. *lae uri Qaoke* b. *lae qi Qaoke*
 go ALL Auki go LOC Auki
 ‘go to Auki’ ‘go to Auki’

Similarly, the use of the general preposition *qani* together with the prolative preposition *suli* is redundant; the latter is sufficient by itself. The sentences in (10-201) below, either with the reduced or with the full variant of the prolative preposition, are semantically no different from (10-195) above. In fact, the prolative preposition is much more commonly used by itself, without the general preposition.

(10-201) *Kwai uqunu {sula / suli-a} roo wela.*
 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL / PROL-3.OBJ two child
 ‘I will tell a story about two children.’

See also (10-142) in section 10.3.7 and the associated discussion.

10.6. Preposition stranding

The bare prepositions, which do not index their complements in any way, must occur with an adjacent complement, lexical or pronominal:

(10-202) *Kamareqa meka too i kula qeri*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ stay LOC place that
 ‘We stayed at that place’

- (10-203) *qono mala nia*
 sit EQT 3SG
 ‘sit in a casual way, not concerned about whether sitting in a proper, decent way, when in private, by oneself’ (lit.: ‘sit like himself/herself’)

The reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions must occur with an adjacent lexical complement:

- (10-204) *thamo ura subi*
 reach ALL k.o.warclub
 ‘reach for a *subi* club’

Both the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions can occur without an adjacent object phrase, but the participant is indexed on the prepositions by means of an object suffix or a personal suffix, respectively. First, the noun-like prepositions cannot have a pronominal object phrase:

- (10-205) *Lae ka=i sa-na (*nia).*
 go AND=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS 3SG
 ‘Go to him/her.’

Second, both types of preposition may occur without an object phrase if the identity of the participant is recoverable from context, linguistic or extralinguistic. In (10-206) person B’s brother is first mentioned in A’s speech, and then is encoded in B’s speech only by means of an object suffix on the comitative preposition:

- (10-206) A: *Nau ku riki-a doqora-mu.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS
 B: *Qo ngata bii-a?*
 2SG.NFUT speak COM-3SG.OBJ
 A: ‘I saw your brother.’
 B: ‘Did you speak with him?’

With the verb-like prepositions, the third person independent pronouns can be used in the object position in anaphora across clause or sentence boundaries. Thus, instead of the form *bii-a* in (10-206) above, one can use the construction *bii nia*:

(10-207) A: *Nau ku riki-a doqora-mu.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS

B: *Qo ngata bii nia?*
 2SG.NFUT speak COM 3SG

A: 'I saw your brother.'

B: 'Did you speak with him?'

In (10-208) the preposition occurs without an object phrase because the identity of the referent is obvious from the extra-linguistic context:

(10-208) *Fale-a qi fa-na!*
 give-3SG.OBJ LOC REC-3SG.PERS
 'Give it to him!'

With two types of exception, when the object of a verb-like or a noun-like preposition has been displaced from its canonical position adjacent to the preposition, in topicalization and in focusing, and in relativization on objects of the two types of preposition, the preposition must be left stranded. Since a stranded preposition must index the relevant participant, only the full variants of the verb-like preposition can be used in such cases. The first set of examples below illustrates stranding of verb-like prepositions with lexical objects in topicalization, focusing, and relativization.

In (10-209) the object of the comitative preposition is in the canonical position. The preposition must occur in its reduced form:

(10-209) *Nau ku lalakwa ngata bia kini naqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT UNDES speak COM woman this
 'I don't like to speak to this woman.' 'I don't like speaking to this woman.'

In (10-210) the object of the preposition has been fronted for topicalization. The comitative preposition has been stranded, and it must occur in its full form *bii* with the object suffix *-a*:

(10-210) *Kini naqi ku lalakwa ngata bii-a.*
 woman this 1SG.NFUT UNDES speak COM-3SG.OBJ
 'This woman I don't like to speak with.' 'This woman I don't like speaking with.'

The preposition cannot be fronted together with its object:

- (10-211) **Bia kini naqi ku lalakwa ngata.*
 COM woman this 1SG.NFUT UNDES speak
 ('With this woman I don't like to speak.' 'With this woman I don't like speaking.')

Examples (10-212) and (10-213) illustrate stranding of verb-like prepositions in focusing and relativization, respectively:

- (10-212) *Wane baa na ni kamiliqa*
 man that FOC PROFORE 1PL(EXCL)

mili ngata suli-a.
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT speak PROL-3SG.OBJ
 'It was that man that we spoke about.'

- (10-213) *Wela n=e ngali-a fanga qeri fasi-a*
 child REL=3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ food that ABL-3SG.OBJ

qe angi ka angi qasia naqa.
 3SG.NFUT cry 3SG.SEQ cry INTS INTS
 'The child he had taken the food from cried and cried a lot.'

The next set of examples illustrates stranding of noun-like prepositions in topicalization, focusing, and relativization, respectively:

- (10-214) *Wane kere fale-a lio-toqo-a*
 man 3PL.NFUT give-3.OBJ mind-learn-DVN

qi fa-na.
 LOC REC-3SG.PERS
 'The man has been gifted with wisdom.' (Lit.: 'The man, they gave wisdom to him.')

- (10-215) *Wela naqi na ku fale-a lole qeri*
 child this FOC 1SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ candy that

qi a-na.
 LOC REC-3SG.PERS
 'It was this child I gave the candy to.'

- (10-216) *Kini na ku faa-tani-a nuu-qi*
 woman REL 1SG.NFUT show-TR-3.OBJ picture-ASSOC
- doo qeri qi sa-na qe kwele*
 thing that LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.surprised
- baqita qasia naqa.*
 be.big INTS INTS
 ‘The woman I showed the picture to was greatly surprised.’

When a lexical direct object occurs in its canonical position with a verb-like preposition, it is indexed on the full form of the preposition by means of the “singular” object suffix *-a*, regardless of its grammatical number. Similarly, when a lexical direct object occurs in its canonical position with a noun-like preposition, it is indexed on the preposition by means of the “singular” personal suffix *-na*, regardless of its grammatical number. However, when a plural or a dual lexical object noun phrase whose referent is human is displaced or relativized on, it is normally indexed on the stranded preposition by means of the plural or the dual suffix, respectively:

- (10-217) *Kini lakoo ki ku dora qani-da.*
 woman that(3) PL 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Those women I don’t know.’
- (10-218) *Tai wane, kere fale-a fanga qi*
 some.PL man 3PL.NFUT give-3.OBJ food LOC
- a-da, tai wane qe aqi.*
 REC-3PL.PERS some.PL man 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘Some (of the) men they did give food to; some (of the) men, no.’

Displaced higher-animate objects of the verb-like prepositions can be encoded in the canonical position by means of the corresponding personal pronoun rather than by means of the object suffix. This construction is normally used only with human referents.

- (10-219) *Wane kere alu-a foqoa {uri-a /*
 man 3PL.NFUT put-3.OBJ bounty ALL-3SG.OBJ /

uri nia}.

ALL 3SG

‘The man, a bounty was put up on his head.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, they put up a bounty towards him.’)

(10-220) *Toqa baa ki ku ngata {bii kera /*
people that PL 1SG.NFUT speak COM 3PL /

bii-da} kere oli naqa.

COM-3PL.OBJ 3PL.NFUT return PRF

‘The people I spoke with have gone back.’

The pronominal option – using an independent pronoun instead of a suffix on the preposition – is not available for the noun-like prepositions because those cannot take pronominal objects (see further above).

Displaced lexical objects or lexical objects relativized on that are not human are normally indexed on the prepositions by the singular suffix, regardless of their grammatical number:

(10-221) ... *ma roo subi neqe ki na koki*
and two k.o.warclub this PL FOC DU(INCL).FUT

raqu qani-a

hold GENP-3SG.OBJ

‘... and it’s these two *subi* clubs that you and I will grab hold of ...’

When a pronominal complement of a verb-like preposition is displaced, the stranded preposition usually carries the corresponding (agreeing) object suffix:

(10-222) *Nia na ni kamiliqa mili ngata*
3SG FOC PROFORE 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT speak

suli-a.

PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘It was him/her that we spoke about.’

Alternatively, it is possible for the stranded preposition to have a pronominal object that is identical to the displaced pronoun, but such constructions are more likely to be used if the distance between the displaced pronoun and the stranded preposition is relatively large. In (10-223) the pronoun has been displaced out of a complement clause:

(10-223) *Nia ku thathami-a muki beta leqa*
 3SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT take.care be.good

{*suli-a / suli nia*}.
 PROL-3SG.OBJ / PROL 3SG
 ‘Him I want you to take good care of.’

Even though the noun-like prepositions cannot have pronominal complements in the canonical position, they can occur with displaced pronominal objects, which are indexed on them by the corresponding personal suffixes. In (10-224) the first person singular pronoun occurs in the topic position, and the participant is also indexed on the noun-like preposition by means of the first person singular personal suffix:

(10-224) *Nau qe faqa-seqe-laqa*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

na=ka=i a-ku neri.
 PRF=AND=LOC BEN-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 ‘I am free now, from now on.’ (E.g., all my work has been done).
 (Lit.: ‘I, it is free for me now.’)

(For a discussion of the verb *faqa-seqe-laqa* see the paragraph before the identical example [4-212] in section 4.5.)

There are two types of exception with respect to preposition stranding, both of which have to do with some of the verb-like prepositions. First, as discussed in section 10.3.2, the allative, purpose, reason preposition *uri* can be fronted together with the noun *taa* ‘what?’ to inquire about reason:

(10-225) *Uri-a taa qoko lole faafi nau?*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? 2SG.SEQ tell.lie concerning 1SG
 ‘Why did you tell lies about me?’

The other type of exception concerns the general/instrument preposition *qani*, which is the subject of the next section.

10.7. Instrument inversion

Under certain syntactic conditions, to be specified further below, the general/instrument verb-like preposition *qani* does not undergo stranding. This preposition is used with a variety of functions (section 10.3.7), but it is only

when it marks instruments that it exhibits the properties to be discussed in what follows. It is for this reason that the preposition is glossed INS(trumental) when it has that particular function. Examples (10-226) – (10-228) illustrate the relevant structures. The sentence in (10-226) contains a basic structure with a patient direct object *doqora-ku* ‘my sibling’ and an instrument oblique object *naifa* ‘knife’:

- (10-226) *Kera kwaqe-a doqora-ku qana naifa.*
 3PL.NFUT slash-3.OBJ sibling-1SG.PERS INS knife
 ‘They slashed my brother with a knife.’

In (10-227) below, the instrument noun phrase has been fronted in focusing. With the other verb-like prepositions, when their object is displaced, stranding takes place and the preposition must occur in its full form with the appropriate object-indexing suffix (or possibly with a pronominal object if the referent is human). However, in (10-227) the preposition does not occur in its expected form *qani-a* ‘with it’. Rather, it occurs in its reduced form *qana*, which is possible only if the preposition has a lexical object in its canonical position, immediately to its right. In (10-227) *qana* does have a lexical noun phrase to its immediate right, but it is the patient phrase *doqora-ku* ‘my sibling’:

- (10-227) *Naifa naqi na kera kwaqe-a qana*
 knife this FOC 3PL.NFUT slash-3SG.OBJ GENP

doqora-ku.

sibling-1SG.PERS

‘It was this knife that they slashed my brother with.’

The reduced form *qana* is grammatical only with an adjacent lexical object. This means that in (10-227) the object of the preposition can only be the patient noun phrase *doqora-ku* ‘my sibling’. In other words, unlike in the basic structure in (10-226), in the focus structure in (10-227) the patient noun phrase is not the direct object. Nevertheless, the verb ‘slash’ carries an object-indexing suffix: *kwaqe-a*. The only candidate for direct-objecthood is the fronted instrument noun phrase *naifa naqi* ‘this knife’. Between the basic structure in (10-226) and the structure in (10-227) “instrument inversion” has taken place: the oblique object in the inverted structure in (10-227) corresponds to the direct object in the basic structure in (10-226), and the fronted direct object in the inverted structure corresponds to an oblique object in the basic structure. If preposition stranding, without inversion, were to take place, the way it does elsewhere, the result would be ungrammatical:

(10-228) **Nai*fa *na*qi *na* *ke*ra *kw*aqe-*a*
 knife this FOC 3PL.NFUT slash-3SG.OBJ

*do*qora-*ku* *q*ani-*a*.
 sibling-1SG.PERS INS-3SG.OBJ
 ('It was this knife that they slashed my brother with.')

While the grammatical relations of the direct and the oblique objects change under instrument inversion, their thematic roles do not: the instrument remains an instrument, and the patient remains a patient. Because the preposition *qana* has a patient, not an instrument, noun phrase as its complement in the inverted structure, it is glossed GENP rather than INS there.

There are syntactic restrictions on instrument inversion. First, it takes place only in transitive clauses. In basic intransitive clauses there is no direct object to become an oblique in the derived structure, and preposition stranding takes place as elsewhere with the verb-like prepositions. In (10-229) preposition stranding has taken place in a relative clause that contains an intransitive verb. (For instrument inversion in relativization see examples [10-235] and [10-238] further below.)

(10-229) *roo* *subi* *na* *toq=qe=ki* *ke*ra
 two k.o.warclub REL people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT

*f*ii-*f*iru *q*ani-*a*
 RDP-fight INS-3SG.OBJ
 'the two *subi* clubs that those people used to fight with' (that is, the two *subi* clubs that those people used to use as weapons)

Second, instrument inversion does not take place in transitive clauses if the patient/theme direct object of the basic structure is pronominal rather than lexical. Here too preposition stranding takes place. Example (10-230) contains a basic structure with a pronominal direct object:

(10-230) *N*ia *q*e *kw*aqe *n*au *q*ana *al*afolo.
 3SG 3SG.NFUT hit 1SG INS k.o.warclub
 'He hit me with an *alafolo* club.'

In (10-231a) the instrument noun phrase has been fronted, and the preposition has been stranded. Inversion would be ungrammatical, as shown in (10-231b).

- (10-231) a. *Alafolo naqi n=e kwaqe nau*
 k.o.warclub this FOC=3SG.NFUT hit 1SG
qani-a.
 INS-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It was this *alafolo* club that he hit me with.’
- b. **Alafolo naqi n=e kwaqe-a qani*
 k.o.warclub this FOC=3SG.NFUT hit-3SG.OBJ GENP
nau.
 1SG
 (‘It was this *alafolo* club that he hit me with.’)

The correspondences between the basic and the inverted structures are shown in table 10.3:

Table 10.3. Structural differences in object inversion

Basic structure	Inverted structure
Subject _i	Subject _i
Verb	Verb
Lexical direct object: patient/theme _j	Oblique object: patient/theme _j
Oblique object: instrument _k	Direct object: instrument _k

Instrument inversion affects only the direct object and the instrumental oblique object. There is no effect on the subject, and there is no marking of the inversion on the verb.

In the examples above, instrument inversion took place when the instrument noun phrase was in focus. The next set of examples shows inversion when the instrument noun phrase has been topicalized. Compare the basic structure in (10-232) and the inverted structure in (10-233):

- (10-232) *Nau kwai kwaqi-a botho naqi qana naifa naqi.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT carve-3.OBJ pig this INS knife this
 ‘I will carve this pig with this knife.’
- (10-233) *Naifa naqi kwai kwaqi-a qana botho naqi.*
 knife this 1SG.FUT carve-3SG.OBJ GENP pig this
 ‘This knife I will carve this pig with.’

Inversion also takes place in relativization on instrument obliques. Example (10-234) shows the basic structure with the verb *basi* ‘shoot sb., st.’:

- (10-234) *basi-a botho qana kwanga*
 shoot-3.OBJ pig INS rifle
 ‘shoot a pig with a rifle’

The relative clause in (10-235) with the verb *basi* shows inversion:

- (10-235) *Basi na maka nau kai baa-basi-a qana*
 bow REL father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot-3SG.OBJ GENP

futa manga na=i dini neq.
 possum time REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here
 ‘Here is the bow my father used to shoot (the) possums with in the old days.’

In (10-235) with the transitive verb *basi* ‘shoot’ inversion has taken place. On the other hand, in (10-236) below, the verb *basi* has an incorporated object. As discussed in section 10.4.2, object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds of the type present in (10-236) are intransitive verbs. In (10-236) *baa-basi* ‘shoot’ and the incorporated noun *futa* ‘possum’ form an intransitive verb, and instrument inversion does not take place. Rather, the instrument preposition is stranded:

- (10-236) *Basi na maka nau kai baa-basi futa*
 bow REL father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot possum

qani-a manga na=i dini neq.
 INS-3SG.OBJ time REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here
 ‘Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old days.’

Instrument inversion in a relative clause also occurs in (10-238) further below, with the verb *tari* ‘chase (away)’. In the basic structure, the verb takes a theme, the entity chased, as its direct object:

- (10-237) *Tari-a kusi qena.*
 chase-3.OBJ cat that(2)
 ‘Chase the cat away.’

In the relative clause in (10-238), the theme, the spirit to be chased away, is an oblique object instead. The direct object is an instrument, that which is used in chasing away/casting out the spirit, encoded as the head of the relative clause. The relevant parts are in bold.

- (10-238) *Doo quri-a qa-n=ta kasiaut*
 thing be.like-3.OBJ SBEN-3.PERS=some cast.out
- neri na kera tari-a qana*
 NPAST.HERE REL 3PL.NFUT chase-3SG.OBJ GENP
- akalo n=e thau-ngi-a wane.*
 spirit REL=3SG.NFUT affect-TR-3.OBJ man
 [Using a chewed-up betel mixture to treat a man who had been made sick by a spirit: They chewed up the betel mixture, they spat it at the man's face, at his chest and lower back. In this way they removed the spirit that had affected the man, and the spirit went away.] 'The thing [that they did] was like casting out, with which they chased away the spirit that had affected the man.'

Instrument inversion takes place (if certain conditions are met) under the conditions where preposition stranding takes place otherwise. There is one more type of case where instrument inversion takes place (when there is a lexically encoded patient or theme), and that is in anaphora across clause boundaries that does not involve relativization. It takes place in the second of two clauses, where the object suffix on the verb anaphorically indexes an instrument mentioned in an earlier clause. This is illustrated in the next pair of examples. In (10-239) the verb *uusuu* 'wipe' occurs in the basic structure, where it takes the patient, the entity wiped, as its direct object:

- (10-239) *Uusu-a seqe-mu qana taolo qena.*
 wipe-3.OBJ body-2SG.PERS INS towel that(2)
 'Wipe your body with the towel.'

In (10-240) below, there are two clauses. In the first one, the noun phrase *taolo qena* 'the towel' is a theme, and it functions as the direct object of the verb 'take'. In the event expressed in the second clause, the towel is to serve as an instrument. It is encoded anaphorically on the verb 'wipe' as a direct object, while the patient, *seqe-mu* 'your body' is an oblique. Instrument inversion has taken place in that clause.

- (10-240) *Ngali-a taolo qena, qoko uusu-a qana*
 take-3.OBJ towel that(2) 2SG.SEQ wipe-3SG.OBJ GENP

seqe-mu.

body-2SG.PERS

‘Take the towel (and) wipe your body with it.’

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In (10-241) the verb *raqa* ‘climb’ occurs in the basic structure, where its direct object encodes the patient, the entity climbed:

- (10-241) *Nau kwai raqa-a ngali naqi qana*
 1SG 1SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ canarium.nut this INS

asikeba.

k.o.climbing.rope

‘I’ll climb this canarium-nut tree with (i.e., using) an *asikeba* rope.’

In (10-242) below, instrument inversion has taken place in the last, purpose, clause (in bold): the canarium-nut trees to be climbed are encoded as an oblique object. The direct object is indexed only by means of the object suffix on the verb *raqa* ‘climb’. The suffix refers anaphorically to *naili* ‘k.o. climbing rope’ (different from *asikeba*), mentioned in the immediately preceding clause in the possessor position (‘making of *naili* climbing ropes’). There is also an earlier mention of *naili* as the direct object of the verb *rofe* ‘look for’.

- (10-242) ... *keka lae, keka rofe-a mai*
 3PL.SEQ go 3PL.SEQ look.for-3.OBJ VENT

nail=i sa-na tai wane ki
 k.o.climbing.rope=LOC ADJC-3.PERS some.PL man PL

na kere thaitoqoma-na thau-ngaqi-la-na
 REL 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ make-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS

naili, uri-a keki raqa-a
 k.o.climbing.rope PURP-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT climb-3SG.OBJ

qana ngali kera ki.
 GENP canarium.nut 3PL PL

‘[At canarium-nut harvest time, when men see that the canarium nuts on their trees are ripe,] they go and look for *naili* climbing

ropes from (lit.: at) the men who know how to make climbing ropes, so that they can climb their [own] canarium-nut trees with [i.e., by means of] them.'

As argued in Lichtenberk (2006a) (where Toqabaqita instrument inversion is discussed in broader context), instrument inversion makes an instrument participant that has a relatively high degree of information prominence (in focusing, topicalization, relativization and inter-clausal anaphora) into one of the core arguments of the verb.

Toqabaqita instrument inversion is reminiscent of instrumental applicative constructions found in various languages (including some Oceanic ones; see, for example, Davis [2003] for Hoava). However, Toqabaqita instrument inversion differs from (prototypical) applicatives in two ways. First, there is no morphological marking of the inversion on the verb. And second, the inversion is severely restricted syntactically. It takes place only if two conditions are met simultaneously: (i) the general/instrument preposition would not have a lexical complement *in situ* (for example, because the instrument noun phrase has been topicalized or is in focus), and (ii) the patient/theme is encoded by a lexical noun phrase.

In section 4.3.3, a kind of valency rearrangement is discussed, whereby the direct object and an oblique object of certain verbs are interchanged; for example *kano-a X qana Y* 'smear X on Y' and *kano-a Y qana X* 'smear Y with X'. Both that kind of valency rearrangement and instrument inversion, also a kind of valency rearrangement, result in noun phrases of different thematic relations being realized as one of the core arguments of the verb; nevertheless, they are distinct phenomena. Valency rearrangement of the *kano* 'smear' type is restricted to a relatively small number of verbs, and it is not grammatically obligatory. On the other hand, instrument inversion takes place obligatorily with any transitive verb under certain syntactic conditions (although the conditions are pragmatically motivated, namely relatively high information prominence of the instrument).

It is only the general preposition in its instrument-marking function that permits this kind of inversion, none of the other prepositions do. This preposition is used to encode a large variety of semantic relations between verbs and their oblique objects, including marking of patients and themes in one type of [verb verb] compounding (section 12.5). All the other prepositions are much more restricted in their functions. It is the semantic flexibility of the general preposition that permits instrument inversion, where it takes patients and themes as its objects.

10.8. The locational nouns

10.8.1. Introduction

Locational nouns (not to be confused with locative nouns, discussed in section 6.2) function to express the location of one entity, the figure, with respect to another entity, the ground. The locational nouns identify one spatial aspect of the ground, such as its front, back, middle, etc. The locational nouns function as the heads of suffixing possessive constructions, where the possessor phrase expresses the ground. Some of the locational nouns can also be used with temporal complements. Noun phrases headed by locational nouns normally function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. Noun phrases headed by the locational nouns ‘between, among, in the midst of’ and ‘in the middle/centre of’ can occur in stacked prepositional phrases with the general locative preposition *qi* and the inessive preposition *laa*. Occasionally, constructions headed by the locational nouns occur without a preposition. All the locational nouns also function as nouns with other meanings.

The locational nouns are listed in table 10.4.

Table 10.4. Locational nouns

<i>naqo, naqofa; maa</i>	in front of
<i>huri, huria, huringa</i>	behind, in the back of
<i>ninima</i>	beside
<i>fafo</i>	on, on top of
<i>fara, faara</i>	below, under
<i>maqaluta</i>	between, among; in the midst of
<i>qinitoqo</i>	in the middle/centre of
<i>laal-a</i>	inside

10.8.2. *Naqo, naqofa* and *maa* ‘in front of’

Maa has a very restricted distribution as a locational noun and is discussed at the end of the section. *Naqo* and *naqofa* are discussed first.

There is a noun *naqo*, which has the non-locational meanings ‘(space in) front’, ‘person’s genitals, private parts (euphemistic)’ and ‘earlier time’; see (10-243) – (10-245), respectively:

(10-243) *Tatha i naqo.*
 walk LOC front
 ‘Walk in front.’

(10-244) *naqo-ku*
 front-1SG.PERS
 ‘my private parts’

(10-245) *Qo lae-toqo-na qerofulae qi naqo?*
 2SG.NFUT go-TEST-3.OBJ airplane LOC earlier.time
 ‘Have you gone on an airplane before?’

There is also an intransitive verb *naqo* ‘be in front’, ‘lead’ and a Class 1 transitive verb *naqo-fi* ‘face sb., st.’. The sentence in (10-246) exemplifies the latter:

(10-246) *Nia e=aqi si naqo-fi nau, nau*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG face-TR 1SG 1SG

kwasi naqo-fi-a.

1SG.NEG face-TR-3SG.OBJ

‘She would not face me, (and) I would not face her.’ (In earlier times, this was the proper way for a man and a woman who were not husband and wife to be positioned when speaking to each other.)

As a locational noun, *naqo* has the spatial meaning ‘in front of’.

(10-247) ... *nia ka sifo ma=i naqo-na*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ descend VENT=LOC front-3.PERS

qai ni soldia.

unit LIG soldier

‘... he came down in front of the police (lit.: soldier) unit.’ (That is, he walked in front, and the policemen followed him.)

However, it is relatively infrequent for *naqo* to function as a locational noun, apparently because it occurs in the same type of possessive construction with the meaning ‘genitals, private parts’. More commonly, to express the meaning ‘in front of, before’, the form *naqofa* is used, which is historically most likely a deverbal noun based on the verb *naqo-fi* ‘face sb., st.’ (see [10-246] above): *naqo-f-a* ‘face-TR-DVN’. Nevertheless, *naqofa* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole.

(10-248) *qi naqofa-na tarake*
 LOC front-3.PERS truck
 ‘in front of the truck’

(10-249) *Alu-a naifa qi naqofa-ku.*
 put-3.OBJ knife LOC front-1SG.PERS
 ‘Put the knife in front of me.’

The form *naqo* can also have the temporal meaning ‘earlier time’, in which case it does not occur in a possessive construction; see (35-28) in section 35.3.2.2.1 for an example.

The meaning ‘in front of’ can also be expressed by means of the locational noun *maa*, but only with respect to houses. As a non-locational noun, *maa* has a variety of senses, that can be characterized as ‘focal point’, ‘prominent part’, such as ‘eye’, ‘tip’, ‘cutting edge’, also ‘opening’ (e.g. a doorway or the mouth of a basket), ‘front part of st.’, ‘lid’, ‘door’. It is the sense ‘front part of st.’ that is relevant here. For example:

(10-250) *takwe i maa-na faka*
 stand LOC front-3.PERS ship
 ‘stand in the bow of the ship’

The next two examples contain *maa* as a locational noun. In (10-251) the ground location is a family house, *luma*, and in (10-252) a men’s house, *biqu*:

(10-251) *qi maa-na luma*
 LOC front-3.PERS family.house
 ‘in front of a/the family house’

(10-252) ... *ka takalo-a gano fuu qi maa-na*
 3SG.SEQ scatter-3.OBJ soil that LOC front-3.PERS

biqu fuu.
 men’s.house that

‘... it [a pig] scattered the soil in front of the men’s house (by rooting in the ground).’

Maa can also have the spatial meaning ‘outside’, but in that case it does not function as a locational noun, as the term is employed here. It does not occur in the head position of the suffixing possessive construction. The ground location which something is specified as being outside of is not expressed in the possessor position.

- (10-253) ... *kuki* *alu-da* *qi* *maa* *ada*
 PL(INCL).FUT put-3PL.OBJ LOC outside TIM

keka *mae*.

3PL.SEQ die

‘... we will put them [prisoners] outside (out of a tight enclosure) so that they do not die.’

While being in front of a house means being outside it, as a locational noun *maa* designates specifically a location in front of a house, not just outside it.

10.8.3. *Buri, buria, buringa* ‘behind’, ‘after’

Of these three locational nouns, *buri* is the basic and commonest one. The other two forms, *buria* and *buringa* were, presumably, derived from it, but the formal nature of the relation is not obvious today.

There is a noun *buri*, which has the locative meaning ‘back, rear part of st.’. With this meaning it functions as the head of the possessum phrase in the suffixing possessive construction. Like other nouns that contain *r* in the final syllable, *buri* takes the *-a* variant of the third person “singular” personal suffix, and the *r* and the *i* of the last syllable metathesize (section 8.1.2).

- (10-254) *buir-a* *baru*
 back-3.PERS canoe
 ‘the stern of a/the canoe’

- (10-255) *Wan=taa* *ni* *boqo?* *Uufi* *bungu* *i*
 man=what? LIG INTS blow conch LOC

maa-na, *ka* *teeteru* *i* *buir-a*.
 front-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ fan LOC back-3SG.PERS

‘Who is he? (He has) a conch-blower in the front and a fan in the back.’ (Lit.: ‘What man? Blow conch in the front, fan in the back.’)
 (This is a traditional riddle. The answer : A pig.)

Buir-a is also used in the sense of ‘toilet (place)’:

- (10-256) a. *buir-a* *biqu* b. *buir-a* *toaa*
 back-3.PERS house back-3.PERS village
 ‘men’s toilet area’ ‘women’s toilet area’

(Traditionally, *biqu* designated men's houses, as opposed to family houses.)

Buri also has the meaning 'space in the back, space behind' and the temporal meaning 'later time' (see [35-28] in section 35.3.2.2.1), in which case it does not occur in the possessum phrase of a possessive construction and does not take complements:

(10-257) *Ma fai-susu qe=ki kera ii*
and four-breast that=PL 3PL.NFUT be.located

ma=i buri takona.

VENT=LOC back most.likely

'And the female possums ('four-breasts') are most likely in the back.'

(10-258) *Lae-laa qoe qeri, qe aqi qosi ili-a*
go-NMLZ 2SG this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG do-3SG.OBJ

laqu qi buri.

ADD LOC later.time

'This wandering (lit.: going) of yours, don't do that (ever) again in future (lit.: at a later time).'

As a locational noun, *buri* is used with the meanings 'behind' with spatial complements, and '(time) after' with temporal complements.

(10-259) *Nau ku agwa qi buir-a fau, ...*
1SG 1SG.NFUT hide LOC behind-3.PERS rock
'I hid behind the rock ...'

In (10-260) the locational construction is used without the higher locative preposition *qi*:

(10-260) *Lae buri-da.*
go behind-3PL.PERS
'Follow them.'

In (10-261) the *buri* phrase has a temporal meaning. The prepositional phrase occurs within a noun phrase:

(10-261) *madami lo=i buir-a madami naqi*
month upward=LOC after-3.PERS month this
'next month' (lit.: 'the month up after this month')

In (10-261) the prepositional phrase *i buir-a madami naqi* ‘after this month’ is optional. The elevational demonstrative *loo* ‘upward’ alone can signal time subsequent to the time of reference (section 13.4).

The other two forms, *buria* and *buringa*, too are used with the meaning ‘behind’. *Buria* is quite common, while *buringa* is rare. In the locative sense, *buria* is interchangeable with *huri*:

(10-262) *Lae ma=i {buria-mareqa /*
go VENT=LOC behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS /

huri-mareqa}.
 behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS
 ‘Follow us.’

(10-263) *Teqe kini qe qono ma=i buria-ku.*
 one woman 3SG.NFUT sit VENT=LOC behind-1SG.PERS
 ‘A woman (came and) sat down behind me.’

The form *buria-na*, with the third person singular personal suffix, is also used as a clause-level temporal adjunct ‘(time) after’ (section 35.3.2.2.1).

The third form, *buringa*, is used only infrequently as a locational noun. As a non-locational noun it is another expression for ‘toilet (place)’:

(10-264) a. *buringa-na toaa* b. *buringa-na biqu*
 behind-3.PERS village behind-3.PERS house
 ‘women’s toilet area’ ‘men’s toilet area’

There is also a Class 1 transitive verb *buringa-ni* ‘build a toilet’, ‘make a place into a toilet area, reserve a place as a toilet area’.

As a locational noun with the meaning ‘behind’, *buringa* is interchangeable with *huri*, except that the form *buringa-na*, with the third person “singular” personal suffix, is avoided because of its association with the meaning ‘toilet (place)’.

(10-265) *Naifa qe nii {qi huri-mu /*
 knife 3SG.NFUT be.located LOC behind-2SG.PERS /

qi buringa-mu.
 LOC behind-2SG.PERS
 ‘The knife is behind you.’

10.8.4. *Ninima* ‘beside’

There is a noun *ninima* ‘side’, which occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction:

(10-266) *Baketa ninima-n=e kwada.*
 bucket side-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.holed
 ‘The bucket has a hole in its side.’ (Lit.: ‘The bucket, its side is holed.’)

As a locational noun, *ninima* has the meaning ‘beside; at, by the side of’.

(10-267) *Qono qi ninima-ku.*
 sit LOC beside-1SG.PERS
 ‘Sit (down) beside me.’

(10-268) *Nau kwai fasi-a teqe goafa qi*
 1SG 1SG.FUT plant-3.OBJ one guava LOC

ninima-na biqu nau.
 beside-3.PERS house 1SG
 ‘I’ll plant a guava (tree) beside my house.’

In (10-269) the locational expression occurs without the locative preposition *qi*:

(10-269) *teqe keekene n=e takwe ninima-na*
 one breadfruit REL=3SG.NFUT stand beside-3.PERS

teqe kilu
 one hole
 ‘a breadfruit (tree) that stood beside/next to a hole’

10.8.5. *Fafo* ‘on, on top of’

There is a noun *fafo*, whose meaning is ‘top exterior part, surface of st.’. It occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction.

(10-270) *Tai wane ki keka fale thao uri-a*
 some.PL man PL 3PL.SEQ hand thatching ALL-3.OBJ

fafo-na biqu loo ...
 top-3.PERS house upward

‘Some of the men [on the ground] pass thatching to the top of the house [i.e., to the people on top of the house]’

As a locational noun, *fafo* has the contact spatial meaning ‘on, on top of’. As discussed in section 10.3.5, there is a superessive verb-like preposition *faafi* ‘on (top of)’, ‘on the surface of’, ‘over’, ‘above’. *Faafi* and *fafo* are not synonymous. First, *faafi* can be used regardless of whether or not there is contact between the figure and the ground, while *fafo* can only signify contact. And second, when there is contact, *faafi* usually implies the presence of weight, pressure, force exerted by the upper entity on the lower one, or some other kind of effect. *Fafo* carries none of these implications.

(10-271) *Kaala doo qoro qe taqe i fafo-na*
 little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

kwaingaqia qeri
 grave that

‘Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave’

(10-272) *Teo mai qi fafo-ku.*
 lie VENT LOC top-1SG.PERS

‘(Come and) lie (down) on top of me.’ (E.g., a mother speaking to a little child.)

With nouns designating bodies of water, such as the sea and rivers, *fafo* is used with the meaning ‘by the side of, on the shore/bank of’:

(10-273) *Keka lae, keka kasi-a tai*
 3PL.SEQ go 3PL.SEQ build.village-3.OBJ some.PL

toaa ki qi fafo-na qamali.
 village PL LOC top-3.PERS sea
 ‘They went and built villages by the sea.’

(10-274) ... *ka takwe qi fafo-na kafo qeri ...*
 3SG.SEQ stand LOC top-3.PERS river that
 ‘... she stood on the bank of the river ...’

Fafo may function as the head of a bare, rather than a suffixing, possessive construction, although this is not common:

(10-275) *Kuukua qe liki i fafo biqu.*
 chicken 3SG.NFUT roost LOC top house
 ‘The chicken is roosting on top of the house.’

However, if no possessor phrase occurs in the canonical position next to *fafo*, the suffixing construction must be used. In (10-276) there is a possessor noun, but it functions as the head of a relative clause:

(10-276) *Mata n=o qono qi fafo-na nena*
 mat REL=2SG.NFUT sit LOC top-3SG.PERS there(2)

qe biliqa.
 3SG.NFUT be dirty
 ‘The mat you’re sitting on is dirty.’

10.8.6. *Fara, faara* ‘below, under’

Of the two forms, *fara* and *faara*, the former is the basic one and the one normally used. However, *fara* itself occurs in the suffixing possessive construction as *faar-a*, with the third person “singular” personal suffix and metathesis of the *r* and the *a* in the final syllable. *Fara*, as a non-locational noun, has the meaning ‘space, area underneath, below’. It occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction:

(10-277) *Faar-a daadaku qeri ka*
 underneath-3.PERS Calophyllum.sp that 3SG.SEQ

quri=ta *biqu.*
 be.like:3.OBJ=some house
 ‘The (space) underneath (of) the *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*]
 tree (which was bent down) was like a house.’ (That is, being under
 the tree was like being inside a house.)

The expression *faar-a luma* (lit. ‘the underneath of a family house’) has the meaning ‘women’s toilet area’.

There is also a Class 2 transitive verb *faara* ‘fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.’, ‘match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.’, ‘be able, capable’, ‘be possible’ (section 29.4.2).

The original lexeme *fara* has been subject to some idiosyncratic developments. First, the verb ‘fit sb., st. etc.’ is clearly derived from *fara*, but its form is *faara*. Most likely the verbal form was based on *faar-a*, with the third person singular personal suffix. For some reason, the suffix *-a* was not perceived as such, and consequently the verb takes the *-na* allomorph of the third person singular personal suffix, *faara-na* (see examples in section 29.4.2).

And second, the monomorphemic form *faara* also exists as a locational noun. It takes the *-na* allomorph of the third person singular personal suffix. As a locational noun *faara* is rare. One example is given in (10-278):

(10-278) *Alu-a* *raboqa* *qi* *faara-na* *luma.*
 put-3.OBJ bowl LOC under-3.PERS house
 ‘Put the bowl under the house.’

It is possible that what is historically a doubly possessed form *faar-a-na* is used instead of *faar-a* especially when there is a possibility of an association with the meaning ‘women’s toilet area’ (see further above). Still, some speakers do not like the expression *faara-na luma* ‘under the house’ because of its phonological similarity to *faar-a luma*.

The remaining examples illustrate the forms *fara/faar-a*.

(10-279) *qi* *fara-ku*
 LOC below-1SG.PERS
 ‘below me, under me’

Fara may be used regardless of whether or not there is contact between the figure and the ground, as in (10-280) and (10-281), respectively:

(10-280) ... *qe* *thamo* *i* *faar-a*
 3SG.NFUT reach.out LOC under-3.PERS

qaba-na kali wela qeri ... ta qaba qi
 arm-3.PERS little.SG child that some arm LOC

faar-a ta qaba, ta qaba qi
 under-3.PERS some arm some arm LOC

faar-a ta qaba
 under-3.PERS some arm

‘... he reached out (with his arms) under the arms of the little child
 ... one of his arms under one arm [of the child], the other arm under
 the other arm (in order to lift the child)’

- (10-281) *Kotho i faar-a taunamo.*
 enter LOC under-3.PERS mosquito.net
 ‘Get in under the mosquito net.’

In (10-282) a locational *fara* phrase functions as a modifier inside a noun phrase:

- (10-282) *falo i faar-a fulau*
 beam LOC under-3.PERS floor
 ‘bearer beam under the floor’, ‘beam under, supporting the floor’

10.8.7. *Maqaluta* ‘between, among’, ‘in the midst of’

There is a noun *maqaluta*, which is used in two main senses. In both senses it occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction. In one sense, it denotes a fork in a tree where a single trunk divides into two:

- (10-283) *maqaluta-na qai*
 fork-3.PERS tree
 ‘fork in a tree where the trunk divides into two’

In the other sense, *maqaluta* signifies the inner aspect of st.: its central characteristics, properties; its essence, nature; its essential details:

- (10-284) *soe-kele-a maqaluta-na sitoa*
 inquire-turn-3.OBJ essence-3.PERS store
 ‘inquire in detail about a store’, ‘ask well about the ins and outs of
 (having) a store’ (A person wanting to start a store may ask for vari-

ous kinds of information, such as how to start a store and how to run it.)

An inner aspect of something may also be the members of a group:

- (10-285) *Kulu* *baka-tani-a*
 PL(INCL).NFUT resolve.problem.among-TR-3.OBJ

maqaluta-kuluqa.

inner.aspect-PL(INCL).PERS

‘Let’s sort out our problems.’ ‘Let’s sort ourselves out.’ Let’s sort the problems among ourselves.’

As a locational noun, *maqaluta* has the senses ‘between, among’, ‘in the midst of’.

- (10-286) *Lae mai qoko takwe i maqaluta-mareqa.*
 go VENT 2SG.SEQ stand LOC between-1DU(EXCL).PERS
 ‘Come and stand between the two of us.’

- (10-287) *Keka kal=i maqaluta-na imole,*
 3PL.SEQ move.around=LOC among-3.PERS person
 ‘They [people affected by love magic] move around, circulate among people, ...’

- (10-288) *Teqe kasi kafo e ni=i*
 one small water 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

maqaluta-na teqe si toaa.
 midst-3.PERS one DIM village

‘There is a small pool of water in the midst of a built-up place (lit. village).’ (Speaking about a small pool in a zoo into which people throw coins.)

Besides expressing physical locational relations, *maqaluta* phrases may also be used metaphorically with reference to other kinds of relation, such as relations between or among people:

- (10-289) *Botho e kwai-tao-faqi i maqaluta-da.*
 pig 3SG.NFUT LIP-cause.strife-TR LOC midst-3PL.PERS
 ‘The pig is causing strife, discord among them.’ (Speaking about a pig that is often left free to roam around the village, rooting up the ground and soiling the area.)

In (10-290) a *maqaluta* locational phrase functions as a modifier of a nominalization:

- (10-290) *uka-li-laa qi maqaluta-na roo figu-a*
 divide-TR-NMLZ LOC between-3.PERS two gather-DVN
 ‘division, split between two groups (because of disagreement)’

And in (10-291) the locational phrase occurs in a stacked prepositional phrase:

- (10-291) ... *si manga na oge-laa ka fula*
 PRTT time REL break-NMLZ 3SG.SEQ take.place

laqu boqo qi laa maqaluta-na grup qeri.
 ADD INTS LOC IN midst-3.PERS group that
 ‘... the time when dissent (lit.: breaking) took place again in the group.’

In all the examples above, the entities between or among which something is located, literally or metaphorically, are encoded as grammatical possessors of the locational noun, by a personal suffix ([10-286] and [10-289]) or by a lexical noun phrase ([10-287], [10-288], [10-290], and [10-291]). In (10-292) below the complement noun phrase is a coordinate one:

- (10-292) ... *tai si doo ka fale-a biliqa-laa,*
 some.PL PRTT thing 3SG.SEQ cause-3.OBJ be.dirty-NMLZ

ma ka fale-a kuluqa-laa qi
 and 3SG.SEQ cause-3.OBJ be.heavy-NMLZ LOC

maqaluta-na wela nau ki bia ai nau ...
 between-3.PERS child 1SG PL and wife 1SG
 ‘... some things cause unpleasantness (lit. dirtiness), and they cause heaviness [problems] between my children and my wife’

But there is another construction, where one of the entities is encoded by means of a personal suffix on the locational noun and the other one by means of a lexical noun phrase in a comitative prepositional phrase that functions as a modifier of the head, locational noun. In (10-293) the locational noun carries the second person singular personal suffix, which indexes the addressee, and the modifier of *maqaluta-mu* is the comitative phrase *bia kini qeri* ‘with that woman’; that is ‘between you and (lit.: with) the woman’. The sentence also contains the noun *maqalutaa* ‘space between’, which bears some historical relation to *maqaluta*.

(10-293) *Qoko ala-ma-tani-a ta si maqalutaa*
 2SG.SEQ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ some PRTT space.between

qi maqaluta-mu bia kini qeri ka
 LOC between-2SG.PERS COM woman that 3SG.SEQ

tekwa.

be.long

‘[In the old days, if there was another man’s wife walking on a track ahead of you, you would not walk closely behind her. This is what you would do:] You would allow a lot of space in between, between you and the woman.’ (Lit.: ‘You would allow it that a space at your between with the woman be long.’)

Another example of this construction is given in (10-294):

(10-294) *Maqaluta-ku bia ai nau, qoko lio qi*
 between-1SG.PERS and wife 1SG 2SG.SEQ look LOC

ei, ...

LOCPRO

‘[In] between me and my wife, you look there (and you see certain things)’ (Lit.: ‘My between with my wife, you look there’)

10.8.8. *Qinitoqo* ‘in the centre of, in the middle of’

There is a noun *qinitoqo* ‘space, area in the middle/centre’. With this meaning, *qinitoqo* normally does not function as the head of the suffixing possessive construction. *Qinitoqo* is usually pronounced [ʔintóʔɔ] rather than [ʔɪntóʔɔ] (section 2.2.1).

- (10-295) *ta ulu doo i qintoqo*
 some three thing LOC middle
 ‘three (of the) things [sticks] (are) in the middle’

However, as a locational noun with the meaning ‘in the centre of, in the middle of’, *qintoqo* does function as the head of the suffixing possessive construction. It may be used with spatial or temporal complements:

- (10-296) *Teqe tefolo qe ni=i qintoqo-na*
 one table 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC centre-3.PERS

biqu naqi.
 house this
 ‘There is a table in the centre of this house.’

- (10-297) *Si manga n=e ful=i Oreore qi*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT arrive=LOC Oreore LOC

qintoqo-na thato, ...
 middle-3.PERS day
 ‘When he arrived at Oreore in the middle of the day, ...’

In (10-298) *qintoqo* is modified by a combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles (sections 7.6 and 7.8). The locational phrase functions as a modifier of a noun.

- (10-298) *qi laa fanua naq=i qintoqo-na*
 LOC IN place this=LOC centre-3.PERS

bo=naqa toaa naqi
 ASRT=INTS village this
 ‘in this place in the very centre of this village’

In (10-299) the locational construction with *qintoqo* occurs in a stacked prepositional phrase:

- (10-299) ... *mika fula i laa qintoqo-na*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive LOC IN middle-3.PERS

thaqegano,

ground

‘... we arrived in the middle of the ground’. Here:: ‘... we went underground (into a cave),....’

10.8.9. *Laal-a* ‘inside’

Although there is no evidence of a related noun **lala*, *laal-a* contains the *-a* variant of the third person “singular” personal suffix, and historically there was metathesis of the *l* and the preceding *a* (section 8.1.2). *Laal-a* probably has some historical relation to the inessive bare preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3). As a (possessed) noun, *laal-a* has the meaning ‘(the) inside, interior’.

Evidence for the structure *laal-a* comes from constructions where *laal-a* refers anaphorically to an earlier noun phrase, and the anaphoric reference can only be by means of a personal suffix. In (10-300) ‘their inside’ refers back to *nudula qena* ‘the noodles’:

(10-300) *Kuki-a nudula qena; qoko batari-a*
 cook-3.OBJ noodle that(2) 2SG.SEQ permeate-3.OBJ

laal-a qana solo.

inside-3SG.PERS INS salt

‘Cook the noodles (and then) mix/stir salt in them.’ (Lit.: ‘Cook the noodles; and permeate their inside with salt.’)

Similarly in (10-301), where *laal-a* in a relative clause has the head of the relative clause as its antecedent:

(10-301) *Nau kwasi riki-a waqi na maka nau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ basket REL father 1SG

qe alu-a lif-iqa baa qi
 3SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ tooth-fish that LOC

laal-a.

inside-3SG.PERS

‘I haven’t seen the basket my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in (lit.: inside it).’

Such anaphoric use of *laal-a* is fully parallel to the anaphoric use of the other locational nouns in relative clauses (and elsewhere). For example, in (10-

302) the locational noun *fafo* with the third person singular suffix is used anaphorically in a relative clause to refer to the head noun:

(10-302) *Mata n=o qono qi fafo-na nena*
 mat REL=2SG.NFUT sit LOC top-3SG.PERS there(2)

qe biliqa.
 3SG.NFUT be dirty
 ‘The mat you’re sitting on is dirty.’

And in (10-303) *laal-a* functions anaphorically with respect to the topic phrase ‘this box’:

(10-303) *Bakosi naqi ku alu-a fanga*
 box this 1SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ food

i laal-a
 LOC inside-3SG.PERS
 ‘This box I put food in (lit.: inside it) (not clothes).’

The sentence in (10-304) contains *laal-a* with the meaning ‘(the) inside, interior:

(10-304) *Laal-a luma qe kumu qana lolo.*
 inside-3.PERS house 3SG.NFUT be.strewn GENP rubbish
 ‘The inside of the house is strewn with rubbish.’

See also (10-300) further above.

As a locational noun, *laal-a* can be used with locative or temporal complements. In (10-305) it has a locative complement.

(10-305) *Toq=qe=ki keka too i laal-a lokap*
 people=that=PL 3PL.SEQ stay LOC inside-3.PERS jail

suli=fa manga qoro ki.
 PROL:3.OBJ=CLF time be.many PL
 ‘The people stayed in jail for a long time (lit.: for many periods of time).’

See also (10-301) and (10-303) further above.

In (10-306) *laal-a* has a temporal complement:

(10-306) *Laa-lae ka fula qi laal-a naintin*
 RDP-go 3SG.SEQ arrive LOC inside-3.PERS nineteen

foti foo,

forty four

‘Eventually, [the year of] 1944 arrived’ (Lit.: ‘After some time, it arrived inside 1944’)

Chapter 11

Coordination of noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Apposition of noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

11.1. Introduction

Two types of phrasal coordination and apposition are distinguished in Toqabaqita: noun-phrase coordination and apposition, and prepositional-phrase coordination and apposition. Clauses can consist exclusively of verb phrases. There is clausal coordination, but no separate category of coordinate verb-phrases. Clausal coordination is discussed in chapter 28. There is only one adjective in the language and no category of adjective phrase (section 6.12). The class of adverbs is very small (section 4.11), and there is no coordination of adverb phrases.

11.2. Noun-phrase coordination

Toqabaqita has two basic types of noun phrase coordination: conjunctive and disjunctive.

11.2.1. Conjunctive noun-phrase coordination

11.2.1.1. *The basic structure*

The basic structure of the conjunctive coordinate noun phrase is given in (11-1):

$$(11-1) \quad \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NP} [(\{ma/bia/bii\}) \text{NP}]^* \\ \text{and/and/and}$$

There are two pieces of evidence that the coordinators *maa*, *bia*, and *bii* ‘and’ form a unit with the following rather than the preceding NP. First, as discussed in section 11.2.1.2, the choice between *bia* and *bii* is determined by the type of the coordinand³² — lexical or pronominal, respectively — to the right

of the coordinator. Second, less direct evidence comes from clausal coordination. In clausal coordination, the coordinators belong prosodically in the second clause (section 28.1). And a sentence can begin with *ma*, which may, but need not connect the sentence to the preceding discourse (section 28.2.1). (Neither *bia* nor *bii* are used in sentential coordination.)

As (11-1) shows, conjunctive noun phrase coordination may be syndetic or asyndetic. The asterisk in (11-1) signifies that there may be more than coordinand. Coordination with two coordinands is referred to in what follows as “binary”, and coordination with more than two coordinands as “multiple” (Haspelmath 2004).

The coordinators *bia* and *bii* are synonymous phonological variants of each other, but they are not interchangeable. Both also function as variants of the comitative preposition (section 10.3.6). And *bia* and *bii* on the one hand and *ma* on the other too are synonymous. The use of the three forms is discussed in detail in section 11.2.1.2.

In binary coordination, a coordinator is usually present:

(11-2) *araqi* *qe=ki* *ma* *kukeqe* *qe=ki*
 mature.man that=PL and mature.woman that=PL
 ‘those adult men and those adult women’

(11-3) *kaleko* *nau* *baa* *ki* *bia* *waqi* *nau* *baa*
 clothes 1SG that PL and basket 1SG that
 ‘those clothes of mine and that basket of mine’

Binary constructions without a coordinator are possible, although not frequent:

(11-4) ... *keka* *riki-a* *subi,* *alafolo,*
 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ k.o. warclub k.o.warclub

 ka *quna,*”....”
 3SG.SEQ manner
 ‘they saw *subi* clubs, *alafolo* clubs, and [one of them] said, “....”.’

Coordinators are somewhat more likely to absent when the coordinands contain numerals in complex numeral expressions (see [6-257] in section 6.8.1):

(11-5) *Nau* *taafulu* *fa* *ngali* *roo* *fa* *ngali.*
 1SG ten CLF year two CLF year
 ‘I’m twelve years (old).’

However, in the next example, also with numerals in the coordinands, there is a coordinator present:

- (11-6) *Kamiliqa taafulu uni-qi wane ma fiu*
 1PL(EXCL) ten generation-ASSOC person and seven

uni-qi wane.
 generation-ASSOC person

‘We are 17 generations.’ ‘There are 17 generations of us.’

In multiple coordination, the last coordinand normally has a coordinator, while the others — the first one apart — may, but need not. However, unless the number of coordinands is relatively large, there is a tendency for each coordinand after the first one to have its own coordinator.

- (11-7) *Wela nia ki ma kukeqe nia ma nia, keka*
 child 3SG PL and wife 3SG and 3SG 3PL.SEQ

thafaliq=qani-a naqa oqola kera qeri.
 INCEP=eat-3.OBJ PRF garden 3PL that

‘His children, and his wife, and he will begin to eat (the food grown in) that garden of theirs.’

- (11-8) *Meka riki-a baqekwa ki, ma iqa*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ shark PL and fish

goro qeeqeta ki, ma fali ki, ma
 be.many be.exceptional PL and stingray PL and

kokala ki, ...
 octopus PL

‘We saw sharks, and lots and lots of [different] fish (lit.: exceptionally many fish), and stingrays, and octopuses, ...’

It is more likely for coordinands that occur relatively early in a coordinate noun phrase not to have a coordinator than for those occurring relatively late. In the next example, all but the last two coordinands lack coordinators:

- (11-9) *Keka ngata, ..., ni Alakookona, Alafisiqai,*
 3PL.SEQ speak PERSMKR Alakookona Alafisiqai

Maokaalo, Faufio, ma Taatalaqu, ma Liorodo,
 Maokaalo Faufio and Taatalaqu, and Liorodo

keka quna qeri, “...”

3PL.SEQ manner this

‘They spoke, ..., Alakookona, Alafisiqai, Maokaalo, Faufio, and Taatalaqu, and Liorodo, they said “...”.’

However, as the next example shows, an early coordinand may have a coordinator while subsequent ones need not:

(11-10) ... *ka oli mai, ka sainem tai*
 3SG.SEQ return VENT 3SG.SEQ sign.up some.PL

wane ki qani kamiliqa, toqa na=i laa
 man PL GENP 1PL(EXCL) people REL=LOC IN

aququa naqi, ma tai wane mai Westen,
 island this and some.PL man VENT Western

tai wane mai Gwalkana, tai toqa
 some.PL man VENT Guadalcanal some.PL people

mai Gela qaylen, qan=bulis ...

VENT Nggela island GENP=police

‘... he signed up some men among us, people of this island [Malaita], and some men from [what is now] Western [Province], some men from Guadalcanal, some men from Nggela Island, into the police [force] ...’

(*Kamiliqa, toqa na=i laa aququa naqi*, ‘(among) us, people of this island,’ is an instance of apposition, not of coordination; see section 11.4.)

And when the number of coordinands is not very large, there need not be any coordinator at all:

(11-11) *Beta nia fasa mataqi-a, feda-laa,*
 protect 3SG ABL be.sick-DVN be.tired-NMLZ

taqaa-laa.

be.bad-NMLZ

‘Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness (that is, from being wicked, bad).’

11.2.1.2. *The three conjunctive coordinators ma, bia, and bii*

All three coordinators have the meaning ‘and’, and there is some interchangeability among them. *Ma* is interchangeable both with *bia* and with *bii*, but *bia* and *bii* are not mutually interchangeable. The first example below contains two adjacent sentences in a text, and the coordinate noun phrases have the same pairs of referents. The coordinate noun phrase in the first sentence contains *ma*, and the one in the second sentence *bia*:

(11-12) *Tootoo maka nia ma thaina-na keko lae*
 later father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.SEQ go

naqa. Maka nia bia thaina-na keko
 PRF father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.SEQ

sore-a, ””

say-3SG.OBJ

‘Later, his father and mother were about to go. His father and mother said, “....”.’

The next pair of examples shows the coordinators *ma* and *bii* in the same structural position with an independent personal pronoun as the second coordinand:

(11-13) *Doqora-ku ma ni nau, tootoo*
 sibling-1SG.PERS and PROFORE 1SG later

meki lae uri Honiara.
 1DU(EXCL).FUT go ALL Honiara

‘My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.’

(11-14) ... *ai qeri bii ni nau qe=aqi*
 woman that and PROFORE 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

mesi kwai-naqo-fi.
 1DU(EXCL).NEG LIP-face-TR

‘[Traditionally, when the wife of another man and I were speaking to each other,] the woman and I would not face each other.’

The following are the conditions on the use of the three coordinators. *Bii* can be used only if the coordinand to its right is pronominal, as in (11-14) above. *Bia* can be used only if the coordinand to its right is lexical; see the sec-

ond sentence in (11-12). Compare also the broadly synonymous sentences (11-15) and (11-16) below. In (11-15) the second coordinand is lexical, and the coordinator has the form *bia*. On the other hand, in (11-16) the second coordinand is pronominal, and the coordinator has the form *bii*.

(11-15) *Nau bia doqora-ku, tootoo meki lae*
 1SG and sibling-1SG.PERS later 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

uri Honiara.

ALL Honiara

‘I and my brother will go to Honiara one day.’

(11-16) *Doqora-ku bii nau, tootoo meki lae*
 sibling-1SG.PERS and 1SG later 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

uri Honiara.

ALL Honiara

‘My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.’

It is the coordinand to the right of the coordinator rather than the one to its left that determines the choice between *bia* and *bii*. In (11-17) both coordinands are lexical, and the form of the coordinator is *bia*:

(11-17) *Thaina-na bia maka nia kero lae*
 mother-3SG.PERS and father 3SG 3DU.NFUT go

qana uusi-a

GENP buy-DVN

‘His mother and his father went to the market’

The sentence in (11-16) further above has a lexical coordinand to the left of the coordinator, but a pronominal coordinand to the right of the coordinator. And there the coordinator has the form *bii*.

The coordinators *bia* and *bii* are the same etymon as the variant forms of the comitative preposition. As discussed in section 10.3.6, the reduced prepositional form *bia* is obligatory with lexical complements, while the form *bii* is obligatory with pronominal complements (and with the object suffixes). The rules that govern the use of the two coordinator forms reflect the distribution of the corresponding prepositional forms (Lichtenberk 1991b). And the fact that it is the coordinand to the right of the coordinator that determines its form is evidence that the coordinators form a constituent with the coordinand to their right rather than with the one to their left (see [11-1] in section 11.2.1.1).

There are no restrictions on the use of *ma* in conjunctive coordination. It can be used in any type of coordinate noun phrase, regardless of the types of the coordinands. (*Ma* is also used freely in coordination of prepositional phrases, where neither *bia* nor *bii* is grammatical; in clausal coordination, where both *bia* and *bii* are rare, and in sentential coordination, where neither *bia* nor *bii* is grammatical.)

While independent pronouns can function as coordinands in conjunctive coordination, this is not always possible, and even where it is possible, it is not common. Examples (11-13) – (11-16) above show that a lexical noun phrase and a pronominal noun phrase can be coordinated. However, such coordination occurs freely only in the topic, non-argument position, as in (11-15) and (11-16). It is also possible in the subject position, although it is not common there; for an example see (11-23) in section 11.2.1.3. It is not grammatical elsewhere. The coordinate structure is not normally used when both/all of the coordinands would be pronominal. Instead, the corresponding dual or plural pronoun is normally used.

Because of the restrictions on the use of pronouns in coordinate noun phrases and consequently on the use of *bii*, the subsequent discussion deals only with *ma* and *bia*. *Bia* is used much more commonly if the coordinand to its right is human than if it is non-human. In practice this means that *bia* is used much more commonly if both (or all) coordinands are human than if they are not, because coordinands are usually of the same animacy status. There is no such restriction on the use of *ma*: *ma* is common with coordinands regardless of their animacy status. In a corpus of 15 texts of more than 2800 clauses analyzed in Lichtenberk (1991b), there were 83 instances of conjunctive noun phrase coordination: 53 instances of *ma* and 30 instances of *bia*. (There were no instances of *bii*.) The distribution of the two coordinators in the corpus is shown in table 11.1.

Table 11.1. Distribution of *ma* and *bia* in a corpus of texts (Lichtenberk 1991b)

	<i>ma</i>	<i>bia</i>	Total: 83
human coordinands	29 51.8%	27 48.2	56
inanimate coordinands	24 88.9%	3 11.1%	27

Of the 83 tokens of coordinate noun phrases, 56 involved human coordinands and 27 inanimate coordinands. (There were no instances of non-human animate coordinands.) In every coordinate noun phrase the coordinands were of the same animacy status. With human coordinands, *ma* and *bia* were just about equally common: 29 instances of *ma* versus 27 instances of *bia*. On the other hand, the distribution of *ma* and *bia* was highly skewed with inanimate coordi-

nands: 24 instances of *ma* as against only 3 instances of *bia*. The relatively rare use of *bia* with inanimate coordinands reflects its origin as a comitative preposition, which normally takes human complements.

Occasionally, the categorial status of *bia* (or *bii*) either as a coordinator or as a comitative preposition is not transparent. For example in (11-18) it could be interpreted as either, without any great semantic difference:

- (11-18) *Ku* *riki-a* *kukeqe* *bia* *wela*
1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ mature.woman and/COM child

nia ki.

3SG PL

a. 'I saw the woman and her children.'

b. 'I saw the woman with her children.'

Mostly, however, the status of *bia* as a coordinator rather than a preposition is clear. For example, in (11-19) both coordinands are singular but the coordinate noun phrase is dual, as evidenced by the dual subject marker *keko*:

- (11-19) ... *wane qeri* *bia* *kwai-na* *keko*
 man that and spouse-3SG.PERS 3DU.SEQ

manata-toqo-na *keki* *sifo* *qi*
think-TEST-3.OBJ 3DU.FUT descend LOC

maa-na *uusi-a.*

point-3.PERS buy-DVN

'... the man and his wife thought of going down to the market place.'

And in (11-20) there are three coordinands rather than a noun phrase followed by two comitative prepositional phrases. The story in question is not (primarily) about the man. It is about all three people. The man is in no sense the primary character.

- (11-20) *Si* *uqunu* *qeri* *qe* *lae* *suli-a* *teqe*
PRTT story this 3SG.NFUT go PROL-3.OBJ one

wane bia *kwai-na* *bia* *qa-daroqa*
man and spouse-3SG.PERS and POSS-3DU.PERS

teqe wela, wela wane.

one child child man

a. 'This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of theirs, a boy.'

Not: b. *'This story is about a man with his wife (and?) with a child of theirs, a boy.'

11.2.1.3. *More on conjunctive coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases*

Lexical and pronominal noun phrases are freely coordinated in a non-argument position, such as the topic position, and the two types of coordinand can occur in either order.

(11-21) *Nau ma doqora-ku, tootoo meki lae*
 1SG and sibling-1SG.PERS later 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

uri Honiara.

ALL Honiara

'I and my brother will go to Honiara one day.'

(11-22) *Doqora-ku ma ni nau, tootoo*
 sibling-1SG.PERS and PROFORE 1SG later

meki lae uri Honiara.

1DU(EXCL).FUT go ALL Honiara

'My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.'

This type of coordination is also possible in the subject position, but it is relatively rare there:

(11-23) *Nau ma wela nau ki mili*
 1SG and child 1SG PL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT

too siafaqa.

be.in.certain.condition not.be.well.off

'I and my children are not well off.'

However, the situation is quite different in non-topic and non-subject positions. The discussion that follows focuses on the direct-object position, but brief remarks will subsequently be made about other positions. The sentences in (11-24) and (11-25) appear to contain coordinate noun phrases in the direct-

object position, the former having the lexical noun phrase before the personal pronoun and the latter the personal pronoun before the lexical noun phrase:

(11-24) *Wane e laba-tani-a maka nau ma*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR-3.OBJ father 1SG and

ni nau.
 PROFORE 1SG
 ‘The man harmed my father and me.’

(11-25) *Wane e laba-taqi nau ma maka nau.*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR 1SG and father 1SG
 ‘The man harmed me and my father.’

In (11-24), with the lexical phrase next to the verb ‘harm’, the verb carries the suffix *-a*, which indexes lexical direct objects, and the form of the verb is *laba-tani*. On the other hand, in (11-25), with a pronominal phrase next to the verb, the verb does not carry the object suffix and its form is *laba-taqi*. *Laba-tani/laba-taqi* ‘harm’ is a long transitive verb, and such verbs exhibit alternation in the form of the (long) transitive suffix: with one type of exception that is not relevant here, *-Cani* is used in the presence of an object suffix and *-Caqi* is used elsewhere, including with pronominal objects (section 4.2.3.2.2).

One might want to argue that the presence or absence of the object suffix and consequently the form of the verb work on a “proximity” principle, that it is the coordinand closer to the verb that is the determining factor. However, there is evidence that that is not the case. As shown in (4-1) in section 4.1, pronominal direct objects and lexical direct objects occupy different positions in the verb phrase: pronominal objects occur directly after the verb, before any postverbal particles, while lexical objects occur after all of the postverbal particles. What happens if a postverbal particle is inserted into sentences such as (11-24) and (11-25) above? The sentences in (11-26) and (11-27) below contain the perfect marker *naqa*. The sentence in (11-26) corresponds to (11-24), with the lexical noun phrase coming first:

(11-26) *Wane e laba-tani-a naqa maka nau ma*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR-3.OBJ PRF father 1SG and

ni nau.
 PROFORE 1SG
 ‘The man has harmed my father and me.’

In (11-26) the perfect marker comes before the lexical noun phrase, which is the situation with lexical direct objects. However, the perfect marker also precedes the pronominal phrase, which is not what happens with pronominal objects elsewhere.

The sentence in (11-27) corresponds to (11-25), with the pronominal noun phrase coming first:

(11-27) *Wane e laba-taqi nau naqa ma maka*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR 1SG PRF and father

nau.

1SG

‘The man has harmed me and my father.’

The perfect marker comes after the pronoun, which is what one would expect, but it is placed between the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase. Both types of problem, the one exemplified in (11-26), where a postverbal particle comes earlier than the pronoun, and the one exemplified in (11-27), where a postverbal particle intervenes between the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase, are evidence that the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase do not form a coordinate noun phrase with each other. Only the first noun phrase is the direct object. This accounts for the presence and absence of the object suffix on the verb and the *-tani/-taqi* variation in the form of the transitive suffix. The second noun phrase is a clause-level adjunct: ‘The man has harmed my father, and/as well as me’ for (11-26), and ‘The man has harmed me, and/as well as my father’ for (11-27). Similarly for (11-24) and (11-25). (For more detailed discussion in the context of direct objecthood in Toqabaqita and for another example see Lichtenberk [1997].)

The next pair of examples shows a parallel situation with a verb-like preposition. In (11-28) the lexical noun phrase occurs next to the prolativizing preposition and is indexed on it by means of the suffix *-a*, as is the case with lexical objects of the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3.1):

(11-28) *Toqa naqi ki kera ngat=taqaa suli-a*
 people this PL 3PL.NFUT speak=be.bad PROL-3.OBJ

mak=kamuluqa ma ni kamuluqa.

father=2PL and PROFORE 2PL

‘These people speak badly about your father and (about) you.’

On the other hand, in (11-29) it is the pronoun that occurs next to the preposition, and as is the case with pronominal objects, it is not indexed on the

preposition. (In 11-29 there is no phonological fusion of the verbs *ngata* ‘speak’ and *taqaa* ‘be bad’.)

(11-29) *Toqa naqi ki kera ngata taqaa suli*
 people this PL 3PL.NFUT speak be.bad PROL

kamuluqa ma mak=kamuluqa.
 2PL and father=2PL

‘These people speak badly about you and (about) your father.’

Here too the presence and absence of object indexing on the preposition is evidence that it is only the phrase next to the preposition that is its object. The other one is an adjunct.

While the second noun phrase in the constructions discussed in this section is an adjunct, there is not necessarily a prosodic break between the two noun phrases. Sometimes, however, there is a (slight) pause between the two, as in the next example. In fact, in that sentence there are two adjunct phrases, and each one contains a combination of the additive marker and an intensifier. Each adjunct is separated from the preceding phrase by a pause, indicated by commas.

(11-30) ... *qoko qadomi nia, ma ai nia ni laqu*
 2SG.SEQ help 3SG and wife 3SG LIG ADD

boqo, ma kali wela nia ni laqu boqo, ...
 INTS and little.SG child 3SG LIG ADD INTS

‘... help him, and also his wife, and also his little child, ...’

Coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases in a non-argument position is not unusual. It is grammatical in the subject position but not common. Coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases in other positions is not grammatical. Instead, only one noun phrase functions as the object of the verb or of a preposition, the other one(s) being (an) adjunct(s). This type of construction is dispreferred. What is preferred both in the subject position and in the object positions is constructions with inclusory pronominals, which are discussed in chapter 14.

11.2.2. Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination

The basic structure of the disjunctive coordinate noun phrase is shown in (11-31):

- (11-31) NP → NP [*mada* NP]*
or

Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination can only be syndetic. There is only one, invariable disjunctive coordinator, *mada* ‘or’. (*Mada* is also used in coordination of clauses and sentences [section 28.4], to introduce the protases of conditional sentences [section 31.1.1], and to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition [section 18.5.3].)

Disjunctive coordination can be binary or multiple; see (11-32) for the former, and (11-33) and (11-34) for the latter.

- (11-32) *Qo moa-tani-a fanga mada kafo ni bana?*
2SG.NFUT vomit-TR-3.OBJ food or water LIG LIM
‘Did you vomit out food or just water?’

In multiple disjunctive coordination, each coordinand other than the first one occurs with *mada*:

- (11-33) ... *ka teo si qa-na ta kwalu fa*
3SG.SEQ lie PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS some eight CLF

bongi, mada ta fiu fa bongi, mada ono
day or some seven CLF day or six

fa bongi, sui, ...

CLF day be.finished

‘[After an area of the bush has been cleared for a new garden,] it [the cleared area] will first lie (like that) for some eight days, or (some) seven days, or six days, then ...’

In (11-34) a multiply disjunctive noun phrase occurs as the complement of the connective preposition *faafi*:

- (11-34) *Qe=aqi misi raqu quu boqo*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG possess ANTCONT ASRT

faafi-a ta teqe kasi qamplifae mena,
CONF-3.OBJ some one small amplifier FADD

mada ta si spika mena, mada ta
or some DIM speaker FADD or some

maekrofon mena, ma gita ni mena
 microphone FADD and guitar LIG FADD

ka aqi.

3SG.SEQ not.be.available

‘We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.’

Lexical and pronominal phrases are not normally combined in disjunctive coordination in argument positions. Instead, disjunctive phrases are placed in clauses as adjuncts, the referents being encoded in an argument position jointly by a subject marker or by an object marker. In (11-35) they are encoded jointly by means of the plural object suffix on the comitative preposition. The reference of the object suffix is made clear by the following disjunctive phrase:

(11-35) *Tei na qoki lae bii-da, kamiliqa mada*
 who FOC 2SG.FUT go COM-3PL.OBJ 1PL(EXCL) or

kini qena ki?
 woman that(2) PL

‘Who will you go with (lit.: with them), us or those women?’

11.3. Prepositional-phrase coordination

Coordination of prepositional phrases can be of the conjunctive or the disjunctive type. Conjunctive coordination is discussed first. In conjunctive coordination, only the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ can be used, which is also used to coordinate noun phrases (and clauses and sentences). The other coordinators used in conjunctive noun-phrase coordination, *bia* and *bii*, do not function as coordinators of prepositional phrases. *Ma* is optional, although usually present, especially in binary coordination.

Example (11-36) contains binary coordination:

(11-36) *Wane araqi ki ma ai biqi baqita ki*
 man mature.man PL and woman IMM be.big PL

na kere fii-fita suli-a tala qeri i laa
 FOC 3PL.NFUT RDP-run PROL-3.OBJ road that LOC IN

fa quuqusungadia ki ma i laa thaqulafia ki.

CLF morning PL and LOC IN evening PL

‘It’s (both) adult men and adolescent women (lit.: women just/recently big) that run [here: jog] on that road in the mornings and in the evenings.’

In (11-37) the coordinator is absent from binary coordination:

- (11-37) ... *tai kini ki na keki qono ura*
 some.PL woman PL FOC 3PL.IPFV sit PURP

qegwe-la-na,

uri-a

extract.kernel.out.of-NMLZ-3SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ

alu-la-na i laa fo ongi.

put-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LOC IN CLF bamboo.sp

‘[When canarium nuts are processed, the men crack them open (and)] it is some (of the) women who sit [there] to extract the kernels out of them (and) to put them [the kernels] in *ongi* bamboo [containers].’ (Lit.: ‘... it is some women who sit for extracting the kernels out of them, for putting them in *ongi* bamboo.’)

Disjunctive coordination is discussed next. There the conjunction *mada* ‘or’ is used, which also serves to coordinate noun phrases (and clauses). *Mada* is obligatory. The next two examples contain disjunctive coordination:

- (11-38) ... *uri-a kwai raa i Kilufi mada i*
 PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT work LOC Kilufi or LOC

Malu’u.

Malu’u

‘[I applied for a job] so that I could work at Kilufi [Hospital] or at Malu’u [Clinic].’

- (11-39) ... *keko kotho ba-daroqa i*
 3DU.SEQ go.through LIM-3DU.PERS LOC

maatonga-na

fenisi

qeri

mada

i

mid.of.vertical.object-3.PERS

fence

that

or

LOC

qaaqae-na *fenisi* *qeri* *toqo*.
 base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS fence that perhaps
 ‘... they went [out] simply through the middle of the fence or perhaps at [i.e. under] the bottom of the fence.’

11.4. Noun-phrase apposition and prepositional-phrase apposition

In apposition, as the term is used here, two, or more, phrases that are referentially non-distinct are juxtaposed, without a coordinator. In apposition, the phrase(s) after the first one supplies/supply additional, clarifying, elaborating, or correcting information about the entity or the type of entity encoded by the first phrase. The two or more appositive phrases are normally separate intonation units, indicated by commas in the examples. The first four examples illustrate noun-phrase apposition, which is more common than prepositional-phrase apposition:

(11-40) *Nia* *ka* *lae* *bo=naqa* *buria-na* *wane*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go ASRT=INTS behind-3.PERS man

qeri, wane *ni* *thau* *wane* *qeri*.
 that man LIG kill person that
 ‘He followed (lit. went behind) the man, the killer of people.’

(11-41) *Kera* *laba-tani-a* *qasia* *naqa* *toqa* *naqi* *ki*
 3PL.NFUT harm-TR-3.OBJ INTS INTS people this PL

i *laal-a* *aququa* *naqi, Malaqita,*
 LOC inside-3.PERS island this Malaita
 ‘They really harmed the (lit.: these) people on this island, Malaita,’

In (11-42) the second noun phrase clarifies the reference of the personal pronoun with which it is in apposition:

(11-42) ... *ta* *fai,* *ta* *lima* *wane* *biqi* *baqita* *bii*
 some four some five man IMM be.big COM

kamiliqa, ta *fai* *wane* *baqita* *naqa*.
 1PL(EXCL) some four man be.big PRF
 ‘[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big),

(together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.’

More than two phrases may be in apposition:

- (11-43) ... *tha* *Mata,* *kwai=ni* *Joy,*
 PERSMKR Mata spouse:3.PERS=PERSMKR Joy
- Police* *man* *baa,* *e* *faqa-rongo* *nau* *mai*
 police man that 3SG.NFUT CAUS-hear 1SG VENT
 ‘... Mata, Joy’s husband, the policeman, told me’

The next example contains prepositional-phrase apposition, where the second prepositional phrase has a disjunctive coordinate noun phrase as its complement:

- (11-44) ... *ma* *kuka* *toli-ngi* *nia* *qan=ta*
 and PL(INCL).SEQ give.share.to-TR 3SG GENP=some
- si* *doo,* *qan=sii-na* *botho* *mada* *ta*
 PRTT thing GENP=piece-3.PERS pork or some
- kata* *mada* *ta* *iqa.*
 k.o.pudding or some fish
 ‘... and we give him a share of something, (such as) some pork, or some *kata* pudding, or some fish.’

Chapter 12

Compounding

12.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a large variety of types of compounds. On the basis of their constituents, the following main types can be distinguished in the language: [noun noun], [noun verb], [verb noun], and [verb verb] compounds. There are both endocentric and exocentric compounds, and both root and synthetic compounds. With one minor type of exception, all endocentric compounds are left-headed. Apart from the major compounding types, there are also some minor types, and also idiosyncratic compounds. And besides compounds, there are lexicalized phrases, which too are discussed in this chapter.

The only phonological characteristic that may be indicative of a word being a compound is stress. As discussed in section 2.3, in words with more than one stressed syllable the final stress tends to be stronger than the preceding stress(es). So, for example the word *alo* ‘taro’ would be stressed [álo] when not in a compound, whereas it would normally receive secondary stress as the first constituent in the compound [àlómáε] (*alo-mae* ‘taro’-‘die’) ‘blight that affects taro plants’.

The following conventions are employed in writing compounds. Compounds that are irregular, semantically or formally, are written as one word. Included here are [verb noun] compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs. All other compounds are written as separate words, with one type of exception. Compounds that carry affixes that apply to the compound as a whole are written as one word to show that the affix applies to the whole compound. This applies to nominalizations and deverbal nouns formed from compound verbs; for example, *abula taqaa* (‘behave’ ‘be.bad’) ‘behave badly’, but *abula-taqaa-laa* ‘behaving badly’, with the nominalizing suffix *-laa*; and *alu wane* (‘bury’ ‘person’) ‘bury (dead) people’ but *alu-wane-a* ‘burial’, with the the deverbal-noun forming suffix *-a*. Similarly, compounds that carry other affixes are written as one word; for example, *lofo-qaba-ku* (‘inner.side’-‘hand’-1SG.PERS) ‘my (hand) palm’; cf. the synonymous possessive noun phrase *lofo-na qaba-ku* ‘the palm of my hand’ (with the third person possessive suffix *-na*). Lexicalized phrases are written as separate words, unless they are highly idiosyncratic semantically and/or formally.

There are also compound-like words where only one of the elements exists as a word in the language today; for example, *utarodo* (n.) ‘rain at night’, cf. *rodo* night. There is no related word *uta*, but cf. Proto-Oceanic **qunsa* ‘rain’, of which *uta* would be a regular reflex in Toqabaqita.

Some compounds function purely as lexemes, the way non-compound lexemes do. But certain types of compound fulfill an information-packaging function. Specifically, they permit the backgrounding of a participant.

12.2. [noun noun] compounds

With a very small number of exceptions, all [noun noun] compounds are themselves nouns. This type of compound may be endocentric or exocentric.

Endocentric compounds:

(12-1) *firi thato*
tobacco sun
‘variety of tobacco
with yellow leaves’

(12-2) *fau botho*
stone pig
‘basalt’

The nouns *wane* ‘man’ and *kini* ‘woman’ are used as modifiers in compounds to signal male and female gender, respectively:

(12-3) *wela wane*
child man
‘boy’, ‘son’

(12-4) *nguda kini*
crab woman
‘female crab’

Exocentric compounds:

(12-5) *qaba-malefo*
arm/hand-shell.money
‘kind of armband made
out of shell money’

(12-6) *qai-alo*
tree-taro
‘corn’

There are a few pairs of compounds and synonymous possessive phrases:

(12-7) a. *lofo-qaba-ku*
inner.side-hand-1SG.PERS
‘my (hand) palm’

- b. *lofo-na* *qaba-ku*
 inner.side-3.PERS hand-1SG.PERS
 ‘the palm of my hand’

In other cases, a compound and the corresponding possessive phrase are not synonymous, because the compound has an idiosyncratic meaning.

- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|---|
| (12-8) | <i>mee-qulau</i>
tongue-frog.sp.
‘young coconut
with very soft flesh’ | (12-9) | <i>mea-na</i> <i>qulau</i>
tongue-3.PERS frog.sp.
‘the tongue of an <i>qulau</i>
frog’ |
|--------|--|--------|---|

In very few cases, a compound that consists of two nouns is not itself a noun but a verb.

- (12-10) *maa-fau*
 eye-stone
 ‘of a person: be serious, not given to jokes, laughter’, ‘be stony faced’

Similarly in (12-11), where, however, the constituents can occur in either order without any difference in meaning:

- | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------------------|
| (12-11) | a. <i>maa-era</i>
eye-fire
both: ‘stare with one’s eyes wide open (e.g. when being fierce)’, ‘have eyes flashing (e.g. in anger)’ | b. <i>era-maa</i>
fire-eye |
|---------|---|-------------------------------|

12.3. [noun verb] compounds

There are three subtypes of [noun verb] compounds. One of them is root compounds and the other two synthetic compounds.

12.3.1. Root [noun verb] compounds

Compounds of this type are quite numerous, and they can be either endocentric or exocentric. Only intransitive verbs can occur as modifiers in this type of compound. The compound is a noun.

Endocentric compounds:

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---------|--|
| (12-12) | <i>kini faalu</i>
woman be.new
'newly-married woman' | (12-13) | <i>iqa tekwa</i>
"fish" be.long
'dugong' |
|---------|--|---------|--|

(The *iqa* category subsumes not only fish but also sea mammals.)

Exocentric compounds:

- | | | | |
|---------|--|---------|---|
| (12-14) | <i>alo-mae</i>
taro-die
'blight that affects
taro plants' | (12-15) | <i>kuukuu-qoro</i>
finger/toe-be.many
'centipede' |
|---------|--|---------|---|

12.3.2. Subject-incorporating [noun verb] compounds

This type of compound consists of a noun followed by an intransitive verb. The noun corresponds to the subject of the verb. The resulting compound is an intransitive verb. In fact, such compounds typically have broadly synonymous analytic counterparts where the noun of the compound heads the subject phrase and the verb of the compound occurs in the predicate. This makes this type of compound different from the [noun verb] compounds discussed in section 12.3.1, which do not have synonymous clausal counterparts. In (12-16) and (12-17), the examples in (a) give the compounds by themselves; the examples in (b) illustrate their use in sentences; and the examples in (c) contain broadly synonymous sentences with the relevant noun in the subject and the verb in the predicate.

- (12-16) a. *lio-dora*
mind-forget
'forget'
- b. *Nau ku lio-dora qana thata-na*
1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP name-3.PERS
- wane qeri.*
man that
'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I have mind-forgotten the man's name.')

- c. *Nau, lio-ku e dora qana*
 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP
thata-na wane qeri.
 name-3.PERS man that
 ‘I have forgotten the man’s name.’ (Lit.: ‘I, my mind has forgotten the man’s name.’)

In (12-16c) the subject is *lio-ku* ‘my mind’, and the verb has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. (The first person singular pronoun *nau* is in the topic position.) On the other hand, in (12-16b) the subject is the pronoun *nau* ‘I’, and the verb has the first person singular nonfuture subject marker.

- (12-17) a. *seqe-lufa*
 body-be.shy/ashamed
 ‘be shy’, ‘be ashamed’
- b. *Wela e seqe-lufa.*
 child 3SG.NFUT body-be.shy/ashamed
 ‘The child is shy.’ ‘The child is ashamed.’
- c. *Wela, seqe-n=e lufa.*
 child body-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.shy/ashamed
 ‘The child is shy.’ ‘The child is ashamed.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, his/her body is shy/ashamed.’)

This type of compounding is lexically quite restricted. Verbs formed in this way signify mental or physical characteristics, usually, but not necessarily, of people. Some more examples are given below. The first three have synonymous analytic counterparts.

- (12-18) *manata-akele* (12-19) *gwau-boko*
 thought/mind-turn head-be.blocked
 ‘regret’, ‘repent’ ‘be dumb, not smart’, ‘be a
 blockhead’
- (12-20) *seqe-daadaola*
 body-(body/body.part)be.tired/stiff/numb
 ‘be, feel lazy’, ‘not feel like doing st.’

There are also subject-incorporating compounds that have analytic counterparts but the two constructions are not (fully) synonymous. For example, there

is a compound *ifu-kulu* ('hair'-'hang') 'have long, unkempt hair as a sign of mourning'. The corresponding analytic construction with *ifu* 'hair' in the subject position and *kulu* 'hang' in the predicate expresses the meaning '(a person's) (long) hair hangs down', without any implication of the person being in mourning. And there is a compound *seqe-thaathala* ('body'-'be.light.in.weight') 'be, feel happy'. The corresponding analytic construction with *seqe* 'body' in the subject and *thaathala* 'be light in weight' in the predicate has the meaning 'person (lit. person's body) feels good physically' (e.g. because he/she is free of illness).

A few nouns participate in more than one subject-incorporating compound. One such noun is *manata* 'mind, thought' (same as *lio* 'mind, thought'); for example, *manata-dora* 'forget' (*dora* 'forget', also 'not know'), same as *lio-dora* 'forget' (see [12-16] further above), and *manata-akele* 'regret', 'repent' (*akele* 'turn around, over'). *Seqe* 'body' also enters into several compounds. Besides *seqe-lufa* 'be shy, be ashamed' (see [2-17]), and *seqe-thaathala* 'be, feel happy' (see the preceding paragraph), there is also *seqe-leqa* 'be clean', 'be new' (e.g. clothes) (*leqa* 'be good', 'be nice'). Conversely, the verb *boko* 'be shut', 'be blocked' enters into more than one compound with different nouns: *rake-boko* 'be constipated' (*rake* 'belly'), *gwau-boko* 'be dumb, not smart', 'be a blockhead' (*gwau* 'head'), and *maa-boqo* 'be blind, blinded, unable to see, because of blindness or a temporary eye problem' (*maa* 'eye'). More examples of subject-incorporating compounds can be found in Lichtenberk (2008b).

Verbs that participate in subject-incorporating compounds are intransitive verbs that take experiencers or themes as their subjects, verbs such as 'forget', 'be shy, ashamed', 'be good, nice', 'be tired, stiff, numb', 'be closed, blocked', 'be light in weight', 'turn', and 'hang'. And the nouns that enter into such compounds tend to be nouns that designate body parts, such as 'head', 'eye', 'belly', 'mouth' (not exemplified here) and also 'body', and also concepts such as 'mind' and 'breath' (not exemplified here). All of these nouns are relational (section 8.1.5) and occur in the possessum phrases in the suffixing possessive noun phrase (unless the possessum has been individuated).

However, there is at least one compound that does not fit this pattern: *akalo-taqe* ('ancestral.spirit'-'ascend'): 'of a person: have a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit':

- (12-21) *Wane e akalo-taqe.*
 man 3SG.NFUT ancestral.spirit-ascend
 'The man had a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit.'

This compound does have a broadly synonymous analytic counterpart. However, the analytic counterpart is transitive. The noun in the compound corresponds to the subject of a transitive verb:

- (12-22) *Akalo e taqe-li-a wane.*
 ancestral.spirit 3SG.NFUT ascend-TR-3.OBJ man
 ‘The ancestral spirit visited, communicated (something) to, the man.’

Akalo is a relational noun (an ancestral spirit must be a spirit of an ancestor), but it is not relational in this way to the person visited and communicated to.

Subject-incorporating compounds have as their function manipulation of discourse structure, information packaging, specifically making the notional possessor into the topic of the sentence. Consider (12-23) with a subject-incorporating compound:

- (12-23) *Wela e rake-boko.*
 child 3SG.NFUT belly-be.blocked
 ‘The child is constipated.’

The notional possessor, ‘the child’ is encoded in the subject position, rather than in the possessor position, as in (12-24):

- (12-24) *rake-na wela*
 belly-3.PERS child
 ‘the child’s belly’

In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topics (section 38.1). The types of situation which are encoded by means of subject-incorporating compounds are primarily about the notional “possessor”, not about his/her body part, his/her body, or his/her mind. So although in the situation expressed in (12-23) above it is the child’s belly that is immediately affected, ultimately it is the child that is affected. Similarly, the sentence in (12-25) is primarily about the person forgetting, not about his or her mind.

- (12-25) *Nau ku lio-dora qana thata-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP name-3.PERS

wane qeri.

man that

‘I have forgotten the man’s name.’ (Lit.: ‘I have mind-forgotten the man’s name.’)

As Bally (1996 [1926]: 33) said: “The part of the body directly affected is only the medium for a condition which spreads to the whole system.”

Topicalization is also relevant in the sentence in (12-21) further above, ‘The man had a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit’. The statement is primarily about the man and what happened to him rather than about the ancestral spirit.

That it is foregrounding, topicalization of the notional possessor that is the relevant factor is indirectly evidenced by the fact that when an analytic construction is used instead of the synonymous subject-incorporating compound, it is common for the possessor to be topicalized (by fronting). (In addition, the possessor is indexed on the possessum noun by a personal suffix.) This is shown in (12-26), which corresponds to (12-25), and in (12-27), which corresponds to (12-23).

(12-26) *Nau, lio-ku e dora qana*
 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP

thata-na wane qeri.
 name-3.PERS man that

‘I have forgotten the man’s name.’ (Lit.: ‘I, my mind has forgotten the man’s name.’)

(12-27) *Wela, rake-n=e boko.*
 child belly-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.blocked

‘The child is constipated.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, his/her belly is blocked.’)

Sentences that correspond to those either with a subject-incorporating compound or with the topicalization of the possessor but employ neither are grammatical, but they are not very common. They may be used if, for example, the sentence has a different topic. In (12-28) the topic is the man, and the sentence employs a subject-incorporating compound:

(12-28) *Wane naqi qe seqe-daadaola qasia naqa.*
 man this 3SG.NFUT body-be.tired/numb INTS INTS
 ‘This man is very lazy’

On the other hand, in (12-29) the temporal phrase ‘in the morning’ represents the topic, and the sentence employs neither the compound *seqe-daadaola* nor topicalization of the possessor. (Double topicalization is possible; see section 38.6.)

(12-29) *Qi quuqusungadia seqe-ku qe*
 LOC morning body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

Below are given a few more examples of this type of compound:

- (12-32) *gota fasi-a*
 areca.nut plant-3.OBJ
 ‘a planted areca-nut tree’, ‘an areca-nut tree that has been planted by somebody (as opposed to a self-sown tree)’

Also with *fasi-a*:

- (12-33) *alita fasi-a*
 indian.almond plant-3.OBJ
 ‘variety of the Indian Almond tree (*Terminalia* sp.) that bears nuts with large kernels’

But not, for example:

- (12-34) **alo fasi-a*
 taro plant-3.OBJ
 (‘planted taro’)

This is, presumably, because it is normal for taros to be planted. On the other hand, there is a compound to designate self-sown taros, which are much less common than planted ones:

- (12-35) *alo gwee-a*
 taro pick.up-3.OBJ
 ‘self-sown taro’ (i.e., taro that is just pulled out from the ground, without anybody having planted it)

- (12-36) *iqa sule-a*
 fish fish.with.hook.and.line-3.OBJ
 ‘species of mackerel’ (lit. ‘fish caught with hook and line’)

- (12-37) *wela suluqi-a*
 child adopt.at.birth-3.OBJ
 ‘child adopted at birth because his/her mother died when giving birth’

- (12-38) *gwa kafo goto-a*
 CLF water dam-3.OBJ
 ‘pool in a stream created by means of a dam, barrier’

- (12-39) *waqi fafa-a*
 basket carry.on.back-3.OBJ
 ‘backpack’

In the compound in (12-40) the modifying verb is short transitive and is reduplicated:

- (12-40) *waqi taa-taru-fi-a*
 basket RDP-hang-TR-3.OBJ
 ‘k.o. personal basket carried slung from the shoulder’

(The meaning of *taru-fi* is ‘carry a personal basket, bag suspended on one’s body’; for example, carry a personal basket slung from one’s shoulder, or carry a backpack on one’s back.)

12.4. Object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds

12.4.1. Introduction

There are three subtypes of object-incorporating compounds: (i) compounds that are intransitive verbs, (ii) compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs, and (iii) compounds that are nouns.

With some provisos to be discussed further below, verbs that enter into this type of compound exist as transitive verbs, but, with one exception, only Class 1 transitive verbs do. As transitive verbs, when they occur in a verb phrase, they index their lexical objects by the third person (singular) object suffix, regardless of the grammatical number of the object. However, when such verbs occur in object-incorporating compounds, the verb in the compound cannot carry an object suffix. In the case of compounds that are intransitive verbs, there is no object suffix because the compound verb is intransitive. In the case of compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs, there is an object suffix, but it is attached to the compound as a whole, not to the constituent verb. Second, nothing can intervene between the verb and the noun in such compounds. Postverbal particles can only come after a compound. And third, nouns in the direct-object position can have modifiers and can carry personal suffixes, but the nouns in compounds can have neither. These differences between verbs and their direct objects on the one hand and object-incorporating compounds on the other are illustrated by the next three pairs of examples. In (12-41) the verb carries the object suffix *-a*, the preceditive particle comes between the verb and the direct object, and the direct-object noun carries a personal suffix:

- (12-41) *Nau kwai dada-a fasi lifo-ku.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT brush-3.OBJ PREC tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’m going to brush my teeth now.’

In broadly synonymous (12-42) the verb-noun combination is an intransitive verb. There is no object suffix, the precedentive particle comes after the verb-noun combination, and the noun does not, and cannot, carry the personal suffix.

- (12-42) *Nau kwai dada lifo fasi.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT brush tooth PREC
 ‘I’m going to brush (my) teeth now.’

In (12-43) the verb carries an object suffix, the ventive directional comes between the verb and the direct object, and the direct object contains, beside the noun, a demonstrative and the plural marker:

- (12-43) *Ni nau na kwai ngali-a mai qai lakoo*
 PROFORE 1SG FOC 1SG carry-3.OBJ VENT wood that(3)

ki.
 PL
 ‘It will be me who will bring those pieces of (fire)wood.’

In (12-44) the verb-noun combination is an intransitive verb. There is no object suffix, the ventive particle comes after the verb-noun combination, and the noun does not, and cannot, be modified by a demonstrative or the plural marker:

- (12-44) *Ni nau na kwai ngali qai mai.*
 PROFORE 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT carry wood VENT
 ‘It will be me who will bring (fire)wood.’

The next pair of examples concerns an object-incorporating compound that is a Class 2 transitive verb. In (12-45) the Class 1 transitive verb *naqare* ‘roast, cook’ carries the third person object suffix *-a*, and the direct object contains a noun modified by a demonstrative:

- (12-45) ... *ka naqare-a alo baa ki ...*
 3SG.SEQ roast-3.OBJ taro that PL
 ‘... she roasted the taros ...’

In (12-46) the verb *naqare* is combined with the noun *tele*, which designates items of food other than meat that have been roasted or are intended for roasting, for example, taros, yams, and breadfruit. The noun *tele* cannot have a modifier here. The combination *naqare-tele* is a Class 2 transitive verb: it carries the object suffix *-na*, rather than *-a*. And there is a direct object, ‘taros’:

- (12-46) *Kini* *qe* *naqare-tele-na* *alo* *ki*.
 woman 3SG.NFUT roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ taro PL
 ‘The woman roasted (the) taros.’

Verbs that enter into object-incorporating compounds are Class 1 transitive when they occur outside of compounds. However, when they occur in compounds, their form need not be the same as the one they have elsewhere (apart from the absence of the object suffix). Following the tradition in Micronesian linguistics (see, for example, Rehg 1981), the form of a transitive verb that occurs as the first element of a compound is referred to here as the “combining” form. The combining forms will also be relevant to [verb verb] compounds. With bare transitive verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts, the combining form is the base without the object indexing suffix:

- (12-47) a. *dada-a* *seqe-na* *alafolo*
 rub/brush-3.OBJ body-3.PERS k.o.warclub
 ‘rub the body of an *alafolo* club’ (e.g., to make it smooth)
- b. *dada* *lifo*
 rub/brush tooth
 ‘brush (one’s) teeth’

Short transitive verbs contain a variant of the suffix *-Ci*. For those verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts, the combining form usually, but not always, lacks the suffix. For example:

- (12-48) a. *faa-li-a* *waqi* b. *faa* *waqi*
 weave-TR-3.OBJ basket weave basket
 ‘weave a/the basket’ ‘weave a basket/baskets’

Less commonly, the transitive suffix is retained in the combining form of a short transitive verb:

- (12-49) a. *uusuli-a* *aququa*
 follow-TR-3.OBJ island
 ‘of a boat, ship: follow (the coast of) an island’

- b. *uusuli thara*
 follow-TR coast
 ‘of a boat, ship: follow a coast’
- c. *uususu-li-tala*
 follow-RDP-TR-path
 ‘species of crab’ (lit.: ‘follows paths’)

But there are other compounds where the combining form of ‘follow’ does not carry the transitive suffix:

- (12-50) a. *uusulasi* follow-sea
 ‘bowsprit of a boat’
 (lit.: ‘follows sea’)
- d. *uususiqai* follow-tree
 ‘Common Kingfisher’
 (lit.: ‘follows trees’)

Long transitive verbs take *-Cani* and *-Cai* allomorphs of the transitive suffix. The combining form always has the *-(C)aqi* variant of the suffix:

- (12-51) a. *teofani-a wela*
 lie-TR-3.OBJ child
 ‘put, lay a/the child
 down (to sleep)’
- b. *teofaqi wela*
 lie-TR child
 ‘put, lay a child/
 children down (to sleep)’

If a bare or a short transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart, the combining form corresponds in most cases to the intransitive verb. For example:

- (12-52) a. *kuqufi-a meresina*
 drink-TR-3.OBJ medicine
 ‘drink (the) medicine’
- b. *kuqu meresina*
 drink medicine
 ‘drink medicine’

There is an intransitive verb *kuqu*:

- (12-53) *Lae qoko kuqu.*
 go 2SG.SEQ drink
 ‘Go (and have a) drink.’

This is particularly evident with verbs that undergo vowel alternations between the intransitive and the transitive variants (section 4.2.3.2.2). It is the intransitive variant that occurs in the compound. For example, there is a transitive verb *qoe* ‘break, snap st.’, which has an intransitive counterpart *qoo* ‘place a taboo sign next to or on a tree’ (the taboo sign consists of a partly broken

sapling or twig; see example [9-106] in section 9.2). (The intransitive verb *qoo* also has the senses ‘break, snap; be broken’.) The combining form is *qoo*; see (12-54c):

- (12-54) a. *Nau ku qoo faafi-a niu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT place.taboo.sign CONF-3.OBJ coconut
nau naqi
 1SG this
 ‘I have put a taboo sign by this coconut tree of mine’
- b. *qoe-a thao*
 break-3.OBJ sago
 ‘bend (lit.: break) a/the sago leaflet around a slat when making a thatching panel’
- c. *qoo thao*
 break sago
 ‘bend sago leaflets around a slat/slat/s when making a thatching panel/thatching panels’

There is transitive verb *qui* ‘beat a drum’, also ‘crack canarium nut’, which has an intransitive counterpart *quu* ‘crack canarium nuts’. The combining form is *quu*; see (12-55c):

- (12-55) a. *Qoko quu bia toqa naqi.*
 2SG.SEQ crack.canarium.nuts COM people this
 ‘Crack nuts together with these people.’
- b. *qui-a suqari*
 beat-3.OBJ drum
 ‘beat a/the drum’
- c. *quu suqari*
 beat drum
 ‘beat a drum/drums’

However, suffixless combining forms do not always correspond to intransitive verbs. First, some bare or short intransitive verbs do not have intransitive counterparts. For example, the short transitive verb *faa-li* ‘weave’ has *faa* as its combining form:

- (12-56) *faa waqi*
weave basket
'weave a basket/baskets'

However, there is no intransitive verb **faa*. *Faa* exists only as the combining form of *faa-li*.

And sometimes a bare or a short transitive verb does have an intransitive counterpart, but the form of the intransitive verb is not the same as that of the combining form. The bare transitive verb *kesi* 'scrape st. in order to clean it' (especially about scraping roasted tubers) has *kesi* as its combining form:

- (12-57) *kesi-alo*
scrape-taro
a. 'species of bivalve shellfish whose shell is used as a scraper'
(e.g. to scrape roasted tubers clean)
b. 'such a scraper'

There is a corresponding intransitive verb, but it is a reduplication of the transitive root, *keekesi* 'scrape roasted tubers'. (See section 4.2.2.2 for intransitive verbs that involve reduplication of transitive bases.)

Finally, there is a suppletive intransitive-transitive pair of verbs that mean 'eat', *fanga* (intr.) and *qani* (tr.), and it is *qani*, not *fanga*, that is the combining form:

- (12-58) *Nia qe qani qasai ba-na.*
3SG 3SG.NFUT eat mango LIM-3SG.PERS
'He only eats mangoes (and nothing else).'

(However, in [verb verb] compounds, it is the intransitive form *fanga* that functions as the combining form; see section 12.5.)

Exceptionally, a few verbs carry the detransitivizing suffix *-qi/-qe* (section 4.6) when they combine with an incorporated-object noun: *riki-qi* 'see', *lole-qe* 'pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case' (see section 29.4.11), and *thaitoqome-qe* 'know'. Examples of the three verbs are given in (12-59) – (12-62). In (12-59) the self-benefactive postverbal particle follows the [verb noun] unit:

- (12-59) *Lae kwai riki-qi fula-a qa-kuqa.*
go 1SG.FUT see-DETR arrive-DVN SBEN-1SG.PERS
'I'll go see a group of arrivals/groups of arrivals.'

The compound *riki-qi doo* ‘see-DETR thing’ has the idiomatic meaning ‘be rich, have a lot of possessions’:

(12-60) *Nau wane ku rii-riki-qi doo, manga*
 1SG man 1SG.NFUT RDP-see-DETR thing time

qeri qe aqi naqa.
 this 3SG.NFUT not.be.so PRF/INTS

‘I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no more/not at all.’ ‘I used to be a man who was rich; this time no more/not at all.’

See also (12-71) in section 12.4.2. Compare (30-18) in section 30.3, with *riki* ‘see’ in a relative clause headed by *doo* ‘thing’ with the sense ‘have, own, possess’.

In (12-61) the incorporated object is a nominalization. The perfect marker *naqa* follows the compound:

(12-61) *Ta wane ka lole-qe mae-laa naqa,*
 some man 3SG.SEQ pretend-DETR die-NMLZ PRF

keka lada-fi-a.
 3PL.SEQ carry.on.shoulder-TR-3.OBJ

‘One of the men pretended to have died (faked having died), (and) they carried him on their shoulders.’

Lole-qe can also take deverbal nouns as its incorporated objects; see (29-202) in section 29.4.11.

The next example contains *thaitoqome-qe* ‘know’. *Thaitoqome-qe* has an incorporated object *doo* ‘thing’. There is another occurrence of the verb ‘know’ at the end of the sentence, with *doo* ‘thing’ as the head of its direct object. There the noun is modified by the quantifier *ta* and the partitive marker *si*, and so cannot be incorporated; and the verb has the form *thaitoqoma* and carries the object-indexing suffix *-na*.

(12-62) *Wane naqi, ngata-la-na qe quri-a*
 man this talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ

wane qe thaitoqome-qe doo, sui taa
 man 3SG.NFUT know-DETR thing but but

qe=aqi *doodolo-qa* *ka*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so be.smooth-PROP 3SG.SEQ

thaitoqoma-na ta si doo.
 know-3.OBJ some PRTT thing

‘This man talks like someone who knows a lot, but he doesn't know a thing.’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, but he does not know anything at all.’)

(The verb *doodolo-qa* is used to intensify negation; see section 17.5.)

All the object-incorporating compounds where the verb carries the detransitivizing suffix function as intransitive verbs, discussed in section 12.4.2.

While the combining forms of some transitive verbs do correspond to their intransitive counterparts, combining forms cannot be simply equated with intransitive verbs, for a number of reasons. First, some transitive verbs do not have intransitive counterparts. Second, for some transitive verbs that do have intransitive counterparts, the combining form is not the same as the intransitive verb. Third, the combining forms of some transitive verbs retain the transitive suffix. (The combining forms of long transitive verbs always carry the *-Caqi* variant of the transitive suffix.) And finally, a few verbs have combining forms that contain the detransitivizing suffix. Those forms do not function as intransitive verbs.

With the exception of the verb ‘know’, Class 2 transitive verbs do not form object-incorporating compounds and do not have combining forms. With Class 2 transitive verbs, even non-referential direct objects (see the next section) cannot be incorporated and must be indexed on the verb by the third person (singular) object suffix. For example:

(12-63) *Qi laa rodo qi taraqena kuki*
 LOC IN night LOC today PL(INCL).FUT

naqare-tele-na keekene.
 roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ breadfruit
 ‘Tonight we’ll roast breadfruit.’

**Naqare-tele keekene*, as an object-incorporating compound ‘roast breadfruit’, is ungrammatical.

The three subtypes of object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds are now discussed in turn.

12.4.2. Object-incorporating compounds that are intransitive verbs

There are several pieces of evidence that compound verbs of this type are intransitive. First, as discussed in the preceding section, they cannot take object-indexing suffixes. Second, there is evidence from nominalization. With one type of exception, compounds of this type can be nominalized, and such nominalizations exhibit a property characteristic of nominalizations of simple intransitive verbs. When an intransitive verb is nominalized and heads the possessum phrase of a possessive noun phrase, the possessor of the nominalization corresponds to the subject of the source verb. When a transitive verb is nominalized and heads the possessum phrase of a possessive noun phrase and only one argument of the source verb is expressed, then the possessor of the nominalization corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. (See table 9.1 and associated discussion in section 9.1.3). Example (12-64) shows the nominalization of the transitive verb *kori* ‘grate’ where the possessor corresponds to the direct object:

- (12-64) *kori-la-na* *niu*
 grate-NMLZ-3.PERS coconut
 ‘grating (of) coconuts’

The sentence in (12-65) below contains the nominalization of the compound verb *kori niu* ‘coconut grate’. There is no oblique object there corresponding to the direct object of the source verb (because the direct-object noun has been compounded with the verb), and the possessor corresponds to the subject of the source compound verb, just as is the case with simple intransitive verbs:

- (12-65) *Wane* *naqi, kori-niu-la-na* *qe*
 man this grate-coconut-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

taqaa.
 be.bad
 ‘This man is no good at grating coconuts.’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his coconut-grating is bad.’)

Compare (12-66) with a nominalization of the simple transitive verb *ngata* ‘speak, talk’:

- (12-66) *Wane* *naqi, ngata-la-na* *qe* *quri-a*
 man this talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ

wane *qe* *thaitoqome-qe* *doo*,
 man 3SG.NFUT know-DETR thing
 ‘This man talks like he knows a lot, (but)’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his
 talking is like a man who knows things,’)

Third, object-incorporating compounds can occur as non-final verbs in certain types of [verb verb] compounds where Class 1 transitive verbs can only occur in their combining, detransitivized forms (section 12.5). On the other hand, simple intransitive verbs (and Class 2 transitive verbs) freely occur in non-final positions in [verb verb] compounds. The sentence in (12-67) contains a simple intransitive verb in the first position of a [verb verb] compound, and the one in (12-68) contains an object-incorporating compound in the first position of a [verb verb] compound:

(12-67) *Kuki* *biinga* *leqa* *qa=fa* *rodo naqi*.
 PL(INCL).FUT sleep be.good LOC=CLF night this
 ‘We’ll sleep well tonight.’

(12-68) *Kukeqe* *nau* *qe* *tai* *kaleko* *leqa*.
 wife 1SG 3SG.NFUT sew clothes be.good
 ‘My wife sews clothes well.’ ‘My wife is good at sewing clothes.’

And like simple intransitive verbs, object-incorporating compounds of the type discussed here do not undergo instrument inversion when they have an instrument oblique object; see (10-236) in section 10.7 (also given as [12-73] further below).

Besides regular nominalizations, there are also a few deverbal nouns based on intransitive [verb noun] compounds. For example:

<p>(12-69) <i>thau-wane-a</i> kill-person-DVN ‘killing, murder’</p>	<p>(12-70) <i>gwee-ngali-a</i> pick.up-canarium.nut-DVN ‘time/occasion of picking canarium nuts knocked down from trees’</p>
---	--

There is also a deverbal noun based on a compound where the verb carries the detransitivizing suffix *-qi*:

(12-71) *riki-qi-doo-a* *nia*
 see-DETR-thing-DVN 3SG
 ‘his (plentiful) possessions’, ‘his riches’

For the (reduplicated) compound *riki-qi doo* ‘be rich, have a lot of possession’ (lit.: ‘see things’) see (12-60) in section 12.4.1.

Object-incorporating compounding that gives rise to intransitive verbs is fully productive in the sense that for any Class 1 transitive verb-direct object combination it is possible, in principle, to form a corresponding intransitive [verb noun] compound. In addition, there are also some idiom compounds for which there are no corresponding verb-direct object combinations in the relevant meanings. A few examples are given further below.

The productive compounding serves to background the participant(s) or the type of participant that would otherwise be encoded as the direct object of the verb. The patient/theme/stimulus is backgrounded because it is not salient, dis-source prominent. The noun functions as a modifier of the verb. It identifies the activity, etc. denoted by the verb as applying to a certain type of entity. This kind of backgrounding takes place when there are no specific patient, etc. participants to which the state of affairs applies, for example because the activity is presented as a habitual one:

(12-72) *Mili* *fale fanga* *qi* *fa-da*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food LOC REC-3PL.PERS

ka *too-too* *ba-na,* *laa-lae,* *mika*
 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

feda *naqa.*
 be.tired PRF

‘We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired (of it) now.’

(12-73) *Basi* *na* *maka nau* *kai* *baa-basi* *futa*
 bow REL father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot possum

qani-a *manga* *na=i* *dini* *neq.*
 INS-3SG.OBJ time REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here

‘Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old days.’

However, even if there are one or more specific patient, theme, or stimulus entities involved in a situation, they can be backgrounded by means of object-incorporation if they are not salient, if their identity is not relevant:

- (12-74) *Keki naqare keekene.*
 3PL.IPFV roast breadfruit
 ‘They are roasting breadfruit.’ (The speaker is commenting on what other people were doing at that time.)
- (12-75) *Muki gwee ngali?*
 2PL.IPFV pick.up canarium.nut
 ‘Are you picking canarium nuts?’ (The nuts were being picked after having been knocked down from trees.)

Besides productive object-incorporating compounding, there are also compounds that are not compositional because the corresponding verb-direct object combination would be semantically wrong or pragmatically implausible, or the meaning would be quite different. Here are a few examples:

- (12-76) *kafi-boro*
 lift.clothes-bottom
 ‘bare one’s behind and stick it out at a person, as a sign of great anger at the person’
- (12-77) *ngali-thauthau*
 take-wind
 ‘go and get fresh air’ (usually by walking to an open place where there is breeze)
- (12-78) *kotho-luma*
 enter-family.house
 ‘of a man: creep into another family’s house with the intention of having sex with a woman living there’
- (12-79) *qoo-qae*
 break-leg
 ‘walk a very long distance to reach a destination’

12.4.3. Object-incorporating compounds that are transitive verbs

All such compounds are Class 2 transitive verbs; however, it is only Class 1 transitive verbs, bare or short transitive, that enter into them, in their combining forms. This type of compounding is not productive. The number of compounds is relatively small, and they tend not to be semantically fully transparent. A few examples are given below:

(12-80) *qafu-saasaba-na* *iga*
 wrap-parcel.of.fish-3.OBJ fish
 ‘wrap fish in several layers of leaves for cooking directly in fire’

(12-81) *ngata-maa-na* *wela*
 speak-eye-3.OBJ child
 ‘give a child a talking to’

Compare *ngata-fi* ‘scold’.

(12-82) *kiki-qamali-na* *sofusofu*
 pour-seawater/salt-3.OBJ soup
 ‘add salt/seawater to (the) soup’, ‘salt (the) soup’

(12-83) *Kera* *lafu-lifo-ku.*
 3PL.NFUT remove-tooth-1SG.OBJ
 ‘They extracted my tooth. ‘They extracted (one/some of) my teeth.’
 ‘They performed tooth-extraction on me.’

(12-84) *Alo naqi kuki* *thau-kumu-na.*
 taro this PL(INCL).FUT pound-k.o.pudding-3SG.OBJ
 ‘This taro we will make/pound into *kumu* pudding.’

In the next compound, the incorporated noun is a nominalization of a verb:

(12-85) *Ada keka sore-mae-la-mu.*
 TIM 3PL.SEQ say-die-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ
 ‘They might sentence you to death.’

Class 2 transitive verbs index their direct objects by means of suffixes that are also used on possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive noun phrase (section 8.1.2). And in some cases, the noun in the compound could occur as the possessum noun in a suffixing possessive construction. For example:

- (12-86) a. *foqa-thata-na* *akalo*
 pray-name-3.OBJ ancestral.spirit
 ‘pray to (the name of) an ancestral spirit’
- b. *thata-na* *akalo* *fuu*
 name-3.PERS ancestral.spirit that
 ‘that ancestral spirit’s name’

- (12-87) a. *ngata-maa-na wela*
 speak-eye-3.OBJ child
 ‘give a child a talking to’
- b. *maa-na wela*
 eye-3.PERS child
 ‘child’s eye’
- (12-88) a. *lafu-lifo-ku*
 remove-tooth-1SG.OBJ
 ‘remove my tooth/teeth’
- b. *lifo-ku*
 tooth-1SG.PERS
 ‘my tooth/teeth’

It is likely that this kind of compounding originated as incorporation of the possessum noun that was part of the direct object, together with the personal suffix on the possessum noun, which was then re-interpreted as an object-indexing suffix on the compound verb. The original possessor phrase was reinterpreted as the direct object of the compound. That is, there was restructuring of the construction in (12-89a) into the one in (12-89b):

- (12-89) a. verb-3.OBJ [possessum.noun-PERS (possessor)]_{DO}
- b. [verb-noun]-OBJ (DO)
-

When the verb in the original structure contained a short transitive suffix, the suffix was removed, and the verb occurred in its combining form, without the original object suffix. For example, the construction in (12-90a) would have been restructured into the one in (12-90b).

- (12-90) a. *foqa-si-a [thata-na akalo]*
 pray-TR-3.OBJ name-3.PERS ancestral.spirit
 ‘pray to the name of an ancestral spirit’
- b. *foqa-thata-na akalo*
 pray-name-3.OBJ ancestral.spirit
 ‘pray to (the name of) an ancestral spirit’

However, while such restructuring may have been the way this type of compounding originated, it does not account for all the instances of this type of compound, because, in the present-day language at least, one cannot always assume the existence of a suffixing possessive construction where the possessum noun corresponds to the incorporated noun and the possessor to the direct object. For example, there is a compound verb *qili-ano*:

- (12-91) a. *qili-ano-na kai*
 dig-soil-3.OBJ yam
 ‘dig up and heap up soil around a (newly planted) yam plant’

One would then expect the suffixing possessive construction in (12-91b):

- b. *?ano-na kai*
 soil-3.PERS yam
 ‘the soil of the yam’

However, such a construction, while perhaps conceivable, is semantically odd because it claims the soil to be part of the yam plant, or something produced, exuded by the yam plant. (See section 8.1.5 for the semantics of the suffixing possessive construction.)

An even more telling case involves the verb *fale-qoko* ‘of a man: have sex with (a woman)’:

- (12-92) a. *fale-qoko-na kini*
 give-penis-3.OBJ woman
 ‘of a man: have sex with a woman’

Now, *qoko* ‘penis’ can occur in the possessum position of a suffixing possessive construction, but the possessor must have a male referent, the penis being part of the possessor referent’s own body:

- b. *qoko-na wane*
 penis-3.PERS man
 ‘man’s penis’

With a female possessor referent the construction would be pragmatically very odd, because it would claim the penis to be part of the woman’s own body:

- c. *?qoko-na kini*
 penis-3.PERS woman
 ‘woman’s penis’

While incorporation of possessum nouns with their personal suffixes may have led to the formation of a new type of compound, it is likely that the structure of such compounds became a pattern that came to be used to form compounds that did not involve possessum incorporation.

There is at least one compound that corresponds to what Mithun (1984) and Rosen (1989) refer to as “classificatory/classifier noun incorporation”: a rela-

- | | |
|---|--|
| (12-98) <i>taa-tarasi-botho</i>
RDP-singe-pig
'dragonfly' | (12-99) <i>oko-waa</i>
swallow-worm
'Brahminy Kite' |
| (12-100) <i>ngede-ngali</i>
pluck-canarium.nut
alternative name for the
native pigeon (<i>bola</i>) | (12-101) <i>ngamu-ngali</i>
snap.at-canarium.nut
another alternative name
for the native pigeon |
| (12-102) <i>qoto-botho</i>
poke.with.pole-pig
'kind of spear (used in
fighting)' | (12-103) <i>suu-subi-qaba</i>
RDP-cut/clip.nail-hand
'modern nailclipper' |
| (12-104) <i>kwaqi-thate</i>
cut-chin.and.jaws
'species of bivalve shellfish' (the shell used to be used to pluck facial hair) | |

In (12-105) the verb *dokofi* 'prick' occurs (reduplicated) both in a compound and in the verb phrase. The compound *doo-dokofi-qae* designates a species of shellfish with sharp spines on its shell.

- (12-105) *Doo-dokofi-qae* *qe* *dokofi-a* *qae-ku*.
RDP-prick-foot 3SG.NFUT prick-3.OBJ foot-1SG.PERS
'The *doodokofiqae* shell pricked/cut my foot.'

12.5. [verb verb] compounds

[Verb verb] compounds are themselves verbs and they involve a kind of verb serialization. Such compounds may be endocentric or exocentric (or asymmetric and symmetric, respectively, in the terminology of Aikhenvald [2006]). Toqabaqita verb serialization/[verb verb] compounding is also discussed, from a different perspective, in Lichtenberk (2006b). In [verb verb] compounds one of the constituent verbs may itself be a [verb verb] compound. Examples of such complex compounds will be given later. For the time being, the discussion will focus on simple compounds.

Subject to some qualifications to be elaborated on later, any combination of intransitive and transitive verbs is possible.

Intransitive – intransitive:

- (12-106) *Oqola nau e nii karangi*
 garden 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.located be.near

ba-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘My garden is just nearby.’

Intransitive – transitive:

- (12-107) *Dani qe qaru laba-taqi nau qasia*
 rain 3SG.NFUT fall affect.negatively-TR 1SG INTS

naqa.

INTS

‘I got rained on very badly.’ (Lit.: ‘Rain fell and affected me badly a lot.’)

Transitive – intransitive:

- (12-108) *Nau kwasi thaitoqoma-na leqa wane baa.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ be.good man that
 ‘I don’t know that man well.’

Transitive – transitive:

- (12-109) *Kasi muu-si-a qoko qena.*
 cut sever-TR-3.OBJ rope that(2)
 ‘Cut the rope (e.g., to make it shorter).’

In verb-serializing compounds too the distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs is relevant. Class 2 verbs can occur in the first position and they do carry object suffixes; see *thaitoqoma-na leqa* ‘know’ ‘be.good’ in (12-108) above.

Class 1 transitive verbs can occur in the first position only in their combining forms; see *kasi* ‘cut’ in (12-109). Even if such a compound has a direct object, the object cannot be indexed on a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position. The combining forms of Class 1 transitive verbs were discussed in section 12.4.1. With a small number of exceptions, the combining forms of verbs used in verb-serializing compounds are the same as those used in object-incorporating compounds. The exceptions are as follows: The verb *riki* ‘see’,

'look at' has the form *riki* in verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it has the form *riki-qi*, with the detransitivizing suffix. Similarly, *lole* 'lie, tell a lie/lies', 'pretend, fake' has the form *lole* in verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it has the form *lole-qe*, also with the detransitivizing suffix. There is a suppletive pair of verbs meaning 'eat'. The intransitive verb *fanga* is used in the first position of verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it is the transitive verb *qani* that is used, whose combining form is *qani*. And the Class 2 transitive verb *thaitoqoma* 'know' occurs in its transitive form, with an object suffix, in verb-serializing compounds (see [12-108] further above), while in object-incorporating compounds it occurs in its combining form *thaitoqome-qe*, with the detransitivizing suffix.

Table 12.1 summarizes the possible combinations of intransitive and transitive verbs, and for each combination it gives the transitivity status of the compound type.

Table 12.1. Possible combinations of verbs in [verb verb] compounds and the transitivity statuses of the compound types

first position	second position	compound
intransitive	intransitive	intransitive
intransitive	Class 1 transitive	transitive
Class 1 transitive	intransitive	intransitive
Class 2 transitive	intransitive	transitive
Class 1 transitive	Class 1 or Class 2 transitive	transitive

Note: Class 1 transitive verbs in the first position must be in their combining forms.

When both component verbs have the same transitivity value, that is also the transitivity value of the compound. Compounds that contain Class 2 transitive verbs are always transitive, specifically Class 2 transitive. As far as Class 1 transitive verbs are concerned, when they occur in the second position, the compound is transitive, specifically Class 1 transitive. When they occur in the first position, the transitivity value of the compound is determined by the final verb. If the final verb is transitive, Class 1 or 2, the compound is transitive, Class 1 or 2, respectively. If the second verb is intransitive, the compound is intransitive. Compounds with Class 1 transitive verbs in the first position are discussed next.

When a Class 1 transitive verb is followed by another transitive verb (Class 1 or Class 2), the two verbs must share the direct-object argument (see further below for more on argument sharing). This is simply by virtue of the fact that the two verbs form a compound and the direct object is an object of the compound.

- (12-110) *Kera* *kwaqe* *laba-tani-a* *tai*
 3PL.NFUT beat affect.negatively-TR-3.OBJ some.PL

wane.

man

‘They harmed/killed some men by beating them.’

- (12-111) *Qo* *riki* *thaitoqoma-daroqa?*
 2SG.NFUT see know-3DU.OBJ
 ‘Did you recognize them (by sight)?’

When the second verb is intransitive, the participant that would be encoded as the direct object of the first, Class 1 transitive verb when not in a compound is realized as an oblique object of the compound, headed by the general preposition *qani/qana*. In (12-112) the verb *alu* ‘put’ takes a direct object when not in a compound:

- (12-112) *Alu-a* *kaufa* *qena* *i* *ano.*
 put-3.OBJ mat that(2) LOC ground
 ‘Put the mat on the ground.’

In (12-113) *alu* occurs as the first constituent in a compound and is followed by an intransitive verb. The mat must be encoded as an oblique object:

- (12-113) [*Alu kokoto*] *qana* *kaufa* *qena* *i* *ano.*
 put be.correct GENP mat that(2) LOC ground
 ‘Put the mat properly on the ground.’

Although it is the second verb that determine the transitivity status of compounds that contain a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position, it is the first verb that sanctions the oblique object. Thus, in (12-113) above the oblique object ‘the mat’ is sanctioned by the verb *alu* ‘put’, not by the second verb *kokoto* ‘be correct’. Similarly, in (12-114) below, the oblique object ‘a/the fan’ is sanctioned by the first verb ‘weave’:

- (12-114) *Kini qe faa qaliqali qana teeteru.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT weave be.quick GENP fan
 ‘The woman quickly wove a/the fan.’

Compare (12-115), where the verb ‘weave’ occurs in its transitive form, with a direct object:

- (12-115) *Kini kai faa-li-a qa-kuqa teqe*
 woman 3SG.FUT weave-TR-3.OBJ RECBEN-1SG.PERS one
teeteru.
 fan
 ‘The woman will weave a fan for me.’ ‘The woman will weave me a fan.’

The sentence in (12-116) contains a long Class 1 transitive verb as the first element of the compound. The verb occurs in its combining form with the *-ngaqi* variant of the transitive suffix:

- (12-116) *Thau-ngaqi leqa qani-a.*
 make-TR be.good GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Make it well.’

Compare the verb ‘make’ when not in a compound, with the *-ngani* form of the transitive suffix when the direct object is lexical:

- (12-117) ... *keka thau-ngani-a teqe fulake*
 3PL.SEQ make-TR-3.OBJ one flag
 ‘... they made a flag’

As mentioned further above, the intransitive verb *fanga* ‘eat’ is used in the first position of verb-serializing compounds, rather than the combining form of the transitive verb *qani* ‘eat’:

- (12-118) *Nau ku fanga baqita qana alo.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat be.big GENP taro
 ‘I ate a lot of taro.’

Outside a compound, **fanga qana alo* ‘eat (of) taro’ is ungrammatical, and the transitive verb *qani* must be used:

- (12-119) a. *Wela qe qani-a alo.*
 child 3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ taro
 ‘The child ate the taro.’
- b. **Wela qe fanga qana alo.*
 child 3SG.NFUT eat GENP taro
 (‘The child ate [some of] the taro.’)

However, in (12-118) above it is *fanga* that sanctions the oblique object.

Verb-serializing compounds can be either endocentric or exocentric. Endocentric compounds can only have an intransitive verb in the second position, while exocentric compounds can have either an intransitive or a transitive verb in the second position. In endocentric compounds the second verb functions as a modifier of the first verb. Typically, it expresses the manner in which the state of affairs encoded by the first verb obtains or takes place, or provides an evaluative judgement on the state of affairs:

- (12-120) ... *roo ai qe=ki kera raa suukwaqi*
 two spouse that=PL 3PL.NFUT work be.strong

qasia naqa qana fanga, ...
 INTS INTS GENP food

‘... the husband and wife worked extremely hard on (getting) food, ...’

- (12-121) *Kosu leqa qani-a.*
 fold be.good GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Fold it well.’

Verbs that function as modifiers of the first verbs in [verb verb] compounds are stative intransitive verbs. They also function as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases (section 6.10).

Exocentric [verb verb] compounds encode macro-situations that consist of two sub-situations. The relation between the sub-situations is that of cause and effect: the first verb designates the cause situation, and the second verb the effect situation:

- (12-122) *Qidu karangi mai.*
 move be.close VENT
 ‘Move close/closer.’

- (12-123) *Ku rongo thaitoqoma-na ngata-la-na*
 1SG hear know-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ-3.PERS

ni Lifuna.
 PERSMKR Lifuna.
 ‘I recognized Lifuna’s speaking.’

Sometimes the first sub-situation may be viewed alternatively as being the means or the manner through which the second sub-situation comes about, but in such cases the cause-effect relation obtains as well:

- (12-124) *Nau ku qala muu-si-a si qoko.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT bite sever-TR-3.OBJ DIM rope
 ‘I broke/severed the rope by biting it.’

With one type of exception, the verbs in serializing compounds share their arguments (as well as adjuncts), by virtue of being compounds. The exception has to do with some endocentric compounds, those where the modifying verb has no argument structure of its own and serves purely as a modifier of the other verb. For example, the verb *baqita* ‘be big’, ‘be plentiful (of non-countable entities)’ is used as a modifying verb to signal a relatively high degree of intensity of the state of affairs encoded by the first verb:

- (12-125) *Teqe kini e qai baqita mai.*
 one woman 3SG.NFUT shout be.big VENT
 ‘A woman shouted loudly this way.’

Baqita functions as an intensifier of *qai* ‘shout’; it does not signify here that the referent of the subject of the compound, the woman, was big. Compare (12-126) without a compound, where *baqita* does signify that the woman is big:

- (12-126) *Kini e baqita*
 woman 3SG.NFUT be.big
 ‘The woman is big’

In the imperative in (12-127) the verb *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’, ‘be not plentiful, be little in quantity’, ‘be of low intensity’ signals that the event encoded by the first verb should be performed gently, not that the addressee should be small:

- (12-127) *Sua faqekwa qana kale-qe kuukua.*
 hold be.of.low.intensity GENP egg-ASSOC chicken
 ‘Hold the chicken egg gently.’

And in (12-128) the speaker uses the verb *leqa* ‘be good’ not to describe himself as not being good but to say that his sleeping was not good:

- (12-128) *Kwasi biinga leqa qa=fa rodo i*
 1SG.NEG sleep be.good GENP=CLF night LOC

baare.

time.earlier.in.day

‘I did not sleep well in the morning hours (lit.: at night earlier in the day).’

Certain verbs are used highly productively as modifiers in endocentric serializing compounds: *baqita* ‘be big’, ‘be plentiful (of noncountable entities)’ as an intensifier ([12-125] above), *faqekwa* ‘be small, little’, ‘be of low intensity’ as a kind of downtoner (12-127), *leqa* ‘be good’ for positive evaluation (12-128), *taqaa* ‘be bad’ for negative evaluation ([12-135] and [12-138] further below). *Kwasi* ‘of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild’ signifies that the action denoted by the first verb is performed unusually frequently, highly intensively, immoderately, or to excess:

- (12-129) *Kini e lio-nuu-na kwasi.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT look-reflection-3SG.OBJ be.wild
 ‘The woman looks at herself [in a mirror] all the time.’

See also (12-136) further below.

Cases like those above need to be distinguished from serializing compounds where the modifying verb has the same notional subject as the first verb. In (12-130) the reduplicated verb *oli* ‘return’ signifies the back-and-forth directionality of the movement of the referents of the subject:

- (12-130) *Keka fita oli-li ba-da qi laa luma*
 3PL.SEQ run return-RDP LIM-3PL.PERS LOC IN house

kamiliqa

1PL(EXCL)

‘They just kept running back and forth inside our house’

Compare *oli-li* outside a compound:

- (12-131) *Ma kera oli-li mai*
 and 3PL.NFUT return-RDP VENT
 ‘And they kept coming back’

See further below for reduplication of verbs in compounds.

And in (12-132) the verb *ofu* ‘be together’ signifies that the referents of the subject phrase were together:

- (12-132) *Meka lae ofu nabaa.*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go be.together PAST.THERE
 ‘We went together.’

In some [verb verb] compounds the second verb occurs reduplicated. In such cases the meaning of the compound is usually not fully compositional. For example, the intransitive verb *qaru* ‘fall’ occurs in its reduplicated form *qaru-qaru* in the compound *lae qaru-qaru* ‘of a baby: begin to learn to walk (falling often)’ (*lae* ‘go’, ‘walk’). And the verb *fuli* ‘of a state of affairs: happen, occur, take place’ occurs in its reduplicated form *fuu-fuli* in compounds to signal that the (type of) event designated by the first verb happens all over the place, all around, everywhere, in all directions; for example: *lio fuu-fuli* ‘look everywhere, in all directions’ (*lio* ‘look’) and *rofe fuu-fuli* ‘search everywhere, all over the place’ (*rofe* ‘look for sb., st.’).

It is also possible for reduplication to apply to the first verb, but, arguably, in such cases it applies to the whole compound:

- (12-133) *Qosi qoo-qono boko-si-a*
 2SG.NEG RDP-sit be.blocked-TR-3.OBJ

foko-na luma.
 doorway-3.PERS house
 ‘Stop blocking the doorway by sitting there.’ ‘Don’t sit in the doorway, blocking it.’

Verb serializing compounds can be nominalized:

- (12-134) *Kere raa qana kwaqe-fole-la-na niu.*
 3PL.NFUT work GENP hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS coconut
 ‘They are (working on) splitting coconuts.’

- (12-135) *abula-taqaa-laa kera ki*
 behave-be.bad-NMLZ 3PL PL
 ‘their behaving badly’

However, the use of nominalizations of [verb verb] compounds is not particularly common, and is restricted to a few combinations of verbs, such as those two just above.

Verb-serializing compounds can function as noun modifiers (section 6.10), although this does not happen frequently.

- (12-136) *wane gani kwasi*
 man ask.sb.(for.st.) be.wild
 ‘man who often asks others for something’

Note that even though in (12-136) the first verb is not stative, the compound as a whole counts as stative: the man has that characteristic.

- (12-137) *Meka riki-a baqekwa ki, ma iqa*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ shark PL and fish

goro qeeqeta ki, ma fali ki, ma
 be.many be.exceptional PL and stingray PL and

kokala ki, ...
 octopus PL

‘We saw sharks, and lots and lots of [different] fish (lit.: exceptionally many fish), and stingrays, and octopuses, ...’

Object-incorporating compounds, be they intransitive or transitive verbs (sections 12.4.2 and 12.4.3, respectively), can function as constituents in serializing compounds, in particular as the first verbs in endocentric compounds:

- (12-138) *Wane qeri e [baqe-alinga taqaa] qana*
 man that 3SG.NFUT speak-ear be.bad GENP

thaari nau.
 daughter 1SG

‘The man talked my daughter into doing something bad.’ (Lit.: ‘The man talked badly my daughter (into doing something.)’)

(The compound *baqe-alinga* ‘speak’-‘ear’ is used with the sense ‘(try to) persuade somebody to do something; try to dissuade somebody from doing something’.)

- (12-139) [*Qili-ano-na leqa*] *fu-qi ngasi qena.*
 dig-soil-3.OBJ be.good clump-ASSOC sugar.cane that(2)
 ‘Dig up and heap up soil around the clump of sugar cane well.’

In other cases, a compound as a whole has an incorporated object, and the compound is intransitive:

- (12-140) *Ni=e sifo kai kwaqe fole niu.*
 3SG=3SG.NFUT descend 3SG.FUT hit split coconut
 ‘He went down [in the direction of the coast] to split coconuts.’
 (Lit.: ‘He descended he will hit split coconuts.’)

In principle, it is possible to form nominalizations of serializing compounds with incorporated objects, but they are of marginal status. For example, while the complex compound nominalization in (12-141a) is possible, the simpler compound in (12-141b), where the incorporated noun of (12-141a) occurs in the possessor position instead is preferred.

- (12-141) a. *kwaqe-fole-niu-laa*
 hit-split-coconut-NMLZ
 ‘coconut splitting’
- b. *kwaqe-fole-la-na niu*
 hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS coconut
 ‘splitting of coconuts’

See the sentential examples in (9-24) and (9-25) in section 9.1.1, which deals with nominalizations.

There is one lexical exception to the pattern whereby in endocentric compounds the modifying verb follows the head verb. The exception is the verb *sukani* ‘be of little quantity, degree, extent’, which precedes the head verb. (Also exceptionally, *sukani* does not function as a noun modifier, even though it is an intransitive stative verb.) This is the only type of endocentric compound that is right-headed.

- (12-142) *Nau ku sukani mataqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.of.little.degree be.sick
 ‘I am a little sick.’

- (12-143) *Keda-la-na* *ngata-la-miliqa* *qe*
 write-NMLZ-3.PERS speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS 3SG.NFUT

sukani *qafetaqi.*
 be.of.little.degree be.difficult

‘Writing how we speak is a little difficult.’ ‘Writing our language is somewhat difficult.’ (Lit.: ‘Writing of our speaking is a little difficult.’)

It is possible for verb-serializing compounds to contain a constituent that itself is a [verb verb] compound, although such complex compounds are relatively rare. Such compounds are endocentric, and with one type of exception it is the first verb that is a compound. That compound may be endocentric or exocentric, as in (12-144) and (10-145), respectively:

- (12-144) *Kere* *[[ade garo] ngado].*
 3PL.NFUT act be.wrong be.firm/settled
 ‘They often act/behave wrongly.’

The verb *ngado* ‘be still, settled, firm’ is used as a modifying verb to signify that the event encoded by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly.

- (12-145) *Taunamo* *nau, qasufa e* *[[qala muu-si]*
 mosquito.net 1SG rat 3SG.NFUT bite sever-TR

taqaa] *qani-a.*
 be.bad GENP-3SG.OBJ

‘My mosquito net has been badly chewed up and broken by a rat.’
 ‘My mosquito net, a rat has badly chewed it up and broken it.’

However, with the verb *sukani* ‘be of little quantity, degree, extent’, which precedes, rather than follows, the head verb (examples [12-142] and [12-143] further above), it is the second verb that is itself a [verb verb] compound. Thus, besides the simple compound in (12-146) there is a complex compound in (12-147):

- (12-146) *Fanga naqi e* *sukani* *makwa.*
 food this 3SG.NFUT be.of.little.degree smell
 ‘This food smells a little.’

- (12-147) *Fanga naqi e* *[sukani* *[makwa*
 food this 3SG.NFUT be.of.little.degree smell

taqaa]].
 be.bad
 ‘This food smells bad a little.’

In fact, *sukani*, unlike any other modifying verb, can form a modifying compound with another verb. The compound follows the head verb:

(12-148) *Fanga naqi e [makwa [sukani*
 food this 3SG.NFUT smell be.of.little.degree

taqaa]].
 be.bad
 ‘The food smells a little bad.’

Finally, as discussed in section 4.7, noun phrases headed by *quna* ‘manner, way’ can be re-ranked as verbs. When they are re-ranked in this way, they can form [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds with another, preceding verb:

(12-149) *Ma kai [ade quna qeri] ba-na*
 and 3SG.IPFV act manner that LIM-3SG.PERS

qana fa thaqulafia qeri.
 GENP CLF evening that
 ‘And he was just acting/behaving like that [in a manner mentioned previously] that evening.’

The unitary lexical status of *ade quna qeri* is evidenced by the position of the limiter *ba-*, one of the postverbal particles (section 5.2.11), after *quna qeri*, rather than after *ade*. For another example of a [verb (pseudo-)verb] compound see (4-229) in section 4.7.

12.6. [verb teqefau] compounds

Although this type of compound consists of a verb followed by a noun, it is significantly different from object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds discussed in section 12.4. First, both intransitive and Class 1 transitive verbs may participate in *teqefau* compounds. Class 1 transitive verbs occur in their combining forms. The combining forms are the same as those used with incorporated objects. The noun *teqefau* is itself a compound: *teqe* ‘one’ and *fau* ‘stone’, but it is treated here as an unanalyzed whole. It is glossed ‘every one’ or ‘all of it’, depending on the context. Although *teqefau* is a noun and follows the verb,

it is not an incorporated object noun. It does not correspond to the direct object of the verb. In fact, as mentioned above it can combine with intransitive verbs. *Teqefau* has a quantifying function: it signifies, and emphasizes either that the proposition applies to all of the relevant entities, without exception, or that it applies to the whole of an entity. Compounds formed by means of *teqefau* are intransitive verbs. The process is fully productive, subject only to semantic/pragmatic plausibility.

The compound status of [verb *teqefau*] sequences can be seen from the fact that postverbal particles follow such sequences; see (12-152) and (12-157) further below.

Teqefau may have the subject or an oblique object in its scope. It cannot have a direct object in its scope, because *teqefau* compounds are intransitive verbs.

The first two examples illustrate *teqefau* compounds with intransitive verbs, where the relevant participants are expressed as subjects.

(12-150) *Doo na mika fasi-da ki ka dele*
 thing REL 1PL(EXCL).SEQ plant-3PL.OBJ PL 3SG.SEQ wither

teqefau ka mae.
 every.one 3SG.SEQ die.

‘The things that we had planted withered, every one of them, (and) died.’

(12-151) ... *seqe-na ka qabu-la teqefau*
 body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ blood-PROP all.of.it
 ‘... its body was bloody, all of it,’

In (12-152) *teqefau* has an oblique object in its scope. The [verb *teqefau*] compound is followed by the postverbal perfect marker *naqa*:

(12-152) *Uqunu na ku thaitoqoma-na ki ku*
 story REL 1SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ PL 1SG.NFUT

uqunu teqefau naqa suli-a qi sa-mu.
 narrate every.one PRF PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS

‘The stories that I know, I have told (lit.: narrated about) every single one to you.’

With verbs that are transitive outside *teqefau* compounds, the participants that would be encoded as direct objects are encoded as oblique objects of *teqefau* compounds. The oblique object is governed by the general preposition

qani/qana. In (12-153) the verb *asi* ‘scrape’ occurs without *teqefau* and has a direct object, *fanga baa* ‘the food’:

(12-153) *Toqa baa kere asi-a fanga baa*
 people that 3PL.NFUT scrape-3.OBJ food that

ka sui naqa.
 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF

‘The people have polished off (i.e., eaten; lit.: scraped) the food, and it’s gone.’

On the other hand, in (12-154) *asi* ‘scrape’ forms a compound with *teqefau* and the patient participant is realized as an oblique object. The verb *asi* does not carry an object suffix:

(12-154) *Toqa baa kere asi teqefau qana*
 people that 3PL.NFUT scrape all.of.it GENP

fanga baa ka sui naqa.
 food that 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF

‘The people have polished off all of the food, and it’s gone.’

In (12-155) the long transitive verb *laba-tani/laba-taqi* ‘spoil, damage, harm, affect sb., st. in a bad way’ occurs without *teqefau* and has a direct object. The transitive suffix occurs in the *-tani* form:

(12-155) *Tei n=e laba-tani-a waqi qoe?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT damage-TR-3.OBJ basket 2SG
 ‘Who damaged your basket.?’

On the other hand, in (12-156) the verb ‘make’ occurs in a *teqefau* compound. The verb carries the *-taqi* variant of the transitive suffix, and the patient participants are expressed as an oblique object:

(12-156) ... *ka laba-taqi teqefau qani kera.*
 3SG.SEQ harm-TR every.one GENP 3PL
 ‘... (and) it [a cyclone] harmed them [people] all.’

Finally, example (12-157) shows the use of the combining form of the transitive verb *qani* ‘eat’ in a *teqefau* compound (rather than the intransitive verb ‘eat’, *fanga*, which is used in the first position of [verb verb] compounds). The compound is followed by the additive and the assertive postverbal particles.

(12-157) *Ma doo baa ka qani teqefau laqu boqo*
 and thing that 3SG.SEQ eat all.of.it ADD ASRT

qani-a fasi keeroqa.

GENP-3SG.OBJ ABL 3DU

‘And that thing [an ogre] again ate all of it (taking the food) from them.’

12.7. Minor compounding types

Besides the major types of compound discussed so far, there are also various minor types that are severely restricted in their application and individual compounds that do not fit any pattern.

There are several types of compound that have to do with kinship terms. In one, a kinship term is compounded with the numeral *rua* ‘two’. The reference, extension of the compound term is narrower than that of the simple kinship term, and is included in the latter. For example:

(12-158) *maka-rua*
 father-two
 ‘father’s brother’

Compare *maka* ‘father’, ‘father’s brother’.

(12-159) *wai-waena-rua*
 LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex-two
 ‘cousin of opposite sex’

Compare *wai-waena* ‘sibling of opposite sex’, ‘cousin of opposite sex’.

There are a few more such compounds.

The term *kookoqo*, which means, among other things, ‘member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending’ occurs with modifiers that themselves are compounds to specify more closely the generation:

(12-160) *kookoqo[-teqe-fau]*
 kookoqo-one-stone
 ‘grandparent’, ‘grandchild’

(This use of *teqe-fau* is different from its use in *teqefau* compounds that are intransitive verbs, discussed in section 12.6.)

- (12-161) *kookoqo[-roo-fau]*
 kookoqo-two-stone
 ‘great-grandchild’ (not: *‘great grandparent’)

(There is an alternative term for ‘great-grandchild’, *kookoqo-rua*.)

Kookoqo-ulu-fau (*ulu* ‘three’) is only marginally acceptable for ‘great-great-grandchild’.

Fungao ‘son-in-law’, etc. combines with *kini* ‘woman’ as *kini fungao* ‘daughter-in-law’, etc.; see table 8.2 in section 8.1.5. Note that in [noun noun] compounds where *kini* signals female gender it occurs after the other noun: *wela kini* ‘girl’, ‘daughter’ (*wela* ‘child’) (section 12.2).

Finally, kinship terms can compound with the third person plural pronoun *kerā* to form plural forms of address:

- (12-162) *Si faqa-rongo-a taqaa neri, doqora kera.*
 PRTT CAUS-hear-DVN be.bad NPAST.HERE sibling 3PL
 ‘This is bad news, brothers.’

The noun *koqo* is synonymous with *kookoqo* ‘member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending’ (see further above), but it can also be used as a form of address to people who are not one’s relatives, as if they were:

- (12-163) *Nee, koqo kera, moro ngali-a ma=ta*
 hey! “friend” 3PL 2DU.NFUT carry-3.OBJ VENT=some

thaqaro?
 possum
 ‘Hey, friends, did you bring a possum?’

There are two compounds that consist of a verb and a preposition. Both compounds have synonymous syntactic counterparts. The compounds consist of the intransitive verb *ade* ‘do’, ‘act, behave’ and either the verb-like ablative preposition *fasi* (section 10.3.3) or the verb-like prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4). The first two examples show *ade* with oblique objects, prolative and ablative, respectively. In both cases there is a postverbal particle that comes between the verb and the oblique object. With a prolative oblique object the meaning is ‘obey X’, literally ‘act/behave along X’, while with an ablative oblique object the meaning is ‘disobey X’, literally ‘act/behave away from X’, where X designates the person who is obeyed or disobeyed, respectively:

- (12-164) *Wela e ade ba-na suli-a*
 child 3SG.NFUT act LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ

thaina-na.

mother-3SG.PERS

‘The child just obeyed (lit.: acted along) his mother.’

- (12-165) *Ma nia qe ade fasi-a maka nia*
 and 3SG 3SG.NFUT act ABL-3.OBJ father 3SG

bia thaina-na

and mother-3SG.PERS

‘And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother’

Alternatively, the verb ‘act’ and the prepositions may form compounds, the result being Class 1 transitive verbs. The direct object corresponds to the oblique object of the simple verb *ade*. Postverbal particles come between the compound verb and its lexical direct objects.

- (12-166) *Wela e ade-suli-a ba-na*
 child 3SG.NFUT act-PROL-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS

thaina-na.

mother-3SG.PERS

‘The child just obeyed his mother.’

- (12-167) *Wela e ade-fasi-a ba-na maka nia.*
 child 3SG.NFUT act-ABL-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS father 3SG
 ‘The child simply disobeyed his father.’

The sentence in (12-168) also contains the compound *ade-fasi* ‘disobey’. There it is followed by the combination of the intensifying postverbal particles *qasia* and *naqa*:

- (12-168) ... *ku manta suli-a kwa ade-fasi-a*
 1SG.NFUT think PROL-3.OBJ 1SG.SEQ act-ABL-3.OBJ

qasia naqa thaina-ku bia maka nau

INTS INTS mother-1SG.PERS and father 1SG

‘[When I was bigger and still lived with my parents,] I (often) thought about how I would/could disobey my mother and father’

However, the verb-preposition compounds can only be used with lexical direct objects. They cannot be used with pronominal objects. If the person

obeyed or disobeyed is expressed by means of a pronoun, only the syntactic construction is available:

- (12-169) a. *Ade naqa suli nau!*
 act PRF PROL 1SG
 ‘Obey me now!’
- b. **Ade-suli nau naqa.*
 act-PROL 1SG PRF
 (‘Obey me now.’)

By way of conclusion, one can mention two compounds that are formally highly idiosyncratic, at least in the present-day language. One of them is *qabaru*, which consists of the noun *qaba* ‘hand, arm’ and the numeral ‘two’. The compound is an intransitive verb ‘be busy, occupied with sb., a task, work’. The other one is *kwalo-ano*, which consists of the noun *kwalo* ‘runner of a plant, slip of a sweet-potato plant’ and which also occurs in the (compound) names of a number of vines, and the noun *ano* ‘ground, earth’. *Kwalo-ano* is an intransitive verb and a Class 2 transitive verb with the meaning ‘clean a yam or a panayam tuber of the soil after it has been dug out from the ground, by scraping it against a piece of vine stretched taut’.

12.8. Lexicalized phrases

Lexicalized phrases are endocentric. They can be headed either by a noun or by a verb, and the modifier may be either a prepositional phrase or a “ligature phrase”. The term “ligature phrase” designates constructions where the modifier is joined to the head by means of the ligature *ni*. Like compounds, lexicalized phrases do not admit internal modifiers. Any modifiers can occur only on the outside of lexicalized phrases, and they have the whole phrase in their scope. For example, in (12-170) *wela qi laa sukulu* ‘school child’, lit. ‘child in school’ is a lexicalized phrase. It is in the scope of the plural marker *ki*, which follows the phrase.

- (12-170) [*wela qi laa sukulu*] *ki*
 child LOC IN school PL
 ‘school children’

On the other hand, (12-171) contains not a lexicalized phrase but a noun phrase that contains a prepositional phrase as a modifier. The head noun *toqa* ‘people’ is modified by a demonstrative and the plural marker, and the preposi-

tional phrase follows. (See [6-3] in section 6.1 for the structure of the basic lexical noun phrase.)

- (12-171) *toqa naqi ki qi laa toaa naqi*
 people this PL LOC in village this
 ‘these people in this village’

And in (12-172) the lexicalized phrase *doo ni kasi luma* ‘house-building material’ occurs in the possessum position of a bare possessive construction. The whole possessive construction is in the scope of the plural marker:

- (12-172) [*doo ni kasi luma*] *kamiliqa ki*
 thing LIG build.house house 1PL(EXCL) PL
 ‘our house-building materials’ (lit.: ‘our things for building houses’)

The various subtypes of lexicalized phrases will now be discussed in turn, starting with those headed by nouns. Modification by prepositional phrases is discussed first. Within noun phrases, there are two types of modification by prepositional phrases: direct and relative (section 6.13). In direct modification, a noun is modified by a prepositional phrase. In relative modification, the modifying prepositional phrase is introduced by the relative marker *na* (also used to introduce relative clauses). Both types of modification are found in lexicalized phrases. In the first two examples below, the modification is of the direct type:

- (12-173) *wane qana firu-a ki*
 man GENP fight-DVN PL
 ‘warriors, soldiers’

In (12-174) below, the modifying prepositional phrase has an adverb phrase as its complement. The phrase type X *qi fei* has the meaning ‘X of/from where?’. The phrase *wane qi fei* is in the scope of the demonstrative *baa* (realized as *ba=* in [12-174]):

- (12-174) [*Wane qi fei*] *ba=ku riki-a bii*
 man LOC where? that=1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ COM

qoe qi roqo?
 2SG LOC yesterday

‘Where is the man I saw with you yesterday from?’ (Lit.: ‘That man from where I saw him with you yesterday?’)

Instead of the general locative proposition *qi*, the ablative preposition *fasi* can be used: *wane fasi fei?* ‘man/person from where?’ (see [10-88] in section 10.3.3).

For another example of direct prepositional-phrase modification, see the ‘school children’ example in (12-170) further above.

The next three examples illustrate relative prepositional-phrase modification. There only the general locative preposition *qi* is possible. In (12-175) the lexicalized noun phrase is preceded by a classifier and followed by the plural marker:

- (12-175) *fa qai na=i faqalita ki*
 CLF stick REL=LOC side.of.house PL
 ‘beams in a house that rest on top of the posts in the side of the house’, ‘beams on top of the side posts’

In the next two examples the lexicalized phrases function as possessums in suffixing possessive noun phrases. In (12-176) the lexicalized phrase is *wela na=i maa*, lit. ‘child (that is) in the eye’:

- (12-176) *wela na=i maa-na imole*
 child REL=LOC eye-3.PERS person
 ‘the pupil of/in a person’s eye’

And in (12-177) the lexicalized phrase is *wane na=i ruuruqu*, lit.: ‘person (that is) in the chest’:

- (12-177) *wane na=i ruuruqu-na wane*
 person REL=LOC chest-3.PERS person
 ‘one’s inner voice; one’s conscience’ (conceived of as a homunculus inside a person’s chest; it tells the person what to do or not to do)

- (12-178) *Wane na=i ruuruqu-ku qe*
 person REL=LOC chest-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

sore nau uri-a ku garo.
 speak.strongly.to 1SG REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT be.wrong
 ‘My conscience tells me I was wrong.’ (Lit.: ‘My conscience is speaking strongly to me because I was wrong.’)

Lexicalized phrases headed by nouns that are modified by ligature phrases are discussed next. The modifying phrase is headed either by a verb, a nominalization, or a true noun. The modifier typically expresses the purpose or func-

tion that the type of entity designated by the lexicalized phrase as a whole serves. In the first four examples, the modifying phrases contain verbs:

(12-179) *doo ni firu ki*
 thing LIG fight PL
 ‘weapons’

(12-180) *tiitiu ni kuqu*
 coconut.shell.half LIG drink
 ‘half of a coconut shell used as a drinking cup’

In (12-181) and (12-182) the modifying verbs are object-incorporating compounds:

(12-181) *kini ni nanaqi wela*
 woman LIG look.after child
 ‘nanny’

In (12-182) the lexicalized phrase occurs in the possessum position of a bare possessive construction:

(12-182) ... [*doo ni toda malefo*] *kamiliqa ki*
 thing LIG earn.money money 1PL(EXCL) PL

mena ka taqaa teqefau.
 FADD 3SG.NFUT be.bad every.one

‘... (and) all of our money-earning things too were no good (lit.: were bad) [destroyed or damaged in a cyclone].’ (‘Money-earning things’ refers to crops, such as coconuts for copra and cocoa beans, which are the main sources of cash.)

In the next two examples, the modifiers are nominalizations.

(12-183) *luma ni naqare-laa*
 house LIG roast/cook-NMLZ
 ‘cook-house’, ‘kitchen’

In (12-184) the nominalization has an oblique object. The phrase was used creatively to refer to a water pistol (children’s toy):

- (12-184) *doo ni basi-laa qana kafa*
 thing LIG shoot-NMLZ GENP water
 ‘thing for shooting water’

In the next three examples the modifying noun phrases contain nouns: deverbal nouns in the first two and a simple noun in the third one.

- (12-185) *fa bongi ni mamalo-a*
 CLF day LIG rest-DVN
 ‘day of rest’ (such as Sunday)

The deverbal noun in (12-186) is formed from an object-incorporating compound:

- (12-186) *kula ni alu-wane-a*
 place LIG bury-person-DVN
 ‘burial place’, ‘cemetery’

In the lexicalized phrase in (12-187) the notion of purpose or function is only implied:

- (12-187) *nini ni kata*
 knife LIG k.o.pudding
 ‘kind of knife for (cutting) *kata* pudding’

There are not many lexicalized phrases headed by verbs. With some exceptions, the modifier is a ligature phrase with a noun, usually a deverbal noun. This type of lexicalized phrase is semantically heterogenous and often idiosyncratic. A few examples are given below.

- (12-188) *fita ni mae-a*
 run LIG die-DVN
 ‘run for one’s life (lit.: death)’

With the verb *quu* ‘beat a drum’ the modifier signifies the purpose of the drum-beating:

- (12-189) *quu ni keeketo-a*
 beat.drum LIG demand.compensation-DVN
 ‘beat a drum to demand compensation’ (the deverbal noun *keeketo-a* signifies compensation for a wrong done)

- (12-190) *quu ni kwaa-kwala-a*
 beat.drum LIG RDP-swear-DVN
 ‘beat a drum in order to swear, to vent one’s anger (possibly but not necessarily directed at a specific person)’

Lexicalized phrases that consist of the verb *too* and a ligature phrase have the meaning ‘be ready/about to do what the modifier designates’. *Too* has a variety of senses, which include ‘stay’ and ‘be in a certain condition’.

- (12-191) *too ni lae-a*
 stay LIG go-DVN
 ‘be ready, about to go’

- (12-192) *Wane e too ni biinga-a ba-na*
 man 3SG.NFUT stay LIG sleep-DVN LIM-3SG.PERS

qa=fa thato.
 GENP=CLF daytime

‘The man spends his days just sleeping.’ (I.e., he does not do any work.) (Lit.: ‘The man is just ready to sleep in the daytime.’)

Too can also be accompanied by a modifying intransitive lexicalized phrase that is semantically different from the pattern mentioned above:

- (12-193) a. *too ni kelowane-qa*
 stay LIG humble.man-PROP
 ‘of a man: be a humble kind of person’
- b. *too ni kelaqafe-qa*
 stay LIG humble.woman-PROP
 ‘of a woman: be a humble kind of person’

There are also lexicalized phrases that do not fit any of the patterns discussed above. In a few cases, a verb can be modified by a prepositional phrase, in a kind of prepositional-phrase incorporation. The resulting form functions as an intransitive verb. The prepositional phrase *mala afa* ‘like an eagle’ can be incorporated with certain verbs of motion to signify a soaring movement. *Mala* is the equative bare preposition (section 10.2.5); its complement *afa* ‘eagle’ is non-referential. In (12-194) the postverbal ventive particle follows the [verb prepositional-phrase] sequence:

- (12-194) *Faka loo-lofo qe lofo mala afa mai.*
 ship RDP-fly 3SG.NFUT fly EQT eagle VENT
 ‘Airplanes (lit.: flying ships) soared in the sky (coming) this way.’

Stative intransitive verbs can modify nouns (section 6.10). The verb *kwasi* ‘of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild’ is used as the second member of [verb verb] compounds to signify that the action denoted by the first verb is performed unusually frequently, highly intensively, immoderately, or to excess; see examples (12-129) and (12-136) in section 12.5. In (12-195) below, a [verb *kwasi*] compound has an oblique object that corresponds to the direct object of the first verb, ‘drink’:

- (12-195) *Wane qe kuqu kwasi qana kofe.*
 man 3SG.SEQ drink be.wild GENP coffee
 ‘The man drinks coffee frequently, a lot, too much.’

And in (12-196) the whole phrase *kuqu kwasi qana kofe* functions as a noun modifier. The prepositional phrase has been incorporated together with the compound *kuqu kwasi*, and the *kuqu kwasi qana kofe* combination functions as a complex intransitive verb:

- (12-196) *wane kuqu kwasi qana kofe*
 man drink be.wild GENP coffee
 ‘man who is a frequent, inveterate drinker of coffee’

A few more idiosyncratic lexicalized phrases are given below:

- (12-197) *mafo-i-kilu*
 heal-LOC-hole
 ‘chronic ulcer, sore’ (it only heals in the hole, that is, in the person’s grave)
- (12-198) *moqosu-i-luma*
 sleep-LOC-family.house
 ‘of a married couple: sleep together (and have sex) in the family house (not normally done in traditional times)’

For the stress pattern of *moqosu-i-luma* see (2-55) in section 2.3, where some more examples of lexicalized phrases are given.

Chapter 13

The demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs

13.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a rich set of forms that have demonstrative functions. There are several demonstrative systems in the language, whose members belong in different morphosyntactic categories and have different syntactic properties and different functions. There are four basic categories that need to be distinguished: determiner demonstratives, qualifying demonstratives, locative demonstrative adverbs, and situational demonstrative adverbs. There are various links — formal as well as functional — among the four systems. It is for this reason that the demonstrative adverbs are discussed together with the demonstratives. For convenience, the term “demonstrative forms” is used to refer collectively to the demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs.

All the demonstrative forms are set out in table 13.1. The table is intended to show the formal links, without going into detail about the functions of the four sets and their members.

Table 13.1. Demonstrative forms

determiner demonstratives	qualifying demonstratives	locative demonstrative adverbs		situational demonstrative adverbs
		presentative	general	
<i>naqi/neqe</i> <i>qeri</i> <i>qena</i> <i>baa</i> <i>labaa</i> <i>lakoo/lokoo</i>	<i>loo</i> <i>fuu</i>	<i>neqe</i> <i>nenā</i> <i>labaqa</i> <i>lakoqo/lokoqo</i> <i>loqo</i> <i>fuqu</i>	 <i>labaa/libaa</i> <i>lakoo/lokoo/likoo</i> <i>loori, taqabaa</i> <i>fuuri, fuubaa</i>	<i>neri</i> <i>nenā</i> <i>nabaa</i>

A few of the demonstrative forms listed in the table also form parts of the reiterative demonstrative pronominals (section 13.8).

Some of the demonstrative forms occur in more than one system: *neqe*, *nená*, *labaa* and *lakoo/lokoo*. There are various more or less transparent formal relations across the systems; for example *qeri* and *neri*; *qena* and *nená*; *fuú*, *fuqu*, *funia*, *fuuri*, and *fuubaa*. In spite of the formal relations that exist between some of the elements, all the demonstratives are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. The relations are due to some by now obscured developments in the history of Toqabaqita and are of no overriding significance today. However, some comments on the (historical) composition of the elements are made in the appropriate places.

There are two central semantic/pragmatic factors that, often in conjunction with others, are crucial to the use of the demonstrative forms: the speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere. These are discussed next.

13.2. The speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere

The notion of the speaker's sphere subsumes the following: relative physical proximity to the speaker; part-whole relations with the speaker as the whole, including body parts, body liquids, bodily excretions/secretions; the speaker's location or an area that includes the speaker's location; a state of affairs characterized by the speaker's involvement; and the time of the speech act, time that includes the time of the speech act, or time that is proximal to the time of the speech act. An entity, location, point in time or period of time, or a state of affairs is in the speaker's sphere if one or more criteria just listed apply to it; otherwise, it is not in the speaker's sphere. The addressee's sphere includes: relative physical proximity to the addressee; part-whole relations with the addressee as the whole, including body parts, body liquids, bodily excretions/secretions; the addressee's location or an area that includes the addressee's location; and a state of affairs characterized by the addressee's involvement. An entity, location, point in time or period of time, or a state of affairs is in the addressee's sphere if one or more of those criteria apply to it; otherwise, it is not in the addressee's sphere. It should be borne in mind, however, that speakers have some flexibility when it comes to encoding something as being in their sphere, in the addressee's sphere, or in neither. Not infrequently, an entity, a location, etc. is presented as being in the speaker's sphere even though, objectively, it is not proximal to the speaker or to the time of the speech act.

The demonstrative forms that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are in the speaker's sphere are referred to as "speaker-proximal"; those that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are in the addressee's sphere are referred to as "addressee-proximal"; and those that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are neither in the speaker's sphere nor in the addressee's sphere are

referred to as “distal”. To distinguish between the addressee-proximal and the distal forms, the former are glossed with ‘(2)’ (for the second person) and the latter with ‘(3)’ (for the third person) where there exists a contrast between them; for example ‘that(2)’ and ‘that(3)’, respectively. A few examples will illustrate the notion of the spheres. In (13-1) the speaker-proximal determiner demonstrative *naqi* is used because the basket is with the speaker:

- (13-1) *Qi fei na kwai alu-a waqi naqi*
 LOC where? FOC 1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ basket this

i ei?
 LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where shall/should I put this basket?’

In the situation expressed in (13-2) the taros are closer to the addressee than to the speaker. They are in the addressee’s sphere, and so it is the addressee-proximal determiner *qena* that is used:

- (13-2) *Ngali-a mai alo qena ki.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT taro that(2) PL
 ‘Bring the/those taros.’

An in the situation expressed in (13-3) the entity inquired about is neither in the speaker’s nor in the addressee’s sphere, because it is distant from both, and it is the distal locative demonstrative adverb *lakoqo* that is used:

- (13-3) *Taa lakoqo?*
 what? there(3)
 ‘What’s (that) over there?’

The four systems of demonstrative forms will now be discussed in turn.

13.3. The determiner demonstratives

13.3.1. Introduction

The determiner demonstratives are listed in table 13.2.

Table 13.2. Determiner demonstratives

<i>naqi, neqe</i>	speaker-proximal: 'this'
<i>qeri</i>	speaker-proximal: 'this'; also used endophorically
<i>qena</i>	addressee-proximal: 'that(2)'
<i>lakoo, lokoo, labaa</i>	distal: 'that(3)'
<i>baa</i>	absent from speaker's sphere: 'that'; also used endophorically

The determiner demonstratives are modifiers within noun phrases. For their position in noun phrases see (6-3) in section 6.1. All of them function exophorically, and two of them also function endophorically. The endophoric functions are discussed in section 13.5.

13.3.2. The exophoric functions of the determiner demonstratives

13.3.2.1. *The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives*

There are three speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives: *naqi*, *neqe*, and *qeri*. Of these, *qeri* is the least common, except with the two nouns that mean 'time', where it is the norm. *Naqi* and *neqe* are phonological variants of each other, the former being more common. *Naqi* and *neqe* are discussed and exemplified first; a few examples of *qeri* will be given subsequently.

The speaker-proximal determiners may signal physical proximity to the speaker:

- (13-4) *Nau kwai qono-toqo-na fasi sea naqi.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT sit-TEST-3.OBJ PREC chair this
 'I am going to try sitting in this chair now.' 'I am going to test this chair now by sitting in it.'

They are also used with noun phrases referring to parts of the speaker's body or to his/her whole body:

- (13-5) *Teqe si qai qe toqe-a qae nau naqi.*
 one PRTT wood 3SG.NFUT prick-3.OBJ foot 1SG this
 ‘My foot, this one, got pricked on a stick.’ (Lit.: ‘A stick pricked this foot of mine’.)

They are used in noun phrases that refer to the speaker’s location or to an area that includes the speaker’s location:

- (13-6) *Si ku=neqe e faqa-mamagu.*
 PRTT place=this 3SG.NFUT CAUS-consider.disgusting
 ‘This place is disgusting.’

The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives are also used in expressing states of affairs that involve the speaker or that obtain in the speaker’s vicinity:

- (13-7) *Kulu faqa-aqi-a taqaa-laa naqi.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT CAUS-not.exist-3.OBJ be.bad-NMLZ this
 ‘Let’s put an end to this unpleasantness (lit.: badness).’

- (13-8) *Tha wela e loke-a*
 PERSMKR guy 3SG.NFUT work.determinedly.on-3.OBJ

raa neqe, ...
 work this
 ‘The guy rushed through this job, ...’

The speaker-proximal determiners can also be used in forms of address, although the addressee-proximal determiner is more common there; see section 13.3.2.2.

- (13-9) *Wela naqi, qoko too ngado!*
 child this 2SG.SEQ be.in.certain.condition be.still
 ‘Child, stay put!’

Although *naqi* and *neqe* are mostly used when reference is being made to entities, locations, or states of affairs that are in the speaker’s sphere at the time of the speech act, they may be used with respect to states of affairs that obtained before the time of the speech act and to entities and locations involved in them. By using *naqi* or *neqe* in such cases, the speaker makes the account more vivid, *as if* the state of affairs did obtain at the time of speaking. In some cases, the state of affairs is one that was in the speaker’s sphere when it obtained. In

(13-10) the speaker is recounting the fate of the musical group of which he used to be a member and which does not exist any more.

(13-10) *Kera nii i laal-a si raa*
 3PL.NFUT be.located LOC inside-3.PERS PRTT activity

naqi, ma keka raqu-a si raa naqi.
 this and 3PL.SEQ hold-3.OBJ PRTT work this

‘They were (involved) in this activity [the musical group], and they held onto this activity [they did not let it disintegrate].’

The speaker had mentioned the musical group before and so could have used one of the endophoric demonstratives, rather than *naqi*. However, the use of *naqi* not only signals to the addressee identifiability of the referent, it also brings the past situation into the context of the speech act.

The speaker-proximal demonstratives can be used contrastively to oppose something that is “near” compared to something that is “over there”, or to oppose “this side” to the “other side”. This is possible even if the location or the side in question is not, objectively, near the speaker; but it is treated, metaphorically, as if it were. In the next example, the speaker uses *neqe* with this contrastive function, even though he himself was not involved in the situation being described (the text is a traditional story). The deictic centre is the speaker and his audience, and the two sides are being spoken of as if they were nearer to and farther from them, respectively.

(13-11) *Roo wela baa ki, ta wela qi bali lakoo,*
 two child that PL some child LOC side that(3)

ta wela qi bali neqe, keka ngali-a
 some child LOC side this 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ

ifu-na qaburu baa
 hair-3.PERS ogre that

‘The two children, one child on that side, the other child on this side, they took the ogre’s hair’

Naqi and *neqe* can be used with temporal noun phrases to signify a time period that includes the time of the speech act. Included here are the nouns for ‘day’, parts of day, ‘week’, ‘month’, ‘year’. For example:

(13-12) *Qi laa fa thaqulafia naqi, kamiliqa sore*
 LOC IN CLF evening this 1PL(EXCL) speak

leqa uri-a n=o fale-a si
 be.good REAS-3.OBJ COMPL=2SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ PRTT

fanga ma si kafo
 food and PRTT water

‘This evening, we give thanks (lit.: we speak well) because you [God] give [us] food and water’

The temporal reference may be future, provided the time is viewed as being in the speaker’s sphere, that is, as part of the same temporal frame that includes the time of the speech act. In (13-13) the temporal frame is the current week and the Wednesday is included in that frame: the Wednesday of this week.

(13-13) *Felouship na muki ili-a qana Unsde*
 fellowship REL 2PL.FUT do-3SG.OBJ GENP Wednesday

naqi, nia bo=naqa neri.
 this 3SG ASRT=INTS NPAST.HERE

‘The (Christian) fellowship that you will hold this (coming) Wednesday, it will be like this.’

The qualifying elevational demonstrative *loo* ‘upward’ can also be used with future temporal reference, but in that case the relevant time is outside the speaker’s sphere; see section 13.4.

Even though *naqi* and *neqe* are used with nouns that signify periods of time, only rarely are they used with the nouns *manga* and *kada* ‘time’. There the third speaker-proximal demonstrative *qeri* is normally used; see (13-15) and (13-16) further below. This demonstrative is considered next.

Qeri has the same spatial significance as *naqi* and *neqe*, but it is used in this way relatively infrequently, and it is more likely to be used by older speakers than by younger ones. Example (13-14) shows *qeri* in its spatial use and its being equivalent to *naqi*. The speaker asked several people, one by one, if they knew a woman shown in a photograph and sometimes he used *qeri* and sometimes *naqi*.

(13-14) *Qo thaitoqoma-na kini {qeri / naqi?}*
 2SG.FUT know-3.OBJ woman this / this
 ‘Do you know this woman?’

Much more common is temporal use of *qeri*, with *manga* and with *kada*, both of which mean ‘time’, to signal that a situation obtains at the time of the

speech act, or that the temporal frame includes the time of the speech act: ‘(at) this time, now’. The usual noun for ‘time’ is *manga*; *kada* is relatively rare.

- (13-15) *uni-qi wane na=i manga qeri*
 generation-ASSOC person REL=LOC time this
 ‘present-day generation of people’

A reduplicated form of *manga* ‘time’, *maa-manga*, serves to emphasize the immediacy:

- (13-16) *Lae bo=naqa si maa-manga qeri!*
 go ASRT=INTS PRTT RDP-time this
 ‘Go right now!’ Go this very moment!’

Qeri is also occasionally used with other temporal nouns, and here too it has the same significance as *naqi/neqe*. In (13-17) the temporal reference is future, but the time is viewed as being in the speaker’s sphere, because the Sunday is in the same week as the day of the speech act:

- (13-17) *fa Sandee {naqi / qeri} mai*
 CLF Sunday this / this VENT
 ‘this coming Sunday’

When *qeri* is immediately followed by the plural marker *ki*, the two fuse together as *qe=ki*:

- (13-18) ... *moka qani-a fanga qe=ki.*
 2DU.SEQ eat-3.OBJ food this=PL
 ‘[When you and your friend have finished talking,] you two will eat this food (lit.: these foods).’

Qeri, but not *naqi* or *neqe*, also functions endophorically

13.3.2.2. *The addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative*

There is one determiner whose core function is to identify referents that are in the addressee’s sphere, *qena*. Usually, although not necessarily, the referent is spatially closer to the addressee than to the speaker at the time of the speech act. For example:

- (13-19) *Taa n=o loge-tani-a i laa*
 what FOC=2SG.NFUT rummage.for-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC IN
waqi qena?
 basket that(2)
 ‘What are you rummaging in that basket for?’

Qena is also used when the relevant referent is part of the addressee’s body, his/her whole body, or an excretion issuing out of the addressee’s body:

- (13-20) *Losi-a gwango qena.*
 remove.nasal.mucus-3.OBJ nasal.mucus that(2)
 ‘Get rid of your snot.’ (Said to a child with a snotty nose.)

And *qena* is used to refer to the addressee’s location:

- (13-21) *Oli mai fasi-a laa maaqufi qena.*
 return VENT ABL-3.OBJ IN cave that(2)
 ‘Come back out of the cave!’

While relative proximity of the referent to the addressee at the time of the speech act normally occasions the use of *qena*, it is not a necessary condition. *Qena* is not infrequently used when the referent is not any closer to the addressee than he/she/it is to the speaker, if the speaker takes the referent to be in the addressee’s sphere: it is the addressee rather than the speaker that is, or is to be, involved with the entity; for example, handling it, dealing with it. This kind of use of *qena* is common in imperatives. In the situation expressed in the next example, both the speaker and the addressee were next to a water tap, but the speaker’s hands were full and he wanted the addressee to turn the tap on:

- (13-22) *Qifi-ni-a kafo qena.*
 be.open-TR-3.OBJ water that(2)
 ‘Turn the water on.’

And in the situation expressed in the next example, both the speaker and the addressees are in the same area. (The ventive particle marks distance from the deictic centre here, not ventive directionality.)

- (13-23) *Lae muka soe kaakali si mai*
 go 2PL.SEQ ask move.around.place PREC VENT

qi laa fanu qena.
 LOC IN place that(2)
 ‘Go now and ask around the place.’

Qena is also used in the expression of address *kale qena*, lit. ‘that mate’. This is a common form of address, used regardless of sex and age of the addressee; it is used even between spouses. For example:

(13-24) A: *Kale qena, fale=qa-ku ta*
 mate that(2) give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS some

si suka.
 PRTT sugar

B: *Kale qena, si suka neqe qe faqekwa*
 mate that(2) PRTT sugar this 3SG.NFUT be.little

qasia boqo.
 INTS INTS

A: ‘Friend, give me some sugar.’

B: ‘Friend, I have very little sugar.’ (Lit.: ‘Friend, this sugar is very little.’)

Qena can also be used with other nouns in address forms:

(13-25) *Wela qena! Fusi ma=i ano!*
 child that(2) jump VENT=LOC ground
 ‘Child! Jump (down) to the ground!’

However, if the addressee is quite close to the speaker, he or she may be treated as being in the speaker’s sphere, even with respect to imperatives; see example (13-9) in section 13.3.2.1.

Qena is also used when the referent of the noun phrase is not literally in the addressee’s sphere. It is so used when speaking about something that took place before the time of the speech act, a situation which was in the speaker’s, but not the addressee’s, sphere at that time. This use of *qena* is not very common. It serves to make what is being spoken about closer, more vivid to the addressee, as if he/she had been present. In (13-26) the person is speaking about people at a meeting that he, but not the addressees, had attended:

- (13-26) *Nia e toqe-a toq=qena sui bana.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT oppose-3.OBJ people=that(2) EXHST LIM
 ‘He opposed everybody.’ ‘He disagreed with everybody.’ ‘He opposed all the people.’

And in (13-27) a possum hunter talks about what happens during a possum hunt, a kind of activity that the addressee does not engage in. The possums and the trees where the possums jump are referred to by means of the addressee-proximal determiner:

- (13-27) ... *tai si manga thaqaro qena ka*
 some.PL PRTT time possum that(2) 3SG.SEQ
- thada mai; tai si manga ka thaka*
 fall.down VENT some.PL PRTT time 3SG.SEQ escape
- na-na; akaqu laqu ba-na i*
 PRF-3SG.PERS take.step ADD LIM-3SG.PERS LOC
- gwau-na qai qena ki.*
 top-3.PERS tree that(2) PL
 ‘...sometimes, [after being poked with a pole] the possum falls down; sometimes it escapes [and] jumps (lit.: take steps) again in the tops of the trees.’

13.3.2.3. The distal determiner demonstratives

There are three determiner demonstratives that signify that the referent of the noun phrase is neither in the speaker’s nor in the addressee’s sphere, and that the entity, the location, or the state of affairs is not significantly displaced vertically with respect to the deictic centre, neither higher nor lower: *lakoo*, *lokoo*, and *labaa*. *Lakoo* and *lokoo* are phonological variants of each other. Some Toqabaqita speakers feel that *lakoo* and *lokoo* ought to be used when the distance is not very great, whereas *labaa* ought to be used for relatively great distances, but for all practical purposes *lakoo/lokoo* and *labaa* are interchangeable. Of the three forms, *lakoo* is the most common one.

- (13-28) *Ada laa-lae fuufusi lakoo ka laba-taqi nia.*
 TIM RDP-go ant that(3) 3SG.SEQ harm-TR 3SG
 ‘(I am worried) the ants over there might harm [here: sting] him [a baby].’

(13-29) *Wane lokoo ki keki fanga qa-da.*
 person that(3) PL 3PL.IPFV eat SBEN-3PL.PERS
 ‘Those people are eating.’

(13-30) *Koro kasi-a qai labaa.*
 DU(INCL).NFUT cut-3.OBJ tree that(3)
 ‘Let’s cut (down) that tree over there.’

In the situation expressed in (13-31), the deictic centre is not the speaker but a ship that a group of people had decided to stay away from:

(13-31) *Ma keka tee-teo i kula lakoo ka*
 and 3PL.SEQ RDP-lie LOC place that(3) 3SG.SEQ

dani naqa,
 be.daytime PRF
 ‘But (lit.: and) they lay (sleeping) at that place [away from a ship]
 until it was daytime,’

The distal demonstratives can be used contrastively to designate a location that is thought of as being away, or as being the other, more distant side, relative to a location thought of as being “near”, or relative to the “near” side, respectively; see example (13-11) in section 13.3.2.1, where what is thought of as the far side is in contrast with what is thought of as the near side.

13.3.2.4. *The determiner demonstrative of absence*

Toqabaqita has a determiner demonstrative that in its exophoric function signals that the referent of the noun phrase is absent from the speaker’s sphere. The form of the demonstrative is *baa*. Unlike the other exophoric determiners, *baa* signals not the current location of an entity, but its absence from the speaker’s sphere. The entity used to be in the speaker’s sphere but no longer is, or it should be in the speaker’s sphere but is not. *Baa* is commonly used in questions to ask about the whereabouts of someone or something, for example, when looking for him/her/it.

(13-32) *Qo alu-a naifa nau baa qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ knife 1SG that LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put my knife?’ ‘Where did you put that knife of mine? (The speaker is looking for the knife.)’

In (13-33) *baa* has fused with the following subject marker and has the form *ba=*:

- (13-33) *Wela ba=e ni=i fei?*
 child that=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC where?
 ‘Where is the child?’

Commonly, to ask about the whereabouts of someone or something, only the relevant noun phrase is used, without a predicate, and frequently, although not always, the interrogative is introduced by *ma* ‘and’. (See also section 19.3.7.)

- (13-34) *Ma sofu baa?*
 and soap that
 ‘And (where is) the soap?’

- (13-35) *Arekwao baa?*
 white.man that
 ‘(Where is) the white man?’

In the situation expressed in (13-36) the speaker wants the child to come. By using *baa* he is signalling that the child should have been present already:

- (13-36) *Qai-li-a mai wela baa.*
 call-TR-3.OBJ VENT child that
 ‘Call the child (to come) here.’

And in (13-37) the noun phrase *kale baa* ‘that guy’ could refer to a person that is no longer in the speaker’s sphere, for example because he has gone to live somewhere else or because he has died:

- (13-37) *doo kale baa*
 thing guy that
 ‘that guy’s thing’

Baa is used not only with spatial significance but also with temporal significance, to designate time before the time of reference, as a temporal counterpart of the qualifying demonstrative *loo* ‘upward’ (section 13.4):

- (13-38) *si manga baa*
 PRTT time that
 ‘(at) that time in the past’

With temporal nouns that signify a point in time or a period of time, *baa* normally signals the last such preceding time or time period:

(13-39) *Fa ngali baa, karangi-a sa kwai mae*
 CLF year that be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT die

bo=naqa qana malaria.
 ASRT=INTS GENP malaria
 ‘Last year, I nearly died of malaria.’

(13-40) *Qo lae Honiara qana wiki baa?*
 2SG.NFUT go Honiara GENP week that
 ‘Did you go to Honiara last week?’

(13-41) *fa Sandee baa (kau)*
 CLF Sunday that AND
 ‘last Sunday’

13.4. The qualifying demonstratives

There are two qualifying demonstratives. They are listed in table 13.3.

Table 13.3. Qualifying demonstratives

<i>loo</i>	distal and higher than deictic centre: ‘upward’
<i>fuu</i>	distal and lower than deictic centre: ‘downward’; also used endophorically

The qualifying demonstratives are elevational: in their core functions they signal vertical displacement of an entity or a location from the deictic centre. *Loo* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is at a higher location than the deictic centre, while *fuu* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is at a lower location than the deictic centre. (Although *loo* and *fuu* are usually best translated as ‘up there’ and ‘down there’, respectively, they are glossed ‘upward’ and ‘downward’, respectively, in order to distinguish them from the locative demonstrative adverbs ‘up there’ and ‘down there’, discussed in section 13.6.)

Like the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying ones occur in noun phrases (see [6-3] in section 6.1); and there are some semantic links between the two sets, but there are also some major differences, not just semantic but

formal as well. The qualifying demonstratives are distal. They are used when the entity in question is neither in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere. They are elevational counterparts of the distal (non-elevational) determiner demonstratives *lakoo/lokoo* and *labaa* (section 13.3.2.3).

Unlike the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying ones can occur with heads that are (third person) pronouns:

- (13-42) *Nia lo=e teo qa-na loqo.*
 3SG upward=3SG.NFUT lie SBEN-3SG.PERS up.there
 'He up there (He who was upward) was lying up there.'

And unlike the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying demonstratives can occur in indefinite (but referential) noun phrases:

- (13-43) *Kale!, teqe doo fuu qe*
 man! one thing downward 3SG.NFUT

qoto fuuri, quri-a ta kafo
 (water)be.stagnant down.there be.like-3.OBJ some water

fu=nia.

downward=3SG

'Man! Something down there is stagnant down there; it looks like water, that (thing) down there.'

- (13-44) *Teqe qerofulae lo=e tatha naq=i*
 one airplane upward=3SG.NFUT pass.by PRF=LOC

mangaa.

air.space

'An airplane up there is passing by in the sky (lit.: in the air space).'

The determiner demonstratives can only occur in definite noun phrases. On the other hand, the qualifying demonstratives do not have a definiteness value of their own. They can be used in indefinite noun phrases; but when a noun phrase is not specified as indefinite, the qualifying demonstratives carry a definiteness value.

The qualifying demonstratives can cooccur with the determiner demonstratives used anaphorically (section 13.5), modifying the same head noun. The anaphoric demonstratives come first, and the qualifying demonstratives follow (see 6-3 in section 6.1). In (13-45) *loo* 'upward' cooccurs with anaphoric *qeri*:

- (13-45) *Wane qeri loo kai gau*
 man that upward 3SG.IPFV pick.fruit.with.crook

keekene.

breadfruit

‘The (aforementioned) man up there [in a tree] is picking breadfruit (hooking them with a crook and breaking them off).’

In (13-46) it is *fuu* (in its reduced form *fu=e*) ‘downward’ that cooccurs with *qeri*:

- (13-46) *Thaqaro qeri fu=e thada kau.*
 possum that downward=3SG.NFUT fall.down AND
 ‘The possum down there fell/had fallen down there.’

And in (13-47) *loo* ‘upward’ cooccurs with anaphoric *baa*:

- (13-47) *Ma qaburu baa lo=e teo qa-na*
 and ogre that upward=3SG.NFUT lie SBEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘And the ogre up there [in a tree] was lying (asleep)’

More examples of the qualifying demonstratives follow. The first two illustrate *loo* ‘upward’:

- (13-48) *Nau ku lalakwa lae uri kula loo.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT UNDES go ALL place upward
 ‘I don’t like going to the place up there.’

The expression *araqī loo* literally ‘the mature man upward’ is used to refer to the Christian God:

- (13-49) *Kamiliqa mika tango-a araqi*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).SEQ praise-3.OBJ mature.man

loo

upward

‘We praised the Lord’

The next pair of examples illustrate the use of *fuu* ‘downward’.

- (13-50) *Teqe doo e qisu i kula fuu.*
 one thing 3SG.NFUT move LOC place downward
 ‘There is something moving down there.’

In (13-51) the demonstrative has fused with the following preposition:

- (13-51) ... *meka fula mai i aa,*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ arrive VENT LOC place.up
- meka lio toli faafi-a toasusu*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ look descend CONF-3.OBJ city
- fu=i ano.*
 downward=LOC ground
 ‘...we arrived up [to the top floor of a skyscraper] and looked down at the city down on the ground.’

There is a convention in the Toqabaqita area such that locations that are to one’s right along the coast when one is facing the sea are “up” and those to one’s left are “down”:

- (13-52) *Mika fafualianga uri-a bali loo*
 1PL(ECXL).SEQ listen ALL-3.OBJ side upward
- qana qiist ma bali fuu qana west*
 GENP east and side downward GENP west
- ka taqaa teqefau laqu boqo.*
 3SG.SEQ be.bad all.of.it ADD ASRT
 ‘We listened [to the radio for news about a cyclone] to hear about [places] up in the east and down in the west, and there too it was bad everywhere.’

In the area where the speaker of (13-52) was, the direction to one’s right when one is facing the sea is approximately eastward and the direction to one’s left is approximately westward. (In a parallel manner, verbal expressions ‘move up’ and ‘move down’, respectively, are used for movements in those directions.)

Locations out in the sea but not very far are considered to be up when the deictic centre is down on the coast. (When the deictic centre is up in the hills and mountains, locations in the sea are down.)

- (13-53) ... *keka* *nii* *naq=i* *qamali*, *qi* *laa*
 3PL.SEQ reside PRF=LOC sea LOC IN
aququa loo i asi
 island upward LOC sea
 ‘... they settled (to live) at sea, on that island up in the sea’

On the other hand, locations far across the sea are considered to be down. In (13-54a) *fuu* is used to refer to the women of New Zealand when the speaker is on Malaita, while in (13-54b) it is used to refer to the women of Malaita when the speaker is in New Zealand. (Unless specified otherwise, *bara* refers collectively to women.)

- (13-54) a. *bara* *fu=i* *Niu Siland*
 woman.group downward=LOC New Zealand
 ‘(all) the women in New Zealand’ (the speaker is on Malaita)
- b. *bara* *fu=i* *Malaqita*
 woman.group downward=LOC Malaita
 ‘(all) the women on Malaita’ (the speaker is in New Zealand)

As is the case with the determiner demonstratives, with *loo* and *fuu* also the deictic centre need not be the speaker. In the situation expressed in the next sentence, the deictic centre is some of the people building a house, the ones on the ground, and they do not include the speaker.

- (13-55) *Tai wane ki keka fale thao uri-a*
 some.PL man PL 3PL.SEQ hand thatching ALL-3.OBJ
fafona biqu loo
 top-3.PERS house upward
 ‘Some of the men [on the ground] pass thatching to the top of the house [i.e., to the people on top of the house]’

In the next sentence, from an account of a possum hunt, the man on the ground is characterized as being down in relation to another man, up in a tree. The man up in the tree is mentioned in the first clause in (13-56), and represents the current point of reference.

- (13-56) ... *ma nia ka quu, ma nia ka togo*
 and 3SG 3SG.SEQ shoot and 3SG 3SG.SEQ bang

naqa, ma wane fuu ka raqu-a
 PRF and man downward 3SG.SEQ grab-3SG.OBJ

naqa

PRF

‘... and he [the man up in the tree] shoots, and it [a possum] bangs down (to the ground), and the man down there grabs it’

Loo is used not only with spatial significance but also with temporal significance, to signal time later than the time of reference. Future time is conceptualized as being up (and as moving towards the time of reference; see section 7.11).

(13-57) *si manga loo*
 PRTT time upward
 ‘future time’

Loo is also used with temporal nouns that signify a point in time or a period of time, in which case it mostly signals the first such time or time period after the time of reference (but see further below). The time referred to is not in the speaker’s sphere; that is, it is not viewed as being inside a temporal frame that includes the time of the speech act. (Compare the use of the speaker-proximal forms *naqi/neqe* and *qeri*, as discussed in section 13.3.2.1.) The month referred to in (13-58) was to come after the month in which the sentence was uttered:

(13-58) *Lumaqaa naqi qana madami loo.*
 wedding this GENP month upward
 ‘The (lit.: this) wedding (will be) next month.’

In (13-59) the reference time is a time in the past, several decades before the time of the speech act, and *loo* is used to signify the following year, also in the past:

(13-59) ... *fa ngali loo kiki fula, kiki thau-ngi*
 CLF year upward 3PL.FUT arrive 3PL.FUT hit-TR

Solomon Ayles.

Solomon Island

‘[They sent a message saying that] the following year they would come and attack the Solomon Islands.’

With the days of the week, *loo* signals the day after the coming one:

- (13-60) *fa Sandee loo (mai)*
 CLF Sunday upward VENT
 ‘the Sunday after next’

The temporal counterpart of *loo*, signalling time before the time of reference, is not *fuu* ‘downward’, but the determiner demonstrative *baa* (section 13.3.2.4). However, *fuu* does have another function, that of an anaphoric determiner; see section 13.5.1.

13.5. The endophoric functions of the demonstratives

Three demonstratives, the determiner ones *qeri* and *baa*, and the qualifying one *fuu*, also function as endophoric determiners in addition to their exophoric functions. One of them, *qeri*, has both an anaphoric and a cataphoric function.

13.5.1. The anaphoric functions of *qeri*, *baa*, and *fuu*

Fuu is used anaphorically only rarely, and in that function is equivalent to *baa*. Examples of its use will be given towards the end of the section. The anaphoric functions of *qeri* and *baa* are discussed in detail in Lichtenberk (1988b), and here only a synopsis is given. The notion that underlies the anaphoric uses of *qeri* and *baa* is that of assumed familiarity (Prince 1981): the speaker assumes that the addressee is in some way familiar with the referent of the noun phrase, and this is signalled by the use of *qeri* or *baa*. Frequently, the referent of a noun phrase may be assumed to be familiar to the addressee because of prior mention. In (13-61) a garden is mentioned for the first time in the first clause, and it is subsequently referred to twice by lexical noun phrases using *qeri*. *Qeri* is also used with the noun *faa-fanga-a* ‘feast’ in the last clause. The feast was mentioned before; it is for this feast that the food in the garden was grown.

- (13-61) *Keka kilu-a teqe oqola, oqola qeri*
 3PL.SEQ plant.taro.in-3.OBJ one garden garden that
- ka taqe naqa, qana Unsde qana fa wiki*
 3SG.SEQ grow PRF GENP Wednesday GENP CLF week
- naqi keki kwaqi-a oqola qeri*
 this 3PL.FUT harvest.taro.in-3.OBJ garden that

uri-a faa-fanga-a qeri.
 PURP-3.OBJ RDP-eat-DVN that
 ‘They planted taros in a garden; the (food in the) garden has grown;
 on Wednesday of this week they will harvest the taros in the garden
 for the feast.’

And in (13-62) *baa* is used in a noun phrase to refer back to people mentioned previously:

(13-62) ... *keka ngali-a sikwa noniqi wane baa ki, ...*
 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ nine CLF man that PL
 ‘... they took those nine men, ...’

An anaphoric mention using *qeri* or *baa* need not be lexically identical to the previous mention. In (13-63) the man and the woman are first referred to as the child’s father and mother, but in the subsequent, anaphoric mention they are referred to as a married couple:

(13-63) *Maka nia bia thaina-na keko sore-a*
 father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.SEQ tell-3.OBJ

wela qeri ma roo ai baa ki keka lae
 child that and two spouse that PL 3PL.SEQ go

naqa
 PRF
 ‘The child’s father and mother told him (lit.: His father and
 mother told the child) and the husband and wife (lit.: the two
 spouses) went (away)’

The referent of a noun phrase may be treated as familiar to the addressee even though it has not been explicitly mentioned before, provided that something in the preceding context entails or at least evokes it. In (13-64), the work can be assumed to be familiar because of the prior mention of the activity of working by means of a verb:

(13-64) *Nau ku raa-raa, raa qeri ka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-work work that 3SG.SEQ

faqa-feda nau qasia naqa.
 CAUS-be.tired 1SG INTS INTS
 ‘I worked and worked, and the work made me very tired.’

In (13-65) a fence is presented as familiar owing to the prior mention of a prison cell.

(13-65) *Keko tataqe mai, maa-na qolofolo qana*
 3DU.SEQ stand.up VENT door-3.PERS doorway GENP

sela qeri mena ka qifi. Keeroqa keko
 cell that FADD 3SG.SEQ open 3DU 3DU.SEQ

kotho bo=na=i maa keko
 go.through ASRT=PRF=LOC outside 3DU.SEQ

kotho ba-daroqa i
 go.through LIM-3DU.PERS LOC

maatonga-na fenisi qeri mada i
 mid.of.vertical.object-3.PERS fence that or LOC

qaaqae-na fenisi qeri toqo.
 base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS fence that perhaps

‘They stood up, (and) the door (lit.: the door of the doorway) of the (prison) cell too opened. The two of them went outside. [After they had gone outside,] they went simply through the middle of the fence or perhaps at [i.e. under] the bottom of the fence [and escaped from the prison].’

An anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri* or *baa* can also be used “summatively”, its antecedent being part or all of the preceding discourse. In (13-66) the anaphoric noun phrase *quna baa* ‘that manner, that way’ has as its antecedent a number of clauses that describe what the man shouted. (It does not designate the way the man shouted.) The noun phrase *manga b[aa]* ‘that time’ refers back to the time he shouted.

(13-66) ... *manga b=e qai quna baa*
 time that=3SG.NFUT shout manner that
 ‘... (at) that time he shouted (like) that ...’

Although this is not common, *qeri* and *baa* can be used anaphorically even if the antecedent is non-referential. The antecedent mentions a type of entity rather than a specific entity, but this may be sufficient for the speaker to assume familiarity on the part of the addressee. In (13-67) the first mention of possums is non-referential, and the verb ‘hunt’ and the noun ‘possum’ form an object-

incorporating compound (section 12.4.2). The next time possums are mentioned, it is by means of an anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri*, there in its reduced, combining form *qe=*, to which the plural marker *ki* is fused:

- (13-67) *Qan=teqe fa bongi, roo wela qe=ki*
 GENP=one CLF day two child that=PL
- kero lae, keko raqa futa qa-daroqa,*
 3DU.NFUT go 3DU.SEQ hunt possum SBEN-3DU.PERS
- laalae, ka fula karangi-a fanua*
 RDP-go 3SG.SEQ arrive be.near.to-3.OBJ place
- kai rodo. Keeroqa keko ngali-a mai*
 3SG.FUT be.night 3DU 3DU.SEQ carry-3.OBJ VENT
- futa keeroqa qe=ki, ...*
 possum 3DU that=PL
 ‘One day, the two children went to hunt possums; they hunted and hunted until it was about to get dark. They gathered (lit.: brought) those possums of theirs, ...’

Even though both *qeri* and *baa* are used anaphorically, they are not equivalent. As discussed in Lichtenberk (1988b), the choice between the two anaphoric elements is sensitive to the degree of accessibility of the referent of an anaphoric noun phrase, that is, to “the degree to which the referent of an anaphoric NP is accessible to the participants in the speech act” (Lichtenberk 1988b: 326), following Givón’s (1983) notion of accessibility. *Qeri* is used when the degree of accessibility is relatively high, and *baa* is used when the degree of accessibility is relatively low. One factor having to do with the degree of accessibility is anaphoric distance, in terms of the number of clause boundaries, between the current anaphoric mention and the most recent antecedent.³³ All other things being equal (see further below), the shorter the anaphoric distance, the more likely the use of *qeri*; and the longer the distance, the more likely the use of *baa*. An anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri* or *baa* and its antecedent cannot occur in the same clause, which means that the anaphoric distance must be at least one clause boundary. Example (13-68) illustrates the difference between *qeri* and *baa*. There are two anaphoric mentions of one and the same place (*kula* ‘place’). The first noun phrase contains *baa* (in its combining form *ba=*), because the most recent mention of that place was much earlier in the text. The anaphoric distance is very long, over 50 clauses. The noun phrase *kula baa* not only refers back; it also functions as the antecedent of

the next mention of the place. Here, the anaphoric distance is short, only three clause boundaries. And in the second anaphoric noun phrase it is *qeri* that is used.

- (13-68) *Wane baa ka lae, qe lae ura*
 man that 3SG.SEG go 3SG.NFUT go ALL
- kula ba=nia toda-a thaari baa ma keeroqa*
 place that=3SG meet-3.OBJ girl that and 3DU
- keko qolo qi ei keki kwai-toda=i*
 3DU.SEG arrange LOC LOCPRO 3DU.FUT LIP-meet=LOC

kula qeri.

place that

‘The man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had arranged to meet (at that place).’

Anaphoric distance is a matter of degree. Over very long distances, it is *baa* that is clearly preferred, while over very short distances, all other things being equal, it is *qeri* that is clearly preferred. But there are also cases where the anaphoric distance is neither particularly long nor particularly short, and in such cases either *baa* or *qeri* can be used.

There is one kind of environment where it is *qeri* that is used exclusively: when a new, salient participant is introduced into discourse and is immediately referred to again by means of a lexical noun phrase, it is always *qeri* that is used in the second mention. This is a strategy commonly used to refer to newly introduced participants. In (13-69) a new participant, a woman, is introduced in the first clause, and is referred to immediately again in the next clause. In the second mention the noun phrase contains *qeri*. The woman is a highly salient participant (she became the speaker’s wife) and is referred to again subsequently. Only the first of the later mentions is included here.

- (13-69) ... *keko soe-toqo-na naqa teqe kini qi*
 3DU.SEG ask.about-TEST-3.OBJ PRF one woman LOC
- laa sukulu naqa. Keka foqe-a*
 IN church PRF 3PL.SEG pay.bride.price.for-3.OBJ
- kini qeri qi fa-ku. Kini qeri,***
 woman that LOC BEN-1SG.PERS woman that

keka kwaan suli nia qana teqe
 3PL.SEQ set.bride.price PROL 3SG GENP one

kobi-qi malefo ma teqe malefo.
 tensome-ASSOC shell.money and one shell.money
 ‘... they [the speaker’s parents] inquired about a woman who was already a Christian (lit.: already in the church). They paid the bride price for the woman for me. The woman, they [the woman’s family] set the bride price for her as 11 sets of shell money.’

For more examples of introduction of new participants and subsequent mentions by means of noun phrases with *qeri* see section 38.8.

There is another factor that has to do with the degree of accessibility that is relevant to the use of *qeri* and *baa*, at least in narrative discourse, and that is presence of direct speech intervening between segments of the narrative portion of the text. There are two possibilities: (i) the direct speech intervenes between the antecedent and the anaphoric mentions; or (ii) the antecedent mention is in the direct speech and the anaphoric mention is in a later narrative portion.³⁴ In both types of case, the degree of accessibility of the participant in the anaphoric mention is relatively low, and *baa* tends to be used even over short anaphoric distances. In (13-70) the antecedent is in the direct speech, and the anaphoric noun phrase is in the narrative portion of the text. *Baa* is used in the anaphoric mention even though the anaphoric distance is minimal: one clause boundary. The antecedent of *roo wela baa ki* ‘the two children’ is the first person dual exclusive pronoun *kamareqa* in the direct speech:

(13-70) “*Qe aqi. Kamareqa laa-lae meki*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so 1DU(EXCL) RDP-go 1DU(EXCL).FUT

riki-a boqo.” Roo wela baa ki, rake-da
 see-3SG.OBJ ASRT two child that PL belly-3PL.PERS

ka qiri;
 3SG.SEQ be.angry
 ‘[The two children said:] “No. We will (go and) see it.” The two children, they were angry (lit.: their bellies were angry.);’

The anaphoric demonstratives are sometimes not used with possessive constructions when the referent is uniquely identifiable. In (13-71) there is a first mention of Bariqi’s arms and legs, followed some sentences later by a second mention, but the second mention has no anaphoric determiners. It is clearly

Bariqi's arms and legs that are being referred to; the third person pronoun *nia* functioning as a possessor phrase provides the anaphoric link:

(13-71) ... *ma toqa nia ki kiku kani-a roo qaba*
 and people 3SG PL 3PL.SEQ tie-3.OBJ two arm

nia ki ma roo qae nia ki ... Wela baa ki
 3SG PL and two leg 3SG PL child that PL

keka luke-a naqa, tha Bariqi, roo
 3PL.SEQ untie-3SG.OBJ PRF PERSMKR Bariqi two

qaba nia ki, roo qae nia ki.
 arm 3SG PL two leg 3SG PL

'... and his [another man's, not Bariqi's] people tied both of his [Bariqi's] arms and both of his legs The children untied him, Bariqi, both of his arms and both of his legs.'

Similarly in (13-72) neither *qeri* nor *baa* is used with the kinship terms 'father' and 'mother', even though both individuals have been mentioned — several times — earlier. Here too the anaphoric link is by means of the expressions of the possessor.

(13-72) *Ma nia qe ade fasi-a maka nia*
 and 3SG 3SG.NFUT act ABL-3.OBJ father 3SG

bia thaina-na
 and mother-3SG.PERS

'And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother'

However, if an anaphoric link is to be emphasized, *qeri* or *baa* are used even in the presence of an anaphoric possessor phrase. In (13-73) there is a possessor pronoun, but the use of *qeri* makes it clear that the individual being talked about is the one mentioned previously and none other:

(13-73) *Iu, ka thare-a teqe wane, thata-na*
 yes 3SG.SEQ beget-3.OBJ one man name-3SG.PERS

tha Moomoli laqu boqo. Kwaqengara
 PERSMKR Moomoli ADD ASRT Kwaqengara

qe *qalangi-a* *kookogo* *nia* *qeri*
 3SG.NFUT name-3.OBJ grandchild 3SG that

qana thata-na *maka* *nia*.
 GENP name-3.PERS father 3SG

‘Yes, and he begot a man; his name too was Moomoli [same as Moomoli’s great-grandfather’s name.]. Kwaqengara [Moomoli’s grandfather] bestowed his own father’s name on that grandchild of his.’

On the whole, *qeri* is used more commonly than *baa*. In six traditional Toqabaqita narratives studied in Lichtenberk (1988b), there were 389 instances of *qeri* and *baa* altogether. Of these, approximately 69 percent were occurrences of *qeri* and approximately 31 percent were occurrences of *baa*. This reflects a tendency of texts to exhibit a relatively high degree of continuity with respect to the participants. The distances between repeated mentions of entities, especially relatively salient ones, tend to be short; and this is where *qeri* is more likely to be used than *baa*.

There is a link between the endophoric and the exophoric functions of *qeri* and *baa*. Exophorically, *qeri* is speaker-proximal and endophorically it is used over relatively short anaphoric distances. On the other hand, *baa* is used exophorically to signal spatial absence, removal, and temporal distance into the past, that is, absence of proximity; and endophorically it is usually used over relatively long anaphoric distances.

The third anaphoric demonstrative, *fuu*, is not common (although it is common as an elevational demonstrative), and it is the equivalent of *baa*. In (13-74) *fuu* occurs three times. The ogre, the children, and the door have all been mentioned before.

(13-74) *Qaburu fuu, tootoo qe rodo mai, taqe*
 ogre that later 3SG.NFUT be.dark VENT ascend

mai, lae mai ura roo wela fuu ki, fula,
 VENT go VENT ALL two child that PL arrive

qe qigi-ni-toqo-na maa fuu quna qeri,
 3SG.NFUT shake-TR-TEST-3.OBJ door that manner this

ma ka aqi si qifi.

and 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG open

‘The ogre, later (when) it got dark, went up and came up to the two children, (and when) he arrived (there), he tried to shake the door like this [the speaker demonstrates], but (lit.: and) it wouldn’t open.’

The first instance of *fuu* could also be interpreted as elevational: the ogre is originally located lower than the children, as shown by the use of the verb *taqe* ‘ascend’. However, when the children are referred to, *fuu* is used there too; and it is also used when reference is made to the door of the house where the children are. Even after reaching the two children, the ogre is referred in the remainder of the story by means of noun phrases with *fuu*. Those uses of *fuu* are not elevational.

The anaphoric uses of *fuu* too may be motivated by its exophoric functions, although in the absence of historical evidence one can only speculate. In its elevational use, *fuu* ‘downward’ is the counterpart of *loo* ‘upward’. *Loo* is also used temporally to signal time later than the time of reference. One might, then, expect *fuu* to signal time before the time of reference; however, there it is *baa* that is used, not *fuu*. And *baa* is used anaphorically over relatively long anaphoric distances. It is conceivable that at some time in the history of Toqabaqita, *fuu* was used exophorically to signal time before the time of reference, the way *baa* functions now, and that that usage motivated the development of its anaphoric use over relatively long anaphoric distances, again the way *baa* is used now. Later, *fuu* was replaced by *baa*, completely in its temporal function and nearly completely in its anaphoric function.

13.5.2. The cataphoric function of *qeri*

Qeri is the only demonstrative that can be used cataphorically, pointing forward in text. It is so used in a re-ranked noun phrase headed by *quna* ‘manner, way’. The noun phrase *quna qeri* ‘(in) this manner; thus’ functions as a “pseudo-verb” to introduce direct speech (section 4.7):

(13-75) *Ma tha baastoo ka quna qeri, “Nau,*
and PERSMKR pastor 3SG.SEQ manner this I

sios naqi, ku ili-toqo-na qono-laa i
church this 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ sit-NMLZ LOC

ei qa=fa thato, ka taqaa."

LOCPRO GENP=CLF daytime 3SG.SEQ be.bad

'And the Pastor said, "I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the day, but it was no good."' (People outside the church were making too much noise.)

- (13-76) *Thaari baa ka quna qeri, "Qe leqa*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT be.good

ba-na, koki fanga."

LIM-3SG.PERS DU(INCL).FUT eat

'The girl said, "That's fine; we'll eat."'

For more examples see (4-224) in section 4.7 and section 37.4.

However, *qeri* can also be used anaphorically with *quna* as its head:

- (13-77) *Nau kwa taqaa qasia na=i a-ku*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ be.bad INTS INTS=LOC BEN-1SG.PERS

manga n=e ngata quna qeri.

time REL=3SG.NFUT speak manner that

'I felt very bad when he was talking like that.' (Lit.: 'I was bad for myself at the time he spoke like that.')

(Referring back to what another person had said.)

13.6. The locative demonstrative adverbs

13.6.1. Introduction

The central function of the locative demonstrative adverbs is to specify, identify the location of an entity in space, or the presence, existence of an entity at a location. There are two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs: presentative³⁵ and general locative. To the extent that the relevant forms exist, the locative demonstrative adverbs make the same distinctions in terms of the speaker's sphere, the addressee's sphere, and elevation as do the determiner and the qualifying demonstratives. The two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs are set out in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4. Locative demonstrative adverbs

presentative adverbs	general locative adverbs	
<i>neqe</i>		speaker-proximal: 'here'
<i>nená</i>		addressee-proximal: 'there(2)'
<i>lakoqo, lokoqo, labaqá</i>	<i>lakoo, lokoo, likoo, labaa, libaa</i>	distal, non-elevational: 'there(3)'
<i>loqo</i>	<i>loori, taqabaa</i>	distal and higher than deictic centre: 'up there'
<i>fuqu</i>	<i>fuuri, fuubaa</i>	distal and lower than deictic centre: 'down there'

As can be seen from table 13.4, there are no general speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal locative demonstrative adverbs. A possible explanation for this is offered in section 13.6.3.

13.6.2. The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs

The presentative demonstrative adverbs are used when the entity in question is visible at that location and can be pointed at or pointed out (as when a speaker is holding it in his or her hands). Syntactically, they can function as part of the predicate (see [4-1] in section 4.1), or they can form the predicate. They tend to be said emphatically, with relatively strong stress and on higher pitch, especially when they alone form the predicate. With the exception of the addressee-proximal form *nená*, all the others end in a syllable that consists of a glottal stop and a vowel that is identical to the vowel in the preceding syllable: *neqe*, *lakoqo*, *fuqu*, etc. More often than not, the final vowel is deleted (see section 2.2.1): *neq*, *lakoq*, *fuq*, etc. Adverb phrases that contain a presentative adverb do not function as complements of prepositions.

The first set of examples contains verbless sentences with the presentative demonstratives forming the predicate. In this function the adverbs are used in presentational identificational sentences (section 27.2.2.2).

- (13-78) *Fanga kamaroqa neq.*
 food 2DU here
 'Here is your food.' (Lit.: 'Your food (is) here.')
- (Said when presenting food to the addressees. This is a casual, "modern" way of speaking. To speak more formally and politely, an indirect locution would be used, such as 'Look at that thing.')

In (13-79) speaker A uses the speaker-proximal form and speaker B the addressee-proximal form:

(13-79) A: *Qoo, teqe thaqaro neqe.*
oh, one possum here

B: *Thaqaro taa nena?*
possum what? there(2)

A: 'Oh, there is a possum here.'

B: 'What kind of possum is it there?' (Male or female?)

The non-elevational distal forms *lakoqo* and *lokoqo* are phonological variants of each other, the former being more common. The third distal form *labaqa* is synonymous with *lakoqo/lokoqo*.

(13-80) ... *lio qoko riki-a fasi, thate-qe taa*
look 2SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ PREC name-ASSOC what?

lakoq? Tei na keekeda-la-na?
there(3) who? FOC write-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

'Take a look at it; what (kind of) name is it over there? Whose writing is it?' (The speaker is asking about the name of a Japanese ship written in Japanese.)

(13-81) *Maka nau labaqa.*
father 1SG there(3)
'My father is over there.'

The next two examples contain the elevational forms:

(13-82) *Teqe faka fuq.*
one ship down.there
'There is a ship down there.' (The speaker is up on a hill. Compare [13-89] further below.)

(13-83) *Wane na mili ngata suli-a*
man REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT speak PROL-3SG.OBJ

loq.
up.there
'The man we spoke about is up there.'

In the next set of examples the locative demonstratives occur as part of predicates headed by verbs:

- (13-84) *Bauta kera na mili qaba-a*
 boat 3PL REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT pull-3SG.OBJ

ka teo ba-na neq.
 3SG.SEQ lie LIM-3SG.PERS here
 ‘The boat of theirs, which we had pulled (out), came to rest (lit.: lie) here.’

- (13-85) *Kafa qoe kai teo ba-n=i*
 comb 2SG 3SG.IPFV lie LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

sa-mu nena.
 ADJC-2SG.PERS there(2)
 ‘Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.’

- (13-86) *Maka nau qe nii labaqa.*
 father 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.located there(3)
 ‘My father is over there.’

See the synonymous verbless sentence in (13-81) further above.

- (13-87) A: *Lifuna ni=i fei?*
 Lifuna be.located=LOC where?

 B: *Nia na kai takwe fuq.*
 3SG FOC 3SG.IPFV stand down.there
 A: ‘Where is Lifuna?’
 B: ‘*There* she is, standing down there.’ ‘That’s her, standing down there.’ (Lit.: ‘It is her who is standing down there.’)

In (13-88) the position of the fire up from the deictic centre is signalled both by the qualifying demonstrative and by the locative demonstrative adverb:

- (13-88) *Tei n=e soqoni-a kasi era*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT light.fire-3.OBJ small fire

loo na kai tharu loqo?
 upward REL 3SG.IPFV burn up.there
 ‘Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?’

And in (13-89) *loq* is used about a location out in the sea. Such locations, are spoken of as being “up”, unless the speaker is high up in the hills, mountains (cf. [13-82]):

- (13-89) *Teqe faka n=e tatha loq.*
 one ship REL=3SG.NFUT pass.by up.there
 ‘There is a ship passing by out there.’

In all the examples of the presentative adverbs in predicates with verbs given above, it is the location of the entity expressed as the subject that is identified, but as the next set of examples shows, this is not a grammatical requirement. In (13-90) the addressee-proximal adverb identifies the location of the clothes, expressed as a possessor phrase. The possessor phrase contains the addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative.

- (13-90) *Kwa riki-a biikok na kuki*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ peacock REL PL(INCL).IPFV

rii-riki-a nuu-na i seqe-na
 RDP-see-3.OBJ picture-3SG.PERS LOC body-3.PERS

kaleko qena ki nena,
 clothes that(2) PL there(2)
 ‘[In the zoo] I saw peacocks, which we (only) see pictures of on those clothes there (lit.: on the body of those clothes there; here: wraparounds, which often have colourful patterns) ...’ (The speaker points at the designs on some of the addressees’ clothes.)

In (13-91), on the other hand, the addressee-proximal adverb has the whole possessive construction in the direct-object position in its scope:

- (13-91) *Ngali-a mai kaleko wela nena.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT clothes child there(2)
 ‘Bring the child’s clothes, (those) there.’

And in (13-92) the presentative adverb has an oblique object in its scope:

- (13-92) *Oli faafi-a naifa wane n=o*
 return CONF-3.OBJ knife man REL=2SG.NFUT

bili-a mai nena.

steal-3.OBJ VENT there(2)

‘Take back (lit.: return with) the man’s knife that you stole (and brought), (the one) there (by you).’

The speaker-proximal form *neqe/neq* has one additional function, which, however, is not locative in the sense discussed thus far. It is used as a kind of emphatic marker, showing the speaker’s emotional involvement, such as surprise, elation, indignation at, subjective evaluation of, an entity or the overall situation. The emotional involvement need not be very heavy; *neqe/neq* serves to express the speaker’s subjectifying input, “vividness to the mind of the speaker” (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 278). The state of affairs is something that concerns or is of interest to the speaker, and in that sense can be seen as being in his/her sphere, but its primary function is one of vividness. In the vividness function, *neqe* occurs clause finally.

The sentence in (13-93) is about the addressee; by using *neq*, the speaker makes plain his negative attitude to what the addressee does:

- (13-93) *Qoe boqo n=o redu baqe-a*
 2SG ASRT FOC=2SG.NFUT turn.inside.out speak-DVN

qasia naqa neq.

INTS INTS VIVID

‘It’s *you* who repeats the same thing over and over again (lit.: turns speech inside out).’

And the sentence in (13-94) is about a third person who is not even on the scene:

- (13-94) *Wane qe aqi si thaitoqoma-na*
 man 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG know-3.OBJ

biibirangaa kulu neq.

custom PL(INCL) VIVID

‘The man doesn’t know our customs, I’m telling you.’

And although the state of affairs expressed in (13-95) does involve the speaker, *neqe* expresses, emphasizes her fear. In that sentence, *neqe* occurs after the clause-level epistemic particle *takona* ‘certainly’ (section 18.5.2).

- (13-95) *Nau ai kwai mae bo=naqa takona neqe.*
 1SG woman 1SG.FUT be.dead ASRT=INTS certainly VIVID
 ‘I am a dead woman.’ ‘I will certainly die.’ (Lit.: ‘I am a woman
 who will certainly die.’)

13.6.3. The general locative demonstrative adverbs

The general locative demonstrative adverbs are not used to point at or point out an entity or a location. For example, they may be used when the entity or location in question is not visible. They may be used if the entity or location is visible, but in that case it is normally not pointed at.

There are a number of non-elevational distal forms, some of which are phonological variants of each other: *lakoo*, *lokoo*, *likoo*; and *labaa*, *libaa*. The members of the two sets are semantically equivalent. *Lakoo* is the commonest form, while *likoo* and *libaa* are rare.

There is no speaker-proximal form and no addressee-proximal form (table 13.4 in section 13.6.1), which is most likely due to the functions of the general locative adverbs. These adverbs are commonly used when the entity or location is not visible. However, when an entity or a location is proximal to the speaker or to the addressee, it is normally visible and can be pointed at or shown, and this obviates the need for dedicated speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal general locative adverbs. How locations in the speaker’s sphere or in the addressee’s sphere can be referred to is mentioned further below.

Adverb phrases that contain the elevational forms *loori* ‘up there’ or *fuuri* ‘down there’ normally occur as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. These are the only types of adverb phrase with a general locative adverb that do.

Examples with the general locative adverbs are given below.

- (13-96) B: *Too ba-na lokoo.*
 be.at.place LIM-3SG.PERS there(3)
 [A: ‘Where is he?’]
 B: ‘He is over there (in that direction).’

- (13-97) *Nau ku riki nia mai labaa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see 3SG VENT there(3)
 ‘I saw him over there.’

The next two examples contain the elevational forms *loori* ‘up there’ and *fuuri* ‘down there’, respectively, in prepositional phrases:

- (13-98) *Teqe doo qe qisuqisu qi*
 one thing 3SG.NFUT move.rapidly.back.and.forth LOC

loori.

up.there

‘There is something moving rapidly back and forth up there.’

- (13-99) *Tei n=e ngata i fuuri naba?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT talk LOC down.there PAST.THEN
 ‘Who was it talking down there?’

Occasionally, those two elevational forms occur without the locative preposition:

- (13-100) *Kale!, teqe doo fuu qe*
 man! one thing downward 3SG.NFUT

goto fuuri, quri-a ta kafo
 (water)be.stagnant down.there be.like-3.OBJ some water

fu=nia.

downward=3SG

‘Man! Something down there is stagnant down there; it looks like water, that (thing) down there.’

Adverb phrases that contain the rare elevational forms *taqabaa* ‘up there’ or *fuubaa* ‘down there’ do not occur as complements in prepositional phrases. The form *taqabaa* probably has some historical connection to the verb *taqe* ‘move, go up; ascend’.

- (13-101) *Biqu nau e nii mai taqabaa.*
 house 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.located VENT up.there
 ‘My house is up there, in that direction.’

Instead of the general locative demonstrative adverbs, it is possible to use a noun phrase headed by the noun *kula* ‘place’ with the appropriate determiner or qualifying demonstrative. This strategy is, in fact, quite common:

- (13-102) *Ma keka tee-teo i kula lakoo ka*
 and 3PL.SEQ RDP-lie LOC place that(3) 3SG.SEQ

dani *naqa*,
 be.daytime PRF
 ‘But (lit.: and) they lay (sleeping) at that place until it was daytime,
’

As there are no speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal general locative demonstrative adverbs, this is the strategy to designate locations in the speaker’s and in the addressee’s spheres. The determiner demonstratives *naqi* and *neqe* ‘this’ usually fuse with the noun *kula* as *ku=naqi* and *ku=neqe*, respectively.

(13-103) *Muka* *too* *qa-muluqa* *qi* *ku=naqi*, *nau*
 2PL.SEQ stay SBEN-2PL.PERS LOC place=this 1SG

kwai *lae*
 1SG.FUT go
 ‘You stay here; I’ll go (and)’

(13-104) *Qe* *aqi* *qosi* *quu* *taqerau* *i*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG throw rubbish LOC

kula *qena*.
 place that(2)
 ‘Don’t throw rubbish there.’

13.7. The situational demonstrative adverbs

There are three demonstrative adverbs with a combined spatial/temporal-deictic and a kind of emphatic-identifying function: *neri*, *nena* and *nabaa*. All three are, historically at least, morphologically complex, but in present-day Toqabaqita they are best regarded as unitary. All three are fusions of the perfect-aspect marker/intensifier *naqa* and the determiner demonstratives *qeri*, *qena* and *baa*, respectively. Evidence for this will be provided later in this section. In their deictic functions, the situational demonstratives have both temporal and locative meaning.

The situational demonstratives are clause-level constituents and occur clause finally. The verb phrases in which they occur are never complements of prepositions. In declarative and imperative verbal clauses they identify, usually in a slightly emphatic manner, the state of affairs expressed in the clause as indeed being such and such. In questions they make the request for information slightly more emphatic than would be the case otherwise.

The choice among the three situational adverbs is determined partly by temporal and partly by locative factors. There is a temporal contrast between *neri* and *nená* on the one hand and *nabaa* on the other; and a locative contrast between *neri* and *nená*, defined primarily by the notion of the speaker's sphere. *Neri* and *nená* have non-past relevance, mostly the time of reference, but occasionally also time after the time of reference. *Nabaa* has past relevance, before the time of reference, with, usually implicit, reference to some specific time in the past. The categories non-past and past have a relative significance: non-past as not before the time of reference (which itself may be in the past), and past as before the time of reference. (The determiner demonstrative *qeri* is used to designate present time [section 13.3.2.1], and the determiner *baa* is used with past-time reference [section 13.3.2.4].)

As far as the contrast between *neri* and *nená* is concerned, *neri* identifies a state of affairs as being within the speaker's sphere, while *nená* identifies a state of affairs as not being within the speaker's sphere, often, but not necessarily, in the addressee's sphere. The speaker's sphere is pragmatically unmarked: a sphere is the speaker's (identified so by means of *neri*), unless it is specifically identified (by means of *nená*) as not being so. This is illustrated with examples further below. The notion of the speaker's sphere is not relevant to *nabaa*. *Nabaa* is used about states of affairs located at a time before reference time, regardless of whether or not they were in the speaker's sphere.

Neri, *nená*, and *nabaa* are glossed, respectively, 'NPAST.HERE', 'NPAST.THERE' and 'PAST.THEN'. 'THEN' is equivalent to 'at that time', not to 'later, afterwards'.

The contrast between *neri* and *nená* is discussed and illustrated first. Sentence (13-105) is about what the speaker is doing, and so it is *neri* that is used:

- (13-105) *Kwai qani-a keekene neri.*
 1SG.IPFV eat-3.OBJ breadfruit NPAST.HERE
 'I am eating the breadfruit (that is what I am doing).'

In the next example, *neri* serves to emphasize that the person spoken about was present at that time, because he had not been there earlier:

- (13-106) *Nia kai too ba-n=i*
 3SG 3SG.IPFV be.at.place LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

sa-ku neri.
 ADJC-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 'He is with me here now.'

Neri is used in a formulaic expression that serves to conclude an account of something, such as at the end of a speech, a story, or a letter:

- (13-107) *Nia bo=naqa neri.*
 3SG ASRT=PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘That’s all (I have to say).’ ‘That’s it.’ ‘That’s the way it is/was.’

The sentence in (13-111) is a question about what the addressee is doing, and so it is *nená* that is used:

- (13-108) *Qo kafara nena?*
 2SG.NFUT make.copra NPAST.THERE
 ‘Are you making copra (is that what you are doing)?’

In the next example, there is alternation between *neri* and *nená*. The person first tells the addressee that she is waiting for him, and uses *neri*. After waiting in vain for a while, she changes her mind, and tells the addressee to wait for her; she will go over to him. And in that sentence she uses *nená*.

- (13-109) *Nau ku maqasi qoe neri.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT wait.for 2SG NPAST.HERE
 [After a while.] *Maqasi nau nena.*
 wait.for 1SG NPAST.THERE
 ‘I’m waiting for you here.’ [After a while.] ‘Wait for me there.’

The notion of the speaker’s sphere is extendible to states of affairs where there is no specific location: the world as a whole is viewed as being in the speaker’s sphere. In (13-110) the speaker is inquiring about time:

- (13-110) *Manga taa neri?*
 time what? NPAST.HERE
 ‘What time is it now?’

In (13-111) there is no implication that the man is present on the scene and that he is singing at the moment. The statement is about a general, timeless state of affairs:

- (13-111) *Wane nguu-la-n=e leqa neri.*
 man sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.good NPAST.HERE
 ‘The man does sing well.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, his singing is good.’)

Even situations brought about by the addressee can be presented as being in the speaker's sphere. This may be because of locative proximity, or perceived locative proximity, between the two of them, or because the situation does, in some relevant way, concern the speaker. In the next example, from a telephone conversation, the speaker and the addressee are physically in very distant places, but because they are directly and immediately communicating with each other, the addressee and those with him can be treated as being in the speaker's sphere:

- (13-112) *Qoo, kamuluqa muki fanga neri?*
 oh, 2PL 2PL.IPFV eat NPAST.HERE
 'Oh, are you eating (is that what you are doing)?'

And in (13-113) the speaker, a mother, prohibits her children from doing again what they have done before, because that would place all of them (including her) in danger:

- (13-113) *Mosi ili-li-a naq=i buri*
 2DU.NEG do-RDP-3SG.OBJ PRF=LOC later.time

neri!
 NPAST.HERE
 'Don't you ever do that again!'

On the other hand, the speaker may choose to present an event that he or she is performing or will perform as being outside of his or her sphere, for example, because it has or will have a significant effect on another entity, and/or because it will take place at another location. Both of these factors are present in the next example: the situation will significantly affect the addressee and will, of necessity, take place at the addressee's location. The time of the event is future.

- (13-114) *Kwai kwaqe-a foko-mu nena!*
 1SG.FUT hit-3.OBJ mouth-2SG.PERS NPAST.THERE
 'I'll smack your face!'

(Normally, it is rude to refer directly to another person's mouth, and this kind of threat is usually directed at children.)

When the speaker and the addressee are together in one location and a state of affairs holds at some other location, either *neri* or *nena* may be used. When the distance is relatively small, *neri* is more likely than *nena*: the situation is in the speaker's sphere. In the situation expressed in (13-115), two people hear a noise nearby. Person A uses *neri* in his question, and B uses *neri* in his reply:

(13-115) A: *Taa na kai fai karukaru*
 what? FOC 3SG.IPFV scrape make.scraping.noise

neri?
 NPAST.HERE

B: *Qasufa ni toqo neri.*
 rat LIG probably NPAST.HERE

A: 'What is it that's making the scraping, scratching noise?'

B: 'Probably a rat.'

See also (13-134) further below.

On the other hand, if a state of affairs is located a relatively long distance away both from the speaker and from the addressee, it is *nenā* that is more likely to be used: the situation is not in the speaker's sphere. In the situation expressed in (13-116), the possums are some distance away from the speaker and the addressee, who are together; note the ventive directional *mai*, which signifies distance from the deictic centre, and the locative demonstrative *fuuri* 'down there', which too signals distance from the deictic centre:

(13-116) *Kera ii quu ma=i fuuri*
 3PL.NFUT be.located ANTCONT VENT=LOC down.there

nenā. Koro oli laqu uri-da.
 NPAST.THERE DU(INCL).NFUT return ADD PURP-3PL.OBJ
 'They [possums] are still down there (that's where they are). Let's go back to get them (lit.: for them).'

More will be said about *neri* and *nenā* further below. At this point, the third situational demonstrative, *nabaa*, is discussed and its use illustrated. *Nabaa* has past significance, and the concepts of the speaker's and the addressee's spheres are not relevant. The state of affairs obtained before the time of reference. The time is usually not expressed; the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what time is intended.

(13-117) A: *Wane baa qe qafae nia qasia*
 man that 3SG.NFUT get.in.bad.mood 3SG INTS

naqa nabaa.
 INTS PAST.THEN

B: *Qe* *aqi* *si* *kaakale* *nabaa*;
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG play.game PAST.THEN

ruuruqu-na *e* *taqaa* *nabaa*.
 chest-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.bad PAST.THEN

A: 'The man got into a really foul mood (at that point).'

B: 'He wasn't kidding; he was (really) feeling bad (lit.: his chest was bad then).'

(*Qafae* 'be, get in a bad mood' is a transitive verb that takes direct objects coreferential with the subject.)

In the next sentence, even though it was the addressee who had performed the event, it is *nabaa*, not *nena*, that is used, because the time of the event was in the past:

(13-118) *Qo* *bili* *nabaa*?
 2SG.NFUT steal PAST.THEN
 'Did you steal then (is that what you did?)'

In (13-119) the speaker is not asking for identification of an entity; rather, he is asking about what happened. Such a sentence can be used, for example, if a person did not hear well what somebody has just said:

(13-119) *Taa* *nabaa*?
 what? PAST.THEN
 'What was that?' ('What did you say?')

In (13-120), although the verb has a future-tense subject marker, it is future in the past that is being expressed. The time of reference is expressed in the preceding clause:

(13-120) ... *uri-a* *ni=e* *sore-qa,* *laalae* *ku*
 REAS-3.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT say-DETR when 1SG.NFUT

oli *kau,* *ma* *kai* *maqasi* *nau* *nabaa*.
 return AND and 3SG.FUT wait.for 1SG PAST.THEN
 '... because she said that when I returned, she would wait for me then.'

(For the pleonastic use of *ma* 'and' after temporal clauses see section 28.2.1.)

On the other hand, in (13-121) the situation is a future one, but it will have taken place by a certain future time, as signalled by the perfect marker *naqa*. It is past with respect to that time.

(13-121) *Kwai oli bo=na=kau qana naba*
 1SG.FUT return ASRT=PRF=AND GENP number

footeni nabaa.

fourteen PAST.THEN

‘I will have gone back on/by the 14th.’ (Lit.: ‘I will have gone back on/by number 14.’)

The exchange in (13-122) illustrates the temporal contrast between *neri* and *nabaa*. A noise is heard, and one person wonders what it is that is making the noise. He uses *neri*. The other person goes to investigate and then informs the former what it was that had made the noise, using *nabaa*:

(13-122) A: *Kui neri?*
 dog NPAST.HERE

B: *Nga kusi nabaa.*
 IDENT cat PAST.THEN

A: ‘(Is that) a dog?’

B: ‘(That was) a cat.’

The situational demonstratives are historically fusions of the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa* and the determiner demonstratives *qeri*, *qena*, and *baa*, respectively. This is evidenced by the following facts. First, the core function of *naqa* as a perfect-aspect marker is to signify a new state of affairs at the time of reference (section 15.3). And all three situational demonstratives may be used in this function as well, highlighting the newness of a state of affairs. In (13-123) the second clause has *naqa*, and the next clause has *neri*. Both signal new states of affairs:

(13-123) [A:]

B: *Too ba-na. Qe baqita naqa.*
 stay LIM-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.big PRF

Ni=e lae sukulu neri.
 3SG.NFUT go attend.school NPAST.HERE

[A: ‘How is she?’]

B: '(She's) fine (Lit.: '[She] just stays.'). She's big now. She goes to school now.'

Second, the perfect-aspect marker is used in imperatives to demand or to suggest that a given state of affairs take place immediately (section 15.3), and so is *nenā*. (Since the event is not in the past, and since it crucially involves the addressee, *nenā* is the expected form.) The sentence in (13-124) contains the perfect marker, and the one in (13-125) the situational adverb:

(13-124) *Sifo! Sifo naqa!*
 descend descend PRF
 'Get down! Get down *now!* (Ordering a little boy to climb down from a tree.)

(13-125) *Qo lae mai nena!*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT NPAST.THERE
 'You come here *now!*' (An exasperated mother calling her little child, after unsuccessfully calling her several times before.)

Third, *naqa* is used to intensify negation (section 17.5), and so are the situational adverbs *neri* and *nenā*; compare (13-126) on the one hand, and (13-127) and (13-128) on the other.

(13-126) *Qe aqi naqa.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so PRF
 'Not at all.' 'No way.'

(13-127) *Qe aqi neri.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so NPAST.HERE
 'No (and that's the way it is).'

In the situation expressed in (13-128), one person is looking for something, and another one, some distance away, tells him the thing is not there, and uses the form *nenā*:

(13-128) *Qe aqi nena!*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so NPAST.THERE
 'Not there!' (Don't look there.)

Fourth, *naqa* is used together with *qasia* to form a complex intensifying expression within verb phrases (sections 5.2.6 and 5.2.12), but *qasia* may also combine with a situational adverb; see (13-129) and (13-130) respectively.

- (13-129) *Luma kamiliqa qe faqekwa qasia naqa.*
 house 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT be.small INTS INTS
 ‘Our house is very/too small.’

In the situation expressed in (13-130), two people are standing together. One of them is about to hand a piece of rope to the other, and the latter says:

- (13-130) *Tekwa qasia nena.*
 be.long INTS NPAST.THERE
 ‘[It’s] too long.’

Even though historically the three situational demonstrative adverbs contain the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa*, it is possible for them to cooccur with *naqa* in a clause, although they are not co-constituents. *Naqa* is a constituent of the particle group inside a verb phrase, while the situational adverbs are clause-level constituents.

- (13-131) [A:]

B: *Qe noro naqa neri.*
 3SG.NFUT be.ripe PRF NPAST.HERE

[A: ‘Are the canarium nuts ripe now?']

B: ‘They are ripe now (that’s right).’

- (13-132) *Sa maqe maala neq=e mafo naqa*
 IRR CLF sore this=3SG.NFUT heal PRF

nabaa,

PAST.THEN

‘It looked like the (lit.: this) sore had healed then, (but it turned out later that it had not).’

In (13-133) *naqa* forms an intensifying expression with *qasia*, and the combination of the intensifiers cooccurs with *nena*:

- (13-133) *Qoe n=o thaitoqoma-na qasia naqa*
 2SG FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ INTS INTS

nena

NPAST.THERE

‘It’s you who knows very well (about) it’

A situational adverb may also cooccur in a clause with *naqa* when the latter functions as a focus marker in a noun phrase.

(13-134) A: *Tei naqa neri?*
 who? PRF NPAST.HERE

B: *Qoe naqa neri.*
 2SG PRF NPAST.HERE

A: 'Whose turn is it now? (Lit.: 'Who now?') (When playing cards.)

B: 'Your turn.' (Lit.: 'You now.')

The situational adverb *neri* has two other functions. First, it is used as a kind of vividness marker. In this function it is used when the reference is to a state of affairs in the past. *Neri* makes that state of affairs more immediate, as if it obtained at the time of reference. In saying the sentences in (13-135) a young man is telling his mother what happened to him:

(13-135) *Qoo, thaina-ka qae, nau ku*
 oh mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC 1SG 1SG.NFUT

laa-lae neri, kwa, kwa toda-a mai
 RDP-go VIVID 1SG.SEQ 1SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ VENT

teqe thaari. Kwa riki-a thaari qeri.
 one girl 1SG.SEQ look.at-3.OBJ girl that
 'Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the girl.'
 'Oh, mother, I am walking and I, I meet a girl. I look(ed) at the girl.'

In (13-136) it is the man's answering negatively that is made vivid by means of *neri*:

(13-136) *Nau ku so=sa tha weleqi kiiluqa,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR PERSMKR guy 3PL

sui ku soe-toqo=tha weleqi,
 but 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR guy

ka tofe neri.
 3SG.NFUT answer."no" VIVID

'I thought [it was going to be] their guy, but I asked the guy, (and) he answered/answers "no".'

And *neri* can also be used as a kind of loose clause/sentence linker: ‘yes’, ‘OK’, ‘right’, ‘all right’. In that function it precedes the clause it connects to the preceding discourse. See example (27-57) in section 27.3.2.

13.8. The reiterative demonstrative pronominals

The reiterative demonstrative pronominals are binomial expressions that consist of a demonstrative form and the third person singular independent personal pronoun *nia*. The demonstratives that occur in these pronominals are some of the determiner demonstratives, the two elevational qualifying demonstratives, and one of the general locative demonstrative adverbs. The reiterative demonstrative pronominals are listed in table 13.5.

Table 13.5. Reiterative demonstrative pronominals

<i>naqi nia</i> , but normally <i>na=nia</i> ; <i>neqe nia</i>	speaker-proximal: ‘this one’; also as a default pronominal
<i>lakoo nia</i> ; <i>labaa nia</i>	distal, non-elevational: ‘that(3) one’
<i>loo nia</i> , but normally <i>lo=nia</i>	distal, elevational: ‘that one up’
<i>fuu nia</i> , but normally <i>fu=nia</i> ; <i>fuubaa nia</i>	distal, elevational: ‘that one down’

The demonstrative pronominals are clause-level constituents. They either form non-verbal predicates, or occur clause-finally in clauses with verbal predicates. They are mutually exclusive with the situational demonstrative adverbs.

The demonstrative pronominals have two functions. In one, they reiterate, re-identify a participant and its role in a state of affairs. The reiteration may be emphatic to various degrees. In this function the pronominals must have an antecedent in the clause. They themselves do not instantiate arguments, and they do not bear thematic relations of their own. The antecedent noun phrase may function as the subject, the direct object or an oblique object. The pronominal contains the third person singular pronoun even if the antecedent is not human and even if it is not singular.

In the other function, the pronominals reiterate, in a slightly emphatic way, the state of affairs expressed in the clause. Of course, there are one or more participants involved in such a state of affairs, but the pronominals function primarily to reiterate the overall state of affairs rather than one of the participants. The two functions are closely related and not always clearly distinguishable.

There is no addressee-proximal reiterative demonstrative pronominal. (The expected form would be *qena nia*.) The situational demonstrative adverb *nenā* NPAST.THERE is used instead.

The fused forms *na=nia* ‘this one’, *lo=nia* ‘that one up’, and *fu=nia* ‘that one down’ are considerably more common than the full forms *naqi nia*, *loo nia*, and *fuu nia*, respectively. Of the two speaker-proximal forms, *neqe nia* is used only rarely, *naqi nia/na=nia* being the usual form.

The speaker-proximal pronominal *naqi nia/na=nia* also functions as the default one: it is used when none of the other pronominals is appropriate. It is the most commonly occurring demonstrative pronominal.

Often it is only the reiterative demonstrative pronominal that signals the location of the referent of its antecedent and/or that of the state of affairs.

The function of reiterating participants is discussed and illustrated first. In (13-137) the speaker emphasizes that that particular thing (a share of food) is for him, after he has distributed food to others. It is only the pronominal that signals proximity to the speaker. The pronominal forms the predicate of a presentational identificational sentence (section 27.2.2.2).

- (13-137) *Si doo thata-ku naqa na=nia.*
 PRTT thing name-1SG.PERS PRF this=3SG
 ‘Here is mine now.’ (Lit.: ‘Thing of my name now, this one.’)

(See section 8.1.4 for the use of *thata* ‘name’ in possessive constructions.)

- (13-138) *Koro kasi-a niu na=nia.*
 DU(INCL).NFUT cut.down-3.OBJ coconut this=3SG
 ‘Let’s cut down the coconut tree, this one.’

- (13-139) *Qoo, ma doo na toqa neqe ki keki*
 oh and thing REL people this PL 3PL.IPFV

fii-firu ki qani-a takona na=nia,....
 RDP-fight PL INS-3SG.OBJ most.likely this=3SG
 ‘Oh, these must be the things [weapons] that the (lit.: these) people used to fight with, these ones here’

In (13-140) the demonstrative pronominal has the third person plural pronoun as its antecedent in a presentational identificational sentence:

- (13-140) *Ni kera na=nia.*
 PROFORE 3PL this=3SG
 ‘They are the ones, these ones.’ (Lit.: ‘They, this one.’)

In the situation expressed in (13-141), the speaker is holding a bird in his hand and asks what kind of bird it is. He uses the proximal pronominal, while the other person uses the situational demonstrative adverb *nená* in his response:

(13-141) A: *Thaqaro taa na=nia?*
bird what? this=3SG

B: *Kiro nena.*
female.eclectus.parrot. NPAST.THERE

A: 'What kind of bird (is it), this one?'

B: 'That's a female Eclectus Parrot.'

The distal non-elevational forms *lakoo nia* and *labaa nia* are synonymous.

(13-142) *Qoo, ma nia bana takona lakoo nia.*
oh and 3SG LIM most.likely that(3) 3SG
'Oh, that just must be it, that one.' (When pursuing a possum.)

In (13-143) *labaa nia* forms the predicate of a presentational identificational sentence:

(13-143) *Nia labaa nia.*
3SG that(3) 3SG
'That's it, the one over there.'

The antecedents of the reiterative presentational pronominals are usually definite, but indefinite ones are possible also:

(13-144) *Teqe wane lakoo nia.*
one man that(3) 3SG
'That's a man over there, that one.'

See also (12-148) further below.

The next set of examples contains the elevational forms. The sentence in (13-145) contains not only the reiterative pronominal 'that one up', but also the qualifying demonstrative 'upward' in the subject phrase:

(13-145) *Thaqaro baa lo=e tatha bo=naqa*
possum that upward=3SG.NFUT pass ASRT=INTS

lo=nia.

upward=3SG

‘The possum up there is running (lit.: passing), that one up there.’

The sentence in (13-146) contains the full form *loo nia*:

(13-146) *Qai qeri loo nia.*

tree that upward 3SG

‘That tree, the one up there.’

In (13-147) the speaker is inquiring about the identity of something down from him:

(13-147) *Taa fu=nia?*

what? that.down=3SG

‘What is it, that down there?’

For another example of *fu=nia* see (13-100) in section 13.6.3.

The other elevational pronominal for ‘that down’, *fuubaa nia*, is rare:

(13-148) *Teqe faka fuubaa nia.*

one ship down.there 3SG

‘There is a ship down there, that (thing) down there.’ (The speaker is up on a hill.)

The other function of the demonstrative pronominals, that of re-identifying a state of affairs, is discussed next. Examples (13-149) and (13-150) contain the elevational forms *lo=nia* and *fu=nia*, respectively. It is only the pronominals that signal that the events took place up and down from the deictic centers, respectively. The pronominals function not to re-identify the participants, but to highlight that that was what indeed happened up/down there.

Even though the sentences in (13-149) are an account of a historical event in which the speaker and his audience were not involved, they took place high up in the air, and so they can be conceptualized as having been up from them.

(13-149) *Nia ka qui-a qana masigan.*

3SG 3SG.SEQ shoot.at-3SG.OBJ INS machine.gun

Masigan qe aqi si fula

machine.gun 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG arrive

boq=i sa-na. Nia e
 ASRT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS 3SG 3SG.NFUT

qui-a lo=nia.
 shoot.at-3SG.OBJ upward=3SG
 ‘He [one of two pilots] shot at him [the other pilot] with a machine gun. (But) the [shots from the] machine gun did not hit him (lit.: did not arrive at him). He shot at him up there, he did/that’s what he did.’

- (13-150) *Kero lae naqa fu=nia.*
 3DU.NFUT go PRF downward=3SG
 ‘They have gone down (there), they did.’

The final two examples below contain the proximal demonstrative pronominal *naqi* in its reduced and full forms, respectively. In (13-151) the proximal pronominal is used even though the (potential) event did not materialize. However, if it had taken place, it would have crucially involved the speaker.

- (13-151) *Nau ku thaitoqoma-na qaburu baa, doo,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ ogre that thing

laala=e mai, kai thau-ngi nau bo=naqa
 if=3SG.NFUT VENT 3SG.FUT kill-TR 1SG ASRT=INTS

na=nia, suli-a teqe nau na ku too.
 this=3SG REAS-3.OBJ sole 1SG FOC 1SG.NFUT stay
 ‘I knew that the ogre, if he had come, he would have killed me, he would have, because I stayed/was left (here) all by myself.’

(*Doo* ‘thing’ functions as a kind of filler in 13-151.)

And in (13-152) the proximal pronominal is used to emphasize what the child did, not to identify or re-identify any of the participants. The example comes from a traditional story, and the events recounted are not in any spatial relation to the speaker. The proximal pronominal functions here as the default form; none of the other pronominals is applicable.

- (13-152) *Ma wela buri baa ka raa uri-a*
 and child later.time that 3SG.SEQ reach ALL-3.OBJ

gwa qaululu baa keki thaa-thau-ngi kumu
 CLF pounder that 3PL.IPFV RDP-pound-TR k.o.pudding

qani-a *naqi nia*

INS-3SG.OBJ this 3SG

‘And the younger child (lit.: the child of later time) reached for the pounder they used to pound *kumu* pudding with, he did/that’s what he did,’

Chapter 14

Constructions with inclusory pronominals

14.1. Two basic types

Inclusory pronominals are pronominals that denote a set of participants, larger than one, a subset of which is denoted by a separate lexical noun phrase. The term “pronominals” is used here as a cover term for independent personal pronouns and various “dependent” pronominal forms, namely the subject markers, the object-indexing suffixes, and the personal suffixes. Inclusory pronominals are defined by their function; they are not special pronominal forms distinct from other independent pronouns and dependent pronominals. (And “inclusory” is not the same as “inclusive”.)

In (14-1) the first person dual exclusive independent pronoun functions as an inclusory pronominal/pronoun. It denotes a set of two individuals, one of whom is denoted by the following noun phrase *doqora-ku* ‘my sibling’:

(14-1) *Kamareqa doqora-ku meki lae*
 1DU(EXCL) sibling-1SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

ma=i qusungadi.
VENT=LOC tomorrow

‘I and my brother will come tomorrow.’ (Lit.: ‘The two of us my brother, we two will come tomorrow.’)

Following Singer (2001), the total set of participants is referred to as the “superset”. In (14-1) the superset consists of two people, the speaker and his brother. The noun phrase that denotes a subset of the superset is referred to as the “included noun phrase”, *doqora-ku* ‘my sibling’ in (14-1). As discussed in section 14.2.1, in constructions such as the one in (14-1) the inclusory pronominal, which encodes the superset, and the included NP form a noun phrase. Such inclusory constructions are referred to as “phrasal”.

A different type of inclusory construction occurs in (14-2). In that sentence there is no independent personal pronoun with an inclusory function. Rather, it is the dual subject marker that functions as an inclusory pronominal and denotes the superset.

- (14-2) *Doqora-ku* *meki* *lae* *ma=i*
 sibling-1SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL).FUT go VENT=LOC

qusungadi.

tomorrow

‘My brother and I will come tomorrow.’

In (14-2) the included NP and the inclusory subject marker do not form a phrase. The included NP is the subject, whereas the subject marker is part of the verb phrase. Inclusory constructions where the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase are referred to as “split”. Note that in the context of split inclusory constructions, the term “construction” does not signify a syntactic phrase.

In the split construction in (14-2) there is no agreement in person and number between the subject noun phrase, which is third person singular, and the subject marker, which is first person dual exclusive. This is discussed in section 14.3.2.

In some syntactic positions, both phrasal and split inclusory constructions are possible. In (14-1) and (14-2) the two types of construction occur in subject position. In some other positions, only the phrasal type of inclusory construction is possible.

The inclusory constructions are not used where the inclusory pronominal would be inclusive. The referential range of the inclusive forms includes the addressee(s). The speaker-addressee dyad is the basic unit of linguistic interaction (see, for example, Brown and Levinson [1987]), and in such cases there is no need for an included NP to specify a subset of the superset. The included NP would denote the addressee. It is possible for one or more other persons, besides the speaker and the addressee, to form a set to which a state of affairs applies: ‘X and you and me’.³⁶ Nevertheless, in such cases the inclusory construction is not used either. This is probably due to an extension of the ban on inclusory constructions with inclusive pronominals from the basic dyadic condition.

The inclusory constructions are used only with reference to human participants.

The Toqabaqita inclusory constructions are discussed in a cross-linguistic context in Lichtenberk (2000a). Following the terminology employed there, they are of the “implicit” kind: there is no overt marking of the inclusory relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP.

Phrasal inclusory constructions are discussed first, and split constructions subsequently.

14.2. Phrasal inclusory constructions

14.2.1. The structure

In a phrasal inclusory construction there is an independent personal pronoun that has the inclusory function and the included NP, and the two form a syntactic phrase. Under certain conditions, discussed in the subsequent sections, the two elements can occur in either order. (See also section 14.2.7 for discussion of the function of the variable ordering where it is permitted.) In (14-1) further above, it is the inclusory pronoun that comes first, while in broadly synonymous (14-3) it is the included NP that comes first:

- (14-3) *Doqora-ku kamareqa meki lae*
 sibling-1SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

ma=i qusungadi.
 VENT=LOC tomorrow
 ‘My brother and I will come tomorrow.’

In focusing and topicalization it is the inclusory construction as a whole that is fronted. The inclusory pronoun and the included NP together form a noun phrase. Example (14-4) contains a focused inclusory construction:

- (14-4) *Qedata kera na kera ngali-a mai iqa*
 Qedata 3PL FOC 3PL.NFUT carry-3.OBJ VENT fish

naqi.
 this
 ‘It was Qedata with/and the others that brought this fish.’

For an example of a topicalized phrasal inclusory construction see (14-24) in section 14.2.4.

Phrasal inclusory constructions are headed, and it is the inclusory pronoun that is the head. First, when a phrasal inclusory construction occurs in the subject position of a verbal clause, it is the pronoun that determines the person, number and exclusivity categories of the subject marker. The subject marker agrees with the inclusory pronoun, regardless of the order of the inclusory pronoun and the included NP. Both in (14-1), where the inclusory pronoun comes first, and in (14-3), where it comes second, the subject markers are first person dual exclusive. See also examples (14-6) and (14-7) in section 14.2.2. For evidence of the head status of the inclusory pronoun in verbless sentences see (14-8) – (14-10), also in section 14.2.2.

And second, the inclusory pronoun is the head of a phrasal inclusory construction on semantic grounds, with the included NP a modifier. The pronoun denotes the superset, of which the included NP denotes a subset.

The included NP may be coordinate. In (14-5) there are two inclusory constructions. In B's sentence the included NP is *tei* 'who?'. And in the second of A's sentences, the included NP is coordinate: 'Demesi and Dioni'.

(14-5) A: *Kamiliqa mili sifo naqa.*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT descend PRF

B: *Tei kamuluqa?*
 who? 2PL

A: *Kamiliqa tha Demesi ma tha Dioni.*
 1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR Demesi and PERSMKR Dioni

A: 'We are going down [to the coast] now.'

B: 'You and who?' (Lit.: 'You [plural] including who?')

A: 'I and/with Demesi and Dioni.' (Lit.: 'We, including Demesi and Dioni.')

Phrasal inclusory constructions occur in the subject position, in the direct-object position, in oblique-object positions, and in the possessor position, but they do not have identical properties in all these positions.

14.2.2. In the subject position

In phrasal inclusory constructions in the subject position, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in either order; see (14-1) and (14-3) further above, and (14-6) and (14-7) below.

(14-6) *Kamiliqa tha Gerea miki lae*
 1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR Gerea 1PL(EXCL).FUT go

ma=i qusungadi, miki riki qoe.
 VENT=LOC tomorrow 1PL(EXCL).FUT see 2SG

'We, including Gerea, will come tomorrow to see you (lit.: we will see you.)'

(14-7) *Tha Gerea kera keki lae ma=i*
 PERSMKR Gerea 3PL 3PL.FUT go VENT=LOC

qusungadi keki rik=kulu.
 tomorrow 3PL.FUT see=PL(INCL)
 ‘Gerea and the others/Gerea ’n them will come to see us tomorrow.’

Phrasal inclusory constructions can also function as the subjects of verbless clauses (chapter 27):

(14-8) *Kamareqa tha Reni teqe futa-a boqo.*
 1DU(EXCL) PERSMKR Reni one be.born-DVN ASRT
 ‘I and Reni are one and the same family line.’

It is the head, the inclusory pronoun *kamareqa* ‘we two,’ that sanctions the presence of the predicate phrase *teqe futa-a boqo* ‘one and the same family line.’ If the pronoun were to be omitted, the result would be incongruous, which is indicated by “#”:

(14-9) *#Tha Reni teqe futa-a boqo.*
 PERSMKR Reni one be.born-DVN ASRT
 #‘Reni is one and the same family line.’

On the other hand, the absence of the included NP does not affect the acceptability of the sentence:

(14-10) *Kamareqa teqe futa-a boqo.*
 1DU(EXCL) one be.born-DVN ASRT
 ‘The two of us are one and the same family line.’

14.2.3. In the direct-object position with Class 1 transitive verbs and in the oblique-object position with the verb-like prepositions

Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions have object-indexing suffixes only for the third person. Objects other than third person are encoded by independent personal pronouns, which are not indexed on the verb or on the preposition. For simplicity, most of the discussion that follows deals with Class 1 transitive verbs, but the same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the verb-like prepositions.

When phrasal inclusory constructions function as direct objects of Class 1 transitive verbs and as objects of the verb-like prepositions, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in either order. Examples (14-11) and (14-12) illustrate this for Class I transitive verbs, and (14-13) and (14-14) for the verb-like prepositions:

- (14-11) *Wane e laba-taqi kamareqa maka nau.*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR 1DU(EXCL) father 1SG
 ‘The man harmed me and my father.’
- (14-12) *Wane e laba-tani-a maka nau kamareqa.*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR-3.OBJ father 1SG 1DU(EXCL)
 ‘The man harmed my father and me.’
- (14-13) *Toqa loo kera ngata taqaa suli*
 people upward 3PL.NFUT speak be.bad PROL

kamareqa wela nau.
 1DU(EXCL) child 1SG
 ‘The people up there speak badly about me and my child.’
- (14-14) *Toqa loo kera ngata taqaa suli-a*
 people upward 3PL.NFUT speak be.bad PROL-3.OBJ

wela nau kamareqa.
 child 1SG 1DU(EXCL)
 ‘The people up there speak badly about my child and me.’

When the inclusory pronominal comes first, there is no object indexing on the verb or on the preposition ([14-11] and [14-13]), and furthermore, when the verb is a long transitive one, it takes the *-Caqi* variant of the transitive suffix, as in (14-11). This is the situation with pronouns as objects elsewhere. On the other hand, when the included NP comes first, the verb or the preposition carries the object suffix *-a* ([14-12] and [14-14]); and when the verb is long transitive, it takes the *-Cani* variant of the transitive suffix, as in (14-12).

As discussed in section 14.2.1, it is the inclusory pronominal that is the head in phrasal inclusory constructions. The constructions in (14-11) and (14-13) are compatible with this, because there it is the inclusory pronominal that determines the absence of the object suffix on the verb or on the preposition. However, the constructions in (14-12) and (14-14) are not compatible with the headedness of phrasal inclusory constructions, because there it is the included NP that determines the presence of the object suffix.

One possibility is that in object positions the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase, that it is only the element closer to the verb that is the object, the other element being an adjunct of some sort. However, there is evidence that the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do form a phrase, even in object positions. The evidence comes from constructions with postverbal particles. Postverbal particles follow pronouns as direct objects and

precede lexical objects (see [4-1] in section 4.1). When an included NP comes first and there is a postverbal particle present, the particle comes before the included NP. In (14-15) the postverbal particle is the perfect marker *naqa*.

- (14-15) *Wane e laba-tani-a naqa maka nau*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR-3.OBJ PRF father 1SG

kamareqa.

1DU(EXCL)

‘The man has harmed my father and me.’

However, if the inclusory pronoun comes first, no postverbal particle can be present, regardless of whether it would come after the pronoun or after the included NP:

- (14-16) **Wane e laba-taqi kamareqa naqa maka*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR 1DU(EXCL) PRF father

nau.

1SG

‘The man has harmed me and my father.’

- (14-17) **Wane e laba-taqi kamareqa maka nau*
 man 3SG.NFUT harm-TR 1DU(EXCL) father 1SG

naqa.

PRF

‘The man has harmed me and my father.’

A postverbal particle must come before a lexical noun phrase object. That explains the ungrammaticality of (14-17), where the perfect marker comes after the included NP.

However, in (14-16) the perfect marker comes after the (inclusory) pronoun and before the included NP, which are the positions in which postverbal particles occur with respect to pronominal and lexical objects. Nevertheless, (14-16) is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (14-16) is due to the fact that the postverbal particle comes *between* the inclusory pronoun and the included NP. That is, the inclusory pronoun and the included NP do form a phrase.

The presence and absence of object marking on Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions with phrasal inclusory constructions in the object positions is determined by a “proximity principle”: it is the constituent that is closer to the verb or to the preposition that determines whether or not there is

object marking on the verb or on the preposition, regardless of whether that element is the head of the inclusory construction or not.

The proximity principle is also partially relevant to the positioning of postverbal particles. When it is the included NP that is closer to the verb, postverbal particles come before it, as they do with lexical objects in general. If it is the inclusory pronoun that is closer to the verb, postverbal particles should come directly after it, the way they do with pronominal objects, but that would place the particles inside the inclusory construction, which would result in ungrammaticality.

The proximity principle is relevant in other cases of inclusory constructions.

14.2.4. In the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verbs, in the oblique-object position with the noun-like prepositions, and in the possessor position in the suffixing possessive noun phrase

What all these positions have in common is the fact that elsewhere the heads of the constructions carry the same type of suffix to index the object or the possessor, called “object” suffixes when they occur on verbs, and “personal” suffixes when they occur on the noun-like prepositions and on possessum nouns. Class 2 transitive verbs, the noun-like prepositions, and the possessum nouns in suffixing possessive constructions must carry an object/personal suffix, and they can have only lexical objects/possessors.

With Class 2 transitive verbs, the noun-like prepositions, and suffixing possessive constructions, only one order of the constituents in phrasal inclusory constructions is possible: the included NP must come first and the inclusory pronoun second. In (14-18) the inclusory construction functions as the direct object of the verb. The verb carries the third person “singular” object suffix, used elsewhere with lexical objects. The proximity principle applies here.

- (14-18) *Kera* *thaitoqoma-na wela nau kamareqa.*
 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ child 1SG 1DU(EXCL)
 ‘They know my child and me.’

If the order were *kamareqa wela nau* ‘me and my child’, with the inclusory pronominal coming first, the construction would be ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of inclusory constructions where it is the inclusory pronoun that comes next to the verb can be explained by appeal to the proximity principle. A Class 2 transitive verb must carry an object suffix and cannot have a pronoun as its direct object. If the inclusory pronoun occurred next to the verb, there would be a clash between the object suffix and the object pronoun: **thaitoqomamareqa kamareqa wela nau* ‘know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ 1DU(EXCL) child 1SG’. The

same kind of clash would exist in the case of the noun-like prepositions and their objects, and between possessum nouns and the possessor phrases. For the clash between a personal suffix on a possessum noun and a pronoun in the possessor position see (14-20) further below.

Examples (14-19) and (14-20) below contain inclusory constructions in the possessor position. In (14-19) the included NP comes before the inclusory pronoun, and the construction is grammatical. The possessum noun *manta* ‘thought’ carries the third person “singular” personal suffix, used elsewhere in the suffixing possessive construction when the possessor is lexical. That is, the proximity principle applies here.

(14-19) *Manta-na maka nau kamareqa qe*
 thought-3.PERS father 1SG 1DU(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT

quna qeri.

manner that

‘The thinking of my father and me is like that.’ ‘That is what my father and I think.’

On the other hand, in (14-20) the inclusory pronoun comes first, before the included NP, and the construction is ungrammatical. The possessum is the locational noun *buria* ‘behind’ (section 10.8.3).

(14-20) **Lae ma=i buria-mareqa kamareqa*
 go VENT=LOC behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS 1DU(EXCL)

ni Saelifiqa.

PERSMKR Saelifiqa

(‘Follow me and Saelifiqa.’ [Lit.: ‘Go behind me and Saelifiqa.’])

Inclusory constructions where the order is [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] cannot function as objects of Class 2 transitive verbs and the noun-like preposition, or as possessors in suffixing possessive constructions. However, if they have been “displaced” from those positions, such sentences are grammatical. One way in which an inclusory construction may be displaced is by being placed in a later position, as a kind of “afterthought”, for example for clarification. The verb, the preposition, or the possessum noun carries an object/possessor suffix that denotes the superset, and the later inclusory construction provides more detail by specifying the subset. Typically, there is a slight pause between the displaced inclusory construction and the preceding material, indicated by a comma in the examples below. While (14-20) above, with an inclusory construction in the possessor position, is ungrammatical, (14-21)

below, with the inclusory construction outside, after the possessor position, is grammatical:

- (14-21) *Lae ma=i buria-mareqa, kamareqa*
 go VENT=LOC behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS 1DU(EXCL)
- ni Saelifiqa.*
 PERSMKR Saelifiqa
 ‘Follow the two of us, me and Saelifiqa.’

Similarly, (14-22) is grammatical even though the order of the constituents in the inclusory construction is [inclusory-pronoun included-NP], because the inclusory construction does not function as the direct object of the Class 2 transitive verb:

- (14-22) *Kera thaitoqoma-mareqa, kamareqa wela nau.*
 3PL.NFUT know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ 1DU(EXCL) child 1SG
 ‘They know the two of us, me and my child.’

See (14-18) further above and the accompanying discussion.

An inclusory construction can be displaced into the topic position, and there too the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is grammatical. In (14-23) below, the inclusory construction occurs in the possessor position, and the order can only be [included-NP inclusory-pronoun]. (The person marker *tha* has fused with the possessum noun, and so the third person personal suffix *-na* is absent.)

- (14-23) *Nuu=tha Uluta kamaroqa qe*
 picture:3.PERS=PERSMKR Uluta 2DU 3SG.NFUT
- leqa qasia naqa.*
 be.nice INTS INTS
 ‘The picture of Uluta and you is very nice.’

In (14-24) the inclusory construction occurs in the topic position, and there the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is possible:

- (14-24) *Kamaroqa tha Uluta, nuu-maroqa*
 2DU PERSMKR Uluta picture-2DU.PERS

qe leqa qasia naqa.
 3SG.NFUT be.nice INTS INTS
 ‘You and Uluta, the picture of the two of you is very nice.’

And in (14-25) the inclusory construction has been displaced to the right, and there too the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is possible:

(14-25) *Nuu-marōqa, kamarōqa tha Uluta,*
 picture-2DU.PERS 2DU PERSMKR Uluta

qe leqa qasia naqa.
 3SG.NFUT be.nice INTS INTS
 ‘The picture of you two, you and Uluta, is very nice.’

14.2.5. In the object position with the bare prepositions and in the possessor position in the bare possessive noun phrase

The bare prepositions do not index their complements, and similarly the possessum nouns of bare possessive constructions do not index the possessor phrases. When a phrasal inclusory construction functions as the complement of a bare preposition or as the possessor phrase in a bare possessive construction, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in either order. The examples in (14-26) and (14-27) illustrate this for the equative preposition *mala*, and those in (14-28) and (14-29) for possessive constructions:

(14-26) *Roo wane naqi ki qe aqi kesi raa*
 two man this PL 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3DU.NEG work

suukwaqi mala kamarōqa tha Ulufaalu.
 work.hard EQT 2DU PERSMKR Ulufaalu
 ‘These two men do not work as hard as you and Ulufaalu.’

(14-27) *Toqa naqi qe aqi kesi nguu mala*
 people this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG sing EQT

tha Ulufaalu kera.
 PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3PL
 ‘These people do not (play and) sing (as well) as Ulufaalu ’n them [Ulufaalu and his band].’

(14-28) *Fanga kamaroqa ni Fiona neq.*
 food 2DU PERSMKR Fiona here
 'Here is your and Fiona's food.'

(14-29) *Fanga ni Fiona kamaroqa neq.*
 food PERSMKR Fiona 2DU here
 'Here is Fiona's and your food.'

14.2.6. The proximity principle

The proximity principle determines whether or not there is indexing of a phrasal inclusory construction on the head of which the inclusory construction is a dependent. The head element may be a Class 1 or a Class 2 transitive verb, of which the inclusory construction is the direct object; it may be a verb-like or a noun-like preposition, of which the inclusory construction is the object; and it may be the possessum noun in a suffixing possessive construction, of which the inclusory construction is the possessor modifier.

The proximity principle applies only within phrases: verb phrases, two types of prepositional phrases, and one type of noun phrase. It does not apply in the subject position in relation to the subject markers, where the two elements do not occur together in a phrase, subject markers being constituents in the verb phrase.

It is that constituent of a phrasal inclusory construction that is nearer the governing head that determines whether there will be indexing on the head or not, and the kind of indexing. In all such cases, the included NP can come first: the head element carries indexing that applies to lexical objects and to lexical possessors (see examples [14-12], [14-14], [14-18], and [14-19]). When an inclusory construction functions as the object of a Class 1 transitive verb or a verb-like preposition, the inclusory pronoun may come first, in which case there is no indexing on the verb or on the preposition ([14-11] and [14-13]).

The proximity principle is given in a summary form in (14-30) (Lichtenberk 2000a: 20):

(14-30) *The proximity principle:* In a phrasal inclusory construction, it is the constituent nearer the element that governs the inclusory construction that is relevant to the relation between the inclusory construction and the element that governs it, regardless of whether that constituent is or is not the head of the inclusory construction. The domain of application of the proximity principle is a phrase: a verb phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a possessive noun phrase.

14.2.7. Variation in the order of the inclusory pronoun and the included NP

The inclusory pronoun denotes the superset, and the included NP denotes, overtly, a proper subset. There is another proper subset, but this one does not receive overt expression. This latter, covert subset is complementary to the one denoted by the included NP. For example, in the inclusory construction in (14-31), the included NP *wela nau ki* ‘my children’ overtly denotes one subset, while the complementary subset, which consists of the speaker and possibly other individuals (such as the speaker’s wife) are denoted only covertly:

- (14-31) ... *ma wela nau ki kamiliqa misi fii*
 and child 1SG PL 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NEG expect

qoe boqo qoki fula i sa-miliqa.
 2SG ASRT 2SG.FUT arrive LOC GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘... and my children and I/we did not expect you at all to come to us.’

As shown in some of the preceding sections, in certain syntactic positions the inclusory pronoun and the included NP can occur in either order. There is a pragmatic difference between the two orderings, specifically the relative degrees of discourse salience of the participants encoded overtly and those denoted only covertly. If the participants encoded overtly by the included NP are more salient, the included NP comes first, before the inclusory pronoun. On the other hand, if it is the superset or the covertly denoted subset that is relatively salient, the inclusory pronoun comes first.

Discourse salience has to do, partly, with whether or not the relevant entity is the centre of attention at the moment. An entity that is the centre of attention has higher discourse salience than one that is not. Being in the centre of attention includes being the current topic, being in focus, and being in contrast. Second, salience has to do with participation in the speech act. Participants in the speech act are more salient than non-participants.

The next few examples illustrate the effect of discourse salience on the ordering of the two constituents of phrasal inclusory constructions. In (14-32) speaker A asks about a third person. That person is the current discourse topic; in B’s response the inclusory pronoun, which covertly denotes that person, comes first:

- (14-32) A: *Teqe nia bana n=e lae?*
 sole 3SG LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT go

B: *Keeroqa kukeqe nia.*
 3DU wife 3SG

A: 'Was it just him (lit.: sole him) who went?'

B: 'He and his wife.'

On the other hand in (14-33) it is the included NP that comes first. The speaker is inquiring about the whereabouts of Ulufaalu and some other people. Those people are identified as being associated with Ulufaalu. It is Ulufaalu who is the centre of attention.

(14-33) *Ma Ulufaalu kera?*
 and Ulufaalu 3PL
 'And (where are) Ulufaalu 'n them?'

The next example shows interplay of focus and topicality. In the part of the conversation that preceded the exchange in (14-34), person A asked B about the whereabouts of a child. B responded by saying that the child was with another person. The conversation then followed with the sentences in (14-34):

(14-34) A: *Tei keeroqa?*
 who? 3DU

B: *Keeroqa Qaisik.*
 3DU Aisik

A: 'Who (is he) with?'

B: '(He is) with Aisik.'

In A's sentence it is the focal element, *tei* 'who?' that comes first, before the inclusory pronoun. However, in B's speech, the superset has become topical, and there the inclusory pronoun comes first.

In (14-35) below there is a conflict in salience. The participant inquired about by means of *tei* 'who?' is in focus and so salient. However, the participant denoted covertly, the addressee, is also salient, by virtue of being a discourse participant. In the conversation that preceded the sentence in (14-35), one person, A, asked another person, B, for two cups of tea. B assumes that one of the cups is for A and inquires who the other one is for:

(14-35) *Tii kamaroqa ni tei?*
 tea 2DU PERSMKR who?
 'Tea for (lit.: of) you and who?'

While *tei* ‘who?’ denotes the focal participant, person B is a speech-act participant, the addressee, and furthermore it is the current topic. These two factors outweigh the focal status of the third person, and so the inclusory pronoun comes first.

14.3. Split inclusory constructions

14.3.1. Positions of occurrence

In split inclusory constructions, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase together. There is no independent inclusory pronoun; rather, the superset is encoded by means of a dependent pronominal: a subject marker, an object suffix, or a personal suffix. Split inclusory constructions cannot occur where there is no dependent pronominal to index the superset. In the discussion that follows, the syntactic position of a split inclusory construction — subject, object, possessor — is identified by the position of the included NP.

Split inclusory constructions cannot occur in the subject position of verbless clauses, because there are no subject markers there. They cannot occur as objects of the bare prepositions or in the possessor position of bare possessive noun phrases, because there are no personal suffixes on the prepositions and on the possessum nouns. They cannot occur as direct objects of Class 1 transitive verbs and as objects of the verb-like prepositions. There are no object suffixes for persons other than third. Even though there are object suffixes for the third person, split inclusory constructions are not grammatical there.

Split inclusory constructions are grammatical as the subjects of verbal clauses. They are also grammatical as the direct objects of Class 2 transitive verbs, as the objects of the noun-like prepositions, and in the possessor position of suffixing possessive noun phrases. However, in the latter three types of position, split inclusory constructions are possible only if the inclusory suffix is not third person.

That is, within phrases — verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and possessor noun phrases — split inclusory constructions are not possible when the inclusory suffix would be third person, even though there are third-person object-indexing or possessor-indexing suffixes available. This will be discussed further below. On the other hand, an included NP in subject position of a verbal clause and the subject marker are not within the same phrase, and there are no restrictions on split inclusory constructions there.

In split inclusory constructions, there is a mismatch in the number, person, and exclusivity features between the dependent inclusory pronominal and the included NP. For example, the included NP in the subject position may be singular but the subject marker is dual or plural, and need not even be third per-

son; see (14-36) and (14-37) below. Or the included NP may be in an object position, and the object-indexing suffix is first or second person, dual or plural; see, for example, (14-38) further below.

Examples of split inclusory constructions in various syntactic positions follow.

In the subject position of verbal clauses:

- (14-36) *Si manga na ruana qoe moro ngata,*
 PRTT time REL friend 2SG 2DU.NFUT talk

moro nгаа-ngata qe sui, moka
 2DU.NFUT RDP-talk 3SG.NFUT be.finished 2DU.SEQ

qani-a fanga qe=ki.
 eat-3.OBJ food that=PL
 ‘When your friend and you are talking (to each other), (when) you have finished talking, you two will eat this food (lit.: these foods).’

- (14-37) *Fiona kesi fula quu?*
 Fiona 3PL.NEG arrive ANTCONT
 ‘Haven’t Fiona ’n them arrived yet?’

In the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verbs where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

- (14-38) *Kera thaitoqoma-mareqa wela nau.*
 3PL.NFUT know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ child 1SG
 ‘They know me and my child.’

In the object position with a noun-like preposition where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

- (14-39) *Qoki takwe i naqofa-mareqa tha*
 2SG.FUT stand LOC front-1DU(EXCL).PERS PERSMKR

Bitā.
 Bitā
 ‘Stand between me and Bitā.’

In the possessor position of a suffixing possessive construction where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

- (14-40) *Nuu-marōqa* *tha* *Uluta* *qe* *leqa*
 picture-2DU.PERS PERSMKR Uluta 3SG.NFUT be.nice

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

‘The picture of you and Uluta is very nice.’

The included NP may be focused or topicalized; see (14-41) and (14-42), respectively:

- (14-41) *Tha* *Uluta,* *nuu-marōqa* *qe* *leqa*
 PERSMKR Uluta picture-2DU.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice

qasia naqa.

INTS INTS

‘Uluta, the picture of him and you is very nice.’

- (14-42) *Tha* *Ulufaalu* *na* *mere* *raa*
 PERSMKR Ulufaalu FOC 1DU(EXCL).NFUT work

qa=si doo naqi.

GENP=PRTT thing this

‘It was Ulufaalu that I worked on this thing with.’ (Lit.: ‘It was Ulufaalu that we two worked on this thing.’)

It is also possible for an included NP to function as the head noun of a relative clause, with the inclusory pronominal inside the relative clause:

- (14-43) ... *ai* *na* *mere* *raa ofu*
 woman REL 1DU(EXCL).NFUT work be.together

qe oli naqa uri-a Japan.

3SG.NFUT return PRF ALL-3.OBJ Japan

‘... the woman I worked together with (lit.: the woman that we worked together) has returned to Japan.’

- (14-44) *Wane* *qi* *fei* *ba=ku* *rik=kamarōqa* *qi*
 man LOC where? that=1SG.NFUT see=2DU LOC

roqo?

yesterday

‘Where was the man from that I saw with you yesterday?’ (Lit.: ‘Man from where I saw you two yesterday?’)

Split inclusory constructions are not grammatical in those cases where the inclusory suffix on a verb, a preposition, or a possessum noun would be third person. This is illustrated for Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs in (14-45) and (14-46), respectively.

(14-45) **Nau ku riki-da doqora-mu.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ sibling-2SG.PERS
 (‘I saw them, including your brother.’)

(14-46) **Nau ku fulatoqo-da toq=qe=ki sulutala.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT meet-3PL.OBJ people=that=PL on.road
 (‘I met them, including those people, on the road.’)

In those cases where inclusory constructions can occur within phrases, there is always a mismatch in the person features. The included NP is necessarily third person, and the inclusory suffix may be first person exclusive or second person, dual or plural. In those cases where a split inclusory construction is ungrammatical, there would be no mismatch in the person features: both the included NP and the inclusory suffix would be third person. There is then a general condition on split inclusory constructions inside phrases such that the included NP and the inclusory suffix must not share the person feature. This restriction on the person feature does not apply to split inclusory constructions in the subject position, where the included NP and the inclusory subject marker do not occur in the same immediate phrase. This is another respect in which inclusory constructions within phrases have different properties from those in the subject position.³⁷

14.3.2. Mismatch in features

Split inclusory constructions are characterized by a mismatch in the person, number and exclusivity features between the included NP and the dependent inclusory pronominal. In (14-47) there is a mismatch in number:

(14-47) *Tha Ulufaalu keki nguu qa=fa Sandee*
 PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3PL.FUT sing GENP=CLF Sunday

loo.

upward

‘Ulufaalu ‘n them [i.e. Ulufaalu and the band he leads] will (play and) sing next Sunday.’

In (14-48) there is a mismatch in the number, person, and exclusivity features:

(14-48) *Lae ma=i buria-mareqa ni*
 go VENT=LOC behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS PERSMKR

Saelifiqa.

Saelifiqa

‘Follow me and Saelifiqa.’

In fact, it is the mismatch, disagreement in features that identifies a construction as inclusory. That is, the disagreement is functional. The inclusory pronominals do not “copy” the relevant features of the included NP. They themselves are meaningful. They are the ones that identify the superset. Both the inclusory pronominals and the included NP serve to denote the referents, but they are not referentially equivalent.

As discussed in section 4.9, there can be disagreement in the number feature between the subject noun phrase and the subject marker, and in some cases that kind of disagreement is functional too, allowing for different conceptualizations of the referents, as individuated or not individuated.

In that kind of feature disagreement, the disagreeing dependent pronominal supplies certain information that is not supplied by the relevant noun phrase. This is also the case in split inclusory constructions.³⁸

Notes

1. Ray (1926: 479, fn 16) gives the year of publication as 1823, but that should be 1923.
2. I am grateful to Phil Quick (pers. comm., June 2006) for bringing Pike and Simons' study to my attention.
3. In Hoava (spoken in the western Solomon Islands), also an Oceanic language but only distantly related to Toqabaqita, the word for 'monkey' is *maqe*, where orthographic *q* represents [ʰg] (Davis 2003).
4. As Christine Foris put it very aptly some years ago when she, David Foris, and I had a conversation on the subject of the use of the apostrophe for the glottal stop in various languages: "The apostrophe is an insult to the consonants."
5. Strictly speaking, the label 'exclusive' is then not necessary; for example, 1PL could only signify traditional 1PL(EXCL). However, it has been retained here for the sake of transparency.
6. The terms "syntactically-extended intransitive verbs" and "syntactically-extended transitive verbs" (section 4.2.3.1) are used here to distinguish such verbs from extended (Class 1) long transitive verbs, which contain the stem-extender morpheme (section 4.2.3.2.2).
7. Cf. note 6.
8. Pawley (1973) has reconstructed *-aki(ni) as the long transitive suffix(es) in Proto Oceanic. The evidence for the variant *-akini came from languages that are close relatives of Toqabaqita. The Toqabaqita evidence suggests that the form of the suffix was *-aki and that the form *-Cani*, with accretion of thematic consonants, was a later development. Accretion of thematic consonants also took place in the Toqabaqita variant *-Caqi*. Evans (2003), following Clark (1973), treats *-akini as bimorphemic, *-akin-i, where the *-i is the short transitive suffix.
9. Such morphologically extended long transitive verbs need to be distinguished from syntactically-extended intransitive verbs (section 4.2.2.1) and syntactically-extended transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.1).
10. A few Class 2 transitive verbs and a few nouns undergo metathesis of the consonant and the vowel of the last syllable that results in those stems ending in a consonant. The metathesis is conditioned partly phonologically and partly morphologically; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 8.1.2 respectively. However, the basic forms of all such verbs and nouns end in a vowel.
11. Some such tendencies have been identified for other Oceanic languages; see Arms (1974), Clark (1977), Geraghty (1983), and Lichtenberk (1978, 2001).
12. This was discussed in a broader Oceanic perspective in Lichtenberk (1993).
13. The Kwará'ae language, a close relative of Toqabaqita, has a verb *sai* 'know' (Deck 1934), of which Toqabaqita *thai* is a cognate.

14. An association of short transitive verbs of movement and posture with direct objects that refer to goals and locations has been identified by Pawley (1973) for various Oceanic languages.
15. Marching Rule, or rather Maasina Rule, was a political-social-cultural movement that existed from the mid 1940s to the early 1950s (Laracy 1983). Here the common, even though inaccurate label “Marching Rule” is used, because it corresponds more closely to how the name is rendered in Toqabaqita in the examples given in this grammar: *Maasin Ruul*, rather than *Maasina Ruul*. The double *a* in *Maasin* and the double *uu* in *Ruul* represent long vowels. This is also the way the name of the movement is normally pronounced when Toqabaqita people are speaking in Solomon Islands Pijin.
16. There is also a form *soe-qe*, found in the object-incorporating compound *soe-qe kini* ‘of a man: have illicit sex with a woman’; cf. *soe* (tr.) ‘ask about a potential bride; ask whether a girl is available for marriage (asking the girl’s parents, not the girl herself)’ (the direct object refers to the potential bride); *kini* ‘woman’, ‘wife’.
17. The term “anterior-continuing” is taken from Bybee *et al.* (1994). There, however, “anterior” is synonymous with “perfect”. In this grammar, on the other hand, the terms “anterior” and “perfect” designate different functions.
18. A distinction is usually made between a restitutive and a repetitive function; see, e.g., Pittner (2003) and Jäger and Blutner (2003). However, for Toqabaqita the label “repetitive” is not satisfactory because, as will be demonstrated, *laqu* is often used when, strictly speaking, there is not an exact repetition of a states of affairs.
19. In Lichtenberk (2002) a distinction was made between possessor-beneficiaries and recipients. Those two categories have been reanalyzed here as one category of recipient-benefactives.
20. Crosslinguistically, links between partitives and diminutives are quite common; see Jurafsky (1996).
21. Cognates of Toqabaqita *maa* in various Oceanic languages also tend to have large semantic ranges (Chowning 1996).
22. Pawley (1972) has reconstructed *mata-qi as a kind of numeral classifier for Proto-Eastern Oceanic, based on *mata ‘eye’ (see also Hooper 1985). Toqabaqita *maa* is a regular reflex of *mata, and *ma-qe* is a regular reflex of *mata-qi, with some secondary developments (the reduction of *maa* to *ma* and the change of *-qi to *-qe* after a non-high vowel [section 8.2.1]).
23. *Noni* ‘body’ is found in, e.g., Baelelea (Tryon and Hackman 1983), Lau (Fox 1974) and Kwaio (Keesing 1975).
24. As discussed by Ross (1998a, b), modification of nouns by verbs is not unusual in Oceanic.
25. Both *thaama* and *thaina* continue Proto Oceanic etyma, *tama ‘father’ and *tina ‘mother’ (Lichtenberk 1988a), respectively. In fact, both etyma, with these meanings, go as far back as Proto Austronesian.
26. The same etymon is also found, in a different phonological form again, in the noun for ‘son’, *kaluwani*, where *wani* is related to *wane* ‘man’.

27. For a view of possessive constructions in Oceanic as being sensitive to the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor, and for some other views, see Lichtenberk (to appear).
28. The Toqabaqita associative suffix is a reflex of Proto Oceanic *-qi (Hooper 1985) or *qi (Ross 1998b), the *-qe* variant being a later development. For some reason, the vowel of the suffix has failed to assimilate in *weleqi*.
29. Crosslinguistically, it is common for action nominals to exhibit both nominal and verbal properties (Comrie and Thompson 1985).
30. The term “confective” is adopted from Arms (1974), although his interpretation of the confective category is broader than that adopted here.
31. The name of the town is usually pronounced [ʔáokɛ], but the speaker who said sentence (10-199) pronounced it [ʔáukɪ], which corresponds to the Solomon Islands Pijin pronunciation.
32. For the term “coordinand” see Haspelmath (2004).
33. What is called anaphoric distance in Lichtenberk (1988b) corresponds to Givón’s (1983) notion of referential distance.
34. The third possibility, the antecedent in the narrative portion of a text and the anaphoric mention in a subsequent direct speech, does not seem to occur. That is, while a narrator has referential access both to the narrative portion of the text and to direct speech by characters in that text, a character in a text does not have referential access to the narrative portion of that text.
35. The term “presentative demonstrative adverbs” has been modelled on Anderson and Keenan’s (1985) category of presentative demonstratives.
36. I am grateful to Bernard Comrie for pointing this out to me.
37. A different explanation for the avoidance of split inclusory constructions where the inclusory suffix would be third person was proposed in Lichtenberk (2000a). It was suggested there that such constructions would look like ungrammatical counterparts of non-inclusory constructions. That analysis is superseded by the one presented here.
38. See Barlow (1992) for a view of agreement as ultimately a discourse notion.

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by

Frantisek Lichtenberk

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Contents

Volume 2

Abbreviations and conventions	xxi
-------------------------------------	-----

Chapter 15

Tense and aspect	677
15.1. The tenses.....	677
15.1.1. Introduction.....	677
15.1.2. The future tense.....	678
15.1.2.1. (General) future.....	678
15.1.2.2. Immediate future	679
15.1.2.3. Near future	681
15.1.2.3.1. Introduction.....	681
15.1.2.3.2. Open near future.....	681
15.1.2.3.3. Counterfactual near future in the past: avertive.....	689
15.1.3. The nonfuture tense.....	691
15.1.4. Past-in-the-past.....	694
15.2. The aspects.....	699
15.2.1. Introduction.....	699
15.2.2. The imperfective aspect	699
15.2.3. The continuative/iterative aspect	702
15.2.4. The frequentative aspect	706
15.3. The perfect	709

Chapter 16

The sequential subject markers	719
16.1. The central function	719
16.2. Other uses of the sequential markers in positive clauses.....	727
16.3. Sequential clauses of negation	731

Chapter 17

Negation	734
17.1. Introduction.....	734
17.2. The simple negative construction	735
17.3. The negative verb.....	738
17.4. The double negative construction	741

17.5.	Emphatic negation.....	747
17.6.	Negation and disabling conditions.....	751

Chapter 18

Mood.....		754
18.1.	Introduction.....	754
18.2.	Relatively high degrees of irrealis.....	754
18.3.	Low degree of expectation and counterfactuality.....	756
18.4.	Evidential hedges and related counterfactuals.....	760
18.4.1.	Introduction.....	760
18.4.2.	The simplest construction.....	760
18.4.3.	Using the verb <i>quri</i> ‘look like’.....	763
18.5.	Other expressions of uncertainty.....	771
18.5.1.	<i>Toqo</i> ‘perhaps’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’, ‘I think’, ‘I guess’.....	771
18.5.2.	<i>Takona</i> ‘most likely’, ‘certainly’; surprise.....	774
18.5.3.	<i>Mada</i> ‘or’.....	776
18.5.4.	<i>Botaena, botaqana</i> ‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’, ‘don’t know’.....	779
18.6.	The timitive mood.....	780
18.6.1.	Introduction.....	780
18.6.2.	Fear contexts.....	783
18.6.3.	Precautionary contexts.....	784
18.6.4.	The apprehensional-epistemic function.....	787

Chapter 19

Interrogatives.....		790
19.1.	Introduction.....	790
19.2.	Closed interrogatives.....	790
19.2.1.	Polar interrogatives.....	790
19.2.2.	Alternative interrogatives.....	793
19.3.	Open interrogatives.....	795
19.3.1.	Introduction.....	795
19.3.2.	Fronting and non-fronting of interrogative phrases, and other properties of open interrogatives.....	795
19.3.3.	<i>Tei</i> ‘who?’.....	802
19.3.4.	<i>Taa</i> ‘what?’, ‘which?’.....	807
19.3.5.	<i>Qufita</i> ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’; <i>qufita-a</i> ‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’.....	813
19.3.6.	<i>Fita</i> ‘how many?, how much?’, <i>fita-na</i> ‘how manieth?’.....	818
19.3.7.	<i>Fei, fania, fana</i> ‘where?’.....	819
19.3.8.	<i>Nii fania ade-la-na, nii fana ade-la-na</i> ‘how come?’.....	824
19.3.9.	<i>Angita</i> ‘when?’.....	826
19.3.10.	<i>Tafa</i> ‘which part of person’s or animal’s body?’.....	826

19.3.11.	Emphatic open interrogatives.....	827
19.4.	Answers to questions	829
19.4.1.	Answers to polar questions	829
19.4.2.	Answers to alternative questions	834
19.4.3.	Answers to open questions.....	835
19.5.	Complex interrogatives	838
19.6.	Dependent interrogatives	840

Chapter 20

Imperatives		842
20.1.	Introduction	842
20.2.	Positive imperatives	843
20.2.1.	Positive imperatives with nonfuture subject markers or no subject marker	843
20.2.1.1.	Introduction	843
20.2.1.2.	Second-person singular imperatives	843
20.2.1.3.	Second-person dual imperatives	844
20.2.1.4.	Second-person plural imperatives	845
20.2.1.5.	Dual and plural inclusive imperatives.....	846
20.2.2.	Positive imperatives with imperative subject markers.....	847
20.2.3.	Positive imperatives with sequential subject markers	848
20.2.4.	Imperatives with future subject markers	850
20.3.	Negative imperatives.....	851
20.3.1.	Negative imperatives in present-day Toqabaqita.....	852
20.3.2.	Archaic dehortatives	854
20.4.	Other properties of imperatives.....	855
20.4.1.	Terms of address	855
20.4.2.	Immediate imperatives	856
20.4.3.	Purpose imperatives with the verb <i>lae</i> 'go' in the first clause	857
20.4.4.	Verbless imperatives	858
20.4.5.	Indirect imperatives.....	859

Chapter 21

Low-individuation-of participants derivations.....		860
21.1.	Two low-individuation-of-participants prefixes	860
21.2.	Low individuation of participants	860
21.3.	The formal properties of verbal LIP derivations.....	862
21.4.	Depatientive verbs.....	864
21.5.	Irregular instances of derivation by means of <i>kwai-</i> ... (-i).....	866
21.6.	Noun derivations by means of the prefix <i>wai-</i>	868

Chapter 22

Reciprocal and related situation types	872
22.1. Introduction	872
22.2. Reciprocal situations	874
22.2.1. LIP reciprocals and pronominal reciprocals	874
22.2.2. The uses of the reciprocal constructions	879
22.3. Other situation types	883

Chapter 23

Self-contained situations	888
23.1. Types of self-contained situations	888
23.2. Self-generated, spontaneous situations	890
23.3. Self-directed, reflexive situations	891
23.4. Emphasizing the identity of a participant in situations other than self-generated and self-directed	898

Chapter 24

Unrestricted choice	900
24.1. Introduction	900
24.2. Unrestricted choice expressed by means of interrogative words	900
24.3. Unrestricted choice expressed by means of <i>mamalana</i> or <i>qatona</i>	903

Chapter 25

Comparison of inequality	908
--------------------------------	-----

Chapter 26

Locational, existential, and possessive sentences	914
26.1. Locational and existential sentences	914
26.1.1. Introduction	914
26.1.2. Verbal locational and existential sentences	914
26.1.2.1. Grammatically positive locational and existential sentences..	914
26.1.2.2. Grammatically negative locational and existential sentences..	918
26.1.3. Verbless locational and existential sentences	925
26.2. Possessive sentences	925
26.2.1. Existential possessive sentences	925
26.2.1.1. Grammatically positive existential possessive sentences	925
26.2.1.2. Grammatically negative existential possessive sentences	929
26.2.2. Verbal possessive sentences with the possessor in the subject position	931

Chapter 27

Verbless sentences	934
27.1. Major and minor verbless sentence types	934
27.2. Major verbless sentence types	934
27.2.1. Introduction	934
27.2.2. Grammatically positive identificational sentences	935
27.2.2.1. Equational identificational sentences.....	935
27.2.2.2. Presentational identificational sentences	936
27.2.3. Grammatically positive ascriptive sentences	937
27.2.4. Absence of subjects in the major verbless sentence types.....	940
27.2.5. Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences	942
27.3. Minor verbless sentence types	945
27.3.1. Verbless sentences with reduced predicates	945
27.3.2. Verbless utterances without a subject-predicate structure.....	946

Chapter 28

Coordination of clauses.....	952
28.1. Introduction	952
28.2. Conjunctive coordination.....	952
28.2.1. The coordinators	952
28.2.2. <i>Ma</i>	953
28.2.3. <i>Bii</i> and <i>bia</i>	963
28.3. Contrast, unexpectedness	964
28.4. Disjunctive coordination	969
28.5. Asyndetic coordination	971
28.6. Foregrounded additiveness	974

Chapter 29

Complement clauses.....	981
29.1. Introduction	981
29.2. Types of complements	982
29.2.1. Complement clauses.....	982
29.2.2. Nominalizations	987
29.2.3. Complex complementation structures.....	988
29.3. The complementizer.....	990
29.4. Complement-taking verbs	992
29.4.1. Introduction	992
29.4.2. Modal verbs.....	992
29.4.3. The phasal verb	999
29.4.4. Desiderative verbs.....	1001
29.4.5. Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge	1010

29.4.6.	Immediate-perception verbs.....	1016
29.4.7.	Locutionary verbs.....	1020
29.4.8.	Propositional-attitude verbs.....	1026
29.4.9.	Manipulative verbs.....	1034
29.4.9.1.	The periphrastic causative construction.....	1034
29.4.9.2.	Other manipulative verbs.....	1036
29.4.10.	Achievement verbs.....	1043
29.4.11.	Pretence verb.....	1050
29.4.12.	Commentative verbs.....	1052
29.5.	The inceptive, desiderative, and undesirative particles.....	1054
29.6.	Complement clauses in noun phrases.....	1059

Chapter 30

Relative clauses.....	1062	
30.1.	The basic characteristics.....	1062
30.2.	The functions of relative clauses.....	1064
30.3.	Relative clauses and plural marking.....	1067
30.4.	Absence of the relative-clause marker.....	1071
30.5.	Types of heads of relative clauses.....	1078
30.6.	Positions relativized.....	1087
30.6.1.	Relativization on subjects.....	1087
30.6.2.	Relativization on direct objects.....	1090
30.6.3.	Relativization on oblique objects.....	1092
30.6.4.	Relativization on possessors.....	1096
30.7.	Separation of a head noun and its relative clause.....	1098
30.7.1.	Long-distance relativization.....	1099
30.7.2.	Detachment of head nouns and their relative clauses.....	1103

Chapter 31

Conditional sentences.....	1106	
31.1.	The protasis and the apodosis.....	1106
31.1.1.	The structures.....	1106
31.1.2.	Ordering of the protasis and the apodosis.....	1115
31.2.	The semantics of conditional sentences.....	1117

Chapter 32

Concessive clauses.....	1127	
32.1.	The concessive constructions.....	1127
32.2.	The semantics of the concessive constructions.....	1129

Chapter 33

Reason clauses, purpose clauses, and purpose nominalizations	1135
33.1. Introduction	1135
33.2. Reason clauses	1139
33.2.1. Non-focused reason clauses	1139
33.2.2. Focused reason clauses	1144
33.3. Purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations	1145
33.3.1. Introduction	1145
33.3.2. Positive-purpose clauses	1146
33.3.3. Constructions implying purpose when the verb in the first clause is 'go'	1153
33.3.4. Negative-purpose clauses	1160
33.3.5. Purpose nominalizations	1162

Chapter 34

Consequence clauses	1167
---------------------------	------

Chapter 35

Temporal relations	1172
35.1. Introduction	1172
35.2. Constructions that express 'time when' relations between states of affairs	1172
35.2.1. Temporal noun phrases with relative clauses	1172
35.2.2. Temporal adverbial clauses with <i>laalae</i> 'when'	1179
35.3. Coordinate clauses	1181
35.3.1. Non-sequential relations between states of affairs	1181
35.3.2. Sequential relations between states of affairs	1182
35.3.2.1. Sequentiality signalled only by means of sequential subject markers	1182
35.3.2.2. Sequentiality signalled by more elaborate and more explicit strategies.....	1183
35.3.2.2.1. Temporal adjunct phrases	1183
35.3.2.2.2. Particles in the verb complex	1185
35.3.2.2.3. The verb <i>sui</i> and the sequencer <i>sui</i>	1186
35.3.2.2.4. Long intervals between states of affairs.....	1192
35.3.2.3. Culmination or termination of an extended state of affairs ...	1199

Chapter 36

Deranked subordinate clauses	1213
------------------------------------	------

Chapter 37

Direct speech..... 1223

37.1. Introduction..... 1223

37.2. Direct speech is not necessarily direct quotation..... 1223

37.3. Clauses of direct speech are not direct objects 1226

37.4. A noun phrase that functions as a pseudo-verb of speaking.. 1230

37.5. Combinations of clauses introducing direct speech..... 1232

37.6. Direct speech introduced by a clause that contains a verb
other than a verb of speaking 1233

37.7. Direct speech introduced by clauses without any verb and
without the pseudo-verb 1235

Chapter 38

Topicalization..... 1237

38.1. Subjects as default topics 1237

38.2. Topicalization: general characteristics..... 1238

38.3. Linked topics..... 1241

38.3.1. Introduction 1241

38.3.2. Subject topicalization..... 1242

38.3.3. Direct-object topicalization..... 1246

38.3.4. Oblique-object topicalization..... 1249

38.3.5. Possessor topicalization 1253

38.4. Long-distance topicalization 1258

38.5. Unlinked topics 1260

38.6. Double topicalization 1262

38.7. Affect topics..... 1265

38.8. Topic participants after their introduction into discourse..... 1267

Chapter 39

Focusing 1270

39.1. Introduction 1270

39.2. The formal properties..... 1272

39.3. The functions..... 1282

Chapter 40

Toqabaqita, Solomon Islands Pijin, and English 1291

40.1. Introduction..... 1291

40.2. Borrowing and phonological accommodation 1292

40.3. Code-mixing..... 1299

Appendix

Texts..... 1305
 Text 1: A young man and an ancestral spirit..... 1305
 Text 2: Man called Liliqa..... 1322

 Notes..... 1331
 References 1333
 Index..... 1345

Volume 1

List of tables, maps, and figures..... xxiii
 Abbreviations and conventions xxv

Chapter 1

Introduction 1
 1.1. The language and the people..... 1
 1.2. Previous studies of the language..... 3
 1.3. The present grammar..... 4

Chapter 2

Phonology..... 7
 2.1. The phoneme inventory..... 7
 2.1.1. The consonants..... 7
 2.1.2. Prenasalization 8
 2.1.3. The vowels 10
 2.2. Phonotactics 12
 2.2.1. Syllable structure..... 12
 2.2.2. Morpheme structure 13
 2.2.3. Occurrence of segments 14
 2.3. Stress 19
 2.4. Reduplication 28
 2.5. Cliticization and fusion 33
 2.6. Orthographic conventions 39

Chapter 3

Grammatical profile 43
 3.1. Morphosyntactic patterns..... 43
 3.2. Word classes 52

Chapter 4

The verb phrase	54
4.1. The basic structure of the verb phrase	54
4.2. Types of verbs	56
4.2.1. Stative vs. nonstative verbs	56
4.2.2. Intransitive verbs	60
4.2.2.1. Basic properties	60
4.2.2.2. Intransitive verbs formed by reduplication	61
4.2.2.3. Propriative verbs	62
4.2.2.4. Intransitive verbs formed by subject-incorporation and by object-incorporation	68
4.2.2.5. Syntactically intransitive verbs that contain transitive suffixes	69
4.2.3. Transitive verbs	70
4.2.3.1. Introduction	70
4.2.3.2. Class 1 transitive verbs	71
4.2.3.2.1. The object suffixes and the object positions	71
4.2.3.2.2. The structures of Class 1 transitive verbs	75
4.2.3.2.3. The thematic consonants	85
4.2.3.2.3.1. The range of the thematic consonants	85
4.2.3.2.3.2. Identity of, and variation in, the thematic consonants	87
4.2.3.2.3.3. The morphological status of the thematic consonants	90
4.2.3.2.3.4. Associations between thematic consonants and meanings	97
4.2.3.2.4. Applicative and causative verbs	100
4.2.3.2.5. Causative verbs formed by means of <i>faqa-</i>	107
4.2.3.3. Class 2 transitive verbs	114
4.2.3.3.1. The object suffixes	114
4.2.3.3.2. The structures of Class 2 transitive verbs	117
4.2.3.3.2.1. Class 2 transitive verbs that are verb-noun compounds	117
4.2.3.3.2.2. Class 2 transitive verbs that contain the TEST suffix	117
4.2.3.3.2.3. Other Class 2 transitive verbs	121
4.3. Valency rearrangement	123
4.3.1. Introduction	123
4.3.2. Valency rearrangement between different types of Class 1 transitive verbs involving direct objects	123
4.3.3. Valency rearrangement with single transitive verbs involving direct objects	126
4.3.4. Valency rearrangement involving subjects	129
4.4. Cognate direct objects and cognate subjects	130
4.5. Verbs that take empty subjects	131
4.6. The detransitivized variants of transitive verbs	135
4.7. Pseudo-verbs	137
4.8. The subject markers	143

4.9.	Number agreement and lack of number agreement in verb phrases.....	149
4.10.	Integrative use of the inclusive forms	159
4.11.	The adverb phrase	161

Chapter 5

	The particles in the verb complex	164
5.1.	The preverbal particles.....	164
5.1.1.	Introduction	164
5.1.2.	<i>Biqi</i> , etc. immediate past, immediate future.....	165
5.1.3.	<i>Makafa</i> ‘briefly’	168
5.1.4.	<i>Suka</i> , etc. attenuative.....	168
5.1.5.	<i>Marungeqe</i> ineffectuality.....	169
5.1.6.	<i>Tala</i> self-containedness of situations	170
5.1.7.	<i>Ota</i> avertive.....	170
5.1.8.	<i>Tona</i> , <i>tofa</i> , etc. restrictive	171
5.2.	The postverbal particles	173
5.2.1.	Introduction	173
5.2.2.	<i>Fasi</i> , <i>si</i> precedentive	175
5.2.3.	<i>Quu</i> anterior, anterior-continuing	177
5.2.4.	<i>Sui</i> completive, exhaustive; <i>danga</i> completive.....	180
5.2.5.	<i>Laqu</i> additive, restitutive.....	185
5.2.6.	<i>Qasia</i> intensifier.....	191
5.2.7.	<i>Toqo</i> obligation	193
5.2.8.	<i>Boqo</i> assertive, intensifier.....	193
5.2.9.	<i>Mena</i> concessive	197
5.2.10.	<i>Qa-</i> self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive	197
5.2.10.1.	Introduction.....	197
5.2.10.2.	The self-benefactive construction	199
5.2.10.3.	The recipient-benefactive construction.....	202
5.2.11.	<i>Ba-</i> limiter	204
5.2.12.	<i>Naqa</i> perfect, intensifier.....	208
5.2.13.	<i>Feteqi</i> intensifier	211
5.2.14.	<i>Mai</i> ventive and <i>kau</i> andative	212
5.2.14.1.	The basic properties	212
5.2.14.2.	Establishing a deictic centre.....	213
5.2.14.3.	Directional uses.....	217
5.2.14.4.	Displaced directionality	220
5.2.14.5.	States of affairs extended in time.....	223
5.2.14.6.	<i>Mai</i> with an ingressive function.....	224
5.2.14.7.	<i>Mai</i> as a marker of distance	225

Chapter 6

The noun phrase	228
6.1. The basic type of lexical noun phrase	228
6.2. Classes of nouns	232
6.3. The independent personal pronouns	243
6.3.1. The forms	243
6.3.2. The functions	244
6.4. <i>Tha</i> and <i>ni</i> person markers	250
6.5. <i>Nga</i> identifier	254
6.6. <i>Si</i> partitive, diminutive	259
6.7. The classifiers	264
6.7.1. Introduction	264
6.7.2. The classifier <i>fa</i>	266
6.7.3. The classifier <i>gwa</i>	275
6.7.4. The classifiers <i>maqe</i> and <i>maqa</i>	281
6.7.5. The classifier <i>si</i>	287
6.7.6. The classifier <i>noniqi</i>	289
6.7.7. Summary	289
6.8. Noun phrase quantification	291
6.8.1. The cardinal numerals	292
6.8.2. Other uses and meanings of <i>teqe</i>	297
6.8.3. Nouns designating numerically specific sets	299
6.8.4. The ordinal numerals	302
6.8.5. <i>Fita</i> and <i>fita-na</i> interrogative quantifiers	307
6.8.6. <i>Ta</i> and <i>tai</i> indefinite quantifiers	308
6.8.7. <i>Tooteqe</i> ‘each’, <i>tootoqe</i> ‘some’	316
6.8.8. <i>Toqo</i> distributive	317
6.8.9. Quantification by means of verbs and by means of an adjective	318
6.8.10. <i>Sui</i> quantifying particle	319
6.8.11. Quantification by means of heads of phrases	321
6.9. <i>Ki</i> plural marker	325
6.10. Modification of nouns by verb complexes	327
6.11. Modification of nouns by nouns	334
6.12. Modification of nouns by the adjective	339
6.13. Modification of nouns by prepositional phrases	342
6.13.1. Direct prepositional-phrase modification	342
6.13.2. Relative prepositional-phrase modification	344
6.14. Modification of nouns by a noun phrase	347
6.15. Modification of nouns by ligature phrases	348
6.16. The vocative phrase	348

Chapter 7

The noun-phrase internal particle group	351
7.1. Introduction	351
7.2. <i>Tona, toneqe</i> ‘of little significance, etc.’	353
7.3. <i>Quu</i> distal, restrictive	353
7.4. <i>Sui</i> exhaustive	355
7.5. <i>Laqu</i> additive	356
7.6. <i>Boqo</i> assertive, intensifier	358
7.7. <i>Bana</i> limiter	361
7.8. <i>Naqa</i> perfect, intensifier	365
7.9. <i>Feteqi</i> intensifier	369
7.10. <i>Qana</i> intensifier	370
7.11. <i>Mai</i> ventive and <i>kau</i> andative	371

Chapter 8

Possessive and associative noun phrases	375
8.1. Possessive noun phrases	375
8.1.1. Introduction	375
8.1.2. Suffixing possessive noun phrases	376
8.1.3. Bare possessive noun phrases	383
8.1.4. Recursiveness in possessive constructions	387
8.1.5. The semantics of possessive noun phrases	388
8.1.6. Fluidity in the possessive system	394
8.1.7. Individuation of the possessum	398
8.2. The associative noun phrase	407
8.2.1. The form	407
8.2.2. The semantics	415

Chapter 9

Nominalizations and deverbal nouns	421
9.1. Nominalizations	421
9.1.1. Formation of nominalizations	421
9.1.2. Double nominalizations	429
9.1.3. Nominal and verbal properties of nominalizations	431
9.2. Deverbal nouns	444

Chapter 10

The prepositional phrase	450
10.1. Introduction	450
10.2. The bare prepositions	451
10.2.1. <i>Qi</i> general locative	451
10.2.2. Prepositional phrases with the locative pro-form	454

10.2.3.	<i>Laa</i> inessive.....	460
10.2.4.	<i>Mala</i> equative.....	463
10.3.	The verb-like prepositions	465
10.3.1.	The full and the reduced forms	465
10.3.2.	<i>Uri</i> allative, purpose, reason	471
10.3.3.	<i>Fasi</i> ablative.....	475
10.3.4.	<i>Suli</i> prolative, reason.....	478
10.3.5.	<i>Faafi</i> superessive, confective, ‘concerning’	481
10.3.6.	<i>Bii</i> comitative	486
10.3.7.	<i>Qani</i> general preposition, instrumental.....	488
10.4.	The noun-like prepositions.....	493
10.4.1.	Introduction.....	493
10.4.2.	<i>Fa-</i> and <i>a-</i> recipient, benefactive	495
10.4.3.	<i>Sa</i> goal, adjacency.....	497
10.5.	Stacked prepositional phrases	499
10.6.	Preposition stranding.....	502
10.7.	Instrument inversion.....	508
10.8.	The locational nouns	516
10.8.1.	Introduction	516
10.8.2.	<i>Naqo</i> , <i>naqofa</i> and <i>maa</i> ‘in front of’	516
10.8.3.	<i>Buri</i> , <i>buria</i> , <i>buringa</i> ‘behind’, ‘after’.....	519
10.8.4.	<i>Ninima</i> ‘beside’	522
10.8.5.	<i>Fafo</i> ‘on, on top of’	523
10.8.6.	<i>Fara</i> , <i>faara</i> ‘below, under’	524
10.8.7.	<i>Maqaluta</i> ‘between, among’, ‘in the midst of’	526
10.8.8.	<i>Qinitoqo</i> ‘in the centre of, in the middle of’	529
10.8.9.	<i>Laal-a</i> ‘inside’	531

Chapter 11

Coordination of noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Apposition

of noun phrases and prepositional phrases.....	534	
11.1.	Introduction	534
11.2.	Noun-phrase coordination.....	534
11.2.1.	Conjunctive noun-phrase coordination	534
11.2.1.1.	The basic structure	534
11.2.1.2.	The three conjunctive coordinators <i>ma</i> , <i>bia</i> , and <i>bii</i>	538
11.2.1.3.	More on conjunctive coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases.....	542
11.2.2.	Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination	545
11.3.	Prepositional-phrase coordination	547
11.4.	Noun-phrase apposition and prepositional-phrase apposition .	549

Chapter 12

Compounding	551
12.1. Introduction	551
12.2. [noun noun] compounds	552
12.3. [noun verb] compounds	553
12.3.1. Root [noun verb] compounds	553
12.3.2. Subject-incorporating [noun verb] compounds	554
12.3.3. Object-incorporating [noun verb] compounds	559
12.4. Object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds	561
12.4.1. Introduction	561
12.4.2. Object-incorporating compounds that are intransitive verbs ...	569
12.4.3. Object-incorporating compounds that are transitive verbs	572
12.4.4. Object-incorporating compounds that are nouns	576
12.5. [verb verb] compounds	577
12.6. [verb <i>teqefau</i>] compounds	589
12.7. Minor compounding types	592
12.8. Lexicalized phrases	595

Chapter 13

The demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs	603
13.1. Introduction	603
13.2. The speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere	604
13.3. The determiner demonstratives	606
13.3.1. Introduction	606
13.3.2. The exophoric functions of the determiner demonstratives	606
13.3.2.1. The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives	606
13.3.2.2. The addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative	610
13.3.2.3. The distal determiner demonstratives	613
13.3.2.4. The determiner demonstrative of absence	614
13.4. The qualifying demonstratives	616
13.5. The endophoric functions of the demonstratives	622
13.5.1. The anaphoric functions of <i>qeri</i> , <i>baa</i> , and <i>fuu</i>	622
13.5.2. The cataphoric function of <i>qeri</i>	630
13.6. The locative demonstrative adverbs	631
13.6.1. Introduction	631
13.6.2. The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs	632
13.6.3. The general locative demonstrative adverbs	637
13.7. The situational demonstrative adverbs	639
13.8. The reiterative demonstrative pronominals	649

Chapter 14

Constructions with inclusory pronominals..... 655

14.1. Two basic types..... 655

14.2. Phrasal inclusory constructions..... 657

14.2.1. The structure 657

14.2.2. In the subject position 658

14.2.3. In the direct-object position with Class 1 transitive verbs
and in the oblique-object position with the verb-like
prepositions 659

14.2.4. In the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verbs, in
the oblique-object position with the noun-like prepositions,
and in the possessor position in the suffixing possessive
noun phrase 662

14.2.5. In the object position with the bare prepositions and in the
possessor position in the bare possessive noun phrase 665

14.2.6. The proximity principle 666

14.2.7. Variation in the order of the inclusory pronoun and
the included NP 667

14.3. Split inclusory constructions..... 669

14.3.1. Positions of occurrence 669

14.3.2. Mismatch in features 672

Notes..... 674

Abbreviations and conventions

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ADD	additive
ADJC	adjacency
AFFTOP	affect topic
ALL	allative
AND	andative
ANT	anterior
ANTCONT	anterior-continuing
arch.	archaic
ASRT	assertive
ASSOC	associative
ATTN	attenuative
AVRT	avertive
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CHAIN	chaining
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
CONF	confective
CONS	consequence
CONT	continuative
DEHORT	dehortative
depat.	depatientive
DES	desiderative
DETR	detransitivizer
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DO	direct object

DSTR	distributive
DU	dual
DVN	deverbal noun
EQT	equative
EXCL	exclusive
EXHST	exhaustive
EXT	(stem) extender
FADD	foregrounding-additive
FILLER	(semantically empty) filler
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GENP	general preposition
GOAL	goal
HESIT	hesitation
IDENT	identifier
IMM	immediate past, immediate future
IMP	imperative
IN	inessive
INCEP	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INEFF	ineffectuality
INS	instrumental
intr.	intransitive (verb)
INTS	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
ITER	iterative
k.o.	kind of
LIG	ligature
LIM	limiter
LIP	low individuation of participants
lit	literally
LOC	(general) locative
LOCPRO	locative proform
n.	noun
NEG	negative
NEGV	negative verb
NFUT	nonfuture
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
NPAST.HERE	nonpast.here
NPAST.THERE	nonpast.there

O	direct object
OBJ	object
os.	oneself
P	preposition
PAST.THEN	past.then
PERS	personal
PERSMKR	person marker
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
PREC	precedentive
PRF	perfect
PROFORE	pronominal foregrounder
PROL	prolative
PROP	propriative
PRTT	partitive
PURP	purpose
RC	relative clause
RDP	reduplication
REAS	reason
REC	recipient
RECBEN	recipient-benefactive
RECP, recp	reciprocal
REL	relative clause/phrase marker
REPAIR	(conversational) repair
REST	restitutive
RESTR	restrictive
S	intransitive subject
sb.	somebody
SBEN	self-benefactive
SELFC	self-contained
SEQ	sequential
Sent	sentence
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SoF	state of affairs
sp., spp.	species (singular, plural)
st.	something
suff	suffix
SUPER	superessive
SURPR	surprise
TEST	test

TIM	timitive
ToR	time of reference
TR	transitive (suffix)
tr.	transitive (verb)
UNDES	undesiderative
V	(i) vowel; (ii) verb, in the formulae SVX and AVOX
v.	verb
VENT	ventive
VIVID	vivid
VOC	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Word-internal morpheme boundaries are designated by hyphens. The equal sign (=) signifies cliticization.

Chapter 15

Tense and aspect

The categories treated in this chapter are those of tense, aspect and the perfect, the latter being neither purely a tense nor purely an aspect.

15.1. The tenses

15.1.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a basic tense opposition of future vs. nonfuture, expressed by the respective sets of subject-tense markers (section 4.8). Within both categories further distinctions can be made by means of additional elements and constructions. There is also a kind of past-in-the-past, which is not uniquely associated with the nonfuture subject markers.

The tenses are relative: the reference time may be the time of the speech act or the time of another situation. If the reference time is other than the time of speech, it is usually, although not always, signalled in another clause. The future-tense subject markers are used when the situation time is after the time of reference. The nonfuture-tense subject markers are used when the situation time is before the time of reference both for states and for dynamic situations, and at reference time for states. They are also used to express general states and gnomic situations. (They can also be used to express habitual states of affairs.) For dynamic situations, when the situation time is at the time of reference, the event is in progress.

Semantically, the future-nonfuture contrast is rather complex, and there is no simple correlation between the tenses as grammatical categories and situation times. Both sets of subject markers are used not only to mark tense but also with other functions. The nonfuture markers are used to encode not only past and present situations, but occasionally also future situations, especially situations that are imminent, about to obtain. And they are also used in positive imperatives. The future markers are used to encode future situations, but they also function, jointly with another particle, to encode counterfactual past situations. Furthermore, the same set of subject-tense markers that signals future tense is also used to express the imperfective aspect: habitual and general events, and events in progress, including such events in the past. That is, imperfectivity

overrides tense. However, events in progress, and habitual and general situations are also commonly encoded by the nonfuture subject markers. There are circumstances where only the future/imperfective markers can occur, and there are circumstances where only the nonfuture markers can, but there are also circumstances where members of either set can be used. This is especially true of the imperfective domain. Furthermore, the sequential subject markers (chapter 16) too can be used with past-time or future-time reference.

The grammatical future-nonfuture contrast holds only in positive clauses. With one type of exception that, grammatically, does not concern the tenses, the contrast is suspended in negative clauses, where the same set of negative subject markers is used regardless of the time of a state of affairs.

15.1.2. The future tense

15.1.2.1. (General) future

What, for simplicity, will be called here “future” tense would more appropriately be called “general future” tense. Besides the general future, there are also more specific immediate and near futures. The general future is unmarked with respect to the more specific futures in two senses. It is unmarked semantically, in the sense that its range of uses subsumes those of the more specific futures. And it is also simple/unmarked formally: it is expressed only by the subject markers, whereas the specific futures require additional marking.

The future-tense subject markers signal that the situation time is later in relation to the time of reference. In (15-1) the event is future relative to the time of the speech act:

- (15-1) *Ngali-a mai, kwai tyunim.*
 carry-3SG.OBJ VENT 1SG.FUT tune
 ‘Bring it [a guitar] here; I’ll tune it.’

In (15-2) the relevant situation is subsequent to a past event, although past with respect to the time of speech:

- (15-2) *Wane qe lole ba-na. Qe*
 man 3SG.NFUT tell.lie LIM-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

sore-qe kai raa, ma ka aqi si
 say-DETR 3SG.FUT work and 3SG.SEQ NEG V 3SG.NEG

raa laqu.

work ADD

‘The man just lied. He said he would work, but he didn’t work at all.’

The future subject markers are not used in commands or exhortations. However, they can be used to (try to) manipulate other people’s behaviour, but then they normally signal an expectation or suggestion on the part of the speaker, or an obligation on the part of the addressee that a state of affairs obtain. For example, (15-3) is a request for compliance:

- (15-3) *Qoki takwe i naqofa-mareqa.*
 2SG.FUT stand LOC front-1DU(EXCL).PERS
 ‘You will/should stand in front of us.’

And by using (15-4) the speaker is asking, exhorting everyone to sing:

- (15-4) *Kulu sui boqo kuki nguu.*
 PL(INCL) EXHST ASRT PL(INCL).FUT sing
 ‘All of us will sing.’ ‘All of us should sing.’ ‘Let’s all sing.’

Future-tense marking is required or is an option in certain syntactic environments that involve irrealis contexts; for example, in complement clauses embedded under certain verbs, such as ‘want’; in clauses expressing purpose; in the apodoses of conditional sentences; and in clauses encoding unfulfilled past situations.

15.1.2.2. Immediate future

There are two ways in which immediate future can be expressed, the fact or expectation that a state of affairs will obtain very soon after the time of reference: the state of affairs is just about to occur, it is just about on its way. Both constructions employ the future-tense subject markers. In one construction, one of the preverbal immediate-future/immediate-past particles is used: *biqu*, *mala*, *maka* or *makeqe* (section 5.1.2):

- (15-5) *Maqasi nau, nau kwai biqu fanga boqo neri.*
 wait.for 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT IMM eat ASRT NPAST.HERE
 ‘Wait for me; I am just about to eat.’

However, this strategy is not very common. The usual way to signal immediate future is by means of the postverbal perfect particle *naqa* (section 15.3):

- (15-6) *Nau kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go PRF
 ‘I’ll be going now.’ (Said by a person getting up to go.)

In (15-7) the immediate future is in the past; the clause with the future subject marker is a purpose one:

- (15-7) *Keko fula qa=si manga na fasi*
 3DU.SEQ arrive GENP=PRTT time REL PURP

keeroqa keki nofi naqa,....
 3DU 3DU.FUT die PRF
 ‘They reached (lit.: arrived at) the time (which was) for them to die;
’ (Speaking about two prisoners who were about to be hanged.)

Since the set of subject markers that marks future tense also marks the imperfective aspect (section 15.2.2), including events in progress at the time of reference, a combination of one of these subject markers and the perfect marker may express immediate future or a new state of affairs; see (15-8) and (15-9), respectively:

- (15-8) *Keki toli naqa.*
 3PL.FUT share.out PRF
 ‘They are going to share out [the food] now.’
- (15-9) *Keki ukuuka naqa.*
 3PL.IPFV divide.into.shares PRF
 ‘They are now/already dividing [the food at a feast] into shares.’

Both in (15-8) and in (15-9) the tense and aspect values could be the other way around, imperfective/progressive rather than immediate future in the former and immediate future rather than imperfective/progressive in the latter.

15.1.2.3. *Near future*15.1.2.3.1. *Introduction*

In pragmatic terms, there is no clear dividing line between immediate future and near future, but the near-future construction is used when the speaker does not conceptualize the relevant state of affairs as being about to obtain immediately, but at a somewhat later time, which, however, can be quite close to the time of reference. It is the speaker's decision to encode a situation as being located in immediate future or in near future, rather than some absolute time measure.

On formal and semantic grounds, two types of near future need to be distinguished in Toqabaqita: open near future, where the relative state of affairs is predicted, expected to obtain; and counterfactual near future in the past, where a state of affairs that looked as if it was about to happen did not in fact happen.

To express both types of near future, the future-tense subject markers must be used, but the clause that encodes the near-future event is in construction with another, higher clause, and it is the verb of the higher clause that expresses the nearness of the future. There is more than one such construction, but they all use related higher verbs. The constructions that encode open near future are discussed first. The term "event clause" refers to the clause encoding the state of affairs predicted or expected to obtain.

15.1.2.3.2. *Open near future*

The commonest open near-future construction uses the Class 1 transitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close to', shown with its spatial meaning in (15-10):

- (15-10) *Biqu tha weleqi qe nii*
 house PERSMKR guy 3SG.NFUT be.located
- karangi-a qamali.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ sea
 'The guy's house is near the sea.'

There is also an intransitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close':

- (15-11) *Kera fula karangi.*
 3PL.NFUT arrive be.near
 'They arrived near/nearer.' 'They approached.'

While the existence of the intransitive and the transitive variants show the forms *karangi* to be verbs, they are unusual as verbs in that they tend to occur in combinations with other verbs in verb serializing compounds (section 12.5). This is the case in both of the examples above. This will be of relevance in the discussion of the near-future marking function of transitive *karangi*.

To express open near future, the transitive verb *karangi* is used as a higher verb that takes as its direct object the event clause. The complement clause is indexed on the verb *karangi* with the object suffix *-a*, which indexes lexical direct objects and also complement clauses (section 29.2.1). However, while *karangi* as a near-future marker has the verbal property of taking the object-indexing suffix *-a*, in another respect it does not behave the way other verbs (transitive or intransitive) do: it normally does not have a subject-tense marker. The event clause usually contains the perfect marker *naqa*. For a sentence without *naqa* in the event clause see (15-15) further below. The event clause may have a subject phrase, or there may be a corresponding noun phrase preceding the near-future marking *karangi-a*, as in (15-12) and (15-13), respectively.

(15-12) *Karangi-a madami kai arakwa naqa.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ moon 3SG.FUT (moon)be.full PRF
 'It is nearly full moon.' 'It will be full moon soon.'

(15-13) *Madami karangi-a kai arakwa naqa.*
 moon be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT (moon)be.full PRF
 'It is nearly full moon.' 'It will be full moon soon.' 'The moon is nearly full.'

However, while both alternatives are possible, the one with the subject inside the event clause is not common. If there is any noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause, the norm is for it to occur before *karangi-a*, as in (15-13) above and in (15-14) and (15-15) below.

(15-14) *Nau karangi-a kwai fanga naqa.*
 1SG be.near.to-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT eat PRF
 'I am about to eat.'

In (15-15) the near future is in the past. (For another example with near future in the past see [15-16].)

(15-15) *Si manga na kera lae naqa uri qamali,*
 PRTT time REL 3PL.NFUT go PRF ALL sea

teqe kini karangi-a kai faqa-futa.
 one woman be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT CAUS-be.born
 ‘When they were (already) going towards the sea, a woman was about to give birth.’

It is, of course, possible, for no “subject” noun phrase to occur, for example because the referent is recoverable from context or because the verb frequently occurs without a subject noun phrase. For example, the verb *dani* ‘be daytime’ often occurs without a subject. (Alternatively, it may take *fanua* ‘place’ as its subject.)

(15-16) *Nau ku lae mai qana kada rodo,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go VENT GENP time night

karangi-a kai dani naqa.
 be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.daytime PRF
 ‘I arrived at the time of night (when) it was almost daytime/when it was going to be daytime soon.’

When a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause precedes *karangi-a*, what is its syntactic status? One possibility is that it is the subject of the embedded clause that has been “raised”; that is, while it thematically belongs in the embedded clause, it is realized syntactically in the main clause, as the subject of *karangi-a*. Another possibility is that it is a true, thematic subject of *karangi-a*. And still another possibility is that it is a topic. A close look at the evidence suggests two things. First, while *karangi-a* does have some verbal properties, it is unlike typical verbs in certain other respects. And second, which is related to the first point, the syntactic status of the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a* is not unitary: in some cases, it is a topic without being a subject, while in other cases, much more rarely, it is the subject of *karangi-a*, and by virtue of that it is also the topic. The evidence is reviewed in what follows. The conclusions reached apply to both of the near-future marking functions of *karangi-a*, marking open near future and countefactual near future in the past.

First, in the near-future marking function, *karangi-a* normally does not have its own subject-tense marker. While subject markers are occasionally missing with any verb (section 4.8), the norm is for them to be present (except in second-person singular imperatives). In contrast, for *karangi-a* the norm is not to have a subject marker, as in all the examples above. However, constructions where *karangi-a* has its own subject marker are not ungrammatical:

- (15-17) *Kera* *too-too,* *tha* *Boranigao ka*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay PERSMKR Boranigao 3SG.SEQ
- karangi-a* *kai* *nofi naqa.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT die PRF
 ‘They stayed (like that for some time), and then (came a time when)
 Boranigao was close to dying/to being dead.’

In (15-17) *karangi-a* has its own third person singular sequential subject marker, which indexes the noun phrase *tha Boranigao*.

There are, in fact, several options with respect to *karangi-a* and the expression of the (notional) subject of the event clause. These are shown in (15-18a), (15-18b), and (15-18c). All three sentences could be used to describe the same situation. In the first variant, *karangi-a* has its own subject and subject marker:

- (15-18) a. *Nau ku* *karangi-a* *kwai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.near.to-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT
- sui* *naqa.*
 be.finished PRF
 ‘I am almost finished (with what I am doing).’ ‘I am going to
 be finished soon.’

This type of construction is not very common.

In the second variant, *karangi-a* has a third-person singular subject marker. *Karangi-a* is preceded by a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause and is not an argument of *karangi-a*. In (15-18b) the noun phrase that precedes *karangi-a* consists of the first person singular pronoun, which is not indexed by the subject marker of *karangi-a*.

- (15-18) b. *Nau qe* *karangi-a* *kwai*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.near.to-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT
- sui* *naqa.*
 be.finished PRF
 ‘I am almost finished.’ ‘I am going to be finished soon.’

In (15-18b) the first-person singular pronoun functions as a topic: ‘As for me, it is near (to) that I will be finished.’ This kind of construction is not very common either.

Most commonly, *karangi-a* occurs without its own subject marker, and the notional subject of the event clause precedes it:

- (15-18) c. *Nau karangi-a kwai sui naqa.*
 1SG be.near.to-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT be.finished PRF
 ‘I am almost finished.’ ‘I am going to be finished soon.’

Here too the noun phrase that precedes *karangi-a* is the topic.

The topic status of the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a* without a subject marker can be seen in the next example, where that noun phrase is in the scope of the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* (section 28.6): the two people spoken about are being compared to others, mentioned previously.

- (15-19) *Kamareqa mena karangi-a meki*
 1DU(EXCL) FADD be.near.to-3.OBJ 1DU(EXCL).FUT

fanga laqu boqo neri.
 eat ADD ASRT NPAST.HERE
 ‘(Like you,) the two of us are about to eat too.’

It is also possible for the event clause to have its own subject that is not coreferential with the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a*. In (15-20) *karangi-a* is preceded by the first person singular pronoun, but in the embedded clause the subject is *gwau-ku* ‘my head’. The pronoun that precedes *karangi-a* encodes the “possessor” of the referent of the subject of the event clause. This is a kind of possessor topicalization (section 38.3.4).

- (15-20) *Nau karangi-a gwau-ku kai falai*
 1SG be.near.to-3.OBJ head-1SG.PERS 3SG.FUT be.bald

naqa.
 PRF
 ‘Me, my head is almost bald.’ ‘Me, my head will be bald soon.’ ‘I will be bald before long.’

In fact, it is possible for there to be a double topic before *karangi-a*, as in (15-23) further below. (See section 38.6 for double topicalization.)

Constructions with a topic phrase before *karangi-a* are common, but also common are constructions where *karangi-a* has no subject marker and is not preceded by a topic phrase either:

- (15-21) *Karangi-a keki lae na=mai.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT go PRF=VENT
 ‘They are about to come.’

- (15-22) *Karangi-a kai sui naqa.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.finished PRF
 ‘It’s almost finished.’ (Speaking about wall panels being made.)

See also (15-16) further above.

Karangi-a may be negated to express the fact that the relevant state of affairs will not obtain in the near future: it is expected, predicted that the state of affairs will obtain, but not in the near future. This is shown in B’s speech in (15-23). In A’s sentence, there are two topic noun phrases preceding *karangi-a*, ‘you (pl.)’ and ‘your work’.

- (15-23) A: *Kamuluqa, raa kamuluqa ki karangi-a*
 2PL work 2PL PL be.near.to-3.OBJ
- kai sui naqa?*
 3SG.FUT be.finished PRF
- B: *Qe aqi. Raa kamiliqa ki*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so work 1PL(EXCL) PL
- qe aqi si karangi-a quu*
 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG be.near.to-3.OBJ ANTCONT
- kai sui.*
 3SG.FUT be.finished
 A: ‘You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?’
 B: ‘No. Our work is not yet close to being finished.’

Being a verb, near-future marking *karangi-a* can take particles that occur in the verb complex. In B’s response in (15-23) it is accompanied by the anterior-continuing postverbal particle *quu*. See also (15-25) further below.

Near-future marking *karangi-a* can be reduplicated to express the fact that the temporal gap between the time of reference and the time of the future state of affairs is relatively short, although such reduplication is not very common:

- (15-24) *Butete naqi kaa-karangi-a kai*
 sweet.potato this RDP-be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT
- qako bo=naqa.*
 be.cooked ASRT=PRF
 ‘These sweet potatoes are very nearly done.’ ‘These sweet potatoes will be done very soon.’

Finally, it is possible for a clause with near-future marking *karangi-a* to form an utterance by itself, without a complement, event clause, and without a subject marker. In (15-25) *karangi-a* occurs with the perfect marker:

(15-25) A: *Qo sui naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT be.finished PRF

B: *Karangi-a naqa.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ PRF

A: 'Are you finished (with what you are doing)?'

B: 'Almost now.' 'Soon now.'

To summarize the evidence: *Karangi-a* has some verbal properties. First, like Class 1 transitive verbs, it takes the object-indexing suffix *-a* (but so do the verb-like prepositions). Second, it can have its own subject marker, which may but need not be referential. When it is referential, there may be, in addition, a subject noun phrase. Third, it is negated the way verbs are. And fourth, it may be accompanied by particles that are part of the verb complex. On the other hand, unlike verbs, *karangi-a* typically has no subject marker and no subject argument. While near-future marking *karangi-a* has a preponderance of verbal properties, it is not a typical verb.

There are other forms used to signal near future, but all of them are much less common than transitive *karangi-a*. First, *karangi-a* has a rare phonological variant *karafi-a*, which too functions as a Class 1 transitive verb with the spatial meaning 'be near/close to'. There is also a rarely used intransitive verb *karafi* 'be near/close'. Example (15-26) shows *karafi-a* in its function of marking near future, as a variant of *karangi-a*:

(15-26) {*Karangi-a* / *karafi-a*} *kai dani*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ / be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.daytime

naqa.

PRF

'It is almost daytime/daylight.' 'It will be daylight soon.'

Instead of the transitive forms *karangi-a* and *karafi-a*, near future can also be expressed by the intransitive verbs *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi*, which are historically depatientive forms derived from the transitive forms *karangi* and *karafi*, respectively. (Depatientive verbs are discussed in section 21.4.) However, since in the present-day language they do not function depatientively, they are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. Both *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* are also used as intransitive verbs with the spatial meaning 'be near/close' with the

implication of having become near, having approached. (The intransitive verbs *karangi* and *karafi* have no such necessary implication.)

Since *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* are intransitive verbs, the event clauses are not their objects. The event clause is joined to the *kwaikarangi* or the *kwaikarafi* clause paratactically. The *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* clause comes first. Neither *kwaikarangi* nor *kwaikarafi* is common as a near-future marker, with the latter one possible but not really used. *Kwaikarangi* (and, presumably, *kwaikarafi* as well) seems more likely to occur with its own subject marker than is the case with *karangi-a* (and *karafi-a*), but because of the paucity of examples of the former, it is difficult to be certain about this. When there is a subject marker in the *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* clause, it is third-person singular, regardless of the subject of the event clause. That is, the subject marker does not index a participant. *Kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* may be preceded by a noun phrase that is a topic, not their subject. In (15-27) the topic is first person singular. When there is a topic phrase before *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi*, the third person singular subject marker is normally present:

(15-27) *Nau qe {kwaikarangi / kwaikarafi} kwai*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.near / be.near 1SG.FUT

mae naqa

die/be.dead PRF.

‘I will die soon.’ ‘I am near death.’ (Lit.: ‘I, it is near, I will die/will be dead.’)

When there is no topic phrase before *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi*, there is usually no subject marker either:

(15-28) (*Qe*) *kwaikarangi wane kai oli naqa.*
 3SG.NFUT be.near man 3SG.FUT return PRF
 ‘The man will return soon.’

Kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi can be negated the way verbs are to signal that the relevant state of affairs will not obtain in the near future (but at some more distant future time). In (15-29) *kwaikarangi* occurs in B’s response.

(15-29) A: *Kamuluqa, raa kamuluqa ki karangi-a*
 2PL work 2PL PL be.near.to-3.OBJ

kai sui naqa?
 3SG.FUT be.finished PRF

- B: *Qe aqi. Raa kamiliqa ki*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so work 1PL(EXCL) PL
- qe aqi si kwaikarangi quu*
 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG be.near ANTCONT
- kai sui.*
 3SG.FUT be.finished
- A: 'You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?'
 B: 'No. Our work is not yet close to being finished.'

In (15-29) *kwaikarangi* cooccurs with the anterior-continuing postverbal particle *quu*. Compare the synonymous example (15-23) with *karangi-a* in B's response.

Finally, as is the case with *karangi-a* (and *karafi-a*), a clause with *kwaikarangi* (or with *kwaikarafi*) may form an utterance, without an event clause. This is so in (15-30), where *kwaikarangi* occurs with the perfect-marker:

- (15-30) A: *Qo sui naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT be.finished PRF
- B: *Kwaikarangi naqa.*
 be.near PRF
- A: 'Are you finished (with what you are doing)?'
 B: 'Almost now.' 'Soon now.'

Compare the synonymous sentence with *karangi-a* in (15-25) above.

15.1.2.3.3. Counterfactual near future in the past: avertive

The two transitive verbs that function to signal open near future, *karangi-a* and *karafi-a*, can also serve to express the fact that a state of affairs nearly obtained in the past but did not. The event clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* (sections 18.2 and 18.3), which precedes the subject marker. If the event clause is grammatically positive, the subject marker is future-tense. Negative event clauses have a negative subject marker; see (15-33) further below. Apart from the presence of the irrealis marker in the event clause, all the other grammatical properties of the constructions are the same as those expressing open near future.

As discussed in section 5.1.7 there is a preverbal avertive particle *ota*, which too signals that a state of affairs nearly obtained in the past but in the end did

not. However, this particle is used only rarely. Much more commonly it is the near future construction with *karangi-a* (or *karafi-a*) in the higher clause and the irrealis marker in the event clause that expresses the avertive meaning. As with the open near future construction, the form *karafi-a* is used only rarely to express the avertive meaning, *karangi-a* being the usual form. The intransitive verbs *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* do not serve to express the avertive meaning.

A few examples of sentences with the avertive meaning are given below.

(15-31) *Manga na ku kasi-a qaba-ku, qoo,*
time REL 1SG.NFUT cut-3.OBJ arm-1SG.PERS oh

qabu ka tafa qasia naqa. Laa-lae,
blood 3SG.SEQ emerge INTS INTS RDP-go

karangi-a sa kwai nofi.
be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT die

‘When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out. On and on (it kept gushing out), and/until I nearly died.’

(15-32) ... *ka naqo-fi kamiliqa mai, laa-lae mai,*
3SG.SEQ face-TR 1PL(EXCL) VENT RDP-go VENT

karangi-a sa kai tara qi
be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 3SG.FUT reach LOC

sa-miliqa.
GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS

‘... it [a cyclone] turned towards us (lit.: faced us), it kept coming and nearly reached us.’

The event clause may be negative, in which case its subject marker is negative. What is counterfactual in (15-33) is the person’s not going; that is, he nearly did not go.

(15-33) A: *Qo lae Honiara qana wiki baa?*
2SG.NFUT go Honiara GENP week that

B: *Nau ku lae boqo, sui nau ku*
1SG 1SG.NFUT go ASRT but 1SG 1SG.NFUT

mataqi, karangi-a sa kwasi lae.
 be.sick be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.NEG go

A: 'Did you go to Honiara last week?'

B: 'I *did* (go), but I was sick and almost did not go.'

Karangi-a may be reduplicated to express the fact that the state of affairs very nearly obtained. However, such reduplication is not common.

(15-34) *Nau kaa-karangi-a sa kwai qaru bo=naqa*
 1SG RDP-be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT fall ASRT=PRF

qana keekene qi rogo.
 GENP breadfruit LOC yesterday

'I very nearly fell off the breadfruit (tree) yesterday.'

The next example shows the rare form *karafi-a* in free variation with *karangi-a*:

(15-35) {*Karangi-a / karafi-a* sa kwai qaru.
 be.near.to-3.OBJ / be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT fall
 'I nearly fell down.'

And (15-36a) and (15-36b) show the synonymy of the *karangi* construction and the avertive particle *ota*, the former being the usual way of expressing the avertive meaning.

(15-36) a. *Nau ku mataqi, karangi-a sa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR

kwai mae.

1SG.FUT die

'I was sick and nearly died.'

b. *Nau ku mataqi, sa kwai ota mae.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick IRR 1SG.FUT AVRT die

'I was sick and nearly died.'

15.1.3. The nonfuture tense

The nonfuture-tense subject markers too have several functions. First, they serve to encode states that obtain at the time of reference or obtained before the

time of reference, and dynamic situations that took place before the time of reference. The first three examples express states. In the first two, the states hold at the time of reference, the time of the speech act and the time of another situation, respectively:

- (15-37) *Qo mataqi nena?*
 2SG.NFUT be.sick NPAST.THERE
 'Are you sick?'

In (15-38) the state of the fish smelling obtained at the time of the person's eating the fish:

- (15-38) *Nau ku qani-a iqa e makwa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ fish 3SG.NFUT smell
 'I ate fish that smelled (and that made me feel no good).'

In the situation expressed in (15-39) the state held before the time of the speech act:

- (15-39) *Nau ku mataqi, karangi-a sa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR

kwai mae.
 1SG.FUT die
 'I was sick and nearly died.'

The next two examples encode dynamic situations that preceded the time of reference, the time of the speech act and the time of another past event, respectively:

- (15-40) *Kera uufi-a agaa qi roqo.*
 3PL.NFUT blow-3.OBJ panpipes LOC yesterday
 'They played (the) panpipes yesterday.'

- (15-41) *Nia ka sore-qa, tha Nori ka*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ say-DETR PERSMKR Nori 3SG.SEQ

sore-qa, nia e ngali-a qi sa-na
 say-DETR 3SG 3SG.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS

teqe wane qi Merika.
 one man LOC America
 ‘He said, [i.e.,] Nori said, he had gotten (lit.: taken) it [an idea] from
 (lit.: at) a man from America.’

The preverbal immediate-past/immediate-future particles *biqi*, *mala*, *maka*, and *makeqe* (section (5.1.2) in combination with a nonfuture subject marker express immediate past:

(15-42) *Nau ku biqi fula boqo.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT IMM arrive ASRT
 ‘I have just arrived.’

The nonfuture subject markers can also be used to express events that are in progress at the time of reference, or habitual situations, but such situations are also expressed by means of the imperfective subject markers (section 15.2.2).

(15-43) *Taa n=o qani-a?*
 what FOC=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you eating?’ (The addressee was eating at the moment.)

(15-44) *Wane naqi qe kafara qa=fa thato ki*
 man this 3SG.NFUT make.copra GENP=CLF day PL

sui bana.
 EXHST LIM
 ‘This man makes copra every day.’

The nonfuture subject markers also serve to express general states that characterize entities:

(15-45) *Wane qaba-n=e mauli.*
 man arm-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.on.left.side
 ‘The man is left-handed.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, his arm is on the left side.’)

And they also serve to encode gnomic situations, which Bybee *et al.* (1994: 126) characterize as states of affairs “that apply to generic subjects and basically hold for all time”:

(15-46) *Unuunu foko-na e*
 halfbeak.fish mouth-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

taatare.

be.of.uneven.length

‘Halfbeak fish have jaws that are not the same length.’ (Lit.: ‘Halfbeak fish, their mouths are of uneven length.’)

- (15-47) *Qae-qe* *ngasi* *e* *gwaagwari-qa.*
 bottom.part-ASSOC sugarcane 3SG.NFUT be.sweet-PROP
 ‘The bottom parts of sugar-cane plants are (particularly) sweet.’

The nonfuture subject markers are also used in certain irrealis contexts: the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1), under certain conditions in temporal adverbial clauses expressing ‘time when’ even when the time is future (section 35.2.2), and in imperatives (section 20.2.1).

15.1.4. Past-in-the-past

Toqabaqita has a grammatical strategy to signal explicitly the fact that a past situation took place before another past situation, or that a situation, had it taken place, would have obtained before another past situation. This past-in-the-past tense is expressed by verb reduplication. The range of uses of reduplication to express past-in-the-past is relatively restricted. It is not used in complement clauses that express a situation that preceded the situation expressed in the higher clause; see example (15-41) further above. And it is not used when two clauses are in a coordinating or adverbial subordinating relationship to each other, even if the second clause expresses a past situation that preceded another past situation and was completed by the time of the latter.

- (15-48) *Mili* *fula* *mena* *kau, kera*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT arrive CONC AND 3PL.NFUT

lae naqa.

go PRF

‘When we arrived there, they had already (and unexpectedly) gone.’
 ‘They had gone by the time we arrived there.’ (That is, the speaker and his group arrived too late.) (Lit.: ‘Even though we arrived there, they had already gone.’)

The function of the past-in-the-past reduplication is to signal “reversed result”. The term “reversed result” comes from Squartini (1999: 57): “[t]he usage of the Pluperfect [here: past-in-the-past; F.L.] in these cases stresses that the result of a past action is no longer valid” In Toqabaqita, the past-in-the-past

reversed result construction signals that the result of a past situation is not valid at reference time, the implication being that it ceased to be valid at some earlier time in the past, before other situations took place. In some cases, the result, outcome of an earlier past situation was undone by a later past situation. Such later past situations are often not expressed; but see (15-53) and (15-55) further below. In the state of affairs expressed in (15-49), the person had hung his personal basket at that place, went away, and when he returned, the basket was not there. And now he is reporting on that:

- (15-49) *Waqi nau baa qe taa-taru ku=neqe.*
 basket 1SG that 3SG.NFUT RDP-hang place=this
 ‘My basket had hung here.’ (But when I got back, it was not here.)

In the overall situation expressed in (15-50) the speaker bought the radio at some time in the past; the radio ceased to work at a later time in the past, and is not working now:

- (15-50) *Nau ku uusi-si-a teqe redio ka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT buy-RDP-3.OBJ one radio 3SG.SEQ

taqaa naqa.
 be.bad PRF
 ‘I bought a radio (some time ago, then it broke), and now it’s no good.’

It was not the case that the radio ceased to work just before the time of speaking.

Similarly in the overall situation expressed in the next example, where the speaker had had money in the past, spent it in the past, and now has none:

- (15-51) *Seleni nau ku alu-lu-a ku*
 money 1SG 1SG.NFUT have-RDP-3SG.OBJ 1SG.NFUT

qaru-a sui naqa.
 spend-3SG.OBJ EXHST PRF
 ‘The money I used to have, I spent it all.’

In (15-52) the speaker is asking the other person where he had gone to and had come back from when he saw him the day before:

- (15-52) *Qo laa-lae fe=i roqo?*
 2SG.NFUT RDP-go where?=LOC yesterday
 ‘Where had you gone to [and come back from] yesterday [when I saw you]?’

Verb reduplication to express reversed result is also used in relative clauses: the situation expressed in the relative clause preceded one or more other past situations. In the state of affairs expressed in (15-53) the speaker discovered at some time before the time of speaking that the bananas he had brought earlier had disappeared, presumably because somebody had eaten them, and now is asking about it. The result of the speaker’s having brought the bananas was undone later by somebody taking and eating them. Here the event that undid the earlier one of the bananas being brought is expressed: somebody’s eating them.

- (15-53) *Tei n=e qani-a baqu baa ki na*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ banana that PL REL

ku ngaa-ngali-da ma=i roqo?
 1SG.NFUT RDP-carry-3PL.OBJ VENT=LOC yesterday
 ‘Who ate the bananas I (had) brought yesterday?’

For another example with a relative clause see (15-51).

The subject markers in clauses expressing past-in-the-past states of affairs are usually nonfuture, but may be sequential. (The sequential subject markers are commonly used to encode past states of affairs; see examples in section 16.1.) In other words, it is primarily the reduplication of the verb rather than the subject marker that signals past-in-the-past. In (15-54) below, the second of the two verbs reduplicated for past-in-the-past has a sequential subject marker. The men who had gone to (secondary) school and had thought that that would give them an opportunity to travel overseas later, had never in fact succeeded in that, and they were envious of the speaker. (The fact that the men had not gone overseas is signalled by the verb *aqi* ‘not be so’ and also by the irrealis marker *sa* in the clause that is a complement of the verb ‘think’; see section 18.3.)

- (15-54) *Tai wane ki na kera too-too i laa*
 some.PL man PL REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay LOC IN

skul, keka maa-manta-toqo-na sa keki
 school 3PL.SEQ RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT

baas qaut keki lae mai qana ofasii ma
 pass out 3PL.FUT go VENT GENP overseas and

ka aqi ki, ma keka sore-qe ba-da,
 3SG.SEQ not.be.so PL and 3PL.SEQ say-DETR LIM-3PL

“...”

‘Some of the men who had been to (lit.: had stayed at) school and had thought they would graduate (lit.: pass out) and go (lit.: come) overseas but never had, they just said (all they did was say), (“You, you are lucky, you have seen that place that is so difficult to get into.”).’

Reversed result may also apply the other way, from something which had not been the case at an earlier time in the past but became so at a later past time. In the situation expressed in (15-55) the reversed result is the speaker’s catching (and seeing) a fish he had not seen in any of his previous fishing activities:

(15-55) *Nau ku deede, kwa dee-toqo-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT fish 1SG.SEQ catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ

teqe iqa qeeqeta qana, iqa kwasi
 one fish be.strange INTS fish 1SG.NEG

rii-riki-a.

RDP-see-3SG.OBJ

‘I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had not seen (before).’

In (15-55) the event that led to the reversed result is specified: the person’s catching the fish.

Speakers of Toqabaqita sometimes say that what here is analyzed as past-in-the-past indicates past time a long time back. Most likely the reason why reduplication is perceived as expressing remote past is that it expresses situations that are further back in the past than other past situations, expressed or implied. The relevance of reversed result rather than remoteness in the past is evident from the next example. In the situations that preceded those expressed in (15-56), the boy’s parents had gone to the market to buy fish for their son. However, their son was killed while they were away, and when they came back with the fish, they could not find him. There are two relative clauses modifying the noun ‘fish’ in (15-56) and both express earlier past events. However, while the

second verb is reduplicated, the first one is not. It is the situation expressed in the second clause, with the reduplicated verb, that the notion of reversed result applies to. It applies to the parents' thinking of giving the fish to their son, because the son had disappeared, not to their bringing the fish. The irrealis marker *sa* with the verb 'give' signals that the intended past event of giving did not take place.

- (15-56) ... *iqa* *qe=ki* *na* *kerō* *ngali-a* *mai*
 fish that=PL REL 3DU.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ VENT
- na* *kerō* *maa-manta-toqo-na* *sa* *keki*
 REL 3DU.NFUT RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3DU.FUT
- fale-a* *qana* *wela qeri ka*
 give-3SG.OBJ GENP child that 3SG.NFUT
- aqi* *naqa.*
 not.be.so PRF
 '... the fish that they had brought (and) that they had thought they would give to their (lit. that) child but never did.'

Reduplication of verbs to express past-in-the past is sometimes, but not always, used in the protases of counterfactual conditional sentences. Counterfactual conditionals are used when an imagined, possible situation could have, should have, might have obtained in the past, in which case it would have been followed by another situation; but, in fact, it did not eventuate. In (15-57) the verb 'eat' occurs reduplicated in two clauses. In the first one, which is not a protasis, the verb expresses past-in-the-past with an implied reversed result: the addressee had not eaten and later got hungry. The next occurrence of the reduplicated verb 'eat' is in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional:

- (15-57) *Ura* *taa* *na* *qosi* *faa-fanga* *quu* *boqo*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG RDP-eat ANT ASRT
- qi* *quuqungadia?* *Ma=sa* *qo* *faa-fanga*
 LOC morning or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-eat
- qa-muqa,* *sa* *qoko* *thaofa*
 SBEN-2SG.PERS IRR 2SG.SEQ be.hungry

qe=aqi.

3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘Why hadn’t you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would not have been hungry (later).’

15.2. The aspects

15.2.1. Introduction

As with the tense categories, Toqabaqita aspects are expressed by a diversity of morphosyntactic means. A meaning is considered here to be aspectual only if a grammatical or at least partially grammaticalized element or construction is used to express it. It is not considered aspectual if it is expressed strictly by lexical means. The morphosyntactic means include one set of subject markers, verb reduplication, and a bi-clausal structure with a certain verb in one of the clauses. On formal grounds, the following aspects are distinguished here: imperfective, which subsumes progressive and habitual; continuative/iterative; and frequentative. On the borderline between what is inside and what is outside the aspectual category is the notion of completedness of event, expressed by the postverbal particles *sui* and, less commonly, *danga*; see section 5.2.4.

15.2.2. The imperfective aspect

As the term “imperfective aspect” is used here, the imperfective category subsumes the progressive aspect and the habitual aspect. Following Bybee *et al.* (1994), the progressive aspect is characterized as expressing dynamic situations that are “ongoing at reference time” (p. 126); and the habitual aspect as expressing situations that “are customarily repeated on different occasions” (p. 127), although not normally very frequently. (See also Comrie 1976 for the two aspects.)

In Toqabaqita, the imperfective aspect is expressed by means of the same set of subject markers that also serve to express future tense (table 4.5 in section 4.8). The first two examples below illustrate the progressive aspect.

(15-58) *Kali doo baa kai angi.*
 little.SG thing that 3SG.IPFV cry
 ‘The little one [a baby] is crying.’

(15-59) *Teqe wane ka rake-qiri manga na kwai*
 one man 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry time REL 1SG.IPFV

uqunu quna qeri.
narrate manner that

‘One man was/got angry when I was talking like that/when I was saying that.’

Verbs are reduplicated to express temporally extended situations, either ongoing states or activities, or iteratively occurring or iteratively performed events (section 35.3.2.3). Reduplicated verbs can occur with an imperfective subject marker to encode events in progress, specifically when an event has/had been in progress for some time and is/was still in progress at reference time:

(15-60) *Doo, kusi taqaa qena, kai tee-teo*
thing cat be.bad that(2) 3SG.IPFV RDP-lie

ba-n=i fafo-na nena,
LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC top-3SG.PERS NPAST.THERE

kai laa-ladafi-a nena.
3SG.IPFV RDP-roll.around.on-3SG.OBJ NPAST.THERE

‘The thing, the no-good cat, has just been lying on top of it [timber] there, rolling around on top of it.’

(15-61) *Ni tei ba=qoki ngata-ngata bii-a?*
PROFORE who? that=2SG.IPFV RDP-speak COM-3SG.OBJ
‘Who was that you were/had been talking with?’

In the next three examples the imperfective subject markers serve to encode habitual situations. When it is habitualness that is being expressed, the verb is often, but not necessarily, reduplicated. The verb is not reduplicated in the first example, but those in the next two are.

(15-62) *Kamiliqa miki qaru-toqo-na karoalo*
1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).IPFV fall-TEST-3.OBJ creeper.sp

qana qafu-la-na maamae.
GENP wrap-NMLZ-3.PERS sore

‘We use (juice from the leaves of) the *karoalo* creeper to bandage sores.’ (That is, juice from *karoalo* leaves is squeezed onto sores which are then bandaged.)

(15-63) *Basi na maka nau kai baa-basi futa*
bow REL father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot possum

qani-a *manga* *na=i* *dini* *neq.*
 INS-3SG.OBJ time REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here
 ‘Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old days.’

Events in progress and habitual situations are often expressed by means of the imperfective subject markers, but not obligatorily. As mentioned in section 15.1.3, both can also be expressed by means of the nonfuture subject markers. Here two more examples are given. In the situation expressed in (15-64), the addressee was on his way down to the coast at the moment; note also the presence of the situational demonstrative adverb *nenā* used to express current (or future) situations (section 13.7):

(15-64) *Qo* *sifo* *nenā?*
 2SG.NFUT descend NPAST.THERE
 ‘Are you going down [in the direction of the coast]?’

And in the next example the first nonfuture subject marker is employed to express a habitual situation and the second one an ongoing situation:

(15-65) *Ma* *si* *manga* *qeri* *lio,* *keka* *riki-a* *roo*
 and PRTT time that look 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ two

subi *na* *toq=qe=ki* *keka* *fii-firu*
 k.o.war.club REL people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-fight

qani-a *n=e* *teo* *qi* *laa* *fuli*
 INS-3SG.OBJ REL=3SG.NFUT lie LOC IN house.site

biqu *qeri.*
 house that

‘And at that time (they) looked (and) saw two *subi* clubs that those people [their ancestors] used to fight with (i.e. that they used as weapons) (and) that were lying (there) at the (old) house site.’

The verb *teo* ‘lie’, which has a nonfuture subject marker in (15-65), is a nonstative verb, and as such can occur with an imperfective subject marker:

(15-66) *Kafa* *qoe* *baa* *kai* *teo* *ba-na* *qi*
 comb 2SG that 3SG.IPFV lie LIM-3SG.PERS LOC

kula qena.

place that(2)

‘Your comb is lying just there, near you.’

See also (15-67) below.

The distinction between the nonfuture and the future/imperfective categories is neutralized in negation, where there is only one set of subject markers (table 4.5 in section 4.8). There is no explicit coding of the imperfective aspect in negative clauses. In (15-67) the main clause contains the second person singular negative subject marker in the main clause and the third person singular imperfective subject marker in the relative clause. In both cases it is habitual situations that are expressed. (For the use of prepositional phrases with the inessive preposition *laa* in the direct-object position see section 10.2.3).

(15-67) *Qe* *aqi* *qosi* *riki-a* *laa* *thamataqia*
3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG see-3.OBJ IN bed

nia, kula na kai teo i ei.

3SG place REL 3SG.IPFV lie/sleep LOC LOCPRO

‘(In the old days) you would not see (you were not allowed to see) her bed [the bed of another man’s wife], the place where she (habitually) lay/slept [i.e. the place that was her sleeping place].’

15.2.3. The continuative/iterative aspect

Bybee *et al.* (1994: 127) define the continuative aspect as specifying “that a dynamic situation is ongoing — and additionally ... that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going”. Here, a somewhat looser interpretation of the term “continuative” has been adopted: a situation is characterized as having a relatively long temporal extension within a relevant time frame, but there is no requirement that there be a deliberately acting agent. And Bybee *et al.* (1994: 127) define the iterative aspect as specifying that an event “is repeated on a particular occasion”. Here the term “iterative” is intended to signify multiple iteration. While there is no absolute measure of what constitutes multiple iteration, if an event is repeated only once on a given occasion, this does not count as iteration and the grammatical means discussed below are not employed. Although the continuative and the iterative are, in principle, two different aspects, in Toqabaqita they are not formally distinguished: the same formal means are used regardless of whether a situation is a continuing, extended one or an iterated/iterating one. Nevertheless, the glosses CONT(inuative) and ITER(ative) are used as appropriate.

To express the continuative/iterative aspect, the verb is reduplicated. However, if a verb already contains reduplication due to a derivational process, it does not undergo further reduplication to express the continuative/iterative aspect. (For example, some intransitive verbs are formed from transitive verbs by reduplication; see section 4.2.2.2.) Consequently, there is no overt marking of the continuative/iterative aspect with such verbs.

The continuative–iterative distinction has to do with the type of state of affairs: continuativity applies to non-punctual situations, while iterativity applies to punctual events. Below are given a few examples of the continuative/iterative aspect.

Continuative:

- (15-68) *Nau ku ul-ulafu kwa feda naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-work.hard 1SG.SEQ be.tired PRF
 ‘I worked and worked hard, and now I am tired.’

- (15-69) *Soldia ka roo-rofe ka aqi*
 policeman 3SG.SEQ RDP-search 3SG.SEQ NEG

kesi rik=kera qi kula qeri.
 3PL.NEG see=3PL LOC place that
 ‘The police unit kept on searching (but) did not see them at that place.’

Iterative:

- (15-70) *Kuukururua e bina-bina.*
 lightning 3SG.NFUT RDP-flash
 ‘There were multiple flashes of lightning (in rapid sequence).’

- (15-71) ... *ma kera kwaa-kwaqe-a qaburu baa.*
 and 3PL.NFUT RDP-hit-3.OBJ ogre that
 ‘[Two children came close,] and they kept hitting the ogre.’

The time frame during which an event has been iterated or during which it has continued may be relatively long. The iteration of an event need not happen in rapid sequence. In the situation described in (15-72) the acts of stealing need not have occurred immediately one after another.

- (15-72) *Qasai nau lakoo ki, kere bii-bili-a,*
 mango 1SG that(3) PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-steal-3SG.OBJ

ta qasai si aqi.
 some mango 3SG.NEG not.exist
 ‘Those mangoes of mine (on a tree), they have been stealing them
 (and) there are no mangoes (left).’

In the overall situation expressed in the next example, the period of rain may have been quite long (as during the rainy season). This example also shows that an event may be characterized as continuing over time without there being a deliberately acting agent:

(15-73) *Dani e qaa-qaru si thato naqa.*
 rain 3SG.NFUT RDP-fall 3SG.NEG be.sunny PRF
 ‘It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny).’

There is a construction that serves to express extended states of affairs — continuing or iterating — that culminate, result in a new state of affairs or that come to an end because of another state of affairs; see section 35.3.2.3. That construction uses the reduplicated verb ‘go’. The verb encoding the extended situation may also be reduplicated.

Verbs are often reduplicated for the continuative/iterative aspect in negative imperatives (section 20.3.1) when the speaker is telling, ordering the addressee to stop doing what they have been doing:

(15-74) *Qosi kwaa-kwaqe-a wela gena.*
 2SG.NEG RDP-beat-3.OBJ child that(2)
 ‘Stop beating the child.’

(15-75) *Qosi faa-faqa-ulafu-a kini qeri.*
 2SG.NEG RDP-CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ woman that
 ‘Stop making the woman work (so) hard.’

To emphasize the temporal extent of a continuing or iterating event, additional strategies are used. They appear to be restricted to those consonant-initial verbs with which it is the first syllable that is reduplicated and the vowel is doubled (section 2.4). The additional vowel in such reduplicants is longer than the first vowel (section 2.1.3), but to emphasize continuativity or iterativity, the vowel length may be exaggerated, which is indicated by means of “:”.

(15-76) *Waa:-waela.*
 RDP-laugh
 ‘[He] laughed and laughed and laughed.’

Another strategy is multiple reduplication, in which case the second vowels in each reduplicant may also be lengthened beyond the usual extent of lengthening. In both examples below, the verbs are triply reduplicated, and the second vowels in the reduplicant are considerably lengthened. The normal reduplications of the verbs are *qii-qisu* and *taa-taqe*, respectively.

- (15-77) *Ma qaburu baa qe qii:-qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
and ogre that 3SG.NFUT RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ

gwau-na quna qeri ma ka aqi
head-3SG.PERS manner that and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

naqa, ifu-n=e katu.
INTS hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.hindered.from.movement
'And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.' (The ogre's hair was tied down.)

- (15-78) *Ma keko taqe bo=naqa, taa:-taa:-taa:-taqe,*
and 3DU.SEQ ascend ASRT=INTS RDP-RDP-RDP-ascend

keka fula qi laa biqu
3PL.SEQ arrive LOC IN house
'And they went up [a mountain], went up and up and up and up, and arrived at the house'

With the verb *lae* 'go', 'walk' lengthening of the second vowel in the reduplicant may also take place, but there is another favourite strategy. It involves lengthening of the *l* of the base, indicated by ":", instead of, or in addition to, lengthening of the vowel in the reduplicant(s) (see also section 35.3.2.3):

- (15-79) *Kero lae laqu boqo, kero laa:-lae,*
3DU.NFUT walk ADD ASRT 3DU.NFUT RDP-walk

kero fula laqu boqo qa=ta kula,
3DU.NFUT arrive ADD ASRT GENP=some place
'They walked again, they walked on and on (and) arrived at another place'

- (15-80) *Kero laa-l:ae, kero fula qi kula qeri*
3DU.NFUT RDP-walk 3DU.NFUT arrive LOC place that
'They kept walking, on and on, and arrived at that place'

15.2.4. The frequentative aspect

Following Bybee *et al.* (1994), the frequentative aspect can be characterized as signifying that a situation is characteristic of the relevant time frame and that it occurs frequently during that time frame. Note that the time frame need not be explicitly delimited in any way. In Toqabaqita, expression of the frequentative aspect requires a bi-clausal structure: the first clause expresses the relevant event, and the second clause signals its frequent occurrence. Although the structure is bi-clausal, the second clause is not a fully-fledged clause because it exhibits some grammatical restrictions.

The clause that signals frequent occurrence of the situation expressed in the event clause is a “mini-clause”. Normally it contains the verb *too* ‘stay, remain’, or, rarely, the verb *lado* ‘be joined end to end’. *Too* or *lado* may be reduplicated, although this is not very common. The verb always takes the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*, regardless of the subject marker in the event clause, and is followed by the limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11), which always carries the third person singular personal suffix. No other elements occur in that clause. The basic structure of the bi-clausal construction is given in (15-81):

(15-81) [event.clause] [*ka* {*too/lado*} *ba-na*].

The subject marker in the event clause is not imperfective.

Before the grammatical properties of the clauses expressing the frequentative aspect are considered, here are a few examples. The first one illustrates free variation between the verbs *too* ‘stay, remain’ and *lado* ‘be joined end to end’, and the second one contains reduplicated *too*:

(15-82) *Qi laa roo madami qe=ki, dani qe qarū*
 LOC IN two month this=PL rain 3SG.NFUT fall

qasia naqa ka {too / lado} ba-na.
 INTS INTS 3SG.SEQ stay / be.joined LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘During these (last) two months, it has rained hard very often.’

(15-83) *Wane naqi bia thaari naqi kero qonionga*
 man this and girl this 3DU.NFUT tease

uri keeroqa ka too-too ba-na.
 ALL 3DU 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘This boy (lit.: man) and this girl are always teasing each other.’

Because the verb *lado* is quite rare in expressions of the frequentative aspect, it will be disregarded in the subsequent discussion. Reduplication of *too* serves to underscore the high frequency of occurrence of the relevant situation, and examples both of simple and of reduplicated *too* are given in what follows.

The mini-clause that expresses the frequentative aspect exhibits a number of grammatical restrictions. First, as mentioned above, the subject marker must be third person singular sequential *ka*, regardless of the subject marker of the event clause. In (15-83) above, the subject marker of the event clause is third person dual nonfuture *keru*, but the frequentative-aspect clause contains *ka*. In the next example, the event clause has the first person singular nonfuture subject marker *ku*:

- (15-84) *Nau ku mataqi ka too ba-na.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I am often sick.’ ‘I am always sick.’

That is, the third person sequential subject marker in the frequentative-aspect clause indexes the proposition expressed in the event clause; for example, for (15-84) literally ‘I am sick (and) it just stays.’

The frequentative clause *must* contain the subject marker *ka*:

- (15-85) **Nau ku mataqi too ba-na.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 (‘I am often sick.’ ‘I am always sick.’)

This shows that *too* can only be a verb and not a postverbal particle associated with the preceding verb.

The presence of the third person singular subject marker in the frequentative-aspect mini-clause is evidence that *too* and the preceding verb do not form a serializing [verb verb] compound.

Second, the frequentative-aspect mini-clause normally falls under one intonation contour with the event clause. And finally, it is possible for a frequentative-aspect clause to be followed by material that semantically belongs to the event clause. Such material is postposed to after the frequentative-aspect mini-clause, although only adjuncts can be so postposed. In the next two pairs of examples, the (a) sentences have the adjuncts in the event clauses, while in the (b) sentences the adjuncts have been placed after the mini-clauses.

- (15-86) a. *Toq=qe=ki kera bili-a fanga*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT steal-3.OBJ food

fasi kamiliqa ka too ba-na.
 ABL 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘Those people keep stealing food from us.’ ‘Those people are
 always stealing food from us.’

- b. *Toq=qe=ki kera bili-a fanga*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT steal-3.OBJ food
- ka too ba-na fasi kamiliqa.*
 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS ABL 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘Those people keep stealing food from us.’ ‘Those people are
 always stealing food from us.’

In the next pair of sentences, the extended-state-of-affairs marker *laa-lae* (section 35.3.2.3) and reduplication of the verb in the frequentative-aspect mini-clause jointly emphasize the long extent of the time in which the events have been frequently taking place:

- (15-87) a. *Mili fale fanga qi fa-da*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food LOC REC-3PL.PERS
- ka too-too ba-na, laa-lae, mika*
 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ
- feda naqa.*
 be.tired PRF
 ‘We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are
 tired (of it) now.’
- b. *Mili fale fanga ka too-too ba-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS
- qi fa-da, laa-lae, mika feda naqa.*
 LOC REC-3PL.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.tired PRF
 ‘We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are
 tired (of it) now.’

Only adjuncts can be postposed in this way; other elements, such as direct objects cannot. Sentence (15-88a), with the direct object in the event clause, is fine, but (15-88b), with the direct object postposed, is ungrammatical:

- (15-88) a. *Teqe wane qe bili-a niu*
 one man 3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ coconut

nau ki ka too-too ba-na.
 1SG PL 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘A (certain) man keeps stealing my coconuts.’
- b. **Teqe wane qe bili-a ka*
 one man 3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

too-too ba-na niu nau ki.
 RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS coconut 1SG PL
 (‘A [certain] man keeps stealing my coconuts.’)

While the frequentative-aspect construction is normally used to express frequent occurrence of a situation, it may also be used about situations that are literally always taking place, or are meant to be always taking place. (One could perhaps say they are so frequent that there is no time when they are not taking place.) The following sentence is about the electricity generator in Honiara, which is always running (barring breakdowns):

- (15-89) *Enjin qe raa ka too ba-na.*
 engine 3SG.NFUT work 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘The engine is always working/running.’ ‘The engine works/runs non-stop.’

15.3. The perfect

The perfect is expressed by means of the postverbal particle *naqa* or its reduced, combining form *na=* (section 5.2.12). *Naqa* and *na=* are also used with a perfect-marking function in noun phrases. This is discussed in section 7.8. (See those two sections for the use of the combining form *na=*.) Here the focus is on the perfect marker in relation to propositions, rather than to participants. (*Naqa* also functions as an intensifier, both in verb phrases and in noun phrases.)

The core function of the Toqabaqita perfect is to signal a new state of affairs at the time of reference. The time of reference may be the time of the speech act or some other time. Several functions of the perfect may be further distinguished, but, with one exception, they all have to do with the notion of a new state of affairs.

In its core function, the perfect signals the fact that a state of affairs obtains at the time of reference that did not obtain before the time of reference. The notion of a new state of affairs is related to what is sometimes referred to as the “perfect of result”, which Comrie (1976: 56) characterizes thus: “a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation”. This definition does apply to Toqabaqita in some cases, but not to all. In some cases, the clause in which the perfect marker occurs does encode an earlier event which is still relevant, through its consequences, at reference time.

(15-90) *Era neqe qe mae naqa fasi nau.*
 fire this 3SG.NFUT die PRF ABL 1SG
 ‘The fire has died on me.’ (The fire is dead now.)

(15-91) *Araqi-a e fula-toqo-ku naqa.*
 be.old.man-DVN 3SG.NFUT arrive-TEST-1SG.OBJ PRF
 ‘Old age has caught up with me.’ (A man speaking.)

The time of reference may be earlier or later than the time of speaking:

(15-92) *Ma kera lio, kera riki-a biqu qeri*
 and 3PL.NFUT look 3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ house that

mena qe fura naqa,
 FADD 3SG.NFUT rot PRF
 ‘And they looked and saw that the house too had rotted,’

(15-93) *Iu, manga na ku mae sui naqa,*
 OK time REL 1SG.NFUT die COMPL PRF

kamaroqa moka qolo-toqo suli nau
 2DU 2DU.SEQ arrange-TEST PROL 1SG
 [A dying man speaking.] ‘OK, when I have died, you will measure me (lit.: measure along me) [so that the addressees could dig a grave of the right size]’

The perfect marker frequently accompanies the completive marker *sui* (section 5.2.4) to signal that a state of affairs has reached completion by the time of reference. See (15-93) above and (15-94) below:

(15-94) *Nau ku fula ka=i biqu kera,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive AND=LOC house 3PL

kera fanga sui naqa.
 3PL.NFUT eat COMPL PRF
 ‘I arrived at their house, (and) they had already finished eating.’
 ‘When I arrived at their house, they had already finished eating.’

The perfect marker is incompatible with the immediate-past/immediate-future preverbal particles (section 5.1.2), when it is immediate past that is being expressed:

(15-95) **Kera biqi lae na=kau.*
 3PL.NFUT IMM go PRF=AND
 (‘They have just left.’)

However, those particles and the perfect marker can combine when it is immediate future that is being expressed; see (15-119) further below.

The new state of affairs need not be a real one. The state of affairs in (15-96) is an imagined one, and it had not, in fact, taken place:

(15-96) *Nau ku manta-i-a s=o lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TR-3.OBJ IRR=2SG.NFUT go PRF
 ‘I thought you had gone/left.’

In the situation expressed in (15-97) the new state of affairs will obtain in the future:

(15-97) *Nau kwai oli naqa qana naba ten.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT return PRF GENP number ten
 ‘I will go back on the tenth.’ ‘I will have gone back on the tenth.’

The Toqabaqita perfect may function as “experiential perfect” (see, e.g., Anderson 1982). This too can be seen as signalling a new state of affairs: the relevant entity has had a certain kind of experience by the time of reference.

(15-98) *Qo lae-toqo-na qerofulae qi naqo?*
 2SG.NFUT go-TEST-3.OBJ airplane LOC earlier.time
 ‘Have you gone on an airplane before?’

The sentence in (15-99) expresses the fact that the speaker has had the experience, twice in fact, of visiting Honiara.

(15-99) *Nau ku fula naqa qi Honiara roo si*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT arrive PRF LOC Honiara two PRTT

manga boqo.

time ASRT

‘I have been to Honiara twice.’ (Lit. ‘I have arrived in Honiara two times.’)

In another function, the perfect marker is used to express not an earlier event that has led to a new state of affairs, but the new state of affairs itself. The implication is that there has been a change: the state of affairs that exists now did not exist before, in a relevant time frame.

While it gets dark every day, what is relevant in (15-100) is that late evening/night had arrived on that day:

(15-100) *Fanua e rodo naqa.*

place 3SG.NFUT be.dark PRF

‘It is dark now.’ ‘It has gotten dark.’

Similarly, the speaker of (15-101) had been a “home girl” before she took up a job in town; what is relevant here is that she is a home girl again, not having the job any more. In (15-101) and also in (15-102), Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrases have been re-ranked as verbs (section 4.7).

(15-101) *Nau ku home girl naqa.*

1SG 1SG.NFUT home girl PRF

‘I am a home girl now (again).’

And (15-102) is a question about whether the time is such and such:

(15-102) *Qe seven klok naqa?*

3SG.NFUT seven o'clock PRF

‘Is it seven o'clock now/already?’

The three examples above overtly express or inquire about only the new states of affairs, not the events that led to them. In the next two examples, the events that resulted in the new states of affairs are expressed in the clauses preceding those expressing the new, resulting states of affairs:

(15-103) *Nau ku ul-ulafu kwa feda naqa.*

1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-work.hard 1SG.SEQ be.tired PRF

‘I worked and worked hard, and now I am tired.’

In (15-104) the extended-state-of-affairs marker *laa-lae* signals that a prolonged event resulted, culminated in a new state of affairs (section 35.3.2.3): the mother's crying for a long time resulted in her body being/becoming numb:

(15-104) *Thaina-da* *qe* *angi-ngi,* *laa-lae,* *ka*
 mother-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT cry-RDP RDP-go 3SG.SEQ

tatai *naqa.*

be.numb PRF

'Their mother kept crying until her body (lit.: she) became numb.'

The perfect marker is one of the postverbal particles that can accompany verbs that modify nouns (section 6.10). In (15-105) it coocurs with the verb *baqita* 'be big'. The property of being big is a new one compared to an earlier time:

(15-105) ... *ta* *fai,* *ta* *lima* *wane* *biqu* *baqita* *bii*
 some four some five man IMM be.big COM

kamiliqa, *ta* *fai* *wane* *baqita* *naqa.*

1PL(EXCL) some four man be.big PRF

'[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big), (together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.'

The perfect may also be used when one dynamic event is followed by another dynamic event, the later event being the result of, or a development from, the first one. In the situation expressed in (15-106) the man's taking the head was a development following the earlier event of his running to where the head was. The earlier event of his running to the place was an enabling one.

(15-106) *Teqe* *wane* *ka* *fita,* *ka* *lafu-a*
 one man 3SG.SEQ run 3SG.SEQ take.away-3.OBJ

naqa *nga* *gu-qi* *doo* *baa,*

PRF IDENT head-ASSOC thing that

'One man ran and took the head (lit.: the head thing),'

In the situation expressed in the next example, the boy's not arriving leads to, results in, his parents' searching for him. There are two occurrences of the

perfect marker there, one of them in a negative clause. The function of the perfect marker in negative clauses will be discussed subsequently

(15-107) *Toqa baa ki kera lii-lio, tha wela*
 people that PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-look PERSMKR child

baa si fula naqa, keka rofe naqa.
 that 3SG.NEG arrive PRF 3PL.SEQ search PRF

‘The people [the boy’s parents] looked and looked (around), (but) the boy had not arrived, (and so) they searched (for him)/(and so) they began to search (for him).’

The fact that the core function of the perfect is to signal a new state of affairs is also evident from its use in negative clauses. There it signifies that the relevant state of affairs has not materialized by the time of reference and, importantly, that it is not expected any more to materialize in the relevant time frame. In the situation expressed in (15-107) above, the child had not arrived, and his parents ceased to expect him to arrive (by himself) and so began to search for him.

Similarly in the next example. Two possum hunters have been unsuccessful in their hunt. They have been listening for sounds of possums in the trees, but have not heard anything and so give up and decide to go back. They no longer expect to come across any possums. There are a number of instances of the perfect marker in the sentences. The one that is relevant here and the clause it occurs in are in bold.

(15-108) *Aqaa, ma kera roo-rongo-a laa*
 yes and 3PL.NFUT RDP-listen.to-3.OBJ IN

kade-qe kula qeri na kero fula
 block-ASSOC place that REL 3DU.NFUT arrive

i ei, ma nia ka eno naqa, ma
 LOC LOCPRO and 3SG 3SG.SEQ be.quiet PRF and

ka aqi kesi rongo-a naqa ta doo.
 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3DU.NEG hear-3.OBJ PRF some thing

Laa-lae ka “Qoo, ma thaqaro qe=ki qe
 RDP-go 3SG.SEQ oh and possum this=PL 3SG.NFUT

qafetaqi naqa neri. Ma koro
 be.difficult PRF NPAST.HERE and DU(INCL)

koki oli na-karoqa.
 DU(INCL).FUT return PRF-DU(INCL).PERS

‘Yes, and they kept listening in (lit.: to) that area (of the bush) that they had arrived in, but (lit.: and) it had become quiet, and they did not hear a thing. After some time (of listening), (one of them said), “Oh, these possums are difficult (to hunt). We’ll go back now.”.’

In the last sentence of (15-108) the perfect marker, in its reduced form *na-*, occurs in the presence of a future subject marker. This is discussed further below.

In (15-109) the perfect marker in the negative clause signals not that the speaker does not expect it ever to be sunny again but that it won’t be sunny in the foreseeable future:

(15-109) *Dani e qaa-qaru si thato naqa.*
 rain 3SG.NFUT RDP-fall 3SG.NEG be.sunny PRF
 ‘It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny) (And it is likely to be like that for some time yet.)

The perfect marker is ungrammatical in negative clauses when the state of affairs that has not materialized by the time of reference is still expected to (possibly) materialize. Compare the next two examples. The perfect marker in (15-110) signals that the man is no longer expected to come:

(15-110) *Wane baa qe=aqi si fula naqa.*
 man that 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive PRF
 ‘The man has not arrived.’ (And he is no longer expected to arrive.)

On the other hand, in (15-111) the anterior-continuing particle *quu* (section 5.2.3) signals that by the time of speaking the man has not yet arrived, but it is still expected, hoped that he will. There the perfect marker is ungrammatical.

(15-111) *Wane baa qe aqi si fula*
 man that 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

*quu (*naqa).*
 ANTCONT PRF
 ‘The man has not arrived yet.’

However, the anterior-continuing and the perfect markers can combine in positive clauses; see examples (15-123) – (15-125) further below.

There is one more subtype of a new state of affairs that is expressed by means of the perfect: situations that are on the verge of happening or are even beginning to happen at the time of reference. That is, *naqa* has a kind of prospective/immediate-future marking function: a new state of affairs is just about to obtain or is beginning to take place. In sentences other than commands and exhortations, the verb usually has a future-tense subject marker, but a nonfuture-tense subject marker is possible, provided the context makes it clear that the meaning is prospective.

- (15-112) *Qoo, kamiliqa miki mae naqa! Kamiliqa*
oh! 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).FUT die PRF 1PL(EXCL)

miki mae!

1PL(EXCL).FUT die

[Prisoners held in the lower deck of a ship and wanting to get out shouted.] ‘Oh! We’re dying!/We are about to die! We will die!’

- (15-113) *Fanua kai rodo naqa.*
place 3SG.FUT be.dark PRF
‘It’s getting dark.’ ‘It is going to be dark.’

- (15-114) *Nau kwai lae naqa.*
1SG 1SG.FUT go PRF
‘I’ll be going now.’ (Said by a person getting up to go.)

In (15-115) below, which can express the same kind of situation as (15-114), it is the nonfuture subject marker that is used. Clearly, the person has not gone yet.

- (15-115) *Nau ku lae naqa.*
1SG 1SG.NFUT go PRF
‘I’m going now.’

In (15-116) also the subject marker is nonfuture. There the perfect marker and the precedentive particle *si* (section 5.2.2) jointly signal that the event is just about to happen:

- (15-116) *Kamareqa mere lae si*
1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go PREC

na-mareqa.

PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS

‘We’ll be going now.’ ‘We’re going now.’ (Said by one of two people on the point of departure.)

In (15-117) there are two occurrences of the perfect marker. The first one signals an earlier event, and the second one an event about to take place:

(15-117) *Kera kwaqi-a naqa gwalu baa,*
3PL.NFUT weigh.anchor-3.OBJ PRF anchor that

kera kwai-thathai keki lae naqa.
3PL.NFUT LIP-ready 3PL.FUT go PRF

‘They have raised the anchor; they are ready to go now (lit.: they are ready they will go now).’

The perfect occurs frequently in event clauses in the construction that expresses open near future (section 15.1.2.3.2):

(15-118) *Dani karangi-a kai qaru naqa.*
rain be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT fall PRF
‘It’s about to rain.’

The perfect marker can combine with the immediate-past/immediate-future preverbal particles, but only when it is immediate future that is being expressed:

(15-119) *Nau kwai {mala/ maka / makeqe} lae naqa.*
1SG 1SG.FUT IMM / IMM / IMM go PRF
‘I am just about to go.’

The perfect is also used with the immediate-future/prospective function in imperatives to demand or to suggest that a given situation obtain immediately:

(15-120) *Sifo! Sifo naqa!*
descend descend PRF
‘Get down! Get down *now*! (Ordering a little boy to climb down from a tree.)

(15-121) *Weleqi, qoko mamalo naqa.*
man! 2SG.SEQ rest PRF
‘Man! Take a rest now.’

- (15-122) *Qoo, kulu oli na-kaluqa, ...*
 oh PL(INCL).NFUT return PRF-PL(INCL).PERS
 ‘Oh, let’s go back now,’ ‘Oh, let’s be going back now,’

The anterior-continuing particle *quu* and the perfect marker cannot be combined in negative clauses; see (15-111) further above. However, *quu* and the perfect marker can cooccur in a clause when *quu* has the anterior function; that is, when it signals that the state of affairs obtained before some other situations or before some other time that preceded the time of reference. Sometimes, this implies that the temporal distance between the time of reference and that state of affairs is relatively great. *Naqa* expresses the fact that that state of affairs still holds.

- (15-123) *Qe lae quu naqa qi baare.*
 3SG.NFUT go ANT PRF LOC earlier.today
 ‘He left some time ago today.’ ‘He left earlier today.’ (And he has not come back.)

However, the perfect marker can also combine with *quu* in its anterior-continuing function and also with the ventive particle *mai*, one of whose functions is to express the fact that a state of affairs began before the time of reference and has continued until then. In such cases, the perfect marker does not signal that a new state of affairs obtains at the time of reference. Rather, it emphasizes, in combination with the other two particles, that a given state of affairs that began and obtained at an earlier time still obtains at the time of reference.

- (15-124) *Qe raa quu na=mai.*
 3SG.NFUT work ANTCONT PRF=VENT
 ‘It is still working.’ ‘It has been working until now.’ (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

- (15-125) *Si manta-a qeri ku manta-i-a*
 PRTT think-DVN that 1SG.NFUT think-TR-3SG.OBJ

quu na=mai.
 ANTCONT PRF=VENT
 ‘This thought I have had (lit.: thought) for some time now.’

Chapter 16

The sequential subject markers

16.1. The central function

The sequential subject markers are listed in table 4.5 in section 4.8. These subject markers are used in a number of ways, but their central function is to signal a simple temporal sequence of onsets of situations: the onset of the situation of their own clause temporally follows the onset of the situation expressed in a preceding clause. This function is central in the sense that it is the most common one and also in the sense that most of the other uses of the sequential subject markers can be seen as fairly direct extensions from it. And the temporal sequence is “simple”, because it is only sequentiality that is expressed. With one type of exception, the sequential subject markers are only used in grammatically positive clauses. Their use in negation is discussed in section 16.3. It is the central function that is considered first.

In the central function of the sequential subject markers, clauses that contain them have no time reference of their own; rather, they receive their time reference from another, earlier clause. There may be a number of clauses with sequential subject markers, one after another, such that the onset of the situation of one follows the onset of the situation expressed in the previous clause. But there is always an earlier clause that grounds the time of reference. For convenience, such a clause is referred to here as the “grounding clause”, and a clause with a sequential subject marker as a “sequential clause”. The time reference of a sequential clause is the same as that of the grounding clause. The grounding clause may have a non-future or a future tense subject marker, which may have any of its temporal or aspectual values (chapter 15), with the understandable exception of cases where the event of the grounding clause is in progress at reference time.

Because of the thematic continuity characteristic of much of discourse, the subject of the grounding clause and that/those of the following sequential clause(s) are frequently identical, but there is no grammatical prohibition against switch subjects with the sequential subject markers. A sequential clause and its grounding clause are often in the same sentence, but they need not be; for the latter type of case see (16-5) further below.

Below are given a few examples of various time-reference and aspectual values of the grounding and the sequential clauses. (See also section 35.3.2,

which deals with sequential relations between states of affairs.) In (16-1) and (16-2) the grounding clauses have past time reference. In (16-1) there is identity of subjects:

(16-1) ... *keeroqa* *keko*
 3DU.NFUT arrive LOC home.place 3DU 3DU.SEQ

soqoni-a era, keko qarua fau i
 light.fire-3.OBJ fire 3DU.SEQ drop-3.OBJ stone LOC

ei, keko bii-a qa-da
 LOCPRO 3DU.SEQ cook.in.stone.oven-3.OBJ SBEN-3PL.PERS

futa keeroqa ki.
 possum 3DU PL

‘... they arrived at their home (place), lit a fire, put (lit.: dropped) stones in it, and cooked their possums (in the stone oven).’

In (16-2) there is multiple switching of subjects: third person singular in the grounding clause, then first person singular, then different third person singular, back to first person singular, and then yet another third person singular:

(16-2) *Qaaqae-ku e ubu, kwa lae qi*
 leg-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT swell 1SG.SEQ go LOC

sa-na doketa, ka fale-a meresina
 GOAL-3.PERS doctor 3SG.SEQ give-3.OBJ medicine

qi a-ku, kwa kuqu-fi-a, ka
 LOC REC-1SG.PERS 1SG.SEQ drink-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

faqa-gwari-a bo=naqa qaaqae-ku.
 CAUS-be.cool-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS leg-1SG.PERS

‘My leg was/got swollen, I went to the doctor, he gave me medicine, I drank it, (and) it relieved (the pain in) my leg.’

In (16-3) and (16-4) the grounding clauses have future-time reference, although in the latter the subject marker is nonfuture:

(16-3) *Nau kwai teo naqa, qusungadi naqa*
 1SG 1SG.FUT lie.down PRF tomorrow PRF

kwa oli.

1SG.SEQ return

‘I am going to lie down now (to sleep); (when it is) *tomorrow* I will go back.’

- (16-4) *Moro ngali-a fanga naqi ki, moka*
2DU.NFUT take-3.OBJ food this PL 2DU.SEQ

alu-a qi laa rau.

put-3SG.OBJ LOC IN leaf

‘Take the food (lit.: foods) (and) put it on (lit.: in) the leaves.’ (The food is to be served at a feast.)

In the next example, the grounding and the sequential clauses express habitual events in the past. The grounding clause has an imperfective subject marker. The second sequential clause and its grounding clause do not occur in the same sentence.

- (16-5) *Nau kwai alu-a ba-kuq=i thaqegano*
1SG 1SG.IPFV put-3SG.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS=LOC ground

kwa quna qeri, “Si doo qeri neri.”

1SG.SEQ manner this PRTT thing this NPAST.HERE

Nia naqa ka gwee-a.

3SG PRF 3SG.SEQ pick.up-3SG.OBJ

‘[In the old days, if I wanted to give an object to a woman that was the wife of another man, I would not put it in her hand.] I would just put it on the ground and say, “Here is the thing.” (And) *she* would pick it up.’

In the central function, a sequential clause is in asymmetric coordination with its grounding clause or another, preceding sequential clause that expresses an earlier situation. The coordination may be by simple juxtaposition, as in all of the examples above, or the two clauses/sentences may be conjoined with the coordinating conjunction *ma* ‘and’ (or, rarely, the conjunction *bia/bii* ‘and’), as illustrated below. More commonly, there is no conjunction, as in all of the examples thus far. However, the use of *ma* ‘and’ is by no means unusual. In (16-6) there is both asyndetic and syndetic coordination.

- (16-6) *Kero oli kau, keko raqa mai, ma*
3DU.NFUT return AND 3DU.SEQ climb VENT and

keko fula-toqo-na naqa ta thaqaro.
 3DU.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ PRF some possum
 ‘They went back, climbed (again to the top of a tree), and came
 across a possum.’

In (16-7) there is coordination of sequential clauses without ‘and’ in the first sentence, and then coordination of sentences, first without ‘and’ and then with ‘and’:

(16-7) *Toqa baa ki keka fita mai, keka fula,*
 people that PL 3PL.SEQ run VENT 3PL.SEQ arrive

keka soe-toqo-na, “Qo riki-a wane baa
 3PL.SEQ ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ man that

qe thaka mai?” Kini baa ka
 3SG.NFUT escape VENT woman that 3SG.SEQ

tofe-a, “Qe aqi kwasi riki-a.” Ma
 deny-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ and

keka sore-qe, “Qoki lole nena, nia
 3PL.SEQ say-DETR 2SG.IPFV tell.lie NPAST.THERE 3SG

e lae na=mai.”
 3SG.NFUT go PRF=VENT

‘The people came running [to a woman], they arrived (and) asked her, “Have you seen the man who escaped this way?”. The woman denied it (saying), “I haven’t seen him.”. And they said, “You are lying; he has come here.”.’

There is no correlation between the presence and absence of ‘and’ with sequential clauses and identity or non-identity of subjects.

While in their central function the sequential markers signal temporal sequencing of the onsets of situations, there is often an implication that the situation of the sequential clause is a development from, the result or consequence of, an earlier situation, expressed in the grounding clause or another, preceding sequential clause. In some cases, the two situations are in strict temporal order: the situation of the first clause takes place first, and when it is completed, the situation of the sequential clause does. For example:

- (16-8) *Nau ku kuqu kwa ooleta baqita.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT drink 1SG.SEQ burp be.big
 ‘I had a drink and gave a big burp.’
- (16-9) *Si manga na mak=keeroqa qe nofi naqa,*
 PRTT time REL father=3DU 3SG.NFUT die PRF
keko ngali-a,
 3DU.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
 ‘When/after their father died, they took him,’

However, in other cases it is only the onset of the first situation that precedes the (onset of) the following situation; the first situation still continues. In the situation expressed in (16-10) the speaker’s fishing results in his catching a fish; he had not finished fishing before catching it:

- (16-10) *Nau ku deede, kwa dee-toqo-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT fish 1SG.SEQ catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ
teqe iqa qeeqeta qana, iqa kwasi
 one fish be.strange INTS fish 1SG.NEG
rii-riki-a.
 RDP-see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had not seen (before).’

In the situation expressed in (16-11) it was not the case that the speaker’s arm had stopped itching before he scratched it:

- (16-11) *Seqe-na qaba-ku e mamale,*
 body-3SG.PERS arm-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT itch
kwa kame-a.
 1SG.SEQ scratch-3SG.OBJ
 ‘My arm itched and (so) I scratched it.’

Looking (usually) results in seeing, but it does not end before the seeing.

- (16-12) *Kamiliqa mili lio, mika*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

riki-a teqe wane.
 see-3.OBJ one man
 ‘We looked and saw a man.’

It is, then, temporal sequentiality of the onsets of situations rather than sequentiality of whole situations that the sequential subject markers signal in their central function.

Clauses with sequential subject markers normally receive their time reference from the grounding clause. However, this is not necessarily the case. In (16-13) the grounding clause expresses an event that preceded the time of speaking, while the sequential clauses expresses a state of affairs that obtains at the time of speaking. The latter state of affairs is the result of the earlier event.

(16-13) *Araqi qeri bana n=e oli mai*
 mature.man that LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT return VENT

qana wane kiloko. Qi manga qeri
 GENP one o'clock LOC time this

meka qono neri.
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ sit NPAST.HERE

‘It was only the old man who came back at one o’clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.’

In extended discourse, such as a narrative, relatively long strings of clauses with sequential subject markers are not uncommon. Such sequential clauses are characteristic of the foreground portion of discourse, where sequences of events are recounted, but they can occur in background portions of discourse as well (see further below). In (16-14) the first clause, with a nonfuture subject marker, establishes the temporal setting and is then followed by a string of sequential clauses. In the first clause of (16-14), *thaina-na* ‘his mother’ is a topic, not the subject.

(16-14) *Thaina-na, qe fula qa=fa thato*
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT arrive LOC=CLF day

baa, ka naqare-a alo baa ki, naqare-a,
 that 3SG.SEQ roast-3.OBJ taro that PL roast-3SG.OBJ

ka bee-beta-a seqe-na ka
 3SG.SEQ RDP-handle.with.care-3.OBJ body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

sui, ka kesi-a seqe-na ka
 be.finished 3SG.SEQ scrape-3.OBJ body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

faalu teqefau, sui, nia ka ngali-a
 be.clean every.one be.finished 3SG 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ

ka alu-a laa teqe kaufa, ka
 3SG.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ IN one mat 3SG.SEQ

kosu-a, ka fale-a qana kaluwani
 fold-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ GENP son

nia, ka ngali-a.
 3SG 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ

‘His mother, when the day arrived (lit.: it arrived at that day), roasted the taros, roasted them, handled them (lit. their bodies) carefully until they were done, scraped them until they were all clean, (then) she took them and put them in a mat, folded it and gave it to her son, (and) he took it.’

Clauses that encode situations that are not part of the foreground sequence of events often, but not necessarily, have subject markers other than sequential. Out-of-sequence earlier situations do not receive sequential marking. In (16-15) the last clause encodes an out-of-sequence situation and has a nonfuture subject marker.

(16-15) *Kera lio, keka riki-a qaburu fuu*
 3PL.NFUT look 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ ogre that

qe mae naqa.
 3SG.NFUT die PRF

‘They looked and saw that the ogre had died.’

In (16-16) the clause embedded under the verb *thatham* ‘want’ is not part of the foreground, and it contains a future subject marker (see section 29.4.4 for complementation with the verb ‘want’).

(16-16) *Nia ka riki-a ma ka thatham-a*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ

kai lae bii keeroqa.

3SG.FUT go COM 3DU

‘He saw it [that his parents were about to go away] and wanted to go with them.’

The material inside relative clauses too is not part of the foreground. In (16-17) the relative clause contains a nonfuture subject marker. The clause after the relative one is part of the foreground again, and it has a sequential subject marker.

(16-17) *Kini qeri ka lae mai, ka takwe i*
 woman that 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ stand LOC

fafo-na kafo qeri na tale-qe baru baa
 top-3.PERS river that REL set-ASSOC canoe that

qe तथा sulī-a, nia ka qai, “....”
 3SG.NFUT pass.by PROL-3SG.OBJ 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout

‘The woman came and stood on the bank of the river where the fleet of canoes was passing by, and shouted, “....”.’

However, there may be sequentiality in the background portion of a discourse, in which case sequential markers are used there. In (16-18) there are two relative clauses modifying the same head noun. The first one has a nonfuture subject marker. The second one encodes a state of affairs that followed from the event of the first relative clause, and that clause has a sequential subject marker. The first relative clause serves as the grounding clause for the second relative clause.

(16-18) *Ma ka तथा kau, ka riki-a teqe*
 and 3SG.SEQ walk AND 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ one

ngali na wane qeri qe
 canarium.nut REL man that 3SG.NFUT

uru qi maatonga-na
 place.sole.of.foot LOC mid.of.vertical.object-3SG.PERS

ma ka kefu.

and 3SG.SEQ fall.over

‘And he walked on and saw a canarium-nut (tree), the (mid part of the) trunk of which that man had pushed with the sole of his foot and that had fallen over (as a result).’

The sequential subject markers are used, optionally or obligatorily, in a number of constructions that express relations between situations that are closely related to the central function. Such constructions also express situations where the onset of a situation temporally follows the onset of another situation, but in those cases there is more to the relations between the situations than just temporal sequentiality of their onsets. They are used in the apodoses of conditional sentences (although future subject markers can be used there instead), in purpose clauses (also in free variation with the future markers), and in the periphrastic causative construction in the clause encoding the caused situation. They can also be used in the protases of conditional sentences if the situation expressed in the protasis follows the onset of another situation, expressed or implied. These constructions are discussed in the relevant sections. The third person singular subject marker is used with the verbs *too* ‘stay’ and *lado* ‘be joined end to end’ to express the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4).

There are other uses of the sequential subject markers that represent greater departures from the central function. These are discussed in the next section.

16.2. Other uses of the sequential markers in positive clauses

In their central function the sequential subject markers signal that the onset of the situation of their clause follows the onset of the situation expressed in a preceding clause. This also appears to be the case in the next example, although most likely it is not. There the speaker recounts his visit to a zoo and uses a number of sequential clauses. The visit had taken place a number of years previously, and it is highly unlikely that the order of the clauses corresponds exactly to the order in which he had seen the animals. Rather, the order of the clauses reflects the order in which the speaker’s recollection unfolds.

(16-19) *Nau ku riki-a qanamola qoro*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ animal be.many

qeeqeta ki qana n=e ni=i
 be.exceptional PL INTS REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

laa suu na=i Niu Silan. Kwa
 IN zoo REL=LOC New Zealand 1SG.SEQ

riki-a kamel, kwa riki-a layon, kwa
 see-3.OBJ camel 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ lion 1SG.SEQ

riki-a nga [pause] gorila, kwa riki-a
 see-3.OBJ IDENT gorilla 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

magi, kwa riki-a biikok, kwa riki-a
 monkey 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ peacock 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

qeiefen;

elephant

'I saw lots and lots of (different) animals (lit.: exceptionally many animals) in the zoo in New Zealand. I saw camels, I saw lions, I saw, um, gorillas, I saw monkeys, I saw peacocks, I saw elephants;'

The speaker did see the various animals in sequence as he was walking through the zoo, although the sequence of the clauses is unlikely to mirror the sequence of the events.

Evidence that sometimes the use of the sequential subject markers mirrors the order in which the speaker thinks of the situations also comes from cases where there is no sequentiality or no necessary sequentiality at all. For example, by saying (16-20) the speaker assigns different places to the women and to the men. There is no indication that he wants first the women to stand in one place and then the men in another place.

(16-20) *Kini ki kera takwe ofu i*
 woman PL 3PL.NFUT stand be.together LOC

ku=naqi, wane ki keka takwe ofu i
 place=this man PL 3PL.SEQ stand be.together LOC

kula loo.

place upward

'The women (to) stand together here, (and) the men (to) stand together up there.'

In (16-21) also the speaker uses the sequential markers, even though there is no reason to assume that he began to recognize his father before he began to recognize his mother. Rather, both began to be the case when he, as a baby, had

grown older. In this sentence the two “sequential” clauses are joined by the conjunction *bii*, which only rarely conjoins clauses (section 28.2.3).

- (16-21) *Laalae ku baqita naqa, kwa riki*
 when 1SG.NFUT be.big PRF 1SG.SEQ see
- thaitoqoma-na maka nau, bii kwa riki*
 know-3.OBJ father 1SG and 1SG.SEQ see
- thaitoqoma-na thaina-ku.*
 know-3.OBJ mother-1SG.PERS
 ‘When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.’

And there is clearly no sequentiality in the situation expressed in (16-22): the speaker was hungry as well as thirsty at the time of speaking.

- (16-22) *Nau ku thaofa, kwa mae-li kuqu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ die-TR drink
- laqu boqo.*
 ADD ASRT
 ‘I’m hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.’

The sequential subject markers are also used when a preceding clause expresses a potential, contemplated, expected, or attempted situation that did not, in fact, materialize. There is no sequentiality because the first situation did not obtain; nevertheless, the second clause contains a sequential subject marker. The second clause usually provides a comment concerning some relevant circumstances having to do with the non-occurrence of the potential/contemplated/expected/attempted situation. Even though the relevant situation did not materialize, the clause that expresses it is grammatically positive. The situation’s non-occurrence is signalled by the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3).

- (16-23) *Kera ade uri-a sa keki raku-a,*
 3PL.NFUT do PURP-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT catch-3SG.OBJ
- ma ka qafetaqi.*
 and 3SG.SEQ be.difficult
 ‘They attempted to catch it [a bird] (lit.: they did in order to catch it), but (lit.: and) it was (too) difficult [they did not succeed].’

As discussed in section 16.3, one of the sequential subject markers is used in clauses that are grammatically negative or that contain the verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’, where the “sequential” clause makes it explicit that a potential state of affairs did not, in fact, materialize.

Different kinds of departure from the central function of the sequential subject markers are found in constructions where there is no grounding clause. That is, such constructions can be used without any prior relevant discourse. The sequential subject markers are obligatory in the expression of the timitive mood (section 18.6):

- (16-24) *Ada qoko mataqi.*
 TIM 2SG.SEQ be.sick
 ‘You might be sick.’

Historically the timitive construction was biclausal, the present-day timitive marker being originally a verb with the meanings ‘see’, ‘look out, watch out’ (Lichtenberk 1995).

The sequential subject markers may be used in imperatives to soften their force (section 20.2.3):

- (16-25) *Qoko fanga faqekwa.*
 2SG.SEQ eat be.small
 ‘Eat slowly/in small pieces.’ ‘You should eat slowly/in small pieces.’

And the sequential subject markers are also used in one type of negative construction, where they occur together with the irrealis marker *sa*. The clause is grammatically positive, and it comes before the clause that expresses the negation. This construction signals that a potential situation will or should not obtain because of some disabling conditions (section 17.6):

- (16-26) *Kini ki sa keka raa qana oqola baa qi*
 woman PL IRR 3PL.SEQ work GENP garden that LOC

qusungadi qe=aqi.
 tomorrow 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
 ‘The women will not (be able to) work in the garden tomorrow.’

16.3. Sequential clauses of negation

The use of the sequential subject markers in clauses of negation represents yet another kind of departure from the central function. “Clauses of negation” is a cover term for clauses that are grammatically negative and for clauses that contain the semantically negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’. (*Aqi* also functions as part of a negative construction. For more detail on negation see chapter 17.) And a “sequential clause of negation” is a clause of negation that contain a sequential subject marker. The subject marker in a sequential clause of negation must be the third person singular marker *ka*. Here the sequential subject marker does not signal sequentiality of the onsets of situations. Rather, sequential clauses of negation express unfulfilled expectation: an expected, projected, attempted, desired situation did not materialize. The situation that was expected, projected, attempted, or desired is expressed or implied in preceding discourse. Obviously, this is not sequentiality of the onsets of situations in a strict sense, because the relevant situation did not obtain, although one might argue that there is sequentiality in the sense that the expectation, etc. of a situation was followed by the situation’s non-occurrence.

Usually, a sequential clause of negation is joined to the preceding clause by the conjunction *ma* ‘and’, although this is not required. For an example without the conjunction see (16-31) further below. Sometimes, a clause that precedes a sequential clause of negation does explicitly express the expected, projected, attempted, or desired situation. In such cases the clause of negation may, but need not, be in construction with a subsequent clause that expresses the non-occurring situation. The latter is, in fact, more common; see (16-27), and (16-28) and (16-29), respectively.

- (16-27) ... *qe* *thathami-a sa* *kwai* *kwala,* *ma*
 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT swear and
- ka* *aqi* *kwasi* *kwala.*
 3SG.SEQ NEGV 1SG.NEG swear
 ‘... he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.’

More commonly, the situation is not encoded in a sequential clause of negation. In such cases, *aqi* functions as a fully-fledged verb ‘not be so, not be the case’:

- (16-28) *Dani sa* *kai* *qaru, ma* *ka* *aqi.*
 rain IRR 3SG.FUT fall and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 ‘It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn’t.’

- (16-29) *Kera ili-toqo-na sa keki qono, ma*
 3PL.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT sit and
ka aqi
 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 'They tried to sit, but no (they couldn't),'

Commonly, it is only a sequential clause of negation that explicitly expresses the expected/projected/attempted/desired situation that did not obtain, that situation being only implied in preceding discourse.

- (16-30) *Nau ku fasi-toqo-na, ma*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT plant-TEST-3SG.OBJ and
ka aqi si taqe.
 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG grow
 'I tried planting it (thinking/hoping it would grow), but it did not grow.'

- (16-31) *Kere ngata qani nia, ka aqi*
 3PL.NFUT speak GENP 3SG 3SG.SEQ NEGV
si ruqu.
 3SG.NEG obey
 'They spoke to him [telling him not to do such and such and expecting him to obey], but he did not obey.'

Sometimes, the non-occurrence of the relevant situation does temporally follow the situations expressed in the preceding clauses; for example, wanting a person to swear but that person not swearing ([16-27] further above), planting something but it not growing ([16-30] above). But it is also possible for the situation expressed in a sequential clause of negation not to have been realized at, or by, the time of the situation(s) expressed in the preceding clause(s). Nevertheless, there is still an unfulfilled prior expectation. In (16-32) the hoped-for situation had not materialized by the time of the situation expressed in the preceding clause. The perfect marker in the sequential clause signals that that event was no longer expected to take place (section 15.3).

- (16-32) *Si manga na wela baa ki kere lio ma*
 PRTT time REL child that PL 3PL.NFUT look and

tha *Bariqi* *ka* *aqi* *si* *fula*
 PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

naqa, keka *thaitoqoma-na* *na* *tha*
 PRF 3PL.SEQ know-3.OBJ COMP PERSMKR

Bariqi *qe* *thaka.*
 Bariqi 3SG.NFUT escape

‘When the children looked and Bariqi had not arrived, they knew/realized Bariqi had escaped.’

And in the situation expressed in (16-33) the pre-existing general expectation that if a person wants to buy something they will have money is not fulfilled.

(16-33) *Wane* *e* *thathami-a* *kai* *ngali-a*
 man 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT take-3.OBJ

karasina, *ma* *ka* *aqi* *si* *alu-a*
 kerosene and 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG have-3.OBJ

ta *seleni.*
 some money

‘The man wanted to get (lit.: take) kerosene, but (lit.: and) he did not have any money.’

Chapter 17

Negation

17.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has only a small number of types of elements used to express negation. In the present-day language there are only two types commonly used: negative subject markers and a negative verb. There is also a set of archaic dehortative markers (section 20.3.2). Negation concerning (types of) participants is also achieved by means of negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2). In spite of the relative paucity of the types of negative elements (or perhaps because of it), the area of negation is rather complex.

With one exception (see [17-4] further below), negation in Toqabaqita can be characterized as predicate negation, for the following reasons. First, the negative subject markers occur inside the verb phrase. And second, the negative verb heads a predicate, even though clauses that contain the negative verb are not always fully-fledged clauses.

There are three basic negative strategies in Toqabaqita: (i) a simple negative construction, where negation is expressed by means of the negative subject markers alone; (ii) a lexical negative verb ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’; and (iii) a double negative construction, which consists of a negative event clause preceded by a “mini-clause” that contains the negative verb. These strategies are exemplified in (17-1), (17-2), and (17-3), respectively:

(17-1) *Keeroqa kesi fula.*
 3DU 3DU.NEG arrive
 ‘The two of them did not arrive.’

(17-2) A: *Qo riki-a naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ PRF

B: *Qe=aqi.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

A: ‘Have you seen it?’

B: ‘No.’

- (17-3) *Nau qe aqi kwasi rongo qoe.*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG hear 2SG
 ‘I didn’t hear you.’

There is one construction where the negation is not of the predicate type: when a verb with the third-person singular negative subject marker serves as a noun modifier (section 6.10):

- (17-4) *Wane baa wane si maqu.*
 man that man NEG be.afraid
 ‘That man (is) a man (who is) not afraid.’ ‘That man is a man without fear.’

17.2. The simple negative construction

In the simple negative construction, negation is achieved solely by means of the negative subject markers. These are listed in table 4.5 in section 4.8. The negative subject markers both express negation and index the subject. With one exception they are bimorphemic: the first element encodes the subject, and the second element the negation.

- (17-5) *Kamiliqa mi-si ngata uri keeroqa.*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL)-NEG speak ALL 3DU
 ‘We did not speak to the two of them.’

The third-person singular negative subject marker consists only of the negative element *si*:

- (17-6) ... *tha wela baa si fula naqa, ...*
 PERSMKR child that 3SG.NEG arrive PRF
 ‘[The people looked and looked (around),] (but) the boy had not arrived, ...’

The negative marker *si* is glossed 3SG.NEG when it occurs in predicate negation, when the subject is third person (singular). And even though all of the other negative subject markers are decomposable into two elements, for the sake of simplicity they are treated as unanalyzed wholes in the examples; for instance, *misi* 1PL(EXCL).NEG, rather than *mi-si* 1PL(EXCL)-NEG (see [17-5] above).

There is only one set of negative subject markers, and so the future-nonfuture tense distinction found in grammatically positive clauses (section

15.1) is neutralized in negative clauses. The next pair of examples illustrates the use of the negative subject markers in clauses with future-time reference and past-time reference, respectively.

- (17-7) *Nga wane baa ki kesi lae bo=mai i*
 IDENT man that PL 3PL.NEG go ASRT=VENT LOC

qusungadi.

tomorrow

‘The men will not come tomorrow.’

- (17-8) *Nga wane baa ki kesi fula boqo i roqo.*
 IDENT man that PL 3PL.NEG arrive ASRT LOC yesterday
 ‘The men did not arrive yesterday.’

And in negative clauses there is no explicit marking of the imperfective aspect, which in positive clauses uses the same set of subject markers that also signal future tense (although, as discussed in sections 15.1.3 and 15.2.2, the imperfective subject markers are not obligatory in expressions of the imperfective aspect).

The negative subject markers are also used in negative imperatives (section 20.3.1):

- (17-9) *Qosi waela qani nau.*
 2SG.NEG laugh GENP 1SG
 ‘Don’t laugh at me.’

While the simple negative construction is not at all uncommon, it is more common to use the double negative construction, discussed in section 17.4. The double construction is especially common when the event clause has a third person singular subject. There the simple strategy, using only the subject marker, is quite rare, with two types of exception. That is, sentences like the one in (17-10) are not particularly common.

- (17-10) *Fanga naqi si qako leqa.*
 food this 3SG.NEG be.cooked be.good
 ‘This food is not cooked well.’

See also (17-6) further above.

In one type of construction only simple negation is possible, not double negation. This is the case in non-predicate negation, where the verb complex functions as a modifier of a noun:

- (17-11) *fanua si rodo*
 place NEG be.dark
 ‘place (that is) not dark’, ‘place without darkness’ (referring to Christian heaven)

For another example see (17-4) above.

The other type of construction in which the third-person negative subject marker is normally used in the simple negative strategy expresses “negative additiveness”. In negative additiveness, one state of affairs is characterized as not being accompanied by one or more other states of affairs, usually contrary to expectation, contrary to what is normally the case. The first clause is positive, while the following clause or clauses is/are negative. The first clause expresses a situation that obtains, and the second, negated clause asserts that another situation that might or should have obtained prior to it, simultaneously with it, or instead of it, is, in fact, not taking place or did not, in fact, take place. With one type of exception (see further below), the subjects of the two clauses must be the same, but the negative clause/clauses does/do not contain a subject phrase. The clauses are normally in asyndetic coordination.

- (17-12) *Nia e lae na-na si baqe laqu.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT go PRF-3SG.PERS 3SG.NEG speak ADD
 ‘He went (away) without saying anything (lit.: he did not also speak).’

- (17-13) *Ma botho fuu qe teo qa-na,*
 and pig downward 3SG.SEQ lie SBEN-3SG.PERS

si ngora, si qisu.
 3SG.NEG grunt 3SG.NEG move
 ‘And the pig down there lay (there), without grunting, without moving.’

In (17-14) the subject is second person singular:

- (17-14) *Uri-a taa qoko atabubu qa-muqa,*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? 2SG.SEQ stare SBEN-2SG.PERS

qosi raa?
 2SG.NEG work
 ‘Why are you (just) staring, without/instead of working?’

The exception to identity of subjects concerns meteorological verbs. In (17-15) the subject of the first verb is *dani* ‘rain’, while the second verb *thato* ‘be sunny’ takes *fanua* ‘place’ as its subject elsewhere, or occurs without a subject. When expressing negative additiveness, a clause with a meteorological verb occurs without a subject even if its (notional) subject is different from the subject of the preceding clause.

- (17-15) *Dani e qaa-qaru, si thato naqa.*
 rain 3SG.NFUT RDP-fall 3SG.NEG be.sunny PRF
 ‘It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny).’

Compare (17-16), with optional *fanua* ‘place’ in the subject position in an independent clause:

- (17-16) (*Fanua*) *qe thato naqa.*
 place 3SG.NFUT be.sunny PRF
 ‘It is sunny now.’ ‘It has become sunny.’

17.3. The negative verb

Toqabaqita has a negative verb *aqi*, whose senses are ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist’, and ‘not be available’. *Aqi* is a negative verb in two senses: because of its meanings as a lexical verb, and because it also has a grammatical function in the double negative construction, discussed in detail in section 17.4. When it functions as a lexical verb, it is glossed according to its meaning: ‘not be so’, ‘not be the case’, ‘not exist’, or ‘not be available’. When it is employed in the grammatical function, it is glossed NEG_V. In this section the focus is on *aqi* as a lexical verb. *Aqi* has all the characteristics of verbs, with two exceptions: it is used only with third person singular subject markers, and, apart from negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2), it does not take subject noun phrases. A few examples of *aqi* as a lexical verb are given below.

In (17-17) it occurs with two postverbal particles:

- (17-17) A: *Qo siisiu sui naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT bathe COMPL PRF
 ‘Have you bathed?’

B: *Qe aqi quu boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so ANTCONT ASRT
 A: 'Have you bathed?'
 B: 'Not yet.'

In (17-18) *aqi* has the third person singular future subject marker *kai*. The future-tense subject marker is not grammatical when *aqi* occurs in the double negative construction. In (17-18) the speaker is commenting on the occurrence of full prayer services at the meetings of a church committee: one Sunday there will be none, next Sunday there will be one:

(17-18) ... *teqe fa Sandee kai aqi, rua-na*
 one CLF Sunday 3SG.FUT not.be.so two-3.PERS

fa Sandee ka faa-faqa-rongo-a boqo
 CLF Sunday 3SG.SEQ RDP-CAUS-hear-3.OBJ ASRT

tha Rongoomea kai ngali
 PERSMKR Rongoomea 3SG.FUT take.church.service
 '... one Sunday there will be nothing, the following (lit.: second) Sunday he will tell Rongoomea to take the service ...'

In (17-19) *aqi* functions as a negative existential verb and has a subject noun phrase (which follows the verb). Even though the subject is plural and human, the subject marker must be singular:

(17-19) *Qe aqi tai toqa qi laa*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist some.PL people LOC IN

aququa naqi.
 island this
 'There are no people (living) on (lit.: in) this island.'

Aqi is used to express non-occurrence of expected, projected, attempted, or desired situations, in which case it takes the third person singular sequential subject marker (section 16.3):

(17-20) *Dani sa kai qaru, ma ka aqi.*
 rain IRR 3SG.FUT fall and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 'It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn't.'

Aqi can be nominalized:

(17-21) A: *Kale qena, fale=qa-ku ta*
 mate that(2) give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS some

si suka.
 PRTT sugar

B: *Kale qena, si suka neqe qe faqekwa*
 mate that(2) PRTT sugar this 3SG.NFUT be.little

qasia boqo.
 INTS INTS

A: *Leqa ba-na, ma aqi-laa*
 be.good LIM-3SG.PERS and not.be.available-NMLZ

qasia naqa n=e taqaa.
 INTS INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT be.bad

A: 'Friend, give me some sugar.'

B: 'Friend, I have very little sugar.' (Lit.: 'Friend, this sugar is very little.')

A: 'That's OK. It's when there is none at all that it's (really) bad.'
 (Lit.: '(That's) fine; it's there not being any at all that is bad.')

Aqi can serve as the input into a causative derivation: *faqa-aqi* 'finish, bring to an end, put an end to', 'cancel (a planned event)':

(17-22) *Kulu faqa-aqi-a taqaa-laa naqi.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT CAUS-not.exist-3.OBJ be.bad-NMLZ this
 'Let's put an end to this unpleasantness (lit.: badness).'

And *aqi* itself can be negated. There are two occurrences of *aqi* in (17-23): one, in the final clause, as a lexical verb, and one, in the preceding clause, as a grammatical marker of negation (see section 17.4).

(17-23) *Nau kwai lae mai, kwai riki qoe laqu*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go VENT 1SG.FUT see 2SG ADD

qa=fa Sandee loo, qe=aqi
 GENP=CLF Sunday upward 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

si *aqi*.
 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case
 ‘I’ll come and see you again next Sunday, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).’

The lexical verb *aqi* is used in a bi-clausal construction to signal that a potential situation will/should not obtain because of some disabling conditions (section 17.6). It is also used in negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences, and to negate fragments of clauses from which the verb complex has been omitted; see section 27.2.5.

Occasionally, although only relatively rarely, the final vowel of *aqi* is realized as [ɛ]. This may happen when the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe* and *aqi* fuse together as one phonological word, in particular as a negative answer to a question: [ʔéaʔɛ] ‘No’. (For fusion of *qe* and *aqi* see further below in the next section.)

17.4. The double negative construction

A clause may be negated grammatically solely by means of a negative subject marker. There is, however, also a complex, double negative construction that consists of an event clause negated by means of a negative subject marker preceded by a “mini-clause” that consists of the negative verb *aqi* and a third person singular subject marker. Furthermore, the *aqi* mini-clause may be preceded by a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause. The event clause cannot contain a subject phrase. Two subtypes of the double negative construction need to be distinguished, depending on the subject marker in the *aqi* mini-clause. In one, the subject marker is the third person singular nonfuture form *qe*. For convenience, this construction will be referred to as the “general” double negative construction. Its structure is shown schematically in (17-24):

(17-24) (NP) [*qe aqi*] [negative.event.clause]

For example:

(17-25) [*Qe* *aqi*] [*kwasi riki-a*].
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG see-SG.OBJ
 ‘I haven’t seen him.’

(17-26) ... *nau* [*e=aqi*] [*kwasi thamo i*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG touch LOC

qaba-na].

hand-3SG.PERS

‘[In the old days, when a woman who was the wife of another man asked me to give her something,] I would not hand it to her directly (lit.: I would not touch her hand[s]).’ (I would put it on the ground and she would pick it up.)

In the other subtype, the subject marker in the *aqi* mini-clause is the third person singular sequential form *ka*. This type of negative construction is joined to a preceding clause or sentence, with or without the coordinating construction *ma* ‘and’. This construction is used to express unfulfilled expectation: a situation expressed or implied in preceding discourse did/does not obtain. For convenience, this kind of construction will be referred to as the “sequential” double negative construction. Its structure is shown schematically in (17-27):

(17-27) ... (*ma*) (NP) [*ka aqi*] ([negative.event.clause])

For example:

(17-28) *Kamiliqa mili lio, ka aqi*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT look 3SG.SEQ NEG V

missi riki-a ta wane.
 1PL(EXCL).NEG see-3.OBJ some person
 ‘We looked (but) did not see anybody.’

(17-29) *Nau ku soe-toqo-na boqo, ma*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ ASRT and

ka aqi si oli-si nau.
 3SG.SEQ NEG V 3SG.NEG return-TR 1SG
 ‘I did ask him, but (lit.: and) he did not answer me.’

The sequential negative construction is discussed in section 16.3, where more examples can be found. As also shown there, in clauses expressing unfulfilled expectations *aqi* also functions as a lexical verb when there is no negative event clause:

(17-30) *Sa keki lae mai, ma ka aqi.*
 IRR 3PL.FUT go VENT and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

‘They should have come but did not.’ ‘They were expected to come but did not.’

In general, negation expresses denial of a presupposition or contradiction (Givón 1984), which in itself does not distinguish between the general negative construction and the sequential one. However, there are several types of difference between the two. First, the two constructions use different third person singular subject markers in the *aqi* mini-clause: nonfuture and sequential, respectively. Second, the sequential construction is usually structurally closely integrated with the preceding discourse. More often than not, it and the preceding clause(s) are part of the same sentence. On the other hand, there is often no such integration in the case of the general negative construction. Sentences with the general construction may be used without any prior relevant discourse:

- (17-31) *Qe aqi qosi thaofa?*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG be.hungry
 ‘Aren’t you hungry?’

(For the use of negative polar interrogatives see section 19.2.1.)

Third, in the case of the sequential negative construction, the expected situation is either explicitly expressed or strongly implied in a preceding clause, while the presupposition denied or contradicted by the general construction need not be. For one thing, there need not be any directly relevant preceding discourse. Fourth, the general double negative construction has a simple counterpart, where negation is achieved by the negative subject markers alone. The sequential negative construction has no such counterpart. And finally, there are also prosodic differences between the two constructions. These are discussed further below.

With the exception of non-predicate negation, where the verb complex functions as a noun modifier, the general double negative strategy is available wherever the simple strategy is. The double negative construction is strongly preferred over the simple one if the subject of the negative event clause is third-person singular. In (17-32) the double construction is used in the first part of the sentence, where the event clause has a third-person singular subject, and the simple construction is used in the final clause, which has a first-person singular subject:

- (17-32) *Nia e=aqi si naqo-fi nau, nau*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG face-TR 1SG 1SG
kwasi naqo-fi-a.
 1SG.NEG front-TR-3.OBJ

‘She would not face me, (and) I would not face her.’ (In earlier times, this was the proper way for a man and a woman who were not husband and wife to be positioned when speaking to each other.)

The double construction may be used when the negation is to be made somewhat emphatic. For example, a person is more likely to use (17-33a) rather than (17-33b) if he or she wants to emphasize that they are not hungry:

- (17-33) a. *Nau qe=aqi kwasi thaofa.*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 'I am not hungry.'
- b. *Nau kwasi thaofa.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 'I am not hungry.'

However, the double construction is also commonly used in non-emphatic negation.

There is one grammatical difference between the simple and the general double negative constructions that concerns the expression of the subject. In the simple construction, the event clause may have a subject noun phrase, lexical or pronominal, in addition to the negative subject marker:

- (17-34) *Toqa baa kesi fula.*
 people that 3PL.NEG arrive
 'The people did not arrive.'

- (17-35) *Nau kwasi thaofa.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 'I am not hungry.'

On the other hand, in the double construction, no subject noun phrase is possible in the event clause. The only way the relevant participant may be encoded by a noun phrase is as a topic preceding the mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi*:

- (17-36)
 NP(TOPIC)_i [subject.marker *aqi*] [negative.subject.marker_i verb ...]

This is illustrated by the grammaticality of (17-37a) and the ungrammaticality of (17-37b):

- (17-37) a. *Nau qe=aqi kwasi thaofa.*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 'I am not hungry.'

- b. **Qe=aqi nau kwasi thaofa.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 ('I am not hungry.')

Compare the ungrammatical (17-37b), with the subject pronoun in the event clause, and the grammatical (17-35), with the subject in the simple negative construction.

Topic noun phrases are not obligatory with the double negative construction, as illustrated in (17-38), which is synonymous with (17-37a) (and with [17-35]):

- (17-38) *Qe=aqi kwasi thaofa.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 'I am not hungry.'

The noun phrase that precedes the *aqi* mini-clause is not its subject; it is a topic phrase. The subject marker of *aqi* can only be third-person singular, regardless of the grammatical person and number of the preceding noun phrase. In (17-37a) further above, that noun phrase is first person singular, and in (17-39) below it is first person plural exclusive.

- (17-39) *Kamiliqa qe aqi misi riki-a*
 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG see-3.OBJ

wela qeri.
 child that
 'We did not see the child.'

In the sequential double negative construction too there is a prohibition against a subject phrase in the event clause. The relevant participant can only be expressed in the topic position. This is the case in (17-40). There the topic pronominal noun phrase is third person plural, but the sequential subject marker in the *aqi* clause can only be third person singular.

- (17-40) *Gavman ka kwaqe-da, ka kwaqe-da*
 government 3SG.SEQ punish-3PL.OBJ 3SG.SEQ punish-3PL.OBJ

qasia naqa, kera ka aqi kesi maqu
 INTS INTS 3PL 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3PL.NEG be.afraid

boqo; ...

ASRT

‘The Government punished them, punished them hard, (but) they were not afraid; ...’

Although the double negative constructions are composed of an event clause and a mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi*, and although the noun phrase (if there is one) coreferential with the subject marker of the event clause is a topic, not a subject, the facts of the matter are not quite straightforward. First, the subject marker of *aqi* can only be third-person singular and it does not have a referent. And second, there is prosodic evidence that argues against full clausal status of the *aqi* “clause”. Some of the evidence concerns both the general and the sequential constructions, while other evidence concerns only the former. The prosodic evidence is as follows.

First, in the general double negative construction the nonfuture subject marker *qe* and the negative verb *aqi* typically fuse phonologically into one word, and, as is the case with words, stress falls on the first syllable: [ʔéəʔɪ]. Such fusion and stress shift also sometimes take place when *aqi* functions as a lexical verb, in particular in simple negative responses to questions, where *qe aqi* alone (or possibly with a postverbal particle) constitutes the response: ‘No’; see (17-2) in section 17.1 for an example. On the other hand, although the sequential subject marker *ka* may cliticize onto the verb *aqi* in the sequential negative construction, the stress is retained on the first syllable of the verb: [kaéʔɪ]. The fusion of *qe* and *aqi* as [ʔéəʔɪ] is indicated in the examples. This is the only type of fusion that does not involve shortening of one or both of the elements that is indicated, because it may be indicative of a major change in progress (see further below).

Second, neither in the general nor in the sequential negative construction does the *aqi* mini-clause have its own intonation contour, while this is often the case with the first of two conjoined clauses elsewhere (section 28.1). Rather, the mini-clause and the event clause fall intonationally together under one contour.

Third, neither in the general nor in the sequential constructions, if there is a topic noun phrase preceding the *aqi* clause, does the topic normally receive its own intonation contour nor is it normally separated from the *aqi* mini-clause by a pause, while both are often the case with topics elsewhere (section 38.2).

And fourth, the tight structural link between an *aqi* mini-clause and the following event clause is evidenced by the fact that in relativization on a constituent of the event clause the *aqi* mini-clause is included in the relative construction together with the event clause. In (17-41) in relativization on the direct object of the event clause, the relative clause marker *na* (realized as *n=* because of fusion) comes before the *aqi* mini-clause:

- (17-41) *Tha wela qeri mena ka tataqe*
 PERSMKR guy that FADD 3SG.SEQ come.up.with.idea
- mai faafi-a teqe si manta-a*
 VENT CONF-3.OBJ one PRTT think-DVN
- n=e=aqi mesi*
 REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1DU(EXCL).NEG
- thaitoqoma-na leqa ba-mareqa.*
 understand-3SG.OBJ be.good LIM-1DU(EXCL).PERS
 ‘That guy had come up with an idea that we just did not understand well.’

The prosodic evidence and the evidence from relativization show that in the double negative construction the *aqi* mini-clause is not a fully-fledged clause. And the prosodic evidence and the restriction on the subject markers (only the nonfuture and the sequential subject markers are possible) jointly show that *aqi* is not a fully-fledged verb there. It is conceivable that what we see here is a stage in Jespersen’s cycle (Jespersen 1917), whereby the simple negative construction, which uses only the negative subject markers, was at some point in history “strengthened” by the addition of a negative, *aqi* mini-clause, whose clausal status is now being eroded. The fact that the double negative construction serves to express somewhat more emphatic negation but is not necessarily emphatic is consistent with this scenario. And the less-than-full status of the “topic” phrase before the *aqi* clause may be evidence of that position becoming a subject position, as the originally bi-clausal structure is turning into a mono-clausal one. And if indeed this kind of development is taking place, it has progressed further in the general negative construction than in the sequential one: *qe=aqi* is further on its way to becoming reanalyzed as a unitary negation marker than *ka aqi* is.

17.5. Emphatic negation

In Toqabaqita, predicate negation can be made stronger, more emphatic in one of several ways. The double negative construction can, but need not, carry relatively light emphatic force; see (17-33a) and (17-33b) in the preceding section. Commonly, negation is (further) strengthened by means of the postverbal assertive/intensifying particle *boqo* (section 5.2.8). In (17-42) *boqo* is used in a simple negative construction, in (17-43) in a double negative construction, and in (17-44) with *aqi*, which functions as a lexical verb there:

(17-42) *Kwasi riki-a. Kwasi riki-a boqo.*
 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ ASRT
 ‘I don’t see it. I *do not* see it.’ (Unsuccessfully looking for soap.)

(17-43) *Nau qe aqi kwasi kuqu meresina boqo,*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 1SG.NEG drink medicine ASRT

ku tala qakwaa ba-kuqa.
 1SG.NFUT SELFC be.cured LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I didn’t drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.’

(17-44) A: *Taa n=o thathami-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ

B: *Qe aqi boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist ASRT

A: ‘What do you want?’

B: ‘Nothing (at all).’ (‘There is nothing [that I want].’)

(For negative answers to open questions see section 19.4.3.)

Negation using the verb *aqi* as a lexical verb ‘not be so, not be the case’, ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’ can be made more emphatic by means of the perfect marker/intensifier *naqa* (sections 5.2.12 and 15.3). This strategy is not available to the simple or the double negative constructions. Sometimes, *naqa* does mark the perfect with *aqi*:

(17-45) *Maala b=e tharu-fi nau*
 sore that=3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR 1SG

qe=aqi naqa! Maala baa e
 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF sore that 3SG.NFUT

mafo naqa!
 (sore)heal PRF

‘The sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me) is no more! The sore has healed!’

However, frequently some degree of emphasis is present in addition to the perfect:

(17-46) *Nau wane ku rii-riki-qi doo, manga*
 1SG man 1SG.NFUT RDP-see-DETR thing time

qeri qe aqi naqa.
 this 3SG.NFUT not.be.so PRF/INTS
 ‘I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no more/not at all.’ ‘I used to be a man who was rich; this time no more/not at all.’

But it is possible for *naqa* to express strong negation, without any sense of the perfect. The three expressions in (17-47) can all function as answers to polar interrogatives. The one in (a) is neutral, the one in (b) relatively emphatic, and the one in (c) highly emphatic:

- (17-47) a. *Qe aqi.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘No.’
- b. *Qe aqi boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so ASRT
 ‘No.’
- c. *Qe aqi naqa.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so INTS
 ‘Not at all.’ ‘No way.’

The situational demonstrative adverbs *neri* and *vena*, which are historically fusions of the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa* and the demonstratives *qeri* and *qena*, respectively, can also be used to make negation more emphatic (section 13.7)

- (17-48) *Qe aqi vena!*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so NPAST.THERE
 ‘Not there!’ (Don’t look there.)

Negation by means of *aqi* as a lexical verb and by means of the double negative construction can be made emphatic by means of either the Class 1 transitive verb *dolo-fi* ‘smooth, make smooth’ or the related intransitive proprietive verb *doodolo-qa* ‘be smooth’. The first two examples show the two verbs in their basic meanings:

- (17-49) *Nau kwai dolo-fi-a fasi qaaqae-na matau*
 1SG 1SG.FUT smooth-TR-3.OBJ PREC handle-3.PERS axe

nau.

1SG

'I am going to smooth the handle of my axe now.'

- (17-50) *Tala qe doodolo-qa.*
 path 3SG.NFUT be.smooth-PROP
 'The path is smooth, level (without bumps).'

Both *dolo-fi* and *doodolo-qa* can be used in [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5) with *aqi* as a lexical verb. *Aqi* comes first. The negation is strongly emphatic.

- (17-51) A: *Qo alu-a ta fa qota?*
 2SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ some CLF areca.nut

B: *Qe=aqi dolo-fi-a.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so smooth-TR-3SG.OBJ

A: 'Do you have any areca nuts?'

B: 'None whatsoever.'

And using *doodolo-qa*:

- (17-52) *Qe=aqi doodolo-qa.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so be.smooth-PROP
 'Not at all.' 'None/nothing whatsoever.'

In fact, both *dolo-fi* and *doodolo-qa* can form negative answers by themselves, without *aqi*, in which case they normally occur without a subject marker:

- (17-53) A: *Qo thaofa?*
 2SG.NFUT be.hungry
- B: { *Dolo-fi-a.* / *Doodolo-qa.* }
 smooth-TR-3SG.OBJ / be.smooth-PROP
- A: 'Are you hungry?'
- B: 'Not at all.'

The verb *doodolo-qa* can occur in a bi-clausal structure. Here too it forms a compound with *aqi*, and that clause is followed by an event clause whose proposition is negated by the clause with *aqi doodolo-qa*. Unlike in the double

negative construction, here the event clause is grammatically positive and must have the third person singular sequential subject marker.

(17-54) *Wane naqi, ngata-la-na qe quri-a*
 man this talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ

wane qe thaitoqome-qe doo, sui taa
 man 3SG.NFUT know-DETR thing but but

qe=aqi doodolo-qa ka
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so be.smooth-PROP 3SG.SEQ

thaitoqoma-na ta si doo.
 know-3.OBJ some PRTT thing

‘This man talks like someone who knows a lot, but he doesn’t know a thing.’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, but he does not know anything at all.’)

On the whole, emphatic negation by means of *dolo-fi* or *doodolo-qa* is not common.

17.6. Negation and disabling conditions

Negation by means of the subject markers, whether in the simple or in the double negative construction, neutralizes the future-nonfuture tense distinction. There is, however, another type of negative construction that asserts that a potential, contemplated, expected situation will not obtain, or should not obtain, because of some disabling conditions. A state of affairs would obtain were it not for some disabling conditions. The disabling conditions may but need not be expressed. This type of negative construction is bi-clausal. The first clause is the event one; it expresses the potential, contemplated, expected situation. The event clause is grammatically positive. It must contain the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.2) and the subject marker must be sequential. The second clause is a mini-clause that consists of the lexical negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’ with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*. The basic structure of this construction is shown schematically in (17-55):

(17-55) [... *sa* sequential.subject.marker verb ...] [*qe aqi*]

The disabling conditions may be physical, including environmental ones.

- (17-56) *Kulu sa kuka biinga qa=fa rodo*
 PL(INCL) IRR PL(INCL).SEQ sleep GENP=CLF night

qeri qe=aqi.

this 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘We will not be able to sleep (well) tonight.’ (There are too many mosquitoes around.) (Lit.: ‘We would sleep tonight; it is not.’)

In the situation expressed in (17-57) the speaker and the addressee won’t be able to see their mother any more because of her death:

- (17-57) *Qosi angi-ngi-si-a thaina-karoqa,*
 2SG.NEG cry-RDP-TR-3.OBJ mother-DU(INCL).PERS

e mae naqa, koro sa koka
 3SG.NFUT die PRF DU(INCL) IRR DU(INCL).SEQ

riki-a naqa qe=aqi.

see-3SG.OBJ PRF 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘Stop crying for our mother; she has died; you and I won’t (be able to) see her anymore.’

The proverb in (17-58) expresses the inability of the sun to change: the contemplated change of state will not, cannot take place because of the nature of the sun:

- (17-58) *Tarufula-a sul-i-a thato neri:*
 quote.proverb-DVN PROL-3.OBJ sun NPAST.HERE

Sa ka taatala laqu qe=aqi.

IRR 3SG.SEQ change ADD 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘The proverb about the sun (goes like this): It will never change.’ (It will always rise in the same place. That is, some things never change.)

Disabling conditions may be of a disallowing kind, such as social norms and obligations that may or should prevent a situation from coming about, although there is, of course, no guarantee that they will. For example, telling lies is contrary to social norms:

(17-59) *Kaala wela naqi ki sa keka lole*
 little.PL child this PL IRR 3PL.SEQ tell.lie.to

kulu qe aqi.
 PL(INCL) 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘The little children will/shall/must not lie to us.’

In the situation expressed in (17-60) two men are in prison expecting to be executed for a murder. However, the police captain tells them they will not die because they had voluntarily given themselves up rather than trying to escape. Their giving themselves up stops the police captain from ordering their execution.

(17-60) *Qoo, kamaroqa sa moka mae e aqi,*
 oh 2DU IRR 2DU.SEQ die 3SG.NFUT not.be.so

uri-a e=aqi mosi
 REAS-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG

faqa-ulafu-a qasia naqa soldia nau ki, ...
 CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ INTS INTS soldier 1SG PL

‘Oh, the two of you won’t die, because you did not make my policemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing you).’

The disabling conditions are not necessarily known, and some such conditions can only be assumed, as in the situation expressed in (17-61):

(17-61) *Nau ku toqomatafa-na tha weleqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ PERSMKR guy

sa ka fula qe=aqi.
 IRR 3SG.SEQ arrive 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘I have a feeling the guy won’t (be able to) come (because something will prevent/has prevented him from coming).’

Chapter 18

Mood

18.1. Introduction

By “mood” are here intended expressions of modality that are not purely lexical. That is, under mood are included constructions that use grammatical elements (various particles) or constructions that show some degree of grammaticalization. The kinds of modality included here are almost exclusively of the “propositional” kind (Palmer 2001): epistemic modality and evidential modality. One of the constructions that expresses epistemic possibility can also express obligation. Some types of modality are expressed by means of verbs that take complement clauses (chapter 29). Interrogatives are discussed in chapter 19, and imperatives in chapter 20.

18.2. Relatively high degrees of irrealis

There is a particle *sa* used in a variety of irrealis contexts. For convenience, *sa* is referred to as the irrealis marker. However, *sa* is not an across-the-board irrealis marker, because there are irrealis contexts where it is not used, such as the future tense. Rather, *sa* is used when the degree of irrealis is relatively high, compared to parallel cases with a lower degree of irrealis, where *sa* is not used.³⁹ Most commonly, *sa* functions as a verb-phrase constituent, immediately before the subject marker (see [4-1] in section 4.1), but it may occur at the beginning of a clause it has in its scope, before the subject, or it may precede a noun phrase which it has in its scope. Depending on the function of the irrealis marker or on the meaning being expressed, the subject marker may be future, nonfuture, sequential, or negative. The irrealis marker has two variants, *sa*, which is the usual form, and *so*, which is relatively rare. In the discussion that follows, the form *sa* represents the irrealis marker, but *so* does appear in a few examples. The irrealis marker may fuse with the following second person singular nonfuture subject marker *qo* and with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe* as *s=o* and *s=e*, respectively. And it may fuse with certain preceding verbs, which are reduced in their forms.

The irrealis marker is used in a variety of constructions. Some of these are discussed in other parts of the grammar and so are mentioned here only briefly.

It is used in the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1), where it cooccurs with *mada* ‘or’. Unreality conditionals are higher in irrealis than assertions/predictions about future situations: in addition to futurity (prediction), there is also less-than-full certainty that the situation will obtain. Compare (18-1), without *sa*, which is an assertion/prediction about the future, and (18-2), with *sa*, which is a conditional.

(18-1) *Kwai lae i Qaoke qi qusungadi.*
 1SG.FUT go LOC Auki LOC tomorrow
 ‘I’ll go to Auki tomorrow.’

(18-2) *Mada sa ku lae i Qaoke qi*
 or IRR 1SG.NFUT go LOC Auki LOC

qusungadi, kwai rofe aniani mai qi
 tomorrow 1SG.FUT look.for onion VENT LOC

laa uusi-a lakoo.
 IN buy-DVN that(3)
 ‘If I go to Auki tomorrow, I’ll look for onions at the market there (to bring back).’

Note that the degree of irrealis is not in direct correlation with the subject markers. In (18-1), which is a statement about a future event, it is the future subject marker that is used, while in the protasis of (18-2), which expresses a hypothesized future event and so is higher in irrealis, it is the nonfuture subject marker that is used.

The irrealis marker is also used in the protases of past counterfactual conditional sentences. Here too there is a high degree of irrealis because of counterfactuality: a hypothetical situation did not eventuate. In (18-3) the irrealis marker has the form *so*.

(18-3) *Uri-a taa na qosi lae mai i*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? FOC 2SG.NEG go VENT LOC

roqo? Mada so qo fula, koka
 yesterday or IRR 2SG.NFUT arrive DU(INCL).SEQ

lae, koka quu ngede-ngali
 go DU(INCL).SEQ shoot pluck-canarium.nut

qa-karoqa.

SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS

‘Why didn’t you come yesterday? If you had come, we would have gone pigeon-shooting.’

(*Ngede-ngali* ‘pluck’-‘canarium.nut’ is one of the names for the native pigeon, *bola*; see section 12.4.4.)

The irrealis marker is used in event clauses conjoined with a negative mini-clause to express the fact that a potential, contemplated, expected situation will not obtain, or should not obtain, because of some disabling conditions (section 17.6). Here too there is a relatively high degree of irrealis: a potential situation will not/should not eventuate.

(18-4) *Kini ki sa keka raa qana oqola baa qi*
 woman PL IRR 3PL.SEQ work GENP garden that LOC

qusungadi qe=aqi.

tomorrow 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘The women won’t (be able to) work in the garden tomorrow.’

The irrealis marker is also used in other contexts to signal counterfactuality of potential situations, and also a relatively low degree of expectation that a situation will obtain, as discussed in the sections that follow.

18.3. Low degree of expectation and counterfactuality

The irrealis marker is used in clauses embedded under certain transitive verbs and in clauses paratactically adjoined to another one. It signals that the situation expressed in the complement clause is not particularly strongly expected to eventuate or that it did not eventuate in the past, in spite of its being desired, attempted or assumed. Here too the presence of the irrealis marker expresses a relatively high degree of irrealis, compared to its absence: either the desired, attempted situation is less likely to eventuate, or it did not, in fact, eventuate.

Some of the complement-taking verbs are irrealis oriented, for example *thathami* ‘want’ and *ili-toqo* ‘try’. And there are verbs with the meaning ‘think (that)’ that may take clauses with the irrealis marker as their complements: *manata-toqo* and *sore-qe*. The verb *thathami* ‘want’ is discussed first. In non-past contexts, the irrealis marker in a clause embedded under *thathami* signals that there is no particularly strong expectation that the desired situation will/might indeed eventuate. Compare the next pair of examples. In (18-5) the clause embedded under *thathami* does not contain the irrealis marker. The

speaker has no reason to assume that the desired event will not eventuate (even though, of course, it need not eventuate).

(18-5) *Ku thathami-a wela nau kai oli*
 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ child 1SG 3SG.FUT return

na=mai fasi-a qi Honiara.
 PRF=VENT ABL-3.OBJ LOC Honiara

‘I want my child to come back from Honiara now/straightaway.’

The sentence in (18-5) could be used when the speaker expects his child to come back, for example because he has asked him to. There is an expectation that the event will take place.

On the other hand, if a person wishes that a state of affairs obtain but there is no particularly strong expectation that it will, the irrealis marker is used in the embedded clause, as in (18-6). The speaker has no high expectation that his child will come back from Honiara any time soon, perhaps because he has not communicated his wish to him/her.

(18-6) *Ku thathami-a wela nau sa kai oli*
 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ child 1SG IRR 3SG.FUT return

na=mai fasi-a qi Honiara.
 PRF=VENT ABL-3.OBJ LOC Honiara

‘I wish my child would come back from Honiara now/straightaway.’

In (18-6) there is a higher degree of irrealis compared to (18-5), because the event of the embedded clause is perceived as being less likely to come about.

In past contexts, the irrealis marker is used in clauses embedded under ‘want’ when the desired situation did not eventuate. Compare (18-7) and (18-8) below. In (18-7) the embedded clause does not contain the irrealis marker. The speaker does not see any reason why the event of the embedded clause should not happen:

(18-7) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT go PRF

‘I want to go now.’

On the other hand, in (18-8) the desired event did not take place, which is made explicit by the final clause. The embedded clause, which encodes the desired event, contains the irrealis marker:

- (18-8) *Nau ku thathami-a sa kwai lae, keka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT go 3PL.SEQ

lufi nau.

prevent 1SG

'I wanted to go, (but) they prevented me.'

As far as the verb *ili-toqo* 'try' is concerned, when there is no reason to expect that the attempt to bring a situation about will not be successful, *ili-toqo* takes a nominalization as its object that expresses the relevant situation, and the irrealis marker is not present.

- (18-9) *Koro ili-toqo-na qidu-la-na*
 DU(INCL).NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ move-NMLZ-3.PERS

fau naqi.

rock this

'Let's try to move this rock.' (Lit.: 'Let's try moving of this rock.')

On the other hand, when an attempt to bring a situation about is unsuccessful, *ili-toqo* takes a finite clause as its complement, and the clause contains the irrealis marker:

- (18-10) *Ku ili-toqo-na sa kwai lafu-a maqa*
 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT lift-3.OBJ CL

fau neqe, ma ka kuluqa qasia naqa.

stone this and 3SG.SEQ be.heavy INTS INTS

'I tried to lift the stone, but (lit.: and) it was too heavy.' (That is, the speaker was not able to lift the stone.)

Similarly, the irrealis marker is used in purpose clauses that express attempted events when the attempt is unsuccessful (see examples [33-42] and [33-43] in section 33.3.2).

Complement clauses of the verbs 'think (that such and such is/was/will be the case), assume (such and such to be/have been the case)' also can contain the irrealis marker. Here too *sa* signals a relatively low degree of certainty that the situation in question is or will be the case in non-past contexts, and counterfactuality in the past. *Sore-qe* (which also means 'say'), with the detransitivizing suffix *-qe*, is one such verb. The clause encoding a possible event is joined to the *sore-qe* clause paratactically. Not infrequently, when *sore-qe* is to be directly followed by the irrealis marker in the next clause, the two fuse together

as *so=sa* or as *so=so*. The first example expresses a low degree of certainty about a potential future event, and the second one counterfactuality in the past:

- (18-11) *Nau ku so=so kwai lae qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR 1SG.FUT go GENP
uusi-a qi qusungadi.
 buy-DVN LOC tomorrow
 ‘I think I might possibly go to the market tomorrow.’ ‘I am thinking of possibly going to the market tomorrow.’

- (18-12) *Nau ku so=so qo lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR 2SG.NFUT go PRF
 ‘I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).’

Another verb with the meaning ‘think (that), assume (that)’ is *manata-toqo* (often pronounced *mantatoqo*), a Class 2 transitive verb. The clause that encodes the potential event functions as the direct object of *manata-toqo*. In the example below, the irrealis marker signals counterfactuality in the past. The non-occurrence of the event is made explicit in the final clause.

- (18-13) *Nau ku manta-toqo-na wane baa sa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ man that IRR
kai fula, ma ka aqi si fula
 3SG.FUT arrive and 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG arrive
ba-na.
 LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I had thought the man would come, but (lit.: and) he simply did not come.’

Further examples of the use of the irrealis marker in complement clauses are given in section 29.4.

There are also two types of avertive construction, both of which employ the irrealis marker to signal counterfactuality in the past, specifically counterfactual near future in the past: a state of affairs nearly obtained but did not. In one construction the clause that expresses the counterfactual state of affairs is embedded under the transitive verb *karangi* ‘be near/close to’ (or, rarely, its phonological variant *karafi*). This construction and its open-near-future counterpart are discussed in section 15.1.2.3, and here only one example is given:

- (18-14) *Thaina-ku e kwala-fi nau,*
 mother-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT give.birth-TR 1SG

karangi-a sa kai mae.
 be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 3SG.FUT die
 '(When) my mother gave birth to me, she nearly died.'

The other averitive construction is mono-clausal. It uses the preverbal averitive particle *ota*. It is rare compared to the bi-clausal construction with *karangi-a* 'be near/close to'. Examples are given in sections 5.1.7 and 15.1.2.3.3.

18.4. Evidential hedges and related counterfactuals

18.4.1. Introduction

The irrealis marker is also used in several other constructions, with two functions. First, it signals that the speaker does not fully commit himself/herself to the truth status of what he/she is saying: the situation is possible rather than certain; there is some evidence that it might obtain or might have obtained; the circumstances are such that it might come about, but there is no guarantee that it will. And second, those same constructions are also used to express counterfactuality, typically with respect to the past: a possible, likely, contemplated or expected situation did not, in fact, occur. In these constructions too the irrealis marker is associated with relatively high degrees of irrealis.

18.4.2. The simplest construction

First the more common type of construction is considered, where the irrealis marker occurs directly before the subject marker. The formally simplest such construction has the basic structure shown in (18-15):

- (18-15) (subject) *sa* future.subject.marker verb ...

Compare the next pair of examples. The first one, without the irrealis marker, is a future-oriented assertion, an unqualified prediction:

- (18-16) *Dani kai qaru.*
 rain 3SG.FUT fall
 'It will rain.'

The second one below, with the irrealis marker, may be a hedge about a possible, likely or conceivable situation in the future (meaning a), or it may be a statement of counterfactuality about a possible, conceivable situation in the past that did not eventuate (meaning b):

- (18-17) *Dani sa kai qaru.*
 rain IRR 3SG.FUT fall
 a. 'It may/might rain.' 'It looks like it might rain.'
 b. 'It looked like it would/might rain (but it did not).'

The counterfactuality may be made explicit by means of a sequential negative clause (section 16.3):

- (18-18) *Dani sa kai qaru, ma ka aqi.*
 rain IRR 3SG.FUT fall and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 'It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn't.'

In fact, this formally simplest strategy is used primarily in encoding past counterfactual situations. To encode possible, conceivable future situations, other, more complex strategies are preferred. Below are given a few more examples of the simple strategy to encode past counterfactual situations.

In the situation expressed in (18-19) the people would have run out of their house during a cyclone, but the weather conditions prevented them:

- (18-19) *Keka fita oli-li ba-da qi laa*
 3PL.SEQ run return-RDP LIM-3PL.PERS LOC IN

luma kamiliqa, ma keka dora qana kula
 house 1PL(EXCL) and 3PL.SEQ not.know GENP place

na keki thaka qi ei, sa keki thaka
 REL 3PL.FUT escape LOC LOCPRO IRR 3PL.FUT escape

uri maa, ma kuburu ka baqita, dani
 ALL outside and storm 3SG.SEQ be.big rain

ka qaru.
 3SG.SEQ fall
 'They just kept running back and forth inside our house and didn't know where to escape to (lit.: they didn't know the place which to escape to). They would have run (lit.: escaped) outside, but (lit.: and) the storm was heavy and it rained.'

This construction can also encode unfulfilled past obligations: obligations raise expectations that situations will be brought about.

- (18-20) *Toqa baa ki sa keki lae mai (ma ka*
 people that PL IRR 3PL.FUT go VENT and 3SG.SEQ
aqi).
 not.be.so
 ‘The people should have come (but did not).’

In (18-21) the obligation is made explicit: the clause expressing the unfulfilled obligation is in a paratactic relation to the preceding clause, which contains the manipulative complement-taking verb *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (to do st.)’:

- (18-21) *Nau ku faqa-rongo nia sa kai too*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT CAUS-hear 3SG IRR 3SG.FUT stay
qa-na. Nia ka ade fasi nau,
 SBEN-3SG.PERS 3SG 3SG.SEQ act ABL 1SG
ade-de-a, nia ka mae bo=naqa.
 do-RDP-3SG.OBJ 3SG 3SG.SEQ be.dead ASRT=INTS
 ‘I told him he should stay. He disobeyed me, kept doing it [going away], and now he is dead.’

Less commonly, the irrealis marker occurs before the subject:

- (18-22) *sa* subject subject.marker ...

The subject marker is future when the situation is possible: there is some evidence that it might obtain.

- (18-23) *Ma=ni koro bo=naqa, sa doo qeri*
 and=PROFORE DU(INCL) ASRT=INTS IRR thing that
kai thafa thau-ngi koro qa-na
 3SG.FUT ATTN kill-TR DU(INCL) SBEN-3SG.PERS
neri.
 NPAST.HERE
 ‘And us, it looks like that thing [an ogre] will slowly kill us.’

The subject marker is nonfuture when there is counterfactuality: a state of affairs that seemed to obtain later turned out not to have obtained.

- (18-24) *Sa maqe maala neq=e mafo naqa nabaa, ...*
 IRR CLF sore this=3SG.NFUT heal PRF PAST.THEN
 ‘It looked like the (lit.: this) sore had healed then, (but it turned out later that it had not).’

18.4.3. Using the verb *quri* ‘look like’

The Class 1 transitive verb *quri*, whose basic meaning is ‘resemble, look like, be like’, can be used as a hedge to attenuate the epistemic force of a proposition. The event clause, that is, the clause that expresses a proposition about whose truth value the speaker is less than fully certain, functions as the direct object of *quri*: *quri-a* X ‘it looks like/it seems that X is/was/will be the case’, ‘it looked like/it seemed that X was/would be the case (but in the end was not)’, ‘X seems/seemed to ...’, ‘X seemed to ... (but in the end did not)’. In its basic meaning, *quri* can take non-clausal direct objects:

- (18-25) *Wane e quri-a fa kiikidukome.*
 man 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ CLF willy.wagtail
 ‘The man is like a willy-wagtail.’ (Said about active, energetic, enthusiastic people.)

When *quri* functions as a hedging element, it behaves unlike fully-fledged verbs, in the sense that it commonly occurs without a subject marker. On the other hand, *quri* is sometimes, although not commonly, accompanied by the self-benefactive marker *qa-* (section 5.2.10.2).

There are two basic types of construction in which *quri* is used in hedging. In one, to be discussed first, *quri* takes as its subject the nominalization of the verb *riki* ‘look at’ (also ‘see’), which carries the appropriate personal suffix (for which see further below): *riki-la-pers.suff* ‘X’s appearance’, that is the way X appears, seems to be to somebody, literally ‘X’s looking-at’.⁴⁰ Since the subject of *quri* is a nominalization, the subject marker is third-person singular. However, the subject marker is commonly omitted. The basic structures of this type of construction is shown in (18-26):

- (18-26) *riki-la-PERS* (3sg.subject.marker) *quri-a* [event.clause]

The personal suffix on the nominalization of ‘look at’ can index the participant about whom or about which a hedged statement is being made (‘X looks

like/X seems ...'), or it may index the situation as a whole, in which case it can only be third-person singular ('it looks like/it seems that ...'). The two possibilities are illustrated in (18-27a) and (18-27b), respectively, which are paraphrases of each other. In (18-27a) the nominalization carries the third-person plural personal suffix, which indexes the topic noun phrase 'the people', while in (18-27b) the nominalization carries the third-person singular personal suffix, which indexes the situation as a whole:

- (18-27) a. *Toqa lakoo, riki-la-da qe*
 people that(3) look.at-NMLZ-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT

quri-a keki firu.
 look.like-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT fight
 'The people look like they will fight.' (Lit.: 'The people, their looking-at looks like they will fight.')
- b. *Toqa lakoo, riki-la-na qe*
 people that(3) look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

quri-a keki firu.
 look.like-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT fight
 'The people, it looks like they will fight.' (Lit.: 'The people, its [i.e. the situation's] looking-at looks like they will fight.')

In (18-28) the personal suffix on the nominalization indexes the person about whom the hedged statement is being made:

- (18-28) *Riki-la-mu qe quri-a qo*
 look.at-NMLZ-2SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT look.like-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT

mataqi.
 be.sick
 'You look like you're sick.' 'You seem to be sick.'

If the relevant participant is encoded by a noun phrase, either that noun phrase is in the topic position before the nominalization of *riki* 'look at', as in (18-27a) further above, or it is the subject of the complement, event clause, as in (18-29):

- (18-29) *Riki-la-na quri-a dani kai qaru.*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ rain 3SG.FUT fall
 'It looks like it will rain.'

The event clause may contain the irrealis marker *sa*. The irrealis marker is used with two functions there. In one, it signals a relatively low degree of certainty on the part of the speaker concerning the factual status of the proposition, relative to a parallel construction without the irrealis marker in the event clause. In both cases, the statements are hedged, but those with the irrealis marker are more of a hedge than those without it. Compare (18-29) above, without the irrealis marker, and (18-30) below, with the irrealis marker, meaning (a). And second, the irrealis marker can signal counterfactuality of a possible, likely, anticipated situation in the past, as in (18-30), meaning (b).

(18-30) *Riki-la-na* *quri-a* *dani sa*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ rain IRR

kai *qaru.*

3SG.FUT fall

a. 'It looks like it might rain.'

b. 'It looked like it would/might rain (but it did not).'

In (18-31) the non-occurrence of a past situation that seemed possible is made explicit by a negative clause:

(18-31) *Riki-la-na* *quri-a* *dani sa*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ rain IRR

kai *qaru, ma ka aqi.*

3SG.FUT fall and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

'It looked like it was going to rain, but it didn't.'

In (18-32) the event clause is negative: the hedged statement is about possible non-occurrence of the event in question by reference time. The irrealis marker signals a high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker:

(18-32) *Toqa loo,* *riki-la-na* *qe*
 people upward look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

quri-a *sa kesi lae quu.*

look.like-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.NEG go ANTCONT

'It looks like the people (from) up there may not have gone yet.'

In the hedging/counterfactuality construction just discussed, the verb *quri* 'look like' has as its subject the nominalization of *riki* 'look at'. There is another type of construction, also with the verb *quri*, where *quri* has no subject,

although it may have a third person singular subject marker that functions impersonally. However, it is more common for *quri* to have no subject marker. Here too the complement of *quri* is the event clause. This construction usually expresses either a quite low degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition or counterfactuality, in which case the event clause contains the irrealis marker *sa*. *Quri* may be preceded by a topic phrase, which usually, but not necessarily (see [18-36] further below), corresponds to the subject of the event clause. The basic structure of this construction is shown in (18-33):

(18-33) (topic_{i;j}) (3sg.subject.marker_i) *quri-a* [event.clause]

In (18-34a) *quri* has the nominalization of *riki* ‘look at’ as its subject, while in the synonymous (18-34b) it has no subject. In both sentences *thaari naqi* ‘this girl’ is the topic that corresponds to the subject of the event clause:

(18-34) a. *Thaari naqi, riki-la-na quri-a*
 girl this look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ

so=e iana neqe.
 IRR=3SG.NFUT be.pregnant VIVID
 ‘This girl, she looks like she might be pregnant.’

b. *Thaari naqi, quri-a so=e*
 girl this look.like-3.OBJ IRR=3SG.NFUT

iana neqe.
 be.pregnant VIVID
 ‘This girl, it looks like she might be pregnant.’

In the next example, there are two occurrences of *quri*. In both cases *quri* has an impersonal subject marker.

(18-35) *Nau kwa too mena, e quri-a*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ stay CONC 3SG.NFUT look.like-3.OBJ

sa kwai too ba-kuqa bii qoe,
 IRR 1SG.FUT stay LIM-1SG.PERS COM 2SG

e quri-a sa qo too
 3SG.NFUT look.like-3.OBJ IRR 2SG.NFUT stay

ba-muqa i laa maa-ku.

LIM-2SG.PERS LOC IN eye-1SG.PERS

‘Even though I stay [here, where you are not], it looks like I might (be able to) stay with you, it looks/is as if you were in my sight (lit.: in my eyes).’

It is possible for the irrealis marker to come before the subject in the event clause embedded under *quri*. This is so in the next two examples. In (18-36) the verb *quri* has no subject and no subject marker. It is preceded by a topic phrase. The topic corresponds to the direct object of the event clause. Even though the event clause is ostensibly about malaria and its possibly affecting the speaker, in reality the speaker is making a hedged statement about himself.

(18-36) *Nau boqo, quri-a sa malaria qe*
1SG ASRT look.like-3.OBJ IRR malaria 3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi nau.

afflict-TR 1SG

‘Me, it looks like I may have malaria.’ (Lit.: ‘Me, it looks like malaria may have afflicted me.’)

In the next example, the event clause is negative. The verb *quri* has the nominalization of *riki* ‘look at’ as its subject.

(18-37) *Riki-la-na quri-a sa toq=qe=ki*
look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ IRR people=that=PL

qe aqi kesi fula quu mai.

3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG arrive ANTCONT VENT

‘It looks like the people may not have arrived yet.’

There is one more type of construction where the irrealis marker signals counterfactuality in a construction with the verb *quri* ‘resemble, look like, be like’. This construction is mono-clausal, and the irrealis marker has a noun phrase, rather than a clause in its scope. The noun phrase is the direct object of *quri*. As illustrated in (18-25) further above, *quri* can take non-clausal direct objects: X *quri-a* Y ‘X resembles/looks like/is like Y’. The sentence in (18-38) is another example. (The quantifier *ta* has fused with the verb and so the object suffix *-a* is not present.)

(18-38) *Faar-a daadaku qeri ka*
underneath-3.PERS Calophyllum.sp that 3SG.SEQ

quri=ta *biqu.*
 be.like:3.OBJ=some house
 ‘The (space) underneath (of) the *daadaku* tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) (which was bent down) was like a house.’ (That is, being under the tree was like being inside a house.)

A speaker may place the direct object of *quri* in the scope of the irrealis marker (which directly precedes the noun phrase) to signal that the similarity between the entity expressed in the subject phrase to the type of entity designated by the direct object is only superficial, not real: *as if* the referent of the subject were of the type designated by the direct object. By using the sentence in (18-38) above, without the irrealis marker, the speaker asserts that the space was indeed like (the inside of) a house. For example, like a house it could serve as a shelter, and that was, in fact, how the space was used by a character in the text the sentence is from. On the other hand, (18-39) below contains the irrealis marker: the carvings only looked like sharks; they looked *as if* they were sharks, when, of course, they were nothing of the sort. In (18-39) the clause that contains *quri* is a deranked subordinate clause (chapter 36).

- (18-39) *Qi laa abu laungi-a kera*
 LOC IN sacred.house decorate-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT
- thau-ngani-a nuu-na doo ki, quri-a*
 make-TR-3.OBJ likeness-3.PERS thing PL look.like-3.OBJ
- qa-na sa tai baqekwa qana*
 SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR some.PL shark GENP
- beta-na abu qeri.*
 post-3.PERS sacred.house that
 ‘Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks on the posts of that sacred house.’ (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

In the next example an earlier practice of bestowing a name on a little boy a few years after his birth is likened to “dedication” of children in Christian religion, that is, to baptism. The speaker says that what people did in those days looked like baptism, but, in his view it was, of course, not at all like baptism because it was part of traditional, pre-Christian religion.

- (18-40) *Keka faqameemengo-a wela qeri, doo*
 3PL.SEQ bestow.name.on-3.OBJ child that thing

quri-a *qa-na* *sa* *dedikeyshin*,
 be.like-3.OBJ SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR dedication
 ‘They gave the child a name; the thing was as if it were a dedica-
 tion/baptism’

While in the case of (18-39) the superficial similarity of the carvings to real sharks was, presumably, perceived as such by the people in those times, in the case of (18-40) the evaluation of the similarity as only superficial, not real, is the speaker’s *post hoc* comment, because the custom of bestowing names on boys predated the arrival of Christianity and baptism in the Toqabaqita area.

Up to a point perhaps, it is up to the speaker to view a similarity of an entity to a certain type as real or not. In (18-41) below, from the same text as (18-40), the traditional (and no longer normally practiced) procedure of spraying a person who has been possessed by an ancestral spirit with chewed-up betel quid is likened to casting out the devil in Christianity, but here the speaker did not use the irrealis marker. While to an outsider chewing up a betel quid and spitting it in a spraying fashion at a person affected by an ancestral spirit may seem quite different from casting out the devil, to the speaker of (18-41) they apparently are not.

(18-41) *Doo quri-a* *qa-n=ta* *kasiaut*
 thing be.like-3.OBJ SBEN-3.PERS=some cast.out

neri *na kera* *tari-a* *qana*
 NPAST.HERE REL 3PL.NFUT chase-3SG.OBJ GENP

akalo *n=e* *thau-ngi-a* *wane.*
 spirit REL=3SG.NFUT affect-TR-3.OBJ man

[Using a chewed-up betel mixture to treat a man who had been made sick by a spirit: They chewed up the betel mixture, they spat it at the man’s face, at his chest and lower back. In this way they removed the spirit that had affected the man, and the spirit went away] ‘The thing [that they did] was like casting out, with which they chased away the spirit that had affected the man.’

(In (18-41) instrument inversion has taken place; see section 10.7, where this example appears as [10-238].)

In the preceding discussion a connection has been made in several places between the use of a clause with the verb *quri* ‘look like’ with past-time reference and counterfactuality: a possible, anticipated, contemplated state of affairs did not materialize. However, while such counterfactuality is the usual case, it is not necessary. Whether there is counterfactuality or not depends on the van-

tage point. It is only after a potential situation has failed to eventuate that it can be seen as counterfactual. So, for example, in the situation expressed in (18-42) below, it is only at some time after the morning that the possible situation of it being sunny in the morning can be seen as counterfactual.

(18-42) *Quuqusungadia riki-la-na quri-a sa*
 morning look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ IRR

kai thato, sui ma dani ka qaru laqu
 3SG.FUT be.sunny but and rain 3SG.SEQ fall ADD

ba-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘The morning looked like it would be sunny, but (then) it just rained again.’

However, the speaker can adopt a different vantage point, a time in the past when a given situation looked possible, at which point the relevant person did not know whether it would eventuate or not. This is illustrated in the next example, where the person is speaking about how at a time in the past it was uncertain whether an activity he was involved in would cease or continue. He overtly mentions both possibilities: ‘it looked as if it might cease’ and ‘it did not look as if it might cease’, and, of course, only one of the possibilities could ultimately be counterfactual. The speaker does not characterize, with hindsight, which of the two possibilities was counterfactual; rather, he says how the situation appeared to him at the time in the past. In the first clause, *quri* and the irrealis marker have fused as *qu=sa*. The first *quri* clause is grammatically positive, while the second one is negative (‘it did not look like ...’).

(18-43) *Tai si manga, laa-lae, raa neqe*
 some.PL PRTT time RDP-go work this

qu=sa kai teo, ma sui mena
 look.like:3.OBJ=IRR 3SG.FUT cease and but but

riki-la-na qe aqi si
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

quri=qa-na sa kai teo,
 look.like:3.OBJ=SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR 3SG.FUT cease

‘At times it looked like this work might cease, but then (at other times) it did not look like it might cease, ...’

And just as *sa* need not signal counterfactuality when the vantage point is in the past, so the absence of *sa* is not incompatible with counterfactuality, if the counterfactuality is not known to the relevant person, even though it may be known to somebody else, such as the speaker. This is shown in the next example, where the being that the man thought was a girl because of the way she looked was, in fact, not a girl, as the following clause makes clear. The narrator knows the being was not a girl, but the character in the text, the man, did not know it at the time (although he learned that later). To the man, that being *was* the girl, because she looked like her.

- (18-44) *Riki-la-na* *quri-a* *bo=naqa* *ta*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS some
- thaari* *mamana quu* *boqo,* *sui* *taa*
 girl be.real ANTCONT ASRT but but
- m=akalo* *ni* *bana* *n=e*
 and=ancestral.spirit LIG LIM REL=3SG.NFUT
- bulasi* *mai* *qana* *thaari.*
 transform.os. VENT GENP girl
- ‘She still looked just like a real girl [i.e. the girl the man had met earlier], but (she was) just an ancestral spirit that had changed herself into a girl.’

There was counterfactuality in the situation expressed in (18-44), but that was not known to the relevant character, only to the omniscient narrator.

18.5. Other expressions of uncertainty

Toqabaqita has several other means to express speaker’s less-than-full certainty, or indeed uncertainty, about the factual status of a proposition. Two of these are clause-level particles, one involves the conjunction ‘or’ in positive or negative clauses, and two are sentence pro-forms.

18.5.1. *Toqo* ‘perhaps’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’, ‘I think’, ‘I guess’

Toqo is a clause-level particle that may have a whole clause in its scope or just a constituent within the clause, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. When *toqo* has a phrase in its scope, it immediately follows it, except that it can be

linked to it by means of the ligature *ni*. When *toqo* has a whole clause in its scope, it occurs at or near the end of the clause: only a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb (sections 13.6.2 and 13.7, respectively) can follow it.

In the first three examples, *toqo* has the (rest of the) clauses in its scope:

- (18-45) *Gwau-ku* *qe* *fii* *faa-faqekwa*,
 head-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT ache RDP-be.of.little.extent

kwai *mataqi* *toqo*.
 1SG.FUT be.sick I.think

‘My head aches just a little; I think I’ll be sick/I may be getting sick.’

- (18-46) *Too* *ba-d=i* *sa-muluqa* *toqo*
 stay LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC ADJC-2PL.PERS I.guess

neri.

NPAST.HERE

‘I guess [they] are staying with you (are they?).’

In (18-47) *toqo* coocurs, twice, with another strategy that also signals uncertainty, one that employs *mada* ‘or’ (see section 18.5.3):

- (18-47) *Nau* *kwasi* *thaitoqoma-na* *ta* *thau-ngaqi-laa*
 1SG 1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ some make-TR-NMLZ

qufita, *mada* *ka* *ngali-a* *ura* *laa* *banga*
 be.how? or 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ ALL IN bank

toqo, *mada* *ka* *diposit* *qani-a* *toqo*
 perhaps or 3SG.SEQ deposit GENP-3SG.OBJ perhaps

‘I don’t know how it was done (lit.: I don’t know some making how); perhaps he took it [money] to the bank, (and) perhaps he deposited it [there]’

In the next three sentences *toqo* has noun phrases in its scope. In (18-48) too *toqo* coocurs with the strategy that uses *mada* ‘or’:

- (18-48) *Mad=e* *aqi* *nau* *toqo* *na* *keki*
 or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so 1SG possibly FOC 3PL.IPFV

fuqaro-ngaqi nau neri.

whisper-TR 1SG NPAST.HERE

[On seeing/hearing people whispering.] ‘It could possibly be me they are whispering about.’ (Lit.: ‘Or is it not me they are possibly whispering about?’)

In (18-49) the noun phrase and *toqo* are connected by the ligature *ni*:

(18-49) A: *Taa na kai fai karukaru*
 what? FOC 3SG.IPFV scrape make.scraping.noise

neri?

NPAST.HERE

B: *Qasufa ni toqo neri.*

rat LIG probably NPAST.HERE

A: ‘What is it that’s making the scraping, scratching noise?’

B: ‘Probably a rat.’

With noun phrases that contain a numerical expression, *toqo* may express uncertainty about the exact quantity, or an approximation to that quantity. The indefinite quantifier *ta* ‘some’ (section 6.8.6) is normally used in such cases as well.

(18-50) ... *mili raqu faafi-a fulinga-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT possess CONF-3.OBJ amount-3.PERS

ta tri hundred dolas toqo.

some three hundred dollar perhaps

‘... we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.’

When *toqo* occurs in clause-final or near-clause-final position, there may be ambiguity as to its scope: the whole clause or the preceding phrase, as in (18-51), where *toqo* may have just the prepositional phrase *i qusungadi* ‘(at) tomorrow’ in its scope:

(18-51) *Nau ku manta-i-a wane qeri kai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TR-3.OBJ man that 3SG.FUT

lae ma=i qusungadi togo.

go VENT=LOC tomorrow possibly

- a. 'I think the man *might* come tomorrow.' (The speaker is not certain about the man's coming.)
 b. 'I think the man might come *tomorrow*.' (The speaker is not certain whether it will be tomorrow that the man will come.)

Toqo also functions as a particle in the verb complex to express obligation (section 5.2.7).

18.5.2. *Takona* 'most likely', 'certainly'; surprise

Like *toqo*, *takona* is a clause level particle, and the two are mutually exclusive. And like *toqo*, *takona* may have a whole clause or the preceding phrase in its scope. *Takona* has two main functions. In one, it expresses a relatively high degree of certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition. Given the evidence, a state of affairs most likely holds. In the first three examples, *takona* has the clauses in its scope.

(18-52) *Wela naqi e mataqi takona.*

child this 3SG.NFUT be.sick most.likely

'This child is most likely sick.' 'The child must be sick.' (Judging from the way she looks.)

In (18-53) *takona* is followed by the vividness marker *neqe* (section 13.6.2):

(18-53) *Nau ai kwai mae bo=naqa takona neqe.*

1SG woman 1SG.FUT be.dead ASRT=INTS certainly VIVID

'I am a dead woman.' 'I will certainly die.' (Lit.: 'I am a woman who will certainly die.')

However, *takona* can also be used if the speaker knows that a proposition is true, but acknowledges that only under the weight of some evidence.

(18-54) *Qoo, doo mamana neri. Nau ku lole*

oh, thing be.true NPAST.HERE 1SG 1SG.NFUT tell.lie

takona.

most.likely

'Oh, it is true (lit.: true thing). I guess I did lie./I must have lied.'
 (Admitting to lying when challenged with evidence.)

When *takona* has a phrase in its scope, it signals the speaker's relatively high degree of certainty that the referent is the one to which the proposition applies.

- (18-55) *Ma ku=naqi takona na thaqaro qe*
and place=this most.likely FOC possum 3SG.NFUT

qoro i ei.
be.many LOC LOCPRO

'And it is most likely at this place/here that there are many possums.' 'And it must be this place where there are many possums.'

In the other function, *takona* is used even if there is no uncertainty about the situation, or about an entity, but when the situation or an entity occasions a surprise by its unexpectedness, especially by the unexpected presence or appearance of someone or something. Here too *takona* can have the whole clause or just a phrase in its scope

- (18-56) *Iiqee, keekero nau baa qe*
oh, yellow.bibbed.lory 1SG that 3SG.NFUT

fula mai takona!
arrive VENT SURPR

'Oh, my dear one has arrived!' (Can be said when unexpectedly seeing the person.)

(The word for the Yellow-bibbed Lory, *keekero*, is also used as a term of endearment, affection, mainly by women to children.)

- (18-57) *Qoe takona qo too ba-muqa!*
2SG SURPR 2SG.NFUT be.present LIM-2SG.PERS
'You are here!' (I did not expect to see you here.)

- (18-58) *Bariqi ka quna qeri, "Qoo, ma tha*
Bariqi 3SG.SEQ manner this oh and PERSMKR

Suriaoa takona, e rofe nau na
Suriaoa SURPR 3SG.NFUT look.for 1SG FOC

ka lae mai.”

3SG.SEQ go VENT

‘Bariqi said (to himself) (on unexpectedly seeing Suriaoa, his pet bird), “Oh, that is Suriaoa! It’s because he’s been looking for me that he has come.”.’

18.5.3. *Mada* ‘or’

Less-than-full certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of a proposition can be signalled by means of the form *mada* ‘or’, which also functions as a disjunctive coordinator for phrases and sentences (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4, respectively), and together with the irrealis marker *sa* introduces the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1). When it marks epistemic possibility, *mada* does not necessarily conjoin clauses or sentences. In this function, *mada* can occur in a grammatically positive or a grammatically negative construction, the latter being more common. The constructions with ‘or’ signal a relatively low degree of certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition. They function as suggestions concerning what a given state of affairs might be.

In a grammatically positive construction, *mada* occurs initially in the event clause, unless a constituent has been topicalized (see [18-60b] further below):

- (18-59) *Mada kera fula naqa neri.*
 or 3PL.NFUT arrive PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘They may have arrived already.’

Grammatically positive sentences with *mada* ‘or’ are sometimes given the intonation of polar interrogatives, with a rise in the intonation at the end of the sentence (section 19.2.1), which expresses a relatively high degree of uncertainty. This is the case in (18-60a) and (18-60b). In (18-60b) the subject noun phrase has been topicalized.

- (18-60) a. *Mada wela naqi e mataqi?*
 or child this 3SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘Might/could the (lit.: this) child be sick?’ ‘Or is the child perhaps sick?’
- b. *Wela naqi mad=e mataqi?*
 child this or=3SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘The child, might/could he be sick?’ ‘The child, is he perhaps sick?’

The negative construction is bi-clausal. The first clause is a mini-clause that consists of *mada*, the verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’, and the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*. The second clause is the event clause, which is grammatically positive. The basic structure of the construction is shown in (18-61):

(18-61) [*mada qe aqi*] [event.clause]

Mada ‘or’ and the subject marker *qe* frequently fuse together as *mad=e*.

The sentence in (18-62), with the negative construction, is synonymous with the sentence in (18-59) further above, without negation:

(18-62) *Mad=e* *aqi* *kerā* *fula* *naqa*
 or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so 3PL.NFUT arrive PRF

neri.

NPAST.HERE

‘They may have arrived already.’

The next two examples too contain the negative construction:

(18-63) *Fanu e* *qaru thaa-thato,* *mad=e*
 place 3SG.NFUT fall RDP-be.sunny or=3SG.NFUT

aqi *ta* *wane* *kai* *mae neq.*
 not.be.so some person 3SG.FUT die VIVID

‘There is a sunshower (lit.: place [i.e. rain] is falling (and) it is sunny); somebody will possibly die.’ (Sunshowers are interpreted as a sign of somebody about to die.)

(18-64) *Fanga* *naqi e* *unuuna* *ba-na,*
 food this 3SG.NFUT be.not.plentiful LIM-3SG.PERS

mad=e *aqi* *kuki* *ore.*
 or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so PL(INCL).FUT miss.out

‘There is not plenty of food; we might miss out.’

The strategy using *mada* ‘or’ can be combined with the epistemic particle *toqo* (section 18.5.1) in the event clause:

(18-65) A: *Nau* *seqe-ku* *e* *oo.*
 1SG body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT feel.very.cold

B: *Mada qe* *aqi* *qoki* *mataqi* *toqo*
 or 3SG.NFUT not.be.so 2SG.FUT be.sick probably

neri.

NPAST.HERE

A: 'I feel cold to the bone.' (Lit.: 'I, my body feels very cold.')

B: 'You may be getting sick.'

Usually it is the whole proposition expressed in the event clause that the speaker is less than fully certain about. However, it is possible to make it explicit that it is only part of the proposition that the uncertainty relates to. In (18-66) the *mada* strategy is combined with the particle *toqo*, and the latter has only the focused first person singular pronoun in its scope. The speaker is uncertain not about the event of the people whispering but about who or what they are whispering about:

(18-66) *Mad=e* *aqi* *nau* *toqo* *na* *keki*
 or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so 1SG possibly FOC 3PL.IPFV

fuqaro-ngaqi *nau* *neri.*

whisper-TR 1SG NPAST.HERE

[On seeing/hearing people whispering.] 'It could possibly be me they are whispering about.' (Lit.: 'Or is it not me they are possibly whispering about?')

In (18-67) too the relevant part of the proposition ('tomorrow') is in focus. Here *toqo* is not used.

(18-67) *Qoe, kali* *fa* *wasi* *qoe* *baa, mad=e*
 2SG little(SG) CLF watch 2SG that or=3SG.NFUT

aqi *qusungadi* *naqa* *na* *meki*
 not.be.so tomorrow PRF FOC 1DU(EXCL).FUT

uusi-a.

buy-3SG.OBJ

'You, that little watch of yours [the watch that we want to get for you], it may be tomorrow that we will buy it.'

18.5.4. *Botaena*, *botaqana* ‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’, ‘don’t know’

These two forms are sentence pro-forms that signal a relatively high level of uncertainty about the factual status of a proposition, or even complete lack of knowledge with respect to a proposition. They occur clause-initially, unless another element has been fronted, for example in topicalization. They can also form utterances by themselves.

Botaena and *botaqana* are mutually interchangeable, the former being somewhat more common. In one function, they are often used in uncertain replies to questions. If the reply is clausal with a verb, the verb takes the appropriate sequential subject marker.

(18-68) A: *Faka ba=e fula mad=e aqi?*
 ship that=3SG.NFUT arrive or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so

B: *Botaena ka fula, mada ka aqi.*
 perhaps 3SG.SEQ arrive or 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

A: ‘Did the ship arrive or not?’

B: ‘(I don’t know.) Perhaps it did arrive, or (perhaps) not.’

(18-69) A: *Kamuluqa sui boqo, muki kafara qi*
 2PL EXHST ASRT 2PL.FUT make.copra LOC

qusungadi?
 tomorrow

B: *Botaena.*
 possibly

A: ‘You all, will you make copra tomorrow?’

B: ‘Possibly.’

In (18-70) *botaqana* follows a topicalized noun phrase:

(18-70) *Thaqaro naqi, botaqana si kula n=e*
 possum this perhaps PRTT place FOC=3SG.NFUT

ni=i ei na=nia.
 be.located=LOC LOCPRO this=3SG

‘[A possum hunter has been looking for a possum, but cannot see it, and says to himself,] This possum, perhaps this is the place where it is, this (place) here.’

In their other function, *botaena* and *botaqana* express complete lack of knowledge:

(18-71) A: *Ma wela baa?*
and child that

B: *Botaqana.*
don't.know

A: 'And (where is) the child?'

B: 'Who knows.' 'I don't know.'

18.6. The timitive mood

18.6.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a category of mood that, following Palmer (2001), is referred to here as "timitive". (Palmer mentions "timitive" as a possible label, but he himself does not adopt it.) For an earlier discussion of the Toqabaqita timitive in a broader cross-linguistic context see Lichtenberk (1995), where the mood is referred to as "apprehensional epistemic".

The timitive mood is marked by the particle *ada*, which normally occurs clause initially. Exceptionally, a purpose marker may occur in a clause in the timitive mood, and it comes before *ada*; see (18-85) and (18-86) in section 18.6.3. *Ada* derives historically from a verb, whose meanings were 'see', 'look out, watch out', but in the present-day language it functions only as a timitive particle. The verb of a positive timitive clause must have a sequential subject marker, regardless of the temporal status of the proposition expressed, which may be past, present or future. The basic structure of positive clauses in the timitive mood is shown in (18-72):

(18-72) *ada* (subject) sequential.subject.marker verb ...

If a clause in the timitive mood is negative, the simple or the double negating constructions can be used (sections 17.2 and 17.4, respectively), except that in the double negative construction the negative verb *aqi* must have the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*, not the nonfuture subject marker. The basic structures of the negative timitive constructions are shown in (18-73a) and (18-73b). In the former, the negative construction is of the simple type; and in the latter it is of the double type. In (18-73b) the optional noun phrase before the negative verb is a topic, coreferential with the subject marker

of the event clause. The negative event clause in the double negative construction cannot have a subject phrase.

- (18-73) a. *ada* (subject) negative.subject.marker verb ...
 b. *ada* (topic) [*ka aqi*] [negative.event.clause]

A clause in the timitive mood may be joined asyndetically to a preceding clause, or it may form a sentence on its own, as in (18-74) and (18-75) respectively, with positive timitive clauses:

- (18-74) *Bibi faafi-a kaufa ada thauthau ka*
 weigh.down CONF-3.OBJ mat TIM wind 3SG.SEQ

ngali-a.

take-3SG.OBJ

‘Weigh down the mat (with something); the wind might take it.’
 ‘Weigh down the mat so that the wind may not take it.’ ‘Weigh down the mat lest the wind take it.’

- (18-75) *Ada keka fanga sui naqa.*
 TIM 3PL.SEQ eat COMPL PRF
 ‘They may have finished eating.’

In the next two examples, the timitive clauses are negative. In (18-76) the negative construction is of the double type, and in (18-77) of the simple type:

- (18-76) *Ada bii naqi ka aqi si*
 TIM food.in.stone.oven this 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG

qako ba-na.

be.cooked LIM-3SG.PERS

‘The food (in the stone oven) may/might not be done yet.’

- (18-77) *Ada toqa baa ki kesi fula ba-da.*
 TIM people that PL 3PL.NEG arrive LIM-3PL.PERS
 a. ‘The people may simply not have arrived.’
 b. ‘The people may simply not arrive.’

A clause in the timitive mood can contain the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.2), but this is somewhat rare. The irrealis marker signals a relatively low degree of likelihood of the situation obtaining.

(18-78) *Ada sa keka lae mai, keka thau-ngi*
 TIM IRR 3PL.SEQ go VENT 3PL.SEQ kill-TR

kulu ba-da.

PL(INCL) LIM-3PL.PERS

'They might just possibly come and kill us.' 'They might just possibly come to kill us.' 'They might just possibly come, in which case they would kill us.'

It is only the proposition expressed in the first clause in (18-78) that the timitive and the irrealis markers have in their scope: the people's coming. The second event, their killing the speaker and his group is seen as something that would (automatically) follow.

However, it is possible for the scope of the timitive marker to extend beyond the clause in which it occurs. In (18-79) it has not only its own clause in its scope but also the following, disjunctively coordinated clause:

(18-79) *Kaala wela qe=ki bana na kera alu-da.*
 little.PL child that=PL LIM FOC 3PL.NFUT put-3PL.OBJ

Keka too kali-a tha Bariqi ada
 3PL.SEQ stay surround-3.OBJ PERSMKR Bariqi TIM

ta wane fula ka luke-a, mada
 some person arrive 3SG.SEQ release-3SG.OBJ or

ka thaka.

3SG.SEQ escape

'It was only the little children that they put [there to watch Bariqi]. They [the children] stayed around Bariqi in case somebody might come and free him or so that he might not escape (by himself).'

The timitive mood expresses a kind of mixed modality (von Wright 1951): two types of modality are present simultaneously. First, *ada* functions to express epistemic possibility: the situation expressed in a timitive clause is viewed as a potential, possible one, rather than one whose occurrence is asserted. And second, *ada* is used only when the potential situation encoded in the clause is undesirable. The undesirability of a situation may be signalled by *ada* alone, or it may also be expressed in another clause. The timitive mood is highly subjective: the speaker's less-than-full certainty is combined with his or her view of the potential situation as undesirable. Most commonly, the temporal status of the proposition is future relative to the time of the speech act, as in

(18-74) further above and in many of the examples below, but it may be present, as in (18-76) above, or past, as in (18-75).

Ada is used in several types of contexts and functions: “fear”, “precautionary”, and “apprehensional-epistemic”. These will now be discussed in turn; however, as will be seen, the semantic/pragmatic distinctions between some of the uses are not always clear-cut.

18.6.2. Fear contexts

In fear contexts, a timitive clause follows a clause that contains a verb of fearing: a potential situation expressed in a timitive clause is undesirable for, and feared by, the referent of the subject of the verb of fearing.

(18-80) *Nau ku maqu ada qoko qaru.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.afraid TIM 2SG.SEQ fall
 ‘I’m afraid you might fall down.’

(18-81) ... *mika maqu qana tai qai*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.afraid GENP some.PL tree

n=e ni=i ninima-na luma
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC beside-3.PERS house

kamiliqa, ada ka thau-ngi kamiliqa, ...
 1PL(EXCL) TIM 3SG.SEQ kill-TR 1PL(EXCL)

‘... we were afraid that some of the trees that stood next to our house might (fall over and) kill us, ...’ ‘... we were afraid lest some of the trees that stood next to our house (fall over and) kill us, ...’ (Lit.: ‘... we were afraid of some of the trees that were next to our house that they might kill us, ...’)

(18-82) *Nau ku mamathaa suli-a wela naqi, ada*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.worried PROL-3.OBJ child this TIM

matau ka toqe-a.
 axe 3SG.SEQ cut-3SG.OBJ

‘I’m worried that the child might cut himself on the axe.’ (Lit.: ‘I am worried about the child; the axe might cut him.’)

18.6.3. Precautionary contexts

Here a timitive clause is preceded by a clause that expresses the situation brought about in view of the potential undesirable situation of the timitive clause. The situation expressed in the first clause is precautionary: it is (to be) brought about either to prevent the potential situation from coming about or at least to counteract it in some way in case it does come about. Consequently, one can speak of “preventive”⁴¹ and “in-case” subtypes of precautionary situations.

In the preventive subtype, the situation of the first clause serves to prevent the situation of the timitive clause from coming about. The timitive mood expresses negative purpose here. As discussed in section 33.3.4, negative purpose may alternatively be expressed by means of the purpose marker *fasi*, but *fasi* is used primarily to express positive purpose. Negative purpose is normally expressed by the timitive mood, but *fasi* can be used in timitive clauses; see further below. Even though a timitive clause may express negative purpose, it is grammatically positive.

- (18-83) *Nau ku agwa qi buir-a fau, ada*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hide LOC behind-3.PERS rock TIM

ka riki nau.
 3SG.SEQ see 1SG

‘I hid behind the rock so that he would not see me.’ ‘I hid behind the rock lest he see me.’

- (18-84) *Qoko beta qoe ba-muqa, ada*
 2SG.SEQ take.care.of 2SG LIM-2SG.PERS TIM

maruki-la-mu ka too qi laa
 live-NMLZ-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.located LOC IN

qafetaqi-a or danger.
 be.difficult-DVN or danger

‘Take care of yourself so that your life may not get into hardship/difficulty or danger.’ ‘Take care of yourself lest your life get into hardship/difficulty or danger.’

In expressions of negative purpose, a clause in the timitive mood may function as the complement of one of the two purpose markers *fasi* or *uri*, but this is quite rare, and the purpose markers are never obligatory. While *fasi* can be used without *ada* to express negative purpose (see section 33.3.4 for examples), *uri*

can be used in this function only in a timitive clause. In (18-85) the purpose marker is *fasi*:

- (18-85) *Ngali-a kaleko qaaqako, fasi-a ada qoko*
 take-3.OBJ clothes be.warm PURP-3.OBJ TIM 2SG.SEQ

gwagwari qa=fa rodo.
 feel.cold GENP=CLF night
 ‘Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.’

Compare the synonymous example (18-87) further below without the purpose marker.

In (18-86) the timitive clause is the complement of the purpose marker *uri*:

- (18-86) *Nau ku kani-a botho naqi qana maqe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT tie-3.OBJ pig this GENP CLF

qai naqi, uri-a ada ka thaka.
 wood this PURP-3.OBJ TIM 3SG.SEQ run.away
 ‘I tied the (lit.: this) pig to the post so that it might not run away.’

In the in-case subtype of precautionary situations, the state of affairs expressed in the clause preceding the timitive clause does not serve to prevent the undesirable situation from coming about. Rather, that clause expresses what could/should be done in case the undesirable situation does take place. That situation will not be prevented, but some counteracting measures may be taken. In some cases, the counteracting measure will alleviate the effects of the undesirable situation. Compare the next two examples. The first one is of the preventive type: the speaker is telling the addressee to take warm clothes *in order that* he (the addressee) may not feel cold:

- (18-87) *Ngali-a kaleko qaaqako ada qoko gwagwari*
 take-3.OBJ clothes be.warm TIM 2SG.SEQ feel.cold

qa=fa rodo.
 GENP=CLF night
 ‘Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.’

The second example is of the in-case type: here too the speaker is telling the addressee to take warm clothes, but even if the latter does take some, that will not prevent the night from being cold. However, it will alleviate the effects of the cold on the addressee:

- (18-88) *Ngali-a kaleko qaaqako ada fanu qeri ka*
 take-3.OBJ clothes be.warm TIM place this 3SG.SEQ
- gwagwari-la ba-na qa=fa rodo.*
 (weather)be.cold-PROP LIM-3SG.PERS GENP=CLF night
 ‘Take (some) warm clothes in case it is cold tonight (lit.: in case this place is cold tonight).’ ‘Take (some) warm clothes (because) it may be cold tonight.’

In the situation expressed in the next example, looking under the timber will not prevent ants from being there, but if there are ants there, the addressee can take a counteracting measure, such as cleaning the board before using it or not using it at all:

- (18-89) *Lio fas=i faar-a ada ta fuufusi*
 look PREC=LOC underneath-3SG.PERS TIM some ant
- ka too-too qani-a.*
 3SG.SEQ RDP-be.present GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Look first underneath [the piece of timber], in case there are ants there.’

While the preventive and the in-case subtypes are in principle different from each other semantically, a sentence may be ambiguous between the two interpretations. In the next example either interpretation is possible: the person’s looking out for the enemy may prevent the enemy’s coming and doing something; or the enemy might come and do something regardless, but some action in anticipation of that may be taken to alleviate the possible effects.

- (18-90) ... *wane kai too i laal-a, kai*
 man 3SG.FUT stay LOC inside-3SG.PERS 3SG.FUT
- lio maqasi-a maqalimae, ada ka lae mai*
 look wait.for-3.OBJ enemy TIM 3SG.SEQ go VENT
- ka ili-a ta si doo.*
 3SG.SEQ do-3.OBJ some PRTT thing
- a. ‘... a man would stay inside [a sentry post] and look out for (lit.: look waiting for) the enemy so that he [the enemy] might not come and do something.’
- b. ‘... a man would stay inside and look out for the enemy in case he should come and do something.’

18.6.4. The apprehensional-epistemic function

In this function, *ada* alone carries the meaning of a potential situation being undesirable. There need not be any preceding clause or sentence, or if there is one it does not contain a verb of fearing nor does it express a precautionary situation. The first example below expresses the speaker's concern that it might rain:

- (18-91) *Ada dani ka qaru.*
 TIM rain 3SG.SEQ fall
 'It might/may rain.'

The speaker is less-than-fully certain that it will rain, and, importantly, the rain would be undesirable for him/her. The timitive mood would not be used if the speaker were hoping for rain, such as after a period of drought. Below are given two more examples of timitive sentences:

- (18-92) *Ada qoko mataqi.*
 TIM 2SG.SEQ be.sick
 'You might be sick.' (The addressee is showing signs of being sick.)

- (18-93) *Ada bii naqi ka aqi si*
 TIM food.in.stone.oven this 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG

qako ba-na.
 be.cooked LIM-3SG.PERS
 'The food (in the stone oven) may/might not be done yet.' (Opening and closing a stone oven are laborious processes, and the speaker is concerned about it being opened prematurely.)

A timitive clause may be preceded by another clause, but the first clause need not express fear about the potential situation of the timitive clause, and it need not encode a situation that may prevent or counteract it either. For example, the preceding clause may express a situation that is seen as potentially leading to, resulting in, an undesirable situation, expressed in the timitive clause:

- (18-94) *Qoe, qe aqi qosi lae bii nau, uri*
 2SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 2SG.NEG go COM 1SG REAS

qoe kwai-na wane ramo, nau
 2SG spouse-3.PERS man professional.killer 1SG

wane teqe nau, ada ka ala-si nau.
 man sole 1SG TIM 3SG.SEQ attack.to.kill-TR 1SG
 ‘You, don’t come with me, because you are the wife of a profes-
 sional killer (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me), (and) he
 might attack and kill me.’

(18-95) *Thaama-ka qae!, teqe kui mai*
 father-PL(INCL).PERS VOC one dog VENT

nenā, ada ka qale kulu.
 there(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ bite PL(INCL)
 ‘Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.’

(*Thaama-ka*, lit.: ‘our father’, is an exclamative form expressing surprise, shock, reproach, indignation, not necessarily directed at one’s father; see also section 8.1.2).

In (18-96) the first clause expresses what may be the symptom of the possible undesirable situation:

(18-96) *Nau ku feda qasia naqa, ada kwa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired INTS INTS TIM 1SG.SEQ

mataqi ba-kuqa.
 be.sick LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I feel very tired; I may just be (getting) sick.’

And in (18-97) the first clause expresses the temporal circumstance of the potential undesirable event:

(18-97) *Laalae qoki biinga naqa, ada qoko lio-dora*
 when 2SG.FUT sleep PRF TIM 2SG.SEQ mind-forget

qana kwaqe-mae-li-la-na laeta.
 GENP hit-die-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS light
 ‘When you are about to (go to) sleep, (I am afraid) you might forget
 to put out the light (so make sure you do put it out).’ ‘When you’re
 about to (go to) sleep, don’t forget to put out the light.’

The distinction between expressions of apprehensional-epistemic meanings and negative purpose is not always clear cut. The sentence in 18-98) is interpretable either way. The speaker may be relatively less or more certain that the

undesirable event might/will come about; see the (a) and (b) translations, respectively:

(18-98) *Qe=aqi* *qosi* *fale-a* *iqa* *qi*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG give-3.OBJ fish LOC

fa-na *wela* *qena* *ada* *ka* *lola*
 REC-3.PERS child that(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ choke

qani-a.

GENP-3SG.OBJ

a. 'Don't give the fish to the (little) child; he might choke on it.'

b. 'Don't give the fish to the (little) child, so that he doesn't choke on it.'

Chapter 19

Interrogatives

19.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has two basic interrogative sentence types: (a) closed interrogatives and (b) open interrogatives. The closed-open distinction has been adopted here from Huddleston (1994: 419): “[c]losed and open interrogatives are characteristically used to express questions where the set of answers is respectively closed and open”. In Toqabaqita, there are subtypes of interrogatives within both the closed and the open categories. Also following Huddleston (1994), the term “interrogative” is used here to designate certain sentence types, whereas the term “question” is used to designate the central illocutionary force of interrogative sentences, which is to ask for information. In parallel to closed and open interrogatives (and their subtypes), one can distinguish closed and open questions (and their subtypes). Although interrogatives are used primarily to ask for information, they have other functions as well, such as asking for confirmation or in phatic communion. Different subtypes of interrogatives may be combined in “complex interrogatives”. And there are also dependent interrogatives that are complement clauses.

19.2. Closed interrogatives

Two basic subtypes of closed interrogatives exist in Toqabaqita: polar and alternative.

19.2.1. Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives express questions that can be answered by ‘yes’ or ‘no’, although other answers are possible as well, such as ‘maybe’ or ‘I don’t know’. However, ‘no’ answers are not defining of polar questions in Toqabaqita, because questions asked by means of open interrogatives also can be answered with ‘no’. It is ‘yes’ and ‘maybe’ answers that are unique to polar questions. (See section 19.4 for answers to questions.)

The structure of polar interrogatives is no different from the structure of (simple) declarative sentences. The only difference is in the intonation. While in declaratives there is normally a fall in intonation towards the end of the sentence, in polar interrogatives there is a rise in intonation towards the end. The sentence in (19-1) with falling intonation at the end is declarative, while structurally identical (19-2) with a rise in intonation at the end is interrogative:

(19-1) *Qe qako naqa.*
 3SG.NFUT be.cooked PRF
 ‘It [food] is cooked/done now.’

(19-2) *Qe qako naqa?*
 3SG.NFUT be.cooked PRF
 ‘Is it cooked/done now?’

Polar interrogatives can be elliptical sentence fragments:

(19-3) *Qa-muqa?*
 POSS-2SG.PERS
 ‘Yours?’ (Asking about food.)

A polar interrogative may contain a topicalized, fronted element:

(19-4) *Wela baa ki, qo riki-da?*
 child that PL 2SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ
 ‘The children, did you see them?’

A polar interrogative can be joined with a non-interrogative clause in a complex sentence. In (19-5) the interrogative clause is coordinated with a declarative clause :

(19-5) *Nau ku lae naqa, ma ni kamuluqa?*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go PRF and PROFORE 2PL
 ‘I am going now, and (how about) you?’

And in (19-6) the interrogative clause forms the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

(19-6) *Mada sa mika fula qi qusungadi,*
 or IRR 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive LOC tomorrow

ka leqa ba-na?

3SG.SEQ be.good LIM-3SG.PERS

'If we come tomorrow, will that be all right? (lit.: will that only be good?)' 'If we came tomorrow, would that be good?'

Without any formal difference, positive polar interrogatives may express neutral questions, where the speaker has no particular expectations about whether the answer will be positive or negative, or they can express biased questions, where the speaker has an expectation that the answer will be positive. The question expressed in (19-7) is neutral:

(19-7) *Qo riki-a faela baa?*

2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ file that

'Have you seen the file [a tool]?'

On the other hand, the question expressed in (19-8) is biased. The question is directed at a person who is getting ready to leave. The speaker expects the answer to be positive and seeks confirmation:

(19-8) *Qoki lae naqa neri?*

2SG.FUT go PRF NPAST.HERE

'Are you going now?'

Sometimes the speaker is fully certain that the state of affairs is indeed such and such and is seeking neither information nor confirmation. Rather a positive polar interrogative serves a phatic communion function. Quite commonly, people when seeing that a state of affairs is such and such will use a polar interrogative as if they were inquiring about that state of affairs. Such interrogatives typically serve as a way to initiate conversation or as a greeting. The sentence in (19-9) was addressed to a man who was clearly making copra:

(19-9) *Qo kafara nena?*

2SG.NFUT make.copra NPAST.THERE

'Are you making copra?'

And the interrogative in (19-10) was addressed to a person who was passing by on his way down (towards the coast) and was intended as a greeting:

(19-10) *Qo sifo nena?*

2SG.NFUT descend NPAST.THERE

'Are you going down?'

Positive polar interrogatives are also used when the speaker is not seeking information from the addressee because he/she does not expect the addressee to have the information. Rather, the speaker is contemplating the possibility that such and such may be the case or is wondering whether such and such might be the case. Such interrogatives function to express a relatively high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker about a state of affairs. They employ the element *mada* ‘or’, which elsewhere functions as a conjunction and also to introduce the protases of conditional sentences, and they may also contain the particle *toqo* ‘perhaps’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’ (section 18.5.1). In (19-11) *toqo* is present:

- (19-11) *Mada e sifo toqo?*
 or 3SG.NFUT descend perhaps
 ‘Did he perhaps go down [to the coast]?’

For a pair of examples without *toqo* see (18-60a) and (18-60b) in section 18.5.3.

In contrast to positive polar interrogatives, negative polar interrogatives are normally used to seek confirmation. A negative state of affairs is unexpected or unusual, and the speaker wishes to have it confirmed that the situation is indeed such and such. For example, on arriving at a household in the morning and not seeing Ulufaalu (a man) around, the person surmises that Ulufaalu is still asleep and asks:

- (19-12) *Ulufaalu qe=aqi si tharaq?*
 Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.awake
 ‘Ulufaalu is not awake?’

By saying (19-13), the speaker expresses her surprise at not seeing Fiona and the others around:

- (19-13) *Fiona kesi fula quu?*
 Fiona 3PL.NEG arrive ANTCONT
 ‘Haven’t Fiona ’n them arrived yet?’

19.2.2. Alternative interrogatives

Alternative interrogatives express questions that “provide a list from which, the speaker suggests, the right answer might be drawn” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). In Toqabaqita, the alternatives in such a list are joined by means of the conjunction *mada* ‘or’ (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4). There is normally a fall in

intonation at the end of an alternative interrogative. The alternatives may be clausal, where it is clauses that are joined by *mada*, or subclausal, where clause constituents are joined rather than whole clauses. In the first example below the alternatives are expressed in noun phrases:

- (19-14) *Qo* *thathami-a alo mada kai?*
 2SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ taro or yam
 ‘Do you want the taro or the yam?’

As far as clausal alternatives are concerned, two main subtypes can be distinguished. In one, the clauses encode independent alternative propositions, while in the other type the proposition of the second clause is a negation of the proposition of the first clause. The subtype with independent alternatives is illustrated in (19-15):

- (19-15) *Qo* *raa mada qoki biinga ba-muqa?*
 2SG.NFUT work or 2SG.IPFV sleep LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘Did you work or were you just asleep?’

If the second alternative is a negation of the first one, that alternative is normally expressed only by means of the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’ (section 17.3):

- (19-16) *Faka ba=e* *fula* *mad=e* *aqi?*
 ship that=3SG.NFUT arrive or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘Did the ship arrive or not?’

If the second alternative is assumed by the speaker to be obvious, it need not be expressed at all, but the conjunction *mada* ‘or’ is still present. In fact, it is the presence of *mada* that implies the existence of an alternative.

- (19-17) *Qoki* *too* *ba-muqa* *mada?*
 2SG.FUT stay LIM-2SG.PERS or
 ‘Are you staying or (are you coming with us)?’ ‘Are you staying or (not)?’

19.3. Open interrogatives

19.3.1. Introduction

Open interrogatives contain a phrase that serves to seek a specific type of information. Such phrases are referred to here as “interrogative phrases”. An interrogative phrase contains an interrogative word that designates the kind of information sought.

The interrogative words of Toqabaqita, together with their glosses and parts of speech are listed in table 19.1. In some cases the glosses are only approximate; more detail is given in the appropriate sections.

Table 19.1. Interrogative words

<i>tei</i>	‘who?’	noun
<i>taa</i>	‘what?’, ‘which?’	noun
<i>qufita</i>	‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’	verb (intr.)
<i>qufita-a</i>	‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’	verb (tr.)
<i>fita</i>	‘how many?’, ‘how much?’	quantifier (cardinal)
<i>fita-na</i>	‘how manieth?’	quantifier noun (ordinal)
<i>fei</i>	‘where?’	adverb
<i>fania, fana</i>	‘where?’, ‘how?’	particle
<i>angita</i>	‘when?’	adverb
<i>tafa</i>	‘which part of person’s or animal’s body?’	noun

Some of the interrogative words are also used to form conditional-concessive clauses, in unrestricted-choice constructions (section 24.2).

19.3.2. Fronting and non-fronting of interrogative phrases, and other properties of open interrogatives

With some exceptions, interrogative phrases may occur *in situ*, where the corresponding non-interrogative phrase would occur in a declarative sentence, or they can be fronted into the focus position (see [39-2] in section 39.1). In (19-18) the interrogative phrase *taa* ‘what?’ occurs *in situ*, while in (19-19), it has been fronted and is in focus. (The focus marker *na* and the subject marker have fused as *n=o*).

(19-18) *Qo riki-a taa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ what?
 ‘What did you see?’ ‘You saw what?’

(19-19) *Taa n=o riki-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you see?’

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In (19-20) the possessive interrogative phrase is *in situ*, while in (19-21) it has been fronted and is in focus:

(19-20) *Kera kwaqi-a rake=ni tei?*
 3PL.NFUT cut-3.OBJ belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR who?
 ‘Whose belly did they cut (open) (in a surgical operation)?’

(19-21) *Rake=ni tei na kera kwaqi-a?*
 belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR who? FOC 3PL.NFUT cut-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whose belly did they cut (open)?’

Predicate interrogative noun phrases too can be fronted and focused:

(19-22) *Tei na wane lakoo?*
 who? FOC man that(3)
 ‘Who is that man?’

Compare (19-23) with ‘who?’ in the predicate of a verbless sentence:

(19-23) *Thata-mu ni tei?*
 name-2SG.PERS PERSMKR who?
 ‘What is your name?’ (Lit.: ‘Your name is who?’)

See section 27.2.3 for grammatically positive verbless ascriptive sentences.

Occasionally, a fronted interrogative phrase occurs without the focus marker:

(19-24) *Tei kera b=o ngata bii kera qi*
 who? 3PL that=2SG.NFUT speak COM 3PL LOC
quuqusungadia?
 morning
 ‘Who (plural) did you speak with in the morning?’

For another example see (19-148) in section 19.3.11. This, however, is rare.

The focus marker is sometimes absent when the interrogative phrase contains the perfect marker *naqa*; see (19-114) in section 19.3.6. This is also the case in non-interrogative clauses (section 39.2).

The two options — fronting with focusing and no fronting — do not exist for all types of open interrogatives. When they do, the type with the interrogative phrase in *in situ* sometimes, but by no means always, expresses an echo question in reaction to more or less immediately preceding linguistic context. This type of question may be used when a person did not hear well part of what has just been said and wants to have it repeated or elaborated upon. By using the interrogative in (19-25) the person is asking his interlocutor to repeat who he had spoken to, because he did not hear well what the interlocutor said:

- (19-25) *Qo ngata bii ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT speak COM PERSMKR who?
 ‘You spoke with who?’

Echo questions are also used because of the unexpectedness of what has just been said, and the hearer wants to have it confirmed. In such cases the interrogative word is usually uttered with greater-than-normal intensity, including a sharp rise in intonation. This is indicated by bolding in the next example.

- (19-26) A: *Nau ku riki-a teqe lo=i*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ one snake=LOC

faar-a biqu naqi.
 under-3.PERS house this

- B: *Qo riki-a **taa** qi*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ what? LOC

faar-a biqu qena?
 underneath-3.PERS house that(2)

A: ‘I saw a snake under this house.’

B: ‘You saw *what* under the house?’

Interrogatives with interrogative phrases in focus tend to be used, although not exclusively, when there is no immediately preceding linguistic context that demands repetition, confirmation, or elaboration. For example, when seeing somebody eat something, one could ask the question in (19-27):

- (19-27) *Taa n=o qani-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you eating?’ ‘What is it you are eating?’

However, the distinction between open interrogatives with the interrogative phrase *in situ* and those with fronted interrogative phrases in terms of their use is not categorical. For example, interrogatives with fronted interrogative phrases can also be used to ask for repetition, elaboration, or confirmation. In (19-28) the speaker is asking for repetition, elaboration after not hearing well what piece of the other person’s property had been damaged:

- (19-28) *Taa qoe na kera laba-tani-a?*
 what? 2SG FOC 3PL.NFUT damage-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What of yours did they damage?’

Both types of interrogative, with and without fronting, can be used in response to very much the same extra-linguistic context. For example, when seeing somebody look for something, either type is possible and common:

- (19-29) *Taa n=o rofe-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT look.for-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you looking for?’

- (19-30) *Kera rofe-a taa?*
 3PL.NFUT look.for-3.OBJ what?
 ‘What are they looking for?’

However, there are syntactic environments where the interrogative phrase must be fronted. This is true of interrogative phrases that correspond to the subject of the sentence, although with one type of exception. Thus, where (19-31a) with a fronted and focused *tei* ‘who?’ interrogative phrase is grammatical, (19-31b) without fronting/focusing is not:

- (19-31) a. *Tei n=e lae mai?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT go VENT
 ‘Who came?’
- b. **Tei e lae mai?*
 who? 3SG.NFUT go VENT
 (‘Who came?’)

Similarly in (19-32a) and (19-32b) with *taa* ‘what?’ in the interrogative phrase:

- (19-32) a. *Taa n=e thada?*
 what? FOC=3SG.NFUT fall
 ‘What fell?’ ‘What was it that fell?’
- b. **Taa e thada?*
 what 3SG.NFUT fall
 (‘What fell?’)

However, interrogative subjects of verbless sentences with a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb forming the predicate are not in focus; see (19-33) and (19-34), respectively:

- (19-33) *Tei nena?*
 who? there(2)
 ‘Who is that (over) there?’

- (19-34) *Taa neri?*
 what? NPAST.HERE
 ‘What is this?’

With one type of exception to be discussed in section 19.3.4, interrogative prepositional phrases headed by a verb-like preposition or by a noun-like preposition cannot be fronted. Only the complement of the preposition is fronted and the preposition is stranded behind (section 10.6):

- (19-35) *Wela taa n=e ngali-a fanga qeri*
 child which? FOC=3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ food that

fasi-a?
 ABL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Which child did he take the food from?’

- (19-36) *Tei n=o fale-a lolé qeri qi*
 who? FOC=2SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ candy that LOC

a-na?
 REC-3SG.PERS
 ‘Who did you give the candy to?’

Fronting of an interrogative phrase into focus must be distinguished from a type of interrogative sentence where the verb together with an interrogative phrase precede the subject. This order occurs in one subtype of locational interrogative sentences: a locative verb followed by one of the forms for ‘where?’ precedes the subject:

(19-37) [locative.verb ‘where?’] subject

For example:

(19-38) *Nii fei naifa nau baa?*
 be.located where? knife 1SG that
 ‘Where is my knife?’ ‘Where is that knife of mine?’

Although the verb phrase precedes the subject, it is not in the focus position. First, the focus marker *na* cannot occur here. Second, a locative prepositional phrase that contains *fei* can be fronted by itself and be in focus. In such cases a prepositional phrase that consists of the general locative preposition *qi* and the locative pro-form *ei* (section 10.2.2) must appear at the extraction site. In (19-39) the locative interrogative phrase *i fei* ‘(at) where?’ is in focus, and there is a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form after the locative verb:

(19-39) *Nee, ma i fei na qaburu naqi qe*
 hey and LOC where? FOC ogre this 3SG.NFUT

ni=i ei?
 be.located=LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Hey, where is this ogre [we have been talking about]?’

On the other hand, the locative pro-form is not used in the inverted word order; see (19-38).

And third, as discussed in section 19.3.11, certain intensifying particles can be used inside interrogative phrases to express emphatic questions, but only if the interrogative phrase is in focus. In (19-40) the intensifier is *qana*:

(19-40) *Ni tei qana n=o ngata*
 PERSMKR who? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT speak

bii-a?
 COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Who was it that you spoke with?’

The intensifying particles cannot be used in the inverted structure.

The inverted word order is not obligatory, and locational interrogatives with the verb phrase in the canonical position do not necessarily express echo questions:

- (19-41) *Naifa nau ba=e nii fei?*
 knife 1SG that=3SG.NFUT be.located where?
 ‘Where is my knife?’

With the exception of the type of interrogative with inverted, [verb.phrase subject] order and one other type of sentence where the verb comes before the subject (negative existential sentences, discussed in section 26.1.2.2), verbs cannot occur before their subjects, whether in interrogatives or elsewhere, and the interrogative verbs *qufita* ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’ and its transitive counterpart *qufita-a* ‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’ can only occur *in situ*:

- (19-42) *Era ba=e qufita naqa?*
 fire that=3SG.NFUT be.how? PRF
 ‘How is the fire now?’ ‘How is the fire doing now?’ (Is it burning well now?)

The distinction between open interrogatives with the interrogative phrase *in situ* on the one hand and ones where the interrogative phrase has been fronted and focused or where the order is [verb.phrase subject] on the other is, then, not categorical, either in terms of their use or in the syntactic conditions under which the constructions occur. For this reason no separate type of echo interrogatives is recognized for Toqabaqita.

Only one interrogative phrase is possible in a clause, regardless of whether both of them were to be *in situ* or one of them were to be fronted.

- (19-43) **Qo riki-a taa qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ what? LOC where?
 (‘You saw what where?’)
- (19-44) **Tei n=e laba-tani-a taa qoe?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT damage-TR-3.OBJ what 2SG
 (‘Who damaged what of yours?’)

An open interrogative can be an elliptical sentence fragment which may consist of just an interrogative phrase:

- (19-45) *Fita fa doo?*
 how.many? CLF thing
 ‘How many (of them)?’ (Asking about the quantity of breadfruit
 picked.)

The various interrogative words and phrases will now be discussed in turn.

19.3.3. *Tei* ‘who?’

Tei is an interrogative noun, specifically a personal interrogative noun. In one respect it behaves grammatically like a personal name: it optionally takes the person marker *ni* (section 6.4).

- (19-46) *Ni tei n=o riki-a?*
 PERSMKR who? FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Who did you see?’

While *ni* is specifically a feminine person marker with names, with *tei* it has no gender value. It is used even if the speaker has an expectation that the person being inquired about is male. As discussed in section 6.3, there is another particle *ni*, which functions as a foregrounder with the independent personal pronouns. That particle too has no gender value. There is, however, strong evidence that *tei* is a personal noun and not a pronoun. First, when a *tei* phrase functions as the direct object of a Class 1 transitive verb or as the object of a verb-like preposition, it is indexed on the verb or on the preposition by means of the object suffix *-a* (unless the person marker *ni* has cliticized onto the verb or the preposition):

- (19-47) *Qo riki-a ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ PERSMKR who?
 ‘Who did you see?’ ‘You saw who?’

Similarly, objects headed by personal names are indexed on verbs and the verb-like prepositions; see, for example, (6-96) and (6-97) in section 6.4. On the other hand, pronominal objects are not indexed in either object position (sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 10.3.1).

Second, like phrases headed by personal names, *tei* phrases can function as direct objects of Class 2 transitive verbs, as objects of the noun-like prepositions, and as possessor phrases in the suffixing possessive construction. In (19-48) the *tei* phrase is a direct object:

- (19-48) *Qo fula-toqo-na ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT arrive-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR who?
 ‘Who did you meet?’ ‘You met who?’

On the other hand, the independent personal pronouns cannot occur in any of those positions (sections 4.2.3.3.1, 10.4.1, and 8.1.2).

Like lexical direct objects, *tei* direct-object phrases follow postverbal particles, while pronominal objects precede postverbal particles (see [4-1] in section 4.1).

- (19-49) *Qo tole-a ma=ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT lead-3.OBJ VENT=PERSMKR who?
 ‘Who did you bring (lit.: lead) here?’

More evidence of the nominal, rather than pronominal, status of *tei* comes from the patterns of the presence and absence of the two particles *ni* in the (direct) object position and in the possessor position. With *tei* there is a strong tendency for the person marker *ni* to be present in the object positions both with Class 1 and with Class 2 transitive verbs, and with the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions; see (19-47) and (19-48) for *tei* in the direct-object position with a Class 1 and a Class 2 transitive verb, respectively. Similarly *ni* is commonly used with personal names in these positions. As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, they do not normally take the pronominal foregrounder *ni* in the direct-object position with Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions (and they are ungrammatical in the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verb and as objects of the noun-like prepositions).

Tei phrases, phrases headed by personal names, and phrases headed by personal pronouns can all occur in the possessor position in bare possessive constructions. However, while there is a strong tendency for *tei* and personal names to occur with the person marker *ni*, there is an equally strong tendency for personal pronouns to occur without the pronominal foregrounder. These preferential patterns are illustrated in (19-50), (19-51), and (19-52):

- (19-50) *fanga ni tei?*
 food PERSMKR who?
 ‘whose food?’

- (19-51) *fanga ni Fiona*
 food PERSMKR Fiona
 ‘Fiona’s food’

- (19-52) *fanga nia*
 food 3SG
 'his/her food'

There is one characteristic that the person marker when used with *tei* and the pronominal foregrounder do share (other than their phonological shape): they are both gender neutral. However, this is not necessarily of any significance. The personal pronouns simply do not make a gender distinction, and the foregrounder is more often absent than present. And in the case of *tei*, the gender of the person inquired about is often not known.

Just as *tei* is neutral with respect to gender, it is also neutral with respect to number. That is, the number of persons inquired about may be one or more, or, of course, the speaker may not know. However, when the speaker knows or at least assumes that the number of persons involved is more than one, *tei* can be used in a phrasal inclusory construction (section 14.2) with a third person independent personal pronoun, the dual one or the plural one. These constructions are used when the people in question form some kind of grouping, permanent or transitory.

- (19-53) *Ni tei keeroqa na kero fula mai*
 PERSMKR who? 3DU FOC 3DU.NFUT arrive VENT

neri?
 NPAST.HERE
 'Who (two) have arrived?'

- (19-54) A: *Kamiliqa mili sifo naqa.*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT descend PRF

B: *Tei kamuluqa?*
 who? 2PL

A: *Kamiliqa tha Demesi ma tha Dioni.*
 1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR Demesi and PERSMKR Dioni

A: 'We are going down [to the coast] now.'

B: 'You and who?' (Lit.: 'You (plural) including who?')

A: 'I and/with Demesi and Dioni.' (Lit.: 'We, including Demesi and Dioni.')

When an object *tei* phrase that has dual or plural reference is fronted, the dual or the plural number is normally signalled by the appropriate object suffix on the verb or on the preposition:

- (19-55) *Tei na qoki lae bii-da?*
 who? FOC 2SG.FUT go COM-3PL.OBJ
 ‘Who will you go with (lit.: with them)?’

We can now consider the use of *tei* noun phrases in different sentence positions. With two types of exception, the person marker is not infrequently absent. It is usually present in the possessor position; see (19-60) and (19-62) further below. And it is always present when *tei* heads the predicate of a verbless clause; see (19-64). The presence of the person marker in positions other than possessor and predicate tends to make the query about the identity of the person(s) somewhat more emphatic, insistent. The person marker is always present in emphatic interrogatives (section 19.3.11).

As mentioned in section 19.3.2, a subject *tei* phrase must be fronted and focused, with the exception of verbless clauses whose predicate consists of a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb (see [19-33] in section 19.3.2 for an example of the former).

- (19-56) *Tei n=e ngata i fuuri naba?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT talk LOC down.there PAST.THEN
 ‘Who was it talking down there?’

In (19-57) there is both focusing of the *tei* subject phrase and topicalization of the direct object:

- (19-57) *Fanga naqi, ni tei n=e*
 food this PERSMKR who? FOC=3SG.NFUT

naqare-a?
 cook-3SG.OBJ
 ‘This food, who cooked it?’

In positions other than subject, *tei* phrases may be fronted or they may occur *in situ*, see (19-58) and (19-59), respectively:

- (19-58) *Qo riki-a ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ PERSMKR who?
 ‘Who did you see?’ ‘You saw who?’

In (19-59) the *tei* phrase has been fronted and the comitative preposition has been stranded:

- (19-59) *Tei na qoki lae bii-a?*
 who? FOC 2SG.FUT go COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Who will you go with?’

Possessive noun phrases with *tei* in the possessor position can be fronted, or alternatively, only the possessor phrase is fronted and a resumptive expression of the possessor occurs in the possessive noun phrase, which remains *in situ*. If the possessive construction is of the bare type, the resumptive expression of the possessor is a personal pronoun, as in (19-61).

- (19-60) *Maka ni tei n=e mae?*
 father PERSMKR who? FOC=3SG.NFUT die
 ‘Whose father (was it that) died?’

- (19-61) *Ni tei na maka nia e mae?*
 PERSMKR who? FOC father 3SG 3SG.NFUT die
 ‘Who was it that his/her father died?’

If the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the resumptive expression of the possessor is a personal suffix on the possessum noun, as in (19-63). (In [19-62] the possessum noun *rake* ‘belly’ and the person marker have fused, and consequently the third person singular personal suffix *-na* is absent.)

- (19-62) *Rake=ni tei na kera kwaqi-a?*
 belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR who? FOC 3PL.NFUT cut-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whose belly did they cut (open) (in a surgical operation)?’

- (19-63) *Ni tei na kera kwaqi-a*
 PERSMKR who? FOC 3PL.NFUT cut-3.OBJ

rake-na?

belly-3SG.PERS

‘Who was it that they cut (open) his/her belly?’

Tei is used to ask about people’s names:

- (19-64) *Thata-mu ni tei?*
 name-2SG.PERS PERSMKR who?
 ‘What (lit.: who) is your name?’

19.3.4. *Taa* ‘what?’, ‘which?’

Taa is a common noun. Objects headed by *taa* are indexed on verbs and on the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions, whether they are fronted or occur in *situ*. Example (19-65) shows *taa* indexed on the verb when the interrogative direct object occurs in *situ*, and (19-66) shows it indexed on a stranded verb-like proposition:

(19-65) *Qo rofe-a taa?*
 2SG.NFUT look.for-3.OBJ what?
 ‘What are you looking for?’ ‘You are looking for what?’

(19-66) *Taa n=o rake-qiri uri-a?*
 what FOC=2SG.NFUT belly-be.angry REAS-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you angry about?’

Taa phrases can occur as complements of the reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions; see (19-79) further below.

Taa phrases can occur in the possessum position of a possessive construction:

(19-67) *Taa qoe na kera laba-tani-a?*
 what? 2SG FOC 3PL.NFUT damage-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What of yours did they damage?’

Taa is used in two basic types of interrogative noun phrase. In one it forms the head of the interrogative phrase, while in the other it functions as a modifier of the head noun. The former type of construction is considered first. When *taa* is the head of an interrogative phrase, it most often occurs by itself, but it may be accompanied by some of the noun-phrase internal particles, such as the plural marker *ki* (see [19-68] below), the partitive marker *si* ([19-69] and [19-73]), the identifier *nga* (19-70), the additive marker *laqu* (19-71), the perfect marker *naqa* (19-72), or by one of the intensifiers (19-73).

(19-68) *Taa ki neri?*
 what? PL NPAST.HERE
 ‘What are these?’

The meaning of the partitive marker with *taa* is something like ‘which one of the potential candidates is involved?’:

(19-69) *Si taa na toqa neqe keki*
 PRRT what? FOC people this 3PL.IPFV

fuqaro-tani-a neq?
 whisper-TR-3SG.OBJ VIVID
 ‘What are these people whispering about?’ ‘Which thing are these people whispering about?’

The presence of the identifier *nga* gives more intensity to the query about the identity of the entity:

(19-70) *Nga taa n=e ni=i laa*
 IDENT what? FOC=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC IN

waqi qena nena?
 basket that(2) NPAST.THERE
 ‘What is it that’s inside that basket there?’

In (19-71) *taa* is accompanied by the additive marker *laqu*:

(19-71) *Taa laqu?*
 what? ADD
 ‘What else?’ (A shop assistant asking a customer: ‘What else do you want to buy?’.)

In the next two examples, the particles are joined to *taa* by means of the ligature *ni* (section 7.1). In (19-72) it is the perfect marker *naqa* that is present.

(19-72) *Taa ni naqa na wela kai qani-a?*
 what? LIG PRF FOC child 3SG.IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What’s the child eating now?’ ‘What is it now that the child is eating?’

And in (19-73) the interrogative phrase contains the intensifier *boqo* as well as the partitive particle *si*:

(19-73) *Si taa ni boqo na koki*
 PRRT what? LIG INTS FOC DU(INCL).FUT

ili-a?
 do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What will/shall we do?’

In cases other than instrument inversion (section 10.7), when a *taa* phrase is the object of a verb-like preposition and is fronted, the preposition must be stranded behind, with one exception. Example (19-74) shows preposition stranding:

- (19-74) *Taa na kera qoga qani-a?*
 what? FOC 3PL.NFUT be.busy GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are they busy with?’

Exceptionally, preposition-stranding need not take place when a *taa* phrase is the complement of the purpose/reason verb-like preposition *uri* (section 10.3.2). The whole prepositional phrase may be fronted. There are three grammatical possibilities: fronting of the *taa* phrase alone; no fronting at all; and fronting of the whole prepositional phrase. However, these options are not all fully equivalent semantically. When only the *taa* phrase is fronted and the preposition is stranded behind, the meaning expressed may be that of purpose or cause/reason. The question may inquire about the identity of an object with respect to which the event takes place, as in (19-75) below, or it may inquire about the overall purpose of the event or about its cause/reason, as in (19-76) and (19-77), respectively. However, the two different types of purpose are not always clearly distinguishable. In the context of (19-75) the speaker assumes that the third person had come to look for something, and the addressee identifies the object:

- (19-75) A: *Taa na wane ba=e laa-lae*
 what? FOC man that=3SG.NFUT RDP-go

m=uri-a?
 VENT=PURP-3SG.OBJ
- B: *Qe lae mai uri-a naifa nia qe*
 3SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ knife 3SG 3SG.NFUT

qakwasi-a kau qi rogo.
 leave.behind-3SG.OBJ AND LOC yesterday
 A: ‘What did the man come for?’
 B: ‘He came for his knife that he left behind yesterday.’

In principle, the question in (19-75) could instead inquire about the overall purpose of the man’s coming: ‘Why did the man come?’ On the other hand, the sentence in (19-76) can only function as an inquiry about the purpose of the overall event.

- (19-76) *Taa n=o fele-si nau uri-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT press-TR 1SG PURP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What did you “press” me for?’ ‘Why did you “press” me?’

(*Fele-si* designates the action of one person gently and discretely pressing part of another person’s body to attract their attention, for example, for a private conversation.)

The question in (19-77) is about the cause of, the reason for, the addressee’s anger:

- (19-77) *Taa n=o rake-qiri uri-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT belly-be.angry REAS-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you angry about?’

The same range of meanings can be expressed with the *taa* phrase *in situ*. Thus, (19-78) can be a purpose inquiry about a specific entity or about the overall event, while (19-79) expresses a question about the cause/reason.

- (19-78) *Qo lae mai uri-a taa?*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ what?
 ‘What have you come for?’ ‘You have come for what?’ ‘Why have you come?’

- (19-79) *Qo lio rake-qiri ura taa?*
 2SG.NFUT look belly-be.angry REAS what?
 ‘What are you looking (so) angry for?’ ‘Why are you looking (so) angry?’

The third option is for the whole prepositional phrase with the *taa* phrase as complement to be fronted. This construction can only be used to inquire about the cause or reason of an event, not about the purpose. While it is not always possible to clearly distinguish cause/reason from purpose, all the available examples with a fronted prepositional phrase are either clearly queries about reason/cause, or at least are interpretable as such. Since the *taa* complement is adjacent to the preposition, the preposition may have the full form *uri-a*, with the object-indexing suffix, or the reduced form *ura*, as in (19-80) and (19-81), respectively:

- (19-80) *Uri-a taa na qosi lae mai i roqo?*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? FOC 2SG.NEG go VENT LOC yesterday
 ‘Why didn’t you come yesterday?’

- (19-81) *Ura taa na qosi qani-a ta si doo?*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ some PRTT thing
 ‘Why didn’t you eat anything?’

In fact, when a whole prepositional phrase is fronted, and only then, it is also possible for the preposition to have the form *uri* without the object suffix, although this is not common:

- (19-82) *Uri taa na qosi qani-a tai sii*
 REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ some.PL piece

qana fanga neqe?
 GENP food this
 ‘Why aren’t you eating any (lit.: some pieces) of this food?’

Fronted cause/reason interrogative prepositional phrases exhibit several properties that make them different from the other constructions with the cause/reason and purpose preposition and from other types of fronted interrogative phrases. First, unlike the construction where only the *taa* phrase is fronted and unlike the construction where no fronting at all takes place, a fronted prepositional phrase can express only cause/reason, not purpose. Second, this is the only type of case where a verb-like preposition is fronted with its object; elsewhere, the preposition must be stranded behind. And third, the *taa* phrase need not be indexed on the preposition, even if the preposition has the form *uri*. All this suggests that a grammaticalization process may be in progress: the range of the meanings expressed is smaller than in the other constructions; the preposition and its complement are fronted together; and *taa* need not be a fully-fledged common noun.

The other basic type of construction in which *taa* occurs is one where it functions as a modifier of a head noun, specifically as the possessor phrase in a bare possessive construction. The basic structure of this construction is [X *taa*]_{NP}, where X is the head, possessum noun. The meaning of this construction is ‘what X?’, ‘what type/kind of X?’, ‘which X?’, ‘which type/kind of X?’, literally ‘X of what?’. A query using this construction may request selection from an unspecified set, ‘what X?’, ‘what type/kind of X?’, or from a restricted, predetermined set, ‘which X?’, ‘which type/kind of X?’. The glosses ‘what?’ and ‘which?’ are used as appropriate.

- (19-83) *Faka taa loqo?*
 ship what? up.there
 ‘What ship is it out (lit. up) there?’ (The ship is out at sea.)

- (19-84) *Naba taa i taraqena?*
 number what? LOC today
 ‘What date (lit.: number) is it today?’
- (19-85) *Iqa taa ki neri?*
 fish what? PL NPAST.HERE
 ‘What kind(s) of fish are these?’
- (19-86) *Fiona taa?*
 Fiona which?
 ‘Which Fiona?’ (Big Fiona or little Fiona?)
- (19-87) *Thala taa n=o thathami-a? Thala*
 cloth which? FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ cloth

meemenaqa mada thala kwaakwaoqa?
 be.red or cloth be.white
 ‘Which cloth do you want? The red cloth or the white cloth?’

To ask about the time of occurrence of a situation or, more recently, with the introduction of watches and clocks, about clock time, one of the nouns meaning ‘time’ is modified by *taa*. Most commonly *manga* ‘time’ is used, as in (19-88) and (19-89), but there are other possibilities, as in (19-90) and (19-91).

- (19-88) *Manga taa n=o futa?*
 time what? FOC=2SG.NFUT be.born
 ‘When were you born?’
- (19-89) *Manga taa naqa neri?*
 time what? PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘What time is it now?’

In (19-90) the much less common word for ‘time’ *kada* is used, and in (19-91) Solomon Islands Pijin *taym* ‘time’ is used in code-mixing:

- (19-90) *Qe nofi qi kada taa?*
 3SG.NFUT die LOC time what?
 ‘When did he die?’
- (19-91) *Taym taa neri?*
 time what? NPAST.HERE
 ‘What time is it?’

Alternatively, to inquire about the time of a situation the adverb *angita* ‘when?’ (section 19.3.9) can be used, but this is not common.

Taa is also used as a non-interrogative interjection used to express surprise, amazement at something occurring unexpectedly, out of the blue, or to emphasize a sudden change: ‘lo!’, ‘behold!’.

(19-92) *Kukeqe* *baa* *kai* *too* *qa-na*,
mature.woman that 3SG.IPFV stay SBEN-3SG.PERS

taa!, *qe* *rongo-a* *linge-qe* *oqo* *bulu*
lo! 3SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ sound-ASSOC drum be.dark

baa

that

‘The woman had been [there for some time], when, lo!, she heard the sound of the deep-sounding (lit. dark) drum’

19.3.5. *Qufita* ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’; *qufita-a* ‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’

Qufita and *qufita-a* are interrogative verbs, intransitive and Class 1 transitive, respectively. As verbs, they take subject-tense markers, but not the negative subject markers. That is, the verbs are not used to inquire about how someone or something is not, what someone is not doing, or how someone is not doing something. The verbs always occur *in situ*. The intransitive verb *qufita* has a variant *qifita*, which, however, is not normally used. (There is no evidence of a transitive form *qifita-a*.) The intransitive verb is much more common and is discussed first.

The exact meaning of the intransitive verb *qufita* is highly context-dependent, but, by and large, it is used to ask about the following: the state of a person or another kind of entity, or the state of affairs: ‘be how?’; what someone is doing: ‘do what?’; and the manner in which someone does something: ‘do how?’. Examples (19-93) – (19-108) illustrate some of the range of the possible uses of *qufita*, but it should be kept in mind that the meaning of *qufita* depends greatly on the context.

Qufita may be used to inquire about a person’s state of being. The same interrogative sentence can also function as a greeting. The example in (19-93) shows both the usual form *qufita* and the rare variant *qifita*:

- (19-93) *Qo* {*qufita* / *qifita*}?
 2SG.NFUT be.how? / be.how?
 ‘How are you?’ ‘How are you doing?’

In (19-94) the speaker is asking about the state of a fire:

- (19-94) *Era ba=e qufita naqa?*
 fire that=3SG.NFUT be.how? PRF
 ‘How is the fire now?’ ‘How is the fire doing now?’ (Is it burning well now?)

Rather than inquiring about an entity, *qufita* may inquire about a state of affairs. In saying (19-95), the speaker is wondering about how the practice of holding Christian fellowship sessions will work:

- (19-95) *Kuki raa ba-kaluqa qana*
 PL(INCL).FUT work LIM-PL(INCL).PERS GENP
felouship-laa qena, ka qufita nena?
 hold.fellowship-NMLZ that(2) 3SG.SEQ be.how? NPAST.THERE
 ‘We will hold fellowship meetings (lit.: we will work on holding fellowship meetings); what will that be like?/how will that work?’

The sentence in (19-96) can function as a question about a state of affairs or as a greeting:

- (19-96) *Qe qufita?*
 3SG.NFUT be.how?
 ‘How is it?’ ‘How are things?’

Qufita may be used to ask a previous speaker to repeat or explain what he/she has just said when the other person did not hear or did not hear well. Here the norm is for *qufita* to occur without a subject marker:

- (19-97) *Qufita?*
 be.how?
 ‘What (did you say)?’ (Lit.: ‘How was it?’)

Qufita is also used to inquire about what somebody is doing, did or will do:

- (19-98) *Nau kwai saqu kuki qa-kuqa. Ma*
 1SG 1SG.IPFV wash saucepan SBEN-1SG.PERS and

ni qoe qoki qufita qa-muqa?
 PROFORE 2SG 2SG.IPFV do.what? SBEN-2SG.PERS
 ‘I’m washing pots. And what are you doing?’

To inquire about the manner in which an event is performed, a serializing [verb verb] compound is used in which *qufita* follows the verb that encodes the relevant event:

(19-99) *Kuki naqare qufita qana iqa naqi?*
 PL(INCL).FUT cook do.how? GENP fish this
 ‘How will we cook this fish?’

(19-100) *Qo lae qufita mai?*
 2SG.NFUT go do.how? VENT
 ‘How did you come here?’ ‘Which way did you come?’

The same verbal combination *lae qufita* ‘go do.how?’ is commonly used to inquire about the destination of someone’s going:

(19-101) *Qo lae qufita naqa neri?*
 2SG.NFUT go do.how? PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘Where are you going?’

Qufita is also used to inquire about how a certain event was brought about through an earlier, causing event. This is closely related to inquiring about the manner in which an action is performed, except that instead of one event proceeding in a certain manner, there are two events, the first one of which enables, causes, brings about, or results in, the second event. *Qufita* is used to inquire about how the second event was brought about, about what was done or what happened that brought the second event about. There are two constructions available, both of which consist of two clauses. The first clause inquires about the causing or enabling event, and it contains *qufita*. The second clause encodes the caused, resulting event; its verb has the appropriate sequential subject marker. In both constructions, the first clause is usually in grammatical focus when cause or reason is being expressed.

In one of the two constructions, *qufita* occurs as the second element in a serializing [verb verb] compound where the first verb is *ade* ‘do’: *ade qufita* ‘do do.what?’. (*Ade* is also used to form the periphrastic causative construction; see section 29.4.9.1.) The subject of the verbal compound encodes the actor.

(19-102) *Qo ade qufita na qaba-mu ka*
 2SG.NFUT do do.what? FOC arm-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

qoo?

break

‘What did you do to break your arm?’ ‘How did you break your arm?’ ‘How did your arm get broken?’

The sentence in (19-102) contains a focused reason clause: *qo ade qufita?* ‘what did you do?, ‘how did you do (it)?’. Focused reason clauses are discussed in section 33.2.2.

In the next example the relation between the two events is one of purpose, rather than cause or reason, and the clause that contains *qufita* is not in focus. The kind of event inquired about is to serve to bring about a subsequent event:

(19-103) *Kuki* *ade qufita* *fasi kuka*
 PL(INCL).FUT do do.what? PURP PL(INCL).SEQ

soqoni-a *ta* *era?*

light.fire-3.OBJ some fire

‘What will we do to light a fire?’ ‘How will we light a fire?’

In the other type of construction, *qufita* is not part of a [verb verb] compound. There can be no subject noun phrase. The subject marker is third person singular and is non-referential. This construction usually expresses a surprise that the event of the second clause does or does not take place. The first clause, with *qufita*, inquires about the enabling, causing or inhibiting factor:

(19-104) *Qe* *qufita* *na* *qoko* *dee-a* *iqa*
 3SG.NFUT be.how? FOC 2SG.SEQ catch.fish-3.OBJ fish

qoro?

be.many

‘How did you (manage to) catch (so) many fish?’

(19-105) *Qe* *qufita* *na* *qosi* *fanga?*
 3SG.NFUT be.how? FOC 2SG.NEG eat

‘How come you are not eating?’ ‘How/Why is it that you are not eating?’

Qufita is an intransitive stative verb (in spite of its sometimes being glossed as ‘do what?’ or ‘do how?’), and as such can modify nouns (section 6.10). In this function it serves to inquire about some properties of the referent of the noun phrase. In (19-106) *qufita* is used to ask for a description of what a certain cup looks like:

(19-106) A: *Nau qa-kuqa teqe banikeni.*
 1SG POSS-1SG.PERS one cup

B: *Banikeni qufita?*
 cup be.how?

A: *Banikeni nau qeri qe ilingi-a*
 cup 1SG that 3SG.NFUT be.just.like-3.OBJ

banikeni naqi.
 cup this

A: 'I have a cup.' (Lit.: 'I, of mine there is one cup.')

B: 'What (kind of) cup?' 'What is the cup like?'

A: 'My cup (lit.: that cup of mine) is/looks just like this cup.'

And in (19-107) *qufita* is used to ask for a description of a child:

(19-107) *Qo fale-a lole qeri qana wela qufita?*
 2SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ candy that GENP child be.how?
 'What child did you give the candy to?' 'What was the child that
 you gave the candy to like?' 'What did the child that you gave the
 candy to look like?'

Qufita can modify a noun with the meaning 'time' to inquire about clock time:

(19-108) *Manga qufita neri?*
 time be.how? NPAST.HERE
 'What time is it now?'

Qufita interrogative clauses are also used to introduce other closed interrogatives in complex interrogative structures; see section 19.5.

The transitive verb *qufita-a* 'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?', always with the third person (singular) object suffix, is used to inquire about what is being done to something, how it is manipulated, treated, processed. It is used only rarely.

(19-109) A: *Qo qufita-a fanga baa?*
 2SG.NFUT do.what?.to-3.OBJ food that

- B: *Nau ku bii-a.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT bake.in.stone.oven-3SG.OBJ
 A: ‘What did you do with the food?’ (Here: How did you cook it?)
 B: ‘I baked it in a stone oven.’

19.3.6. *Fita* ‘how many?, how much?’, *fita-na* ‘how manieth?’

Both *fita* and *fita-na* function as noun phrase constituents, the former as a modifier and the latter as the head. *Fita* is a cardinal quantifier used with count as well as mass nouns: ‘how many?, how much?’. *Fita-na* has an ordinal quantifying function and is a noun. Grammatically it functions as the head of suffixing possessive noun phrases and contains the third personal (singular) personal suffix *-na*. Both *fita* and *fita-na* are also discussed in section 6.8.5. (For evidence of the nominal status of the ordinal numerals see section 6.8.4.) Examples (19-110) – (9-112) contain the cardinal form *fita*.

- (19-110) *Fita wane n=e fula?*
 how.many person FOC=3SG.NFUT arrive
 ‘How many people arrived?’
- (19-111) *Fita si kafo n=o kuqu-fi-a?*
 how.much? PRTT water FOC=2SG.NFUT drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘How much of the water did you drink?’

In the next example, the interrogative noun phrase occurs in a verbless possessive sentence (section 26.2.1.1):

- (19-112) *Qoe qa-muqa fita wela?*
 2SG POSS-2SG.PERS how.many? child
 ‘How many children do you have?’ (Lit.: ‘You, of yours how many children?’)

The next two examples illustrate the ordinal form *fita-na*.

- (19-113) *Fita-na si manga neri?*
 how.many?-3.PERS PRTT time NPAST.HERE
 ‘What time is it now?’ (Lit.: ‘How manieth of time now?’)

The question in (19-113) is about clock time. For other ways to ask about clock time see examples (19-89) and (19-91) in section 19.3.4, and (19-108) in section 19.3.5.

Fita-na can be in the scope of the perfect marker *naqa*.

- (19-114) *Qoe, fita-na naqa si manga qo*
 2SG how.many?-3.PERS PRF PRTT time 2SG.NFUT
- fula i Solomoni neri?*
 arrive LOC Solomons NPAST.HERE
 You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?' (Lit.:
 'You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the Solomons?')

19.3.7. *Fei, fania, fana* 'where?'

The three interrogative words *fei*, *fania*, and *fana* are all used to inquire about locations, but the latter two also have one other function (discussed in section 19.3.8). *Fei* is a locative adverb (section 4.11). It is the commonest locative interrogative word and occurs in several constructions. *Fania* and *fana* are particles. They are emphatic forms, and their locative use is restricted to one type of construction.

It is necessary to distinguish locational-sentence interrogatives and other interrogatives concerning locations. Locational-sentence interrogatives correspond to locational declaratives (section 26.1), and their function is to ask questions 'Where is X?'. They employ the locative verbs *nii* 'be located' or, much less commonly, *ii* 'be located'. Locational-sentence interrogatives are discussed first, starting with those using *fei*.

There are three basic strategies for forming locational-sentence interrogatives using *fei*. In one, both the *fei* phrase and the locative verb are *in situ*, with *fei* following the verb. No preposition is used with *fei*. In another strategy *fei* is fronted and it is the complement of the locative preposition *qi*. In the third strategy the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject. No preposition is used with *fei*. The first two examples below contain interrogatives with both the verb and *fei in situ*. This type of construction is by no means uncommon and need not express an echo question.

- (19-115) *Thaina-ka, maka kamareqa qe nii*
 mother-VOC father 1DU(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT be.located
- fei?*
 where?
 'Mother, where is our father?'

In (19-116) the locative verb is accompanied by the ventive directional *mai* to signal that the location inquired about is assumed to be some distance away. (See section 5.2.14.7 for this function of the directional.)

- (19-116) *Nee, ma qaburu naqi qe nii mai fei?*
 hey and ogre this 3SG.NFUT be.located VENT where?
 ‘Hey, this ogre [that we have been talking about] is where?’

The next example illustrates the strategy where *fei* alone is fronted. In that case it must be the complement of the locative preposition *qi*. The locative pro-form *ei*, also as a complement of the locative preposition, must be present in the extraction site. The fronted prepositional phrase with *fei* is placed in focus.

- (19-117) *Nee, ma i fei na qaburu naqi qe*
 hey and LOC where? FOC ogre this 3SG.NFUT

ni=i ei?
 be.located=LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Hey, where is this ogre [we have been talking about]?’

This is the least common of the three types of locational-sentence interrogatives. This may be owing to its relative complexity, because in addition to the fronted interrogative prepositional phrase with *fei* another prepositional phrase, with the locative pro-form *ei*, is required.

In the third strategy, the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject: *nii/i fei X*, *X* being the subject, ‘where is *X*’, literally ‘is located where *X*?’; see also (19-37) in section 19.3.2. As discussed in that section, even though the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject, they are not in the focus position. Locational interrogative sentences with inverted, [verb.phrase subject] order are used commonly.

- (19-118) *Nii fei ni Safina?*
 be.located where? PERSMKR Safina
 ‘Where is Safina?’

- (19-119) *Nii fei bakosi baa ku*
 be.located where? box that 1SG.NFUT

alu-a fanga baa i ei?
 put-3.OBJ food that LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where is the box where I put the food?’

It is only when the order is inverted, that the two emphatic locative interrogative particles *fania* or *fana* can be used in place of *fei*. *Fania* and *fana* are synonymous. The difference in form between them is reminiscent of the difference between the full and the reduced forms of the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3.1), for example the ablative forms *fasi-a* (with the third person singular object suffix *-a*) and *fasa*. However, in present-day Toqabaqita at least, *fania* and *fana* do not function as prepositions, and there is no evidence of *fania* being morphologically complex (**fani-a*).

In (19-120) variant (b), with *fania*, expresses a more emphatic, insistent question about the location than variant (a), with *fei*, does.

(19-120) a. *Nii fei biqu na maka kamiliqa*
be.located where? house REL father 1PL(EXCL)

ki kero too-too qi ei?
PL 3DU.NFUT RDP-reside LOC LOCPRO
'Where is the house where our fathers used to live?'

b. *Nii fania biqu na maka kamiliqa*
be.located where? house REL father 1PL(EXCL)

ki kero too-too qi ei?
PL 3DU.NFUT RDP-reside LOC LOCPRO
'Where is the house where our fathers used to live?' '[We really want to know,] where is the house where our fathers used to live?' 'Where exactly is the house where our fathers used to live?'

In (19-121) all three variants show the possibility of using either the verb *nii* or *ii* 'be located' (the latter not being common), and the (b) and (c) variants also show the possibility of using either *fania* or *fani* as the emphatic interrogative form:

(19-121) a. {*Nii / Ii*} *fei naifa nau baa?*
be.located / be.located where? knife 1SG that
'Where is my knife?'

b. {*Nii / Ii*} *fania naifa nau baa?*
be.located / be.located where? knife 1SG that
'Where on earth is that knife of mine?'

- c. {*Nii* / *Ii*} *fana naiɸa nau baa?*
 be.located / be.located where? knife 1SG that
 ‘Where on earth is that knife of mine?’

The constructions *nii fania* and *nii fana* have another, non-locative use, which is discussed in section 19.3.8.

The next example contains the less common locative verb *ii* in an elliptical interrogative:

- (19-122) *Ii fei?*
 be.located where?
 ‘Where (is it)?’

There is one other way to ask about the location of somebody or something, which, however, involves neither an interrogative locative form nor a locative or any other verb. Such sentences consist of a noun phrase where the noun is modified by the determiner demonstrative of absence *baa* (section 13.3.2.4). Frequently, such reduced sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ma* ‘and’. There is a rise in intonation at the end of the utterance. Although such questions are ostensibly non-specific queries about the relevant entity, they are normally used when the speaker is looking for someone or something that is not where he/she expects him/her/it to be.

- (19-123) *Ma waqi nau baa?*
 and basket 1SG that
 ‘And (where is) my basket?’

- (19-124) *Suti baa?*
 flashlight that
 ‘(Where is) the flashlight?’

For more examples see section 13.3.2.4.

We can now consider interrogatives concerning locations that are not of the locational-sentence type. There only *fei* is available as the interrogative word, and usually, although not always, it is the complement of a preposition. The *fei* phrase normally occurs *in situ*. The following prepositions can govern *fei*: locative *qi*, used for locations and locative goals; allative *uri* for locative goals; and ablative *fasi* for locative sources. Being an adverb, *fei* is not indexed on the two verb-like prepositions *uri* and *fasi*.

The first example expresses a question about a location:

- (19-125) *Qo riki-a loi qeri qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ snake that LOC where?
 ‘Where did you see the snake?’

The sentences in (19-126) – (19-129) express questions about locative goals. With some verbs, either the locative or the allative preposition is possible in the interrogative phrase. For example:

- (19-126) *Koki sifo qi fei?*
 DU(INCL).FUT descend LOC where?
 ‘Where should we go down to?’
- (19-127) *Kuki thaka uri fei?*
 PL(INCL).FUT run.away ALL where?
 ‘Where should we run away to?’

On the other hand, a given verb may require a certain preposition in its locative complements. For example, *alu* ‘put’ requires the general locative preposition *qi*:

- (19-128) *Qo alu-a naifa nau baa qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ knife 1SG that LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put my knife?’ ‘Where did you put that knife of mine?’

With the verb *lae* ‘go’, it is relatively common for *fei* to occur neither with the locative nor with the allative preposition:

- (19-129) *Thaina-mu bia maka qoe kera lae*
 mother-2SG.PERS and father 2SG 3PL.NFUT go
fei?
 where?
 ‘Where did your mother and father go?’

The sentence in (19-130) expresses a question about a locative source, and *fei* occurs with the ablative preposition:

- (19-130) *Qo lae mai fasi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT ABL where?
 ‘Where did you come from?’

Interrogative locative prepositional phrases headed by the general locative preposition *qi* can be fronted and focused, although this is relatively rare. Such phrases can inquire about a location or about a locative goal. A prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* must occur at the extraction site. Interrogative prepositional phrases headed by the allative or the ablative preposition cannot be fronted.

- (19-131) *Qi fei n=o uusi-a kofe naqi*
 LOC where? FOC=2SG.NFUT buy-3.OBJ coffee this

qi ei?
 LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where did you buy this coffee?’ ‘Where was it that you bought this coffee?’

- (19-132) *Qi fei na kwai alu-a waqi naqi*
 LOC where? FOC 1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ basket this

i ei?
 LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Where shall/should I put this basket?’

Here too it may be the relative complexity of the construction — an interrogative prepositional phrase in the focus position and another locative phrase at the extraction site — that makes it dispreferred.

Prepositional phrases with *fei* in their complement can function as noun modifiers, the way other prepositional phrases can (section 6.13):

- (19-133) *Wane fasi fei?*
 man ABL where?
 ‘A man from where?’ (That is, where is the man under discussion from?)

19.3.8. *Nii fania ade-la-na, nii fana ade-la-na* ‘how come?’

As discussed in the preceding section, the emphatic locative particles *fania* and *fana* occur in locational-sentence interrogatives with the locative verb *nii* ‘be

located' in the inverted, [verb.phrase subject] structure. There is another type of construction with the inverted structure, where the verb *nii* takes as its subject the nominalization of the Class 1 transitive verb *ade* 'do', which carries the third person (singular) personal suffix *-na*: 'its doing', 'doing of it'. (The other locative verb *ii* 'be located' does not function in this way.) That clause is followed by another, event clause. The basic structure of the construction is given in (19-134):

(19-134) [*nii* {*fania/fana*} *ade-la-na*] [event.clause]

The event clause can only be grammatically positive, and its verb must have the appropriate sequential subject marker.

This construction is used with a non-locative meaning to inquire about what led to the state of affairs expressed in the event clause, usually with some implication of surprise, wonder: 'How come such and such happened/is the case?', literally 'Where is its doing (that) such and such is/was the case?'.

(19-135) *Nii* *fania* *ade-la-na* *qoko*
be.located where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 2SG.SEQ

dee-a *iqa* *qoro?*
catch.fish-3.OBJ fish be.many
'How come you caught (so) many fish?' 'How did you manage to catch (so) many fish?'

(19-136) *Nii* *fana* *ade-la-na* *naifa nau*
be.located where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS knife 1SG

ka *qoo?*
3SG.SEQ be.broken
'How come my knife is broken?'

(19-137) *Nii* *fania* *ade-la-na* *qoko*
be.located where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 2SG.SEQ

rake-qiri?
belly-be.angry
'How come you are angry?'

What is historically a nominalization of *ade* 'do' also functions as a consequence marker (chapter 34).

19.3.9. *Angita* ‘when?’

Angita is a temporal adverb, used to inquire about the time of occurrence of situations. It is not used to ask about clock time (‘What time is it?’). *Angita* phrases function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*.

- (19-138) *Qi angita n=o fula?*
 LOC when? FOC=2SG.NFUT arrive
 ‘When did you arrive?’

In (19-139) the prepositional phrase with *angita* forms the predicate:

- (19-139) *Lae-laa baa i angita?*
 go-NMLZ that LOC when?
 ‘When is the time to go?’ (Lit.: ‘The going [discussed earlier] [is] when?’)

However, *angita* is used only infrequently. To inquire about the time of occurrence of a situation, a possessive noun phrase with one of the two nouns for ‘time’ in the possessum position and *taa* ‘what?’ in the possessor position is normally used. Usually, the temporal noun used is *manga* ‘time’.

- (19-140) *Manga taa na toqa baa ki keki fula?*
 time what? FOC people that PL 3PL.FUT arrive
 ‘When will those people arrive?’

For more examples see (19-88) and (19-90) in section 19.3.4.

19.3.10. *Tafa* ‘which part of person’s or animal’s body?’

Tafa is an interrogative noun used to inquire about which part of a person’s or an animal’s body is involved in the relevant state of affairs. It functions as the head of the suffixing possessive noun phrase where the “possessor” refers to the person or the animal. In (19-141) the *tafa* phrase, which corresponds to the subject, has been fronted and is in focus:

- (19-141) *Tafa-mu n=e fii?*
 which.part.of.body?-2SG.PERS FOC=3SG.NFUT hurt
 ‘Which part of your body hurts?’ ‘Where (in your body) does it hurt?’

In (19-142) the *tafa* phrase functions as an oblique object and is *in situ*:

(19-142) *Gafa* *qeri* *qe* *toqo* *qi*
triple.tip.arrow that 3SG.NFUT bang LOC

tafa-na?

which.part.of.body?-3SG.PERS

‘Which part of its [a possum’s] body did the arrow bang into?’

‘Which part of its body did the arrow hit?’

Tafa is a reflex of Proto Oceanic **sapa* ‘what?’ (Lynch *et al.* 2002), also ‘which?’. **Sapa* took possessive suffixes to inquire about body parts and kinship relations, and possibly also about subsets (Lichtenberk 2007a).

19.3.11. Emphatic open interrogatives

With some exceptions, open questions can be made more emphatic, more insistent by means of one of several intensifying particles, *qana*, *feteqi*, or *boqo*. These particles occur inside the interrogative phrases. All three particles can occur in interrogative noun phrases; *qana* can also occur in an adverb phrase with *fei* ‘where?’. All three particles also occur in phrases other than interrogative. For their positions in noun phrases see table 7.1 in section 7.1. The particles may be joined to the head interrogative word by means of the ligature *ni*, although this is not very common.

In emphatic questions with any of these particles, the interrogative phrase is always in the focus position. Since the interrogative verbs *qufita* ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’ and *qufita-a* ‘do what? to/with (st.)’, ‘do st. how?’ cannot be fronted (section 19.3.5), the emphatic particles are not available with them. Nor are they used in the inverted [verb.phrase subject] structure (sections 19.3.7 and 19.3.8), because the verb phrase is not in focus.

The three particles may serve to highlight the kind of information requested; to insist on an accurate, detailed or elaborate answer; to emphatically demand an answer; or more generally to express some kind of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker.

Of the three particles, *qana* is the most common one in interrogatives. Four examples follow.

(19-143) *Ni* *tei* *qana* *n=e* *lae* *mai?*
PERSMKR who? INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT go VENT
‘Who came?’ ‘Who was it that came?’

(19-144) *Taa ni qana n=o thathami-a?*
 what? LIG INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What is it you want?’ ‘What exactly do you want?’

(19-145) *Fita fa seleni qana n=o*
 how.many? CLF money INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT

ngali-a mai?
 carry-3SG.OBJ VENT
 ‘Exactly how much money did you bring?’

In (19-146) *qana* occurs in an adverb phrase with *fei* ‘where?’:

(19-146) *Qi fei qana n=o alu-a naifa*
 LOC where? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ knife

nau qi ei?
 1SG LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Exactly where did you put my knife?’

For another example of *qana* see (7-66) in section 7.10.

The other two intensifying particles, *feteqi* and *boqo*, are relatively rare in interrogative noun phrases. In (19-147) *feteqi* is joined to the interrogative word with the ligature *ni*:

(19-147) *Taa ni feteqi na koki ade-a?*
 what? LIG INTS FOC DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What on earth shall we do?’ (Expressing frustration about not knowing how to avoid a certain kind of situation that has occurred previously and could occur again.)

For another example, without the ligature, see (7-65) in section 7.9.

And in (19-148) the intensifying particle is *boqo*. The interrogative noun phrase is in the focus position, but, exceptionally, the focus marker is absent. The interrogative phrase in focus is preceded by a topic phrase. The interrogative clause is in asyndetic coordination with a purpose clause.

(19-148) *Koro taa ni boqo koki ade-a,*
 DU(INCL) what? LIG INTS DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ

fasi koro koka thau-ngi-a qaburu
 PURP DU(INCL) DU(INCL).SEQ kill-TR-3.OBJ ogre

naqi?

this

‘You and I, what on earth shall we do to kill this ogre?’

19.4. Answers to questions

19.4.1. Answers to polar questions

With respect to polar questions, Toqabaqita has an agree/disagree answer system, sometimes in combination with an echo system (Sadock and Zwicky 1985). A positive (agree) answer pro-sentence element is used when the polarity of the answer agrees with the polarity of the question, and a negative construction is used when the polarity of the answer disagrees with the polarity of the question. In a pure echo system, “... no special answer words are used at all. Simple positive and negative responses to questions involve repeating the verb of the question, with or without additional material ...” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 191). In Toqabaqita, pro-sentence answer elements are sometimes combined with echo answers; alternatively, an echo answer may occur by itself, without a pro-sentence element.

There are four “agree” pro-sentence lexemes and one “disagree” type construction. For convenience, the agree lexemes are glossed ‘yes’ and the disagree construction is glossed ‘no’, ‘(it is) not’, but these glosses do not fully correspond to the meanings of *yes* and *no* (because the English system is not of the agree/disagree type). The gloss ‘yes’ will be in double quotes (“yes”) when the agree elements occur in sentences that are answers to negative-polarity questions. The agree elements are listed in (19-149):

(19-149) agree pro-sentence lexemes: *iu*, *aqaa*, *mania*, *uaqa*

Of these, *iu* and *aqaa* are most common, with *iu* somewhat more common than *aqaa*, while *uaqa* is least common. (All four all also used to express acknowledgement with what somebody else is saying, and *iu*, *aqaa* and *mania* are also used to link sentences; see examples [27-55] and [27-56] in section 27.3.2.)

The disagree construction consists of the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’ (section 17.3) with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. The subject marker and the verb normally form one phonological word, with the stress falling on the subject marker (section 2.5).

- (19-150) disagree construction: *qe=aqi*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
 ‘no’, ‘it is not so’, ‘it is not the case’

However, as will be discussed further below, the disagree construction is used only in replies to positive-polarity questions.

Answers to positive-polarity questions are discussed and illustrated first. In the next set of examples, the first four illustrate the four agree lexemes:

- (19-151) A: *Qo alu-a ta malefo?*
 2SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ some money

B: *Iu.*

yes

A: ‘Do you have any money?’

B: ‘Yes.’

- (19-152) A: *Oli naqa?*
 return PRF

B: *Aqaa.*

yes

A: ‘(Are you) going back now?’

B: ‘Yes.’

- (19-153) A: *Rosina kai too ba-na?*
 Rosina 3SG.IPFV be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS

B: *Mania.*

yes

A: ‘Is Rosina at home?’

B: ‘Yes.’

- (19-154) A: *Qoki lae?*
 2SG.FUT go

B: *Uaqa.*

yes

A: ‘Will you go?’

B: ‘Yes.’

In (19-155) and (19-156) the answers are of the disagree type. Not infrequently, the assertive particle *boqo* is present with the negative verb:

(19-155) A: *Qo* *riki-a* *naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ PRF

B: *Qe=aqi.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

A: 'Have you seen it?'

B: 'No.'

(19-156) A: *Qo* *riki-a* *faela baa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ file that

B: *Qe=aqi* *boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ASRT

A: 'Have you seen the file [a tool]?'

B: 'No.' 'Not at all.'

Sentences that express agree-type and disagree-type answers can contain, in addition to the pro-sentence elements or in addition to the negative construction, echoes of the interrogatives, with the appropriate adjustments in pronouns and other deictic elements, and possibly with some additional material.

(19-157) A: *Qo* *thaofa?*
 2SG.NFUT be.hungry

B: *Iu, nau ku* *thaofa.*
 yes 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry

A: 'Are you hungry?'

B: 'Yes, I am hungry.'

(19-158) A: *Wela naqi ki keki* *fanga?*
 child this PL 3PL.IPFV eat

B: *Qe=aqi* *kesi* *fanga.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3PL.NEG eat

A: 'Are the children eating?'

B: 'No, they are not eating.'

In (19-159) the completive/exhaustive particle *sui*, not present in the interrogative sentence, is inserted into the echo part of the answer; and in (19-160)

the anterior-continuing and the assertive particles, not present in the interrogative sentence, are inserted in the echo part of the answer:

(19-159) A: *Wane ba=e duqu naqa?*
 man that=3SG.NFUT repay.debt PRF

B: *Iu, ni=e duqu sui naqa.*
 yes 3SG=3SG.NFUT repay.debt COMPL/EXHST PRF

A: 'Has the man repaid the debt?'

B: 'Yes, he has repaid (all of) the debt.'

(19-160) A: *Qo siisiu sui naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT bathe COMPL PRF

B: *Qe=aqi quu boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ANTCONT ASRT

A: 'Have you bathed?'

B: 'Not yet.'

An answer to a yes/no question may consist of just a (partial) echo, without a pro-sentence element:

(19-161) A: *Mista Fanis, kai too quu*
 Mister Fanis 3SG.IPFV be.around ANTCONT

ba-na?
 LIM-3SG.PERS

B: *Kai too ba-na.*
 3SG.IPFV be.around LIM-3SG.PERS

A: 'Mr Fanis, is he still around?' (*Be around* in the sense of 'be alive'.)

B: 'He is around.'

Replies to negative-polarity polar questions are discussed next. In sentences that are replies to negative-polarity questions, echoing of the interrogative is more common than in sentences that are replies to positive-polarity questions, especially when the reply is of the disagree type. When the reply is of the agree type, an agree element may occur by itself, or an echo may occur by itself, or an agree element and an echo may be combined. In (19-162) only an agree lexeme is used.

(19-162) A: *Ulufaalu* *qe=aqi* *si* *tharaqi?*
 Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.awake

B: *Aqaa.*

“yes”

A: ‘Ulufaalu is not awake?’

B: ‘No (he is not awake).’

When a sentence that is a reply to a negative-polarity polar question contains an echo, the echo is grammatically negative, as is the question. The echo is grammatically negative not because the answer is of the disagree type but because it is an echo of a negative interrogative. A negative echo and an agree pro-sentence element can cooccur, as in (19-163):

(19-163) A: *Qosi* *rongo-a?*
 2SG.NEG hear-3SG.OBJ

B: *Iu,* *qe=aqi* *kwasi* *rongo-a.*
 “yes” 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG hear-3SG.OBJ

A: ‘Didn’t you hear it?’

B: ‘No, I didn’t hear it.’

In (19-164) only the echo is present:

(19-164) A: *Qosi* *thaofa?*
 2SG.NEG be.hungry

B: *Nau* *kwasi* *thaofa.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG be.hungry

A: ‘Are you not hungry?’

B: ‘(No,) I am not hungry.’

To express disagree-type replies to negative-polarity questions, only positive echo-type answers are used. The disagree construction *qe aqi* is not used, with or without an echo.

(19-165) A: *Qe* *aqi* *qosi* *thaofa?*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG be.hungry

- B: (**Qe=aqi*) *nau ku thaofa.*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry
 A: ‘Are you not hungry?’
 B: ‘I *am* hungry.’

Of course, responses to polar questions are not restricted to agree-type or disagree-type answers. For example, the respondent may not know the answer:

- (19-166) A: *Qoki lae qana uusi-a qi qusungadi?*
 2SG.FUT go GENP buy-DVN LOC tomorrow
 B: *Botaena kwa lae, mada ka aqi.*
 perhaps 1SG.SEQ go or 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 ‘Perhaps I will go, or (perhaps) not.’

A response may contradict or correct the expectation implied in a question:

- (19-167) A: *Kui neri?*
 dog NPAST.HERE
 B: *Nga kusi naba.*
 IDENT cat PAST.THEN
 A: (On hearing a noise.) ‘(Is that) a dog?’
 B: (After investigating.) ‘(That was) a cat.’

19.4.2. Answers to alternative questions

The default answer to an alternative question picks up one of the alternatives. The interrogative sentence in (19-168) is a “complex” one (section 19.5), expressing a polar question (‘did you go?’) followed by an alternative one where the second alternative is a negation of the first alternative (‘did you bring a possum or not?’). The answer is an agree-type echo to the polar question and it picks the negative alternative:

- (19-168) A: *Qoo, koqo kera, kamaroqa moro laa-lae,*
 oh friend 3PL 2DU 2DU.NFUT RDP-go
moka ngali-a ma=ta thaqaro, mada
 2DU.SEQ take-3.OBJ VENT=some possum or

qe aqi?
3SG.NFUT not.be.so

B: *Qoo, kamareqa mere laa-lae,*
oh 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT RDP-go

ka aqi boqo, koqo.
3SG.SEQ not.be.so ASRT friend

A: 'Oh, friends, did you go [hunting], (and) did you bring back a possum or not?'

B: 'Oh, (yes,) we did go, (but) no [we didn't bring back any possums], friend.'

It is, of course, possible for the person to whom an alternative question is addressed to not know the answer or to not be certain about what the relevant state of affairs is:

(19-169) A: *Faka ba=e fula mad=e aqi?*
ship that=3SG.NFUT arrive or=3SG.NFUT not.be.so

B: *Botaena ka fula, mada ka aqi.*
perhaps 3SG.SEQ arrive or 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

A: 'Did the ship arrive or not?'

B: '(I don't know.) Perhaps it did arrive, or (perhaps) not.'

19.4.3. Answers to open questions

Here the expected answer relates to the interrogative phrase. Positive responses are discussed and illustrated first. The response may be a complete sentence or a fragment. In (19-170) the response is a complete sentence:

(19-170) A: *Thaina-mu bia maka qoe kera lae*
mother-2SG.PERS and father 2SG 3PL.NFUT go

fei?
where?

B: *Thaina-ku bia maka nau kera lae*
mother-1SG.PERS and father 1SG 3PL.NFUT go

qana uusi-a.

GENP buy-DVN

A: 'Where did you mother and father go?'

B: 'My mother and father went to the market.'

More often than not the response is just a sentence fragment:

(19-171) A: *Taa na kuki qani-a qa=fa*
 what? FOC PL(INCL).FUT eat-3SG.OBJ GENP=CLF

rodo naqi?
 night this

B: *Sofusofu.*

soup

A: 'What will we eat tonight?'

B: 'Soup.'

Negative responses to open questions can be complete sentences, as in (19-172):

(19-172) A: *Fita fa lae-lae n=o lae*
 how.many? CLF go-NMLZ FOC=2SG.NFUT go

qani-a uri Honiara?
 INS-3SG.OBJ ALL Honiara

B: *Qe=aqi kwasi lae quu boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG go ANTCONT ASRT

A: 'How many times have you been to Honiara?' (Lit.: 'How many goings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?')

B: 'I haven't been (lit.: gone) yet.'

A minimal negative response to an open question is expressed by means of the negative verb *aqi* 'not exist' with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. Quite commonly, the assertive particle *boqo* is present as well.

(19-173) A: *Qo laa-lae qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT RDP-go LOC where?

B: *Qe=aqi.*

3SG.NFUT=not.exist

A: 'Where did you go?'

B: 'Nowhere.' (Lit.: 'There was not [any such place].')

(19-174) A: *Taa n=o qani-a?*
 what FOC=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ

B: *Qe=aqi boqo.*

3SG.NFUT=not.exist ASRT

A: 'What are you eating?'

B: 'Nothing.' (Lit.: 'There is not [any such thing].')

That is, the same negative construction can be used to express a disagree-type answer to an open question and as a negative answer to a polar question. The only difference is that in responses to polar questions the negative verb has the sense 'not be so, not be the case', while in responses to open questions the negative verb has the negative existential sense 'not exist'. (Negative existential sentences are discussed 26.1.2.2.) The fact that in responses to open questions the negative verb functions as an existential one can be seen from (19-175a), where the verb occurs in the predicate position of a negative existential sentence with an overt subject phrase. In (19-175b) only the verb occurs with the subject marker and the assertive marker:

(19-175) a. A: *Taa n=o thathami-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ

B: *Qe aqi boqo ta si doo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist ASRT some PRTT thing

A: 'What do you want?'

B: 'Nothing (at all).' ('There is nothing [that I want].')

b. A: *Taa n=o thathami-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ

B: *Qe aqi boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist ASRT

A: 'What do you want?'

B: 'Nothing (at all).' ('There is nothing [that I want].')

A minimal negative-response clause can be followed by another clause or a phrase that provides additional information:

(19-176) A: *Qo lae mai bi=ni tei?*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT COM=PERSMKR who?

B: *Qe=aqi boqo, ku lae*
 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ASRT 1SG.NFUT go

bo=ma-ku teqe nau.
 ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS sole 1SG

A: 'With whom did you come?'

B: 'No one (at all); I came alone.'

And, of course, the addressee may not know the answer to an open question:

(19-177) A: *Ma wela baa?*
 and child that

B: *Botaqana.*
 don't.know

A: 'And (where is) the child?'

B: 'Who knows.' 'I don't know.'

19.5. Complex interrogatives

The term "complex interrogatives" is used here to refer to cases where two different types of interrogative are combined in some way, by juxtaposition of sentences, or by coordination or embedding of clauses. In such cases normally only one of the interrogatives expresses a true question, that is a question to which an answer is being sought.

One type of complex interrogative consists of an open interrogative sentence with the intransitive interrogative verb *qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?' (section 19.3.5), followed by a closed interrogative sentence. It is the closed interrogative that expresses the question to which an answer is requested. The *qufita* interrogative merely serves to introduce the closed interrogative. It consists of the verb *qufita* and its subject marker, which is the third person singular nonfuture one, *qe*:

(19-178) *Qe qufita? Koki lae, mada*
 3SG.NFUT be.how? DU(INCL).FUT go or

koki too ba-karoqa?
 DU(INCL).FUT stay LIM-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘So (how)? Shall we go or shall we (just) stay?’

A complex interrogative structure may consist of what otherwise would be an open interrogative followed by a fragment of an alternative interrogative that narrows down the options of the former, and the answer is expected to be selected from that set:

(19-179) *Tei na qoki lae bii-da, kamiliqa mada*
 who? FOC 2SG.FUT go COM-3PL.OBJ 1PL(EXCL) or

kini qena ki?
 woman that(2) PL
 ‘Who will you go with, us or the women?’

(19-180) *Subuni taa qana roo doo neqe ki na*
 spoon which? GENP two thing this PL FOC

subuni qoe? Doo neqe mada doo lokoo?
 spoon 2SG thing this or thing that(3)
 ‘Which of these two spoons is yours? This one or that one?’ (Lit.: ‘Which spoon of these two things is your spoon? This thing or that thing?’)

And a complex interrogative may consist of a dependent interrogative (section 19.6) that is the complement of a higher verb, also in an interrogative clause. In (19-181) the complement interrogative is of the closed, alternative type, and in (19-182) of the open type. The complex interrogatives express polar questions.

(19-181) *Qo thaitoqoma-na wane qeri kai lae*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ man that 3SG.FUT go

ma=i qusungadi mada qe aqi?
 VENT=LOC tomorrow or 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘Do you know if the man will come tomorrow or not?’

(19-182) *Qo thaitoqoma-na fita fa seleni*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ how.many? CLF money

qana kisi miti?

GENP carton meat

'Do you know how much money [it is] for a carton of (tinned) meat?'

For another example see (19-186) in the next section.

Interrogative clauses that function as complements within complex interrogatives are a special case of dependent interrogatives, discussed next.

19.6. Dependent interrogatives

Dependent interrogatives are interrogatives that are complements of higher verbs. Both closed and open interrogatives can be dependent in Toqabaqita; however, neither type of dependent interrogative is particularly common. As mentioned in section 29.4.7, indirect speech is less common than direct speech in Toqabaqita, and this is also true of interrogatives, in particular closed interrogatives.

There are no internal structural differences between dependent and non-dependent interrogatives. However, dependent polar interrogatives do not exhibit a rise in intonation characteristic of non-dependent polar interrogatives, unless they are embedded in a higher polar interrogative clause, such as is the case in (19-181) further above. In the latter type of case the intonation rise at the end of the sentence is due to the fact that the whole complex sentence is a polar interrogative.

Open dependent interrogatives are dealt with first. As discussed in section 19.3.2, subject to certain conditions, in non-dependent interrogatives the interrogative phrases can occur *in situ* or can be fronted and be in focus. The same is true of dependent interrogatives. In the first two examples, the interrogative phrases are *in situ*. The sentence in (19-183) contains the verb *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)'; the dependent interrogative clause functions as its (paratactic) complement (section 29.4.7).

(19-183) *Ka lae mai, ka soe-toqo-na tha*
 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR

Nori qe, qe ngali-a doo
 Nori 3SG.NFUT 3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ thing

qeri qi fei.

that LOC where?

‘It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government] came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.: taken) that thing.’

The next example contains the interrogative verb *qufita* ‘be how?’, ‘do what?’, ‘do how?’ in a serializing [verb verb] compound with *lae* ‘go’, which cannot be fronted (section 19.3.5). (With two types of exception, verbs cannot be fronted.)

(19-184) *Qoo, kulu, qi quuqusungadia kuka*
oh PL(INCL) LOC tomorrow PL(INCL).SEQ

taqe, kuka rongo-a fasi toqa loo
ascend PL(INCL).SEQ hear-3.OBJ PREC people upward

keki lae qufita.

3PL.FUT go be.how?

‘Oh, we, tomorrow, let’s go up and hear first where those people up there will go.’

In the next two examples the interrogative phrases have been fronted in their clauses and are in focus.

(19-185) *Faa-tani-a qi fei n=o riki-a*
show-TR-3.OBJ LOC where? FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ

loi baa qi ei.
snake that LOC LOCPRO

‘Show (me) (the place) where you saw the snake.’

(19-186) *Qo thaitoqoma-na uri-a taa wane baa*
2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ REAS-3.OBJ what? man that

ka kwaqe-a kwai-na?
3SG.SEQ beat-3.OBJ spouse-3SG.PERS

‘Do you know why the man beat his wife?’

Closed dependent interrogatives are even less common than open dependent interrogatives. For an example see (19-181) in section 19.5.

Chapter 20

Imperatives

20.1. Introduction

Imperative sentences serve to express various kinds of directives (Lyons 1977; Searle 1979, 1983), such as orders, commands, demands, requests, advice, instructions, exhortations, persuasions, incitements, and invitations (Hamblin 1987). Most commonly, imperatives are used to get the addressee or addressees to do something, but they may be directed at individuals other than the addressee(s): at a third person or at the speaker himself/herself. This chapter is concerned with clausal structures, imperatives, that function to express various kinds of directives. In the present context the term “imperative” is used only with reference to clauses that function as main clauses, not to clauses embedded under higher verbs that signal the illocutionary force; that is, with reference to sentences such as the one in (20-1), but not sentences such as the one in (20-2).

(20-1) *Qadomi nau.*
help 1SG
'Help me.'

(20-2) *Nau ku thatami-a qoki qadomi nau.*
1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT help 1SG
'I want you to help me.'

Toqabaqita has a variety of grammatical means to form imperatives. However, as will be seen in what follows, in almost all cases the grammatical elements used to form imperatives have other functions as well. These include the subject markers: nonfuture, future, sequential, negative, dehortative, and, in two cases, imperative. In the discussion that follows, a basic division is made between positive and negative imperatives, and within both categories various subtypes are distinguished.

Imperatives are normally directed at people, but they may be directed at other entities as well. By using (20-3) the speaker is sickening a dog:

- (20-3) *Tari-a!*
 chase-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Chase it [a pig] (away)!’

In imperatives, the second person dual subject markers can be used with plural reference; see examples (20-12) – (20-14) in section 20.2.1.4 and (20-29) in section 20.2.3.

20.2. Positive imperatives

Several positive imperative strategies exist in Toqabaqita, distinguished by the type of subject marker, and in one case by the absence of any subject marker. There are three types of subject marker used in positive imperatives: nonfuture, sequential, and future. The nonfuture set also includes two imperative subject markers.

20.2.1. Positive imperatives with nonfuture subject markers or no subject marker

20.2.1.1. Introduction

This is the commonest type of positive imperative. On the basis of the subject (expressed or not), two basic subtypes can be distinguished: second-person imperatives, where the person or persons (or occasionally another entity) directed to bring about a state of affairs is/are the addressee(s), and inclusive imperatives, where the speaker includes himself/herself with the addressee(s). The discussion starts with second-person addressee imperatives, and as there are various kinds of difference between imperatives with singular, dual and plural addressees, they are discussed individually.

20.2.1.2. Second-person singular imperatives

The commonest way to form a second-person singular imperative is for there to be no subject marker with the verb:

- (20-4) *Lae i maqa fera.*
 go LOC CLF house
 ‘Go home.’ (A parent ordering his child.)

(20-5) *Kuqu-fi-a roo fa doo.*
 drink-TR-3.OBJ two CLF thing
 ‘Take (lit.: drink) two of them [malaria pills].’ (Giving advice.)

(20-6) *Beta nia fasa mataqi-a, feda-laa,*
 protect 3SG ABL be.sick-DVN be.tired-NMLZ

taqaa-laa.

be.bad-NMLZ

‘Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].’ (Asking, entreating God in a prayer.)

It is possible to use the second-person singular nonfuture subject marker, but this strategy is not common.

(20-7) *Qo lae mai.*
 2SG.NFUT go VENT
 ‘Come here.’ (A request.)

There is also a special second-person singular imperative subject marker; see section 20.2.2.

20.2.1.3. *Second-person dual imperatives*

In second-person dual imperatives there must be a subject marker, except that the subject marker is usually omitted in clauses that contain the verb ‘go’ and occur as the first clause in purpose imperatives (section 20.4.3). Most commonly, the subject marker is the second-person dual nonfuture one, *moro*:

(20-8) *Moro kefu-a i manga qeri.*
 2DU.NFUT open.stone.oven-3SG.OBJ LOC time this
 ‘Open it [a stone oven] now.’ (An ogre ordering two children.)

(20-9) *Moro lae ka-maroka.*
 2DU.NFUT go AND-2DU.PERS
 ‘(OK), you two go (now).’ (Parting formula addressed to people leaving.)

There is also a second-person dual imperative subject marker (section 20.2.2).

20.2.1.4. *Second-person plural imperatives*

In second-person plural imperatives too there must be a subject marker, except for clauses that contain the verb ‘go’ and occur as the first clause in purpose imperatives (section 20.4.3), where it is frequently absent. Normally, it is the second-person plural nonfuture subject marker *mulu* that is used:

(20-10) *Mulu lae uri Da’i,*
 2PL.NFUT go ALL Da’i
 ‘Go to Da’i (Island),’ (Commanding the addressees.)

(20-11) *Mulu ngali-a mai alo qena ki.*
 2PL.NFUT take-3.OBJ VENT taro that(2) PL
 ‘Bring the taros.’ (A request.)

However, rather than the plural nonfuture subject marker, it is possible to use the nonfuture marker *moro*, which also has a specifically dual interpretation (section 20.2.1.3). In the next two examples, *moro* is used with plural rather than dual reference.

(20-12) *Moro thafarau taal-a kata.*
 2DU.NFUT lay.out.leaves sake-3.PERS k.o.pudding
 ‘Lay out leaves (on the ground) for (lit.: for the sake of) the *kata* pudding.’ (Exhorting the addressees. At feasts, large leaves are laid out on the ground and the food is placed on them.)

(20-13) *Moro loke-a*
 2DU.NFUT get.stuck.into.work-3.OBJ

bii-la-na botho qena.
 cook.in.stone.oven-NMLZ-3.PERS pig that(2)
 ‘Get stuck into cooking the pig.’ (Meaning: ‘Get stuck into getting the stone oven ready to cook the pig.’) (Encouraging, exhorting the addressees.)

There is an interjection *roo-wane*, lit. ‘two men/people’, to express amazement or exhortation, regardless of the number of addressees. (See also [27-48] in section 27.3.2.) In the context of the sentence in (20-14), the number of addressees is more than two:

- (20-14) *Roo-wane, moro durufi-a botho naqi!*
 two-man/person 2DU.NFUT surround-3.OBJ pig this
 ‘Hey, you guys, get around the pig!’ (Exhorting several men to surround a pig in order to catch it.)

20.2.1.5. *Dual and plural inclusive imperatives*

Here the speaker includes himself or herself among those exhorted to bring a state of affairs about. To express dual and plural exhortations, the inclusive nonfuture subject markers are normally used, *koro* dual and *kulu* plural, respectively:

- (20-15) *Qoo, koro lae qa-karoqa.*
 OK DU(INCL).NFUT go SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘OK, let’s go.’

- (20-16) *Kulu foqa fasi.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT pray PREC
 ‘Let’s pray now.’

In the next example it is only the event of the second clause that will be performed by both participants. The event of the first clause, breaking up the taro, will be done only by the speaker, but he includes the addressee in an expression of personal closeness. (See section 4.10 for the integrative use of the inclusive forms.)

- (20-17) *Koro fidu-a alo naqi, koro*
 DU(INCL).NFUT break-3.OBJ taro this DU(INCL).NFUT
qani-a.
 eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Let’s break this taro and (let’s) eat it.’

First-person exhortations directed at more than two people, including the speaker himself/herself, may also be expressed by means of the nonfuture subject marker *moro*, discussed in sections 20.2.1.3 and 20.2.1.4. Although overtly it is only the people other than the speaker that are addressed, this construction is also used when the speaker does include himself/herself:

- (20-18) *Moro oqotataqi, fanua kai rodo naqa.*
 2DU.NFUT hurry.up place 3SG.FUT be.dark PRF
 ‘Let’s hurry up; it’s getting dark.’

The sentence in (20-18) could also be a command or a request directed at two or more other people, excluding the speaker: ‘Hurry up; it’s getting dark.’

- (20-19) *Moro uu-a baqu i*
 2DU.NFUT lift.at.one.end-3.OBJ banana LOC
mae-la-na.
 die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
 ‘Let’s avenge his death.’ (Lit.: ‘Let’s lift a banana tree [i.e. a spear] at his dying.’)

20.2.2. Positive imperatives with imperative subject markers

There are special imperative subject markers for the second person singular and dual, *qoi* and *mori*, respectively. There are no imperative subject markers for any of the other grammatical persons and numbers. The imperative subject markers are used relatively infrequently, especially the dual one. Imperatives with these subject markers correspond in their use to those with the nonfuture subject markers and to the absence of a subject marker in the case of second-person singular imperatives. (They are listed together with the nonfuture subject markers in table 4.5 in section 4.8.)

- (20-20) *Qoi ade suli nau.*
 2SG.IMP do PROL 1SG
 ‘Obey me.’ (Lit.: ‘Do along me.’) (A command.)
- (20-21) *Qoi masi-a!*
 2SG.IMP eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Choke on it!’ (Said in anger when giving something [not necessarily food] to the addressee, especially a child, who has been pestering the speaker for it. *Masi* is a vulgar word for ‘eat’.)

For another example with *qoi* see (20-51) in section 20.4.1.

- (20-22) *Mori fanga.*
 2DU.IMP eat
 ‘Eat (you two).’ (Inviting, encouraging the addressees.)

20.2.3. Positive imperatives with sequential subject markers

Imperatives with sequential subject markers are typically second-person. First-person imperatives are not common; on the other hand, unlike imperatives with nonfuture subject markers those with sequential subject markers can also be third-person. They tend to be attenuated in their force. Often they express encouragement, suggestion, or expectation about what the addressee(s) should do:

(20-23) *Qoko rongo-a sista qoe.*
 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3.OBJ sister 2SG
 ‘Listen to your sister.’ ‘You should listen to your sister.’

(20-24) *Moko raqu ngado.*
 2SG.SEQ hold be.steady
 ‘Hold on tight.’ (Advising two children up in a tree.)

The sentence in (20-25) is a traditional, polite way of offering food to somebody:

(20-25) *Qoko suukwaqi qa=si fanga qeri.*
 2SG.SEQ be.strong GENP=DIM food this
 ‘Have this little bit of food.’ (Lit.: ‘Be strong with this little food.’)

The sentence in (20-26) is a plural inclusive exhortation:

(20-26) *Kuka qadomi kulu kwailiu.*
 PL(INCL).SEQ help PL(INCL) RECP
 ‘Let’s help each other.’ ‘We should help each other.’

Imperatives with sequential subject markers are also used to express implorations, entreaties, polite requests.

(20-27) *Dear qae, qoko manata-lube nau please,*
 dear VOC 2SG.SEQ mind-be.untied 1SG please
 ‘Dear, forgive me please,’

(*Manata-lube* ‘mind’-‘be untied’ is a subject-incorporating compound [section 12.3.2] that functions as a transitive verb with the meaning ‘forgive’.)

In (20-28) the speaker is addressing God:

(20-28) *Araqi loo, qoko tatakomi kamiliqa*
 mature.man upward 2SG.SEQ have.mercy.on 1PL(EXCL)

mai.

VENT

‘Lord, have mercy on us.’

In (20-29) it is the dual subject marker *moka* that is used, but its intended reference is not restricted to two people. The speaker, who had had a sore, climbed to the top of a tree and shouted to let everybody in the area know that his sore had healed. (The interjection *roo-wane*, lit. ‘two men/people’ is used regardless of the number of addressees; see section 20.2.1.4.)

(20-29) *Roo-wane!, ta imole ka too*
 two-man/person some person 3SG.SEQ reside

i fe=i laa kada taafoloa neqe,
 LOC where=LOC IN block district this

nau, tha Liliqa, na ku qai
 1SG PERSMKR Liliqa FOC 1SG.NFUT shout

neri! Moka rongo suli-a maala
 NPAST.HERE 2DU.SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ sore

b=e thau-ngi nau! Maala b=e
 that=3SG.NFUT afflict-TR 1SG sore that=3SG.NFUT

tharu-fi nau qe=aqi naqa!
 (sore)afflict-TR 1SG 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF

‘[This is what he shouted,] Hey, anybody, wherever you may live (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district, it’s me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me)! The sore that I had is no more!’

The subject of an imperative with a sequential subject marker may be third person. The speaker expresses a wish that such and such a state of affairs obtain. It may be the referent of the subject who is the one that is, indirectly, entreated, exhorted or requested to bring the state of affairs about:

- (20-30) *Araqi loo ka qadomi qoe.*
 mature.man upward 3SG.SEQ help 2SG
 ‘God bless you.’ (Lit.: ‘(May) God help you.’)

Compare (20-29) further above, where God is not only the entity implored, but also the addressee.

Sentences with third-person sequential subject markers can also be used as implicit imperatives where it is the addressee(s) that is/are indirectly being told to bring a state of affairs about. In the context of (20-31) below, the speaker wants the fight to stop. In the first clause he is indirectly telling the fighters that the fight should stop. The fighters are then directly addressed in the second clause, by means of a negative imperative (section 20.3):

- (20-31) *Oomea naqi ka teo, qe aqi*
 fight this 3SG.SEQ cease 3SG.NFUT NEG V

musi firu!
 2PL.NEG fight
 ‘This fight must end; don’t fight!’ ‘Let this fight end; don’t fight/stop fighting!’

In the situation expressed in the next example, the responsibility for the event occurring rests partly with the addressee and partly with the referent of the subject: the addressee is to make sure that the children are given food and the children are to eat it. (In the second clause, the third-person plural sequential subject marker occurs in the timitive-mood construction [section 18.6], not in an imperative.)

- (20-32) *Wela naqi ki keka fanga ada keka biinga.*
 child this PL 3PL.SEQ eat TIM 3PL.SEQ sleep
 ‘The children should/must eat; they might fall asleep (hungry).’
 ‘The children should/must eat so that they don’t fall asleep (hungry).’

What the speaker intends to convey is ‘Make sure that the children eat before they fall asleep.’

20.2.4. Imperatives with future subject markers

While the future subject markers normally serve to express an expectation or prediction that a certain state of affairs will obtain, they may also be used in

clauses whose illocutionary force is that of a relatively strong, insistent command, demand, or exhortation. While they are most common as second-person imperatives, they may also have first-person and third-person subjects. The first two examples are second-person imperatives.

- (20-33) *Qoki lae si mai!*
 2SG.FUT go PREC VENT
 ‘Come here first/now!’ ‘You will come here first/now!’

- (20-34) *Nia naqa moki riki nia.*
 3SG PRF 2DU.FUT see 3SG
 ‘(It’s) her now you should (go and) see.’

The next two examples are intended as first-person exhortations:

- (20-35) *Nau kwai beta bo=naqa suli nau ada*
 1SG 1SG.FUT take.care.of ASRT=INTS PROL 1SG TIM

kwa mataqi.
 1SG.SEQ be.ill
 ‘I will/should/must look after myself so that I don’t fall ill.’

- (20-36) *Qoo, ma si manga qeri koro koki*
 oh and PRTT time this DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT

fanga.
 eat
 ‘Oh, and now we’ll eat.’ ‘Oh, and now let’s eat.’

And the sentence in (20-37) is intended as a third-person imperative:

- (20-37) *Wela naqi ki keki fanga.*
 child this PL 3PL.FUT eat
 ‘The children will/should/must eat.’

20.3. Negative imperatives

There are two basic grammatical strategies to express negative imperatives, but only one is normally used in present-day Toqabaqita; the other one is archaic. The latter type of construction is referred to as “dehortative”.

20.3.1. Negative imperatives in present-day Toqabaqita

In the present-day language, negative imperatives are expressed by means of the same negative strategies used in declarative sentences, using the negative subject markers (chapter 17). Both the simple and the double negative constructions, the latter employing the negative verb *aqi*, occur in imperatives. The double negative strategy is somewhat more emphatic than the simple strategy. The next two examples illustrate the simple and the double constructions, respectively:

(20-38) *Qosi waela qani nau.*
 2SG.NEG laugh GENP 1SG
 ‘Don’t laugh at me.’

(20-39) *Qe=aqi mosi kwai-talami.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG LIP-interrupt
 ‘Don’t interrupt each other.’

Negative imperatives too can be used with a variety of illocutionary forces, such as orders and commands (as in the two examples just above), advice, warnings, requests, entreaties, dehortations, and dissuasions. They can be used either to prevent a new state of affairs from coming about or to stop a state of affairs that already exists or that has existed previously. In the latter type of case, the verb is often reduplicated when the state of affairs has existed for a relatively extended period of time or when it has occurred on multiple occasions previously. (Reduplication of verbs serves to express the continuative/iterative aspect; see section 15.2.3.) Like positive imperatives, negative imperatives are most common with second-person subjects, but subjects of other grammatical persons are possible as well. Examples (20-40) – (20-44) have second-person subjects.

(20-40) *Qe=aqi qosi sua-na kuki naqi.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG touch-3.OBJ saucepan this

Qe qaaqako.
 3SG.NFUT be.hot
 ‘Don’t touch this saucepan. It’s hot.’ (Advice.)

(20-41) *Qe aqi qosi luka-taqi nau.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2SG.NEG abandon-TR 1SG
 ‘Don’t abandon me.’ (Request, entreaty.)

In the next two examples, the verbs are reduplicated in negative imperatives that request the addressees to stop doing what they have been doing.

- (20-42) *Qe=aqi musi fii-fita-li-a laa*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2PL.NEG RPL-run-TR-3.OBJ IN

dani qena!
 rain that(2)

‘Stop running around in the rain!’ ‘Don’t keep running around in the rain!’ (Ordering little children. Running around in rain is little children’s favourite amusement. The Class 1 transitive verb *fita-li* designates this kind of activity.)

- (20-43) *Qosi kwaa-kwaqe-a wela qena.*
 2SG.NEG RDP-beat-3.OBJ child that(2)
 ‘Stop beating the child.’ (Dissuasion.)

In the situation expressed in (20-44) the addressees were not on their way at the moment, but they had done so on previous occasions, and the speaker is ordering them not to do that any more. The first sentence is a positive imperative, and the second one a negative imperative.

- (20-44) *Moro too ba-maroka. Mosi laa-lae daa.*
 2DU.NFUT stay LIM-2DU.PERS 2DU.NEG RDP-go be.far
 ‘Just stay (nearby), you two. Don’t go far (any more).’

In (20-45) the negative imperative has a first person singular subject. The first sentence is a negative imperative/dehortative, while the second one is a positive imperative/hortative:

- (20-45) *Nau kwasi too, tona qono. Kwai ili-a boqo*
 1SG 1SG.NEG stay RESTR sit 1SG.FUT do-3.OBJ ASRT

ta si raa.
 some PRTT work

‘I shouldn’t/mustn’t stay (here) just sitting. I should/must do some work.’ (‘Let me not just stay (here) sitting; let me do some work.’)

And the negative imperative in (20-46) has a third-person subject:

- (20-46) *Qe aqi si alilifeo.*
 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG make.noise.RDP
 ‘He should not be making noise.’ ‘He must/should stop making noise.’

(*Alilifeo* is a reduplicated form of *alifeo* ‘make noise’, but neither *ali* nor *feo* exist in present-day Toqabaqita.)

20.3.2. Archaic dehortatives

Toqabaqita has a complete set of dehortative subject markers, which are listed in table 4.5 in section 4.8. With one exception, they are bimorphemic: the first element encodes the subject and the second element the dehortation; for example, *qo-to* 2SG-DEHORT. The third-person singular subject marker consists only of the dehortative element *ta*. (In most of the subject markers the dehortative element has the form *ta*; in two of them it has the form *to*.) For the sake of simplicity, the dehortative subject markers are treated as unanalyzed wholes; for example *qoto* 2SG.DEHORT.

The dehortative subject markers are archaic. They are not used in the present-day language. The only spontaneous instance of a dehortative recorded is the one in (20-47) below. Today it is the negative-imperative constructions discussed in the preceding section that are used to express dehortation. The sentence in (20-47) is a customary moral saying (*tarafulaa/tarufulaa*). It is used, even today, to people who get carried away and prematurely announce success.

- (20-47) *Weleqi!, qoto ade-de mala tha Liliqa.*
 man! 2SG.DEHORT act-RDP EQT PERSMKR Liliqa.
 ‘Man!, don’t act like Liliqa.’

In the story from which this saying comes, Liliqa was a man who had been suffering from yaws. At one point he thought his yaws sores had healed, and so he climbed to the top of a tree and announced loudly that his sores had healed. As he was climbing down the tree, he accidentally broke the scars from the sores, the wounds bled profusely, and he died. The meaning of the saying is something like: ‘Don’t count your chickens before they are hatched’. See text 2 in the Appendix.

Following are a few more examples of the dehortative construction. In all cases the negative construction would be used in today’s language.

- (20-48) {*Kwata* / *kwasi*} *alilifeo* *ba-kuqa*.
 1SG.DEHORT / 1SG.NEG make.noise.RDP LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I should not be making noise.’
- (20-49) *Kota* *qoo-qono* *ba-karoqa*.
 DU(INCL).DEHORT RDP-sit LIM-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘Let’s not just sit (here any longer).’ (This could be said after waiting for somebody for a long time, without the person turning up: ‘Let’s not wait any longer; let’s go.’)
- (20-50) *Ta* *loo-lole* *ba-na*.
 3SG.DEHORT RDP-tell.lie LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘He shouldn’t/mustn’t lie!’. ‘Let him stop telling lies.’

All the examples of the dehortative construction that have been elicited contain the limiter *ba-*, while the only spontaneous example does not. As the dehortative construction is not in current use, the function of the limiter here is not clear.

20.4. Other properties of imperatives

Here some additional properties of imperatives, formal as well as semantic/pragmatic, are discussed.

20.4.1. Terms of address

Second-person imperatives may contain a term of address. These usually, but not necessarily, come sentence initially.

- (20-51) *Maeori, qoi riki-a si kasi qai qeri*.
 Maeori 2SG.IMP look.at-3.OBJ PRTT small wood this
 ‘Maeori, take a look at this small stick.’
- (20-52) *Beta-a botho qoe, Qolofia!*
 look.after-3.OBJ pig 2SG Olofia
 ‘Look after your pig, Olofia!’

In (20-53) a personal pronoun serves as a term of address:

(20-53) *Qoe, qe aqi qosi lae bii nau, uri*
 2SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 2SG.NEG go COM 1SG REAS

qoe kwai-na wane ramo, nau
 2SG spouse-3.PERS man professional.killer 1SG

wane teqe nau, ada ka ala-si nau.
 man sole 1SG TIM 3SG.SEQ attack.to.kill-TR 1SG

‘You, don’t come (lit.: go) with me, because you are the wife of a professional killer, (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me), (and) he might attack and kill me.’

For an example of a term of address in a dehortative, see (20-47) in section 20.3.2.

20.4.2. Immediate imperatives

Immediate imperatives are imperatives used when the speaker expects the state of affairs to be brought about immediately, or to be discontinued immediately. Immediate imperatives employ the perfect marker *naqa* (section 15.3), which is also used to express immediate future (section 15.1.2.2). The perfect marker is used both in positive and in negative imperatives. In positive imperatives it is used regardless of the type of the subject marker present, and also when there is no subject marker.

(20-54) *Sifo! Sifo naqa!*
 descend descend PRF

‘Get down! Get down *now!* (Ordering a little boy to climb down from a tree.)

(20-55) *Koro lae na-karoqa!*
 DU(INCL).NFUT go PRF-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘Let’s go now.’

In (20-56) the first sentence is a positive imperative, and the second sentence a negative imperative. Both contain the perfect marker. In the negative imperative the perfect marker signals that the addressees should no longer engage in the activity, effective immediately.

(20-56) *Oomea naqi ka sui naqa!*
 fight this 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF

Qe=aqi musu firu naqa!
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2PL.NEG fight PRF
 ‘This fight is to finish now! Don’t fight any more, now!’

Compare the similar example (20-31) in section 20.2.3, from the same text as (20-56), which does not contain the perfect marker.

For more examples of the use of the perfect marker in imperatives see (15-121) and (15-122) in section 15.3.

20.4.3. Purpose imperatives with the verb *lae* ‘go’ in the first clause

As discussed in section 33.3.3, clauses with the verb *lae* ‘go’ as the first clause in a construction that expresses or implies purpose (‘go in order to X’) often lack a subject marker. This is also the case in positive imperatives that express purpose where the first imperative clause contains *lae*, regardless of the grammatical person and number of the subject. It is the second clause, if any, that contains a subject marker.

(20-57) *Lae moro fanga naqa.*
 go 2DU.NFUT eat PRF
 ‘Go eat now (you two).’

(20-58) *Lae kulu qili nguda.*
 go PL(INCL).NFUT dig crab
 ‘Let’s go digging for crabs.’ ‘Let’s go crab-digging.’

In (20-59) the addressee is singular, and neither clause has a subject marker:

(20-59) *Lae biinga naqa!*
 go sleep PRF
 ‘Go sleep now!’

However, as in non-imperative purpose constructions, the first clause with the verb *lae* ‘go’ may contain a subject marker:

(20-60) *Eri, kulu lae, kulu riki-a fasi.*
 hey PL(INCL).NFUT go PL(INCL).NFUT see-3SG.OBJ PREC
 ‘Hey, let’s go (and let’s) see it first.’

20.4.4. Verbless imperatives

Imperatives normally contain a verb, but verbless imperatives are possible. One type of verbless imperative consists of an independent personal pronoun that encodes the addressee(s) and a directional particle in the predicate. Only the direction of the motion is encoded, not the manner in which the motion is to take place.

- (20-61) *Kulu kau.*
 PL(INCL) AND
 ‘Let’s be off.’

In the next example, the first sentence is a verbless imperative, while the second one is an imperative with a verb:

- (20-62) *Kamuluqa mai! Mulu lau-a firu-a*
 2PL VENT 2PL.NFUT stop.fight-3.OBJ fight-DVN

naqi!
 this
 ‘You, (come) here! Stop the fight!’

Instead of a (true) verb, an imperative may contain a pseudo-verb, a phrase that has been re-ranked to function like a verb (section 4.7). The sentences in (20-63) and (20-64) are imperatives, positive and negative, respectively, that contain pseudo-verbs. The predicate of the positive imperative in (20-63) consists of the noun phrase *rodo leqa* ‘good night’ and a sequential subject marker. The expression *qoko rodo leqa* is a parting formula.

- (20-63) *Qoko rodo leqa, wane nau.*
 2SG.SEQ night be.good man 1SG
 ‘Good night (to you), my man.’ (Lit.: ‘You be good-night, my man.’)

And in the negative imperative below, the predicate consists of the noun phrase *quna qeri* ‘this manner’ and the second-person singular negative subject marker:

- (20-64) *Qosi quna qeri.*
 2SG.NEG manner this
 ‘Not like this.’ ‘Don’t do (it) like this.’ ‘Don’t do (it) this/that way.’

20.4.5. Indirect imperatives

Indirect imperatives are imperatives that express directives, without being overtly, in terms of their structure, directed at one or more addressees. Their interpretation as having a directive force is highly context-dependent. The sentence in (20-65) with the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’ (section 17.3) is intended to express admonishment coupled with dissuasion. The speaker is admonishing the addressee who was about to take two malaria pills at one time.

- (20-65) *Roo si doo qe=aqi!*
 two PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
 ‘Not two of them!’ (Lit.: ‘Two things, it is not the case.’)

Utterances whose function is to direct other people’s behaviour may consist of a verb phrase or a noun phrase that expresses the state of affairs that the speaker objects to and wants stopped. The sentence in (20-66) consists of a verb alone. This is not a positive imperative addressed to a single addressee. It is an exclamation directed at a group of children who were making loud, annoying noise. The speaker is signalling to them that he wants the noise stopped or at least lessened.

- (20-66) *Alifeo!*
 make.noise
 ‘Making (too much) noise!’ ‘(Yes,) make noise!’ (Sarcastically.)

And nominalizations can be used with a “stance” function (section 9.1.3) to express disapproval with a state of affairs, sometimes expressing one’s wish that that state of affairs not take place any longer.

- (20-67) *Qaa! Ngata-laa sula doo qoro qeri!*
 hey! talk-NMLZ PROL thing be.many that
 ‘Hey! All this talking about the things!’ ‘Hey! Too much talking about the things!’ (Lit.: ‘Hey! Talking about those many things!’)

For another example see (9-76) in section 9.1.3.

Chapter 21

Low-individuation-of participants derivations

21.1. Two low-individuation-of-participants prefixes

Toqabaqita has two derivational prefixes, *kwai-* and *wai-*, which, in spite of some differences between them, are linked semantically, and there is evidence that historically they derive from a common source. *Kwai-* is typically added to transitive verbs, and the result is a (syntactically) intransitive verb. *Wai-*, on the other hand, is added to certain nouns, nearly all of which are kinship terms, and the result is another noun, again nearly always with some kinship meaning. In some cases, *kwai-* is accompanied by the suffix *-i*; and *wai-* is in some cases accompanied by what used to be the third-person singular personal (or possessive) suffix, *-na* or, in one instance, *-a*. The erstwhile suffixes *-na* and *-a* are not isolated as separate morphemes in the examples (see section 21.6).

There is comparative evidence that the two prefixes continue a common earlier form, albeit with an irregular development. Toqabaqita *kw* reflects earlier *w; that is, *kwai-* reflects earlier *wai-. At a later stage, *wai- split into two forms: *kwai-* with a regular development of *w into *kw*, and *wai-*, where the sound change failed to take place (Lichtenberk 2007b).

21.2. Low individuation of participants

Both prefixes express a relatively low (degree of) individuation of participants. The notion of low individuation of participants (LIP) is taken, and adapted, from Langacker (1976), Hopper and Thompson (1980), and Kemmer (1993). (The latter speaks of “low distinguishability of participants”; see also Lichtenberk 2000b). In the present context, a participant is considered to have a relatively low degree of individuation if it is not expressed separately from another participant, which includes not being expressed at all. This may be because the participant plays the same roles as another participant; because it is a member of a collectivity; or because its identity is irrelevant. Verbs derived by means of *kwai-* are used either to encode reciprocal situations or they are used depatientively. In reciprocal situations the participants acting on each other have a low degree of individuation because they play the same pair of roles vis-à-vis each

other. Furthermore, in this construction such participants are encoded only once, in the subject position:

- (21-1) *Roo wela kera kwai-nalu-fi.*
 two child 3PL.NFUT LIP-splash-TR
 ‘The two children splashed each other (with water).’

A verb is used depatientively when one participant has the role of an initiator/actor (agent, experiencer) with respect to an endpoint/undergoer (patient, theme, stimulus) participant or a type of participant, but the latter is not expressed (Lichtenberk 1991c):

- (21-2) *Wane qe kwai-laba-taqi.*
 man 3SG.NFUT LIP-affect.negatively-TR
 ‘The man harms (people), damages (things).’

With reciprocals the undergoer role of the participants is backgrounded, because the participants are not encoded as undergoers. They are encoded only as actors. And with depatientives the undergoer (type of) participants are backgrounded by not being expressed at all. Reciprocal and depatientive verbs are syntactically intransitive: they do not take direct objects. Nevertheless, if the base verb contains a transitive suffix, the suffix is retained in the reciprocal or the depatientive form. This is the case in the two examples above and is further discussed in section 21.3.

A reciprocal situation consists of more than one relation of a certain kind: A stands in a certain relation to B, and B stands in the same relation to A. And as discussed in section 21.4, depatientive verbs are typically used to express habitual, general situations rather than specific ones. The type of event, etc. denoted by a depatientive verb is directed at participants of a certain kind, and so there is plurality of actor-undergoer relations.

The notion of low individuation of participants also connects reciprocal/depatientive verbs and nouns derived from kinship terms by means of *wai-*. Most such derived nouns designate collectivities and so plurality of relations. For example:

- (21-3) *roo wai-kwaina*
 two LIP-spouse
 ‘married couple’

(The word for ‘spouse’ is *kwai*. The final *na* in *wai-kwaina* reflects the erstwhile third person singular personal/possessive suffix *-na*.)

In (21-3) there is low individuation of the two participants because they are encoded as members of one and the same set in which they stand in identical relations to each other.

Verbs with the LIP affix(es) (see the next section) are not the only means to express reciprocal situations; this is discussed in section 22.2. Depatientive verbs are discussed in section 21.4, after the formal properties of verbal LIP derivations have been considered in the next section. There are also verbs that contain the prefix *kwai-* but are (at present) idiosyncratic in various ways. Those are discussed in section 21.5. Nouns formed by LIP derivation are discussed in section 21.6.

21.3. The formal properties of verbal LIP derivations

Verbal LIP derivations consist in adding the prefix *kwai-* and under certain conditions also the suffix *-i* (also glossed LIP) to the base. Normally, the base is a transitive verb, and the result is a syntactically intransitive verb, even though the derived verb retains the transitive morphology of the source verb, if there is any. That is, if the source verb carries a transitive suffix — short or long — the suffix is retained in the derived verb even though that verb does not take direct objects. There is no direct-object marking on such verbs. Only Class 1 transitive verbs function as inputs into LIP derivations. With long transitive verbs, which have two basic variants of the transitive suffix, *-Cani* and *-Caqi* (section 4.2.3.2.2), it is the *-Caqi* variant that enters into LIP derivations. The examples in (21-4) illustrate derivations based on short transitives, and those in (21-5) derivations based on long transitives. None of the derived forms in (21-4) and (21-5) carries the suffix *-i*.

- (21-4) a. *kwai-bubu-ngi* (recp) ‘stare at each other’; cf. *bubu-ngi* (tr.) ‘stare at’, *bubu* (intr.) ‘look, observe’
- b. *kwai-suqu-si* (depat.) ‘ban people from a place ’; cf. *suqu-si* (tr.) ‘stop, restrain, prevent sb. (from doing st.)’, *suu-suqu* (intr., with reduplication) ‘be insistent, persistent’
- (21-5) a. *kwai-ili-faqi* (recp) ‘imitate each other’; cf. *ili-fani/ili-faqi* (tr.) ‘imitate’, *ili* (tr.) ‘do’
- b. *kwai-ila-ma-taqi* (recp, depat.) ‘be unfriendly, hostile to each other’, ‘be unfriendly, hostile to others’; cf. *ila-ma-tani/ila-ma-taqi* (tr., with the stem extender *-ma*) ‘be unfriendly, hostile to’, *ila* (intr.) ‘behave in an unfriendly, hostile manner’

With some exceptions, the suffix *-i* is used, in addition to *kwai-*, only if the base is disyllabic, which means only with verbs that do not carry a transitive suffix; in other words, only with bare transitive verbs. A few examples are given in (21-6):

- (21-6) a. *kwai-feto-i* (recp) ‘pinch each other’; cf. *feto* (tr.) ‘pinch st. off’, ‘pinch sb.’
- b. *kwai-gili-i* (recp) ‘tickle each other’; cf. *gili* (tr.) ‘tickle’
- c. *kwai-toda-i* (recp) ‘meet (each other)’; cf. *toda* (tr.) ‘meet sb.’, *toda* (intr.) ‘come across sb.’
- d. *kwai-tole-i* (depat.) ‘lead others; be a leader’; cf. *tole* (tr.) ‘lead sb. or an animal’

The suffix *-i* is also used when the base is a verb of more than two syllables provided it contains a disyllabic root and does not carry a transitive suffix. For example, *kwai-tako-fale-i* (depat.) ‘rely on others for st. to get done’ contains the suffix *-i* even though the base has four syllables: *tako-fale* (tr.) ‘ask or hire sb. to do a job for one’. However, *tako-fale* is a compound that contains two disyllabic roots: *tako* (intr.) ‘consider sb. responsible (for st.)’ and *fale* (tr.) ‘give’. Similarly, *kwai-faqa-maqu-i* ‘be frightening’ contains the suffix *-i* even though the base *faqa-maqu* ‘frighten’ contains more than two syllables. However, *faqa-maqu* contains a disyllabic root *maqu* ‘be afraid’ and the causative prefix *faqa-*.

Monomorphemic bases that contain more than two syllables do not take the suffix *-i* even if they do not carry a transitive suffix; for example, *kwai-amasi* (depat.) ‘call (people) for help’; cf. *amasi* ‘call sb. for help’. There is no related form **ama* in present-day Toqabaqita.

There are a few forms that do meet the conditions for the presence of the suffix *-i* but do not take it. However, all such forms have other peculiarities, which may have something to do with the absence of the suffix. For example, *kwai-qala* ‘bite each other’ does not take the suffix *-i* even though the base is disyllabic. However, *kwai-qala* is, exceptionally, based on the intransitive verb *qala* ‘bite’, rather than on the transitive verb *qale* ‘bite sb., st.’. Another such exceptional form is *kwaisuli* (historically *kwai-suli*), a particle that serves to express “chaining” situations (section 22.3). There is no corresponding verb, although there is a prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4), which derives from an earlier verb **suli* ‘follow’ (Lichtenberk 1991b). And there is *kwailiu/kwai-liu*, based on the intransitive verb *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass, pass by’,

which is a particle (not a verb) used to express reciprocal and dispersive situations (sections 22.2.1 and 22.3, respectively).

Other irregularities in verbs that contain (synchronically or diachronically) the prefix *kwai-* are discussed in section 21.5.

The number of verbs formed by means of LIP derivation is not very large. And whether a derived verb will function reciprocally or depatientively is a lexical matter: most verbs are reciprocal only, some are depatientive only, and very few can function either way. Some exclusively reciprocal verbs are: *kwai-ato-mi* ‘hit each other with the soles of feet’; *kwai-ili-faqi* ‘imitate each other’; *kwai-kumu-i* ‘punch each other’. Some exclusively depatientive verbs are: *kwai-qatoqi* ‘be in need (of things, etc.), need (things, etc.)’; *kwai-faqa-manata-i* ‘teach, instruct (people) about what is right and what is wrong’; *kwai-laba-taqi* ‘affect sb. or st. negatively, in a bad way: harm (people), damage (things), etc.’. And the following verbs are some of those that can be used with a reciprocal as well as with a depatientive meaning: *kwai-qolo-fi* ‘deceive each other’, ‘deceive others’; *kwai-ila-ma-taqi* ‘be unfriendly, hostile to each other’, ‘be unfriendly, hostile to others’.

21.4. Depatientive verbs

Depatientive verbs encode situations in which there is a unidirectional (i.e. non-reciprocal) relation between an actor and an undergoer (most often a patient); however, the undergoer is not expressed in the clause. The transitive verbs from which the corresponding depatientive verbs are derived require, or at least permit, overt expression of both core participants, the actor as subject and the undergoer as direct object. The corresponding depatientive verbs, on the other hand, allow expression of only one core participant, the actor, as the subject. That is, the subject of a depatientive verb corresponds to the subject of the base transitive verb. Although no undergoer participant is expressed, some such participants or type of participants are implied.

Typically, depatientive verbs serve to express habitual situations or types of situation. The activity expressed by a depatientive verb is directed not at a specific participant but at a certain type of entity. A sentence with a depatientive verb is primarily about the actor: it characterizes the actor and/or attributes a certain property to him, her, or it. The other participant, the undergoer, is backgrounded by not being expressed.

And since depatientive verbs are typically used to express habitual situations, they share the property of plurality of relations with reciprocals: there is plurality of (types of) undergoers. However, while verbs used with reciprocal meaning cannot have semantically singular subjects, depatientive verbs can;

see, for instance, the first example in the next set. A few examples with depatientive verbs are given below. See also (21-2) in section 21.2.

- (21-7) *Nau ku kwai-suqu-si fasi-a alata*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-prevent-TR ABL-3.OBJ fishing.area

nau.

1SG

‘I banned people from (entering, fishing in) my fishing area.’

- (21-8) *Oomea qeri qe kwai-faqa-maqu-i qasia naqa.*
 enemy that 3SG.NFUT LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP INTS INTS
 ‘The enemy is very frightening.’ (‘The enemy frighten[s] [people] greatly.’)

- (21-9) *Kwaifiqi-laa qe kwai-tao-faqi.*
 be.envious-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT LIP-cause.trouble.among-TR
 ‘Envy (lit.: being envious) causes trouble (among people).’

The verb *kwaifiqi* ‘be envious, jealous’ may itself originally have been depatientive, although at present there is no verb **fiqi* (see also example (21-19) in section 21.5).

Example (21-10) contains the deverbal noun *kwai-qadomi-a* ‘help’, based on the depatientive verb *kwai-qadomi* ‘help (people, others)’, based on the transitive verb *qadomi* ‘help sb.’ (*Kwai-qadomi* can also function as a reciprocal verb.)

- (21-10) *Qi laa kwai-qadomi-a na, Good, qo*
 LOC IN LIP-help-DVN REL God 2SG.NFUT

ili-a i a-miliqa

do-3SG.OBJ LOC BEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS

‘In the help that, (you) God, give us (lit.: that you do for us)’

Since depatientive verbs are (syntactically) intransitive and serve to make statements about actors or to ascribe a characteristic to them, they can be used as noun modifiers to characterize the referent of the noun phrase as a habitual performer of a certain kind of activity or as having a certain characteristic (section 6.10):

- (21-11) *wane kwai-faqa-maqu-i*
 man LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
 ‘frightening man’

In the next two examples the depatientive verbs occur in lexicalized phrases where the head nouns are modified by ligature phrases (section 12.8):

- (21-12) *wane ni kwai-faqa-maruki*
 man LIG LIP-CAUS-be.alive
 ‘person who saves lives’, i.e. ‘doctor’; also Saviour (Christ)

- (21-13) *wane ni kwai-qolo-fi*
 man LIG LIP-deceive-TR
 ‘person who often deceives others (e.g., by making false promises)’

21.5. Irregular instances of derivation by means of *kwai-* ... (-i)

Besides regular reciprocal and/or depatientive verbs, there are also a number of verbs that contain one or both of the LIP affixes, but that are irregular in various ways, formally and/or semantically. While verbs with the prefix *kwai-* are normally syntactically intransitive, there are a few transitive verbs. These are most likely the result of an earlier depatientive or reciprocal verb coming to be used as a transitive one. For example:

- (21-14) *kwai-ara-ngani-a toqa*
 LIP-shout-TR-3.OBJ people
 ‘reward people with food and drink (especially for work done)’

There is a related intransitive verb *ara* ‘of a group of people: give out a loud shout’, and there is also a deverbal noun *kwai-ara-a* ‘food, drinks given as reward to workers’.⁴²

Another transitive verb that contains the prefix *kwai-* is *kwai-kodo* ‘carry two loads on a stick on one’s shoulder: one load hangs from the front end of the stick, and the other from the rear end’:

- (21-15) *kwai-kodo-a roo baeke-qe koukou*
 LIP-stick-3.OBJ two bag-ASSOC cocoa
 ‘carry two bags of cocoa (beans) on a stick over one’s shoulder, one bag suspended in the front, and the other in the back’

There is a noun *kodo* ‘stick’, and also a transitive verb that is a reduplication of *kodo*, *koo-kodo* ‘carry st. on a stick over one’s shoulder: the load hangs from the rear end of the stick’.

Neither *kwai-ara-ngani* ‘reward people with food or drink’ nor *kwai-kodo* ‘carry two loads on a stick on one’s shoulder ...’ are depatientive verbs, because the undergoer participants are expressed.

Depatientive verbs are normally used to express habitual, general types of situation, but there is at least one depatientive verb that can be used to refer to specific situations, *kwai-amasi* ‘call (people) for help’:

- (21-16) *Nau ku kwai-amasi, qe aqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-call.for.help 3SG.NFUT not.exist
- ta wane si fula.*
 some person 3SG.NEG arrive
 ‘I called (people) for help, (but) nobody came.’

Even though the sentence in (21-16) refers to a specific event, *kwai-amasi* is a depatientive verb. Compare (21-17), with the transitive verb *amasi*:

- (21-17) *Nau ku am-amasi-a doqora-ku*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-call.sb.for.help-3.OBJ sibling-1SG.PERS
 ‘I kept calling my brother for help,’

With *kwai-amasi* in (21-16) the undergoer participant is not expressed: the calling for help was not directed at a specific person but at anybody. Here only the low degree of individuation of the undergoer participant is relevant, not plurality of relations.

There are intransitive verbs with the prefix *kwai-* that are not depatientive and whose meanings are not transparently related to the meanings of the sources. For example:

- (21-18) a. *kwai-luka-taqi* ‘be dying, be close to death’; cf. *luka-tani/luka-taqi* (tr.) and *luka-si* (tr.) ‘let go of, release’, ‘abandon’, *luka* (intr.) ‘let go of, release’, ‘abandon, leave behind’
- b. *kwai-kulu-faqi* ‘of an old person: be infirm’, ‘of weather: be overcast’; cf. *kulu-fani/kulu-faqi* (tr.) ‘hang, suspend’, *kulu* (intr.) ‘hang, be suspended’

- c. *kwai-maqasi* ‘be ready (to do st.)’; cf. *maqasi* (tr.) ‘wait for’

See also section 22.3.

And there are verbs that may have started their life as depatientive (or reciprocal) verbs but that are not (fully) analyzable in present-day Toqabaqita.

- (21-19) *Wane qe kwaiḡiḡi qana kwai-na.*
 man 3SG.NFUT be.jealous GENP spouse-3SG.PERS
 ‘The man is jealous of his wife.’

There is no verb **ḡiḡi*, although there is an intransitive verb *ḡi* ‘hurt, be painful’, and also a transitive verb *ḡi* ‘hurt sb.’, ‘cause pain in’. (See also [21-9] in section 21.4.)

And while there is no form **kona* or **konai*, there is a verb *kwaikonai*:

- (21-20) *Nau ku kwaikonai qana wela qeri.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP child that
 ‘I don’t know the child.’

21.6. Noun derivations by means of the prefix *wai-*

The prefix *wai-* is used with a number of kinship-term nouns to derive other nouns, mostly also with kinship meaning. Also included in this category is the term for ‘trading partner’, ‘friend’. The semantic contribution of *wai-* is not constant across the derivations. In fact, in a few cases the contribution is nil: the base form and the derived form are synonymous. In some cases, the prefix *wai-* is accompanied by what historically is the third-person singular personal suffix *-na*, or, in one case, *-a*. These erstwhile suffixes are frozen in the derived forms. They are not functional there. First, they do not contrast here with any of the other personal suffixes. Second, as examples (21-21) and (21-22) below demonstrate, they do not encode a possessor. Because the erstwhile suffixes *-na* and *-a* are not functional in the nouns discussed here, they are not isolated in the examples

In (21-21) there is no possessor:

- (21-21) *Roo wai-kwaina ki kero firu-firu.*
 two LIP-spouse PL 3DU.NFUT RDP-fight
 ‘The married couple fight (often).’ Not: **His/her* married couple fight (often).’

Ruana ‘trading partner’, ‘friend’ is the same etymon as the ordinal numeral *rua-na* ‘second’ (section 6.8.4).

With terms that denote symmetrical relations, *wai-* bears a particularly close relation to the reciprocal use of the prefix *kwai-* (section 22.2). In both types of case, entity A stands in a certain relation to entity B, and B stands in the same relation to A.

With two kinship terms, *wai-* derives nouns that refer to collectivities where the relations are not symmetrical: one of the members is the one designated by the source form, and the other(s) stand(s) in a converse relation to him or her. However, only one of the relations is expressed explicitly; the other one(s) is/are backgrounded, implied. This is not unlike the backgrounding of the undergoer with depatientive verbs. The two asymmetrical-relation, collective terms are based on the nouns *maka* ‘father’ and *tina* ‘mother’, respectively. The relevant relations are: father-child and mother-child, respectively, but only the father status in the former and the mother status in the latter are expressed overtly:

- (21-27) *wai-makana*
LIP-father
‘group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their father(s), and possibly also their mother(s)’
- (21-28) *wai-thainana*
LIP-mother
‘group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their mother(s), but not the father(s)’

A few kinship terms with the prefix *wai-* are synonymous with the bases from which they are derived. They do not designate collectivities.

- (21-29) (*wai-*)*digi*
‘cross-cousin’
- (21-30) (*wai-*)*funga*
‘parent-in-law’, ‘parent-in-law’s sibling’
- (21-31) (*wai-*)*kale*
‘wife’s.brother/wife’s.sister/husband’s.brother’

The semantically opaque term for ‘classificatory sibling of opposite sex’ *wai-waena* does not designate a collectivity either; see (21-22) further above.

And neither does a compound based on it: *wai-waena-rua* ‘cousin of opposite sex’ (*rua* ‘two’); see (12-159) in section 12.7.

Chapter 22

Reciprocal and related situation types

22.1. Introduction

One morphological means that serves to encode reciprocal situations, that is situations where one participant, A, stands in a certain relation to another participant, B, and B stands in the same relation to A, is discussed in section 21.3, the prefix *kwai-*, sometimes together with the suffix *-i*. In that section the focus is primarily on the formal properties of the construction. Here the construction is discussed primarily from a semantic perspective, and it is also compared with other constructions that function to express reciprocal situations. The prefix is also used in constructions that encode situation types other than reciprocal. Those are discussed in section 22.3.

The bulk of the discussion deals with reciprocal situations. The deponentive use of *kwai-* (... *-i*) is discussed in section 21.4. This is not to claim that the reciprocal function of *kwai-* (... *-i*) is historically primary, the other functions being later extension from it. In fact, there is evidence that the polysemy of the historical source of *kwai-* goes back a long way (Pawley 1973, Lichtenberk 2000b). Rather, among the functions concerned, the reciprocal and the deponentive ones are the ones most commonly expressed in the language. The other functions are more restricted in various ways.⁴³

Some verbs, by virtue of their meaning, can express reciprocal situations without any overt marking. For example, there is an intransitive verb *toqo* ‘bang (into, against st.)’, which can express a reciprocal situation, provided the subject is not singular:

- (22-1) *Roo tarake kere toqo.*
two truck 3PL.NFUT bang
‘Two trucks collided (with each other).’

Another such verb is *oqe* ‘copulate (with), have sex (with)’, which can function as a Class 1 transitive verb or as an intransitive verb:

- (22-2) *Wane e oqe-a kini.*
man 3SG.NFUT have.sex.with-3.OBJ woman
‘The man had sex with the woman.’

(22-3) *Wane e oqe faafi-a*
 man 3SG.NFUT have.sex CONF-3.OBJ

kwai-na.

spouse-3SG.PERS

‘The man committed adultery against his wife.’

Oqe can also be used intransitively with a non-singular subject to express a reciprocal situation:

(22-4) *Keeroqa kero oqe.*
 3DU 3DU.NFUT have.sex
 ‘The two of them had sex (with each other).’

Even though (22-4) could in principle express a non-reciprocal situation (each of the two people having sex with some other person[s]), the default interpretation is reciprocal.

Another verb that can express reciprocal situations without overt marking is *firu* ‘fight’: see (22-7) in section 22.2.1. The fact that it expresses a reciprocal situation there is evidenced by the reciprocal form of the verb *kwage* ‘hit’ in the following clause.

There are not many verbs whose default interpretation with non-singular subjects is reciprocal, and in some cases both reciprocal and non-reciprocal interpretations are readily available. The next example is vague as to whether the situation is a reciprocal or a non-reciprocal one:

(22-5) *Roo wane kere ngalungalu.*
 two man 3PL.NFUT speak.angrily
 ‘The two men spoke angrily.’

Compare the related transitive verb *ngalu-fi* ‘berate, scold’ in (22-6) in section 22.2.1, where it occurs in a reciprocal construction.

Purely lexical means to express reciprocal situations are not discussed here, with one type of exception which involves a serializing [verb verb] compound. Otherwise, only grammatical means to encode reciprocal and related types of situation are considered.

22.2. Reciprocal situations

22.2.1. LIP reciprocals and pronominal reciprocals

There are two basic types of grammatical construction to encode reciprocal situations. These will be referred to as the LIP and the pronominal constructions, respectively. The LIP construction employs the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-*, sometimes jointly with the suffix *-i*, as discussed in section 21.3.

- (22-6) *Roo wane kere kwai-ngalu-fi.*
 two men 3PL.NFUT LIP-speak-TR
 ‘The two men berated each other.’

(The transitive verb *ngalu-fi* has the meanings ‘berate, scold’.)

- (22-7) *Toqa fuu kera firu, keka*
 people downward 3PL.NFUT fight 3PL.SEQ

kwai-kwaqe-i.
 LIP-hit-LIP
 ‘The people down there are fighting, (they are) hitting each other.’

The LIP construction is used not only with non-symmetrical predicates, as in the examples above, but also with symmetrical predicates, such as with the verb ‘meet’:

- (22-8) ... *mika kwai-toda-i laqu qi laa fa*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ LIP-meet-LIP ADD LOC IN CLF

thaqulafia naqi.
 evening this
 ‘[...he has returned and] we have met again this evening.’

The LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs.

The pronominal construction employs a pronominal form in a non-subject position co-referential with the subject. There are three basic subtypes of the construction, depending on the kind of pronominal form involved: an independent personal pronoun, an object suffix, or a personal suffix. With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, non-lexical direct objects can be encoded by means of the independent personal pronouns or the object suffixes (sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 10.3.1, respectively). However, in expressing reciprocal

situations it is the pronouns that are normally used; see (22-9) and (22-11) below. As is the case with the LIP construction, the pronominal constructions need not exclusively encode reciprocal situations; see the discussion after (22-9).

The sentence in (22-9) contains the third-person dual independent pronoun in the direct-object position. The object pronoun is co-referential with the subject:

(22-9) *Keeroqa keko thathami keeroqa qa=fa bongi*
 3DU 3DU.SEQ like 3DU LOC=CLF day

qeri.

that

‘The two of them liked each other on that day.’

The intended interpretation of (22-9) is reciprocal. However, the sentence could also be given a reflexive interpretation, ‘The two of them liked themselves on that day’, or the subject and the direct object could have disjoint reference: ‘The two of them_i liked them_j on that day.’ All of the examples in (22-10) – (22-13) below could also express situations other than reciprocal.

In (22-10) the transitive verb carries an object suffix coreferential with with the subject. *Thaitoqoma* ‘know’ is a Class 2 transitive verb; see discussion of Class 2 transitive verbs further below.

(22-10) *Roo wela nau ki kera thaitoqoma-daroqa.*
 two child 1SG PL 3PL.NFUT know-3DU.OBJ
 ‘The two children of mine know each other (well).’

The pronominal constructions are not restricted in their use to transitive verbs. In (22-11) the verb is intransitive, and the pronoun coreferential with the subject is the object of the allative preposition *uri*:

(22-11) *Wane naqi bia thaari naqi kero qonionga*
 man this and girl this 3DU.NFUT tease

uri keeroqa ka too-too ba-na.

ALL 3DU 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS

‘This boy (lit.: man) and this girl are always teasing each other.’

In the next two examples, the relevant participants are encoded, in addition to the subject position, by means of personal suffixes. In (22-12) the personal suffix occurs on the noun-like recipient preposition:

- (22-12) *Roo kini kero tona fale i*
 two woman 3DU.NFUT RESTR give LOC

a-daroqa.

REC-3DU.PERS

‘The two women simply give (unsolicited) things/presents to each other.’

And in (22-13) the personal suffix occurs on the possessum noun in the direct object position:

- (22-13) *Kero musu-a babali-daroqa.*
 3DU.NFUT kiss-3.OBJ cheek-3DU.PERS
 ‘They kissed each other on the cheek.’ (Lit.: ‘They_i kissed their_i cheeks.’)

The LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs, and only with Class 1 transitive verbs. In the LIP construction, no object-indexing suffix occurs on the verb. However, Class 2 transitive verbs can never occur without an object suffix: unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they retain object suffixes even in nominalizations (section 9.1.1); and unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they must have an object-indexing suffix even with non-referential objects (section 12.4.1). And unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they cannot have independent personal pronouns as direct objects (section 4.2.3.3.1). As a consequence, they cannot occur in the pronominal reciprocal construction with a direct-object pronoun. They can express reciprocal situations only by means of direct-object suffixes.

In the next three examples, from the same text and concerning the same two characters, two different verbs are used with the sense ‘meet sb.’. In the first example, the verb is Class 1 transitive, *toda*, and there the pronominal construction is used with a pronoun in the direct-object position:

- (22-14) *Ma si manga na kero qolo-a*
 and PRTT time REL 3DU.NFUT agree.on-3.OBJ

na keki toda keeroqa,

COMP 3DU.FUT meet 3DU

‘And when they agreed to meet,’

In the immediately following sentence in the text, the speaker uses the Class 2 transitive verb *fula-toqo*, and there only the direct-object suffix can be used:

(22-15) ... *kero qolo keeroqa na tootoo*
 3DU.NFUT have.agreement.with 3DU COMP later

keki fula-toqo-daroqa qi kula qeri.
 3DU.FUT arrive-TEST-3DU.OBJ LOC place that
 ‘... they agreed to meet later at that place.’ (Lit.: ‘... they had an agreement with each other that later they would meet at that place.’)

Later on, the speaker reverts to the verb *toda*, but now uses it in the LIP construction:

(22-16) *Ma wane baa ka lae, qe lae ura*
 and man that 3SG.SEG go 3SG.NFUT go ALL

kula ba=nia toda-a thaari baa ma keeroqa
 place that=3SG meet-3.OBJ girl that and 3DU

keko qolo qi ei keki kwai-toda=i
 3DU.SEG arrange LOC LOCPRO 3DU.FUT LIP-meet-LOC

kula qeri.
 place that

‘And the man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had agreed to meet (at that place).’

For another example of a Class 2 transitive verb encoding a reciprocal situation see (22-10) further above.

The LIP construction is lexically restricted (section 21.3). On the other hand, the pronominal constructions are freely available to the verbs of the appropriate types. (For example, only transitive verbs can have a direct-object pronoun coreferential with the subject.) And as examples (22-14) and (22-16) above demonstrate, one and the same Class 1 transitive verb can occur in the pronominal construction or in the LIP construction.

There is one type of construction where the LIP strategy and a pronominal strategy are combined. When a LIP reciprocal verb is the first (non-final) verb in a serializing [verb verb] compound and the second verb is intransitive, the participant that would elsewhere be realized as the direct object of the transitive verb can only be realized as an oblique object of the compound. Even if the first verb is Class 1 transitive outside of a [verb verb] compound, the compound cannot have a direct object if the second verb is intransitive. It can only have an

oblique object. This is discussed in section 12.5. For example, *qadomi* ‘help’ is a Class 1 transitive verb:

- (22-17) *Koro koki qadomi keeroqa.*
 DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT help 3DU
 ‘You and I will help them.’

In (22-18) below, *qadomi* occurs in the LIP reciprocal form *kwai-qadomi* as the first member of a [verb verb] compound. The second verb *ngado* ‘be still, settled, firm’ signifies that the event expressed by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly. The participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded as the subject and as an oblique object:

- (22-18) *Kera kwai-qadomi ngado ba-daroqa*
 3PL.NFUT LIP-help be.firm/settled LIM-3DU.PERS

qani keeroqa.
 GENP 3DU
 ‘They often help each other.’

The construction in (22-18) is not a counterexample to the rule that the LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs. The oblique object is there not because the verb *qadomi* is intransitive but because the compound as a whole is.

In some cases, a pronominal construction may be ambiguous between a reciprocal interpretation and one or more non-reciprocal interpretations. To make it explicit that the intended interpretation of a pronominal construction is reciprocal rather than any other, a clause-level reciprocal marker of the form *kwailiu* is used. *Kwailiu* is bimorphemic: it consists of the verb *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass, pass by’ and the LIP prefix *kwai-*. However, *kwailiu* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed RECP. The periphrastic reciprocal marker is normally used only in association with the independent personal pronouns, not with the personal suffixes. And it is not used with Class 2 transitive verbs, which carry object suffixes. The reciprocal marker directly follows the phrase, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, that contains the pronoun.

Kwailiu makes it explicit that the situation is reciprocal. The sentences in (22-19) and in (22-21) below are not open to reflexive or disjoint-reference interpretations, the way pronominal constructions are, or may be, in the absence of *kwailiu*.

- (22-19) *Roo wela kera qui keeroqa kwailiu qana fau.*
 two child 3PL.NFUT pelt 3DU RECP INS stone
 ‘The two children threw stones at each other.’ ‘The two children pelted each other with stones.’

Compare the parallel sentence without *kwailiu* in (22-20), which is open to more than one interpretation:

- (22-20) *Roo wela kera qui keeroqa qana fau.*
 two child 3PL.NFUT pelt 3DU INS stone
 a. ‘The two children threw stones at each other.’ ‘The two children pelted each other with stones.’
 b. ‘The two children_i threw stones at them_j.’ ‘The two children_i pelted them_j with stones.’

- (22-21) *Roo kini kere rake-giri uri keeroqa*
 two woman 3PL.NFUT belly-be.angry ALL 3DU

kwailiu.

RECP

‘The two women are angry with each other.’ (Not: *‘The two women_i are angry with the two of them_j.’)

22.2.2. The uses of the reciprocal constructions

The LIP construction on the one hand and the pronominal constructions, with or without the periphrastic reciprocal marker, on the other differ from each other in the following respect. In the former the participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded only once, in the subject position.

- (22-22) *Toqa kere kwai-qaba-i.*
 people 3PL.NFUT LIP-pull-LIP
 ‘The people are competing in tug-of-war.’ (Lit.: ‘The [two groups of] people are pulling each other.’)

In the pronominal construction, on the other hand, the participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded twice, once in the subject position and once in a non-subject position:

- (22-23) *Kere gatha uri keeroqa kwailiu.*
 3PL.NFUT be.in.love ALL 3DU RECP
 ‘They are in love with each other.’

The LIP construction, where the participants are encoded only once, is motivated by the fact that the participants are relatively non-distinct from each other because they play identical pairs of roles vis-à-vis each other. On the other hand, the pronominal construction is motivated by the fact that an overall reciprocal macro-situation consists of a pair of relations, and that in each relation the two participants play two roles. The two (sets of) participants in a reciprocal situation can be viewed from two different perspectives: as playing the same pair of roles in the overall situation, which motivates single encoding; or as playing two distinct roles in the relations that constitute the macro-situation, which motivates double encoding. (For more detailed discussion of the motivatedness of the two types of reciprocal construction in Toqabaqita and in general see Lichtenberk 1991c and 1994b, respectively.) The LIP construction can be used only with verbs that are transitive outside of the reciprocal construction, and the participants correspond to the subject and the direct object of the transitive verb. The pronominal construction can be used with transitive as well as with intransitive verbs, with one of the participants corresponding to the subject of the verb and the other one corresponding to the direct object or to an oblique object. It is the double encoding of the participants that gives the pronominal construction greater flexibility relative to the LIP construction.

The LIP construction is lexically restricted, and with those verbs that do not have a derived reciprocal form the pronominal construction is required. For example, there is no reciprocal form **kwai-laba-taqi* ‘harm each other’ (although *kwai-laba-taqi* does exist as a depatientive verb ‘affect sb. or st. negatively, in a bad way: harm (people), damage (things), etc.’; see example [21-2] in section 21.2). *Laba-taqi* requires the pronominal construction to express a reciprocal situation:

- (22-24) *Roo wane kero {laba-taqi keeroqa /*
 two man 3DU.NFUT affect.negatively-TR 3DU /
**kwai-laba-taqi}.*
 LIP-affect.negatively-TR
 ‘The two men harm each other.’

With some verbs both the LIP construction and the pronominal construction are available without any obvious semantic difference, in the absence of the periphrastic reciprocal marker *kwailiu* with the latter. This is the case in (22-14) and (22-16) above. The verb *toda* ‘meet’ is used in the pronominal construction

in the former and in the LIP construction in the latter. However, the two constructions may be semantically different because the pronominal construction, but not the LIP construction, can be combined with the periphrastic reciprocal marker *kwailiu*.

Kwailiu may be used with the pronominal construction to emphasize the reciprocal nature of the situation. Sometimes this is done for disambiguation (when a non-reciprocal interpretation would be available as well), but sometimes purely to underscore the reciprocalness, as in (22-25) below. There a reciprocal situation is expressed three times in three different ways: first by means of two separate clauses, each one encoding one of the relations that constitute the overall situation, followed by a pronominal construction without the periphrastic reciprocal marker, which is then followed by a pronominal construction together with the reciprocal marker:

- (22-25) *Thaari qeri ka thathami-a tha wela qeri,*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ PERSMKR child that
- ma wela qeri mena ka thathami-a laqu boqo*
 and child that FADD 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD INTS
- thaari qeri. Keeroqa keko thathami keeroqa*
 girl that 3DU 3DU.SEQ like 3DU
- qa=fa bongi qeri. Keeroqa keko kani-a*
 GENP=CLF day that 3DU 3DU.SEQ tie-3.OBJ
- ruana-a. Keko thathami keeroqa kwailiu.*
 be.friends-DVN 3DU.SEQ like 3DU RECP
 ‘The girl liked the boy (lit.: child), and the boy, too, liked the girl.
 They liked each other on that day. They formed (lit.: tied) a friendship.
 They liked each other.’

However, *kwailiu* has one other function. It may be used to signal that the relations that make up a reciprocal situation are sequential rather than (more-or-less) simultaneous. On the other hand, the LIP construction is normally used when the relations are (more-or-less) simultaneous, or when their temporal configuration is not relevant. For example, the construction with *kwailiu* in (22-26) would be used if at first person A embraced person B and then B embraced A, while the LIP construction in (22-27) would be used if there were one mutual embrace:

(22-26) *Kera qoli keeroqa kwailiu.*
 3PL.NFUT embrace 3DU RECP
 ‘They embraced each other.’

(22-27) *Kera kwai-qoli-i.*
 3PL.NFUT LIP-embrace-LIP
 ‘They embraced.’

Similarly, the periphrastic reciprocal marker in (22-28) suggests that first one child hit the other and then the latter hit the former:

(22-28) *Roo wela kera kwaqe keeroqa kwailiu.*
 two child 3DU.NFUT hit 3DU RECP
 ‘The two children hit each other.’

On the other hand, in (22-29), with the LIP construction, there is no indication of the temporal configuration of the instances of hitting. Even though the blows are more likely to be sequential than simultaneous, the overall situation is presented as a unified whole:

(22-29) *Roo wela kera kwai-kwaqe-i.*
 two child 3PL.NFUT LIP-hit-LIP
 ‘The two children fought, exchanged punches, blows.’

When the subevents that make up an overall reciprocal situation are sequential and there are multiple occurrences of the subevents, this may be expressed by means of a pronominal reciprocal construction and a verb that is a serializing [verb verb] compound. The first verb in the compound designates the type of event, and the second verb signals the repeated, back-and-forth occurrences of those events. One of the verbs that is used to express the multiple, back-and-forth reciprocalness is *oli-li*, a reduplicated form of the intransitive verb *oli* ‘go back, come back, move back, return’:

(22-30) *Roo kini kero fale oli-li qani keeroqa.*
 two woman 3DU.NFUT give return-RDP GENP 3DU
 ‘The two women (frequently) give [things] to each other, back and forth.’

The other verb is *kwai-liu*, which is the same etymon as the reciprocal marker *kwailiu*. Both are based on the verb *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass, pass by’, and contain the LIP prefix *kwai-*. However, while *kwailiu* occurs after the phrase that contains the pronoun coreferential with the subject (see, for example, [22-19] in

section 22.2.1 and [22-23] in section 22.2.2), *kwai-liu* forms a compound with the preceding verb.

(20-31) *Roo kini kere faqa-rake-qiri kwai-liu*
two woman 3PL.NFUT CAUS-belly-be.angry LIP-pass

qani keeroqa.

GENP 3DU

‘The two women make each other angry.’

(Although *faqa-rake-qiri* ‘make [sb.] angry’ contains the causative prefix *faqa-*, it is an intransitive verb. The person made angry is expressed as an oblique object.)

As discussed in the next section, *kwai-liu* is also used to express distributed situations. Further evidence that *kwai-liu* forms a compound with the preceding verb is given there.

22.3. Other situation types

The prefix *kwai-*, which serves to encode reciprocal situations, is used with some other functions. It (sometimes in conjunction with *-i*) may derive deponent verbs (section 21.4). It occurs in the form *kwai-liu*, discussed just above, to express repeated occurrence of events that make up a reciprocal macro-situation. *Kwai-liu* also serves to express “distributed” situations. Distributed situations consist of several subevents characterized by multiple different directionalities. (See Lichtenberk 2000b and further below for more detail.) *Kwai-liu* occurs as the final member of a [verb verb] compound where the first verb designates the events of different directionalities.

One subtype of distributed situation that *kwai-liu* can express is dispersive situations, “where the subevents disperse from a common point” (Lichtenberk 2000b: 39):

(22-32) *Kulu oli kwai-liu qa-kuluqa.*
PL(INCL).NFUT return LIP-pass SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS
‘Let’s go back to our respective places/homes.’ (Each person is to go back to his/her own place/home).

In (22-32) the self-benefactive marker *qa-* with the personal suffix follows *oli* and *kwai-liu*, which is evidence of the unitary lexical status of the two verbs. On the other hand, *kwailiu* as a reciprocal marker follows the phrase that con-

tains the pronominal element coreferential with the subject; see (22-19) in section 22.2.1 and (22-23) in section 22.2.2.

And in (22-33) the combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles *bo=naq=* follows the two verbs *ngali* ‘take’ and *kwai-liu*. Furthermore, the theme participant, the panpipes, is expressed as an oblique rather than a direct object, as is the case with compounds that have a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position and an intransitive verb in the second position. The two particles and the prepositional phrase have all fused together.

(22-33) *Doo kera ngali-a ma=i Daadanitalau.*
 thing 3PL.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ VENT=LOC Daadanitalau.

Toq=qe=ki sui bana keka ngali kwai-liu
 people=that=PLEXHST LIM 3PL.SEQ take LIP-pass

bo=naq=qani-a uri=si kula kera ki
 ASRT=INTS=GENP-3SG.OBJ ALL:3.OBJ=PRTT place 3PL PL

na kera nii ki i ei.
 REL 3PL.NFUT reside PL LOC LOCPRO

‘It [panpipes] was a thing they had brought from Daadanitalau [a place]. Everybody (lit. all the people) took them to their respective places, the places where they lived.’

Another subtype of distributed situation that *kwai-liu* can express is one where the subevents have unspecified different directionalities, not from a common point of origin. In (22-34) *kwai-liu* occurs together with the verb *liiliu* ‘roam’, which is derived by reduplication from *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass, pass by’, on which *kwai-liu* is based:

(22-34) *Qosi liiliu kwai-liu.*
 2SG.NEG roam LIP-pass
 ‘Stop roaming all about.’

(22-35) *Qosi quu kwai-liu qana taqerau qena.*
 2SG.SEQ throw LIP-pass GENP rubbish that(2)
 ‘Don’t throw the rubbish all about.’

Kwai-liu is used metaphorically in a compound with the verb *ngata* ‘speak, talk’: *ngata kwai-liu* ‘speak all about, not in an orderly, focused manner’.

There is a form *kwaisuli*, which is used to encode chaining situations: “[i]n a chaining situation, participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, B

stands in the same relation to C, C to D, etc.” (Lichtenberk 2000b: 35), like the links in a chain. The end participants are characterized by only one relation, for example A to B. *Kwaisuli* derives historically from a transitive verb *suli ‘follow’ and the LIP prefix *kwai-*. Toqabaqita has a reflex of *suli, *suli*, which functions as the prolativative preposition, not as a verb. Because *suli* is not a verb in the present-day language, *kwaisuli* is treated as an unanalyzed whole, and is glossed CHAIN. *Kwaisuli* forms a compound with the preceding verb.

Kwaisuli can signify a spatial configuration of entities or a temporal sequence of subevents, as in (22-36) and (22-37), and in (22-38), respectively:

(22-36) *Alu-a doo naqi ki ka teo kwaisuli.*
 put-3.OBJ thing this PL 3SG.SEQ lie CHAIN
 ‘Lay these things down next to each other.’ (Lit.: ‘Put these things [down], it [i.e. they] will lie next to each other.’)

(22-37) *Tini-na kofe e too kwaisuli.*
 tin-3.PERS coffee 3SG.NFUT be.located CHAIN
 ‘(All) the tins of coffee are lined up next to each other and/or stacked on top of each other.’

(22-38) *Wela kera futa kwaisuli.*
 child 3PL.NFUT be.born CHAIN
 ‘The children (siblings) were born in quick succession, one after another.’ (This could be said about children born to the same parents in successive years.)

What links the reciprocal, depatientive, distributed, and chaining uses of *kwai-* is plurality of relations: A to B and B to A (reciprocal), A (habitually) to Bs of a certain kind (depatientive), A(s) acting in multiple directions (distributed), and A to B, B to C, C to D, etc. (chaining).

There are also a few cases of verbs that contain the LIP prefix but whose meanings do not necessarily involve plurality of relations. Rather, their semantics is of, loosely speaking, the “middle” type. For example, there is a transitive verb *karangi* ‘be near/close to’, ‘move near/close to, approach’:

(22-39) *Kera fula karangi-a maa-na kilu*
 3PL.NFUT arrive be.close.to-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS hole

qeri,

that

‘They arrived near the mouth of the hole,’

And there is an intransitive verb *kwai-karangi* ‘move near/close, approach’:

- (22-40) *Kera kwai-karangi na=mai.*
 3PL.NFUT LIP-approach PRF=VENT
 ‘They have moved close/closer.’

Kwai-karangi can also serve to express near future, but *karangi-a* is considerably more common in that function (section 15.1.2.3.2).

There is a transitive verb *thathai* ‘be ready for st., to do st.’, ‘ready st. for sb., make st. ready for sb.’, which may take the theme or the beneficiary as its direct object (see [4-191a] and [4-191b] in section 4.3.3). Example (22-41) illustrates the latter:

- (22-41) *Nau ku thathai-a wela nau qana malefo.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT make.ready-3.OBJ child 1SG GENP money
 ‘I made money ready for my child.’ (Lit.: ‘I readied my child with money.’)

There is an intransitive verb *kwai-thathai* ‘be ready (for st., to do st.)’ (‘make oneself ready?’), ‘be about to do st.’:

- (22-42) *Nau ku kwai-thathai kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-ready 1SG.FUT go PRF
 ‘I am ready to go now.’

The meaning ‘be ready for st., to do st.’ can also be expressed by means of the intransitive verb *kwai-maqasi*, which is based on the transitive verb *maqasi* ‘wait for’:

- (22-43) *Nau ku kwai-maqasi kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-wait 1SG.FUT go PRF
 ‘I am ready to go now.’

Compare:

- (22-44) *Maqasi nau.*
 wait.for 1SG
 ‘Wait for me.’

In this case the semantic link between the base verb and the derived verb is not obvious (‘wait for oneself?’).

Two more examples of semantically opaque derivations are *kwai-luka-taqi* ‘be dying, be close death’ (‘abandon oneself?’), based on *luka-tani/luka-taqi* (tr.) ‘let go of, release’, ‘abandon’; and *kwai-kulu-faqi*, ‘of an old person: be infirm’ (‘suspend oneself?’), ‘of weather: be overcast’, based on *kulu-fani/kulu-faqi* (tr.) ‘hang, suspend’.

Chapter 23

Self-contained situations

23.1. Types of self-contained situations

Toqabaqita has two lexically related constructions that serve to emphasize what may be called the “self-containedness” of situations. The term “self-contained situations” is intended as a cover term for the following notions:

- (i) self-generated, spontaneous situations, that is situations not attributed to an outside cause or agency;
- (ii) self-directed, reflexive situations, where one and the same participant has the roles both of actor and of undergoer or some other non-actor role;
- (iii) emphasis on the entity to which the situation applies, normally in contrast (implicit or explicit) to other entities to which that situation also applies or might apply.

In a way, the first two uses of the constructions too can be seen as providing emphasis on the identity of the relevant participant. With self-generated, spontaneous situations the emphasis is on the fact that it is that participant rather than someone or something else that brings about the situation, the latter types of case being usual or more common. And with self-directed, reflexive situations, the emphasis is on the fact that, contrary to what is the usual or more common case, there is identity of the participants in the actor and the undergoer or some other non-actor roles.

There are two basic types of construction that serve to express self-contained situations, but there are no unique pairings between the constructions and the functions they serve. Both constructions employ the element *tala*, which is the same etymon as the noun *tala* ‘path, track, road’, ‘way, means of doing st.’. Example (23-1) shows the noun *tala* in its meaning ‘path, track, road’, and (23-2) in its meaning ‘way, means of doing st.’:

- (23-1) ... *kerā* *liu* *qana* *kade-qe* *tala* *qeri*
 3SG.NFUT walk GENP piece-ASSOC path that
 ‘...they walked on that stretch of the path ...’

23.2. Self-generated, spontaneous situations

Here the emphasis is on the fact that the state of affairs in question is not attributed to an external cause or agency. The cause or agency resides in the relevant entity itself, which is encoded as the subject. Such emphasis on the absence of external cause or agency is usually resorted to in cases where it may seem unusual, perhaps because of the nature of the relevant entity or because of the nature of the situation. Absence of outside cause or agency is normally encoded by means of the preverbal particle *tala*. Besides *tala*, the clause also normally contains the postverbal limiter particle *ba-*, which carries a personal suffix that indexes the subject participant (section 5.2.11). The limiter further emphasizes the unique involvement of the subject participant. In (23-5), what is emphasized is that that particular type of edible-greens plant grows by itself, without being planted by humans (whereas other kinds of greens are planted and cultivated):

(23-5) *Kabisi naqi qe aqi misi*
 greens this 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG

fasi-a. Doo e tala taqe
 plant-3SG.OBJ thing 3SG.NFUT SELFC grow

ba-na i laa tolo, doo kwasi.
 LIM-3SG.PERS LOC IN bush thing be.wild

‘This (kind of) greens we don’t plant; it (lit.: the thing) just grows by itself in the bush; it’s wild (lit.: a wild thing).’

The subject in a clause encoding a self-generated event need not be inanimate. In (23-6) the subject is human, but its referent did not bring the event about; the state of being cured is conceptualized as having happened of its own accord:

(23-6) *Nau qe aqi kwasi kuqu meresina boqo,*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG drink medicine ASRT

ku tala qakwaa ba-kuqa.
 1SG.NFUT SELFC be.cured LIM-1SG.PERS

‘I didn’t drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.’

Instead of the preverbal particle *tala*, it is possible to use the prepositional-phrase construction with the noun *tala* in its complement. This is the case in (23-7), which is a negative sentence. What is emphasized there is the fact that that kind of event, which appears to be self-generated, without being caused by

something or someone outside humans, does in fact have an outside agency. The apparent self-generatedness is being denied. The sentence comes from a prayer where the speaker is addressing God, acknowledging to him that humans do not act of their own accord, that it is He that makes them act.

- (23-7) *Misi qisu qi tala*
 1PL(EXCL).NEG move LOC SELFC
- qa-miliqa, misi baqe qi tala*
 SBEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS 1PL(EXCL).NEG speak LOC SELFC
- qa-miliqa.*
 SBEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS
 ‘We do not move of our own accord, (and) we do not speak of our own accord.’

23.3. Self-directed, reflexive situations

In a self-directed, reflexive situation one and the same participant is both actor and non-actor (often undergoer). Such situations can also be viewed as not attributable to an outside agency or cause, because the actor is the same entity as the non-actor. To emphasize the self-directed nature of a situation, the construction with the noun *tala* is used, not the preverbal particle *tala*. While a self-containedness construction may be used to emphasize the self-directed, reflexive nature of a situation, it is not necessary. Before the use of the self-containedness construction is discussed, it is necessary to consider encoding of self-directed situations in general.

In Toqabaqita the same sets of pronouns, object-indexing suffixes and personal suffixes are used regardless of whether or not there is coreferentiality between the pronoun or the suffix and another element in the clause. There is a general condition on clauses encoding self-directed, reflexive situations such that in a clause the antecedent must precede the anaphoric element. The sentence in (23-8), where the lexical noun phrase precedes the pronoun, can, but does not have to, encode a reflexive situation:

- (23-8) *Wane_i e ngata suli nia_{i,j}*
 man 3SG.NFUT speak PROL 3SG
 a. ‘The man spoke about himself’
 b. ‘The man spoke about him/her’

On the other hand, the sentence in (23-9), where the order of the lexical and the pronominal noun phrases is reversed, cannot encode a reflexive situation:

- (23-9) *Nia_i e ngata sulī-a wane_j*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT speak PROL-3.OBJ man
 ‘He/she spoke about the man’

In the next example a reflexive interpretation is strongly preferred over a non-reflexive one, for pragmatic reasons:

- (23-10) *Loi qeri e fiku nia.*
 snake that 3SG.NFUT coil.up 3SG
 ‘The snake coiled itself up.’

On the other hand, (23-11), with the pronoun in the subject position and the lexical noun phrase in the direct-object position, cannot express a reflexive situation:

- (23-11) *Nia e fiku-a loi qeri.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT coil.up-3.OBJ snake that
 ‘He/she coiled up the snake.’

In clauses expressing self-directed situations, there is coreferentiality between the subject (expressed or not) and the direct object or an oblique object. The antecedent may be a subject noun phrase and the corresponding subject marker, a subject marker alone, or there may be no overt expression of the antecedent, as is often the case in second-person singular imperatives. The anaphoric element can be an independent personal pronoun, an object suffix or a personal suffix. The anaphoric uses of the pronouns, the object suffixes and the personal suffixes are governed by the same basic rules as when those elements are used non-anaphorically. (See section 4.2.3.2.1 for Class 1 transitive verbs, section 4.2.3.3.1 for Class 2 transitive verbs, section 8.1.2 for the possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive noun phrase, section 10.3.1 for the verb-like prepositions, and section 10.4.1 for the noun-like prepositions.) With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, both the independent personal pronouns in an object position and the object-indexing suffixes are grammatically sanctioned in the third person. However, in expressions of reflexive situations it is normally the pronoun rather than the suffix that is used, although the animacy status of a participant plays a role too, as discussed further below. Examples (23-12) – (23-21) illustrate the various possibilities.

In (23-12) the relevant participant is the speaker, the verb is Class 1 transitive, and there only the pronoun option is grammatically available:

- (23-12) ... *nau ku lukasi nau qi lofo-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT let.go.of 1SG LOC concave.side-3.PERS

qaba-mu.

hand-2SG.PERS

‘... I leave myself (lit.: I let go of myself) in the palm of your hand.’
 (That is, I entrust myself to your protection.)

In (23-13) the relevant participant is the addressee, encoded as an oblique object with the general verb-like preposition *qani*. Here too only the pronoun option is available. The sentence is an imperative, and there is no overt expression of the subject.

- (23-13) *Fusi qani qoe qi ano!*
 jump GENP 2SG LOC ground
 ‘Jump off down to the ground.’

(The intransitive verb *fusi* ‘jump, fly’ optionally takes an oblique object coreferential with the subject to signify jumping away/off.)

With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, third person objects can be expressed either by means of the independent personal pronouns or by means of the object suffixes. In non-reflexive contexts the personal pronouns tend to be used primarily with human referents, although not exclusively. In reflexive contexts, the personal pronouns are commonly used even with reference to non-human animate participants; see examples (23-10) further above and (23-14) below.

- (23-14) *Kui e tataqi nia.*
 dog 3SG.NFUT shake 3SG
 ‘The dog shook itself (rapidly, to shake water off its body).’

As a transitive verb, *tataqi* is obligatorily reflexive. (There is also an intransitive verb *tataqi* ‘move in a rapidly shaking, fluttering manner’ [such as a firefly].)

Example (23-8) further above shows an oblique object with a human referent coreferential with the subject, and (23-15) shows coreferentiality between the direct object and the subject, also with a human referent:

- (23-15) *Qolofia e kasi nia.*
 Olofia 3SG.NFUT cut 3SG
 ‘Olofia cut himself (on a knife, accidentally).’

In those relatively uncommon cases where the relevant participant is inanimate, it is the object suffix that is used. There is a transitive verb *qasi* ‘fall (accidentally or deliberately)’, whose object can be coreferential with the subject. (It is also possible for *qasi* to take the third person singular object suffix *-a*, regardless of the grammatical person of the subject.) The verb can take inanimate subjects, in which case it takes an object suffix:

- (23-16) *Teqe fau e qasi-a ka ririi.*
 one rock 3SG.NFUT fall-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ roll
 ‘A rock fell down and rolled (on the ground).’

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (23-17) the participant that might fall down is human and is encoded by means of the pronoun in the direct-object position:

- (23-17) *Ada ka qasi nia.*
 TIM 3SG.SEQ fall 3SG
 ‘(Careful), she might fall down.’ (Speaking about a little girl.)

With Class 2 transitive verbs and with the noun-like prepositions, the objects can be realized only by means of the object suffixes and the personal suffixes, respectively, even in reflexive contexts, even if they are third person, and regardless of the animacy status of the participant. See (23-18) and (23-19).

- (23-18) *Qo uqunaqo-mu qasia naqa.*
 2SG.NFUT boast-2SG.OBJ INTS INTS
 ‘You boast too much.’

Uqunaqo ‘boast’ is an obligatorily reflexive verb. Its object must be coreferential with the subject.

- (23-19) *Kini e muutaqia naq=i a-na.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT be.abandoned PRF=LOC BEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘The woman has been abandoned (by her husband/family).’ (Lit.: ‘The woman has been abandoned “on” her.’)

In possessive noun phrases too the same constructions are used in non-reflexive and reflexive contexts. In (23-20) the possessive construction is of the suffixing type with a personal suffix on the possessum noun:

- (23-20) *Keka gwai-a seqe-da qana goel.*
 3PL.SEQ apply.oil.to-3.OBJ body-3PL.PERS INS oil
 ‘They put oil on their (own) bodies.’ ‘They oiled their (own) bodies.’

The situation expressed in (23-21) is not self-directed, but there is coreferentiality between the third person dual pronoun in the possessor position of a bare possessive construction and the subject. (Even though the subject marker is plural rather than dual, the intended reference is to two people; see section 4.9 for the use of the plural forms when the intended reference is dual.)

- (23-21) *Kera too-too i sa-na maka keeroqa,*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay LOC ADJC-3.PERS father 3DU

 ‘They stayed with their (own) father,’

There are a few intransitive verbs that signify self-directed actions without there being a non-subject noun phrase coreferential with the subject. Some, but not all, of these are “grooming” verbs (Kemmer 1993: 16). One such grooming verb is *sufi* ‘shave (oneself)’:

- (23-22) *Nau lae kwai sufī fasi.*
 1SG go 1SG.FUT shave PREC
 ‘I’ll go and shave now.’

Sufi can also function as a transitive verb, ‘shave body part (sb. else’s or one’s own):

- (23-23) *Nau kwai lae kwai sufī-a fasi*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT shave-3.OBJ PREC
thaathate-ku.
 chin.and.jaws-1SG.PERS
 ‘I will go now and shave my face.’

(*Thaathate* designates the chin and jaw region of the face up to the cheek bones.)

Some other such verbs are *kafa* ‘comb (one’s own hair)’, *siiisu* ‘bathe (os.), wash (os.)’, and also *thuu* ‘cover (os.) (with st.)’.

We can now turn to the use of one of the self-containedness constructions in encoding self-directed, reflexive situations. The construction in question is the

prepositional phrase whose complement is a noun phrase that consists of *tala* modified by the possessive marker; see (23-4) in section 23.1. The *tala* prepositional phrase makes explicit or emphasizes the self-directed, reflexive nature of a situation that is otherwise more likely not to be self-directed. (See Haiman [1983: 803] for the notion of “extroverted verbs”.) It follows the non-subject noun phrase it has in its scope, except that if any postverbal particles that are part of the verb complex are present, they directly follow the direct object pronoun. In (23-24) the *tala* construction is separated from the direct object by the combination of the intensifiers *qasia* and *naqa*:

(23-24) *Kini naqi qe thathami nia qasia naqa*
 woman this 3SG.NFUT like 3SG INTS INTS

qi tala qa-na.
 LOC SELFC POSS-3SG.PERS
 ‘This woman likes herself very/too much.’

In the next example, two self-directed events are expressed, killing oneself and throwing oneself to the ground, but only the former is explicitly identified as self-directed. It is more natural, common for people to kill something or someone other than themselves. There is a good reason for emphasizing the self-directedness of the latter kind of act. However, once the idea of the self-directed event of killing oneself has been established, it is no longer necessary to emphasize the self-directedness of the action by means of which suicide is committed.

(23-25) *Kamiliqa, tai wane kera thau-ngi kera*
 1PL(EXCL) some.PL person 3PL.NFUT kill-TR 3PL

qi tala qa-da quna qeri: tai
 LOC SELFC POSS-3PL.PERS manner this some.PL

si manga keka raqa-fi-a qai tekwa ki,
 PRTT time 3PL.SEQ climb-TR-3.OBJ tree be.tall PL

keka quu qani kera qi thaqegano.
 3PL.SEQ throw GENP 3PL LOC ground

‘(As for) us, some people kill themselves like this: they climb a tall tree (lit.: tall trees) (and) throw themselves (down) to the ground.’

(*Quu* ‘throw’ is an intransitive verb; the entity thrown is expressed as an oblique object.)

The *tala* construction may be used when the self-directed nature of the situation in question is obvious. In such cases the construction does not make the self-directedness explicit; rather, it emphasizes it. In (23-26) the relevant participant is the addressee, and the situation expressed there can only be self-directed. Societal norms require that one think of others as much as, or even more than, one thinks of oneself. By using the *tala* construction the speaker emphasizes that (under certain circumstances) the addressee should think of himself rather than of others. In (23-26) the *tala* construction has an oblique object in its scope.

- (23-26) *Qoko manata suli qoe qi tala qa-mu.*
 2SG.SEQ think PROL 2SG LOC SELFC POSS-2SG.PERS
 ‘You should think about yourself.’

The self-containedness construction is not used when the self-directed nature of the situation is obvious or is not unusual, and need not be emphasized. For the former type of case (the situation is clearly self-directed) see the final clause in (23-25) further above, and for the latter type of case (it is not unusual for a type of situation to be self-directed) see (23-27) below. The sentence in (23-27) was meant as an explanation for why white, Caucasian women tend to live longer than white men. It is not unusual for people (women in particular?) to take care of themselves.

- (23-27) *Kera beta kera qa-da.*
 3PL.NFUT take.care.of 3PL SBEN-3PL.PERS
 ‘They take (good) care of themselves.’

And second, the construction is not normally used if the situation is unintentional, accidental, rather than intentional. Even though the actor and the under-goer are one and the same entity, the situation is not seen as self-directed because it is unintentional. Thus, the self-containedness construction is not used in (23-28), even though the event of cutting is much more likely to be directed at something else than at oneself:

- (23-28) *Qolofia e kasi nia.*
 Olofia 3SG.NFUT cut 3SG
 ‘Olofia cut himself (on a knife, accidentally).’

There is a close link between self-generated and self-directed situations, which is the lack of external agency or cause. This link can also be seen from the fact that a situation can be encoded simultaneously by means of the prever-

bal particle *tala* and a prepositional phrase with a *tala* noun phrase as its complement, as in (23-29):

(23-29) *Thaari qeri qe tala thau-ngi nia*
 girl that 3SG.NFUT SELFC kill-TR 3SG

ba-n=i tala qa-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC SELFC POSS-3SG.PERS

‘The girl killed herself (of her own accord).’ ‘The girl committed suicide.’

Self-directed situations are also self-generated. (But not every self-generated situation is self-directed.) The simultaneous use of the two self-containedness constructions emphasizes both the self-directed and the self-generated natures of the situation.

23.4. **Emphasizing the identity of a participant in situations other than self-generated and self-directed**

The prepositional self-containedness construction is also used to emphasize the fact that the situation applies to the relevant participant, although that does not necessarily mean that it applies only to that participant. That participant is currently the focus of attention, typically in comparison with, or in contrast to, some others. Here the construction does not express or emphasize either self-directedness or self-generatedness. Here too the prepositional phrase with a *tala* noun phrase as its complement follows the noun phrase in its scope, but in this function it can have even subject noun phrases and fronted non-subject noun phrases in its scope.

The first example comes from a prayer. After asking God to protect various members of his family, the speaker then asks for protection for himself. The noun phrase that is in the scope of the *tala* construction functions as the direct object.

(23-30) *Thuu-fi nau qi tala qa-ku.*
 protect-TR 1SG LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS
 ‘(And) protect me (as well).’

In (23-31), from the same prayer, the *tala* construction has a topicalized prepositional phrase in its scope:

- (23-31) *Laa mango-ku qi tala qa-ku, Olmaiti*
 IN soul-1SG.PERS LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS Almighty

Good, qo lio qi ei, ...

God 2SG.NFUT look LOC LOCPRO

‘In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there (and you see some of whatever is poisonous [and] that is exceedingly bad that the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart).’

(See example [24-4] in section 24.2 for the rest of the sentence.)

In the final two examples the *tala* construction has in its scope noun phrases that correspond to the subjects. In (23-32) the subject has been topicalized. What is emphasized in that sentence is the fact that it is the speaker, rather than anybody else, that will perform the action. Furthermore, the limiter *bana* (realized as *ban=*) specifies that the speaker will perform it alone.

- (23-32) *Nau ban=i tala qa-ku laa-lae*
 1SG LIM=LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS RDP-go

kwai ili-a si doo naqi.

1SG.FUT do-3.OBJ PRTT thing this

‘I myself will do this (thing) (sometime) later.’

In (23-33) the subject noun phrase is in the focus position:

- (23-33) *Nia bo=naq=i tala qa-na*
 3SG ASRT=INTS=LOC SELFC POSS-3SG.PERS

n=e fafaleqa-a wane qeri.

FOC=3SG.NFUT praise-3.OBJ man that

‘It’s him himself who praises that man.’

Chapter 24

Unrestricted choice

24.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has two types of construction to signal that any member of a given class satisfies the proposition expressed in a clause, or conversely, that a proposition expressed in a clause applies equally to any member of a given class of entities. One of the constructions employs lexical items that function elsewhere as interrogative words in open interrogatives (section 19.3). The other one uses either the form *mamalana* ‘any one’ or *qatona* ‘any one’ in a noun phrase.

24.2. Unrestricted choice expressed by means of interrogative words

In this type of construction, an interrogative word, such as *tei* ‘who’ and *fei* ‘where’, serves as the head of the construction, a noun phrase or an adverb phrase. Usually, although not necessarily, the head is accompanied by one or more modifiers that serve to identify more closely the class of the entities to which the proposition applies. Such noun phrases often contain a relative clause, and the limiter *bana* not infrequently occurs as well. In the next three examples, the interrogative word is *tei* ‘who’.

- (24-1) *Ni tei n=e thathami-a nga*
 PERSMKR who REL=3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IDENT
- ifi nono-m-a neqe, doo ni*
 bundle rub.with.healing.leaves-TR-DVN this thing LIG
- faqa-maruki, ka suusuu uri-a.*
 CAUSE-be.alive 3SG.SEQ pay PURP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whoever wants this bundle of healing leaves, (this) thing for making/keeping people alive, should pay for it.’

In the next two examples the phrases with the interrogative words have been topicalized.

- (24-2) *Tei bana na qoki ngata bii-a,*
 who LIM REL 2SG.IPFV speak COM-3SG.OBJ
qoko ngata leqa bii-a.
 2SG.SEQ speak be.nice COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Whoever you speak with, you should speak nicely with them.’

In (24-3) there are two instances of the unrestricted choice construction in two coordinate clauses:

- (24-3) ... *nau ku thathami-a kwai sulumabo-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT mention.again-3SG.OBJ
laqu uri-a kai too faataqi
 ADD PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.in.certain.condition be.clear
fasi. Ni tei n=e aqi si
 PREC PERSMKR who REL=3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG
rongo-a quu ma n=tei
 hear-3SG.OBJ ANTCONT and PERSMKR=who
n=e aqi si thaitoqoma-na
 REL=3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG know-3SG.OBJ
quu, nau ku thathami-a nia kai
 ANTCONT 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 3SG 3SG.FUT
rongo-a ma kai thaitoqoma-na.
 hear-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.FUT know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I want to talk about it again so that it may be clear now. Whoever has not heard (about) it yet and whoever does not know (about) it yet, I want him/her to hear (about) it and to know (about) it.’

In (24-4) the interrogative word is *taa* ‘what’, modified by a verb and two relative clauses.

- (24-4) *Laa mango-ku qi tala qa-ku, Olmaiti*
 IN soul-1SG.PERS LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS Almighty
Good, qo lio qi ei, qoko riki-a
 God 2SG.NFUT look LOC LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

tai si taa buubula n=e taqaa
 some.PL PRTT what be.poisonous REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad

ka tatha na maqalimae n=e
 3SG.SEQ pass.by REL enemy REL=3SG.NFUT

ngali-a mai ka afu-si-a qi
 take-3SG.OBJ VENT 3SG.SEQ scatter-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC

ruuruqu-ku.
 chest-1SG.PERS

‘In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there and you see some of whatever is poisonous (and) that is exceedingly bad that the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart.’

(*Ruuruqu* designates the chest and also the locus of mental states and emotions. For the use of *tatha* to express a relatively high degree of a property or a characteristic see chapter 25.)

In (24-5) there are two instances of the unrestricted-choice construction that contain the locative interrogative adverb *fei* ‘where’. In the first case, *fei* is modified by a prepositional phrase; in the second, *fei* has no modifier.

(24-5) *Roo-wane!, ta imole ka too*
 two-man/person some person 3SG.SEQ reside

i fe=i laa kada taafoloa neqe, nau,
 LOC where=LOC IN block district this 1SG

tha Liliqa, na ku qai neri!
 PERSMKR Liliqa FOC 1SG.NFUT shout NPAST.HERE

Moka rongo suli-a maala b=e
 2DU.SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ sore that=3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi nau! Maala b=e tharu-fi
 afflict-TR 1SG sore that=3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR

nau qe=aqi naqa! Maala baa e
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF sore that 3SG.NFUT

mafo naqa! Ta imole qoko too
 (sore)heal PRF some person 2SG.SEQ reside

i fei, qoko too qa=ta kula,
 LOC where 2SG.SEQ reside GENP=some place

qoko rongo-a mai: Maala ba=e
 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3SG.OBJ VENT sore that-3SG.NFUT

aqi naqa!
 not.exist PRF

‘[This is what he shouted:] Hey, anybody, wherever you may live (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district, it’s me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me)! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed! Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen to this (lit.: listen to it hither): The sore is no more!’

24.3. Unrestricted choice expressed by means of *mamalana* or *qatona*

The other type of unrestricted-choice construction is a possessive noun phrase either with *mamalana* ‘any one’ or with *qatona* ‘any one’ as the possessum nouns. Both nouns are restricted to this construction; they are not used elsewhere. *Mamalana* may historically be a nominalization of a verb **mama*, with the third person singular personal suffix *-*na*, that is, **mama-la-na*, but there is no evidence of such a verb. Alternatively, *mamala* may have some historical connection to the equative preposition *mala* ‘like, as’ (section 10.2.4), also with the suffix *-*na*.⁴⁴ And it is likely that *qatona* is historically **qato-na*, also with the third person singular personal suffix *-*na*. As there is no evidence of *mamalana* or *qatona* having an internal structure in the present-day language, both are treated here as unanalyzed wholes.

Both *mamalana* and *bana* are accompanied in the possessum phrase by the limiter *bana* (section 7.7.). The basic structure of the construction is given in (24-6):

(24-6) [*mamalana/qatona bana*] [possessor.NP]
 any.one/any.one LIM

The possessor noun phrase is non-referential. It designates the class of entities any member of which satisfies the proposition expressed in the clause. The possessor noun phrase often also contains the indefinite quantifier *ta* (section 6.8.6), especially if it is *qatona* that occurs in the possessum phrase.

Although *mamalana* and *qatona* occur in the same construction expressing the same meaning, their uses are not identical. *Qatona* tends to be used in replies to questions, while *mamalana* is not normally used in replies.

Examples (24-7) – (24-11) contain *mamalana*.

(24-7) *Mamalana bana ta wane qe lae*
any.one LIM some person 3SG.NFUT go

ma=i biqu nau, nau kwai fale-a fanga
VENT=LOC house 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT/IPFV give-3.OBJ food

i a-na.

LOC REC-3SG.PERS

‘(If) anyone comes to my house, I’ll give food to him/her.’ ‘Anyone who comes to my house, I give food to him/her.’ ‘Whoever comes to my house, I give food to him/her.’

(24-8) *Kera fasi-a mamalana bana qai*
3PL.NFUT plant-3.OBJ any.one LIM tree

kaa-kali-a biqu kera.
RDP-surround-3.OBJ house 3PL

‘They plant any kind of tree around (lit.: surrounding) their house.’
‘They plant all kinds of trees around their house.’

Noun phrases with *mamalana* are frequently fronted into the topic position, as in (24-9) and (24-10):

(24-9) *Nau ku kwai-maqasi ba-kuqa. Mamalana*
1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-wait.for LIM-1SG.PERS any.one

bana si manga kwai lae.
LIM PRTT time 1SG.FUT go

‘I am ready to go any time.’ (Lit.: ‘I am ready. Any time I will go.’)

(For *kwai-maqasi* ‘be ready for st., to do st.’ see near the end of section 22.3.)

(24-10) *Wane qeri qe mataqi. Mamalana bana si*
man that 3SG.NFUT be.sick any.one LIM PRTT

fanga ku fale-a i a-na,
food 1SG.NFUT give-3SG.OBJ LOC REC-3SG.PERS

ka aqi si qani-a.
 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘The man is sick. No matter what food I give him, he won’t eat it.’
 ‘The man is sick. Any food that I give him, he won’t eat it.’

In (24-11) the possessor noun phrase does not, by itself, uniquely identify the relevant class: it is not any child that cries or screams, but any crying or screaming child that is present at the time:

(24-11) *Kuki uqunu sui ba-kuluqa.*
 PL(INCL).FUT converse COMPL LIM-PL(INCL).PERS

Mamalana bana ta wela ka angi mada ta
 any.one LIM some child 3SG.SEQ cry or some

wela ka gaa-gafu, kuki rongo-a
 child 3SG.SEQ RDP-scream PL(INCL).FUT hear-3SG.OBJ

ba-kuluqa qi ei.
 LIM-PL(INCL).PERS LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Let’s finish just talking. [I.e., let’s stop talking all about and let’s do the recording.] Any child that cries or any child that keeps screaming, we’ll hear him/her on it [a recording cassette].’

For another example with *mamalana* see (6-75) in section 6.3.2.
 The next three examples contain *qatona*:

(24-12) A: *Taa na kuki qani-a?*
 what? FOC PL(INCL).FUT eat-3SG.OBJ

B: *Qatona bana ta si fanga.*
 any.one LIM some PRTT food

A: ‘What will we eat?’

B: ‘Just anything.’ ‘Just any food.’

(24-13) A: *Qi fei na kwai alu-a waqi naqi*
 LOC where FOC 1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ basket this

i ei?
 LOC LOCPRO

B: *Qatona bana ta si kula.*
 any.one LIM some PRTT place
 A: ‘Where should I put this basket?’
 B: ‘Just anywhere.’ ‘Any old place.’

(24-14) [A: ...]

B: *Qatona bana ta wane.*
 any.one LIM some person
 [A: ‘Who do you want to come?’]
 B: ‘Just anyone.’

The *mamalana/qatona* unrestricted-choice construction may be more specific than the construction that uses interrogative words because it may identify more closely the class to any member of which the proposition applies, depending on the meaning of the possessor noun phrase. For example, in (24-11) further above, the possessive noun phrase *mamalana bana ta wela* restricts the class of referents to children, whereas using the interrogative-word construction with *ni tei* ‘whoever’ would not. Similarly, *mamalana bana qai* in (24-8) narrows down the class of entities to trees, compared to *taa* ‘whatever.’

Mamalana has another function, in which it occurs as the subject of a (verbless) equational sentence (section 27.2.2.1). It is optionally accompanied by the limiter *bana*. The predicate is a noun phrase. The basic structure of the construction is shown in (24-15):

(24-15) [*mamalana (bana)*] [predicate.NP]

This construction serves to express the fact that it is the choice, preference of the referent of the predicate NP rather than anybody else’s whether he/she/it will bring about a given state of affairs, that it is solely up to them to bring it about or not. For example, when a person is asked whether they will go somewhere, he or she might respond in this way:

(24-16) *Mamalana ni nau.*
 any.one PROFORE 1SG
 ‘I’ll see.’ ‘I’ll decide.’ ‘It’s up to me.’ (‘Whoever it is, it is me.’)

In the next example it is asserted that it is strictly up to God to decide whether people die or live:

- (24-17) *Mamalana bana araqi loo. Mada sa*
 any.one LIM mature.man upward or IRR
- ka ala-ma-tani-a kuki mae naqa,*
 3SG.SEQ let.happen-EXT-TR-3.OBJ PL(INCL).FUT die PRF
- ma nia bo=naqa na kai sore-a, mada*
 and 3SG ASRT=INTS FOC 3SG.FUT say-3SG.OBJ or
- ka sore-a kuki too quu,*
 3SG.SEQ say-3SG.OBJ PL(INCL).FUT be.around ANTCONT

nia laqu boqo na kai sore-a.
 3SG ADD INTS FOC 3SG.FUT say-3SG.OBJ

‘It is solely up to God. If he lets it happen that we die now, it is him alone who will say (i.e., decide on) that; or (if) he says/decides that we are still to be around [i.e. alive], it’s him again who will say that.’

Chapter 25

Comparison of inequality

As discussed in section 10.2.4, comparison of equality is expressed by means of the equative preposition *mala*. In this chapter the focus is on comparison of inequality. The Toqabaqita comparative constructions that serve to express comparison of inequality are of the “action schema” type in the terminology of Heine (1994: 58). Two verbs are used in this function, *tatha* ‘pass, pass by’ or *talu* ‘pass by’, ‘surpass’.

Tatha ‘pass, pass by’ is an intransitive verb. In the physical-motion sense it may occur with or without an oblique object encoding the location that someone or something passes by or along:

(25-1) *Teqe toqa kera tatha suli-a tala.*
 one people 3PL.NFUT pass.by PROL-3.OBJ path

Qo thaitoqoma-da?
 2SG.NFUT know-3PL.OBJ
 ‘There is a group of people passing by on the path. Do you know them?’

(25-2) *Faka baa e tatha naqa.*
 ship that 3SG.NFUT pass.by PRF
 ‘The ship has passed/gone by.’

Talu ‘pass by’, ‘surpass’ is a Class 1 transitive verb. When *talu* is used in the motion sense ‘pass by’, its direct object encodes the location passed by.

(25-3) *Faka e talu-a aququa.*
 ship 3SG.NFUT pass.by-3.OBJ island
 ‘The ship passed/went by the island.’

There are several types of constructions of comparison of inequality, depending partly on the degree of explicitness of the comparison and partly on the verb, *talu* or *tatha*, used. There is a fully explicit construction, where both the property or characteristic with respect to which some entities are compared, as well as the standard of comparison are expressed. Such constructions are biclausal. The first clause expresses a proposition that is compared to some standard of comparison. It contains an expression of the comparee and a com-

parative predicate. The comparee is encoded in the subject position. The second clause, the clause of comparison, contains either *talū* or *tatha* as its verb and an expression of the standard of comparison.⁴⁵ With *talū* the standard of comparison is encoded as the direct object. With *tatha* the standard of comparison is expressed as an oblique object with the general preposition *qani*. The subject marker in the clause of comparison is always third person singular sequential, regardless of the subject of the first clause. That is, the subject marker of the clause of comparison indexes the proposition of the preceding clause.

In the first two examples below, the clause of comparison contains the transitive verb *talū*. In (25-4) the clause that contains the comparative predicate has a first person singular subject.

- (25-4) *Nau ku thare-a botho qoro ki*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT keep.animal-3.OBJ pig be.many PL

ka talu-a wane naqi.
 3SG.SEQ surpass-3.OBJ man this
 ‘I keep/have more pigs than this man.’ (Lit.: ‘I keep many pigs; it surpasses this man.’)

- (25-5) *Nia qe baqita ka talu nau.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.SEQ surpass 1SG
 ‘He is bigger than me.’

The next two examples contain the intransitive verb *tatha* in the clause of comparison:

- (25-6) *Qo suukwaqi ka tatha qani nau.*
 2SG.NFUT be.strong 3SG.SEQ pass.by GENP 1SG
 ‘You are stronger than me.’

- (25-7) *Naifa nau naqi qe ngari ka tatha*
 knife 1SG this 3SG.NFUT be.sharp 3SG.SEQ pass.by

qana naifa qoe qena.
 GENP knife 2SG that(2)
 ‘My knife (lit.: this knife of mine) is sharper than your knife (lit.: that knife of yours).’

The following pair of synonymous sentences shows the syntactic differences between the two constructions. This pair and example (25-9), which follows, show that the same comparative construction may signal the fact that the com-

paree has a higher degree of the relevant property, characteristic, etc. in question than any other relevant candidate, the highest degree of all candidates. The standard of comparison is the set of the candidates.

(25-8) a. *Biqu nau qe baqita ka*
house 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.SEQ

talua biqu toqa na=i laa
surpass-3.OBJ house people REL=LOC IN

toaa nau.
village 1SG

‘My house is the biggest one of (all) the houses of the people in my village.’ That is, ‘My house is the biggest one in my village.’ (Lit.: ‘My house is big; it surpasses the houses of the people in my village.’)

b. *Biqu nau qe baqita ka*
house 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.SEQ

tatha qana biqu toqa na=i laa
pass.by GENP house people REL=LOC IN

toaa nau.
village 1SG

‘My house is the biggest of (all) the houses of the people in my village.’ ‘My house is the biggest one in my village.’

(25-9) *Wane e taqaa ka tatha qana wane*
man 3SG.NFUT be.bad 3SG.SEQ pass.by GENP man

ki sui bana.
PL EXHST LIM

‘The man is worse than any other.’ ‘The man is the worst of them all.’ (‘The man is worse than all [the] men.’)

The comparative use of *tatha* ‘pass by’ with an oblique object expressing the standard of comparison must be distinguished from another use of this verb, also with an oblique object introduced by the general preposition. In the latter use, *tatha qani/qana X* has the meaning ‘especially X’, ‘X in particular’ (section 10.3.7):

- (25-10) ... *kerā thau-ngani-a qana imole, tatha*
 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person pass.by

qani-a wela kini.

GENP-3.OBJ child female

‘... they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.’

In a sense, this construction expresses an implicit kind of comparison: ‘especially for girls (compared to other people)’.

There is another type of comparative construction. It has the same basic biclausal structure as the first construction discussed, except that there is no expression of a standard of comparison in the clause of comparison. In this construction, only the intransitive verb *tatha* ‘pass, pass by’ is possible, not the transitive verb *talū* ‘pass by’, ‘surpass’. As shown in (25-2) further above, in its physical-motion sense *tatha* does not require an oblique object expressing the location passed by: ‘The ship has passed/gone by’. (On the other hand, *talū*, being a transitive verb, requires a direct object.) This type of construction signifies that the comparee has a relatively or considerably high degree of the property or characteristic in question, higher than what the (implicit) norm is.

- (25-11) *Botho e baqita ka tatha.*
 pig 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.SEQ pass.by
 ‘The pig is very big (compared to other pigs).’

In the next example, *tatha* occurs in a [verb verb] compound with *sukani* ‘be of little quantity, degree, extent’ (section 12.5). The compound designates a not particularly high degree of a property, although still higher than the norm:

- (25-12) *Botho e baqita ka sukani*
 pig 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.NFUT be.of.little.degree

tatha.

pass.by

‘The pig is biggish/somewhat big/relatively big (compared to other pigs).’

Although the comparative constructions, with or without the standard of comparison expressed, are biclausal, there is a tight syntactic bond between the two clauses and in a way the two clauses may function as a unit. In (25-13) below, the two clauses of the comparative construction function jointly as a complex relative-clause modifier: the comparative construction as a whole

modifies the head noun *taa* ‘what’, which expresses unrestricted choice here (section 24.2):

(25-13) *Laa mango-ku qi tala qa-ku, Olmaiti*
 IN soul-1SG.PERS LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS Almighty

Good, go lio qi ei, qoko riki-a
 God 2SG.NFUT look LOC LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

tai si taa buubula n=e taqaa
 some.PL PRTT what be.poisonous REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad

ka tatha
 3SG.SEQ pass.by

‘In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there and you see some of whatever is poisonous (and) that is exceedingly bad (that the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart).’

(See [24-4] in section 24.2 for the rest of the sentence.)

Similarly in (25-14) the biclausal comparative construction functions as a complex relative-clause modifier. There the standard of comparison is expressed in the clause of comparison.

(25-14) *Toqa naqi ki na ku thare-a*
 people this PL REL 1SG.NFUT keep.animal-3.OBJ

botho qoro ki ka talu-da sui
 pig be.many PL 3SG.SEQ surpass-3PL.OBJ EXHST

boqo, kera ngata buri qani nau.
 INTS 3PL.NFUT speak behind GENP 1SG

‘These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them, speak (badly) about me behind my back.’ (Lit.: ‘These people, who I keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind my back.’)

See section 30.4 for discussion of relative-clause “macro-constructions”.

There is another type of less-than-fully explicit comparative construction. There the standard of comparison is expressed, but there is no separate clause with a comparative predicate. This construction is monoclausal, and either *talū* or *tatha* can be used. This type of construction serves to express the fact that the comparee, encoded as the subject, surpasses, is superior to, another entity,

encoded either as the direct object of *talū* or as an oblique object of *tatha*, in some respect. What the respect is is not expressed in that clause but is normally evident from broader context. In (25-15) two species of fish are compared, and the comparison has to do with their qualities as food.

- (25-15) *Takwalaqo qe talu-a maua.*
 fish.sp. 3SG.NFUT surpass-3.OBJ fish.sp.
 ‘*Takwalaqo* surpasses *maua*.’ ‘*Takwalaqo* beats *maua*.’ ‘*Takwalaqo* is better than *maua*.’

In (25-16) one of the feasts in a series of mortuary feasts is compared to the other feasts in the series in terms of its size. The sentence contains two comparative constructions, both of which are less than fully explicit. There is a division of labour between them. The first one expresses the characteristic with respect to which the entities are compared, but not the standard of comparison; while the second one (in a relative clause) expresses the standard of comparison but not the characteristic with respect to which the feasts are compared.

- (25-16) *Maama e baqita ka tatha*
 mortuary.feast 3SG.NFUT be.big 3SG.SEQ pass.by
- laqu boqo neri, maama n=e*
 ADD ASRT VIVID mortuary.feast REL=3SG.NFUT
- tatha bo=naqa qana maama ki sui*
 pass.by ASRT=INTS GENP mortuary.feast PL EXHST
- bana.*
 LIM
 ‘The mortuary feast [called *booa*] too is very big; (it is) a feast that is the biggest of all the mortuary feasts/that surpasses (lit.: passes by) all the (other) mortuary feasts.’

Chapter 26

Locational, existential, and possessive sentences

In Toqabaqita, locational, existential, and some subtypes of possessive sentences share certain structures and so the three types of sentence are best discussed together. Locational and existential sentences are discussed first, together. Possessive-sentence types, including those that are formally different from locational and existential sentences, are discussed subsequently.

26.1. Locational and existential sentences

26.1.1. Introduction

Locational sentences state (or inquire about) the location of an entity. Their subjects are definite. Existential sentences state (or inquire about) the existence or presence of an entity or a kind of entity, normally at a certain location and at a certain time. Their subjects are indefinite or generic. They are one of the ways to introduce new participants into discourse. Locational and existential sentences are of two basic types: verbal and verbless. As far as existential sentences are concerned, a distinction needs to be made between positive and negative sentences.

26.1.2. Verbal locational and existential sentences

26.1.2.1. *Grammatically positive locational and existential sentences*

The usual locative/existential verb is *nii* (intr.) ‘be located’, ‘exist’. *Nii* has a synonymous alternative *ii* (intr.) ‘be located’, ‘exist’, which is not common. *Nii* and *ii* can be used with subjects of any animacy status. The location at which something is located or exists is most often expressed in a complement phrase, typically a prepositional phrase. In some cases a locative/existential verb occurs as the first member of a [verb verb] compound where the second verb gives some general information about the distance from a reference point (‘be far’, ‘be near’; see [26-3] further below). Interrogative locational sentences are discussed in section 19.3.7, and here only one further example is given.

Examples (26-1) – (26-5) illustrate locational sentences.

- (26-1) *Wai-waena* *nia, ni* *Feefelo, nia*
 LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex 3SG PERSMKR Feefelo 3SG

e *ni=i* *laa* *bisi* *qeri.*
 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC IN menstrual.hut that
 ‘His sister, Feefelo, she was in the menstrual hut.’

The sentence in (26-2) contains the much less common locative verb *ii*:

- (26-2) *Qoo, ma fai-susu* *qe=ki* *kera* *ii* *laqu*
 oh and four-breast that=PL 3PL.NFUT be.located ADD

boqo *qa=ta* *kula* *neri.*
 ASRT GENP=some place NPAST.HERE
 ‘Oh, and those female possums are at some other place.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh,
 and those female possums are again some place.’)

(*Fai-susu* ‘four-breast’ is a term for female possums.)

In (26-3) the location is characterized as not being distant and as being near by the second verbs in two [verb verb] compounds:

- (26-3) *Biqu* *nau* *qe* *aqi* *si* *nii* *daa,*
 house 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG be.located be.far

qe *nii* *karangi* *ba-na.*
 3SG.NFUT be.located be.near LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘My house is not far; it’s just nearby.’

The sentence in (26-4) is a query about a location:

- (26-4) *Ama* *nau* *ba=e* *nii* *fei?*
 hammer 1SG that=3SG.NFUT be.located where?
 ‘Where is my hammer?’ ‘Where is that hammer of mine?’

A location may be metaphorical:

- (26-5) ... *qo* *nii* *qasia* *naqa* *i* *laa*
 2SG.NFUT be.located INTS INTS LOC IN

mango-ku
 soul-1SG.PERS
 ‘... you are very much in my heart (lit.: soul)’

Examples (26-6) – (26-8) contain existential sentences.

(26-6) *Kere thau-ngani-a teqe doo na, na nga*
 3PL.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ one thing REL REL HESIT

iqa e ni=i laal-a.
 fish 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC inside-3SG.PERS
 ‘They had built a thing inside which [repetition and hesitation] there are fish.’ (Speaking about an underground aquarium.)

(26-7) ... *roo kale-qe doo ii ba-n=i*
 two baby-ASSOC thing exist LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

ofi-na.
 marsupium-3SG.PERS
 ‘... (perhaps) there are two baby ones in its pouch.’ (Wondering whether there are baby possums in an adult possum’s marsupium.)

In (26-8) the location is metaphorical:

(26-8) *Teqe si doo kwai-tao-faqi qe*
 one PRTT thing LIP-cause.strife.among-TR 3SG.NFUT

ni=i maqaluta-kuluqa.
 exist=LOC among-PL(INCL).PERS
 ‘There is something causing strife among us.’ (‘There is one strife-causing thing among us.’)

There are also two posture verbs that can be used with locative or existential meanings, but only under certain circumstances. One of them is *teo*, whose core meaning is ‘lie (prostrate), lie down’, and the other one is *qono*, whose core meaning is ‘sit, sit down’. *Teo* is discussed first. The next example shows *teo* used with its posture meaning:

(26-9) *Teqe wane qe teo qi faar-a tarake.*
 one man 3SG.NFUT lie LOC under-3.PERS truck
 ‘There is a man lying under the truck.’

With respect to entities that can occupy a standing, sitting or some other posture different from lying, *teo* signifies a horizontal orientation. However, it is also used about animate or inanimate objects that are not characterized by a non-horizontal orientation. Such objects are said to ‘lie’ when they are in their normal orientation, but in some such cases, their exact orientation is not relevant.

- (26-10) *Kafa qoe kai teo ba-n=i*
 comb 2SG 3SG.IPFV lie LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

sa-mu nena.
 ADJC-2SG.PERS there(2)
 ‘Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.’

- (26-11) *Tai fanga e teo ba-na?*
 some.PL food 3SG.NFUT lie LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘Is there any food (lit.: some foods) at all (left)?’

- (26-12) *Iqa qe teo mala qa=i maa-na*
 fish 3SG.NFUT lie EQT tree=LOC point-3.PERS

uusi-a fu=i taraqena.
 buy-DVN downward=LOC today
 ‘There were lots and lots of fish [for sale] down at the market today.’ (Lit.: ‘There were fish like trees lying at the market down there today.’)

In (26-12) the noun *qai* ‘tree(s)’ is used to suggest a large quantity, not an upright orientation. (At markets, fish are normally exhibited lying on the mats or in baskets on the ground.)

The verb *qono*, whose core meaning is ‘sit, sit down’ is shown with its posture meaning in (26-13):

- (26-13) *Kwai qono ba-kuqa qi laa tafe.*
 1SG.FUT sit LIM-1SG.PERS LOC IN bench
 ‘I’ll just sit on (lit.: in) the bench [rather than at the table].’

Qono can be used as a locative verb with reference to humans without any necessary implication of a sitting posture. The question expressed in (26-14) was intended as a query about the presence of the people at that location, not about their posture there:

- (26-14) *Keki qono ba-da nena?*
 3PL.FUT sit LIM-3PL.PERS NPAST.THERE
 ‘Are they there (where you are)?’

And although one is quite likely to occupy a sitting position when at home, this is not necessarily so. The sentence in (26-15) is a statement about the speaker and his friend’s being at home, not about their posture. (The sentence was uttered in a telephone conversation. The speaker and the addressee were at different locations, and it is unlikely that the former wished to be specific about his and his friend’s postures at the moment.)

- (26-15) *Araqi qeri bana n=e oli mai*
 mature.man that LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT return VENT

qana wane kiloko. Qi manga qeri
 GENP one o’clock LOC time this

meka qono neri.

1DU(EXCL).SEQ sit NPAST.HERE

‘It was only the old man who came back at one o’clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.’

There is one type of possessive sentence that is a kind of positive existential sentence (section 26.2.1.1).

26.1.2.2. *Grammatically negative locational and existential sentences*

Locational sentences with the verb *nii* (or *ii*) employ the usual negation strategies (chapter 17):

- (26-16) *Naifa na ku lae uri-a qe*
 knife REL 1SG.NFUT go PURP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

aqi si ni=i kula lakoo.
 NEGV 3SG.NEG be.located=LOC place that(3)

‘The knife I went for (The knife I went to get) was not there (lit.: at that place).’

For another example see the first clause of (26-3) in section 26.1.2.1. Negative locational sentences are not discussed any further. Rather, the focus is on negative existential sentences.

Negative existential sentences can express the fact that a certain type of entity does not exist or is not available, normally at a certain location and at a certain time, or that there is no entity of a certain type involved in a type of state of affairs. Negative existential sentences also serve to express lack of possession, which is grammatically treated as non-existence or non-availability with respect to a potential possessor. This is discussed in section 26.2.1.2.

Negative existential sentences employ the verb *aqi* ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’, also ‘not be so, not be the case’, which also serves to form negative constructions (sections 17.3 and 17.4). Negative existential sentences are unusual in that the verb, with its subject marker, comes before the subject. This is one of only two types of sentence where the verb precedes the subject (the other being one type of interrogative locational sentences; see section 19.3.7) (and also section 19.3.8). In negative existential sentences the subject marker must be third person singular, nonfuture, future, or sequential (not negative or dehortative). In addition, the verb *aqi* may be accompanied by one or more particles that belong in the verb complex (chapter 5). The basic structure of negative existential sentences is shown in (26-17):

(26-17) [3sg.subject.marker *aqi*] [subject.NP ...]
not.exist/not.be.available

The subject noun phrase is non-referential. It encodes the type of entity whose non-existence or non-availability is being expressed. The subject noun phrase contains an indefinite quantifier, either *ta* ‘some’ or, less commonly, *tai* ‘some.PL’ (section 6.8.6). *Tai* is used only with count nouns and has a plural value. *Ta* is used both with count nouns and with mass nouns. With count nouns *ta* is unspecified as to number (singular or plural). The location or the time characterized by the non-existence/non-availability of a type of entity may be expressed after the subject noun phrase, but frequently it is not expressed when it is determinable from context.

In (26-18) – (26-22) the subject noun phrases contain *ta*.

(26-18) *Qe aqi ta firu-a.*
3SG.NFUT not.exist some fight-DVN
‘There was no war (going on at that time).’

(26-19) *Nau ku laa-lae i maa-na uusi-a*
1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-go LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN

sa kwai ngali-a ta gwa iqa, ma
IRR 1SG.FUT take-3.OBJ some CLF fish and

ka aqi ta iqa.
 3SG.SEQ not.be.available some fish

‘I went (lit.: had gone) to the market place to buy (lit.: take) fish, but (lit.: and) there weren’t any.’

(26-20) *Qe aqi ta Taio.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some Taiyo

‘There was no Taiyo.’ In the given context: ‘There was no Taiyo [a brand of tinned fish] (in the shop; that’s why I didn’t bring any).’

(26-21) *Qe aqi ta sofu.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some soap

‘There is no soap.’ In the given context: ‘There is no soap in the house.’ ‘We have no soap.’ ‘We are out of soap.’

In (26-22) the verb *aqi* is accompanied by the perfect marker:

(26-22) *Keka raa qi laal-a si kula qe=ki,*
 3PL.SEQ work LOC inside-3.PERS PRTT place this=PL

keka raa reduredu ba-d=i
 3PL.SEQ work repeat.doing.st. LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC

ei, uri-a n=e aqi
 LOCPRO REAS-3.OBJ COMP=3SG.NFUT not.be.available

naqa ta si gano.
 PRF some PRTT ground

‘They work [here: make gardens] in those places, they work there over and over again, because there is no more ground [for new gardens].’ (That is, because of shortage of land, people use the same pieces of land for gardens over and over again.)

In the next three examples, the subject noun phrases contain the plural quantifier *tai*. The subject marker with the verb *aqi* ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’ must be singular, even if the subject noun phrase designates humans, as in (26-23):

(26-23) *Qe aqi tai toqa qi laa*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist some.PL people LOC IN

aququa naqi.

island this

‘There are no people (living) on (lit.: in) this island.’

(26-24) *Qe aqi laqu tai si doo*
3SG.NFUT not.exist ADD some.PL PRTT thing

qoro suli-a, ...

be.many PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘There aren’t many more things (to be said) about it, ...’

In (26-25) the locative noun phrase has been topicalized, and a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* occurs at the extraction site:

(26-25) *Aququa naqi, qe=aqi tai toqa qi*
island this 3SG.NFUT=not.exist some.PL people LOC

ei.

LOCPRO

‘This island, there are no people (living) there.’

Compare (26-23) further above with *aququa naqi* ‘this island’ *in situ*.

Negative existential sentences with topicalized “locations” are also used as a type of negative possessive sentence, where the possessor is treated as if he or she were a location. The possessor is an unlinked topic (section 38.5): no prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* is used. There are no corresponding sentences with the expression of the possessor in a non-topic position. In (26-26) the possessor is first person singular, and the subject marker is third person singular. The first person singular pronoun is in the topic position, not in the subject position.

(26-26) *Nau qe aqi ta fa qota.*
1SG 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some CLF areca.nut
‘I have no areca nuts.’ (‘With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.’)

Negative possessive sentences are discussed in more detail in section 26.2.1.2.

The subject noun phrase in a negative existential clause may contain a relative clause that characterizes the type of entity designated by the noun phrase. However, relative clauses are used in this way only if the position relativized is other than subject, as in (26-27):

(26-27) *Qe aqi ta kula na kuki*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist some place REL PL(INCL).FUT

agwa qi ei.
 hide LOC LOCPRO

‘There is no place for us to hide.’ ‘There is no place where we can/will hide.’

A different construction is used when the position relativized is subject. The verb of the relative clause has a negative subject marker, and the relative clause marker *na* is not used. For example:

(26-28) *Wane qe naunau. Qe aqi*
 man 3SG.NFUT be.egocentric 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta thaari si thathami-a.
 some girl 3SG.NEG like-3SG.OBJ

‘The man is egocentric. There is no girl that likes him./No girl likes him.’

(The verb *naunau* ‘be egocentric’ is a reduplication of the first person singular pronoun *nau*.)

Even though the relative clause has a negative subject marker, the modification is positive, not negative. That is, in (26-28) the meaning is not ‘There is no girl that does not like him.’ (The Toqabaqita counterpart of ‘There is no girl that does not like him’ would be ‘Every girl/All girls like(s) him’.)

As discussed in section 17.4, one of the negating strategies of Toqabaqita is a double negative construction that employs a negative subject marker in the event clause, and in addition there is a “mini-clause” that consists of the negative everb *aqi* with its own subject marker. Even though the event clause has a negative subject marker, it does not negate the preceding negative mini-clause. In a similar fashion, in the construction discussed here, even though the modifying clause is grammatically negative, it does not have a negative force.

This construction serves to express the non-existence, non-availability of a certain type of participant in, or for, a certain type of situation.

The sentences in (26-29) and (26-30) also illustrate this construction:

(26-29) *Nia molo, qe=aqi ta wane si*
 3SG AFFTOP 3SG.NFUT=not.exist some person 3SG.NEG

faara-na.

be.match.for-3SG.OBJ

‘Him (I’m telling you), there is nobody that can match him.’

- (26-30) *Fanua kera fanua thaathaoliaqa qasia naqa.*
country 3PL country be.clean INTS INTS

Qe aqi ta fanua si
3SG.NFUT not.exist some country 3SG.NEG

quri-a.

be.like-3SG.OBJ

‘Their country (is) a very clean country. There is no (other) country (that is) like it.’

If the subject of the relative clause is third person, the negative subject marker in the relative clause must be singular, even if the subject of the negative existential clause is plural and even if it has human referents. In (26-31) and (26-32) the subject phrases contain the plural quantifier *tai*; nevertheless, the subject markers in the relative clauses are (and must be) singular.

- (26-31) *Qe aqi tai wane qoro si*
3SG.NFUT NEGV some.PL person be.many 3SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na uqunu qeri.

know-3.OBJ story this

‘There are not many people who know this story.’ ‘Not many people know this story.’

- (26-32) *Qi laa aququa naqi, qe aqi tai*
LOC IN island this 3SG.NFUT not.exist some.PL

toqa si too i ei.
people 3SG.NEG reside LOC LOCPRO

‘On this island, nobody lives there.’ (More literally: ‘On this island, there is nobody who lives there.’)

In (26-33) below, there is a mismatch in grammatical person. The subject of the negative clause is third person, but the negative subject marker in the relative clause is second person singular. The speaker addresses himself individually to each of the addressees.

(26-33) *Nau ku qoo faafi-a niu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT place.taboo.sign CONF-3.OBJ coconut

nau naqi; qe aqi ta wane
 1SG this 3SG.NFUT not.exist some person

qosi raqa-fi-a.
 2SG.NEG climb-TR-3SG.OBJ

‘I have put a taboo sign by this coconut (tree) of mine. None of you is to climb it.’ (Lit.: ‘... There is no person who you do not climb it.’)

Characterization of the type of entity designated by the subject phrase can also be achieved by means of a “relative purpose clause”, that is a purpose clauses that functions as a relative clause modifying nouns (section 33.3.2):

(26-34) *Mere garo, qe aqi*
 1DU(EXCL).NFUT lose.way 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta tala fasi meka lae suli-a.
 some path PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘We had lost our way; there was no path for us to follow.’ (Lit.: ‘...; there was no path so that we might walk along it.’)

See also example (26-52) in section 26.2.1.2.

Negative existential sentences can be made emphatic by a second negative existential clause. The additional negative existential clause is a mini-clause that consists only of the verb *aqi* here with the sense ‘not be so, not be the case’, which takes the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*. This clause follows the negative existential clause.

(26-35) *Qe aqi boqo ta wane bulu*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist ASRT some person black.colour

ka aqi, araqi kwao ni
 3SG.SEQ not.be.the.case mature.man be.white LIG

sui boqo.
 EXHST ASRT

‘There was no black person there, no; (they were) all white men.’ (Lit.: ‘There was no black person; it was not the case [that there was a black person]; ...’)

(*Bulu* is a noun whose basic meaning is ‘pig that is completely black’. It is also used as a modifier in a number of compounds to signify black or some other very dark colour.)

26.1.3. Verbless locational and existential sentences

Verbless locational and existential sentences contain one of the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs as the predicate.

(26-36) *Nia lakoq.*
 3SG there(3)
 ‘He/she/it is over there.’

(26-37) *Teqe keekero loq.*
 one yellow.bibbed.lory up.there
 ‘There is a Yellow-bibbed Lory up there.’

This type of sentences is discussed in section 13.6.2, which deals with the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs, and in section 27.2.2.2, which deals with presentational identificational sentences. More examples can be found in those places.

26.2. Possessive sentences

Toqabaqita has several types of possessive sentences, that is sentential structures used to express possession (which does not necessarily mean possession in the sense of ownership). Some of these are verbal and one is verbless. Two subtypes are existential sentences.

26.2.1. Existential possessive sentences

In the case of existential possessive sentences, a distinction needs to be made between positive and negative sentences.

26.2.1.1. *Grammatically positive existential possessive sentences*

As discussed in section 5.2.10, Toqabaqita has a self-benefactive/recipient-benefactive marker *qa-*, which occurs postverbally inside the verb complex:

- (26-38) *Keki siisiu qa-da.*
 3PL.IPFV bathe SBEN-3PL.PERS
 ‘They are bathing.’

In some cases, the referent of the subject benefits from his/her own action by becoming the possessor of something, such as when he or she makes something for himself/herself:

- (26-39) *Nau kwai faa-li-a qa-kuqa*
 1SG 1SG.IPFV weave-TR-3.OBJ SBEN-1SG.PERS

teeteru nau.
 fan 1SG
 ‘I am weaving myself a fan (lit.: my fan).’

The same particle can also be used to encode recipients in a recipient-benefactive construction (section 5.2.10.3). Recipients are, of course, new possessors.

- (26-40) *Fale-a qa-daroqa ta si botho.*
 give-3.OBJ RECBEN-3DU.PERS some PRTT pork
 ‘Give them some (of the) pork.’

What is historically the same element is also used to express possession pure and simple, without there necessarily being any suggestion of a self-benefactive action or of the possessor having been a recipient. It is, of course, possible for a possessor to be a beneficiary or a recipient, but the important point is that this is not encoded in the clause in which the possessor is referred to. The structure involved is a kind of verbless, and subjectless, existential sentence that consists of a predicate noun phrase:

- (26-41) $[[qa\text{-PERS NP}]_{NP}]_{Sent}$
 POSS

The personal suffix on the possessive marker *qa-* encodes the possessor, and the inner noun phrase the possessum. No possessor noun phrase can be present inside the construction, although there can be an expression of the possessor outside, in the topic position (see [26-44] further below). (The possessive marker also forms part of one of the self-containedness constructions; see [23-4] in section 23.1.) As is shown further below, the possessive marker with a personal suffix may be omitted under certain circumstances. Evidence that the

structure in (26-41) is a noun phrase is presented further below, after several examples of the construction have been given.

(26-42) *Qa-kuqa roo wela.*
 POSS-1SG.PERS two child
 ‘I have two children.’ (More literally: ‘Of mine (there are) two children.’)

(26-43) *Doqora-ku. Qa-mareqa teqe thaina*
 sibling-1SG.PERS POSS-1DU(EXCL).PERS one mother

ma teqe maka.
 and one father

‘(He is) my (true) brother. We have one mother and one father.’

In addition to a personal suffix on the possessive marker, the possessor can also be encoded by means of a topic noun phrase. In the exchange in (26-44), speaker A uses only a personal suffix on the possessive marker to encode the possessor, while speaker B uses both a personal suffix and a topic noun phrase:

(26-44) A: *Qa-muqa fita botho?*
 POSS-2SG.PERS how.many? pig

B: *Nau qa-kuqa ulu botho.*
 1SG POSS-1SG.PERS three pig

A: ‘How many pigs do you have?’

B: ‘I, I have three pigs.’

When the possessor is expressed by means of a topic noun phrase, it is possible for the possessive marker to be omitted, the possessive relation being only implied. Thus, instead of (26-42) further above, with the possessive marker, one can say (26-45), without it:

(26-45) *Nau roo wela.*
 1SG two child
 ‘I have two children.’ (Lit.: ‘I, [there are] two children.’)

And it is possible to omit the noun phrase expressing the possessum, if the context makes it clear what that entity is:

- (26-46) *Qa-kuqa.*
 POSS-1SG.PERS
 '(It's) mine.' (Speaking about food.)

Evidence that the possessive structure [*qa*-PERS NP] forms a noun phrase comes from the fact that it can occur in noun-phrase positions in larger sentences. In (26-47) it occurs in the subject position:

- (26-47) [*Qa-na teqe qaba*] *qe qoo.*
 POSS-3SG.PERS one arm 3SG.NFUT be.broken
 'One of his arms is broken.' (Lit.: 'Of his one arm is broken.')

Such possessive phrases can also function as the subjects of grammatically negative existential possessive sentences; see section 26.2.1.2.

In (26-48) below, the possessive phrase occurs as the complement of the verb-like purpose preposition *uri*. The preposition carries the object-indexing suffix *-a*, which means that its complement must be a lexical noun phrase (section 10.3.1).

- (26-48) *Suusugu-a qe ni=i laa ruuruqu-ku*
 persist-DVN 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC IN chest-1SG.PERS
- uri-a qa-ku=ta biqu kaba.*
 PURP-3.OBJ POSS-1SG.PERS=some house corrugated.iron
 'My mind is set on having a house with a corrugated-iron roof.'
 (Lit.: 'There is persistence in my chest for there to be of mine a corrugated-iron roof house.')

And in (26-49) the construction occurs after the conjunction *bia* 'and'. Since the form of the conjunction is *bia*, the coordinand to its right must be a lexical noun phrase (section 11.2.1.2). The noun phrase encoding the possessum consists of two noun phrases in apposition.

- (26-49) *Si uqunu qeri qe lae suli-a teqe*
 PRTT story this 3SG.NFUT go PROL-3.OBJ one
- wane bia kwai-na bia qa-daroqa*
 man and spouse-3SG.PERS and POSS-3DU.PERS

teqe wela, wela wane.

one child child man

‘This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of theirs, a boy.’

When the possessive structure occurs inside a larger sentence, and only then, the order of the possessive marker and the possessum noun phrase can be reversed, with the possessive marker following the possessum noun phrase. However, this is possible only if the overall possessive noun phrase expresses a subset. The sentences in (26-50a) and (26-50b) below illustrate the alternative orderings of the possessive marker and the possessum noun phrase. The subject markers are singular, even though the subject phrases refer to two people. That is, the two children are treated grammatically as forming a (sub)set rather than being individuated (section 4.9). This could be the case, for example, if the children died at (more or less) the same time.

(26-50) a. *Qa-da roo wela e mae.*
 POSS-3PL.PERS two child 3SG.NFUT die
 ‘Two of their children died.’ (They had other children.)

b. *Roo wela qa-da e mae.*
 two child POSS-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT die
 ‘Two of their children died.’ (They had other children.)

Similarly, instead of (26-47) further above, where the order inside the possessive noun phrase is [*qa*-PERS NP], the order could be [NP *qa*-PERS]:

(26-51) *Teqe qaba qa-na qe qoo.*
 one arm POSS-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.broken
 ‘One of his arms is broken.’

26.2.1.2. Grammatically negative existential possessive sentences

There are several ways in which negative counterparts of grammatically positive existential possessive sentences can be formed. The basic one is a negative existential sentence of the type discussed in section 26.1.2.2, with the negative existential verb *aqi* ‘not exist’, ‘not be available’ and its third person singular subject marker, occurring before the subject. The subject consists of a possessive noun phrase of the type discussed in the preceding section. In (26-52) the possessive noun phrase is in bold.

(26-52) *Kulu thaofa naqa. Qe*
 PL(INCL).NFUT be.hungry PRF 3SG.NFUT

aqi naqa qa-kuluqa ta fanga
 not.be.available PRF POSS-PL(INCL).PERS some food

qi maqa fera fasi kuka qani-a.
 LOC CLF house PURP PL(INCL).SEQ eat-3SG.OBJ

‘We are hungry now. We have no more food in the house to eat.’
 (Lit.: ‘... There is no more of ours food in the house so that we might eat it.’)

Just as in positive existential possessive sentences, the possessor may be encoded not only by means of a personal suffix on the possessive marker, but also be means of a topic noun phrase, as in (26-53) and (26-54):

(26-53) *Wela qe aqi qa-n=ta maka.*
 child 3SG.NFUT not.exist POSS-3SG.PERS=some father
 ‘The child has no father.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, of his there is not a father.’) (As a definition of the expression *wela oqori-a* ‘child born out of wedlock’: *wela* ‘child’; *oqori* ‘physically support a weak or ill person’; *-a* third person [singular] object suffix.)

(26-54) *Tha weleqi qe aqi*
 PERSMKR guy 3SG.NFUT not.be.available

qa-na ta malefo, nau bana na ku
 POSS-3SG.PERS some money 1SG LIM FOC 1SG.NFUT

taqe fasi-a qana malefo naqi.
 ascend ABL-3SG.OBJ INS money this

‘The guy had no money; it was only me who helped him out with the money (to pay compensation).’

(*Taqe fasi-a*, lit. ‘ascend from sb.’, has the idiomatic meaning ‘help out sb. by stepping in for them, by doing on their behalf what needs to be done’.)

And just as in grammatically positive existential possessive sentences, the possessive marker may be omitted if there is a topic noun phrase that encodes the possessor:

- (26-55) *Nau qe aqi ta fa qota.*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some CLF areca.nut
 ‘I have no areca nuts.’ (‘With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.’)

And finally, again as in positive existential possessive sentences, there need not be any expression of a possessor at all, the possessive relation being only implied. Such sentences have the structure of ordinary negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2).

- (26-56) *Qe aqi ta botela.*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some bottle
 ‘There is no bottle.’ The intended meaning here is ‘I don’t have a bottle (to put kerosene in).’

26.2.2. Verbal possessive sentences with the possessor in the subject position

Another way to form possessive sentences is to use one of three verbs whose subject encodes the possessor. One of the verbs is *alu*, a Class 1 transitive verb, which also has a physical-action meaning ‘put (st./sb. somewhere)’:

- (26-57) *Qo alu-a naifa nau baa qi fei?*
 2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ knife 1SG that LOC where?
 ‘Where did you put my knife?’

When *alu* serves to express possession, the possessum is encoded as its direct object. In its possessive function *alu* is glossed as ‘have’ or ‘possess’, but here too the possessor – possessum relation need not be one of ownership.

- (26-58) *Qo alu-a ta fa qota?*
 2SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ some CLF areca.nut
 ‘Do you have any areca nuts?’

- (26-59) *Wane e alu-a gwa thaathate.*
 man 3SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ CLF beard
 ‘The man has a beard.’

- (26-60) *Iu, ngori, doo qeri, lae-la-n=e*
 OK ngori thing that walk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

qaliqali, qe *alu-a* *qa-na* *fai qae.*
 be.fast 3SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ SBEN-3SG.PERS four leg
 ‘OK, the *ngori*, that (kind of) thing, it moved fast; it had four legs.’
 (Lit.: ‘OK, *ngori*, that thing, its walking was fast; it had for itself
 four legs.’) (*Ngori* is a kind of mythical animal mentioned in tradi-
 tional recitations.)

- (26-61) *Kini e* *alu-a* *qilu.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT possess-3.OBJ k.o.magic
 ‘The woman possessess *qilu* magic.’ (*Qilu* magic allows its posses-
 sor to affect other people’s minds, to make them do whatever the
 possessor of the magic desires.)

Another verb that can be used to express possession is *too*, an intransitive verb whose range of senses includes ‘live, reside, dwell at a place’, ‘be, stay, remain (at a place)’, ‘remain, be left over’, ‘be at home’, ‘be present’, ‘be around, be still alive (not having died)’, ‘be in a certain condition’. It is the sense ‘be, stay, remain (at a place)’ that is relevant here. Example (26-62) shows *too* used with the literal meaning ‘stay (at a place)’:

- (26-62) *Keka taqe, keka too naqa qana ua qeri.*
 3PL.SEQ ascend 3PL.SEQ stay PRF GENP hill that
 ‘They went up and (then) stayed on that hill.’

When *too* is used to express possession, the possessum is encoded as a loca-
 tion, as the object of the general preposition *qani*: ‘possessor is at possessum’.
 This type of construction tends to be used to express true ownership.

- (26-63) *Qo too qana ta malefo?*
 2SG.NFUT be.at.place LOC some money
 ‘Do you have any money?’ (Lit.: ‘Are you with money?’)

Compare the synonymous sentence in (26-64) with the verb *alu* ‘have’ in-
 stead:

- (26-64) *Qo alu-a ta malefo?*
 2SG.NFUT have-3.OBJ some money
 ‘Do you have any money?’

Possessive sentences with *too* are uncommon compared to sentences with
alu. Here is one more example. The possessive clause functions as a relative
 clause.

- (26-65) *Toqa na kere too qana uni qai,*
 people REL 3PL.NFUT be.at.place GENP collectivity tree
- manga na kere riki-a ngali kera*
 time REL 3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ canarium.nut 3PL
- qe noro naqa, keka lae, keka*
 3SG.NFUT be.ripe PRF 3PL.SEQ go 3PL.SEQ
- rofe-a mai nail=i sa-na*
 look.for-3.OBJ VENT climbing.ropes=LOC ADJC-3.PERS
- tai wane ki na kere thaitoqoma-na*
 some.PL person PL REL 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ
- thau-ngaqi-la-na naili,*
 make-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS climbing.ropes
 ‘People who have/own canarium nuts to harvest, when they see that
 their canarium nuts are ripe, they go and look for *naili* climbing
 ropes from (lit.: at) the men who know how to make climbing ropes,
’

(*Uni qai*, literally ‘collectivity of trees’ has the meaning ‘the canarium nuts of one harvest’.)

Possession can also be expressed by means of the intransitive verb *raqu*, whose basic senses are ‘hold on’, ‘hold onto’, ‘hold, grab’. The possessum is expressed as an oblique object with the confective preposition *faafia*. This construction expresses true possession, ownership. Example (26-66) shows *raqu* with the meaning ‘hold’, and example (26-67) shows it with the meaning ‘have, possess’:

- (26-66) *Raqu qana qoko qena.*
 hold GENP rope that(2)
 ‘Hold the rope.’
- (26-67) ... *mili raqu faafi-a fulinga-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT possess CONF-3.OBJ amount-3.PERS
- ta tri hundred dolas togo.*
 some three hundred dollar perhaps
 ‘... we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.’

Chapter 27

Verbless sentences

27.1. Major and minor verbless sentence types

Two basic types of verbless sentences can be distinguished in Toqabaqita. For convenience, these are referred to as “major” and “minor”, respectively. As the two terms are used here, the major verbless sentence types are those that have a predicate that consists of a complete phrase other than a verb phrase, while the minor sentence types are those that either have only a particle in the predicate, or the subject-predicate distinction does not apply at all.

27.2. Major verbless sentence types

27.2.1. Introduction

With some exceptions, the Toqabaqita major verbless sentence types (minimally) consist of a subject and a verbless predicate. Verbless sentences without a subject are possible too. A predicate may consist of a noun phrase (which is the most common case), a prepositional phrase, an adverb phrase that contains a presentative locative demonstrative adverb, or a reiterative demonstrative pronominal phrase. Following Hengeveld (1992), Stassen (1997), and Pustet (2003), two basic types of major verbless sentences are distinguished here, partly on the basis of their forms and partly on the basis of their functions: identificational and ascriptive. Identificational sentences are of two subtypes: equational and presentational (Stassen 1997). Following Stassen (1997), definitions are included among (equational) identificational sentences.

Grammatically positive verbless sentences are discussed first; negative counterparts of positive verbless sentences are discussed in section 27.2.5.

27.2.2. Grammatically positive identificational sentences

27.2.2.1. *Equational identificational sentences*

With the exception of definitions, in equational sentences both the subject and the predicate are referential and “the assertion is that [the] two expressions refer to one and the same object” (Stassen 1997: 101). The predicate is a noun phrase. In (27-1) and (27-2) the subjects and the predicates are in square brackets.

(27-1) [Nau] [tha Reuel Riianoa].
 1SG PERSMKR Reuel Riianoa
 ‘I am Reuel Riianoa.’

(27-2) [Oqola loo] [oqola toqa fuu].
 garden upward garden people downward
 ‘The garden up there is the garden of the people down there.’

In (27-3) there is, in addition to the subject and the predicate, a topicalized noun phrase, co-referential with the other two:

(27-3) Akalo i Rokasi, nia tha Feotoqoniwane.
 ancestral.spirit LOC Rokasi 3SG PERSMKR Feotoqoniwane
 ‘The ancestral spirit at/of Rokasi [a place], he is Feotoqoniwane [name of the spirit].’

Not uncommonly, what would otherwise be the predicate noun phrase is placed in the focus position (section 39.1):

(27-4) Maka kamiliqa na tha Unagere.
 father 1PL(EXCL) FOC PERSMKR Unagere
 ‘Unagere is our father [here: founding ancestor].’ ‘Our father, that’s what Unagere is.’ (‘It is our father that Unagere is.’)

(27-5) Marukita-ku na Goot.
 sustenance-1SG.PERS FOC God
 ‘God is my sustenance.’ (‘It is my sustenance that God is.’)

Definitions are included among equational sentences: the subject and the predicate designate the same type of entity.

- (27-6) *Doketa wane ni kwai-faqa-maruki.*
 doctor person LIG LIP-CAUS-be.alive
 ‘A doctor is a person who saves lives.’ ‘A doctor is a person who makes (people) live.’ (Lit.: ‘A doctor (is) a person of causing to be alive.’)

In (27-7) the head noun in the predicate is modified by the (reduplicated) verb *too* ‘stay’:

- (27-7) *Maruki-a tathaa maruki-a too-too, si*
 be.alive-DVN move.on be.alive-DVN RDP-stay 3SG.NEG

sui.

end

‘Eternal life is life that goes on without (ever) ending.’ (Lit.: ‘Eternal life is a staying life; it does not end.’) (As an explanation of what *marukia tathaa* means.)

27.2.2.2. *Presentational identificational sentences*

Presentational identificational sentences serve “to make the identity of a referent known to the hearer. ... [they] provide an object, or a class of objects, with a ‘name’, which may from now on be used by the hearer in referring to it.” (Stassen 1997: 2001).

There are two subtypes of presentational identificational sentences in Toqabaqita. Both are also discussed and illustrated in the chapter on demonstratives and demonstrative adverbs (chapter 13), and here they are mentioned only briefly. In one subtype the predicate is an adverb phrase that consists of a presentative locative demonstrative adverb (section 13.6.2). This type of construction is used when the entity in question is visible and can be pointed at or pointed out.

- (27-8) *Bii qoe neqe.*
 stone.oven.food 2SG here
 ‘Here/This is your share of food (cooked in a stone oven.)’

- (27-9) *Bore-qe botho nena!*
 excrement-ASSOC pig there(2)
 ‘(Watch out), that’s pig shit (where you are)!’ (Lit.: ‘Pig excrement there, by you.’)

In the other subtype of presentational identificational sentences the predicate phrase consists of a reiterative demonstrative pronominal (section 13.8). This type of construction is used to re-identify, relatively emphatically, a participant.

(27-10) *Biqu nau fu=nia.*
 house 1SG that.down=3SG
 ‘That’s my house, the one down there.’

(27-11) *Teqe wane lakoo nia.*
 one man that(3) 3SG
 ‘That’s a man over there, that one.’

27.2.3. Grammatically positive ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences, unlike identificational sentences, do not express identity of reference of two phrases. Rather, the predicate characterizes the referent or the type of referent of the subject in some way. Most often, the predicate is a noun phrase, but it may be a prepositional phrase. The subject noun phrase may be referential (which is the usual case) or generic. The referent or the type of referent of the subject may be characterized in a variety of ways, some of which are exemplified below. (The distinctions between some of the categories are not always clear-cut.) In the first two examples the subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

Class membership, including provenance, ethnic-group membership, nationality:

(27-12) [*Wane naqi*] [*wane ni toqo doo*].
 man this man LIG teach thing
 ‘This man is a teacher.’ (Lit.: ‘This man (is) a man of teaching things.’)

(27-13) [*Nia*] [*wane i Raenauta*].
 3SG man LOC Raenauta
 ‘He was a man of/from Raenauta [a place].’

(27-14) *Kamiliqa Japan.*
 1PL(EXCL) Japan(ese)
 [The speaker is relating an incident: A local man asked the crew of a ship: “What people are you?”, and they answered:] ‘We are Japanese.’

Personal characteristic, trait; name:

- (27-15) *Qoe kuri-maqu ni bana.*
 2SG dog-be.afraid LIG LIM
 ‘You are just a coward.’ (Lit.: ‘You [are] a frightened dog.’)

In (27-16) the ascriptive sentence is an open question:

- (27-16) *Thata-mu ni tei?*
 name-2SG.PERS PERSMKR who?
 ‘What is your name?’ (Lit.: ‘Your name [is] who?’)

Life stage:

- (27-17) *Wela qeri kali wela faqekwa ni bana.*
 child that little.SG child be.little LIG LIM
 ‘He was just a very little child.’ (Lit.: ‘The child [was] just a very little child.’)

Kinship relation:

- (27-18) *Kamareqa tha Reni teqe futa-a boqo.*
 1DU(EXCL) PERSMKR Reni one be.born-DVN ASRT
 ‘I and Reni are one and the same family line.’

Function:

- (27-19) *Sadee fa bongi ni mamalo-a.*
 Sunday CLF day LIG rest-DVN
 ‘Sunday is a day of rest.’

Size:

- (27-20) *Tekwa-la-na si qai qeri lima*
 be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS PRTT wood this five

malafunu.

finger.span

‘The length of this stick is five finger spans (from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger or another finger, with the fingers fully spread).’

Time. In (27-21) and (27-22) the predicates consist of prepositional phrases:

(27-21) *Lumaqaa naqi qana madami loo.*
 wedding this GENP month upward
 ‘The (lit.: this) wedding (will be) next month.’

(27-22) *Lae-laa baa i angita?*
 go-NMLZ that LOC when?
 ‘When is the time to go?’ (Lit.: ‘The going [discussed earlier] [is] when?’)

In the next three examples the subject noun phrases are generic. In (27-23) the predicate characterizes the type of referent of the subject in terms of its function:

(27-23) *Qulu bala doo uri-a*
 fern.sp white.colour thing PURP-3.OBJ

goo-la-na maa-na imole.
 perform.k.o.eye.cure-NMLZ-3.PERS eye-3.PERS person
 ‘The (leaflets of the) *qulu bala* fern are a thing for performing the *goo* cure for people’s eyes.’ (Vapours from heated leaves or leaflets of certain plants are used to treat conjunctivitis.)

The sentences in (27-24) and (27-25) are traditional sayings. The predicates express, metaphorically, (perceived) qualities, characteristics.

(27-24) *Wane nga gweleqai.*
 man IDENT dancing.stick
 ‘A man is (like) a dancing stick.’ (A man may be old, but all he needs is a little cleaning, “polishing” [for example, new clothes] to look good again.)

Women, on the other hand, do not fare as well in the saying about them:

(27-25) *Kini nga ngoongotha-na ootoa.*
 woman IDENT new.leaf-3.PERS plant.sp.
 ‘A woman is (like) a new leaf of an *otoota* plant.’ (Intended meaning: A woman looks good, fresh only when young.)

A predicate noun phrase may contain a relative clause whose subject marker agrees with the subject of the ascriptive sentence. (See section 30.6 for discussion and more examples.)

- (27-26) *Qoe wane qo uusulifaqa.*
 2SG man 2SG.NFUT be.jinxed
 ‘You are a bad-luck man.’ ‘You are a man who brings bad luck to others.’ (Lit.: ‘You (are) a man (who) you are jinxed.’)

The predicate phrase of an ascriptive sentence can be fronted in focusing; see (27-27) and (27-28):

- (27-27) *Sikwa fa fale-qae-a boqo na tekwa-la-na*
 nine CLF give-leg-DVN ASRT FOC be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS

biqu naqi.
 house this
 ‘Nine paces, that’s what the length of this house is.’

Compare a similar example without focusing of the predicate in (27-20) further above.

In (27-28) the predicate noun phrase is focused in an open interrogative.

- (27-28) *Fita fa seleni na redio naqi?*
 how.much? CLF money FOC radio this
 ‘How much money is this radio?’

27.2.4. Absence of subjects in the major verbless sentence types

It is possible for a verbless sentences not to have a subject; only the predicate is present. This is true both of the identificational and of the ascriptive sentence types. However, subjects cannot be absent when the predicate consists of a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or of a reiterative demonstrative pronominal.

In most cases the subject is absent when the referent is recoverable from context, linguistic or extra-linguistic. Identificational sentences are frequently subjectless because the intended referent is obvious from the extra-linguistic context (and usually can even be pointed at). In the situation expressed in (27-29), person A, on seeing a bird, uses a subjectless verbless question and person B responds with a subjectless verbless answer. In both sentences the predicates contain the situational demonstrative adverb *neri*.

(27-29) A: *Thaqaro taa neri?*
bird what? NPAST.HERE

B: *Fa sobe neri.*
CLF bird.sp NPAST.HERE

A: 'What's the bird?'

B: 'A *sobe*.'

Subjectless verbless clauses can function as constituents of sentences. This is the case in the examples in (27-30) – (27-33), where the subjectless verbless clauses are ascriptive.

In (27-30) the subjectless verbless clause forms the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The referents of the ellipited subject are the pictures (the things that had been painted) mentioned in the first clause:

(27-30) *Nau kwa riki-a ba-kuqa doo kera*
1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

keda-a, mada sa ka qisu, wane
paint-3SG.OBJ or IRR 3SG.SEQ move person

ni bo=naqa.

LIG ASRT=INTS

'(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.'
(Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

In (27-31) the referent of the ellipited subject noun phrase is the content of the direct speech in the preceding sentence, what the man said:

(27-31) *Wane ni thau wane qeri ka quna qeri,*
man LIG kill person that 3SG.SEQ manner this

"*Qoo, koqo nau, qoko lae mai*
oh friend 1SG 2SG.SEQ go VENT

buria-ku, nau kwai tole qoe, qoko
behind-1SG.PERS 1SG 1SG.FUT lead 2SG 2SG.SEQ

lae buria-na thaina-mu bia maka qoe.
 go behind-3.PERS mother-2SG.PERS and father 2SG

Wela qeri ka sore-qe doo mamana.
 child that 3SG.SEQ think-DETR thing be.true

‘The man, a killer of people (lit.: the man of killing people), said, “Oh, my friend, follow me, (and) I’ll lead you to (lit.: behind) your mother and father.” The child thought that was true (Lit.: ‘... The child thought [it was] a true thing.’)

Doo mamana ‘true thing’ is not the direct object of *sore-qe* ‘think’, because the verb occurs in its detransitivized form and takes paratactic complement clauses (sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8).

The sentence in (27-32) contains a subjectless verbless relative clause:

(27-32) ... *mika lio, mika riki-a iqa*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ fish

qe=ki na thaama-na baqekwa ki...
 that=PL REL father-3.PERS shark PL

‘... we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks’

For more examples of subjectless verbal clauses see (27-36) and (27-37) in section 27.2.5.

There is one type of verbless sentence that is always subjectless. This is a type of positive possessive sentence that consists of a noun phrase that contains the possessive marker *qa-* with a personal suffix that encodes the possessor and a noun phrase that encodes the possessum:

(27-33) *Qa-muqa ta ama?*
 POSS-2SG.PERS some hammer
 ‘Do you have a hammer?’ (Lit.: ‘(Is there) of yours a hammer?’)

See section 26.2.1.1 for detail.

27.2.5. Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences

Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences employ the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’ (sections 17.3). The verb always has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. Only lexical subjects occur in this type of construction. In addition to the subject, there may be a

The subject of an *aqi* clause can be extraposed to the right. This is the case in (27-38), where the phrase *toqa qi Toqabaqita* ‘people at Toqabaqita’ has been extraposed. The first person plural exclusive pronoun *kamiliqa* is in the topic position, and is in apposition to the preceding noun phrase *nau ma fulingana maka nau ki* ‘I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers’. The negative verb is accompanied by the additive postverbal particle *laqu*.

(27-38) *Nau ma fulingana maka nau ki, kamiliqa*
 1SG and FILLER father 1SG PL 1PL(EXCL)

qe aqi laqu toqa qi Toqabaqita.
 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case ADD people LOC Toqabaqita
 ‘I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers, we too are not Toqabaqita people.’ (Lit.: ‘... we it is also not the case [are] people at Toqabaqita.’)

Basically the same strategy is also used to express negation in the focus position, except that there is no topic constituent there; see section 39.2, examples (39-25) and (39-26).

And a similar strategy is used to negate verbless fragments of clauses from which the verb complex (the verb and the associated particles) has been omitted. The clause fragment functions as a topic; there is no subject phrase with the negative verb.

(27-39) *Qi laa kisin qe=aqi.*
 LOC IN kitchen 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
 ‘Not in the kitchen.’ Here: ‘It is not in the kitchen.’ (Speaking to a person who was going to look for something, thinking it might be in the kitchen.)

(27-40) *Roo si doo qe=aqi!*
 two PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
 ‘Not two of them!’ (Lit.: ‘Two things, it is not the case.’) Here: ‘Do not take two of them!’ (Admonishing a person who was about to take two pieces of something rather than just one.)

27.3. Minor verbless sentence types

Here two subtypes can be distinguished: in one there is a subject and a reduced predicate. In the other subtype, the subject-predicate distinction does not apply.

27.3.1. Verbless sentences with reduced predicates

Reduced predicates consist of one or more particles that elsewhere occur as part of the verb complex. Note that these are not cases of ellipsis due to preceding linguistic context. Such sentences can be uttered without prior linguistic context that would permit ellipsis. Such sentences must also be distinguished from constructions with pseudo-verbs, that is, with nonverbal elements or constructions that are treated as if they were verbs (section 4.7). Such pseudo-verbs take subject markers, the way verbs do. On the other hand, in the constructions with reduced predicates there is no element that plays the role of a verb and there is no subject marker. It is especially the directional particles that are used in this manner:

(27-41) *Kulu kau.*
 PL(INCL) AND
 ‘Let’s be off.’

(20-42) *Kamuluqa mai! Mulu lau-a firu-a*
 2PL VENT 2PL.NFUT stop.fight-3.OBJ fight-DVN

naqi!
 this
 ‘You, (come) here! Stop the fight!’

As discussed in section 5.2.14.7, the ventive particle *mai* can also be used as a marker of distance from the deictic centre. This is the way it functions in the verbless sentence in (27-43):

(27-43) *Thaama-ka qae!, teqe kui mai*
 father-PL(INCL).PERS VOC one dog VENT

nenā, ada ka qale kulu.
 there(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ bite PL(INCL)
 ‘Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.’

(For the use of *thaama-ka*, lit.: ‘our father’, as an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, or indignation see section 8.1.2, where the example above appears as [8-25].)

There is a commonly used formula to signal the end of an account of something, or to express the fact that that is the way things are (as discussed previously). The subject is the third person singular pronoun *nia*, and the predicate consists of the assertive particle *boqo* and the perfect marker *naqa*, which fuse together as *bo=naqa*. The formula ends with the situational demonstrative *neri*.

- (27-44) *Nia bo=naqa neri.*
 3SG ASRT=PRF NPAST.HERE
 ‘That’s all (I have to say).’ ‘That’s it.’ ‘That’s the way it is.’

27.3.2. Verbless utterances without a subject-predicate structure

Included here are address forms, interjections, greeting and leave-taking formulae, and several pro-sentence forms used in response or as a rejoinder to what has just been said. All of these may, but need not, form an utterance by themselves. For convenience, their use together with clauses is discussed as well, towards the end of the section.

Address forms may, but need not, be followed by the vocative particle *qae* (section 6.16).

- (27-45) *Kale qena.*
 mate that(2)
 Commonly used as a general term of address, or when calling someone to get their attention, regardless of sex and age of the addressee. It is used even between spouses.

- (27-46) *Thaina-ka qae.*
 mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC
 ‘Mother.’ Addressing or calling one’s (classificatory) mother.

Although *-ka* is an archaic plural inclusive personal suffix, used only by women in earlier times (section 8.1.2), *thaina-ka* is used nowadays regardless of the sex of the speaker, and it is the only form of address to one’s (classificatory) mother. (See also [8-24] in section 8.1.2 and the paragraph before it.)

Proper names can function both as terms of reference and as terms of address:

- (27-47) *Fio qae!*
 Fio VOC
 ‘Fio!’ (Calling a person. *Fio* is a shortened version of *Fiona*.)

Below are given examples of a few interjections:

- (27-48) *Roo-wane!*
 two-man/person
 Exclamation of amazement (at something good or bad) or exhortation. Although etymologically *roo-wane* is ‘two men’ or ‘two people’, it is used regardless of the number of addressees, including singular addressees.
- (27-49) *Iiqee!*
 Expression of admiration, pleasant or unpleasant surprise/astonishment, pity, wistfulness, feeling sorry. ‘Alas!’ (*Ii* is uttered on relatively high pitch and is normally extra-long; *qee* is uttered on a higher pitch yet and is usually lengthened.)
- (27-50) *Toko!*
 shit
 ‘Shit!’ (Expletive of anger.)

Examples (27-51) – (27-53) contain some of the verbless greeting and leave-taking formulae:

- (27-51) *Quuqusungadia (leqa).*
 morning be.good
 ‘(Good) morning.’ (A greeting.)
- (27-52) *Laa thato (leqa).*
 IN sun/daytime be.good
 ‘Good day.’ (A greeting used around the middle of the day.)
- (27-53) *Rodo leqa.*
 night be.good
 A leave-taking formula, used especially to mean ‘Good night.’, but it can be used in leave-taking at any time of the day: ‘Good bye.’

Pro-sentence forms used in response or as a rejoinder to what has just been said include *iu*, *aqaa*, *mania*, and *uaqa*. They are used as agree-type responses to polar questions (section 19.4.1).

(27-54) A: *Qo lae naqa?*
 2SG.NFUT go PRF

B: *Aqaa.*

yes

A: 'Are you going now?'

B: 'Yes.'

They can also be used before a clause to express acknowledgement of what someone else is saying: 'yes', 'hmm', 'aha', 'OK', 'right':

(27-55) A: *Kamareqa meki baqa-a alinga-mu.*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).FUT pierce-3.OBJ ear-2SG.PERS

B: *Iu, qe leqa.*
 OK 3SG.NFUT be.good

A: 'We will pierce your ears.'

B: 'OK, that's good.'

And they can also provide a loose link between the clause or sentence they introduce and the preceding discourse: 'OK', 'right', 'all right'. This kind of linking function may also be performed by the form *neri*, which elsewhere functions as a situational demonstrative adverb 'nonpast here' (section 13.7). The first example below contains the pro-sentence form *mania*, and the second one *neri*.

(27-56) *Mada sa moka faqa-ulafu kamiliqa, qoo,*
 or IRR 2DU.SEQ CAUS-work.hard 1PL(EXCL) oh,

ma ni kamaroqa moki mae bo=naqa.
 and PROFORE 2DU 2DU.FUT die ASRT=INTS

Mania, manga na ku arasi-a soldia
 right time REL 1SG.NFUT send.sb.-3.OBJ policeman

nau ki bii nau, mika sifo kau, kamaroqa
 1SG PL COM 1SG 1PL(EXCL).SEQ descend AND 2DU

moka lae bo=ma-maroga, maqasi kamiliqa.
 2DU.SEQ go ASRT=VENT-2DU.PERS wait.for 1PL(EXCL)

'If you had made us work hard [when we were going to arrest you], oh, you would be about to die now. Right, (but) when I went with

my policemen (lit.: when I sent my policemen with me), we went down [to your area to look for you], (but) you just came, waiting for us.’

- (27-57) *Qai-laa* *n=e* *qai* *qani-a*
 shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT shout INS-3SG.OBJ
- e* *quna qeri, “....”.* *Neri, manga*
 3SG.NFUT manner this all.right time
- b=e* *qai quna baa ka sifo,*
 that=3SG.NFUT shout manner that 3SG.SEQ descend
- qe sifo, manga n=e sifo*
 3SG.NFUT descend time REL=3SG.NFUT descend
- suli-a qai baa ka aqi si*
 PROL-3.OBJ tree that 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG
- thaitoqoma-na na teqe si kuukusu e*
 know-3.OBJ COMP one DIM small.stick 3SG.NFUT
- toqo faafi-a kida baa.*
 prick CONF-3.OBJ scar that
- ‘This is what he shouted, (lit.: the shouting that he shouted with was thus), [“Hey, anybody, wherever you may live in this section of the district, it’s me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed! Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen to this: The sore is no more!”] All right, he shouted that at that time, (then) he went down [a tree], he went down, (but) as he was going down the tree, he did not know/notice that a small stick had pricked the scar [where a yaws sore had been].’

There are two pro-sentence elements that express uncertainty, lack of (certain) knowledge: *botaena* and *botaqana* ‘perhaps’, ‘possibly’; ‘don’t know’. They are free variants of each other.

- (27-58) A: *Kamuluqa sui boqo, muki kafara qi*
 2PL EXHST ASRT 2PL.FUT make.copra LOC

qusungadi?
tomorrow

B: *Botaena.*

possibly

A: 'You all, will you make copra tomorrow?'

B: 'Possibly.'

For more examples see section 18.5.4.

The various types of expressions that can form minor verbless sentences can combine with each other or with clauses. A few examples are given below.

(27-59) *Ee, araqi loo!*
oh! mature.man upward
'Oh, God! (For example, as an exclamation of fright, worry, panic.)

(27-60) *Iiqee, maka qae!*
alas! father VOC
'Alas!, Father! (For example, expressing astonishment; see [27-49] further above.)

(27-61) *Rodo leqa, wane nau.*
night be.good man 1SG
'Good night/Good bye, my man.'

(27-62) *Qoo, weleqi qae, fa raranga neri.*
hey! man! VOC CLF fat NPAST.HERE
'Hey, man! (It's) a ball of fat.' (Responding to another possum hunter's question: "What's the baby one [a possum] like?".)

(27-63) *Nee, koqo, qe qufita?*
hey! friend 3SG.NFUT be.how
'Hey, friend, how is it (going)?' 'Hey, friend, how are things?'

The interjections and the address forms tend to occur initially in clauses, but they can be postposed instead. In (27-64) there are three interjections, one before the verbal clause and two after it.

(27-64) *Maa-gwari, kuburu e baqita qasia naqa,*
eye-be.cold storm 3SG.NFUT be.big INTS INTS

nee, roo-wane!

hey two-man/person

‘Hey, the storm is really heavy (lit.: big), man!’

Maa-gwari, lit.: ‘cold eye’, serves as an interjection of surprise, amazement.

Chapter 28

Coordination of clauses

28.1. Introduction

Coordination of clauses can be syndetic or asyndetic. Three sets of coordinating conjunctions can be distinguished in Toqabaqita on the basis of their functions: conjunctive *ma*, *bii*, and *bia*, with some functional extensions in the case of *ma*; disjunctive *mada*; and *sui*, *sui mena* and *sui taa*, whose core functions are to express contrast and unexpectedness.

When clauses are coordinated in any way, there is often a rise in intonation at the end of each non-final clause and there may be a slight pause before the next clause, and there is a fall in intonation at the end of the final clause, unless that clause is a polar question, in which case there is a rise in intonation at the end (section 19.2.1). Rise in intonation and pauses between clauses are indicated by commas.

Prosodically, the coordinators belong to the material to their right. The conjunctions occur clause and sentence initially, except that they may be preceded by an interjection or by an element that functions as a loose linker between that sentence and the preceding discourse ('OK', 'right', 'all right'; see examples (28-21) and (28-22) in section 28.2.2.

Syndetic coordination is discussed first; asyndetic coordination is discussed in section 28.5

Besides clausal coordination, linking of sentences is also discussed in this chapter.

28.2. Conjunctive coordination

28.2.1. The coordinators

There are three forms used in conjunctive coordination of clauses: *ma*, *bii*, and *bia* 'and'. All three can conjoin noun phrases (section 11.2) and *ma* can also conjoin prepositional phrases (section 11.3). In clausal coordination, *ma* is the conjunction that is normally used, and most of the discussion deals with it. *Bii* and *bia* are used only rarely in clausal coordination.

28.2.2. *Ma*

The central function of *ma* is to express additiveness: the proposition expressed in the second clause holds in addition to, as well as, the one expressed in the first clause. However, not infrequently the relations between the propositions expressed in clauses conjoined with *ma* extend beyond simple additiveness. *Ma* can also be used jointly, pleonastically, with the contrast/unexpectedness conjunctions *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa*. And it can also be used pleonastically in subordination. Initially, the use of *ma* in connecting clauses is discussed, and subsequently its use in connecting sentences.

In some cases all that is expressed is simple additiveness, the fact that both propositions hold. In (28-1) both clauses are positive, and in (28-2) both are negative:

- (28-1) *Ta fai noniqi wane keka lae uri-a*
 some four CLF man 3PL.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ
raraqe-laa, ma ta fai noniqi wane
 hunt.possum-NMLZ and some four CLF man
keka lae uri-a nao-laa qi laa kafo.
 3PL.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ bail-NMLZ LOC IN stream
 ‘Four of the [eight] men were going to go possum-hunting, and (the other) four men were going to go and bail water out of (lit.: in) the stream.’

- (28-2) *Qe=aqi kosi sore-qe*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV DU(INCL).NEG say-DETR
fanga-la-na wane, gwauliqi wane, ma
 eat-NMLZ-3.PERS man married.person man and
kosi sore-qe fanga-la-na gwauliqi
 DU(INCL).NEG say-DETR eat-NMLZ-3.PERS married.person

ai.

woman

[When offering food to others, polite language has to be used. This is what you or I do not do when we want to offer food to a married man or a married woman.] ‘We don’t say (this is) for the man, the married man, to eat, and we don’t say (this is) for the married woman to eat.’ (Lit.: ‘We don’t say the man’s, the married man’s,

eating, and we don't say the married woman's eating.')

(That is, we don't say to a married man or to a married woman, "This is for you to eat.")

The states of affairs expressed in clauses conjoined by *ma* may be (more or less) simultaneous or they may be sequential; see (28-3) and (28-4), respectively:

- (28-3) *Nau ku ngata mena bii nia, kwa lio*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak CONC COM 3SG 1SG.SEQ look

qeeqeta laqu ba-kuqa, ma kwa naqo
 be.different ADD LIM-1SG.PERS and 1SG.SEQ face

qeeqeta laqu ba-kuqa.
 be.different ADD LIM-1SG.PERS

'Even though I am speaking to her [the wife of another man], I am both looking in a different direction [not at her] and facing in a different direction [not facing her].'

- (28-4) *Kera kotho boqo qi maa, ma botho*
 3PL.NFUT go.through ASRT LOC outside and pig

baa ka kotho
 that 3SG.SEQ go.through

'They went outside [out of a house], and (then) the pig went [outside]'

However, *ma* is also used commonly when there is not just simple additiveness between propositions. It is used when one state of affairs directly continues on from an earlier one, as its consequence or result, or when the first state of affairs is an enabling condition for the other one. This is not to say that *ma* explicitly marks such relations between states of affairs; rather, it is compatible with such relations and permits such interpretations. In the situation described in (28-5), the woman was alone as a result of the other people fleeing.

- (28-5) *Fanu neqe, toqa na kera too-too i*
 place this people REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-reside LOC

ei, kera thaka, keka nii naq=i
 LOCPRO 3PL.NFUT flee 3PL.SEQ be.located PRF=LOC

gamali, qi laa aququa loo i asi, ma
 sea LOC IN island upward LOC sea and

ni nau bana na ku too qi
 PROFORE 1SG LIM FOC 1SG.NFUT remain LOC

naqo-maroa.

before-2DU.PERS

‘This place, the people who used to live here, they fled and now are at sea, on the island out (lit.: up) there in the sea, and it was just me who remained (here) before you two (were born).’ (The people who fled refused to take the woman along.)

And in the situation described in (28-6) it is the children’s having grown big that gives them the ability to fight.

(28-6) *Roo wela baa ki keka baqita bo=naqa, ma*
 two child that PL 3PL.SEQ be.big ASRT=INTS and

keka talaqa-na naqa keka firu.
 3PL.SEQ fit-3.OBJ PRF 3PL.SEQ fight

‘The two children had grown very big, and they were now able to fight.’

Ma can also join clauses when the relation between the propositions expressed is not just one of additiveness but also of contrast or unexpectedness. Again, this is a matter of its compatibility with such relations between propositions rather than of explicit marking of such relations. As discussed in section 28.3, contrast and unexpectedness can be explicitly signalled by means of *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa*, and although *ma* and especially *sui* are interchangeable in some contexts, there are, nevertheless, some differences between them. It is, however, possible for *ma* to be used jointly with *sui* or another contrast/unexpectedness coordinator; see examples (28-32) – (28-34) in section 28.3. When the clause expressing a contrasting or an unexpected state of affairs is grammatically negative, *ma* is particularly common.

There are two basic types of situation where *ma* is used to express contrast or unexpectedness. In one, given a certain state of affairs, one would or might expect that another state of affairs will (or will not) eventuate, but that turns out not to be the case. Thus, in (28-7) the speaker issued a request, which, however, was not obeyed:

- (28-7) *Nau ku faqa-rongo-a wela kai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT CAUS-hear-3.OBJ child 3SG.FUT
- soqoni-a era, ma ka aqi si*
 light.fire-3.OBJ fire and 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG

ade suli-a.

act PROL-3SG.OBJ

'I told the child to light a fire, and/but he didn't do it (lit.: he did not act along it).'

In the situation described in (28-8), given the weather conditions, one would expect rain to come, but it did not:

- (28-8) *Riki-la-na quri-a dani sa*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ rain IRR

kai qaru, ma ka aqi.
 3SG.FUT fall and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so

'It looked like it was going to rain, but it didn't.'

Ma is commonly used when the clause expressing the contrastive or unexpected state of affairs is grammatically negative, but as the next example shows, the clause introduced by *ma* may be grammatically positive. It is the second instance of *ma* that is relevant. The expectation was that the rock would be heavy, but it turned out to be light.

- (28-9) *Nau, manga ku riki-a fau naqi, kwa*
 1SG time 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ rock this 1SG.SEQ

sore-qe doo e kuluqa, ma ni
 think-DETR thing 3SG.NFUT be.heavy and PROFORE

nau kwa ili uri-a kwai kwau-a,
 1SG 1SG.SEQ do PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT lift-3SG.OBJ

ma ka thaathala qasia boqo.
 and 3SG.SEQ be.lightweight INTS INTS

'I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.'

In (28-10) too the second clause is grammatically positive, although it contains a semantically negative verb: ‘not like, dislike’:

- (28-10) *Qe leqa ba-na uri-a visit-laa,*
 3SG.NFUT be.good LIM-3SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ visit-NMLZ
ma too-laa molo ku lalakwa.
 and reside-NMLZ AFFTOP 1SG.NFUT not.like
 ‘It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but living (there) I do/would not like.’

Ma is also used when two propositions are in simple contrast, without there being a link of a cause, enablement, or expectation between them. Such cases are comparable to simple additiveness discussed further above, except that here the two states of affairs are in contrast: while one of them holds, the other one does not. What is in contrast in (28-11) is an imagined, potential state of affairs and its not obtaining:

- (28-11) *Mada sa ku thaofa, doo kwai fanga,*
 or IRR 1SG.NFUT be.hungry thing 1SG.FUT eat
ma ni nau qe aqi kwasi
 and PROFORE 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 1SG.NEG
thaofa.
 be.hungry
 ‘If I were hungry, I would eat, but I am not hungry.’

(For the use of *doo* ‘thing’ in the apodoses of conditional sentences see section 31.1.1.)

Clauses coordinated by means of *ma* can function as complex subordinate constructions. In such cases, the two clauses are normally under one intonation contour. In (28-12) the two clauses connected by *ma* function jointly as a complex purpose-clause construction, as the complement of the purpose marker *fasi*. Both clauses have sequential subject markers, which are commonly (although not necessarily) used in purpose clauses introduced by *fasi* (section 33.3.2).

- (28-12) *Qoki rongo-a si doo qeri fasi qoko*
 2SG.FUT listen.to-3.OBJ PRTT thing this PURP 2SG.SEQ

ngali-a ma qoko alu=i
 take-3SG.OBJ and 2SG.SEQ put:3SG.OBJ=LOC

lio-mu.

mind-2SG.PERS

‘Listen to this (thing), so that you may take it and put it in your mind.’

And in (28-13) the two coordinated clauses function jointly as a complex relative-clause modifier of a noun.

(28-13) ... *keka rongo-a wela qe=ki na keki*
 3PL.SEQ hear-3.OBJ child that=PL REL 3PL.IPFV

nao ma keki alifeo

bail.water and 3PL.IPFV make.noise

‘... they heard the children who were bailing water [out of a stream] and were making noise’

Sometimes *ma* is used pleonastically. The relation between two propositions is expressed explicitly elsewhere in a sentence. *Ma* makes no semantic contribution, and its absence would not make any difference. This is sometimes the case when the relation between the propositions is temporal: ‘when X, (then) Y’ (section 35.2). *Ma* pleonastically introduces the clause that expresses the Y proposition. In (28-14) such pleonastic use of *ma* occurs in the second sentence:

(28-14) ... *ku sifo mai sul-i qai baa, ma*
 1SG.NFUT descend VENT PROL-3.OBJ tree that and

teqe si kuukusu ka toqo qi ei.
 one DIM small.stick 3SG.SEQ prick LOC LOCPRO

Manga n=e toqo qi ei, ma ka
 time REL=3SG.NFUT prick LOC LOCPRO and 3SG.SEQ

busu feteqi qana qabu.

burst INTS GENP blood

‘[I had shouted that the sore on my leg had healed, but] I was coming down the tree, and a small stick pricked (me) there [where the sore had been]. When it pricked (me) there, it [the old sore] burst (open) with a lot of blood.’ (Lit.: ‘... The time that it pricked there, and it burst with a lot of blood.’)

Similarly in the next example:

- (28-15) ... *uri-a* *ni=e* *sore-qa,* *laalae*
 REAS-3.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT say-DETR when
- ku* *oli* *kau, ma* *kai* *maqasi nau*
 1SG.NFUT return AND and 3SG.FUT wait.for 1SG
- nabaa.*
 PAST.THEN
 ‘... because she said that when I returned, she would wait for me then.’

Occasionally, *ma* is used pleonastically elsewhere. In (28-16) it is used, in the reduced form *m=*, in a main clause that follows a concessive clause (section 32.1)

- (28-16) *Wela baa* *qe* *dee-dede-a* *nga* *iqa* *qi*
 child that 3SG.NFUT RDP-fill-3.OBJ IDENT fish LOC
- laa* *rake-na,* *tataqe* *mai,* *fula* *mena,*
 IN belly-3SG.PERS stand.up VENT arrive CONC
- s=e* *thamo* *mena* *ura* *kula* *baa*
 IRR=3SG.NFUT reach CONC ALL place that
- kai* *alu-lu-a* *gwau-na* *qi* *ei,*
 3SG.IPFV put-RDP-3.OBJ head-3SG.PERS LOC LOCPRO
- m=e* *aqi* *naqa.*
 and=3SG.NFUT not.be.available PRF
 ‘The child kept filling his belly with fish (lit.: kept filling fish into his belly), (then) he stood up, (and) even though he arrived (at that place), (and) even though he reached out/tried to reach out towards the place where he always put his head (in order to retrieve it), it was not there.’ (A boy used to take his head off, leave it hidden on the shore, walk into the sea, catch fish and put them into his belly. Having caught enough fish, he would walk back to the shore and put his head back on.)

In the pleonastic use, *ma* does not function as a clause connector. Its function is simply to introduce the clause that follows another clause. As discussed

further below, *ma* can be used sentence-initially without linking that sentence to a preceding one.

Ma is also used pleonastically when it is combined with one of the coordinators that express the relation of contrast, unexpectedness between propositions; see section 28.3.

Ma functions not only to join clauses in sentences, but also to link independent sentences to each other. The semantic/pragmatic relations between clauses joined by *ma* are also found between sentences linked by *ma*; that is, additiveness with or without the additional connotations of consequence/result or contrast/unexpectedness. And just as is the case with clauses connected by *ma*, none of these relations, including additiveness, need be present. The latter type of case is shown in (28-17) with the first instance of *ma*, where, in fact, the events expressed in the sentence introduced by *ma* had taken/should have taken place before the state of affairs expressed in the preceding sentence. There is another instance of sentence-initial *ma* in (28-17), and there the relation between the propositions is one of additiveness with contrast/unexpectedness.

- (28-17) *Kero lio-dila qasia naqa ka taqaa*
 3DU.NFUT mind-slip INTS INTS 3SG.SEQ be.bad
- qasia naqa qani keeroqa. Ma wela qeri, mada*
 INTS INTS GENP 3DU and child that or
- sa ka ade ba-na suli-a*
 IRR 3SG.SEQ act LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ
- thaina-na bia maka nia, nia sa ka*
 mother-3SG.PERS and father 3SG 3SG IRR 3SG.SEQ
- toda-a mae-la-na qa=fa bongi qeri*
 meet-3.OBJ die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS GENP=CLF day that
- qe aqi. Ma nia qe ade*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.so and 3SG 3SG.NFUT act
- fasi-a maka nia bia thaina-na.*
 ABL-3.OBJ father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS
 ‘They [the child’s parents] were heart-broken and felt very bad (lit.: it was very bad for them). And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death on that day. And/but he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother.’

Similarly in the next example. The relevant sentence in (28-18), expressing direct speech, is preceded by an introductory comment about how, when possum-hunting, one knows that there are possums at a certain place. The direct speech directly follows the introductory comment. There is no close semantic link between that sentence and the background material that precedes it. In fact, there is an abrupt switch from the background comments to the direct speech. Here too the event expressed in the sentence introduced by *ma* takes place before the events expressed in the preceding sentence. The conjunction itself is preceded by the interjection *qoo* (see further below).

- (28-18) ... *wane na kai lae uri-a kai*
 man REL 3SG.IPFV go PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT
- rofe-a uri-a na kai ngali-a,*
 look.for-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ COMP 3SG.FUT take-3SG.OBJ
- nia ka lae, laa:-lae, fula si kula*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go RDP-go arrive PRTT place
- n=e i=i ei, nia ka*
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.located-LOC LOCPRO 3SG 3SG.SEQ
- thaitoqoma-na n=e riki-a*
 know-3.OBJ COMP=3SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ
- n=e feqa qi kula qeri. "Qoo,*
 COMP=3SG.NFUT defecate LOC place that oh
- ma teqe futa n=e feqa neqe."*
 and one possum FOC=3SG.NFUT shit here
 'A man who is going to look for it [a possum] in order to get (lit.: take) it, he walks and keeps walking [in the bush] until he arrives at a place where it [a possum] is. He knows it because he sees that it defecated there. (Lit.: He knows that he sees that it defecated at that place.) "Oh, a possum has shat here."'

(In *laa:-lae* the second *a* in the reduplicant is greatly lengthened to signal that the walking continued for a long time; see sections 2.1.3, 2.4, 15.2.3, and 35.3.2.3.)

In fact, independent sentences can be introduced by *ma* without any preceding linguistic context. This is frequently the case with interrogative sentences

when one is inquiring about someone or something, what someone is doing, or where someone or something is (sections 13.3.2.4 and 19.3.7):

- (28-19) *Ma sofū baa?*
 and soap that
 ‘And the soap?’ Here: ‘Where is the soap?’ (The speaker is looking for the soap. There was no immediately preceding exchange between him and the addressee.)

In saying (28-20) the speaker, on arriving and not seeing Ulufaalu (a person), is expecting confirmation:

- (28-20) *Ma tha Ulufaalu qe sifo?*
 and PERSMKR Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT descend
 ‘Has Ulufaalu gone down [to the coast]?’

Ma may be preceded by an interjection, or by a pro-sentence form, such as *iu* ‘yes’, ‘OK’, also used to express agreement with, acknowledgement of, what somebody else has said (section 27.3.2). In B’s sentence in (28-21) the coordinator has fused with the third person singular non-future subject marker:

- (28-21) A: *Ne=ma qaburu naqi qe nii*
 hey!=and ogre this 3SG.NFUT be.located

ma=i fei?
 VENT=LOC where?

B: *Qoo, m=e nii ma=i laa tolo.*
 oh and=3SG.NFUT be.located VENT=LOC IN bush

A: ‘Hey, and where is the (lit.: this) ogre?’

B: ‘Oh, (and) he’s in the bush.’

In (28-22) *ma* is preceded by *iu*, which here functions to acknowledge what the other person has just said:

- (28-22) “*Ma ni qoo qoko baqita naqa, qe*
 and PROFORE 2SG 2SG.SEQ be.big PRF 3SG.NFUT

faara-na naqa qoki uusi kini naqa. Si doo
 fit-3.OBJ PRF 2SG.FUT buy woman PRF PRTT thing

leqa neri.” *Wane qeri ka quna qeri,*
 be.good NPAST.HERE man that 3SG.SEQ manner this

“*Iu, ma thaari qeri nia sore-qe nau kwai*
 yes and girl that 3SG say-DETR 1SG 1SG.FUT

lae kwai toda nia qi fafone.”
 go 1SG.FUT meet 3SG LOC day.after.tomorrow

‘[The boy’s mother said,] “(And) you are big now; it is now possible for you to get married (lit.: to buy a woman) now. (That’s) a good thing.” The man said, “Yes, and the girl, she said I should meet her the day after tomorrow”.’

28.2.3. *Bii* and *bia*

Both *bii* and *bia* are commonly used to coordinate noun phrases (section 11.2.1). There the form *bii* is used if the coordinand to the right is a pronominal noun phrase, and *bia* is used if the coordinand to the right is a lexical noun phrase. *Bii* and *bia* can link clauses, but only under restricted circumstances. They cannot link sentences, nor can they introduce independent sentences the way *ma* can. They can only connect clauses when the relation between the propositions is simple additiveness, and it is not sequential. They cannot connect clauses when the relation is one of result/consequence or contrast/unexpectedness. But even in the additiveness function, *bii* and *bia* are extremely rare.⁴⁶

The next two examples show *bii* and *bia*, respectively, in their clause-coordinating function. In the former, *bia* could be used in place of *bii*, and in the latter *bii* could be used in place of *bia*. And both forms could be replaced by *ma*.

(28-23) *Laalae ku baqita naqa, kwa riki*
 when 1SG.NFUT be.big PRF 1SG.SEQ see

thaitoqoma-na maka nau, bii kwa riki
 know-3.OBJ father 1SG and 1SG.SEQ see

thaitoqoma-na thaina-ku.
 know-3.OBJ mother-1SG.PERS

‘When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.’

(28-24) *Kada ku lae kwa too naqa i*
 time 3SG.NFUT go 1SG.SEQ stay PRF LOC

Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, kwai biqi
 Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre 1SG.FUT IMM

thaitoqoma-na qani-la-na Japanese food, bia
 know-3.OBJ eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese food and

kwa biqi biinga leqa naqa.
 1SG.SEQ IMM sleep be.good PRF

‘When I went and stayed at the Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, I quickly learned (lit.: knew) to eat Japanese food and quickly was able to sleep well (lit.: quickly slept well).’ (This after an initial period in Japan when the person could not eat Japanese food and could not sleep well.)

28.3. Contrast, unexpectedness

There are three coordinators that make it explicit that the proposition of the second clause is in contrast to the proposition of the first clause, or is in some way unexpected given the proposition of the first clause: *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa* ‘but’. *Sui* is the same etymon as the completive/exhaustive particle *sui* (section 5.2.4) and the intransitive verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’. *Mena* also functions as a foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6) and to form concessive clauses (section 32.1). And *taa* also functions as the interrogative word ‘what?’ and as an interjection of surprise, amazement, or to emphasize a sudden change: ‘lo!’, ‘behold!’ (section 19.3.4). When *mena* and *taa* are used with *sui* to signal contrast or unexpectedness, they are glossed ‘but’.

As discussed in section 28.2.2, the conjunctive coordinator *ma* ‘and’ can also be used when the relation between two propositions is one of contrast or unexpectedness. The difference between *ma* on the one hand and *sui*, etc. on the other is not always clear-cut when contrast or unexpectedness is involved, and they are sometimes interchangeable, especially *ma* and *sui*. *Ma* can be characterized as semantically neutral. Conjoining by *ma* simply expresses the existence of two states of affairs, when the speaker does not wish to emphasize the contrast. On the other hand, *sui*, etc. are typically used when the speaker has some emotional stake in the contrast or unexpectedness, when the contrast or unexpectedness is judged to be quite strong, and also when the clause they introduce elaborates on what is expressed in the first clause, such as denying what is said there.

Of the three forms, *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa*, *sui* used by itself is the weakest signal of contrast/unexpectedness, and *sui taa* the strongest, but there are no clear-cut differences among the three forms. Examples (28-25) – (28-27) contain *sui* by itself. In (28-25) the clause introduced by *sui* corrects, significantly changes part of the proposition of the preceding clause. Note that *sui* is not a postverbal particle here, because it follows the lexical direct object. If it were a postverbal particle, it would precede the object (see [4-1] in section 4.1).

- (28-25) *Wane qe riki-a teqe kini, sui kini*
 man 3SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ one woman but woman
- mamana qe aqi, nafa ni bana.*
 be.real 3SG.NFUT not.be.so apparition LIG LIM
 ‘The man saw a woman, but (she was) not a real woman, (she was) just an apparition.’

In (28-26) the clause introduced by *sui* restates and so emphasizes the fact that even though the man was (physically) very big, he was still young.

- (28-26) *Wane qeri wan=daraa n=naqa,*
 man that man=be.young.and.single LIG=PRF
- thaama-na wane baqita naqa, sui nia*
 father-3.PERS man be.big PRF but 3SG
- wan=daraa.*
 man=be.young.and.single
 ‘The man was already a *daraa* man, a very big man, but (still) only a *daraa* man.’ (*Daraa* is used about males who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young and not yet married.)

In (28-27) there is a profound difference between the proposition expressed in the clause introduced by *sui* and the proposition of the preceding clause:

- (28-27) *Keka lio, maqasi-a maqalimae uri-a*
 3PL.SEQ look wait.for-3.OBJ enemy PURP-3.OBJ
- gaetemu-la-na figu-a kera ki, sui Merika*
 guide-NMLZ-3.PERS gather-DVN 3PL PL but America

qe=ki kera lio, maqasi-a maqalimae mamana.
 that=PL 3PL.NFUT look wait.for-3.OBJ enemy be.real
 '[During the Marching Rule movement] they [the adherents to the movement] watched (lit.: looked), waiting for an (imaginary) enemy in order to lead their groups (if some enemy should arrive), but/while/whereas the Americans had watched, waiting for a real enemy.'

What the speaker means in (28-27) is that all that the adherents to the Marching Rule movement did was copy what the American army had done. They copied the American sentries, as if they were expecting an enemy to arrive when there was no enemy, whereas the Americans had been on guard against a real enemy, the Japanese.

While *sui* is common in clausal coordination, it is not normally used to link sentences.

The next two examples illustrate the use of *sui mena*. *Sui mena* can not only join clauses, but also link sentences; as in (28-28) and (28-29), respectively. In (28-28) there is a contrast between what the speaker believes is the case and his lack of certain knowledge. There is both contrast and concessiveness. (For the concessiveness function of *mena* see chapter 32.)

(28-28) *Nau ku dora qana wane naqi, sui*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP man this but

mena nau ku toqomatafa-na wane
 but 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ man

leqa ni bana.
 be.good LIG LIM

'I don't know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is) just a good man.' (There is nothing bad about him.)

In (28-29) there is a contrast between what the speaker would like to do and what is possible. There is also an instance of *mena* there in its function as a foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6).

(28-29) *Nau mena ku thathami lae laqu boqo!*
 1SG FADD 1SG.NFUT DES go ADD ASRT

Sui mena kwai lae ba-kuqa bii qoe
 but but 1SG.FUT go LIM-1SG.PERS COM 2SG

qana foqa-a nau.

GENP pray-DVN 1SG

‘I too want to go! But I’ll only go with you in my prayers [that is, not in reality].’

The next pair of examples illustrates *sui taa*. *Sui taa* too can link clauses and sentences; see (28-30) and (28-31), respectively. In (28-30) the relation between the second and the first propositions is one of unexpectedness:

(28-30) *Teqe wane ka rake-qiri, wane nau ni*
one man 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry man 1SG LIG

laqu bana ka rake-qiri ka quna qeri,
ADD LIM 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry 3SG.SEQ manner this

“*Qo laa-lae neri, sui taa qe aqi*
2SG.NFUT RDP-go VIVID but but 3SG.NFUT NEGV

qosi ngali-a ma=ta si doo.”
2SG.NEG take-3.OBJ VENT=some PRTT thing

‘One man got angry, a man (also) from my family line (lit.: another of my men) got angry and said, “You went (lit.: had gone) [to that place], but you didn’t bring anything back [as gifts].’

In (28-31) both *sui taa* and *sui mena* are present:

(28-31) *Talaqa-na naqa kuki taatala, tai wane*
fit-3.OBJ PRF PL(INCL).FUT exchange some.PL man

qan=toqa naqi kere rii-riki-a wosap-laa
GENP=people this 3PL.NFUT RDP-see-3.OBJ worship-NMLZ

naqi, laa-lae, keka thaitoqoma-na naqa. Sui
this RDP-go 3PL.SEQ know-3SG.OBJ PRF but

taa nau ku riki-a thaitoqoma-na-laa
but 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ

qena, toneqe doo nena, ma
that(2) RESTR thing NPAST.THERE and

do=qena doo fale-laa nena, sui mena
 thing=that(2) thing give-NMLZ NPAST.THERE but but

doo kusi oli uri-a neri.
 thing PL(INCL).NEG return ALL-3SG.OBJ NPAST.HERE

‘It is now possible for us take turns (lit.: exchange [each other]). Some of these men have seen the (service of) worship (in church) many times, and they now know (how to conduct) it. However, I have seen this “knowledge” (and) it’s not much (lit.: [it is] a thing of little value); that (kind of) thing [being able to lead worship] is a gift (lit.: thing of giving); but let’s not go into that again [i.e., let’s not discuss it any more].’

There is sarcasm in one part of what the person says in (28-31): “However, I have seen this so-called ‘knowledge’, and it’s not much at all.”

It is possible for the conjunctive coordinator *ma* to cooccur with *sui*, etc. *Ma* can either follow or precede *sui*, etc., the former being more common. It is *sui*, *sui mena* or *sui taa* that carries the semantic load, while *ma* is just pleonastic. In (28-32) three options are illustrated : *sui* by itself, *sui* followed by *ma*, and *ma* by itself, with *sui* and *sui ma* emphasizing the contrast.

(28-32) *Quuqusungadia riki-la-na quri-a sa*
 morning look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS look.like-3.OBJ IRR

kai thato {sui / sui ma / ma} dani
 3SG.FUT be.sunny but / but and / and rain

ka garu laqu ba-na.
 3SG.SEQ fall ADD LIM-3SG.PERS

‘The morning looked like it would be sunny, but (then) it just rained again.’

In (28-33) *ma* co-occurs with *sui mena*. Here *ma* would not be appropriate by itself because of the great contrast between the two states of affairs:

(28-33) *Keka kwaqe nau qana*
 3PL.SEQ beat 1SG GENP

faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa, sui mena
 CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ but but

ma ni keeroqa keka liothau qasia naqa
 and PROFORE 3DU 3PL.SEQ love INTS INTS

qani nau

GENP 1SG

‘They [the speaker’s parents] would give me whippings to straighten me [to make me behave], but they loved me very much’

And in (28-34) *ma* comes before *sui mena*:

(28-34) *Tai si manga, laa-lae, raa neqe*
 some.PL PRTT time RDP-go work this

qu=sa kai teo, ma sui mena
 look.like:3.OBJ=IRR 3SG.FUT cease and but but

riki-la-na qe aqi si
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

quri=qa-na sa kai teo,
 look.like:3.OBJ=SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR 3SG.FUT cease

‘At times it looked like this work might cease, but then (at other times) it did not look like it might cease,’

28.4. Disjunctive coordination

When the relation between two or more propositions is one of alternatives, the conjunction *mada* ‘or’ is used. *Mada* can also function as a noun-phrase coordinator and a prepositional-phrase coordinator. It is also used to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition (section 18.5.3), and together with the irrealis marker *sa* it introduces the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1).

(28-35) *Qoko qai-thata-na kwai-na kini qeri,*
 2SG.SEQ call-name-3.OBJ spouse-3.PERS woman that

nia naqa na kai sore-qe, ta si doo,
 3SG PRF FOC 3SG.FUT say-DETR some PRTT thing

“*Kai too ba-na.*”, *mada ka*
 3SG.IPFV be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS or 3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo qani-a, “*Ni=e* *lae*
 CAUS-hear GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT go

qa-na.”

SBEN-3SG.PERS

[This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] ‘You call out the woman’s husband’s name, (and) it’s now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), “He is at home.”, or she will say about him, “He’s gone (out).”.’

In (28-36) four alternatives are mentioned, all of them having to do with what is not to be done:

(28-36) *Tooto=e* *aqi* *kosi* *sore-qe*
 later=3SG.NFUT NEGV DU(INCL).NEG say-DETR

fanga-la-na, *mad=e* *aqi* *kosi*
 eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS or=3SG.NFUT NEGV DU(INCL).NEG

sore-qe, “*Fanga qoe ki neri*”, *mada*
 say-DETR food 2SG PL NPAST.HERE or

kosi *quna qeri,* “*Qani-a fanga naqi ki.*”,
 DU(INCL).NEG manner this eat-3.OBJ food this PL

mada kosi *quna qeri,* “*Fanga qoe ki neq.*”
 or DU(INCL).NEG manner this food 2SG PL here

‘[When offering food to a man or to a woman, or even to a girl, you and I have to be polite.] You and I (then) don’t say that it is his or hers (for) eating, and/or we don’t say, “Your food (lit.: foods).”, and/or we don’t say “Eat this food.”, and/or we don’t say “Here is your food.”.’

In (28-37) *mada* is used in an alternative interrogative (section 19.2.2):

(28-37) *Qoki too ba-muqa,* *mada qoki lae mai*
 2SG.FUT stay LIM-2SG.PERS or 2SG.FUT go VENT

bii kamiliqa?

COM 1PL(EXCL)

‘Are you staying, or are you coming with us?’

Clauses coordinated by *mada* may function jointly as complex constructions within larger structures. In (28-38) the two clauses linked by *mada* are, jointly, in the scope of the timitive marker *ada* that occurs in the first clause (section 18.6):

(28-38) *Kaala wela qe=ki bana na kera alu-da.*
 little.PL child that=PL LIM FOC 3PL.NFUT put-3PL.OBJ

Keka too kali-a tha Bariqi ada
 3PL.SEQ stay surround-3.OBJ PERSMKR Bariqi TIM

ta wane fula ka luke-a, mada
 some person arrive 3SG.SEQ release-3SG.OBJ or

ka thaka.
 3SG.SEQ escape

‘It was only the little children that they put [there to watch Bariqi]. They [the children] stayed around Bariqi in case somebody might come and free him or so that he might not escape (by himself).’

28.5. *Asyndetic coordination*

Clauses may be coordinated simply by juxtaposition, without any conjunction. Asyndetic coordination is used only when the relation between propositions is one of simple additiveness, consequence/result, or contrast, provided the contrast is not to be emphasized. That is, juxtaposition is found only where otherwise the conjunction *ma* (or marginally *bii* or *bia*) would be used. In the situations expressed in the first two examples, the states of affairs are simultaneous with each other:

(28-39) *Ma keka maqu faqa-maqu qasia naqa,*
 and 3PL.SEQ be.afraid CAUS-be.afraid INTS INTS

keka qai qasia naqa.
 3PL.SEQ shout INTS INTS

‘And they were terribly scared and shouted loudly.’

(*Faqa-maqu*, CAUS-‘be.afraid’ is an intransitive verb with the meaning ‘be in great quantity or degree’ and it also functions as an intensifier in [verb verb] compounds.)

In (28-40) the additiveness is signalled overtly by the additive postverbal particle *laqu* in the second clause (section 5.2.5). The sequential marker in the second clause does not signify sequentiality here (section 16.2).

- (28-40) *Nau ku thaofa, kwa mae-li kuqu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ die-TR drink

laqu boqo.

ADD ASRT

‘I’m hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.’

There is also negative additiveness, where one state of affairs is characterized as not being accompanied by one or more other states of affairs, usually contrary to expectation, contrary to what is normally the case; see section 17.2 for more detail and more examples.

- (28-41) *Kini e ngaa-ngata si feda.*
 woman 3SG.NFUT RDP-talk 3SG.NEG be.tired
 ‘The woman kept talking without getting tired.’ (Lit.: ‘The woman kept talking, she was not tired.’)

Asyndetic coordination can also be used when the relations between situations are sequential, with or without the additional relation of consequence or result. In the next example, there are several juxtaposed clauses. In most cases the relations are of simple sequentiality, but the relation between the propositions expressed in the last two clauses involves a consequence/result as well:

- (28-42) *Qaaqae-ku e ubu, kwa lae qi*
 leg-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT swell 1SG.SEQ go LOC

sa-na doketa, ka fale-a meresina
 GOAL-3.PERS doctor 3SG.SEQ give-3.OBJ medicine

qi a-ku, kwa kuqu-fi-a, ka
 LOC REC-1SG.PERS 1SG.SEQ drink-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

faqa-gwari-a bo=naqa qaaqae-ku.

CAUS-be.cool-3SG.OBJ ASRT=INTS leg-1SG.PERS

‘My leg was/got swollen, I went to the doctor, he gave me medicine, I drank it, (and) it relieved (the pain in) my leg.’

For another example of result/consequence see (28-46) further below.

In (28-43) the relation between the two propositions is one of contrast/unexpectedness. There are two parallel pairs of clauses. In the first pair, the clauses are coordinated asyndetically, while in the second one they are connected by *ma* ‘and’. The first pair is in bold.

(28-43) *Ma nia, gwagwari-a ka toqe-a bo=naqa*
and 3SG feel.cold-DVN 3SG.SEQ affect-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS

tha wela qeri, ma ka ili-toqo-na
PERSMKR child that and 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ

qono-laa, ka aqi si raraq, ma
sit-NMLZ 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG be.at.rest and

ka ili-toqo-na teo-laa, ma ka aqi
3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ lie-NMLZ and 3SG.SEQ NEGV

si ngado.
3SG.NEG be.still

‘And he, the boy, felt cold (lit.: and he, coldness affected the boy), and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down) but (lit.: and) could not stay still.’

The relation of contrast is also found in (28-44):

(28-44) *Nau ku thatami-a sa kwai lae, keka*
1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT go 3PL.SEQ

lufi nau.
prevent 1SG

‘I wanted to go, [but] they prevented me.’

There is no general rule for the use of syndetic or asyndetic coordination by means of *ma* ‘and’. And when three or more clauses are coordinated, asyndetic coordination may occur before or after coordination by means of *ma*, as in (28-45) and (28-46), respectively:

(28-45) *Kero oli kau, keko raka mai, ma*
3DU.NFUT return AND 3DU.SEQ climb VENT and

keko fula-toqo-na naqa ta thaqaro.

3DU.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ PRF some possum

‘They went back, climbed [trees] there [to look for possums], and came across a possum.’

(28-46) *Dani e qaru, ma kafo ka*
rain 3SG.NFUT fall and water 3SG.SEQ

luqu ka dalafa-a laa toaa.

(water)run.in.strong.current 3SG.SEQ flood-3.OBJ IN village

‘It rained, and the water ran in a strong current and flooded the village.’

There is also asyndetic coordination that involves a clause-level particle, discussed in the next section.

28.6. Foregrounded additiveness

There is a clause-level particle *mena*, which has a foregrounding additive function. ‘The term “foregrounding additive” marker is modelled on Quirk *et al.*’s (1985: 604) category of (focusing) additive subjuncts: “ADDITIVE subjuncts indicate that the utterance is *additionally* true in respect of the part focused” (original emphasis). The term “foregrounding additive” is used for two reasons: first, to distinguish *mena* from the additive particle *laqu*, which occurs in the verb complex (section 5.2.5) and in noun phrases (section 7.5); and second, because compared to *laqu*, *mena* emphasizes, highlights the additiveness.

Although *mena* is not a coordinator, discussion of it is included in this chapter because its use often involves two or more clauses, typically in asyndetic conjunctive coordination, or two sentences where the semantic link is the same as in conjunctive coordination. *Mena* also functions as concessive-clause marker (section 32.1), and together with *sui* as a clause coordinator to signal contrast or unexpectedness between propositions (section 28.3).

In its core function, *mena* emphasizes the fact that a type of event or state applies not only to a certain participant, as expressed in an earlier clause or sentence, but also to another one, the one expressed in the clause in which *mena* occurs. Furthermore, the fact that the event or state applies additionally may not be (fully) expected. *Mena* immediately follows the phrase — a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase — it has in its scope. It may be linked to the phrase with the ligature *ni*, although this is not common. For an example see (28-56) further below.

By using *mena* in (28-47) speaker B emphasizes that like the other person he too will bathe. *Mena* has a noun phrase in its scope.

(28-47) A: *Nau lae kwai siisiu naqa neri.*
 1SG go 1SG.FUT bathe PRF NFAST.HERE

B: *Nau mena.*
 1SG FADD

A: 'I'm going to bathe now.'

B: 'Me too.'

In (28-48) *mena* has a prepositional phrase in its scope. The prepositional phrase has been topicalized.

(28-48) A: *Dani qe qaru baqita qasia naqa qi*
 rain 3SG.NFUT fall be.big INTS INTS LOC

roqo.
 yesterday

B: *Qi Qaoke mena qe quna qeri laqu*
 LOC Auki FADD 3SG.NFUT manner that ADD

boqo.
 ASRT

A: 'It rained a lot [here] yesterday.'

B: 'In Auki it was like that too.' 'In Auki too it was like that.'

It is not uncommon for the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* and the postverbal additive particle *laqu* to cooccur in a clause. *Laqu* expresses the additional occurrence of a certain type of state of affairs, while *mena* emphasizes the additionality of a participant; see (28-48) above and (28-49) and (28-50) below.

(28-49) *Thaari qeri ka thathami-a tha wela qeri,*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ PERSMKR child that

ma wela qeri mena ka thathami-a laqu boqo
 and child that FADD 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD INTS

thaari qeri.
 girl that
 ‘The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.’

In (28-50) there are two instances of cooccurrence of *mena* and *laqu*:

(28-50) *Moomoli ka quna qeri, “Nau kwa tataqe*
 Moomoli 3SG.SEQ manner this 1SG 1SG.SEQ get.up

fasi-a laa biqu naqi qi Fuusai, qoe mena
 ABL-3.OBJ IN house this LOC Fuusai 2SG FADD

qoki lae laqu boqo fasi-a laa biqu naqi.
 2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT ABL-3.OBJ IN house this

....*Fa bongi na kwai lae, qoe mena*
 CLF day REL 1SG.FUT go 2SG FADD

qoki lae laqu boqo fasi-a.”
 2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ

‘Moomoli said, “I will get up (and go) away from this house at Fuusai, (and) you too will go away from this house. [You will not stay in this house any longer.] The day I go, you too will go away from it.”’

In negative clauses *mena* signals that the state of affairs additionally does not apply to the participant encoded there. The sentence in (28-51) was preceded by a number of clauses in which the speaker related how certain other people did not know how things would work out. And by using *mena* in (28-51) he emphasizes that he and those with him did not know either:

(28-51) *Kamiliqa mena qe=aqi misi*
 1PL(EXCL) FADD 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG

thaitoqoma-na.
 know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘We too did not know (it).’ ‘We did not know (it) either.’

In (28-52) *mena* has a topic phrase in its scope. The clause is negative.

(28-52) *Qoo, baru neqe mena, qe aqi si*
 oh canoe this FADD 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG

talaqa-na qoki lae qi ei.
 fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT go LOC LOCPRO

‘Oh, this canoe too, it is not possible for you to go in (it).’ (After a number of passing canoes had refused to take the person on board.)

Foregrounding-additive *mena* is typically used when the state of affairs in which an additional participant is involved is of the same type as the one in which another participant is involved in the same way, as in all the examples above. However, the two states of affairs need not be of the same type, and the link between them may be more subtle and indirect. The last clause in (28-53) below contains a noun phrase in the scope of *mena*. The clause is about the door of a prison cell opening all by itself, making it possible for the prisoners to escape. However, there is no prior opening of anything. Rather, what had happened was that the handcuffs the prisoners had been wearing had miraculously fallen off (although, presumably, the handcuffs had unlocked themselves somehow). What connects the event of the cell door opening to that of the handcuffs falling off is the removal of restraints on the prisoners, which facilitated their eventual escape.

(28-53) *Roo anikaba qe=ki ka thaka bo=naqa*
 two handcuffs that=PL 3SG.SEQ fall.off ASRT=INTS

fasi-a roo qaba keeroqa ki qa=si manga
 ABL-3.OBJ two hand 3DU PL LOC=PRTT time

qeri. Keko tataqe mai, maa-na qolofolo
 that 3DU.SEQ stand.up VENT door-3.PERS doorway

qana sela qeri mena ka qifi.
 GENP cell that FADD 3SG.SEQ open

‘The two (pairs of) handcuffs fell off their hands at that time. They stood up, (and) the door of the cell too opened.’

Besides having a foregrounding-additive function, *mena* can also express unexpectedness: contrary to what one might expect, the type of event or state also applies to a certain participant. In (28-54) below, what is unexpected, and emphasized, is that even the top commander did not know the answer to a problem:

(28-54) *Gavman ka lae uri-a kai*
 government 3SG.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

fula-toqo-na *qi* *sa-na* *wane* *baqita*
 arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS man be.big

n=e *qita* *ma=i* *Merika*
 REL=3SG.NFUT originate VENT=LOC America

ka *lae* *mai,* *n=e* *ni=i*
 3SG.SEQ go VENT REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

Hedson, *ka* *soe-toqo-na* *maqaluta-na.*
 Henderson 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ essence-3SG.PERS

Wane *qeri* *mena* *ka* *dora* *laqu*
 man that FADD 3SG.SEQ not.know ADD

ba-na *qani-a,* *ka* *sore-qe,* *“Nau*
 LIM-3SG.PERS GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ say-DETR 1SG

kwasi *thaitoqoma-na.”*
 1SG.NEG know-3SG.OBJ

‘The Government went to (try to) determine it (the substance of certain claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and had come) and who was at Henderson [Henderson Airport in Honiara], and it [the Government] asked him for details (lit.: asked about its essence). Even that man did not know (anything) about it, and he said, “I don’t know.”’

In (28-55) below, the emphasis is on the fact that what is being talked about applied in earlier times not only to adults but also to young girls, which the addressee, not having lived in those days, might not expect to have been the case. The noun phrase that contains *mena* is preceded by a noun phrase that contains *laqu*. Both particles have an additive function, but *mena* is more emphatic and expresses that which is less expected compared to what is expressed in the noun phrase with *laqu*: ‘also to a (single) woman’ (with *laqu*) and ‘even a girl’ (with *mena*).

(28-55) *Si* *faaraqi-laa* *na* *keki*
 PRTT use.respectul.language-NMLZ REL 3PL.IPFV

faaraq *qani-a* *uri-a* *roo*
 use.respectful.language INS-3SG.OBJ GOAL-3.OBJ two

imole *qe=ki,* *gwauliqi* *wane* *bia*
 person that=PL married.person man and

gwauliqi *ai,* *ma* *kini* *ni* *laqu boqo,*
 married.person woman and woman LIG ADD ASRT

ta *thaari* *mena,* *nau* *ku* *thathami-a*
 some girl FADD 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ

kwai *uqunu* *suli-a* *si* *manga* *qeri.*
 1SG.FUT narrate PROL-3SG.OBJ PRTT time this

‘This respectful language that they [people in earlier times] used (when speaking) to the two people, a married man and a married woman, also to a (single) woman, even (to) a girl, I want to talk about that at this time.’

In negative clauses *mena* emphasizes the fact that, contrary to what might be expected, the given state of affairs does not apply to any entity or type of entity designated by the noun phrase in the scope of *mena*. In (28-56) there are several instances of *mena*. What is contrary to expectation in the state of affairs expressed there is the lack of the relevant instruments one needs when one wants to form a musical group. In the final clause *mena* is connected to the head noun with the ligature *ni*.

(28-56) *Qe=aqi* *misi* *raqu* *quu* *boqo*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG possess ANTCONT ASRT

faafi-a *ta* *teqe* *kasi* *qamplifae* *mena,*
 CONF-3.OBJ some one small amplifier FADD

mada *ta* *si* *spika* *mena,* *mada* *ta*
 or some DIM speaker FADD or some

maekrofon *mena,* *ma* *gita* *ni* *mena*
 microphone FADD and guitar LIG FADD

ka aqi.

3SG.SEQ not.be.available

'We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.'

And in (28-57) the speaker uses *mena* to emphasize the fact that he had not seen anybody at all:

(28-57) *Qe=aqi kwasi riki=ta teqe wane*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG see:3.OBJ=some one person

mena.

FADD

'I did not see even a single person.'

Chapter 29

Complement clauses

29.1. Introduction

By complement clauses are here meant clauses that function as a complement of a verb, or in one type of case as a complement of a noun. Nominalizations too are included here, with some qualifications; see section 29.2.2. Not included here are constructions where clauses function as objects of verb-like prepositions in reason and purpose clauses; these are discussed in chapter 33.

The basic complementation types of Toqabaqita are listed in table 29.1.

Table 29.1. Basic complementation types

1.	Complement clauses
	a. direct-object complement clauses
	b. paratactic complement clauses
2.	Nominalizations

Direct-object complement clauses are clauses that occur in the direct-object position with certain transitive verbs. They occupy the position in which lexical direct objects occur, after the postverbal particles, as shown schematically in (29-1):

(29-1) [V_{tr} (postverbal particles) [complement.clause]_{DO}]_{VP}

See also (4-1) in section 4.1

In (29-2) the complement clause follows the perfect marker *naqa*:

(29-2) ... *qe* *faara-na* *naqa [qoki* *uusi kini*
 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ PRF 2SG.FUT buy woman

naqa].

PRF

‘[You are big now;] it is now possible for you to get married (lit.: to buy a woman) now.’

See also (29-223) in section 29.5

Paratactic complement clauses, as the term is used here, are clauses that occur in positions other than direct object (cf. Noonan 1985). With transitive verbs they occur in addition to, and following, the direct object. They also occur in intransitive verb phrases, and in noun phrases. See (29-3a), (29-3b), and (29-3c), respectively:

- (29-3) a. [V_{tr} ... DO ... [complement.clause]]_{VP}
 b. [V_{intr} ... [complement.clause]]_{VP}
 c. [N ... [complement.clause]]_{NP}

The discussion of complementation is organized around the following main themes: the types of complements, the complementizer, and the types of complement-taking verbs. The bulk of the discussion has to do with complementation within verb phrases. The use of complement clauses in noun phrases is relatively rare and is discussed at the end of this chapter.

29.2. Types of complements

29.2.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses can contain a verb or they can be verbless. All complement clauses that contain a verb (verbal complement clauses) are finite. A complement clause of either type could form a sentence by itself, with the proviso that in some cases there cannot be a subject noun phrase in a verbal complement clause; however, there is a subject marker there.

Direct-object clauses are indexed on the complement-taking verb in the same way that lexical direct objects are, by means of a third person object suffix, *-a* or *-na*, depending on the type of transitive verb, Class 1 or Class 2, respectively. Paratactic complement clauses are not indexed.

In direct-object complementation the two clauses may, but need not, share one or more arguments. In (29-4) there is argument sharing: the two clauses have identical subjects.

- (29-4) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT go PRF
 'I want to go now.'

Kwai lae naqa could form a sentence on its own: 'I will go now.'

In (29-5) there are no shared arguments between the two clauses:

- (29-5) *Nau ku man-toqo-na wane baa ki*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ man that PL

keki lae ma=i qusungadi.
 3PL.FUT go VENT=LOC tomorrow
 ‘I think the people will come tomorrow.’

Wane baa ki keki lae ma=i qusungadi could form a sentence on its own: ‘The men will come tomorrow.’

The object suffixes on complement-taking verbs index the complement clause, not a participant. For example, in (29-4) further above, the verb *that-hami* ‘want’ carries the third person object suffix *-a* even though the subject of the complement clause is first person singular and there is no other argument in that clause. And in (29-6) below, the Class 2 transitive verb *manata-toqo* ‘think’ with the object suffix *-na* is immediately followed by the third person singular independent pronoun *nia*. However, Class 2 transitive verbs cannot have the independent personal pronouns as their direct objects (section 4.2.3.3.1). (*Manata-toqo* is the full form of the verb ‘think’; *man-toqo* in [29-5] above is a reduced variant; see also section 29.4.8.)

- (29-6) *Nau ku manata-toqo-na nia sa ka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ 3SG IRR 3SG.SEQ

fula naqa qe aqi.
 arrive PRF 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘I think he won’t (be able to) come any more.’

In (29-7) the complement clause is verbless:

- (29-7) ... *nau ku riki-a [si doo qeri si*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ PRTT thing that PRTT

doo mamana]
 thing be.true
 ‘... I saw that the thing was true’ (Lit.: ‘I saw that the thing [was] a true thing’)

Verbless complement clauses can occur in the same positions as verbal complement clauses. In the remainder of this chapter most of the discussion will

deal with verbal clauses, but it should be borne in mind that verbless clauses can occur in those positions as well.

In paratactic complementation, there is obligatory argument sharing between the complement and the matrix clauses in some types, but not in others. If there is obligatory argument sharing, the shared argument is always the subject of the complement clause. When the complement-taking verb is transitive, the shared argument is its direct object. For the position of paratactic complement clauses in verb phrases see (4-1) in section 4.1.

Sharing of arguments in paratactic complementation with transitive complement-taking verbs is found in, for example, the periphrastic causative construction (section 29.4.9.1). There the causative verb takes a direct object that encodes the causee. The causee is also expressed as the subject of the complement clause, but only by means of a subject marker. The direct-object status of the causee is evidenced by the presence or absence of an object-indexing suffix on the causative verb, depending on whether the causee is encoded by means of a lexical or a pronominal phrase (see section 4.2.3.2.1). In (29-7) there is a lexical causee phrase and the Class 1 causative verb *ade* ‘do’ carries the object suffix *-a*.

(29-8) *Meresina qeri qe ade-a wane [ka*
 medicine that 3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ man 3SG.SEQ

qiiqida qasia naqa].

sweat INTS INTS

‘The medicine made the man sweat a lot.’ (Lit.: ‘The medicine did the man, he sweated a lot.’)

The clause *ka qiiqida qasia naqa* ‘he sweated a lot’ could, in principle, be a sentence in its own right.

In (29-9), on the other hand, there is a pronominal causee phrase, and the causative verb does not carry the object suffix:

(29-9) *Meresina qeri qe ade nau [kwa qiiqida*
 medicine that 3SG.NFUT do 1SG 1SG.SEQ sweat

qasia naqa].

INTS INTS

‘The medicine made me sweat a lot.’

The presence of an object-indexing suffix on the causative verb when there is a lexical causee phrase and its absence when there is a pronominal causee phrase is evidence that it is the causee phrase and not the complement clause

[*kai oli mai*].

3SG.FUT return VENT

'I sent a word to (lit.: I spoke after) Makasi (asking him) to come back.'

See example (29-73) in section 29.4.4 for a shared argument in an oblique object position in the matrix clause.

It is possible in paratactic complementation for the two clauses not to share any arguments or other noun-phrase elements. In such cases, the complement-taking verb has a semantically empty third person singular subject marker. *Abu* 'be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed' and *leqa* 'be good, nice' are two such verbs; see (29-14) and (29-15), respectively. The sentence in (29-14) contains the complementizer *na* (section 29.3), which is evidence that the clause 'you will say you will come to her' is a complement clause.

(29-14) *Qe abu laqu boqo na go*
3SG.NFUT be.forbidden ADD ASRT COMP 2SG.NFUT

sore-qe qoki lae ma=i sa-na.

say-DETR 2SG.FUT go VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS

'It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.' (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

(29-15) *Qe leqa ba-na kwai lae*
3SG.NFUT be.good LIM-3SG.PERS 1SG.FUT go

geeqeta qi laa rodo.

be.different LOC IN night

'It is fine/OK for me to go somewhere else at night.' (Lit.: 'It is just good (that) I will go differently at night.'

When an argument is shared between a matrix clause and its complement clause and that argument is the direct object of the higher verb and the subject of the verb in the complement clause, it is only expressed by means of a subject marker in the complement clause, not, in addition, by a subject noun phrase, lexical or pronominal. In some paratactic complementation, the shared argument may be expressed by means of a subject phrase; see (29-21) in section 29.2.3, where the third person dual pronoun *keeroqa* in the complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the higher verb *kwai-thathai* 'be ready'.

There may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of the matrix clause, and there may also be a slight pause between the matrix clause and the complement

clause. Neither an intonation rise nor a pause are always present, and both are relatively uncommon in paratactic complementation with shared arguments where the subject of the complement clause and the direct object of the matrix clause are coreferential, as, for example, in the periphrastic causative construction.

29.2.2. Nominalizations

Nominalizations can occur in any noun-phrase position.

Nominalizations as subjects:

- (29-16) *Lio-laa sulī-a wela faqekwa qe*
 look-NMLZ PROL-3.OBJ child be.little 3SG.NFUT
faqa-ulafu.
 CAUS-work.hard
 ‘Looking after a little child is hard work.’

In (29-17) the possessor of the nominalization in the subject position has been topicalized:

- (29-17) *Dim Riifs, nguu-la-na qe leqa.*
 Jim Reeves sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good
 ‘Jim Reeves, he sings well.’ (Lit.: ‘Jim Reeves, his singing is good.’)

Nominalizations as direct objects:

- (29-18) *Bona, qoko rongo-a ngata-laa!*
 be.quiet 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ
 ‘Be quiet (and) listen to what is being said (lit.: listen to speaking).’

Nominalizations as oblique objects:

- (29-19) *Fanu=e qafetaqi qana tatha-laa.*
 country=3SG.NFUT be.difficult GENP walk-NMLZ
 ‘The country is difficult to walk around in.’ (Lit.: ‘The country is difficult with respect to walking.’)

Nominalizations as possessors (and possessums):

- (29-20) *Keda-la-na* *ngata-la-miliqa* *qe*
 write-NMLZ-3.PERS speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS 3SG.NFUT

sukani *qafetaqi.*
 be.of.little.degree be.difficult

‘Writing how we speak is a little difficult.’ (Lit.: ‘Writing of our speaking is a little difficult.’)

For more detail on nominalizations see section 9.1. In this chapter the focus is on the use of nominalizations with complement-taking verbs. In principle, any verb can have a nominalization in the subject position, and such cases will not be considered here, apart from a few exceptions. With one minor exception, nominalizations in other positions will be discussed only when they are a strategy in addition to complement clauses or when there is a significant difference between structures with noun phrases that are not headed by a nominalization and those that are.

29.2.3. Complex complementation structures

There are two ways in which structures that involve complementation may be more complex than the examples given thus far. Both are elaborations on the basic structures discussed above. One is stacked, recursive complementation. In (29-21) the complement-taking verbs are in bold. The first verb has a complement clause as its direct object, and the verb in the complement clause has a paratactic complement clause. The complement of the second verb is introduced by the complementizer *na* (discussed in section 29.3).

- (29-21) ... *kali* *wela* *wane* *qeri* *lio* *ka* ***riki-a***
 little.SG child man that look 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

thaina-na *bia* *maka* *nia* *ker*
 mother-3SG.PERS and father 3SG 3PL.NFUT

kwai-thathai *naqa* *na* *ni* *keeroqa* *sifo*
 LIP-ready PRF COMP PROFORE 3DU descend

qi maa-na uusia.

LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN

‘... the little boy looked and saw that his mother and father were ready to go down to the market place.’

See also (29-26) further below.

And second, a single verb may have more than one complement clause in coordination with each other. In (29-22) the verb ‘think’ has two coordinate complement clauses: ‘they will graduate’ (‘pass out’) and ‘they will go overseas’ in a complex coordinate structure. Those two complement clauses are also jointly in the scope of the following negating clause ‘it was not so’. The counterfactuality is also signalled by the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3).

(29-22) *Tai wane ki na kera too-too i laa*
 some.PL man PL REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay LOC IN

skul, keka maa-manta-toqo-na sa keki
 school 3PL.SEQ RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT

baas qaut keki lae mai qana ofasii ma
 pass out 3PL.FUT go VENT GENP overseas and

ka aqi ki, ma keka sore-qe ba-da,
 3SG.SEQ not.be.so PL and 3PL.SEQ say-DETR LIM-3PL

“....”

‘Some of the men who had been to (lit.: had stayed at) school and had thought they would graduate (lit.: pass out) and go (lit.: come) overseas but never had, they just said (all they did was say), (“You, you are lucky, you have seen that place that is so difficult to get into.”).’

However, rather than a single verb having two (or more) coordinate complement clauses, it is considerably more common for a main clause with a complement-taking verb to be repeated, each verb having its own, single complement clause:

(29-23) *Toq=qe=ki sui bana keka ofu mai,*
 people=that=PL EXHST LIM 3PL.SEQ gather VENT

keka thathamia keki riki-a, ma keka
 3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT see-3SG.OBJ and 3PL.SEQ

thathami-a keki thaitoqoma-na.

want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT know-3SG.OBJ

‘All the people gathered (there); they wanted to see them [panpipes],
and they wanted to know [how to play] them.’

29.3. The complementizer

Certain types of complement clauses may be introduced by a complementizer. The form of the complementizer is *na*, or *n=* when it fuses with the following subject marker. This fusion takes place, optionally, with subject markers that begin with *q*. For an example see (29-25) further below. This element also introduces relative clauses (section 30.1), is used with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2), and functions as a focus marker (section 39.1). Where the complementizer can occur, it is not obligatory, and its use is not very common. (It is also occasionally used with clauses that function as the object of some of the verb-like prepositions; see section 33.1). It cannot be used with paratactic complement clauses that share an argument with the matrix clause where the shared argument is the direct object in the matrix clause, for example in the periphrastic causative construction. The complementizer occurs in the next three examples. In (29-24) there are two instances of *na*. The first *na* introduces a relative clause, and the second one a direct-object complement clause.

(29-24) *Maka nau bia thaina-ku, manga na*
father 1SG and mother-1SG.PERS time REL

kera riki-a na ni nau ku
3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ COMP PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT

baqita naqa, keka toda-a qasia naqa
be.big PRF 3PL.SEQ obtain.money-3.OBJ INTS INTS

malefo.

money

‘My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).’

In (29-25) the complementizer occurs in the reduced form *n=*:

- (29-25) *Nau kwasi thaitoqoma-na n=o mataqi.*
 1SG 1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ COMP=2SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I didn’t know that you were sick.’

In (29-26) there is recursive complementation. The complementizer occurs only with the higher complement clause, which is of the paratactic type, but there is no argument sharing between the complement and the matrix clauses:

- (29-26) *Qe abu laqu boqo na qo*
 3SG.NFUT be.forbidden ADD ASRT COMP 2SG.NFUT

sore-qe qoki lae ma=i sa-na.
 say-DETR 2SG.FUT go VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS
 ‘It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.’ (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

Where the complementizer is permitted, it is more common for it to be absent than present. There is no complementizer in (29-27) below, and in most of the examples elsewhere.

- (29-27) *Ku sore-qe sa moro mae naqa.*
 1SG.NFUT think-DETR IRR 2DU.NFUT die PRF
 ‘I thought you two had died.’

Compare (29-26), where the complement of the verb *sore-qe* is introduced by the complementizer. (*Sore-qe* has the meanings ‘say (that)’ and ‘think (that)’; see sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8, respectively.)

In (29-28) the subject of the paratactic complement clause is coreferential with the direct object in the matrix clause and the complementizer cannot be used. (Here *n=* functions as a focus marker, not as a complementizer.)

- (29-28) *Fanga neqe n=e ade nau kwa moa.*
 food this FOC=3SG.NFUT do 1SG 1SG.SEQ vomit
 ‘It was this food that made me vomit.’

29.4. Complement-taking verbs

29.4.1. Introduction

Following Noonan (1985), a number of semantically-based classes of complement-taking verbs can be distinguished for Toqabaqita: modal, phasal, desiderative, knowledge and acquisition-of-knowledge, immediate-perception, locutionary,⁴⁷ propositional-attitude, manipulative, achievement, pretence, and commentative. There is also a transitive complement-taking verb that serves to express near future, *karangi* ‘be near/close to’. This verb is discussed in detail (together with its rare variant *karafi*) in section 15.1.2.3, where it is shown that it is unlike typical verbs in some respects.

Some complement-taking verbs fall in more than one category. For example *riki* ‘see’ can be a verb of immediate perception or a verb of knowledge/acquisition of knowledge. Such verbs are discussed under both categories.

Nearly all classes of complement-taking verbs allow more than one complementation type, but this does not mean that all members of a given class do or that all members of a given class take the same types of complement. That is, the distribution of the complementation types is to a large extent determined lexically. Some verbs permit more than one complementation strategy, and some exhibit further idiosyncratic properties with respect to complementation. The set of complement-taking verbs discussed in the subsequent sections is intended to be representative rather than exhaustive.

29.4.2. Modal verbs

Three verbs are included here. Two of them, both transitive, express physical ability, agent-oriented possibility, and permission, and the third one, an intransitive one, expresses prohibition, lack of permission.

The transitive verbs that express physical ability, agent-oriented possibility, and permission are discussed first. The verbs are *talaqa* and *faara* ‘be able, capable’, ‘be possible’. Both are Class 2 transitive verbs, and they are synonymous and interchangeable, although *talaqa* is more common than *faara*. *Talaqa* is historically related to the noun *tala* ‘path, track, road’, ‘way, means of doing st.’, which also expresses self-containedness of situations, and to the preverbal particle *tala*, which too expresses self-containedness of situations (section 23.1). And *faara* is historically related to the noun *fara* ‘space, area underneath, below’, which can also function as a locational noun ‘below, under’ (section 10.8.6). There is also a locational noun *faara* ‘below, under.’ Both verbs can take non-clausal direct objects, in which case they have the senses ‘fit sb., st.;

be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.’, ‘match sb., st.; be a match for sb.’. The first three examples shows the two verbs with objects other than clausal.

(29-29) *Kaleko neqe e talaqa-mu.*
 clothes this 3SG.NFUT fit-2SG.OBJ
 ‘These clothes fit (are the right size for) you.’

(29-30) *Malefo naqi qe faara-na bo=naqa botho*
 money this 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS pig

nau naqi.

1SG this

‘This is the right price for my pig.’ (Lit.: ‘This money fits this pig of mine.’)

(29-31) *Qamali e rake-qiri, qe aqi*
 sea 3SG.NFUT belly-be.angry 3SG.NFUT not.exist

ta wane si {faara-na / talaqa-na}.

some person 3SG.NEG match-3SG.OBJ/ match-3SG.OBJ

‘The sea is (too) rough; no one can deal with it/stand up to it (lit.: no one can match it).’ (For example, no one can go out in a canoe.)

(*Rake-qiri* ‘belly’-‘be.angry’ is a subject-incorporating compound [section 12.3.2]. Its basic meaning is ‘be angry’, but it can also designate the sea’s being rough.)

When *talaqa* and *faara* function as modal verbs, they are glossed ‘fit’, regardless of the type of modality being expressed. In their modal function, the two verbs take either clauses or nominalizations as their direct objects. Clausal complements are considerably more common with the two verbs than nominalizations, and they are discussed first.

When the object is a clause and the clause is grammatically positive, its subject-tense marker is normally future, but it is possible for a sequential marker to be used instead. (The nonfuture-future distinction is suspended in negation; see section 17.2.) The subject of the modal verb can be either the same as that of the complement clause, or it can be semantically-empty, impersonal, third person singular, regardless of the subject of the complement clause. For convenience, the construction with an impersonal subject is referred to as “impersonal”, while the construction with a semantically full subject is referred to as “personal”. Not infrequently, however, the modal verbs occur without any subject marker (see further below). Examples (29-32) and (29-33) illustrate the personal and the impersonal constructions, respectively, for both verbs. In (29-

32) the subject markers of the matrix and the complement clauses are identical, second person singular. In (29-33) the complement clause has a second person singular subject marker while the main clause has a third person singular subject marker. The modalities in question are physical ability in (29-32) and root possibility in (29-33) (see further below for the distinction).

(29-32) *Qo* {*talaqa-na* / *faara-na*} *qoki* *ngali-a*
2SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ / fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ

baeka *kafara?*

bag copra

'Can you carry a bag of copra?' 'Are you able to carry a bag of copra?'

(29-33) *Qe* {*talaqa-na* / *faara-na*} *qoki* *ngali-a*
3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ / fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ

baeka *kafara?*

bag copra

'Is it (physically) possible for you to carry a bag of copra?'

The examples in (29-34) and (29-35) below also show the personal and the impersonal constructions with both modal verbs, except that the modal verbs are negated. In (29-34) the noun phrase *kali wela* 'the little child' is a topic phrase (section 17.4) and is indexed in the complement clause by the subject marker, while in (29-35) that noun phrase is the subject of the complement clause.

(29-34) *Kali* *wela* *qe=aqi* *si*
little.SG child 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG

{*talaqa-na* / *faara-na*} *kai* *raqa-a* *qai.*
fit-3.OBJ / fit-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ tree

'The little child cannot climb the tree.'

(29-35) *Qe=aqi* *si* {*talaqa-na* / *faara-na*}
3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ / fit-3.OBJ

kali *wela* *kai* *raqa-a* *qai.*
little.SG child 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ tree

'It is not possible for the little child to climb the tree.'

Talaqa and *faara* are used to express agent-oriented ability and root possibility. Agent-oriented ability has to do with the “existence of internal enabling conditions” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 177) in the actor with respect to the state of affairs expressed in the complement, while root possibility has to do with “general enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal conditions of ability, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social and physical conditions” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 178). Root possibility also includes the notion of permission as socially or personally sanctioned behaviour; see (29-39) further below. A few more examples of the two modalities are given below.

In (29-36) and (29-37) it is agent ability that is expressed, its presence and absence, respectively. The first example also illustrates the less common use of a sequential rather than a future-tense subject marker in the complement clause.

- (29-36) *Roo wela baa ki keka baqita bo=naqa, ma*
two child that PL 3PL.SEQ be.big ASRT=INTS and

keka talaqa-na naqa keka firu.
3PL.SEQ fit-3.OBJ PRF 3PL.SEQ fight

‘The two children had grown very big and they were now able to fight.’

- (29-37) *Nau ku mataqi, qe=aqi kwasi*
1SG 1SG.NFUT be.sick 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

faara-na kwai raa.
fit-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT work

‘I’m sick (and) can’t work.’

In the next two examples it is root possibility that is expressed, or rather its absence. In the state of affairs described in (29-38) the conditions of the soil make it impossible to plant (or rather, grow) taros there.

- (29-38) *Laa gano naqi qe fau-la,*
IN soil this 3SG.NFUT stone-PROP

qe=aqi si talaqa-na kuki
3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ PL(INCL).FUT

kilu-a qana alo.
plant.taro.in-3SG.OBJ GENP taro

‘This soil is stony. It is not possible for us to plant taros in it.’

And in the overall situation expressed in (29-39), the relevant state of affairs was not sanctioned by cultural factors and therefore could not take place. In earlier times, women who were close to giving birth were not permitted to be near men:

(29-39) *Ma toqa baa keka quna qeri*, “*Qoo*,
and people that 3PL.SEQ manner this oh

qe aqi si talaqa-na qoki lae
3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT go

ma=i laa baru neqe, ada qoko
VENT=LOC IN canoe this TIM 2SG.SEQ

faqa-futa qi ei.”

CAUS-be.born LOC LOCPRO

‘And the people said, “Oh, it’s not possible for you to come into this canoe, because you might give birth (in) here.”.’

It is not uncommon for *talaqa* or *faara* to occur without a subject marker. In (29-40) below, the complement clause contains the first person singular (future) subject marker. The modal verb has no subject marker, but it is accompanied by the limiter *ba-*, which carries the third person singular personal suffix. The personal suffix indexes the subject (sections 5.2.10.1 and 5.2.11); compare the limiter in the complement clause, where it carries the first person singular personal suffix. Since the personal suffix on the limiter with the modal verb is third person singular, the omitted subject marker would have been third person singular too. That is, the construction is of the impersonal type.

(29-40) *Talaqa-na ba-na kwai lae*
fit-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS 1SG.FUT go

ba=ka-kuqa bii qoe?
LIM=AND-1SG.PERS COM 2SG

‘Is it possible for me to go with you?’

In other cases, however, there is no direct evidence whether the construction is of the impersonal or the personal type. In (29-41) the omitted subject marker could, in principle, be third person singular functioning non-referentially, or second person singular:

- (29-41) *Qoo, wane kwaimaani qae, talaqa-na qoki*
 oh man be.friendly VOC fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT
- kwethu ba=ka-muqa qi naqo-ku,*
 shine.torch LIM=AND-2SG.PERS LOC front-1SG.PERS
 ‘Oh, my friendly man, can you/is it possible for you to shine a torch
 in front of me (so that I can move in the dark) ...’

However, when there is evidence available, as in the case of (29-40) above, the construction is always of the impersonal type when the modal verb occurs without a subject marker.

Clauses as direct objects of the modal verbs can express states of affairs that obtain on specific occasions, or they can express generic, habitual (types of) states of affairs not restricted to a given occasion; see, for example, (29-37) and (29-36) above, respectively, for the personal construction, and (29-40) and (29-38), respectively, for the impersonal construction.

Both modal verbs, *talaqa* and *faara*, can also take nominalizations as their direct objects. However, nominalizations are much less common than complement clauses, and they can only be used in the personal type of construction. That is, the subject of the modal verb must be referential, expressing the actor participant in the state of affairs expressed by the nominalization. The nominalization construction is used when the state of affairs in question is a general, habitual one, rather than one that obtains on a specific occasion. In cases of generic, habitual situations, either a finite complement clause or a nominalization is possible, as in (29-42a) and (29-42b), respectively:

- (29-42) a. *Nia e talaqa-na kai*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT
- qaru-toqo-na kwanga.*
 fall-TEST-3.OBJ rifle
 ‘He can/may use a rifle.’
- b. *Nia e talaqa-na*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ
- qaru-toqo-na-la-na kwanga.*
 fall-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS rifle
 ‘He can/may use a rifle.’

(For nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs, of which *qaru-toqo* (‘fall’-TEST) ‘use’ is one, see section 9.1.1.)

Either sentence in (29-42) could be used about a man applying for a licence to use a rifle: he is physically (and mentally) capable of using a rifle and (so) may use one.

The next two examples too contain nominalizations:

(29-43) *Kesi talaqa-na naqa raa-laa, nau naqa bia*
 3DU.NEG fit-3.OBJ PRF work-NMLZ 1SG PRF and

kukeqe nau na mere qadomi keeroqa
 wife 1SG FOC 1DU(EXCL).NFUT help 3DU

qa=si fanga, ma si qai,
 GENP=PRTT food and PRTT wood

‘They [the speaker’s aged parents] were no longer able to work, (and) it was me then and my wife who helped them out with food, and (with) (fire)wood,’

In the overall state of affairs described in (29-44) the giving in question had happened on various occasions and similarly the contemplated reciprocating would have taken place more than once:

(29-44) *Nau ma wela nau ki misi talaqa-na boqo*
 1SG and child 1SG PL 1PL(EXCL).NEG fit-3.OBJ ASRT

duqu-la-na fale-la-mu.
 reciprocate-NMLZ-3.PERS give-NMLZ-2SG.PERS

‘I and my children are not/will not be able to reciprocate concerning (all) the things you have given (to us).’ (Lit.: ‘I and my children are not/will not be a match for reciprocating your giving.’)

Permission can also be expressed indirectly by means of the commentative verb *leqa* ‘be good, nice’. That which is characterized as good is normally also permitted. See example (29-213) in section 29.4.12.

The third modal verb discussed here is *abu* ‘be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed’. *Abu* is an intransitive verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The subject marker of *abu* is always third person singular, impersonal, semantically-empty. There are no restrictions on the tense/mood/sequentiality subject markers in its complement clauses.

(29-45) *Qe abu laqu boqo qoki quna*
 3SG.NFUT not.be.allowed ADD ASRT 2SG.FUT manner

qeri, “*Araqi qena, fanga qoe ki loq.*
 this mature.man that(2) food 2SG PL up.there

Lae, qoko fanga. Qani-a fanga naqi ki.”
 go 2SG.SEQ eat eat-3.OBJ food this PL
 ‘Neither is it allowed for you to say this [to a mature man when telling him to have food], “Old man, up there is your food (lit.: foods). Go (and) eat. Eat this food.”.’ (Lit.: ‘It is also not allowed you say, “...”.’)

In (29-46) the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*:

(29-46) *Qe abu laqu boqo na qo*
 3SG.NFUT be.forbidden ADD ASRT COMP 2SG.NFUT

sore-qe qoki lae ma=i sa-na.
 say-DETR 2SG.FUT go VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS
 ‘It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.’ (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

Abu may simultaneously have a modal and a manipulative force: by telling someone that something is forbidden, not allowed, one may (try to) manipulate them into not doing it.

29.4.3. The phasal verb

There is (at least) one phasal complement-taking verb in Toqabaqita: *thafali* ‘begin, start’. *Thafali* is a Class 1 transitive verb, and it can take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-47) *Grup qeri kera thafali-a ma=i*
 group that 3PL.NFUT start-3SG.OBJ VENT=LOC

laal-a figu-a na=i Irobuli
 inside-3.PERS gather-DVN REL=LOC Irobuli
 ‘That [musical] group, they started it in the congregation at Irobuli [church]’

Thafali can take a clause or a nominalization as its direct object, but the two constructions are not synonymous.

Thafali can have the meaning ‘begin to do st.’. In such cases it takes complement clauses. There is also a preverbal inceptive particle of the same phonological form, which can be used with this meaning; see section 29.5. There must be identity of subjects between the complement clause and the *thafali* clause. The subject marker in the complement clause must be future-tense. The complement clause cannot contain a subject noun phrase. In (29-48) there are two instances of *thafali*. The first one has a clause as its direct object, and the second one has a non-clausal direct object:

(29-48) *Manga na keki thafali-a keki qani-a*
 time REL 3PL.IPFV begin-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT eat-3.OBJ

oqola kera qeri, keka lae keka thafali-a
 garden 3PL that 3PL.SEQ go 3PL.SEQ start-3.OBJ

laqu boqo ta si kula faalu.
 ADD ASRT some PRTT place be.new

‘When they begin to eat (food from) that garden of theirs, they go and start a new place (to make a garden there).’

Two more examples of *thafali* with complement clauses are given below. In the first one the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*.

(29-49) *Nau ku thafali-a na kwai uqunu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT begin-3.OBJ COMP 1SG.FUT tell.story

suli-a tha Bariqi.
 PROL-3.OBJ PERSMKR Bariqi

‘I am beginning to tell the story about Bariqi.’

(29-50) *Wane, si manga n=e thafali-a*
 man PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT start-3.OBJ

kai raa qana oqola nia, nia kai
 3SG.FUT work GENP garden 3SG 3SG 3SG.FUT

kwaqe fasi suli-a oqola qeri tootoqonaqo,
 cut PREC PROL-3.OBJ garden that earlier.time

‘A man, when he starts working on a (new) garden of his [that is, when he starts making a new garden], he will first of all cut down (the bush) along the perimeter of the garden (lit.: he will first of all cut along that garden).’

Thafali can also be used with the meaning ‘begin, start by doing st.’. In that case it takes nominalizations as its direct object. The nominalization encodes the situation with which something is begun:

(29-51) ... *keka thafali-a bo=naqa kwae-laa*
 3PL.SEQ begin-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS sing.in.choir-NMLZ

ni bana ma nguuli-la-na fa nguu ni
 LIM LIM and sing-NMLZ-3.PERS CLF song LIM

bana qi laa sios.
 LIM LOC IN church

‘... they [a musical group] began by just singing choir-like and by singing songs in church.’ (That is, that was all the group did in its initial stages.)

While complement clauses are used in Toqabaqita to encode the beginning of a state of affairs, there are no complement-clause structures to encode the end or continuation of a state of affairs. To express the end of a state of affairs, either the intransitive verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’ is used (section 35.3.2.2.3) or the postverbal completive particles *sui* or, rarely, *danga* (section 5.2.4). The notion of continuation of a state of affairs can be expressed by means of the postverbal anterior-continuing particle *quu* (section 5.2.3) or by reduplication of the verb (section 15.2.3).

29.4.4. Desiderative verbs

The following verbs are included here: *thathami* ‘want’, ‘like’, ‘wish’; *lalakwa* ‘not want’, ‘not like’; *manata-toqo* ‘think of doing st.’, ‘want, intend to do st.’; *laloma* ‘intend to do st.’; and *toqe* ‘desire, intend to do st.’ ‘have one’s mind set on doing st.’.

Thathami ‘want’, ‘like’, ‘wish’ is a Class 1 transitive verb and can take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-52) *Qo thathami-a alo mada kai?*
 2SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ taro or yam
 ‘Do you want the taro or the yam?’

Thathami takes complement clauses and nominalizations as its direct objects. There is also a preverbal desiderative particle *thathami* (section 29.5). Complementation using clauses is discussed first. This strategy can be used

regardless of whether or not there is identity of subjects between the complement clause and the *thathami* clause. Grammatically positive complement clauses must contain the appropriate future-tense or sequential subject marker, the former being more common. Grammatically negative complement clauses contain the appropriate negative subject marker. The first four examples show constructions where the subjects in the complement clause and in the *thathami* clause are different. In the first three the complement clauses are grammatically positive.

- (29-53) *Iu, ma ni nau ku thathami-a*
 yes and PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ
- kamaroqa moki baqa-a alinga-ku*
 2DU 2DU.FUT pierce-3.OBJ ear-1SG.PERS
 ‘Yes, and I want you two to pierce my ears’ (Lit.: ‘Yes, and I want [it] you two will pierce my ears’)

The second person dual pronoun *kamaroqa* in (29-53) is the subject of the complement clause, not the direct object of *thathami* ‘want’. This is evidenced by the presence of the third person object marker *-a* on *thathami*. See also section 29.2.1 for discussion.

- (29-54) *Kamareqa thathami-a qoki thau-ngani-a si*
 1DU(EXCL) want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT make-TR-3.OBJ PREC
- qa-mareqa ta roo basi.*
 RECBEN-1DU(EXCL).PERS some two bow
 ‘We want you to make us two bows [for shooting arrows] first.’

The next example shows the free variation between a future-tense and a sequential subject marker in the complement clause, but the use of the future-tense subject marker is more common:

- (29-55) *Nau ku thathami-a {muki / muka} beta*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT / 2PL.SEQ take.care
- leqa suli-a.*
 be.good PROL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I want you to take good care of him.’ ‘I want you to care well for him.’

In (29-56) the complement clause is grammatically negative:

- (29-56) *Nau ku thathamia wela nau qe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ child 1SG 3SG.NFUT
aqi si ngata bia thaari neqe.
 NEG 3SG.NEG speak COM girl this
 ‘I want my son (lit.: child) not to speak with this girl.’

Negation in desiderative complementation is discussed in more detail further below.

In the next two examples the subjects of the complement clauses and the matrix clauses are identical.

- (29-57) *Nau ku thathamia kwai rongo-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT hear-3.OBJ
qa-kuqa uqunu fasi qoe.
 SBEN-1SG.PERS story ABL 2SG
 ‘I want to hear (some) stories from you.’

- (29-58) *Toq=qe=ki sui bana keka ofu mai,*
 people=that=PL EXHST LIM 3PL.SEQ gather VENT
keka thathamia keki riki-a, ma keka
 3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT see-3SG.OBJ and 3PL.SEQ
thathamia keki thaitoqoma-na.
 want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘All the people gathered (there); they wanted to see them [panpipes], and they wanted to know [how to play] them.’

In all the examples of complement clauses of *thathamia* ‘want’ presented thus far, the desired states of affairs are conceived of as ones that may occur, or are likely to occur, or at least there is no reason to think they will not occur (although it may turn out that a desired state of affairs did not materialize after all). To express the fact that a desired situation is not particularly strongly expected to take place or to express counterfactuality, that is, non-realization of a desired state of affairs, the irrealis marker *sa* is used in the complement clause.

- (29-59) *Nau ku thathamia wela nau ki sa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ child 1SG PL IRR

keki qadomi nau faafi-a raa nau ki.
 3PL.FUT help 1SG concerning -3.OBJ work 1SG PL
 ‘I wish my children would help me with my work (lit.: works).’

For discussion and more examples see section 18.3.

A complement clause embedded under *thatham* ‘want’ can be negative.

(29-60) *Maka qoe qe thatham-a qe aqi*
 father 2SG 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEG

qosi sifo uri qamali.
 2SG.NEG descend ALL sea
 ‘Your father wants you not to go down to the sea.’

For another example see (29-56) further above.

However, this way of negating desiderative constructions with complement clauses is not common. Instead, it is normally the main clause that is negative, grammatically and/or semantically. While it is true that ‘want that X not be the case’ and ‘not want that X be the case’ are not fully synonymous, the latter type of expression is the norm in Toqabaqita, while the former type is dispreferred. There are two ways in which negation of a want or wish can be expressed in the main clause. One is by negating *thatham* ‘want’, and the other is by using the verb *lalakwa* ‘not want’, ‘not like’ in a grammatically positive clause. Unlike *thatham*, *lalakwa* is an intransitive verb. It can take non-clausal oblique objects that express that which is not liked. The oblique object is governed by the general preposition *qani*.

(29-61) *Nau ku lalakwa qana taumanga.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP k.o.pudding
 ‘I don’t like *taumanga* pudding.’

Lalakwa takes paratactic complement clauses. This type of construction can be used only when the subjects of the complement clause and the *lalakwa* clause are different. Grammatically positive complement clauses require the appropriate future-tense subject marker; in addition, there may a subject noun phrase.

Although *lalakwa* is synonymous with negated *thatham*, the privileges of occurrence of the two verbs are not identical. *Thatham* can take complement clauses regardless of whether or not the main and the complement clause have identical subjects. On the other hand, *lalakwa* can have a complement clause only if the subjects are not identical. There is a preverbal undesiderative particle, also of the form *lalakwa*, used when the person, etc. not wanting a state of

affairs to come about is the same person, etc. as the one who would otherwise bring it about or who may have to bring it about nevertheless; see section 29.5. The sentences in (29-62) and (29-63) show the alternative constructions with *lalakwa* and with negated *thatham*i, respectively:

(29-62) *Maka qoe qe lalakwa qoki sifo*
 father 2SG 3SG.NFUT not.want 2SG.FUT descend

uri qamali.

ALL sea

‘Your father does not want you to go down to the sea.’

(29-63) *Maka qoe qe aqi si thatham*i-a
 father 2SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG want-3.OBJ

qoki sifo uri qamali.

2SG.FUT descend ALL sea

‘Your father does not want you to go down to the sea.’

Compare (29-63), with negation in the *thatham*i clause, and (29-60), with negation in the complement clause.

Three more examples with *lalakwa* ‘not want’ are given in (29-64) – (29-66).

(29-64) *Nau ku lalakwa qoki sorry.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.want 2SG.FUT be/feel.sad
 ‘I don’t want you to be/feel sad.’

In (29-65) the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*, and it has a subject noun phrase:

(29-65) *Nau ku lalakwa na wela nau kai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.want COMP child 1SG 3SG.FUT

ngata bia thaari neqe.

speak COM girl this

‘I don’t want my son (lit.: child) to speak with this girl.’

Compare (29-56) further above with *thatham*i ‘want’ in the matrix clause and a negated complement clause.

And in (29-66) the complement clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* (here reduced to *s=*), which may signal a feeling on the part of the speaker that the

undesirable situation may, in fact, take place; or it may signal counterfactuality: the undesirable event did take place (section 18.3).

- (29-66) *Ku lalakwa s=oki sifo uri qamali.*
 1SG.NFUT not.want IRR=2SG.FUT descend ALL sea
 a. ‘I wish you wouldn’t go down to the sea.’
 b. ‘I didn’t want you to go down to the sea (but you did).’

The clausal complements both of *thatham*i ‘want’ and of *lalakwa* ‘not want’ can be used when reference is made to specific situations or to generic, habitual (types of) situations; see, for example, (29-53) further above for *thatham*i and (29-64) for *lalakwa*, respectively.

Both verbs can also take nominalizations as their complements: direct objects in the case of transitive *thatham*i, and oblique objects introduced by the general preposition *qani* in the case of intransitive *lalakwa*. This kind of complementation strategy is used to express general, habitual states of affairs rather than ones that (would) obtain on a specific occasion.

- (29-67) *Keka thatham-i-a qasia naqa uqunu-laa.*
 3PL.SEQ like-3.OBJ INTS INTS converse-NMLZ
 ‘They liked conversing (with each other) a lot.’ ‘They liked very much to converse (with each other).’

- (29-68) *Nau ku lalakwa qana qani-la-na raisi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS rice

raarangeqa suli-a bongi.
 (food)be.without.accompaniment PROL-3.OBJ day
 ‘I don’t like eating plain rice (without meat or anything else) day after day (lit.: along days).’

See also (29-218) in section 29.5.

Another desiderative verb is *manata-toqo* ‘think of doing st.’, ‘want, intend to do st.’. *Manata-toqo* can also function as a propositional-attitude verb (section 29.4.8.) *Manata-toqo* is a Class 2 transitive verb. It consists of *manata* ‘think about sb, st.’, ‘think about doing st.’ and the TEST suffix *-toqo* (section 4.2.3.3.2.2). (Intransitive *manata* does not take complement clauses. The potential event is expressed in a purpose clause or a purpose nominalization; see [32-8] in section 32.2 for an example of the former.) Not infrequently, *manata-toqo* is pronounced /mantatʔʔ/ or even /mantʔʔ/. *Manata-toqo* can take non-clausal direct objects, in which case it has the meaning ‘think about sb., st.’:

- (29-69) *Nau ku {manata-toqo-na /*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think.about-TEST-3.OBJ /

man-toqo-na} wela nau.
 think.about-TEST-3.OBJ child 1SG
 ‘I am thinking about my child.’

As a desiderative verb, *manata-toqo* takes direct-object complement clauses. Its own subject and the subject of the complement clause must be coreferential (but see further below for the use of *manata-toqo* in one kind of [verb verb] compound), and the complement clause, if grammatically positive, must have the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

- (29-70) *Tootoo qi laa teqe fa thato wane qeri bia*
 later LOC IN one CLF day man that and

kwai-na keko manata-toqo-na keki
 spouse-3SG.PERS 3DU.SEQ think-TEST-3.OBJ 3DU.FUT

sifo qi maa-na uusi-a.
 descend LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN
 ‘One day some time later, the man and his wife thought of going down to the market place.’

- (29-71) *Wane e manta-toqo-na kai*
 man 3SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

kasi-a biqu nia.
 build.house-3.OBJ house 3SG
 ‘The man is thinking of building a house for himself (lit.: his house).’

Manata-toqo can be followed by the verb *ngado* ‘be still, settled, firm’ in a [verb verb] compound. The compound has the meaning ‘hope, expect that such and such will be the case’, ‘have one’s mind set on such and such’. The compound is an intransitive verb and takes paratactic clauses as its complements. (Exceptionally, *manata-toqo* is not a transitive verb in the compound, the way Class 2 transitive verbs normally are as the first members of [verb verb] compounds.) The complement clause, if grammatically positive, must have the appropriate future-tense marker. With the compound (unlike with *manata-toqo* alone) the subjects of the two clauses may be the same or different. In (29-72) they are identical:

- (29-72) *Nau ku manta-toqo ngado, tootoo kwai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST be.firm later 1SG.FUT
thau-ngani-a teqe sitoa.
 make-TR-3.OBJ one store
 'I hope to have/open (lit.: make) a store one day.' 'I have my mind
 set on having/opening a store one day.'

If the subjects of the two clauses are different, the participant encoded as the subject of the complement clause is also realized as an oblique object of the compound, with the general preposition *qani*. In the complement clause it is encoded only by means of a subject marker. In (29-73) the relevant participant is the speaker's child:

- (29-73) *Nau ku manta-toqo ngado qana wela nau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST be.firm GENP child 1SG
kai qakwaa.
 3SG.FUT be.cured
 'I hope my child will be cured.'

Manata-toqo can function not only as a desiderative verb but also as a propositional-attitude verb 'think that, assume that' (section 29.4.8).

To express an intention or a plan to do something, it is also possible to use *laloma-toqo* 'intend to do st.'. *Laloma-toqo* is a Class 2 transitive verb. It consists of *laloma* 'think (about doing st.)' and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. *Laloma-toqo* takes a complement clause as its direct object. Grammatically positive complement clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject marker. The subjects of the complement clause and the matrix clause must be identical.

- (29-74) *Wane e laloma-toqo-na kai*
 man 3SG.NFUT intend-TEST-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT
kasi-a biqu nia.
 build.house-3.OBJ house 3SG
 'The man intends to build a house for himself (lit.: his house).'

Compare the semantically similar sentence in (29-71) further above with *manta-toqo* 'think of doing st.'.

The last desiderative verb to be discussed is *toqe*, a Class 1 transitive verb. *Toqe* can take non-clausal direct objects. In that function it has a variety of senses having to do with physical actions: poking, pricking, hitting, bumping into:

(29-75) *Maa-ku na si qai e toqe-a*
 eye-1SG.PERS REL PRTT wood 3SG.NFUT hit/poke-3SG.OBJ

ka fii.

3SG.SEQ hurt

‘My eye that had been hit/poked by a stick (lit.: that a stick had hit/poked) hurt.’

Toqe can be used as a desiderative verb with the meaning ‘desire, intend to do st.’ ‘have one’s mind set on doing st.’ (and also as a verb of immediate perception, ‘glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of’; see section 29.4.6). In this function it takes as its subject a noun phrase headed either by the noun ‘mind, thought’ or by the noun ‘body’ in a suffixing possessive construction, where the possessor encodes the person who has the desire or intention. The complement is a clause that functions as the direct object. The subjects of the complement and the matrix clauses must be identical, and the complement clause, if grammatically positive, has the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

(29-76) *Manta-ku e toqe-a kwai*
 mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT hit-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT

fasi-a teqe bariki.

plant-3.OBJ one coconut.grove

‘I intend to plant a coconut grove.’ ‘I have my mind set on planting a coconut grove.’

(29-77) *Nau seqe-ku e toqe-a kwai lae*
 1SG body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT hit-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT go

naqa.

PRF

‘I want/intend to go now.’

The construction with either ‘mind, thought’ or ‘body’ as the head of the subject phrase can also be used with non-clausal objects:

- (29-78) *Seqe-ku e toqe-a malefo.*
 body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT hit-3.OBJ money
 ‘I want (to have) money.’ ‘I have my mind set on (having, getting) money.’

29.4.5. Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

Included here are the following verbs: *thaitoqoma* ‘know (about) sb., st.’, ‘know that’, ‘realize that’, ‘know how’; *dora* ‘not know (about) sb., st.’, ‘not know how’; *fula-toqo* ‘conclude that’, ‘discover, determine that’; *riki* ‘see that’; and *rongo* ‘hear that’.

Thaitoqoma ‘know that’, ‘realize that’, ‘know how’ consists historically of the verb **thai* ‘know’ (not found in the language today), the TEST suffix *-toqo*, and *-ma*, which may be the reduced variant of the ventive directional *-mai* (section 5.2.14.1). It is a Class 2 transitive verb and can take non-clausal direct objects. In that function it has the meaning ‘know (about) sb., st.’:

- (29-79) *Qo thaitoqoma-na kini qeri.*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ woman this?
 ‘Do you know this woman?’

Thaitoqoma can take clauses and nominalizations as its direct objects, but the two types of construction are not synonymous. Clausal complements are discussed first. They can encode states of affairs of any temporal status. The subjects of the complement and the matrix clauses may be identical or different.

- (29-80) *Manga n=e_i thaitoqoma-na nia_i*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ 3SG
- karangi-a kai nofi naqa, ka_i*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT die PRF 3SG.SEQ
- baqe uri-a tha Walanifau ma tha*
 speak ALL-3.OBJ PERSMKR Walanifau and PERSMKR
- Bualigia, ka_i quna qeri, “....”*
 Bualigia 3SG.SEQ manner this
 ‘When he_i knew he_i was about to die, he_i spoke to Walanifau and Bualigia and said, “....”’

(29-81) *Nau ku thaitoqoma-na araqi loo*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ mature.man upward

e qadomi nau ba-na.
 3SG.NFUT help 1SG LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I know that God just/simply helps me.’

In (29-82) the complement clause is negative and is introduced by the complementizer *na*. The ‘know’ clause with its complement clause is itself a direct-object complement of the desiderative verb ‘want’.

(29-82) *Keka thathamia-keki thaitoqoma-na na*
 3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT know-3.OBJ COMP

ni nia n=e aqi si
 PROFORE 3SG FOC=3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

luka-taqi kera,
 abandon-TR 3PL
 ‘They wanted to know that he [their ancestral spirit] had not abandoned them,’

In (29-82) it is the verb in the complement of *thaitoqoma* ‘know’ that is negated. Negation of *thaitoqoma* is discussed further below.

In (29-83) *thaitoqoma* is used to express acquisition of knowledge. The complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*:

(29-83) *Si manga na wela baa ki kere lio ma*
 PRTT time REL child that PL 3PL.NFUT look and

tha Bariqi ka aqi si fula
 PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

naqa, keka thaitoqoma-na na tha
 PRF 3PL.SEQ know-3.OBJ COMP PERSMKR

Bariqi qe thaka.
 Bariqi 3SG.NFUT escape
 ‘When the children looked and Bariqi had not arrived, they knew/realized Bariqi had escaped.’

Thaitoqoma is used not only with the sense ‘know that’ but also with the sense ‘know how’, to express knowledge how to do something, how to bring a state of affairs about. In such cases the direct object is not a clause but a nominalization.

- (29-84) *Qo* *thaitoqoma-na* *teqe-maqi-laa?*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ one-TR-NMLZ
 ‘Do you know how to count?’ ‘Do you know how to read?’

- (29-85) *Thaari* *naqi* *qe* *thaitoqoma-na* *qasia* *naqa*
 girl this 3SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ INTS INTS

kuki-la-na *raisi.*
 cook-NMLZ-3.PERS rice

‘This girl knows very well how to cook rice.’ (Lit.: ‘This girl knows very much cooking of rice.’)

To express lack of knowledge how to do something, there are two possibilities. One is to negate *thaitoqoma* ‘know how’:

- (29-86) *Qe* *aqi* *kwasi* *thaitoqoma-na*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ

qaranga-laa.
 swim-NMLZ

‘I don’t know how to swim.’

The other way is to use the verb *dora* ‘not know (about) sb., st.’, ‘not know how’ in a grammatically positive clause. *Dora* is an intransitive verb that takes oblique-object complements introduced by the general preposition *qani*. The oblique object may have a (true) noun, not a nominalization, as its head, ‘not know (about) sb., st.’:

- (29-87) *Nau* *ku* *dora* *qana toqa* *lakoo* *ki.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP people that(3) PL
 ‘I don’t know those people.’

To express lack of knowledge how to do something, *dora* takes a nominalization as the oblique object, also with the general preposition:

- (29-88) *Nau ku dora qana qaranga-laa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP swim-NMLZ
 ‘I don’t know how to swim.’

Compare the synonymous sentence in (29-86) further above, with negated *thai-toqoma* ‘know how’ in place of *dora*.

In (29-89) the nominalization involves a verb with an incorporated object:

- (29-89) *Qo dora qana fasi-butete-laa.*
 2SG.NFUT not.know GENP plant-sweet.potato-NMLZ
 ‘You don’t know how to plant sweet potatoes.’

Dora can be used to express lack of knowledge how to bring about a type of state of affairs in general, as in the two examples above: not knowing how to swim, not knowing how to plant sweet potatoes. It can also be used to express lack of knowledge/capability to bring about a state of affairs on a specific occasion, because of some inhibiting conditions, even though the person does otherwise have the knowledge to bring about that kind of state of affairs. The individual has the knowledge in general but does not know how apply it, given the circumstances. There is some overlap here between the sense of having the knowledge and the sense of agent-oriented modality of having the physical ability to do something (section 29.4.2).

- (29-90) ... *oomea fu=e firu, ma keka*
 enemy that=3SG.NFUT fight and 3PL.SEQ
- uri-a, m=e dora qana*
 step.on-3SG.OBJ and=3SG.NFUT not.know GENP
- thaka-laa.*
 escape-NMLZ
 ‘... the enemies were fighting, and they were stepping/treading on him, and he didn’t know how to escape.’

In the next example there are three instances of *dora*. In the first two cases, what is involved is the person’s inability, due to some inhibiting conditions, to sleep and eat in the given circumstances. Clearly, the person knows in general how to sleep and how to eat, but in the situation described she was not able to do it (well). In the third case what is involved is inability, lack of knowledge how, to perform a kind of activity in general.

- (29-91) *Oh my God, nau ku dora qana*
 oh my God 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP
- biinga-laa qa=fa rodo, ma kwa dora*
 sleep-NMLZ LOC=CLF night and 1SG.SEQ not.know
- qana fanga-laa, suli-a ku dora*
 GENP eat-NMLZ REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT not.know
- qana qani-la-na Japanese food.*
 GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese food
- ‘Oh my God, I was not able to sleep (I did not know how to get to sleep) at night, and I could not eat (I did not know how to eat), because I did not know how to eat Japanese food.’

Dora can also function as a negative-achievement verb with the meaning ‘forget’ (section 29.4.10).

The Class 1 transitive verbs *riki* ‘see’, ‘look at’ and *rongo* ‘hear’, ‘listen to’ can function both as immediate-perception verbs (section 29.4.6) and as verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge. Both verbs can take non-clausal direct objects; see section 29.4.6 for examples. As verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, they both take direct-object complement clauses, but there is one point of difference between them, which is discussed further below.

In (29-92) it is *riki* that functions as a verb of (acquisition of) knowledge:

- (29-92) ... *keka riki-a naqa nia qe sifo naqa*
 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ PRF 3SG 3SG.NFUT descend PRF
- qi laa qamali baa.*
 LOC IN sea that
- ‘... they saw that he had gone down into the sea.’

In (29-92) *riki* ‘see’ does not function as an immediate-perception verb. This is evidenced by two facts. One is the presence of the perfect marker with the verb *sifo* ‘descend’, which signals that the event of the man’s going down into the sea took place before the event of the others seeing/finding out that he had done that. And second, when *riki* ‘see’ and *rongo* ‘hear’ function as immediate-perception verbs, the participant that is encoded as the subject of the complement clause is also encoded as the direct object of *riki* or *rongo*. That is, there the two verbs take paratactic complement clauses. This is not the case in (29-92). The third person pronoun *nia* cannot be the object of *riki* for two reasons. First, it is placed after the perfect marker, which it would precede if it were the

object of *riki* (see [4-1] in section 4.1); and second, *riki* carries the third person object suffix, but an object suffix and a pronoun in the direct-object position cannot cooccur (section 4.2.3.2.1). See also the discussion in section 29.2.1. In (29-92) *nia* functions as the subject of the complement clause.

Similarly in (29-93) *riki* ‘see’ functions as a knowledge verb, not an immediate-perception verb: the subject marker in the complement clause is second person plural, while the object suffix on *riki* is third person (singular).

(29-93) ... *kwa fula kwa riki-a na muki*
 1SG.SEQ arrive 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ COMP 2PL.IPFV

too ba-muluqa qan=teqe si too-laa qeri
 stay LIM-2PL.PERS GENP=one PRTT stay-NMLZ that

bana, nau kwai ngali kamuluqa i laa lokap.
 LIM 1SG 1SG.FUT take 2PL LOC IN jail

‘[If, after the 14 days of warning to you to abandon the Marching Rule movement] I arrive and see that you haven’t budged [i.e., that the addressees have not abandoned the movement], I will put you in jail.’ (Lit.: ‘... I arrive and see that you are staying in just that one staying, I will take you in jail.’)

In (29-94) it is *rongo* ‘hear’ that functions as an acquisition-of-knowledge verb. Here too there is not coreferentiality between the subject of the complement clause and the direct object of *rongo*. And here too the two situations are not located at the same time: the event of the addressee’s going is to take place some time after the event of the third person hearing about it.

(29-94) *Qe rongo-a qoki lae kau.*
 3SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT go AND
 ‘He (has) heard that you will go away.’

Instead of the transitive verb *rongo*, it is possible to use its detransitivized variant *rongo-qi* (section 4.6). However, this is not very common. *Rongo-qi*, not being a transitive verb, takes paratactic complement clauses. Examples (29-95a) and (29-95b) show the two possibilities:

(29-95) a. *Nau ku rongo-a teqe wane qe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ one man 3SG.NFUT

thau wane.
 kill person
 ‘I heard that a man had killed someone.’

- b. *Nau ku rongo-qi teqe wane qe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-DETR one man 3SG.NFUT

thau wane.
 kill person
 ‘I heard that a man had killed someone.’

Although there is a detransitivized variant of *riki* ‘see’, *riki-qi* (section 4.6), it does not take clausal complements.

29.4.6. Immediate-perception verbs

Four verbs are included here: *riki* ‘see’, ‘look at’; *rongo* ‘hear’, ‘listen to’; *toqe* ‘glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of’; and *kwakwafi* ‘hear/catch the sound of’, all of which are Class 1 transitive verbs. All four verbs can have non-clausal direct objects. To express perception of a state of affairs, two types of complement are available: paratactic clauses and nominalizations. Clausal complements are more common, and they are discussed and exemplified first. In this type of construction, the subject participant of the complement clause is also encoded as the direct object of the immediate-perception verb. (See also section 29.2.1 for discussion of the evidence.) There are some differences between *riki* ‘see’ and *rongo* ‘hear’ on the one hand, and *toqe* ‘glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of’ and *kwakwafi* ‘hear/catch the sound of’ on the other, and the two pairs of verbs are discussed separately, starting with *riki* and *rongo*.

Riki and *rongo* take as their subjects noun phrases that refer to the perceiver. The first two examples show them with non-clausal direct objects:

- (29-96) *Qo riki-a faela baa?*
 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ file that
 ‘Have you seen the file [a tool]?’

- (29-97) *Nau ku rongo-a teqe wela.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ one child
 ‘I heard a child.’

The first pair of examples below illustrates *riki* ‘see’ with clausal complements. In (29-98) *riki* has a lexical direct object coreferential with the subject

of the complement clause. The object is indexed on *riki* by means of the suffix *-a*:

- (29-98) *Nau ku riki-a teqe fa rade*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ one CLF shooting.star

qe tala qana mangaa.
 3SG.NFUT shine GENP air
 ‘I saw a shooting start shine in the air.’

In (29-99), on the other hand, the direct object of *riki* is the second person singular pronoun *qoe*, coreferential with the subject of the complement clause. The pronominal object is not indexed on *riki*:

- (29-99) *Nau ku riki qoe qo bili-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see 2SG 2SG.NFUT steal.from-3.OBJ

oqola nau.
 garden 1SG
 ‘I saw you steal (food) from my garden.’

The presence and absence of object marking with lexical and pronominal direct objects, respectively, on the immediate perception verb is evidence that it is the noun phrase coreferential with the subject of the complement clause that is the direct object, not the complement clause. This can also be seen from the next pair of examples with *rongo* ‘hear’. Since the event being perceived is ongoing at the time of perception, the complement clause may contain an imperfective subject marker, although this is not particularly common. This is the case in (29-100) (and also in [29-102]).

- (29-100) *Nau ku rongo-a bola kai rungau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ pigeon 3SG.IPFV (pigeon)coo

ma=i loori.
 VENT=LOC up.there
 ‘I heard a pigeon coo up there.’

 (29-101) *Ku rongo nia qe nguu.*
 1SG.NFUT hear 3SG 3SG.NFUT sing
 ‘I heard him sing.’

The next two examples are further illustrations of *riki* and *rongo*, respectively, with complement clauses.

(29-102) *Si manga n=e fula kula qeri,*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT arrive place that

ka riki-a teqe kule-qe toqa
 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ one place-ASSOC people

keki waqe-li-a qa-da teqe
 3PL.IPFV dance-TR-3.OBJ SBEN-3PL.PERS one

aga-a.

play.panpipes-DVN

‘When he arrived at that place, he saw a group of local people (lit.: he saw a place of people) dance, as they were playing panpipes (lit.: dance to the playing of panpipes).’

(29-103) *Qo rongo-a sangara ba=e basi*
 2SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ thunder that=3SG.NFUT bang

qa=fa rodo qeri?
 GENP=CLF night this

‘Did you hear the thunder bang at night?’

Both *riki* ‘see’ and *rongo* ‘hear’ can also function as knowledge and acquisition-of-knowledge verbs (section 29.4.5).

The other two immediate-perception verbs, *toqe* ‘glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of’ and *kwakwafi* ‘hear/catch the sound of’, take as their subjects noun phrases that refer to the perceiver’s relevant organs of perception, the eyes and the ears, respectively. The first pair of examples shows them with non-clausal objects:

(29-104) *Maa-ku qe toqe-a teqe*
 eye-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT catch.glimpse.of-3.OBJ one

thaqaro.

bird

‘My eyes caught a glimpse of a bird.’ ‘I caught a glimpse of a bird.’

(29-105) *Alinga-ku e kwakwafi-a teqe si*
 ear-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT catch.sound.of-3.OBJ one PRTT

doo.

thing

‘My ears caught the sound of something.’ ‘I heard/caught the sound of something.’

And the next pair of examples shows the two verbs with complement clauses as their direct objects:

(29-106) *Nau maa-ku e toqe-a teqe*
1SG eye-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT catch.glimpse.of-3.OBJ one

wane qe tatha.

man 3SG.NFUT pass.by

‘I caught a glimpse of a man passing by.’

(29-107) *Alinga-ku e kwakwafi-a teqe wane*
ear-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT catch.sound.of-3.OBJ one man

e qai.

3SG.NFUT shout

‘My ears caught the sound of a man shouting.’

The complement-clause strategy discussed and illustrated above foregrounds the participant(s) performing the activity that is perceived as well as the activity itself; for example, ‘I saw you, you were stealing (food) from my garden’ in (29-99) further above. Instead of a paratactic complement clause, the verbs of immediate perception can take nominalizations as their direct objects. This strategy foregrounds only the activity being perceived, not the participant performing the activity. That participant is encoded only as the possessor of the nominalization, if at all. The nominalization strategy is much less common than the finite-clause one.

(29-108) *Ku riki-a raa-la-mu, ka*
1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ work-NMLZ-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

leqa.

be.good

‘I saw you working, and it was good [how you worked].’

(29-109) ... *keka rongo-a ngata-la-na kwalu noniqi*
3PL.SEQ hear-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ-3.PERS eight CLF

wane, ...

man

‘... they heard the speaking of the eight men, ...’

The use of a nominalization rather than a complement clause permits not mentioning the participant bringing about the state of affairs perceived:

- (29-110) *Nau ku rongo-a ngata-laa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ
 ‘I heard (somebody) speaking.’

29.4.7. Locutionary verbs

The category of locutionary verbs includes the following verbs: *sore* and *sore-qe* (also *sore-qa*) ‘say’, *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (that)’, *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (about sb., st.)’, and *ala-ngani* and *alangaqi* ‘promise to do st.’. Only indirect speech is discussed here; direct speech is discussed in chapter 37. On the whole, indirect speech is less common in Toqabaqita than direct speech. There is a fair amount of heterogeneity with respect to the complementation strategies that the various locutionary verbs employ.

Sore ‘say’ is a Class 1 transitive verb. It has detransitivized variants *sore-qe* and *sore-qa*, the latter not being common (section 4.6). Both the transitive and the detransitivized forms take clauses as their complements. There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *sore/sore-qe/sore-qa* clauses. Transitive *sore* takes direct-object complement clauses, while detransitivized *sore-qe* and *sore-qa* take paratactic complement clauses.

The transitive form *sore* can take non-clausal direct objects:

- (29-111) *Nau kwai sore-a laqu teqe si doo*
 1SG 1SG.FUT say-3.OBJ ADD one PRTT thing
 ‘I’ll say one more thing ...’

In the next example, *sore* has a complement clause as its direct object. Its own subject and the subject of the complement clause are coreferential.

- (29-112) *Tei_i n=e sore-a kai_i lae?*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT say-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT go
 ‘Who_i said he_i will go?’

Sore is not commonly used with clausal complements, *sore-qe* being the usual verb. The next set of examples illustrates *sore-qe*.

- (29-113) *Keka sore-qe, mada sa kera riki-a,*
3PL.SEQ say-DETR or IRR 3PL.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ

keki thau-ngi-a ba-da.
3PL.FUT kill-TR-3SG.OBJ LIM-3PL.PERS

‘They said (that) if they saw him, they would simply kill him.’

- (29-114) *Ni=e sore-qe qusungadi naqa na*
3SG=3SG.NFUT say-DETR tomorrow PRF FOC

meki lae uri-a.
1DU(EXCL).FUT go PURP-3SG.OBJ

‘He said it would be tomorrow that we would go to get/buy it (lit.: we would go for it).’

In (29-115) the complement clause is verbless and subjectless:

- (29-115) *Qe=aqi laqu boqo qosi sore-qe si*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV ADD ASRT 2SG.NEG say-DETR PRTT

doo nia.
thing 3SG

‘Neither should you say it’s hers.’ (Lit.: ‘You should not also say, her thing.’)

Example (29-116) contains the infrequent detransitivized variant *sore-qa*:

- (29-116) *Nia ka sore-qa, tha Nori ka*
3SG 3SG.SEQ say-DETR PERSMKR Nori 3SG.SEQ

sore-qa, nia e ngali-a qi sa-na
say-DETR 3SG 3SG.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS

teqe wane qi Merika.
one man LOC America

‘He said, [i.e.,] Nori said, he had gotten (lit.: taken) it [an idea] from (lit.: at) a man from America.’

With the verbs ‘say’ the addressee is usually not expressed, but it may be expressed as the possessor of the goal preposition *sa* (section 10.4.3):

(29-117) *Wane e sore-qe qi sa-ku,*
man 3SG.NFUT say-DETR LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS

kai lae ma=i qusungadi.
3SG.FUT go VENT=LOC tomorrow
‘The man said to me he will come tomorrow.’

More often, however, when the addressee is to be expressed, it is the verb *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (that)’ that is used, rather than *sore* or *sore-qe/sore-qa*; see below.

Both *sore* and *sore-qe/sore-qa* can also function as propositional-attitude verbs (‘think that, assume that’) and as manipulative verbs (‘tell sb. to do st.’); see sections 29.4.8 and 29.4.9.2, respectively.

Faqa-rongo (CAUS-‘hear’) ‘tell sb. (that)’ is a Class 1 transitive verb. Its direct object encodes the addressee, and it takes paratactic complement clauses. There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *faqa-rongo* clause. Compare (29-118) with a lexical noun phrase encoding the addressee and the object-indexing suffix on *faqa-rongo*, and (29-119) with a second-person addressee and no object-indexing suffix on *faqa-rongo*. In (29-119) the object pronoun is followed by two postverbal particles, which too is evidence that the pronoun functions as the direct object of *faqa-rongo*.

(29-118) *Thaari naqi e faqa-rongo-a*
girl this 3SG.NFUT CAUS-hear-3.OBJ

thaina-na e iana.
mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.pregnant
‘The (lit.: this) girl told her mother she was pregnant.’

(29-119) *Nau ku faqa-rongo qoe sui naqa, ku*
1SG 1SG.NFUT CAUS-hear 2SG COMPL PRF 1SG.NFUT

thathamia qoki qadomi-a araqi naqi.
want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT help-3.OBJ mature.man this
‘I have told you already I want you to help this man.’

Faqa-rongo can also function as a manipulative complement-taking verb ‘tell sb. (to do st.)’ (section 29.4.9.2).

Soe-toqo ‘ask sb. (about sb., st.)’ is a Class 2 transitive verb. It consists of the intransitive verb *soe* ‘ask (about)’ and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. The direct object of *soe-toqo* encodes the addressee. *Soe-toqo* takes paratactic complement clauses. Clausal complements of *soe-toqo* are a kind of dependent interrogative (section 19.6). There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *soe-toqo* clause.

(29-120) *Ka lae mai, ka soe-toqo-na tha*
 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR

Nori qe, qe ngali-a doo
 Nori 3SG.NFUT 3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ thing

qeri qi fei.
 that LOC where?

‘It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government] came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.: taken) that thing.’ (See [29-116] further above for Nori’s reaction.)

In (29-121) the verb ‘ask’ has been nominalized. The addressee is encoded as the possessor of the nominalization. (For nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs see section 9.1.1.)

(29-121) *Nau ku lio-dora qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP

soe-toqo-na-la-na toq=qe=ki manga
 ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS people=that=PL time

taa na keki lae mai.
 what? FOC 3PL.FUT go VENT

‘I forgot to ask the people when they would come.’ (Lit.: ‘I mind-forgot asking the people what time they would come.’)

The verbs *ala-ngani* and *alangaqi* are both used with the meaning ‘promise to do st.’. Both verbs take clauses as their complements. Typically, the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the higher, ‘promise’ clause; but see (29-126). Grammatically positive complement clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

Ala-ngani is a Class 1 transitive verb. Its direct objects encode that which is promised. *Ala-ngani* can be used with non-clausal direct objects, with the meanings ‘promise st. (to sb.)’, ‘threaten (sb.) with st’:

- (29-122) *Ada wane qeri ka aqi si fale-a*
 TIM man that 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG give-3.OBJ
- ba-na si doo baa n=e*
 LIM-3SG.PERS PRTT thing that REL=3SG.NFUT
- ala-ngani-a qi sa-ku.*
 promise-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS
 ‘(I am afraid) the man might not give (me) the thing he promised me.’

Ala-ngani takes direct-object complement clauses. The complement clause has the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

- (29-123) ... *nia qe ala-ngani-a kai fale-a*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT promise-TR-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT give-3.OBJ
- ten dola qi a-ku.*
 ten dollar LOC REC-1SG.PERS
 ‘... he promised to give me 10 dollars.’

With *ala-ngani* the promisee is not expressed, as in (29-123) above. If the promisee is to be expressed in a ‘promise’ clause, it is the verb *alangaqi* that is used. *Alangaqi* is an intransitive verb that originated as the *ala-nqaqi* form of the long transitive verb *ala-ngani/ala-nqaqi*, used when no object suffix is present on the verb (section 4.2.3.2.2). *Alangaqi* takes goal oblique objects, and the promisee is encoded as the possessor of the goal preposition. *Alangaqi* takes paratactic complement clauses that follow the oblique object expressing the promisee.

- (29-124) *Wane e alangaqi qi sa-ku*
 man 3SG.NFUT promise LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS
- tootoo kai qadomi nau.*
 later 3SG.FUT help 1SG
 ‘The man promised me to help me (sometime) later.’

It is also possible for an *alangaqi* clause and the clause expressing the content of a promise to occur in the construction used to express purpose. In (29-125) the clause expressing the contents of the promise is introduced by the purpose marker *uri* (section 33.3):

- (29-125) *Wane e alangaqi qi sa-ku*
 man 3SG.NFUT promise LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS
uri-a kai qadomi nau.
 PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT help 1SG
 ‘The man promised to (lit.: in order to) help me.’

When a promised state of affairs does not eventuate, there are two grammatical possibilities. One is to use a negated clause coordinate with the ‘promise’ clause. It is the double negative construction that is used here, where a negative mini-clause occurs together with the event clause (section 17.4). This is illustrated in (29-126). In this example the subject of the complement clause is not coreferential with the subject of the ‘promise’ clause, although the referent of the latter is included among the referents of the former.

- (29-126) *Wane baa qe ala-ngani-a ni nia*
 man that 3SG.NFUT promise-TR-3.OBJ PROFORE 3SG
ma wela nia ki ma kukeqe nia keki fula
 and child 3SG PL and wife 3SG 3PL.FUT arrive
uri-a qadomi-la-miliqa-laa, ma ka
 PURP-3.OBJ help-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS-NMLZ and 3SG.SEQ
aqi kisi fula.
 NEGV 3PL.NEG arrive
 ‘The man promised that he and his children and his wife would come to help us, but (lit.: and) they did not come.’

The other strategy is to use the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3) in the complement clause to signal counterfactuality, in which case the negative construction is not used. In (29-127) the writer apologizes for not having sent something she had promised to send:

- (29-127) ... *nau ku kwai-manata-i qasia naqa uri-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-think-TR INTS INTS ALL-3.OBJ

teqe si doo ku ala-ngani-a sa
 one PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT promise-TR-3.OBJ IRR

kwai fale-a kau, iiqee.
 1SG.FUT send-3SG.OBJ VENT alas!

‘... I feel very bad about something that I promised to send (to you)
 (but have not), alas.’

(The verb *kwai-manata-i*, based on *manata-i* ‘think about’ and with the low-individuation-of-participant prefix *kwai-* has the idiomatic meanings ‘apologize for st.’, ‘be sorry, feel bad about st.’.)

29.4.8. Propositional-attitude verbs

Included here are several verbs with the meaning ‘think that, assume that’: *manata-i*, *manata-toqo*, *sore*, and *sore-qe/sore-qa*; and also *fii* ‘expect, anticipate, have a feeling that a certain state of affairs will obtain’, *toqomatafa* ‘feel, have a feeling that such and such is/may be the case’; and *quri* ‘look like’. *Manata-i*, *manata-toqo* and *sore* are mutually interchangeable as verbs of propositional attitude. All three take direct-object complement clauses. There is no requirement on argument sharing between the complement clause and the matrix clause. And there are no restrictions on tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation in the complement clause. With all these verbs a relevant criterion is the factuality status of the state of affairs encoded in the complement clause: factual or open on the one hand, and counterfactual or considerably uncertain on the other. The status is factual if the relevant state of affairs did or does obtain, and it is open when there is no evidence that it did not or will not obtain. The status is counterfactual if the relevant state of affairs that was assumed to obtain did not, in fact, obtain. The counterfactual status of a proposition is revealed post-hoc, not at the time the person is thinking about the state of affairs; see further below for discussion and examples. Propositional-attitude complementation where the status is factual or open is discussed first.

Manata-i and *manata-toqo* can take non-clausal direct objects, in which case they have the meaning ‘think about’. *Manata-i*, often pronounced /mantai/, is a Class 1 transitive verb, and *manata-toqo*, often pronounced /mantatʔʔ/ or /mantʔʔ/ is a Class 2 transitive verb. *Manata-toqo* can also function as a desiderative verb, ‘think of doing st.’, ‘want, intend to do st.’ (section 29.4.4). The first example below shows the two verbs with non-clausal direct objects:

- (29-128) *Nau ku {manta-i-a /*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think.about-TR-3.OBJ /

manata-toqo-na} wela nau.
 think.about-TEST-3.OBJ child 1SG
 ‘I am thinking about my child.’

The next three examples show them with direct-object complement clauses.

- (29-129) *Mika manta-i-a tai wane ki*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ assume-TR-3.OBJ some.PL person PL

qi laa aququa kamiliqa neqe, Solomoni,
 LOC IN island 1PL(EXCL) this Solomons

keka mae qasia naqa qani-a, buria-na
 3PL.SEQ die INTS INTS GENP-3SG.OBJ after-3.PERS

kuburu qeri.
 storm that

‘We assumed that some people in these islands, the Solomons, would die badly because of it [a cyclone], after the storm.’

- (29-130) *Manta-laa nau, ku manta-i-a tootoo*
 think-NMLZ 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TR-3.OBJ later

kwai lae uri Malaqita.
 1SG.FUT go ALL Malaita

‘My thinking (is), I think I will go to Malaita at some later time.’

In (29-131) *mada* ‘or’, negation (section 18.5.3) and *toqo* ‘perhaps’ jointly serve to express less than-full-certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition, but the factuality status is open.

- (29-131) *Nau ku manta-toqo-na wane baa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ man that

mad=e aqi kai fula i qusungadi
 or=3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.FUT arrive LOC tomorrow

toqo.

perhaps

'I think the man might arrive tomorrow.' 'I wonder if the man might perhaps arrive tomorrow.'

Sore is a Class 1 transitive verb, and *sore-qe* and (much less commonly) *sore-qa* are its detransitivized variants. All of these can also function as locutionary verbs with the meaning 'say' (section 29.4.7), and *sore* can also function as a manipulative verb 'tell sb. (to do st.)' (section 29.4.9.2). As a verb meaning 'say', *sore* can take non-clausal direct objects (example [29-111] in section 29.4.7).

As propositional-attitude verbs, both *sore* and *sore-qe/sore-qa* take the same types of complements they take when they function as locutionary verbs: *sore* takes direct-object clauses, and *sore-qe/sore-qa* paratactic clauses. The first two examples contain *sore* and the third one *sore-qe*.

(29-132) *Nau ku sore-a qo lio-dora*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT mind-forget

naqa qani nau,

PRF GENP 1SG

'I thought you had forgotten about me,'

See (29-137) further below, where the sentence is given in full, for discussion.

In (29-133) there are two complement clauses. Both are verbless and subjectless:

(29-133) *Wane qeri ka sore-a kini mamana*
 man that 3SG.SEQ think-3.OBJ woman be.real

neri, sore-a thaari mamana.
 VIVID think-3.OBJ girl be.real

'The man thought (she was) a real woman, (he) thought (she was) a real girl.'

(29-134) *Nau, manga ku riki-a fau naqi, kwa*
 1SG time 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ rock this 1SG.SEQ

sore-qe doo e kuluqa, ma ni
 think-DETR thing 3SG.NFUT be.heavy and PROFORE

nau kwa ili uri-a kwai kwau-a,
 1SG 1SG.SEQ do PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT lift-3SG.OBJ

ma ka thaathala qasia boqo.
 and 3SG.SEQ be.lightweight INTS INTS

‘I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.’

We can now consider complementation where the state of affairs expressed in the complement clause is counterfactual or considerably uncertain. These two statuses are signalled by means of the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3) in the complement clause. Instead of *sa*, the irrealis marker is sometimes realized as *so*, and sometimes it fuses with the following subject marker, in which case its form is *s=*. As the term “counterfactual” is employed here, it signifies a post-hoc comment on the counterfactuality of a state of affairs or post-hoc realization that the state of affairs that was or had been assumed at an earlier time to obtain in the end did not. It is the post-hoc status of a comment on the counterfactual status of a state of affairs that the irrealis marker signals. If a sentence with a higher ‘think, assume’ verb simply expresses a past assumption that a state of affairs obtained at that time or would obtain at a later time, *sa* is not used even if it later transpires that the state of affairs did not obtain. And *sa* is also used if there is a relatively high degree of uncertainty about the factual status of a state of affairs.

Apart from the presence of the irrealis marker in the complement clause, the complementation strategies with the four verbs ‘think, assume’ in cases of counterfactuality and low certainty are the same as those the respective verbs employ when the propositions encoded in complement clauses are factual or open, as discussed above.

Compare the following two examples. The first one, with *sa* in the complement clause, expresses post-hoc counterfactuality. Clearly, the addressees had not died.

(29-135) *Ku sore-qe sa moro mae naqa.*
 1SG.NFUT think-DETR IRR 2DU.NFUT die PRF
 ‘I thought you two had died.’

The speaker says this upon unexpectedly seeing the two people. Her past assumption was that the other two people had died, but this assumption has now proved wrong.

The next example, without the irrealis marker in the complement clause, expresses the speaker’s past assumption. Even though that assumption subsequently turned out to be wrong, the sentence is not a post-hoc comment on the

counterfactuality of the relevant state of affairs, but a statement about what the speaker thought at the earlier time:

- (29-136) *Nau ku sore-qe qo thaitoqoma-na.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-DETR 2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I thought (then) you knew (about) it.’

It turned out later that the addressee had not known (about) it, but that is not the point of the sentence: at the relevant time in the past the speaker assumed that the addressee did know.

Similarly, the irrealis marker is not used in the next example, even though in the end the relevant situation turned out not to have obtained (the addressee had not forgotten about the speaker). The writer is reporting on what she thought at an earlier time:

- (29-137) *Nau ku sore-a qo lio-dora*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT mind-forget
- naqa qani nau, sui ku thaitoqoma-na*
 PRF GENP 1SG but 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ
- qo busy qasia naqa.*
 2SG.NFUT be.busy INTS INTS
 ‘I thought you had forgotten about me, but I (also) knew you were very busy.’

For another example without the irrealis marker in the complement clause even though the expected state of affairs turned out not to obtain see (29-134) above: contrary to the speaker’s expectation, the rock was not heavy.

All four verbs ‘think, assume’, *manata-i*, *manata-toqo*, *sore*, and *sore-qe/sore-qa* can be used with counterfactual complement clauses. Of the three forms *sore*, *sore-qe*, and *sore-qa*, it is *sore-qe* that is most common. In fact, there is also a form *so=*, which is an abbreviated version of *sore-qe/sore-qa*. The shortened form *so=* is possible only if there is no subject noun phrase in the complement clause, which would intervene between *so=* and the irrealis marker. *Sore-qe/sore-qa* and the irrealis marker fuse together, either as *so=sa* or as *so=so*; see (29-138) and (29-139) below, respectively.

The first example shows clearly the post-hoc nature of the counterfactuality. The speaker had first made an assumption that was then explicitly revealed to be counterfactual, and he is now reporting on that. The complement clause is a verbless fragment: *tha weleqi kiiluqa* ‘(it was going to be) their guy’.

- (29-138) *Nau ku so=sa tha weleqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR PERSMKR guy

kiiluqa, sui ku soe-toqo=tha
 3PL but 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR

weleqi, ka tofe neri.
 guy 3SG.NFUT answer.“no” VIVID
 ‘I thought [it was going to be] their guy, but I asked the guy, (and) he answered “no”.’

- (29-139) *Nau ku so=so qo lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR 2SG.NFUT go PRF
 ‘I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).’

In the next two examples it is the verbs *manata-i* (*manta-i*) and *manata-toqo* (*manta-toqo*) ‘think, assume’, respectively, that are used with counterfactual complement clauses. The first one is synonymous with (29-139) just above.

- (29-140) *Nau ku manta-i-a s=o lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think-TR-3.OBJ IRR-2SG.NFUT go PRF
 ‘I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).’

In (29-141) the irrealis marker in the complement clause signals not counterfactuality but a relatively high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker that the event expressed in the complement clause will, in fact, take place:

- (29-141) *Nau ku so=so kwai lae qana*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR 1SG.FUT go GENP

uusi-a qi qusungadi.
 buy-DVN LOC tomorrow
 ‘I think I might possibly go to the market tomorrow.’ ‘I am thinking of possibly going to the market tomorrow.’

The verbs *manata-i*, *manata-toqo* ‘think that, assume that’ take subjects that refer to the experiencer, the person having the thought or making the assumption. This is also true of the verbs *sore* and *sore-qe/sore-qa* ‘think that, assume that’, but all of these can alternatively have as their subject a noun phrase headed by the noun ‘mind, thought’ in a suffixing possessive construction, where the experiencer is encoded as the possessor:

- (29-142) *Manta-na tha Fiuoomea ka sore-qe*
 mind-3.PERS PERSMKR Fiuoomea 3SG.SEQ think-DETR

tootoo kai kasi-a fu-qi ngasi qeri
 later 3SG.FUT cut-3.OBJ clump-ASSOC sugar.cane that
 ‘Fiuoomea thought (lit.: Fiuoomea’s mind thought) that later he
 would cut down that clump of sugar cane’

- (29-143) *Manta-ku e so=so qo lae*
 mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT think:DETR=IRR 2SG.NFUT go

naqa.

PRF

‘I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).’

Compare (29-139) further above, which has an experiencer noun phrase as the subject and can designate the same state of affairs as (29-143).

Fii ‘expect, anticipate, have a feeling that a certain state of affairs will obtain’ is a Class 1 transitive verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the direct object of *fii*. Grammatically positive clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

- (29-144) *Nau ku fii-a teqe si doo baqita*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT expect-3.OBJ one PRTT thing be.big

tootoo kai fula.
 later 3SG.FUT happen

‘I expect something big to happen one day.’

In (29-145) the main clause is negative:

- (29-145) *Misi fii qoe boqo qoki too*
 1PL(EXCL).NEG expect 2SG ASRT 2SG.FUT stay

bii kamiliqa.
 COM 1PL(EXCL)

‘We did not at all expect you to stay with us.’

Toqomatafa ‘feel, have a feeling that such and such is/may be the case’ is a Class 2 transitive verb. It takes direct-object complement clauses, which can be of any temporal status.

- (29-146) *Nau ku toqomatafa-na kera lole*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT tell.lie.to

nau ba-da.

1SG LIM-3PL.PERS

‘I have a feeling they have just been lying to me.’

- (29-147) *Nau ku toqomatafa-na tha weleqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ PERSMKR guy

sa ka fula qe=aqi.

IRR 3SG.SEQ arrive 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so

‘I have a feeling the guy won’t (be able to) come (because something will prevent/has prevented him from coming).’

In (29-148) the complement clause is verbless, with only the noun-phrase predicate present:

- (29-148) *Nau ku dora qana wane naqi, sui*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP man this but

mena nau ku toqomatafa-na wane
 but 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ man

leqa ni bana.

be.good LIG LIM

‘I don’t know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is) just a good man.’ (There is nothing bad about him.)

The Class 1 transitive verb *quri* ‘resemble, look like, be like’ takes complement clauses that function as its direct objects. *Quri* serves to express a relatively low degree of certainty about the factual status of the proposition expressed in the complement clause.

- (29-149) *Riki-la-n=e quri-a*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT look.like-3.OBJ

ni=e ila-ma-taqi nau.

3SG=3SG.NFUT hate-EXT-TR 1SG

‘It looks like he hates me.’ ‘He seems to hate me.’

See section 18.4.3 for discussion and more examples.

29.4.9. Manipulative verbs

Included in this category is a variety of verbs that occur in several different types of construction with their complements. It is useful to discuss separately the periphrastic causative construction that employs a semantically general causative verb and other, more specific types of manipulative verbs.

29.4.9.1. *The periphrastic causative construction*

The periphrastic causative construction employs the verb *ade* ‘do’ as the causative verb. *Ade* is a Class 1 transitive verb. It may take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-150) *Taa n=o ade-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you doing?’

The periphrastic causative construction has the following structure: the causer/cause is encoded as the subject and the causee as the direct object of *ade*. The complement clause is paratactic. Its subject is coreferential with the direct object of the causative verb. In the complement clause the causee can only be expressed by means of a subject marker, not by means of a subject noun phrase. The subject marker in a grammatically positive complement clause must be sequential. If the complement clause is grammatically negative, it is the double negative construction with the negative verb *aqi* (section 17.4) that is used, in which case it is *aqi* that takes the (third person singular) sequential subject marker. *Ade* is a semantically neutral causative verb: of itself it does not specify the nature of the causation.

In (29-151) the causee is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase in the direct-object position of the causative verb and it is indexed on the causative verb by means of the object suffix *-a*, while in (29-152) the causee is expressed by means of an independent personal pronoun and there is no object indexing on the causative verb:

(29-151) *Taa n=e ade-a wela gena*
 what? FOC=3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ child that(2)

ka angi?
 3SG.SEQ cry
 ‘What made the child cry?’ ‘What was it that made the child cry?’

- (29-152) *Taa n=e ade qoe qoko angi?*
 what? FOC=3SG.NFUT do 2SG 2SG.SEQ cry
 ‘What made you cry?’ ‘What was it that made you cry?’

The periphrastic causative construction is used only under certain conditions. First: the causer/cause is not someone acting volitionally; normally, the causer is inanimate, or it is a state of affairs. And second, it is used only when the state of affairs caused is a state or an activity in which the subject participant is not (fully) agentive. This causative construction is implicative: the state of affairs described in the complement clause did obtain (or it is assumed that it will obtain).

- (29-153) *Fanga neqe n=e ade nau kwa moa.*
 food this FOC=3SG.NFUT do 1SG 1SG.SEQ vomit
 ‘It was this food that made me vomit.’

- (29-154) *Fatalaesi qe ade-a koukou naqi ki*
 fertilizer 3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ cocoa this PL

ka taqe leqa.
 3SG.SEQ grow be.good
 ‘Fertilizer made these cocoa (trees) grow well.’

In the next example the causing factor may be seen either to be an entity (the fish) or another state of affairs (the speaker’s eating the fish):

- (29-155) *Nau ku qani-a iqa e makwa,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ fish 3SG.NFUT smell

ka ade-a lio-ku ka
 3SG.SEQ do-3.OBJ chest-1SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

moomongaqa.

feel.nauseated

- a. ‘I ate fish that smelled [that was off], and it [the fish] made me (lit.: my chest) feel nauseated.’
 b. ‘I ate fish that smelled, which made me feel nauseated.’

In (29-156) the complement clause is negative:

- (29-156) *Kofe qe ade-a wane ka*
 coffee 3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ person 3SG.SEQ

aqi si biinga leqa.
 NEG V 3SG.NEG sleep be.good
 ‘Coffee makes a person not sleep well.’

Besides the periphrastic causative construction there are also morphological causatives (sections 4.2.3.2.4 and 4.2.3.2.5).

29.4.9.2. *Other manipulative verbs*

There is a variety of manipulative verbs that, by virtue of their meaning, indicate explicitly the nature of the causation, etc. Included here are verbs that encode situations that serve to direct others to do something, to facilitate the behaviour of others, to permit the behaviour of others, and to prevent others from doing something. In contrast to the periphrastic causative construction, the subjects of these manipulative verbs typically have human referents that act volitionally. And, also in contrast to the periphrastic causative construction, constructions with these verbs are not implicative: the state of affairs expressed in the complement clause does not necessarily take place.

Verbs of speaking can be used with a directive function. They take paratactic complement clauses. The causer is encoded as the subject and the causee as an object of the verb of speaking. The subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the object of the verb of speaking that encodes the causee. If the complement clause is grammatically positive, its subject marker is future-tense or sequential, the latter option being less common.

Most verbs of speaking that can function directly are transitive, and the causee is realized as their direct object. This is so with the verbs *sore* ‘tell sb. (to do st.)’, *faga-rongo* ‘tell sb. (to do st.)’, *takofale* ‘ask sb. (to do st.)’, all of which are Class 1 transitive verbs, and *kwaathata* ‘appoint, choose sb. (to do st.)’, which is a Class 2 transitive verb.

(29-157) *Doketa qe sore-a kini kai*
 doctor 3SG.NFUT tell-3.OBJ woman 3SG.FUT

kuqu-fi-a meresina.
 drink-TR-3.OBJ medicine
 ‘The doctor told the woman to drink medicine.’ (Lit.: ‘The doctor told the woman, she will drink medicine.’)

(29-158) ... *wane qeri ka faga-rongo-a kukeqe*
 man that 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ wife

nia, ma wela nia ki, keka
 3SG and child 3SG PL 3PL.SEQ

unga-ni-a oqola qeri.
 clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ garden that

‘[After he has cut down the scrub in an area where a new garden is to be made and after he has fenced it off,] the man tells his wife, and his children, to go and clear away the scrub from (inside) the garden.’

- (29-159) *Kera takofale nau kwai ili-a raa.*
 3PL.NFUT ask.sb.to.do.st 1SG 1SG.FUT do-3.OBJ work
 ‘They asked me to do (some) work.’

Kwaathata ‘appoint, choose sb. (to do st.)’ is a Class 2 transitive verb that historically consists of the verb *kwa* and the noun *thata* ‘name’. In the present-day language *kwa* is an intransitive verb whose meaning is ‘determine, set the bride price’. *Kwaathata* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole.

- (29-160) *Qoe, kera kwaathata-mu qoki ngali-a*
 2SG 3PL.NFUT appoint-2SG.OBJ 2SG.FUT take-3.OBJ

foqa-a qana uiki loo.
 pray-DVN GENP week upward

‘You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.’ ‘You, they have appointed you to take the prayers next week.’

Alternatively, instead of a paratactic complement clause *kwaathata* can take a purpose clause (section 33.3):

- (29-161) *Wane qe kwaathata-ku uri-a kwai*
 man 3SG.NFUT choose-1SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT

kafara bii nia.
 make.copra COM 3SG

‘The man chose me to make copra with him.’ (Lit.: ‘The man chose me so that I would make copra with him.’)

Another transitive verb of speaking that can be used with a manipulative function is *liu-ngani/liu-ngaqi* ‘ask sb. to accompany one’; see (29-11) in section 29.2 for an example.

There are a few intransitive verbs of speaking, with which the causee is encoded in positions other than direct object. In (29-162) the causee is encoded as an allative oblique object, and in (29-163) it is encoded in the possessor position with the locational noun *buria* ‘behind’, ‘after’ (section 10.8.3) as the possessum.

(29-162) *Nau ku baqe-alu uri=tha Dione*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak-put ALL:3.OBJ=PERSMKR Dione

kai lae mai maqasi nau.
 3SG.FUT go VENT wait.for 1SG

‘I have arranged with Dione for him to come (on a certain day) and wait for me.’

(The compound *baqe-alu* [‘speak’-‘put’] has the meaning ‘arrange with sb. for them to do st. at a certain time’.)

(29-163) *Nau ku baqe buria-na tha Makasi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT speak after-3.PERS PERSMKR Makasi

kai oli mai.
 3SG.FUT return VENT

‘I sent a word to (lit.: I spoke after) Makasi (asking him) to come back.’

Ala-ma-tani ‘allow sb. to do st.’, ‘let sb. do st.’, ‘allow for st. to be the case’, ‘agree to st. being the case’, a Class 1 transitive verb, is a permissive/enabling verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The participant permitted to do something is expressed as the direct object of the permissive verb and as the subject of the complement clause. In grammatically positive complement clauses the subject marker is future or sequential.

(29-164) *Nau ku ala-ma-tani-a wela nau*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ child 1SG

kai lae bii qoe.
 3SG.FUT go COM 2SG

‘I have allowed my child to go with you.’

(29-165) ... *si manga na gwauliqi ai kai*
 PRPT time REL married.person woman 3SG.IPFV

ngata, qosi talami-a,
 speak 2SG.NEG interrupt-3SG.OBJ

ala-ma-tani-a ka ngata si
 allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ speak PREC

qa-na, sui qoko baqe.
 SBEN-3SG.PERS then 2SG.SEQ speak
 ‘... when a married woman is speaking, don’t interrupt her; allow her to speak first, then you speak.’

When the theme is not a volitional participant, *ala-ma-tani* encodes enabling rather than permissive situations:

(29-166) *Qoko ala-ma-tani-a ta si maqalutaa*
 2SG.SEQ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ some PRTT space.between

qi maqaluta-mu bia kini qeri ka
 LOC between-2SG.PERS COM woman that 3SG.SEQ

tekwa.

be.long

‘[In the old days, if there was another man’s wife walking on a track ahead of you, you would not walk closely behind her. This is what you would do:] You would allow a lot of space in between, between you and the woman.’ (Lit.: ‘You would allow it that a space at your between with the woman be long.’)

Faa-tani ‘show’ is a facilitative Class 1 transitive verb. It may take non-clausal direct objects that encode the entity shown. The participant to whom something is shown is expressed by means of a goal oblique object, as in (29-167), or it may be left unexpressed, as in (29-168) and (29-169).

(29-167) *Faa-tani-a si laqu nuu-na kini baa*
 show-TR-3.OBJ PREC ADD picture-3.PERS woman that

qi sa-ku.

LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS

‘Show me again the picture of the woman first.’

Faa-tani also takes as its direct object complement clauses that express the state of affairs shown or revealed. There are no restrictions on tense, aspect,

sequentiality, or negation in the complement clause, or on argument sharing between the complement clause and the *faa-tani* clause.

- (29-168) *Nia faa-tani-a bo=naqa nau kwai*
 3SG show-TR-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS 1SG 1SG.FUT

ngali-a finish neqe.
 take-3.OBJ bounty this

‘It [a pig used in divination] has given a sign/has shown that I will take/win this bounty (put up by somebody else to kill a third person).’

- (29-169) *Kamareqa thathami-a qoki faa-tani-a qi*
 1DU(EXCL) want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT show-TR-3.OBJ LOC

fei na maka kamiliqa ki kera
 where? FOC father 1PL(EXCL) PL 3PL.NFUT

too-too qi ei.
 RDP-reside LOC LOCPRO

‘We want you to show (us) where (it was that) our fathers used to live.’

Other facilitative verbs are *toqo* ‘learn, practice how to do st.’, ‘teach (sb.) how to do st.’, and *toqo-la-ngani*, ‘explain st.’, ‘explain (to sb.), instruct (sb.) how to do st.’. Both are Class 1 transitive verbs, the latter being morphologically based on the former. These two verbs take nominalizations as their complements, and both can also take direct objects that are headed by nouns other than nominalizations, as in (29-170) and (29-171):

- (29-170) *toq=qe=ki na kera toqo-a*
 people=that=PL REL 3PL.NFUT learn/practice-3.OBJ

aga-a qeri
 play.panpipes-DVN that
 ‘the people who learned/practiced (playing) the panpipes’

- (29-171) *toqo-la-ngani-a leesina*
 explain-EXT-TR-3.OBJ lesson
 ‘explain a (church) lesson, sermon’

Toqo can be used with the senses ‘learn, practice how to do st.’ and ‘teach (sb.) how to do st.’. When used with the former sense, the nominalization is its direct object. Alternatively, its intransitive counterpart, also *toqo*, can be used instead, in which case the nominalization functions as an oblique object with the purpose preposition *uri*. See (29-172a) and (29-172b), respectively:

- (29-172) a. *Kera toqo-a foofota-laa*
 3PL.NFUT learn/practice-3.OBJ dodge.blows-NMLZ
- si manga kera daraa.*
 PRTT time 3PL.NFUT (man)be.young.and.single
 ‘They learned/practiced (the art of) dodging
 blows/spears/arrows when they were still young, single (not
 yet married).’

- b. *Kera toqo uri-a*
 3PL.NFUT learn/practice PURP-3.OBJ
- foofota-laa si manga kera*
 dodge.blows-NMLZ PRTT time 3PL.NFUT
- daraa.*
 (man)be.young.and.single
 ‘They learned/practiced (the art of) dodging
 blows/spears/arrows when they were still young, single (not
 yet married).’

When *toqo* is used with the sense ‘teach (sb.) how to do st.’, the nominalization functions as its direct object, and the person, etc. who is taught to do something is expressed as the object of the goal preposition *sa*:

- (29-173) *Mada s=o thathami-a, kwai*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.FUT
- toqo-a faa-teeteru-laa qi sa-mu.*
 teach-3.OBJ weave-fan-NMLZ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
 ‘If you want, I’ll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).’

With *toqo-la-ngani* ‘explain (to sb.), instruct (sb.) how to do st.’ the nominalization is also the direct object, and the person to whom something is ex-

plained or who is instructed in how to do something is expressed as the object of the goal preposition:

(29-174) ... *ka toqo-la-ngani-a uufi-la-na*
 3SG.SEQ teach-EXT-TR-3.OBJ blow-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

qi sa-na.

LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS

‘... he [the man’s ancestral spirit] explained to him (in his dream) how to blow them [panpipes].’

Finally, included among manipulative verbs are also the “preventive” verbs *lufi* ‘(try to) stop, prevent sb. from doing st.’ and *suqusi* ‘stop, restrain, prevent, block sb. from doing st.’. Both are Class 1 transitive verbs, and can take non-clausal direct objects that refer to the participant(s) prevented, stopped, restrained from doing something:

(29-175) *Nau sa kwai lae, keka {lufi / suqusi} nau.*
 1SG IRR 1SG.FUT go 3PL.SEQ prevent / prevent 1SG
 ‘I would have gone, (but) they stopped, prevented me.’

Lufi can take paratactic complement clauses. The complement clause must be grammatically negative. The participant prevented from bringing about a state of affairs is encoded both as the direct object of *lufi* and as the subject of the complement clause.

(29-176) *Kamiliqa mili lufi-a wane naqi,*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT stop-3.OBJ man this

qe=aqi si fuu-fula qi ku=naqi.
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG RDP-arrive LOC place=this

‘We have stopped this man from repeatedly coming here.’

(29-177) *Maka wela naqi qe lufi nia, qe*
 father child this 3SG.NFUT stop 3SG 3SG.NFUT

aqi si raa-raqa.
 NEGV 3SG.NEG RDP-climb.tree

‘The father of this child has stopped him [his child] from climbing trees.’

Alternatively, the state of affairs (to be) stopped, prevented can be expressed as a nominalization that is an oblique object with the ablative preposition *fasi*:

(29-178) *Ai* *qe* *lufi-a* *wela* *nia* *fasi-a*
 woman 3SG.NFUT stop-3.OBJ child 3SG ABL-3.OBJ

fita-kali-la-na *luma.*
 run-move.around-NMLZ-3.PERS house

‘The woman stopped her child from running around the house.’

The other preventive verb, *suqusi* ‘stop, restrain, prevent, block sb. from doing st.’, takes nominalizations that express the state of affairs that is (to be) prevented as its direct object. The person, etc. who is (to be) prevented from bringing a state of affairs about is expressed as the possessor of the nominalization.

(29-179) *Qoko* *suqu-si-a* *raa-la-na* *wane* *qeri,*
 2SG.SEQ block-TR-3.OBJ work-NMLZ-3.PERS man that

tha *Saetana;*
 PERSMKR Satan

‘Block the workings of this man, Satan;’

29.4.10. Achievement verbs

The following verbs are included here: *ili-toqo* ‘try to do st.’, etc. (see below); *kwai-thathai* ‘be ready to do st.’, ‘be ready for st. to be the case’, ‘be about to do st.’; *dora* and *lio-dora* both ‘forget to do st.’; and *lugaliu* ‘be too late to do st., miss the time for doing st.’.

Ili-toqo, a Class 2 transitive verb, has the senses ‘try to do st.’, ‘try to get sb. to do st.’, ‘tempt sb. (into doing st.)’, ‘challenge sb. (to do st.)’, ‘engage sb. in a contest’. It consists of the verb *ili* ‘do’ and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. It may take non-clausal direct objects, in which case it has the sense ‘engage sb. in a contest’:

(29-180) ... *Tulake* *ka* *ili-toqo-na* *Japan,* *laa-l:ae,*
 Tulagi 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ Japan RDP-go

ka fula faafi-a.
 3SG.SEQ arrive CONF-3SG.OBJ
 ‘... the Tulagi [a boat] kept challenging (in speed) the Japanese
 (boat) until it caught up with it.’

With complements encoding states of affairs, *ili-toqo* has the senses ‘try to do st.’, ‘try to get sb. to do st.’, ‘tempt sb. (into doing st.)’, ‘challenge sb. (to do st.)’. *Ili-toqo* may take clauses and nominalizations as its complements. Nominalizations are used regardless of whether or not the desired outcome is achieved. A nominalization may be the direct object or an oblique object of *ili-toqo*. It is the direct object when the subject of *ili-toqo* and the notional subject of the nominalization are identical: ‘try to do st.’.

(29-181) *Koro ili-toqo-na qidu-la-na*
 DU(INCL).NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ move-NMLZ-3.PERS

fau naqi.
 rock this
 ‘Let’s try to move this rock.’ (Lit.: ‘Let’s try moving of this rock.’)

In the situation described in (29-182), the person does sit down and does lie down, but the desired outcome of restfulness, ease is not achieved:

(29-182) *Ma nia, gwagwari-a ka toqe-a bo=naqa*
 and 3SG feel.cold-DVN 3SG.SEQ affect-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS

tha wela qeri, ma ka ili-toqo-na
 PERSMKR child that and 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ

qono-laa, ka aqi si raraq, ma
 sit-NMLZ 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG be.at.rest and

ka ili-toqo-na teo-laa, ma ka aqi
 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ lie-NMLZ and 3SG.SEQ NEGV

si ngado.

3SG.NEG be.still

‘And he, the boy, felt cold (lit.: and he, coldness affected the boy), and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down) but (lit.: and) could not stay still.’

And in the situation described in (29-183), the speaker did sit in the church but did not achieve the desired state of being able to pray in peace:

(29-183) *Nau, sios naqi, ku ili-toqo-na qono-laa*
 I church this 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ sit-NMLZ

i ei qa=fa thato, ka taqaa.

LOC LOCPRO GENP=CLF daytime 3SG.SEQ be.bad

‘I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the day, but it was no good.’ (People outside the church were making too much noise.)

When *ili-toqo* has the senses ‘try to get sb. to do st.’, ‘tempt sb. (into doing st.)’, ‘challenge sb. (to do st.)’, the nominalization functions as an oblique object of *ili-toqo* with the general preposition *qani*. The person, etc. whom the referent of the subject is trying to get to do something or is tempting, challenging them to do something is expressed as the direct object of *ili-toqo*.

(29-184) *Teqe wane e ili-toqo-ku qana kwala-laa,*
 one man 3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ GENP swear-NMLZ
 ‘A man tried to get me to swear;’

See (29-187) further below for continuation of the sentence.

To express the fact that an attempt to bring a state of affairs about was unsuccessful, when the participant who tried to bring a state of affairs about and the participant who was to be the agent or experiencer in that state of affairs are one and the same (‘try to do st. but not succeed’), *ili-toqo* takes a complement clause as its direct object. The subject of the complement clause and the subject of *ili-toqo* are coreferential. In the complement clause the subject marker is future-tense. The complement clause also contains the irrealis marker *sa*, which signals counterfactuality (section 18.3).

(29-185) *Ku ili-toqo-na sa kwai lafu-a maqa*
 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT lift-3.OBJ CL

fau neqe, ma ka kuluqa gasia naqa.
 stone this and 3SG.SEQ be.heavy INTS INTS
 ‘I tried to lift the stone, but (lit.: and) it was too heavy.’

In (29-186) the lack of a successful outcome is expressed not only by means of the irrealis marker in the complement clause but also by means of a semantically negative clause coordinate with the ‘try’ clause:

(29-186) *Kera ili-toqo-na sa keki qono, ma*
 3PL.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT sit and

ka aqi
 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
 ‘They tried to sit, but no (they couldn’t), ...’

If the participant who tries to bring a state of affairs about and the participant who is to be the agent or experiencer in that state of affairs are not one and the same, a nominalization in an oblique object position must be used, as discussed above, and the unsuccessfulness must be expressed in one or more other clauses. In (29-187) the lack of success is signalled by means of the irrealis marker in the complement clause embedded under the verb ‘want’ and by the final negative construction:

(28-187) *Teqe wane e ili-toqo-ku qana*
 one man 3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ GENP

kwala-laa, qe thathami-a sa kwai
 swear-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT

kwala, ma ka aqi kwasi kwala.
 swear and 3SG.NEG NEGV 1SG.NEG swear
 ‘A man tried to get me to swear; he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.’

Kwai-thathai ‘be ready to do st.’, ‘be ready for st. to be the case’, ‘be about to do st.’ is an intransitive verb, derived from the Class 1 transitive verb *thathai* ‘ready st. for sb.’ (either the person for whom something is made ready or the thing that is made ready as the direct object) by means of the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-* (section 21.3). It may take oblique objects that encode entities rather than states of affairs. The oblique objects are introduced by the purpose preposition *uri* when *kwai-thathai* has the sense ‘be ready for st.’,

as in (29-188), or by the general preposition *qani* when *kwai-thathai* has the sense ‘be ready with, having prepared it/made it ready’, as in (29-189):

- (29-188) ... *kera* *kwai-thathai* *uri-a* *oomea*
 3PL.NFUT LIP-ready PURP-3.OBJ war
 ‘... they were ready for war....’

- (29-189) *Koro* *koki* *kwai-thathai* *qana* *alo* *ma*
 DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT LIP-ready GENP taro and

qota *ma* *qofa*

areca.nut and betel.pepper

‘We should be ready with taro, and areca nuts, and betel pepper (so that we can take them to the market)’

With the senses ‘be ready to do st.’, ‘be ready for st. to be the case’, ‘be about to do st.’, *kwai-thathai* takes nominalizations or clauses as its complements. The subject of *kwai-thathai* and the (notional) subject of the complement clause or of the nominalization must be identical. Nominalizations function as oblique objects headed by the general preposition *qani*, while complement clauses are paratactic. If the complement is a clause, its subject marker is future-tense. *Kwai-thathai* may express readiness on the part of the referent of the subject to bring about a certain state of affairs:

- (29-190) *Kera* *mena* *keka* *kwai-thathai* *laqu* *boqo*
 3PL.NFUT FADD 3PL.SEQ LIP-ready ADD ASRT

qana *ngali-la-na* *botho* *m=alo*

GENP take-NMLZ-3.PERS pig and=taro

‘They too are/get ready to take a pig and taro (to contribute to a feast)’

- (29-191) *Kera* *kwaqi-a* *naqa* *gwalu* *baa*,
 3PL.NFUT weigh.anchor-3.OBJ PRF anchor that

kera *kwai-thathai* *keki* *lae* *naqa*.

3PL.NFUT LIP-ready 3PL.FUT go PRF

‘They have raised the anchor; they are ready to go now (lit.: they are ready they will go now).’

Kwai-thathai may also signify, on the part of the referent of its subject, anticipation of, and/or readiness for, a certain state of affairs:

(29-192) ... *keka fula-toqo-na mak=keeroqa n=e*
 3PL.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ father=3DU REL=3SG.NFUT

kwai-thathai kai nofi naqa.
 LIP-ready 3SG.FUT die PRF

‘... they went to see their father, who was ready to die.’ (The father knew he was going to die before long.)

The meaning ‘be ready to do st.’ can also be expressed by means the verb *kwai-maqasi*, which is based on the transitive verb *maqasi* ‘wait for’ and also contains the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-*. For an example see (22-43) in section 22.3.

There are two morphologically-related verbs that function as negative-achievement verbs: *dora* and *lio-dora* ‘forget to do st.’ As discussed in section 29.4.5, *dora* can also function as a negative-knowledge predicate with the meaning ‘not know how’. When *dora* functions as a negative-achievement verb, it takes as its subject a noun phrase headed by *lio* ‘mind, thought’. *Lio* functions as the head of a suffixing possessive construction, where the possessor corresponds to the cognizer, the person who forgets to do something. Alternatively, *lio* and *dora* can form a subject-incorporating noun-verb compound (section 12.3.2), *lio-dora* ‘forget’. The subject of *lio-dora* encodes the cognizer.

Both *dora* and *lio-dora* can take oblique objects that encode entities, rather than states of affairs, that are forgotten. Such oblique objects take the general preposition *qani*.

(29-193) a. *Nau, lio-ku e dora qana*
 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP

thata-na wane qeri.
 name-3.PERS man that

‘I have forgotten (lit.: I, my mind has forgotten) the man’s name.’

b. *Nau ku lio-dora qana thata-na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP name-3.PERS

wane qeri.
 man that

‘I have forgotten the man’s name.’ (Lit.: ‘I have mind-forgotten the man’s name.’)

With both verbs, to express forgetting to do something, the relevant state of affairs is encoded as a nominalization that functions as an oblique object with the general preposition.

- (29-194) *Qo lio-dora qana uusi-la-na suka.*
 2SG.NFUT mind-forget GENP buy-NMLZ-3.PERS sugar
 ‘You forgot to buy sugar.’

In (29-195) the nominalization is double (section 9.1.2):

- (29-195) A: *Manga taa na toqa baa ki keki*
 time what? FOC people that PL 3PL.NFUT

fula?
 arrive

- B: *Qoo, nau lio-ku qe dora qana*
 oh 1SG mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT forget GENP

soe-toqo-da-la-na-laa.
 ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ

A: ‘When will those people arrive?’

B: ‘Oh, I forgot to ask them.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them.’)

Lugaliu ‘be too late to do st., miss the time to do st.’, a Class 1 transitive verb, is another negative-achievement verb. *Lugaliu* most likely contains, historically, the verb *liu* ‘walk’, ‘pass, pass by’. What the meaning of *luga* was is not known.

The subject of *lugaliu* refers to the participant for whom it is too late to do something, who has missed the time to do something. As its direct object, *lugaliu* takes either a complement clause or a nominalization, without any apparent difference in meaning. In both types of construction the (notional) subject of the complement and the subject of *lugaliu* must be identical. The subject marker in the complement clause is future-tense. Example (29-196) contains a complement clause, and (29-197) a nominalization:

- (29-196) *Kulu lugaliu-a naqa kuki lae.*
 PL(INCL).NFUT be.late.for-3.OBJ PRF PL(INCL).FUT go
 ‘It is too late now for us to go.’ ‘We have missed the time to go.’

(29-197) *Nau ku lugaliu-a naqa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.late.for-3.OBJ PRF

bekamu-la-na bret.
 bake-NMLZ-3.PERS bread
 ‘It is too late now for me to bake bread.’

29.4.11. Pretence verb

There is (at least) one pretence verb in the language, the intransitive verb *lole* ‘pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case’. *Lole* can also function as an intransitive verb with the sense ‘tell a lie/lies’:

(29-198) *Qoo, koqo kera, ma kamaroqa moki lole*
 oh friend 3PL and 2DU 2DU.IPFV tell.lie

ba-maroqa,
 LIM-2DU.PERS
 ‘Oh, friends, you two are just lying,’

Lole also functions as a Class 1 transitive verb ‘tell a lie/lies to’:

(29-199) *Toq=qe=ki kera lole-a gavman.*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT tell.lie.to-3.OBJ government
 ‘Those people lied to the government.’

To express the content of a lie, a clause that contains the verb *lole* (intransitive or transitive) is followed by a coordinate clause that contains a locutionary verb, typically *sore-qe* (section 29.4.7), that takes as its complement a clause that expresses the content of the lie:

(29-200) *Nau ku lalakwa qani-a fanga naqi,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT UNDES eat-3.OBJ food this

ku lole qa-kuqa, ku
 1SG.NFUT tell.lie SBEN-1SG.PERS 1SG.NFUT

sore-qe ku aabusu ba-kuqa.
 say-DETR 1SG.NFUT be.sated LIM-1SG.PERS
 ‘I didn’t want to eat this food, (and so) I lied, saying I was full.’

The transitive verb *lole* has a detransitivized variant *lole-qe*, whose meaning is ‘pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case’. *Lole-qe* takes nominalizations or deverbal nouns as its incorporated objects (see also section 12.4.1). Such incorporated nominalizations or deverbal nouns encode the state of affairs that is faked. Since such nominalizations or deverbal nouns are incorporated objects and so form a single lexical unit, a compound, with *lole-qe*, they are not complements. Nevertheless, the construction is included here on the grounds that nominalizations may be involved and that the intransitive verb *lole* does take nominalization complements, as shown further below.

Since with *lole-qe* the nominalizations or deverbal nouns in question are incorporated objects, they occur immediately after the verb. Any postverbal particle(s) that may be present must follow the verb–nominalization/deverbal noun compound. In (29-201) the compound contains a nominalization. The compound is followed by the self-benefactive marker:

(29-201) *Toqa baa kera lae ma=i sa-ku*
 people that 3PL.NFUT go VENT=LOC GOAL-1SG.PERS

qa=fa rodo, nau kwa lole-qe biinga-laa
 GENP=CLF night 1SG 1SG.SEQ pretend-DETR sleep-NMLZ

qa-kuqa.

SBEN-1SG.PERS

‘Those people came to my house (lit.: to me) at night, (but) I pretended to be asleep.’

For another example see (12-61) in section 12.4.1.

In (29-202) the compound contains a deverbal noun:

(29-202) *Nau ku lole-qe mae-a, kwa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT fake-DETR be.dead-DVN 1SG.SEQ

mamaroto qa-kuqa.

be.motionless SBEN-1SG.PERS

‘I faked death and remained motionless.’

Alternatively, to express the meaning ‘pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case’ the intransitive verb *lole* can be used. It takes a nominalization or a deverbal noun as an oblique object with the general preposition *qani*. Compare (29-203a), where the nominalization is an incorpo-

rated object of the detransitivized form *lole-qe*, and the synonymous (29-203b), where the nominalization is an oblique object of intransitive *lole*:

- (29-203) a. *Wane e lole-qe mae-laa.*
 man 3SG.NFUT pretend-DETR be.dead-NMLZ
 ‘The man pretended to be dead.’ ‘The man faked being dead.’
- b. *Wane e lole qana mae-laa.*
 man 3SG.NFUT pretend GENP die-NMLZ
 ‘The man pretended to be dead.’ ‘The man faked being dead.’

Compare also (29-204), where the oblique object of *lole* is a deverbal noun:

- (29-204) *Tai wane keka lole qana mae-a,*
 some.PL man 3PL.SEQ pretend GENP die-DVN
- fasi gavman kai qifi, uri kera*
 PURP government 3SG.FUT open.door PURP 3PL
- keka kotho ma=i maa.*
 3PL.SEQ go.through VENT=LOC outside
 ‘Some of the men pretended to be dying, so that the government (people) might open the door, so that they [the men] might go (lit.: come) out.’

29.4.12. Commentative verbs

Four intransitive verbs are included here: *kwaiakaura* ‘be easy’, *qafetaqi* ‘be difficult’, *leqa* ‘be good, nice’, and *taqaa* ‘be bad, be not good’. *Kwaiakaura* ‘be easy (to deal with)’ and *qafetaqi* ‘be difficult (to deal with)’ take nominalizations as their complements. The nominalizations function as oblique objects with the general preposition *qani*. They characterize the referents of the subjects as being easy or difficult, respectively, to deal with with regard to the kinds of situation expressed by the nominalizations.

- (29-205) *Toqoni naqi qe kwaiakaura ba-na*
 shirt this 3SG.NFUT be.easy LIM-3SG.PERS

qana taqu-la-na.

GENP wash-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

‘This shirt is just easy to wash.’ (Lit.: ‘This shirt is just easy for its washing.’)

Compare (29-206) with *taqu* ‘wash’ as the head of the predicate:

(29-206) *Qoko taqu-a kaleko nau qe=ki*

2SG.SEQ wash-3.OBJ clothes 1SG that=PL

‘Wash those clothes of mine’

(29-207) *Fanu=e qafetaqi qana tatha-laa.*

country=3SG.NFUT be.difficult GENP walk-NMLZ

‘The country is difficult to walk around (in).’ (Lit.: ‘The country is difficult for walking.’)

Compare (29-208) with *tatha* ‘walk’ as the head of the predicate:

(29-208) *Kamuluqa muka tatha i naqo,*

2PL 2PL.SEQ walk LOC front

‘You walk in front (I’ll walk behind you).’

Leqa ‘be good, nice’ and *taqaa* ‘be bad, be not good’ may take as their subjects noun phrases headed by nominalizations. Such nominalizations signify states of affairs or types of states of affairs that are characterized as good or bad, respectively.

(29-209) *Nau too-la-ku*

1SG be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ-1SG.PERS

e

3SG.NFUT

leqa ba-na.

be.good LIM-3SG.PERS

‘I am fine.’ ‘My life is fine.’

(29-210) *Ngata-buri-laa e taqaa.*

speak-behind-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT be.bad

‘Speaking [about people] behind their backs is bad.’

Leqa ‘be good, nice’ is also used with nominalizations with prepositional complements of purpose. The noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase is headed by a nominalization. Either the general preposition *qani* or the purpose

preposition *uri* may be used. This construction is used to characterize the referent of the subject as being (or not being) good for a certain purpose.

(29-211) *Kula qe leqa qana siisiu-laa.*
 place 3SG.NFUT be.good GENP bathe-NMLZ
 'The place is good for bathing.'

(29-212) *Qe leqa ba-na uri-a visit-laa,*
 3SG.NFUT be.good LIM-3SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ visit-NMLZ

ma too-laa molo ku lalakwa.
 and reside-NMLZ AFFTOP 1SG.NFUT not.like
 'It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but (lit.: and) living (there) I do/would not like.'

Finally, *leqa* 'be good, nice' can also take finite clauses as its complements. In this case it takes the third person singular subject marker, which is non-referential, and it is also accompanied by the postverbal limiter *ba-*. The state of affairs expressed in the complement clause is characterized as being good, which may also signify that it is good for it to take place. That is, *leqa* may carry a permissive implication (section 29.4.2).

(29-213) *Qe leqa ba-na kwai lae kau*
 3SG.NFUT be.good LIM-3SG.PERS 1SG.FUT go AND

qi laa rodo?
 LOC IN night
 'Is it OK (lit.: good) for me to come (lit.: go) (to see you) at night?'

For another example see (29-15) in section 29.2.

29.5. The inceptive, desiderative, and undesirative particles

In section 29.4.3 the Class 1 transitive complement-taking phasal verb *thafali* 'begin, start' was discussed. It takes direct-object complement clauses. The subject of the complement clause must be identical with the subject of the matrix clause. And in section 29.4.4 the complement-taking desiderative verbs *thathami* 'want', 'like' and *lalakwa* 'not want', 'not like' were discussed. *Thathami* is a Class 1 transitive verb. It takes direct-object complement clauses. The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the matrix clause may be different or identical. *Lalakwa* is an intransitive verb. It takes paratactic com-

plement clauses. The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the matrix clause must be different.

For all three verbs there exist alternative structures, where those etyma function not as verbs, but as preverbal particles: *thafaliqi* and *thafali* inceptive, *thathamiqi* and *thathami* desiderative, and *lalakwa* undesiderative. These alternative structures are possible only under “participant identity”: the participant who begins to bring a situation about is the same participant as the one who carries out the situation (not necessarily to completion); the participant who wants a situation to come about is the one who is to bring it about; and the participant who does not want a situation to come about is the same participant as the one who would otherwise bring it about or who may have to bring it about nevertheless. The three verbs and the related particles are now discussed in turn.

There is always identity of participants in phasal contexts, and both constructions are always available:

(29-214) *Nau ku thafali-a kwai uqunu naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT begin-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT tell.story PRF
 ‘I am about to begin to tell a/the story.’

(29-215) *Nau ku thafaliqi uqunu naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INCEP tell.story PRF
 ‘I am about to begin to tell a/the story.’

In (29-214), with transitive *thafali-a* there are two subject markers, one in the matrix clause and one in the complement clause. On the other hand, in (29-215), with *thafaliqi*, there is only one subject marker; in fact, there can only ever be one subject marker there. This can be taken as evidence that the structure is monoclausal. More evidence that structures like the one in (29-215) are monoclausal is provided further below.

The same is also true of structures with the desiderative and the undesiderative markers. In positive desiderative contexts (‘want X’), there may but need not be identity of participants. If there is identity, and only then, are both constructions available:

(29-216) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai fanga.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT eat
 ‘I want to eat.’

(29-217) *Nau ku thathamiqi fanga.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT DES eat
 ‘I want to eat.’

In negative desiderative contexts ('not want X') the construction with a finite complement clause is ungrammatical when there is participant identity. In such cases either the verb *lalakwa* 'not like', 'not want' takes a nominalization as an oblique object, or a construction with *lalakwa* as a preverbal undesiderative particle is used:

(29-218) *Nau ku lalakwa qana siisiu-laa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.want/not.like GENP bathe-NMLZ
 'I don't want to bathe.' 'I don't like bathing.'

(29-219) *Nau ku lalakwa siisiu.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT UNDES bathe
 'I don't want to bathe.' 'I don't like bathing.'

For convenience, the structures with the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative markers are referred to as "reduced".

The next set of examples further illustrates the reduced structures, inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative, respectively. In all three sentences the verbs are transitive and carry the object suffix *-a*.

(29-220) *Qusungadi kuki thafaliqi kwaqe-a masuqu*
 tomorrow PL(INCL).FUT INCEP cut-3.OBJ bush

loo.

upward

'Tomorrow we'll begin to clear the bush up there.'

(29-221) *Taa na qo thathamiqi kuqu-fi-a?*
 what? FOC 2SG.NFUT DES drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
 'What do you want to drink?'

(29-222) *Wela qe lalakwa qani-a butete naqi.*
 child 3SG.NFUT UNDES eat-3.OBJ sweet.potato this
 'The child does not want to eat this sweet potato.'

There are several pieces of evidence that the reduced structures are monoclausal. First, as mentioned further above, they contain only one subject marker. Second, if the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements were verbs rather than preverbal practicles, one would expect them to permit postverbal particles (section 5.2) to follow them. In (29-223) below, the verb *thathami* 'want' has a clause as its direct object, and is itself followed by the

combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles *bo=naqa*. The particles intervene between *thathami* and the complement clause:

(29-223) *Keka thathami-a bo=naqa keki*
 3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS 3PL.FUT

thau-ngi-a qaburu qeri.
 kill-TR-3.OBJ ogre that
 ‘They wanted very much to kill the ogre.’

On the other hand, in the reduced structures, no postverbal particle can occur directly after the inceptive, desiderative, or undesiderative elements. If one or more postverbal particles are present, they can only occur after the verb:

(29-224) ... *ma keka thathamiqi uqunu qasia naqa.*
 and 3PL.SEQ DES converse INTS INTS
 ‘... and they wanted/liked very much to converse (with each other).’

Third, finite complement clauses may be introduced by the complementizer *na* (section 29.3):

(29-225) *Nau ku thafali-a na kwai uqunu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT begin-3.OBJ COMP 1SG.FUT tell.story

suli-a tha Bariqi.
 PROL-3.OBJ PERSMKR Bariqi
 ‘I am beginning to tell the story about Bariqi.’

(29-226) *Nau ku lalakwa na wela nau kai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.want COMP child 1SG 3SG.FUT

ngata bia thaari neqe.
 speak COM girl this
 ‘I don’t want my son (lit.: child) to speak with this girl.’

On the other hand, the complementizer is ungrammatical in the reduced structures.

Fourth, the verbs in the reduced structures can be inflected for object marking. See examples (29-220) – (29-222) above, where the verbs carry the third person object suffix *-a*. That is, those verbal forms are not some kind of infinitive-like forms stripped of inflection.

And fifth, there may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of a matrix clause and there may be a slight pause between the matrix clause and the complement clause. On the other hand, the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative markers always occur under one intonation contour with the following verb, without any pause.

There is, then, strong evidence that the reduced structures are monoclausal. At the same time, the combinations of the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements and the following verbs are not [verb verb] compounds. There are no [verb verb] compounds where the first verb carries the detransitivizing suffix *-qi* or *-qe*. The transitive verbs *riki* ‘see’, *rongo* ‘hear’, *sore* ‘say’, *lole* ‘tell a lie/lies’, ‘pretend, fake’, and *thaitoqoma* ‘know’ all have detransitivized forms: *riki-qi*, *rongo-qi*, *sore-qe*, *lole-qe*, and *thaitoqome-qe*, respectively, but these forms are not used when those verbs are the initial components in [verb verb] compounds; for example, *rongo thaitoqoma-na* (‘hear’ ‘know’-3.OBJ) ‘recognize him/her/it by sound’; *sore-leqa* (‘say’-‘be nice’) ‘thank, give thanks’, ‘speak in praise (of sb., st.)’ ‘give a speech honouring sb., st.’, ‘thank (sb.)’; *thaitoqoma-na leqa* (‘know’-3.OBJ ‘be good’) ‘know him/her/it well’. (*Rongo-qi* ‘hear that’ takes paratactic complement clauses [section 29.4.5]; *sore-qe* ‘say’, ‘think that, assume that’ too takes paratactic complement clauses [sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8]; *lole-qe* ‘tell a lie/lies’, ‘pretend, fake’ forms object-incorporating compounds with nominalizations and deverbal nouns [section 29.4.11]; and *riki-qi* ‘see’ and *thaitoqome-qe* ‘know’ also form object-incorporating compounds [section 12.4.1].)

The inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements are preverbal particles, not verbs. Two of the particles, inceptive *thafaliqi* and desiderative *thathamiq*, are related to Class 1 transitive verbs and they both contain *qi* as their final syllable, not found in the corresponding verbs. Undesiderative *lalakwa* is related to an intransitive verb and does not contain final *qi*. The *qi* is obviously related to the detransitivizing suffix *-qi/-qe*, discussed in section 4.6. There are other preverbal particles that, optionally, contain what is historically a continuation of the detransitivizing suffix: *toneqe* and *tona*; *tofeqe*, *tofe* and *tofa*, all of which are restrictive markers; *makeqe* and *maka* immediate past, immediate future; and *thafeqe* and *thafa* attenuative (section 5.1). That suggests that those particles too may be of verbal origin, although, unlike the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative particles, they do not have verbal counterparts in the present-day language.

In fact, the final *qi* is optional in the inceptive and the desiderative particles as well: *thafaliqi* and *thafali* inceptive; *thathamiqi* and *thathami* desiderative. Because the final *qi* does not have any function, it is not isolated as a morpheme in *thafaliqi* and *thathamiqi*, similarly to those other preverbal particles. The next two examples show the forms with and without the final *qi*:

- (29-227) *Nau ku {thafaliqi / thafali} rongo-a si*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INCEP / INCEP hear-3.OBJ PRTT

doo qeri qi laa manga qeri.
 thing that LOC IN time that
 ‘I began to hear (about) that thing at that time.’

- (29-228) *Nau ku {thathamiqi / thathami} lae naqa.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT DES / DES go PRF
 ‘I want to go now.’

For another example of the *thathami* form of the desiderative particle see (28-29) in section 28.3.

The particle *thafaliqi* can also be used in a function other than signalling the beginning of the state of affairs expressed by the verb with which it occurs. Rather, the event expressed by that verb is an initial point in another state of affairs that need not be overtly expressed, at least not in the same clause or sentence. In (29-229) *thafaliqi* does not signal the beginning of the speaker’s birth; rather, his being born was the beginning of his life:

- (29-229) *Nau ku thafaliqi futa qi laal-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT INCEP be.born LOC inside-3.PERS

naintin twenty eit, qi laa maqe toaa qi
 nineteen twenty eight LOC IN CLF hamlet LOC

Malethau.

Malethau

‘I was (originally) born in 1928, in the hamlet of (lit.: at) Malethau.’

29.6. Complement clauses in noun phrases

Complement clauses are occasionally, although only rarely, used in noun phrases, with the complement clause functioning as a modifier of the head noun. For the position of complement clauses within noun phrases see (6-3) in section 6.1.

In (29-230) the head noun is *nyus* ‘news’:

- (29-230) ... *keka fale-a mai nyus kera mada fa*
 3PL.SEQ send-3.OBJ VENT news 3PL or CLF

ngali loo kiki fula, kiki thau-ngi
 year upward 3PL.FUT arrive 3PL.FUT hit-TR

Solomon Aylen.

Solomon Islands

‘... they [the Japanese] sent news (lit.: their news) (to the Solomon Islands) that probably the following year they would arrive and punish (lit.: hit) the Solomon Islands.’

In (29-231) the head noun is *uqunu* ‘story’. The complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*.

(29-231) *Rua-na imole ka rongo-a na=kau, ma*
 two-3.PERS person 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ PRF=AND and

uul-a imole ka rongo-a na=kau,
 three-3.PERS person 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ PRF=AND

ma ka lae faaladoa, ma uqunu ka lae
 and 3SG.SEQ go spread and story 3SG.SEQ go

na=kau suli-a na si doo qeri
 PRF=AND PROL-3SG.OBJ COMP PRTT thing that

qe danga naqa, ma do=e aqi
 3SG.NFUT be.finished PRF and thing=3SG.NFUT NEGV

si danga quu ba-na.
 3SG.NEG be.finished ANTCONT LIM-3SG.PERS

‘A second person will hear it, a third person will hear it, and it will spread, and a story will go (round) about it that the thing is finished, but (lit.: and) the thing is not yet finished.’

In (29-232) there is a complement-clause construction that consists of two asyndetically coordinated clauses. The construction is introduced by the complementizer. The head noun is *doo* ‘thing’.

(29-232) *Mada s=o lae qi laa qamali qoko*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT go LOC IN sea 2SG.SEQ

dee-toqo-na iqa qeri, qoki
 catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ fish that 2SG.FUT

faqa-mamane-qa-a *si* *doo* *qeri* *na* *fa*
 CAUS-be.true-PROP-3.OBJ PRTT thing that COMP CLF

io *qeri* *qe* *ngela* *qi* *maqa*
 arrow that 3SG.NFUT stick.out LOC CLF

daar-a, *ka* *ngela* *bo=naq=i*
 forehead-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ stick.out ASRT=INTS=LOC

taraqena.

today

‘If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, you will believe the thing (that I said) that the arrow stuck out from its head and has been sticking out until today.’ (Discussing a species of fish whose appearance is said to be due to an arrow having been stuck into its head.)

Chapter 30

Relative clauses

30.1. The basic characteristics

Relative clauses are optionally introduced by the element *na*, which is also used with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2). The same element is also used as a focus marker (section 39.1) and, less commonly, to introduce complement clauses (section 29.3). *Na* frequently fuses with immediately following subject markers that in their full form begin with *q*, in which case it has the form *n=*; for example, *n=o*, from *na qo*, with the second person singular nonfuture marker. Example (30-1) contains the full form, (30-2) shows both the full form and the reduced form, and (30-3) contains only the reduced form. The relative clauses, together with the relative marker, are in square brackets.

(30-1) *Kwa riki-a tai wane [na kera*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ some.PL man REL 3PL.NFUT
suukwaqi].
 be.strong
 ‘I saw some men who were strong.’

(30-2) *Imole [{na qoki / n=oki} lae*
 people REL 2SG.FUT / REL=2SG.FUT go
bii-da] lakoq.
 COM-3PL.OBJ there(3)
 ‘The people that you will go with are over there.’

Such fusion is particularly common when the subject marker is third person singular *qe*. There absence of fusion is relatively rare.

(30-3) *Ma wane n=e ni=i thaqegano,*
 and man REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC ground
tootoo ka taqisi ba-n=i
 later 3SG.SEQ rush LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

buir-a.

behind-3SG.PERS

‘And the man who is on the ground then chases after it [a possum running away].’

The relative-clause marker may be absent:

(30-4) *Meka lae, meka riki-a doo*
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go 1DU(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ thing

[*kerā qalangī-a qana “faunten”*].

3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP fountain

‘We went and saw a (kind of) thing they call a “fountain”.’ (Lit.: ‘We went, we saw a thing they name it with [the name of] “fountain”.’)

The issue of the presence and absence of the relative-clause marker is discussed in section 30.4.

Relative clauses occur as the last post-nominal modifier inside noun phrases; see (6-3) in section 6.1.

There are some complexities when a noun phrase that contains a relative clause also contains the plural marker *ki*. These are discussed in section 30.3.

With two types of exception, the position relativized is coded in some way inside the relative clause: by a subject marker, as in (30-3) further above, an object marker, as in (30-4), a personal suffix, an independent personal pronoun, or the locative pro-form. The details are given in section 30.6.

As a norm, relative clauses and their head nouns occur together in a noun phrase, but they need not. Either the relative clause or the head noun phrase can occur outside that noun phrase. This is discussed in section 30.7. And as also shown there, a head noun and its relative clause may be separated by another clause that does not have that noun phrase in its argument structure.

When a relative clause is internal in a sentence, that is, not at the end, there may be a slight pause between the end of the relative clause and the following material.

Relative clauses are by no means uncommon in Toqabaqita discourse, and nesting of noun phrases that contain relative clauses is not unusual. The sentence in (30-5) contains three relative clauses, and the last two occur in a nested structure.

(30-5) [*Si manga [na kera figu mai]_{RC}]_{NP},
 PRTT time REL 3PL.NFUT gather VENT*

[toq=qe=ki [na kera toqo-a
 people=that=PL REL 3PL.NFUT learn-3.OBJ

[aga-a qeri [na nia ngali-a
 play.panpipes-DVN that REL 3SG carry-3SG.OBJ

[mai]_{RC}]_{NP}]_{RC}]_{NP} keka uufi-a

VENT 3PL.SEQ blow-3SG.OBJ

‘When (lit.: the time that) they gathered, the people who had learned (how to play) the panpipes that he had brought blew them’

Relative clauses may cooccur with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2) in modifying one and the same head noun. The relative prepositional phrase occurs before the relative clause.

(30-6) ... uni-qi imole na=i manga qe=ki
 generation-ASSOC person REL=LOC time this=PL

na keki qaru-toqo-na si tarafula-a
 REL 3PL.IPFV fall-TEST-3.OBJ DIM quote.proverb-DVN

qeri,

that

‘Today’s generation of people who use the proverb (use it like this:)’ (Lit.: ‘The generation of people of these times who use the proverb’)

30.2. The functions of relative clauses

On the basis of their function, two main types of relative clause can be distinguished in Toqabaqita: restrictive and elaborative. The two types of relative clause have the same structure, and both can be separated from the following sentence-internal material by a slight pause. Restrictive relative clauses restrict the domain of relativization, thus providing (closer) identification of the referent of the noun phrase. The information expressed in a restrictive relative clause is presupposed. In (30-7) there are two restrictive clauses:

(30-7) Ma keka thau-ngi-a ulu wela qe=ki na
 and 3PL.SEQ kill-TR-3.OBJ three child that-PL REL

kera *ni=i* *thara, ma ta wela*
 3PL.NFUT be.located=LOC outside and some child

n=e *nii* *mai* *qi*
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.located VENT LOC

faar-a *fau loo ka lio ka*
 underneath-3.PERS rock upward 3SG.SEQ look 3SG.SEQ

riki-a *ba-na.*
 watch-3SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS

‘And they killed the three children who were outside, and the child who was under the rock [i.e., inside a cave] above just looked and watched it.’

The elaborative type of relative clause does not have this kind of identifying function. Rather, it supplies some additional, nonpresupposed information about the referent, for example by stating what he/she is doing, what state he/she/it is in, what characteristics or properties he/she/it has. The information in the relative clause elaborates on the referent rather than identifying him/her/it. The category of elaborative relative clauses includes what are usually referred to as non-restrictive relative clauses, but it also includes relative clauses that characterize newly introduced participants (see, for example, Lambrecht 1988).

In (30-8) below, the relevant participant is uniquely identified by means of the noun phrase ‘Mareqau’s spouse/wife’. The relative clause specifies her location at the given time. (Paradoxically, the ablative preposition *fasi* is used with the verb *raqa* ‘climb’ to signal the motion towards [rather than away from] a person. This particular use of *fasi* is probably somehow related to the use of *fasi* as a marker of purpose [section 33.3].)

(30-8) *Nia ka raqa fasi-a kwai=tha*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ climb ABL-3.OBJ spouse:3.PERS=PERSMKR

Mareqau n=e ni=i laa oqola
 Mareqau REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC IN garden

qeri.
 that

‘He climbed towards Mareqau’s wife, who was in the garden.’

In (30-9) the ship is described in the relative clause as going to land/dock (in a harbour). It is the name of the ship that uniquely identifies it, not the relative clause.

- (30-9) ... *keko sifo bo=naqa, maqasi-a Tulake*
 3DU.SEQ descend ASRT=INTS wait.for-3.OBJ Tulagi
- na kai olo i Malu'u.*
 REL 3SG.FUT land LOC Malu'u
 'They went down (to the coast) to wait for the Tulagi [a ship], which was going to land at Malu'u.'

In (30-10) the (extraposed) relative clause specifies the *type* of sore involved, not the actual identity of the sore. The sore is a new and prominent participant in the discourse, a traditional cautionary tale; see text 2 in the Appendix. Extraposition of relative clauses is discussed in section 30.7.2. At the beginning of the sentence in (30-10) there is also a verbless and subjectless relative clause (section 27.2.4).

- (30-10) *Wane na tha Liliqa, maala qe*
 man REL PERSMKR Liliqa sore 3SG.NFUT
- tharu-fi-a qae-na na keki*
 (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ leg-3SG.PERS REL 3PL.IPFV
- qalangi-a qana "basi".*
 name-3SG.OBJ GENP *basi*
 'This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who [was] Liliqa), his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws] (lit.: a sore afflicted his leg that they name "*basi*").'

In (30-11) the speaker uses the relative clause to characterize himself, not to identify himself:

- (30-11) *Nau wane ku gwau-thala-qa naqa.*
 1SG man 1SG.NFUT head-lack.solidity-PROP PRF
 'I am a wretched man now.' (Lit.: 'I [am] a man who am wretched.')

(*Gwau-thala-qa* is used about people who lead a wretched life because they have lost their spouse.) The type of relative clause construction in (30-11) is discussed in section 30.6.1.

In (30-12) the relative clause provides an explanation of the meaning of a place name. It does not identify a referent.

- (30-12) *Iu*, “*Fanua Gwaqu*”, *toqo-la-nqaqi-la-na*
 yes, *Fanua Gwaqu* explain-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
- fanua* *n=e* *aqi* *ta* *wane* *si*
 place REL=3SG.NFUT not.exist some person 3SG.NEG
- too* *i* *ei*
 reside LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Yes, “*Fanua Gwaqu*”, its meaning (lit.: its explanation) is “place where nobody lives”....’ (*Fanua* ‘place’, *gwaqu* ‘be empty’.)

In (30-13) there are two relative clauses. The first one is elaborative, and the second one restrictive. The elaborative clause characterizes what the thing that will be made will look like, specifically that it will look different from the war club made by somebody else. The latter club is identified by means of a restrictive relative clause.

- (30-13) *Nau ku* *thathamia* *kwai* *thau-ngani=ta*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT make-TR:3.OBJ=some
- doo na riki-la-na* *kai* *qeeqeta*
 thing REL look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.FUT be.different
- fasi-a* *subi* *na tha* *Fiuoomea*
 ABL-3.OBJ k.o.war.club REL PERSMKR Fiuoomea
- e* *thau-ngani-a*.
 3SG.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I want to make something that will look different (lit.: whose looking-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuoomea made.’

Elaborative relative clauses are common in Toqabaqita discourse.

30.3. Relative clauses and plural marking

To indicate explicitly that a noun phrase has plural reference, the plural marker *ki* is used inside the noun phrase (section 6.9):

- (30-14) *Kero rongo-a thaqaro fuu ki,*
 3DU.NFUT hear-3.OBJ possum downward PL
 ‘They heard the possums down there,’

When a noun phrase contains the plural marker and also a relative clause, there are three possibilities with respect to the positioning of the plural marker. One of them is for it to occur before the relative clause, in the position identified in (6-3) in section 6.1, before any of the particles that may be present.

- (30-15) *Keeroqa keko kwai-thathai qa=si doo ki*
 3DU 3DU.SEQ LIP-ready GENP=PRTT thing PL
- [na keki ngali-a qana uusi-a qi laa*
 REL 3PL.FUT take-3SG.OBJ GENP buy-DVN LOC IN
- fa thato qeri].*
 CLF day that
 ‘The two of them got ready the things (lit.: got ready with the things) that they would take to the market on that day.’

In (30-16) the plural marker occurs before the exhaustive and the limiting particles:

- (30-16) *Imole ki sui bana [na kera nii*
 person PL EXHST LIM REL 3PL.NFUT be.located
- kaa-kali mai] keka seqe-thaathala qasia*
 RDP-be.around VENT 3PL.SEQ body-be.lightweight INTS
- naqa,*
 INTS
 ‘All the people who are around [i.e., who live in the vicinity] became very happy,’

The second possibility is for the plural marker to occur inside the relative clause rather than before it. In that case the plural marker occurs immediately after the verb, before any of the postverbal particles that may be present in the relative clause.

- (30-17) *Uqunu [na ku thaitoqoma-na ki] ku*
 story REL 1SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ PL 1SG.NFUT

uqunu teqefau naqa suli-a qi sa-mu.
 narrate every.one PRF PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
 ‘The stories that I know, I have told (lit.: narrated about) every single one to you.’

In (30-18) the plural marker inside the relative clause precedes the combination of the assertive and the intensifying postverbal particles of the relative clause.

(30-18) *Doo [na ku riki-da ki bo=naqa] neqe.*
 thing REL 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ PL ASRT=INTS here
 ‘Here/these are (all) the things I have/own (lit.: see).’

The third option is for there to be two instances of the plural marker, one before the relative clause and one inside it, each one occurring in the same position as when there is single marking.

(30-19) *Kera keka gani-a figu-a ki [na*
 3PL 3PL.SEQ ask.sb.to.do.st-3.OBJ gather-DVN PL REL

kera too kaa-kali ki], keki lae,
 3PL.NFUT reside RDP-be.around PL 3PL.FUT go

keki ili-a laqu boqo raa qeri bii kera.
 3PL.FUT do-3.OBJ ADD ASRT work that COM 3PL
 ‘They asked the (residential) groups that live around to come (lit.: go) and also do the work with them.’

In the next example the plural marker inside the relative clause comes before the ventive directional, which too is inside the relative clause:

(30-20) *Nii fania bateree baa ki [na ku*
 be.located where? battery that PL REL 1SG.NFUT

ngali-a ki mai]?
 take-3SG.OBJ PL VENT
 ‘Where are the batteries that I brought?’

When the plural marker is inside a relative clause, it occurs immediately after the verb, and before any postverbal particles. However, the immediately postverbal position is also the position occupied by direct objects realized by means of the independent personal pronouns (see [4-1] in section 4.1). When

there is a pronoun in the direct-object position inside a relative clause, there cannot be a plural marker inside the relative clause that relates to the head noun. Compare the two variants in (30-21). In variant (a), the verb in the relative clause carries an object suffix and there is an instance of the plural marker after the verb; in the synonymous variant (b), there is an independent pronoun in the direct-object position and no plural marker inside the relative clause:

- (30-21) a. *Wela [na ku teqe-maqi-da ki sui*
 child REL 1SG.NFUT one-TR-3PL.OBJ PL COMPL
naqa], muku oli naqa.
 PRF 2PL.SEQ return PRF
 ‘The children that I have finished counting, you go back now.’
- b. *Wela [na ku teqe-maqi kera sui*
 child REL 1SG.NFUT one-TR 3PL COMPL
naqa], muku oli naqa.
 PRF 2PL.SEQ return PRF
 ‘The children that I have finished counting, you go back now.’

(For the use of the *-maqi* rather than the *-mani* variant of the transitive suffix in the (a) variant, with an object suffix, see section 4.2.3.2.2, example [4-85] and the paragraph that precedes it.)

Apart from the prohibition on the occurrence of the plural marker inside a relative clause that contains a pronoun in the direct-object position, the three alternatives for the placement of the plural marker are in free variation. Examples (30-15), (30-17) and (30-18), and (30-20), respectively, show the three strategies when the position relativized is direct object. Examples (30-16), (30-18), and (30-20), respectively, show the three strategies when there are postverbal particles in the relative clause. And the presence or absence of the relative-clause marker is not a factor either. In all the examples above, the marker is present. Examples (30-37) – (30-39) in section 30.4 show, respectively, the three strategies for the placement of the plural marker in the absence of the relative-clause marker.

Placement of the plural marker within relative clauses discussed and exemplified here marks the plurality of the noun phrase in which the relative clause occurs. It does not signal plurality which would be strictly internal to the relative clause. Thus, it does not mark plurality of the event encoded in the relative clause. In none of the examples above with the plural marker internal to the relative clause is there any necessary implication that the situation encoded in the relative clause obtained on multiple occasions.

30.4. Absence of the relative-clause marker

Both restrictive and elaborative relative clauses can, and usually, with a few types of exception, are, marked by the relative-clause marker *na* (*n=*), as in nearly all of the examples given thus far. However, both types of relative clause can also occur without the marker. Since, overall, the presence of the marker is the norm, the focus here is on the types of situation where the marker is or may be absent. It should be kept in mind that in most types of case these are tendencies rather than rules. One basic principle is that the relative-clause marker is more likely to be absent if the relative clause is short and simple, and especially when it occurs at the end of a sentence. When both of the conditions are met, the tendency for the marker to be absent is very strong. Given the relevant contexts, the relative clause in (30-22) is restrictive and the one in (30-23) elaborative:

- (30-22) *Nau qe aqi kwasi rongo-a doo*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG hear-3.OBJ thing

b=e sore-a.
 that=3SG.NFUT say-3SG.OBJ
 ‘I didn’t hear what (lit.: the thing) he said.’

(*B=* is a reduced form of the demonstrative *baa*.)

- (30-23) *Kera sula suli-a wela kera*
 3PL.NFUT ask.everywhere PROL-3.OBJ child 3PL

e dola.
 3SG.NFUT be.lost
 ‘They went from house to house, asking about their lost child.’ (Lit.:
 ‘They asked everywhere about their child, who was lost.’)

Given the broader context in which (30-23) occurs, the relative clause *e dola* ‘(who) was lost’ is not necessary to identify the child.

In (30-24) and (30-25) the relative clauses are not sentence final, but they are short, and the marker is absent:

- (30-24) *Ulu nau baa [qo fale-a] e*
 sweater 1SG that 2SG.NFUT give-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

muu naqa.

be.torn PRF

‘The sweater you gave (me) (lit.: that sweater of mine you gave) is torn (into pieces) now.’

- (30-25) *Fa nguu [nia qe nguu-li-a] qe*
 CLF song 3SG 3SG.NFUT sing-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

leqa.

be.nice

‘The song he is singing is nice.’

There is no absolute limit on the length and complexity of relative clauses beyond which the marker must be present, but as the length and complexity increase, the marker is more and more likely to be present but is not required. In the next example the relative clause contains a direct object, a directional particle, and a stranded preposition; still the relative-clause marker is absent:

- (30-26) *Nau ku riki-a boqo si doo baa*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ ASRT PRTT thing that

ki [qo faqa-rongo nau mai qani-a],
 PL 2SG.NFUT CAUS-hear 1SG VENT GENP-3SG.OBJ

sui qoko manata-lube nau,
 then 2SG.SEQ mind-be.untied 1SG

‘I saw [here: I read] the things that you had told [i.e., written] me about, and then you forgave me,’

The relative-clause marker is always absent in one type of negative existential sentence, when the position relativized is subject: the type of entity characterized by the relative clause does not exist or is not available:

- (30-27) *Qe aqi tai wane qoro si*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV some.PL person be.many 3SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na uqunu qeri.
 know-3.OBJ story this

‘There are not many people who know this story.’ ‘Not many people know this story.’

See also (30-12) in section 30.2. For more examples see section 26.1.2.2.

There is one syntactic environment in which the relative clause marker is normally absent, under a certain semantic condition. When there are more than one relative clause with the same head noun and the events encoded in them are in temporal sequence or are temporally overlapping, one event being relatively closely followed by, leading to, resulting in, the next one, the second, third, etc. relative clause normally does not have a relative-clause marker even if the first one does.

- (30-28) *Roo basi [na thaina-karoqa qe*
two bow REL mother-DU(INCL).PERS 3SG.NFUT

thaa-thau-ngani-a] [ka faa-fale-a
RDP-make-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT RDP-give-3SG.OBJ

qi a-karoqa], nia ka teo qa-na, ...
LOC REC-DU(INCL).PERS 3SG 3SG.SEQ lie SBEN-3SG.PERS
'The pair of bows that our mother made and gave us, it will stay
(lit.: lie) (here), ...'

- (30-29) *Ka rongo suli-a Tulake [na kai*
3SG.SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ Tulagi REL 3SG.FUT

qita mai qi Tulake], [kai lae mai].
start.out VENT LOC Tulagi 3SG.FUT go VENT
'... he heard about the [ship] Tulagi, which was going to depart from
(lit.: start out at) [the town of] Tulagi and was going to come.'

The sentence in (30-30) also contains two relative clauses, but only the first one has the relative-clause marker. Here the activities expressed in the two relative clauses are simultaneous:

- (30-30) ... *keka rongo-a wela qe=ki na keki*
3PL.SEQ hear-3.OBJ child that=PL REL 3PL.IPFV

nao ma keki alifeo
bail.water and 3PL.IPFV make.noise
'... they heard the children who were bailing water (out of a stream)
and were making noise ...'

In the next example too there are two relative clauses with the same head noun. Neither of them has the relative-clause marker. Rather, the marker occurs

with the clause *e laa-lae* ‘he had gone’, which does not function as a relative clause; see section 30.7.1 for discussion of such long-distance relativization.

- (30-31) ... *ka* *thathami-a kai* *faa-tani-a* *doo*
 3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT show-TR-3.OBJ thing
- [*n=e* *laa-lae*] [*ka* *rongo-a* *mai*]
 REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-go 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ VENT
- ma* [*ka* *ngali-a* *ma=i* *Daadanitalau*].
 and 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ VENT=LOC Daadanitalau
 ‘... he wanted to show (them) the thing that having gone (there) he heard and (as a result) brought from Daadanitalau.’ (Lit.: ‘... he wanted to show (them) the thing that he had gone, heard and brought at Daadanitalau.’)

More often than not, in such multiple relativization with a single relative-clause marker the position relativized is the same in both/all the clauses: in (30-28) above, the position relativized is direct object, and in (30-29) and (30-30) the positions relativized are subject. However, this is not necessarily so. In (30-32) below, the position relativized is possessor (coded by means of the third person singular personal suffix on *maatonga* ‘mid part of a vertical object’) in the first relative clause, and subject in the second clause. There is a cause-result relation between the events expressed in the two relative clauses.

- (30-32) *Ma ka* *tatha kau, ka* *riki-a* *teqe*
 and 3SG.SEQ walk AND 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ one
- ngali* *na wane qeri qe*
 canarium.nut REL man that 3SG.NFUT
- uru* *qi* *maatonga-na*
 place.sole.of.foot LOC mid.of.vertical.object-3SG.PERS
- ma ka* *kefu*.
 and 3SG.SEQ fall.over
 ‘And he walked on and saw a canarium-nut (tree) the (mid part of the) trunk of which that man had pushed with the sole of his foot and that had fallen over (as a result).’

On the other hand, when there is no such close semantic link between the relative clauses modifying the same head noun, the relative-clause marker tends

to be used with both/all the clauses. In (30-33) below, the head noun ‘picture’ is modified by two relative clauses: ‘the pictures ... that I saw that white people had painted’. (The clause *ku तथा* ‘I passed by’ is not a relative clause; see section 30.7.1 for discussion, specifically example [30-99], of which [30-33] is a part.) The events encoded in the two relative clauses do not have a close cause-effect relation, and the second one does have the marker.

- (30-33) *Tai nuu-qi doo [na ku तथा*
 some.PL picture-ASSOC thing REL 1SG.NFUT pass.by
kwa riki-a] [na arekwao kera
 1SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ REL white.person 3PL.NFUT
keda-a], ...
 paint-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Some of the pictures that I saw while passing by that white people had painted, ...’ (Lit.: ‘Some pictures that I passed by and saw them that white people had painted them, ...’)

In the next example too, the types of events expressed in the two relative clauses are not in a close sequential/cause-result relation, and the second clause has its own marker. While sleeping is normally preceded by the person lying down, it is not its consequence. The second relative clause provides information parallel to that expressed in the first relative clause and in a sense restates it, because the verb *teo* can be used not only with the sense of ‘lie (down)’ but also with the sense ‘sleep’.

- (30-34) *Kade-qe luma lalo nia [na kai teo*
 block-ASSOC house interior 3SG REL 3SG.IPFV lie
i ei] [na kai biinga i ei], qoe,
 LOC LOCPRO REL 3SG.IPFV sleep LOC LOCPRO 2SG
ta wane laqu bana, qe=aqi qosi
 some man ADD LIM 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG
kotho i laa kula qeri.
 enter LOC IN place that
 ‘Her [another man’s wife’s] inner quarters (in her house), which she lies down in, which she sleeps in, you, being just another man [i.e., not being her husband], you will not enter that place.’

Relative clauses that modify the same head noun and that express tightly linked situations in the sense discussed here function as a kind of coordination “macro-construction”, and it is this macro-construction that the (sole) relative-clause marker has in its scope. The relative marker structurally belongs to the first clause (see below for evidence) but has both/all the relative clauses in its scope.

The “macro-construction” status of multiple relative clauses expressing tightly linked situations is also evidenced by the fact that such clauses may be in the scope of a sole element other than the relative clause marker. In (30-35) the second relative clause contains the locative pro-form *ei*, which also has the first relative clause in its scope: ‘the place where he met the girl (at it) and where they agreed (at it) that they would meet at that place’.

- (30-35) ... *qe* *lae* *ura* *kula* *ba*=[*nia* *toda-a*
 3SG.NFUT go ALL place that=3SG meet-3.OBJ
- thaari* *baa*] [*ma* *keeroqa* *keko* *qolo* *qi*
 girl that and 3DU 3DU.SEQ arrange LOC
- ei* *keki* *kwai-toda=i* *kula* *qeri*].
 LOCPRO 3DU.FUT LIP-meet=LOC place that
 ‘... he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they
 had arranged to meet (at that place).’

In this sentence there is no relative marker at all, presumably because the first relative clause is short and simple (it does not even contain a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei*). As discussed further above, there is a tendency for the relative-clause marker to be absent when the relative clause is short and simple. This can be taken as evidence that in cases of multiple relative clauses the sole relative-clause marker structurally belongs to the first relative clause, even though it has both/all the relative clauses in its scope, not to the macro-construction as a whole. Such macro-constructions can be quite complex, as is the case in the example just above.

A different kind of macro-construction that involves a relative clause is found in (30-36). There is only one relative clause there, but that relative clause is followed by a clause of comparison in a construction of comparison of inequality (chapter 25). The two clauses jointly function as a modifier of the head noun:

- (30-36) *Toqa* *naqi* *ki* *na* *ku* *thare-a*
 people this PL REL 1SG.NFUT keep.animal-3.OBJ

botho qoro ki ka talu-da sui
 pig be.many PL 3SG.SEQ surpass-3PL.OBJ EXHST

boqo, kera ngata-buri qani nau.
 INTS 3PL.NFUT speak-behind GENP 1SG

‘These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them, speak (badly) about me behind my back.’ (Lit.: ‘These people, who I keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind my back.’)

If a noun phrase contains a relative clause not marked by the relative-clause marker and also contains the plural marker *ki* with the head noun in its scope, the plural marker can occur before the relative clause, inside the relative clause, or in both places simultaneously, just as is the case with relative clauses that are introduced by the relative-clause marker; see (30-37), (30-38), and (30-39), respectively:

(30-37) *Toqa baa ki [ku ngata bii kera]*
 people that PL 1SG.NFUT speak COM 3PL

kere oli naqa.
 3PL.NFUT return PRF
 ‘The people I spoke with have gone back.’

(30-38) *Kwa riki-a krokodayl, doo [kera*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ crocodile thing 3PL.NFUT

thare-a ki laqu boqo].
 keep.animal-3SG.OBJ PL ADD ASRT
 ‘I saw crocodiles, (a kind of) things they also keep (in the zoo).’

(30-39) *Nau kwa riki-a boqo si doo baa ki*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ ASRT PRTT thing that PL

[qo keda-a ki mai],
 2SG.NFUT write-3SG.OBJ PL VENT
 ‘I saw [here: read] the things you had written (to me),’

30.5. Types of heads of relative clauses

Most commonly the head is a noun:

- (30-40) *Tei n=e qani-a baqu baa ki na*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ banana that PL REL

ku ngaa-ngali-da ma=i roqo?
 1SG.NFUT RDP-carry-3PL.OBJ VENT=LOC yesterday
 ‘Who ate the bananas I brought yesterday?’

The head can be a nominalization; see further below for discussion.
 The head can be an independent personal pronoun:

- (30-41) ... *sa kera faa-taqi nia na kai*
 IRR 3PL.NFUT point.at-TR 3SG REL 3SG.FUT

ili-a raa qeri, ...
 do-3.OBJ work that
 ‘[He mistakenly thought that] they had picked (lit.: pointed at) him
 (as the one) who will do that work’
- (30-42) ... *kera na kera tala-i-a si raa*
 3PL REL 3PL.NFUT lead-TR-3.OBJ PRTT activity

qeri ...
 that
 ‘they/those who led that activity’

However, it is also possible for there to be no lexical head, the function of the head being borne by an object suffix. In (30-43) below, it is the third person plural object suffix *-da* on the verb *talaqa* ‘fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.’, ‘match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.’ that functions in this way. *Talaqa* is a Class 2 transitive verb, and as such cannot take an independent pronoun as its direct object (section 4.2.3.3.1). Unless there is a lexical direct object, the object participant can only be encoded by means of an object suffix.

- (30-43) *Ma botho qeri, botho qana ramo-a, botho*
 and pig that pig GENP be.fierce-DVN pig

qana suukwaqi-a, ta wane si
 GENP be.strong-DVN some man 3SG.NEG

talaqa-da, *[na kere qani-a botho qeri,*
 match-3PL.OBJ REL 3PL.NFUT eat-3.OBJ pig that

botho qana ramo-a]
 pig GENP be.fierce-DVN

‘And that (sacrificial) pig, the pig of fierceness (in fights), the pig of strength, nobody will be able to match them (in fights) (those) who have eaten the pig, the pig of fierceness.’ (That is, eating of the sacrificial pig will give the men who have eaten it fierceness and strength that nobody else will be able to match.)

The head of a relative clause may be the nominalization of a verb, and here there are two main strategies, depending on the verb in the relative clause. In one, the verb in the relative clause is the semantically light Class 1 transitive verb *ili* ‘do’:

(30-44) *Ku* *thathami-a* *fasi-laa* *n=o*
 1SG.NFUT like-3.OBJ plant-NMLZ REL=2SG.NFUT

ili-a *qana* *baqu* *qena* *ki.*
 do-3SG.OBJ GENP banana that(2) PL

‘I like (the way) how you planted those bananas.’ (Lit.: ‘I like the planting that you did to/concerning the bananas.’)

However, this type of relativization is not common, with one exception. The exception concerns cases where the head is a nominalization of another semantically light verb *ade*, which also means ‘do’. The two verbs are synonymous and interchangeable in other contexts (but only *ade* can be used as a causative verb; see section 29.4.9.1). Example (30-45) illustrates their interchangeability:

(30-45) *Taa* *n=o* *{ade-a / ili-a}?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT do-3SG.OBJ / do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you doing?’

Even though the two verbs are interchangeable in some contexts, they are not interchangeable when the two of them occur in relativization where the head is a nominalization; the nominalization must be based on *ade*, and the verb in the relative clause must be *ili*. This type of relativization exhibits some characteristics of a formula. First, the two verbs, even though interchangeable in other contexts, are not interchangeable in the two syntactic positions. And, second, this type of relativization is normally used only with the verb *dora* ‘not know’ in the matrix clause, of which the noun phrase with the nominalized

head functions as an oblique object under the general preposition *qana*. The meaning of the construction is ‘not know what to do’.

- (30-46) *Keka dora qana ade-laa na sa keki*
 3PL.SEQ not.know GENP do-NMLZ REL IRR 3PL.FUT

ili-a

do-3SG.OBJ

‘They did not know what to do.’ ‘They did not know what they might do (to achieve a certain result).’ (They could not think of anything they might do.) (Lit.: ‘They did not know the doing they might do.’)

In (30-47) the partitive particle *si* expresses selection out of a set: they did not know which alternative to take.

- (30-47) *Keka dora qa=si ade-laa keki*
 3PL.SEQ not.know GENP=PRTT do-NMLZ 3PL.FUT

ili-a.

do-3SG.OBJ

‘They did not know what to do/which thing to do.’

Apart from the construction with the nominalization of *ade* ‘do’ as the head, the use of *ili* ‘do’ in relative clauses with head nominalizations is not very common. Much more commonly employed is a strategy that can be referred to as “cognate relativization”. In cognate relativization the verb that occurs in the predicate of the relative clause is (with some qualifications to be discussed later) the same verb that is the base of the head nominalization. The head nominalization does not provide any information beyond that supplied by the verb in the relative clause; it merely serves as the syntactic head for the relative clause.

In cognate relativization, the position relativized is either oblique object or direct object. It is direct object when the verb in the relative clause is transitive and instrument inversion takes place (section 10.7). It is oblique object when the verb in the relative clause is intransitive, or when the verb is transitive and the conditions for instrument inversion do not obtain.

As discussed in section 9.1.3, nominalizations may function as the heads of possessive noun phrases and as the heads of associative noun phrases. In the former type of case they may carry a personal suffix, and in the latter type of case they carry the associative suffix *-qe*. However, in cognate relativization the head nominalization may carry neither a personal suffix nor the associative suffix.

Cognate relativization where the head nominalization is in an oblique relation to the relative clause is discussed first. Unless the verb that occurs in the relative clause requires a specific preposition (see further below), the preposition in the relative clause is the general one *qani*, here in its instrument-marking function. Evidence that the preposition *qani* has a specifically instrument-marking function, rather than just functioning as the general preposition, is provided further below. As discussed in section 10.6, the verb-like (and the noun-like) prepositions are stranded in relativization. For discussion of indexing of the position relativized in oblique-object relativization see section 30.6.3.

In (30-48) the verb that occurs in the relative clause is intransitive, *qai* ‘shout’. The head noun is the nominalization *qai-laa* ‘shouting’.

(30-48) *Qai-laa* *n=e* *qai* *qani-a*
shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT shout INS-3SG.OBJ

e *quna* *qeri*, “...”

3SG.NFUT manner this

‘This is what he shouted, “...”.’ ‘He shouted this, “...”.’ (Lit.: ‘The shouting that he shouted with was thus, “...”.’)

As mentioned in section 9.1.3, nominalizations can cooccur in clauses with verbs they are based on; see example (9-60) there. Another example of such cognate nominalization is given in (30-49) below, which comes from the same text as (30-48). In the text the sentence in (30-49) immediately precedes the one in (30-48), and the two instances of the nominalization *qai-laa* ‘shouting’ have the same referent; see text 2 in the Appendix.

(30-49) *Manga* *n=e* *raa-raqa* *ka* *fula* *i*
time REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-climb 3SG.SEQ arrive LOC

fuufuur-a *qai* *baa*, *nia* *ka* *qai*
crown.of.tree-3.PERS tree that 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout

qana teqe *thaame-q=qai-laa* *n=e*
INS one father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT

baqita.

be.big

‘When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the tree, he gave out a very loud shout.’ (Lit.: ‘When he climbed and climbed and arrived at the crown of the tree, he shouted with a father of a shout that was big.’)

In the next three examples the nominalizations are also based on intransitive verbs, and the stranded prepositions inside the relative clauses mark instruments:

(30-50) *Ma keeroqa keko qono, keko uqunu*
 and 3DU 3DU.SEQ sit 3DU.SEQ converse

qa-daroqa qi maqa fera keeroqa
 SBEN-3DU.PERS LOC CLF house 3DU

buria-na fanga-laa na kera fanga
 after-3.PERS eat-NMLZ REL 3PL.NFUT eat

qani-a qi thaqulafia.
 INS-3SG.OBJ LOC evening

‘And they were sitting and having a conversation in their house after the food they had eaten (lit.: after the eating that they had eaten with) in the evening.’

(30-51) ... *kai manta fasi suli-a raa-laa*
 3SG.FUT think PREC PROL-3.OBJ work-NMLZ

na kai raa qani-a qana biqu qeri
 REL 3SG.FUT work INS-3SG.OBJ GENP house that

qi laa manta-na tootoqonaqo, ...
 LOC IN mind-3SG.PERS earlier.time

‘[When a man wants to build a house,] he will first of all think about the work he will do on the house in his mind (its size, etc.), ...’ (Lit.: ‘... he will first think of the working that he will work with on the house in his mind first, ...’) (That is, the man will make a mental plan of the house first.)

(30-52) *Kera ngata-li-a lae-laa na keki lae*
 3PL.NFUT speak-TR-3.OBJ go-NMLZ REL 3PL.FUT go

ki qani-a.
 PL INS-3SG.OBJ

‘They were discussing where they would go.’ (Lit.: ‘They were discussing the goings they would go with.’)

(For the positioning of the plural marker *ki* inside relative clauses see section 30.3.)

When the verb in the relative clause on which the head nominalization is based is transitive, there are two basic patterns. In one there is no lexical expression of a patient, theme or stimulus inside the relative clause. The patient, theme, or stimulus is encoded only by an object suffix on the verb. The relative clause contains the instrumental preposition *qani*, and the head nominalization is indexed on it by means of the object suffix *-a*. That is, the position relativized is oblique object. This is the case in (30-53) with the head nominalization *riki-laa* ‘seeing’. That which had been seen is referred to by means of the object suffix *-a* on the verb *riki* ‘see’. (The situational demonstrative *neri* has the rest of the whole sentence in its scope, not just the relative clause.)

- (30-53) *Nau ku uqunu sulī-a riki-laa na*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT narrate PROL-3.OBJ see-NMLZ REL
- ni nau ku riki-a qani-a*
 PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ INS-3SG.OBJ

neri.

NPAST.HERE

‘I am talking about what I saw.’ (Lit.: ‘I am talking about the seeing that I saw it with.’)

In the other pattern, there is a lexical expression of the patient, theme, or stimulus in the relative clause. Here instrument inversion takes place. (See section 10.7 for discussion of instrument inversion). The head nominalization has a direct-object relation to the relative clause; that is, the position relativized is direct object. The nominalization is indexed on the verb in the relative clause by means of an object suffix. (See section 30.6.2 for relativization on direct objects.) The patient, theme, or stimulus is expressed as an oblique object with the preposition *qani*, which here functions as the general, not instrumental, preposition.

For example, the verb *furi* ‘cut’ takes a patient direct object in the basic structure (without inversion):

- (30-54) *Furi-a berete qena.*
 cut-3.OBJ bread that(2)
 ‘Cut the bread.’

In the cognate relativization in (30-55) instrument inversion has taken place: the verb *furi* is marked for a direct object, but the patient ‘this *ongi* bamboo’ is realized as an oblique object. It is the head nominalization that has the direct-object relation to the relative clause.

- (30-55) ... *ma ka togo-la-ngani-a si furi-laa na*
 and 3SG.SEQ explain-EXT-TR-3.OBJ PRTT cut-NMLZ REL
- keki furi-a qana fo ongi naqi*
 3PL.FUT cut-3SG.OBJ GENP CLF bamboo.sp this
 ‘... and he explained (to them) how they would cut the *ongi* bamboo
 ...’ (Lit.: ‘... and he explained the cutting they would cut concerning
 this *ongi* bamboo ...’)

Instrument inversion has also taken place in the next two examples. The direct object of *qaru-toqo* (‘fall’-TEST) ‘use’ in the basic structure is a noun phrase that expresses the entity used. In (30-56) the type of entity used, areca nuts, is expressed as an oblique object because of instrument inversion. *Qaru-toqo* ‘use’ is a Class 2 transitive verb, and the object suffix *-na* is retained in the head nominalization (section 9.1.1).

- (30-56) ... *qaru-toqo-na-laa na miki*
 fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ REL 1PL(EXCL).IPFV
- qaru-toqo-na qana qota, na ni nau*
 fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ GENP areca.nut FOC PROFORE 1SG
- ku thathami-a kwai uqunu sul-i-a*
 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate PROL-3SG.OBJ
- si manga qeri.*
 PRTT time this
 ‘... the uses that we have for areca nuts (lit.: the using that we use
 concerning areca nuts), that’s what I want to talk about at this time.’

The verb *kasi* ‘build a house/village’ takes as its direct object in the basic structure noun phrases that designate houses or villages. However, in (30-57) instrument inversion has taken place and the noun phrase *biqu fuu* ‘the house’ is an oblique object:

- (30-57) ... *ka raa sul-i-a si doo n=e*
 3SG.SEQ work PROL-3.OBJ PRTT thing REL=3SG.NFUT

ni=i *laa gwau-na* *ma i laa*
 be.located=LOC IN head-3SG.PERS and LOC IN

manta-na *suli-a* *kasi-laa* *na*
 mind-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ build.house-NMLZ REL

kai *kasi-a* *qana* *biqu* *fuu.*
 3SG.FUT build.house-3SG.OBJ GENP house that
 ‘... he works following the thing [i.e., the plan] that is in his head
 and in his mind for/about how he will build the house (lit.: for/about
 the house-building he will build concerning the house).’

Instrument inversion takes place only in the presence of instrument noun phrases. It takes place in cognate relativization with transitive verbs, which means that the head nominalization expresses a (kind of) instrument. That in turn means that in cognate relativization with intransitive verbs in the relative clause the stranded preposition that indexes the head nominalization has a specifically instrument-marking function rather than functioning as a general preposition.

Cognate relativization where the position relativized is oblique object most frequently involves the instrument preposition in the relative clause, as in the examples above, but that is not the only possibility. In (30-58) below, the position relativized is again oblique, but the (stranded) preposition in the relative clause is the prolative one, not the instrumental one. The verb is reduplicated both in the relative clause and in the head nominalization to express the fact that the activity is temporally extended (section 15.2.3). That relative clause is followed by a juxtaposed relative clause without the relative-clause marker with the third person plural pronoun *kera* as its head.

(30-58) *Fii-fita-laa* *qeri na* *kera kere* *fii-fita*
 RDP-run-NMLZ that REL 3PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-run

suli-a, *kera kera* *qoo-qono* *ki*
 PROL-3SG.OBJ 3PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-sit PL
 ‘... the running [here: jogging] that they do, they/those who are always sitting (in offices all day long and get a little fat).’ (Lit.: ‘... the running that they run along, they who sit’)

The verb *fita* ‘run’ selects the prolative preposition *suli* for its oblique objects that express the place one runs on or along:

- (30-59) ... *kere fita ba-da sula tala qe=ki, ...*
 3PL.NFUT run LIM-3PL.PERS PROL road that=PL
 ‘... they just run [here: jog] on/along those roads, ...’

The choice of a preposition that a verb takes extends to head nominalizations in cognate relativization. For another example of cognate relativization with an intransitive verb that contains a preposition other than the general one see (30-60) below.

The head nominalization in cognate relativization usually has as its base exactly the same verb form that occurs in the relative clause. There is, however, some scope for variation. In (30-58) above, the verb in the relative clause is reduplicated and the head nominalization is based on the reduplicated form of the verb. However, it is possible for the head nominalization to contain a single, non-reduplicated base, even though the verb in the relative clause is reduplicated. In (30-60) below, the verb (a [verb noun] compound) is reduplicated in the relative clause to express past-in-the-past (section 15.1.4), but not in the head nominalization. Here the relative clause contains not the instrumental preposition, but the superessive/confective/‘concerning’ preposition *faafi* (section 10.3.5), selected for by the verb *ofu-manata-a* (*ofu-manta-a*) ‘agree on concerning st.’.

- (30-60) *Keka sifo i maa fasi-a laa nga*
 3PL.SEQ descend LOC outside ABL-3.OBJ IN HESIT
- ofu-manta-laa na kera*
 be.together-think-NMLZ REL 3PL.NFUT
- ofu-fu-manta-a faafi-a kali*
 be.together-RDP-think-3SG.OBJ concerning-3.OBJ small.SG
- grup qeri*
 group that
 ‘They walked out of what they had agreed on concerning that small (musical) group’ (Lit.: ‘... they descended outside from the agreeing/agreement that they had agreed on concerning that small group’)

A construction akin to cognate relativization is employed in focusing. Examples of cognate focusing are given in section 39.2.

30.6. Positions relativized

All the noun phrase positions can be relativized: subject, direct object, oblique object, possessor. However, relativization on oblique objects is not uniform, and not all kinds of oblique-object positions can be relativized, when the bare prepositions (section 10.2) are involved. With two types of exception, there is coding of the position relativized. One exception is relativization on subjects in verbless subjectless clauses, and the other is relativization on temporal adjuncts.

30.6.1. Relativization on subjects

In relative clauses that contain a verb, the norm is for the position relativized to be coded only by means of the subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negative marker:

- (30-61) *Tei n=e soqoni-a kasi era*
 who? FOC=3SG.NFUT light.fire-3.OBJ small fire
- loo na kai tharu loqo?*
 upward REL 3SG.IPFV burn up.there
 ‘Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?’

In (30-62) the relative clause is negative:

- (30-62) ... *tai si manta-a ki n=e=aqi*
 some.PL PRTT think-DVN PL REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV
- si kokoto laqu boqo qana bali*
 3SG.NFUT be.correct ADD ASRT GENP side
- toq=qe=ki ...*
 people=that=PL
 ‘... some other ideas that were not correct with respect to (lit.: at the side of) those people’ ‘... some other ideas that were not correct according to those people’

Relativization on subjects with an independent pronoun in the subject position in the relative clause in addition to the subject marker is possible but not usual. Of the two options in (30-63), variant (a), with only the subject marker, is preferred over variant (b), which contains the pronoun as well:

- (30-63) a. *Wane n=e kumu nau*
 man REL=3SG.NFUT punch 1SG
qe thaka.
 3SG.NFUT run.away
 ‘The man who punched me ran away.’
- b. *Wane na ni=e kumu nau*
 man REL 3SG=3SG.NFUT punch 1SG
qe thaka.
 3SG.NFUT run.away
 ‘The man who punched me ran away.’

In relativization on subjects, the position relativized is (normally) coded by the subject marker, but it is not always the case that that subject marker merely copies the person and number features of the head. First, a singular subject marker can be used even though the noun phrase is plural, especially if the referent of the noun phrase is not human or other higher-animate, as in (30-62) further above. (See section 4.9 for lack of agreement in the case of the subject markers.) There are also types of relativization where the subject marker in the relative clause is independently meaningful in the sense that it does contribute information on the person and the number of the subject which are different from the person and the number of the head. One type where that is the case is relativization that involves a (split) inclusory construction (section 14.3.) In (30-64) the noun phrase has a singular referent, but the subject marker in the relative clause is first person dual exclusive: its reference includes that of the head (the woman) and the speaker: ‘we (two)’.

- (30-64) ... *ai na mere raa ofu*
 woman REL 1DU(EXCL).NFUT work be.together
qe oli naqa uri-a Japan.
 3SG.NFUT return PRF ALL-3.OBJ Japan
 ‘... the woman I worked together with (lit.: the woman that we worked together) has returned to Japan.’

It is also possible for the subject marker in a relative clause to encode some of the participants in the speech act, even though the head, of itself, does not. In (30-65) the head noun is *toqa* ‘people’, and it is the second person plural subject marker that explicitly encodes the addressees:

- (30-65) ... *qe faara-na toqa na mulu biqi*
 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ people REL 2PL.NFUT IMM
- baqita ki muka riki=si kula qeri, ...*
 be.big PL 2PL.SEQ see:3.OBJ=PRTT place that
 ‘... it is possible for you, young, adolescent people, to see this way
 (lit.: this place) [of being respectful to a married woman] ...’ (Lit.:
 ‘... it fits the people who you are recently big you will see this place
’)

In (30-66) the relative clause is elaborative, non-restrictive, and the addressee is singular:

- (30-66) *Good, mak=kamiliqa, n=o nii*
 God father=1PL(EXCL) REL=2SG.NFUT be.located
- ma=i heven,*
 VENT=LOC heaven
 ‘God, our father, who (you) are in heaven,’

In (30-67) too the relative clause is elaborative. The subject marker refers to a group of which the speaker is a member:

- (30-67) *Toqa inamae na mili*
 people be.powerless REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT
- rongo-a mika maqu mala*
 hear.about-3SG.OBJ 1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.afraid EQT
- nai.*
 bird.sp.
 ‘We, powerless people, who heard about it [the Second World War],
 (we) were scared like a *nai* (bird).’ (Lit.: ‘Powerless people, who we
 heard about it, (we) were afraid like a *nai*.’) (The *nai* is a nocturnal
 bird that is said to be afraid to come out at daytime.)

Relativization where the subject marker does not merely copy the person and number features of the head also occurs in the predicate of ascriptive sentences (section 27.2.3). The choice of the subject marker in the relative clause is determined by the subject of the ascriptive sentence, not by the head of the verbless predicate, which is also the head of the relative clause. In this kind of construction, the relative-clause marker is often absent. In (30-68) the head of

the predicate and the relative clause is third person singular, but the subject of the ascriptive sentence is first person singular, and so is the subject marker in the relative clause:

- (30-68) *Qoo, nau ai ku mae bo=naqa!*
 oh! 1SG woman 1SG.NFUT be.dead ASRT=PRF
 ‘Oh, I am a dead woman!’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I (am) a woman who am dead.’) (Said by a person who was convinced she was about to die.)

Similarly, in (30-69) the subject marker in the relative clause is second person singular, because the subject of the ascriptive sentence is second person singular:

- (30-69) *Qoe wane qo uusulifaqa.*
 2SG man 2SG.NFUT be.jinxed
 ‘You are a bad-luck man.’ ‘You are a man who brings bad luck to others.’ (Lit.: ‘You (are) a man (who) you are jinxed.’)

Verbless relative clauses are normally subjectless, and there is no coding of the position relativized. In (30-70) the verbless subjectless relative clause is *thaama-na baqekwa ki* ‘(fish) which (were) big sharks’:

- (30-70) ... *mika lio, mika riki-a*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ

iqa qe=ki na thaama-na baqekwa ki
 fish that=PL REL father-3.PERS shark PL
 ‘... we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks’

30.6.2. Relativization on direct objects

With Class 2 transitive verbs, the position relativized can only be coded by an object suffix on the verb:

- (30-71) *Tha wela qeri mena ka tataqe*
 PERSMKR guy that FADD 3SG.SEQ come.up.with.idea

mai faafi-a teqe si manta-a
 VENT CONF-3.OBJ one PRTT think-DVN

n=e=aqi mesi thaitoqoma-na
 REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1DU(EXCL).NEG understand-3SG.OBJ

leqa ba-mareqa.

be.good LIM-1DU(EXCL).PERS

‘That guy had come up with an idea that we just did not understand well.’

With Class 1 transitive verbs coding by means of an object suffix is the normal strategy:

(30-72) *Keka waqe-li-a aga-a qeri, qana*
3PL.SEQ dance-TR-3.OBJ play.panpipes-DVN that INS

tai thango na kera fasi-da
some.PL cordyline.sp REL 3PL.NFUT plant-3PL.OBJ

ki

PL

‘They danced at the panpipe feast [at the feast where panpipes were played], with/using (branches from) cordylines that they had planted’

For details concerning the indexing of grammatical number with the object suffixes see section 4.9.

With Class 1 transitive verbs it is possible for the position relativized to be coded by means of an independent pronoun in the object position. This strategy is not common and is normally employed only when the referent of the noun phrase is human. Of the two options in (30-73), variant (a), with the object suffix, is preferred over variant (b), with the pronoun in the object position:

(30-73) a. *Wane na ku kumu-a qe*
man REL 1SG.NFUT punch-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

thaka.

run.away

‘The man who I punched ran away.’

b. *Wane na ku kumu nia qe*
man REL 1SG.NFUT punch 3SG 3SG.NFUT

thaka.

run.away

‘The man who I punched ran away.’

Relativization on direct objects also serves to express comparison of inequality, using the transitive verb *talu* (chapter 25):

- (30-74) *Toqa naqi ki na ku thare-a*
 people this PL REL 1SG.NFUT keep.animal-3.OBJ
- botho qoro ki ka talu-da sui*
 pig be.many PL 3SG.SEQ surpass-3PL.OBJ EXHST
- boqo, kera ngata-buri qani nau.*
 INTS 3PL.NFUT speak-behind GENP 1SG
 ‘These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them,
 speak (badly) about me behind my back.’ (Lit.: ‘These people, who I
 keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind
 my back.’)

30.6.3. Relativization on oblique objects

Here the relativization strategies vary depending on the type of preposition involved, noun-like, verb-like, or bare. Relativization on objects of two out of the three bare prepositions is not possible; see further below. When the head noun phrase corresponds to the object of a noun-like or a verb-like preposition, the preposition is obligatorily stranded behind. The first set of examples illustrates relativization with the noun-like prepositions. The noun-like prepositions carry a personal suffix that codes the position relativized. (Since the noun-like prepositions cannot occur with an independent personal pronoun in the possessor position, the position relativized cannot be coded by means of a pronoun.) Prepositional phrases headed by the noun-like prepositions are themselves normally complements of the locative preposition *qi* in stacked prepositional phrases (sections 10.4.1 and 10.5). The first two examples contain the recipient/benefactive and the goal prepositions, respectively:

- (30-75) *Wela na ku fale-a fanga qi*
 child REL 1SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ food LOC
- fa-da kera thaofa qasia naqa.*
 REC-3PL.PERS 3PL.NFUT be.hungry INTS INTS
 ‘The children that I gave food to were very hungry.’
- (30-76) *Wane na ku faa-tani-a malefo*
 man REL 1SG.NFUT show-TR-3.OBJ shell.money

nau qi sa-na wane i Merika.
 1SG LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS man LOC America
 ‘The man I showed my (traditional) shell money to was an American.’

With the verb-like prepositions, the position relativized is coded by means of an object suffix on the preposition, except that in noun phrases with human referents an independent personal pronoun may be used instead of an object suffix, for which see further below.

(30-77) *Naifa na ku lae uri-a*
 knife REL 1SG.NFUT go PURP-3SG.OBJ

qe=aqi si ni=i kula lakoo.
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.located=LOC place that(3)
 ‘The knife I went for (the knife I went to get) was not there.’

(30-78) ... *tala qeri na kero lae suli-a*
 path that REL 3DU.NFUT walk PROL-3SG.OBJ

ka tatha karangi-a maa-na teqe
 3SG.SEQ pass be.near.to-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS one

kilu kwasi.
 hole be.deep
 ‘... the path they were walking on (lit.: along) passed near the mouth of a deep hole.’

When the head noun designates a human, the position relativized may be coded by means of an independent personal pronoun as the object of the preposition. The use of independent pronouns with the verb-like prepositions to code the position relativized is not as uncommon as it is with relativization on subjects and on direct objects (section 30.6.1 and 30.6.2, respectively).

(30-79) *Imole na ku ngali-a course qeri bii*
 person REL 1SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ course that COM

kerā, kerā ade leqa qasia naqa
 3PL 3PL.NFUT behave be.nice INTS INTS

‘The people I took the course with behaved very nicely [i.e., they were very kind]’

In (30-80) instrument inversion has taken place in the relative clause (section 10.7), and the general preposition *qana* has the patient rather than the instrument noun phrase as its complement:

- (30-80) *Nii fana qoko na kuki kani-a*
 be.located where? rope REL PL(INCL).FUT tie-3SG.OBJ
qana botho naqi?
 GENP pig this
 ‘Where is the rope we’ll tie this pig with?’

In relativization on locatives and locative goals, the position relativized is coded by means of the locative pro-form *ei* (section 10.2.2), unless it is coded on a preposition, as in (30-78) above. The pro-form is the complement of the bare locative preposition *qi* (*i*).

- (30-81) ... *kula na meki too i ei*
 place REL 1DU(EXCL).IPFV be.located LOC LOCPRO
 ‘... the place where we were’

Compare (30-82), without a relative clause, where the locative preposition has an oblique object *in situ*:

- (30-82) *Kamareqa meka too i kula qeri.*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ be.located LOC place that
 ‘We were at that place.’

In (30-83) the location is a goal one:

- (30-83) *Nau kwasi riki-a waqi na maka nau*
 1SG 1SG.NEG see-3.OBJ basket REL father 1SG
qe alu-a lif-iqa qeri qi ei.
 3SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ tooth-fish that LOC LOCPRO
 ‘I haven’t seen the basket where my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament.’

As mentioned in section 10.2.2, the locative pro-form is not normally used in relativization on temporal obliques, except when the temporal expression signifies a relatively extended period of time within which the situation may be metaphorically located, but even there it is rare. The first example below shows

the optional presence of the locative pro-form. The variant without the pro-form is preferred.

- (30-84) *Qo thaitoqoma-na fa ngali na wane qeri*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ CLF year REL man that
qe mae (i ei)?
 3SG.NFUT die LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Do you know what year the man died?’ (Lit.: ‘Do you know the year that the man died [in it]?’)

In the next two examples there is no coding of the position relativized:

- (30-85) *Fa bongi na kwai lae, qoe mena*
 CLF day REL 1SG.FUT go 2SG FADD
qoki lae laqu boqo fasi-a.
 2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.’
- (30-86) *Qo thaitoqoma-na si manga na firu-a*
 2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ PRTT time REL fight-DVN
e fula i fanu kulu?
 3SG.NFUT arrive LOC land PL(INCL)
 ‘Do you know (the time) when the war arrived in our land?’

The general locative preposition *qi* is the only bare preposition whose objects can be relativized; see (30-81) and (30-82) further above.

The bare inessive preposition *laa* does not occur in relativization on locative obliques. It is replaced in relative clauses by the locational noun *laal-a* ‘inside’ (section 10.8.9). Compare (30-87) with *laal-a* and a similar sentence in (30-83) with the locative pro-form *ei*.

- (30-87) *Nau kwasi riki-a waqi na maka nau*
 1SG 1SG.NEG see-3.OBJ basket REL father 1SG
qe alu-a lif-iqa qeri qi laal-a.
 3SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ tooth-fish that LOC inside-3SG.PERS
 ‘I haven’t seen the basket my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in (lit.: in its inside).’

Compare (30-88), without relativization, where either the bare preposition *laa* or the locational noun *laal-a* can be used:

(30-88) *Maka nau qe alu-a lif-iqa qi*
 father 1SG 3SG.SEQ put-3.OBJ tooth-fish LOC

{laa / laal-a} teqe waqi.
 IN inside-3.PERS one basket

‘My father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in/inside a basket.’

There is no relativization on obliques in comparison of equality where the equative preposition *mala* (section 10.2.4) is used otherwise. Instead, the transitive verb *quri* ‘resemble, look like, be like’ is used in the relative clause and the position relativized is direct object:

(30-89) ... *mika lio, mika riki-a*
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ

iqa qe=ki na thaama-na baqekwa ki
 fish that=PL REL father-3.PERS shark PL

na maatonga-n=e quri-a
 REL midriff-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ

ba-na niu qena ki,
 LIM-3SG.PERS coconut that(2) PL

‘... we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks whose midriffs were like those coconut (trees) (over there) [i.e., whose midriffs were as big/long as those coconut (trees)]’

30.6.4. Relativization on possessors

The way in which possessors are coded in relative clauses in relativization on possessors depends on the type of the possessive noun phrase involved, suffixing or bare (section 8.1). If relativization on possessor involves a suffixing possessive construction, the possessor is coded by means of a personal suffix on the possessum noun inside the relative clause. In (30-90) – (30-92) the personal suffixes indexing the head, possessor noun are in bold.

- (30-90) *Kwa riki-a biikok na kuki*
 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ peacock REL PL(INCL).IPFV
- rii-riki-a nuu-na i seqe-na*
 RDP-see-3.OBJ picture-3SG.PERS LOC body-3.PERS

kaleko qena ki nena, ...
 clothes that(2) PL there(2)

‘[In the zoo] I saw peacocks, which we (only) see pictures of on those clothes there (lit.: on the body of those clothes there; here: wraparounds, which often have colourful patterns) ...’ (The speaker points at the designs on some of the addressees’ clothes.)

In (30-91) the possessum noun is a nominalization:

- (30-91) *Nau ku thathamia kwai*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT
- thau-ngani=ta doo na riki-la-na*
 make-TR:3.OBJ=some thing REL look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

kai qeeqeta fasi-a subi na
 3SG.FUT be.different ABL-3.OBJ k.o.war.club REL

tha Fiuomea e thau-ngani-a.
 PERSMKR Fiuomea 3SG.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ

‘I want to make something that will look different (lit.: whose looking-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuomea made.’

This type of construction also applies to locational nouns (section 10.8):

- (30-92) *Mata n=o qono qi fafo-na nena*
 mat REL=2SG.NFUT sit LOC top-3SG.PERS there(2)

qe biliqa.
 3SG.NFUT be dirty

‘The mat you’re sitting on is dirty.’

For another example with a locational noun see (30-87) further above.

If relativization on possessor involves a bare possessive construction, the position relativized is coded in the relative clause by means of an independent

personal pronoun in the possessor position. In (30-93) and (30-94) the possessor pronouns are in bold.

- (30-93) *Wane na ku thau-ngani-a redio **nia***
 man REL 1SG.NFUT fix-TR-3.OBJ radio 3SG
- qe aqi si fula quu.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NFUT arrive ANTCONT
 ‘The man whose radio I fixed has not arrived yet.’

In (30-94) the relative clause is verbless:

- (30-94) ... *ni kera, imole na ngali **kera ki***
 PROFORE 3PL person REL canarium.nut 3PL PL
- neri, lae keka riqi ongi,*
 NPAST.HERE go 3PL.SEQ cut.bamboo bamboo.sp
- uri-a lula-la-na bii-na*
 PURP-3.OBJ pour-NMLZ-3.PERS bamboo.container-3SG.PERS
- ngali.*
 canarium.nut
 ‘... they, the people whose canarium nuts (they are), they will go and cut (lengths of) *ongi* bamboo to pour the canarium nuts into (for storage) (lit.: for pouring containers of canarium nuts).’

30.7. Separation of a head noun and its relative clause

Most commonly, a head noun and its relative clause (that is the relative clause that modifies it) occur within the noun phrase headed by that noun, although they may be separated by material internal to that noun phrase. However, putting aside cases of two (or more) relative clauses modifying the same head noun, that is not necessarily so. A head noun and its relative clause may be separated from each other by material that is not part of that noun phrase. There are two such types of separation of a head noun and its relative clause: long-distance relativization and detachment.

30.7.1. Long-distance relativization

In long-distance relativization, a head noun and its relative clause are separated by another clause with which the relative clause is in construction. Here two subtypes may be distinguished. In one, the intervening clause is a higher clause of which the relative clause is a complement. In (30-95) the relative clause *sa kwai fale-a kau* ‘I would send’ is separated from the head noun *doo* ‘thing’ by the complement-taking verb *ala-ngani-a* ‘promise it’ and its subject marker:

- (30-95) ... *nau ku kwai-manata-i qasia naqa uri-a*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT LIP-think-TR INTS INTS ALL-3.OBJ
- teqe si doo ku ala-ngani-a sa*
 one PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT promise-TR-3.OBJ IRR
- kwai fale-a kau, iiqee.*
 1SG.FUT send-3SG.OBJ VENT alas!
 ‘... I feel very bad about something that I promised to send (to you)
 (but have not), alas.’

In (30-96) there are two relative clauses modifying the same head noun. The first relative clause is adjacent to the head noun. The other one functions as a complement of a higher clause that follows the first relative clause. The higher clause and its complement are in bold.

- (30-96) *Manta-toqo-na-la-na mena iqa qe=ki*
 think.about-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3.PERS FADD fish that=PL
- na kero ngali-a mai na kero*
 REL 3DU.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ VENT REL 3DU.NFUT
- maa-manta-toqo-na sa keki fale-a qana***
 RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 3DU.FUT give-3SG.OBJ GENP
- wela qeri ka aqi naqa.*
 child that 3SG.SEQ not.be.so PRF
 ‘Their minds were also no longer on the fish that they had brought
 (and) that they had thought they would give to their (lit.: that) child
 but never did.’ (Lit.: ‘Thinking also of the fish that they had brought
 that they had thought they would give to that child was no longer.’)

In the other subtype of long-distance relativization, the intervening clause and the relative clause are in asyndetic coordination with each other. The relationship between the event encoded in the first, intervening clause and the second, relative clause is such that the former leads to, results in, the latter. The intervening clause does not have a position in its argument structure to accommodate the noun phrase with the relative clause in it. As discussed in section 30.4, sequences of relative clauses that encode situations that occur in close temporal sequence, with a cause-effect relation between them, normally receive only one relative-clause marking (if any), with the first relative clause, as if they formed a macro-unit. In the type of case discussed here too, the relative clause and the clause that precedes it can be viewed as forming a macro-unit in the sense that the relative-clause marker precedes the first clause. However, the first clause is not relative because the relevant noun phrase is not part of its argument structure. The first clause may contain a verb of translational motion, most commonly, but not exclusively, *lae* ‘go’. (The verb ‘go’ also occurs in several “reduced” structures in purpose constructions; see section 33.3.3.)

In (30-97) below, there are two relative clauses. With respect to the first one, the position relativized is direct object, and it is coded on the transitive verb. With respect to the second one, the position relativized is oblique object and it is coded on the general preposition. There is an intransitive clause with the verb *lae* ‘go’ that intervenes between the head noun and the two relative clauses. The verb *lae* is intransitive, and there is no oblique-object position associated with it in (30-97). This means that the head noun could only correspond to its subject, but the verb has a different subject. Nevertheless the relative-clause marker precedes the clause with the verb ‘go’.

(30-97) *Futa na koro lae koka*
 possum REL DU(INCL).NFUT go DU(INCL).SEQ

ngali-a ki mai ma kosi qani-a
 carry-3SG.OBJ PL VENT and DU(INCL).NEG eat-3.OBJ

boqo ta sii qani-a.
 ASRT some piece GENP-3SG.OBJ

‘(All these) possums that we have brought after going (on a hunt) and that we have not eaten a (single) piece of.’ (Lit.: ‘The possums that we have gone (and) brought and have not eaten any piece of.’)
 (Two boys complaining to each other about how every time they catch a possum and cook it, an ogre comes and eats it all by himself.)

Similarly in the next example, where too a clause with the verb *lae* ‘go’ intervenes between the head noun and two relative clauses. Here too the clause with the verb ‘go’ does not function as a relative clause; nevertheless, the relative-clause marker is placed before it.

- (30-98) ... *ka* *thathami-a kai* *faa-tani-a* *doo*
 3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT show-TR-3.OBJ thing
- n=e* *laa-lae ka* *rongo-a* *mai*
 REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-go 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ VENT
- ma ka* *ngali-a* *ma=i* *Daadanitalau.*
 and 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ VENT=LOC Daadanitalau
 ‘... he wanted to show (them) the thing that having gone (there) he heard and (and as a result) brought from Daadanitalau.’ (Lit.: ‘... he wanted to show [them] the thing that he had gone, heard and brought at Daadanitalau.’)

In (30-99) the intervening clause contains the intransitive verb of motion *tatha* ‘pass by’. The position relativized is direct object. It is coded on the verbs in the subsequent two relative clauses, not in the clause that contains *tatha*:

- (30-99) *Tai nuu-qi doo na ku tatha*
 some.PL picture-ASSOC thing REL 1SG.NFUT pass.by
- kwa riki-a na arekwao kera*
 1SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ REL white.person 3PL.NFUT
- keda-a, nuu-na wane ki na ka*
 paint-3SG.OBJ picture-3.PERS person PL REL 3SG.SEQ
- too sula tala qe=ki, ma baqe-laa ni bana*
 be.located PROL road that=PL and speak-NMLZ LIG LIM
- n=e aqi.*
 FOC=3SG.NFUT not.exist
 ‘Some of the pictures that I saw while passing by that white people had painted, (they were) pictures of people that were (placed) along the roads, and all that was missing was (them) speaking [i.e., they were so lifelike; speaking about pictures of people on billboards].’ (Lit.: ‘Some pictures that I passed by and saw them that white people had painted them,’)

Another type of case where a clause often intervenes between a head noun and its relative clause concerns the verb *lio* ‘look’. A clause with the intransitive verb *lio* ‘look’ and a clause with the transitive verb *riki* ‘see’ are frequently paired together in that order. Sometimes the *lio* clause serves merely to introduce the *riki* clause, without contributing much or any information of its own. Not infrequently *lio* ‘look’ in the first clause occurs without its own subject marker:

- (30-100) *Wela qe=ki lio keka riki-a tha*
 child that=PL look 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ PERSMKR

Suriaoa

Suriaoa

‘The children looked and saw Suriaoa [a pet bird]’

In (30-101) there are two relative clauses but only the first one is introduced by the relative-clause marker (see section 30.4.). That clause, with *lio* ‘look’, does not contribute much information.

- (30-101) *Manga na tha Fiuoomea qe lio*
 time REL PERSMKR Fiuoomea 3SG.NFUT look

ka riki-a ngasi qeri, ka
 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ sugarcane that 3SG.SEQ

tango-a, “....”

admire-3SG.OBJ

‘When Fiuoomea (looked and) saw the sugar cane, he admired it, (“Oh, this thing looks very nice.”).’

In (30-102) the *lio* clause is redundant. It does not function as a relative clause (and lacks a subject marker). The position relativized is direct object, coded only on the verb *riki* in the subsequent relative clause. Nevertheless, the relative-clause marker is placed before the *lio* clause.

- (30-102) *Tai qanamola ki na ni nau lio kwa*
 some.PL animal PL REL PROFORE 1SG look 1SG.SEQ

riki-da, qe aqi kwasi rii-riki-a
 see-3PL.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG RDP-see-3.OBJ

quu boqo seqe-da.

ANTCONT ASRT body-3PL.OBJ

‘Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality before.’ (Lit.: ‘Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen their bodies.’)

30.7.2. Detachment of head nouns and their relative clauses

By detachment are meant here two types of case. One of them involves extraposition of the relative clause to the right, away from the head noun and across intervening material that is not part of the overall noun phrase. In (30-103) the head noun is *maala* ‘sore’. Its relative clause occurs after the predicate of which *maala* is the subject. The relative clause is in brackets.

(30-103) *Wane na tha Liliqa, maala qe*
 man REL PERSMKR Liliqa sore 3SG.NFUT

tharu-fi-a qae-na [na keki
 (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ leg-3SG.PERS REL 3PL.IPFV

qalangi-a qana “basi”].
 name-3SG.OBJ GENP *basi*

‘This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who [was] Liliqa), his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called “*basi*” [yaws] (lit.: a sore afflicted his leg that they name “*basi*”).’

Extraposition has also taken place in (30-104) and (30-105), where the head nouns are *doo* ‘thing’ and *fanga* ‘food’, respectively:

(30-104) *Qoo, ma doo qeri ka leqa [na kai*
 oh, and thing this 3SG.SEQ be.good REL 3SG.IPFV

ngeqe-ngeqe neri].
 RDP-squeal NPAST.HERE

‘Oh, this one (lit.: this thing) [a possum] should be good that’s squealing here.’ (Said when hunting possums and hearing a possum squeal.)

(30-105) *Ma ni qoe, fanga e qoro*
 and PROFORE 2SG food 3SG.NFUT be.numerous

mamana boqo [n=o qani-a ku=neqe].
 be.true ASRT REL=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ place=this
 ‘And you, that’s truly a lot of food that you have eaten here.’ (Lit.:
 ‘And you, the foods are truly numerous that you have eaten [at] this
 place.’)

In the other type of detachment, it is the head noun that is placed away from its relative clause. The head noun occurs in the topic position before the matrix clause, while the relative clause is “stranded” behind. This kind of topicalization appears to take place only when there is another, primary topic. The head noun functions as a secondary topic. (As discussed in section 38.6, double topics are not unusual in Toqabaqita). In (30-106) the primary topic is the speaker, encoded by means of the first person singular pronoun, and there is a secondary, generic topic *wane* ‘a man’. The relative clause is elaborative: it characterizes a category of men. The immediately preceding context is about whether men who do a certain job in church should be shown special respect.

(30-106) *Nau, wane kwasi faqa-baqita-a*
 1SG man 1SG.NEG CAUS-be.big.-3SG.OBJ

[n=e ili-a raa naqi neqe], thaqa
 REL=3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ work this VIVID hey!

wane!
 man!

[Previous speaker: ‘The people that will be assigned to that work, will you (plural) show (special) respect to them?’] ‘I, a man, I do not show (special) respect to him who does this work, guys!’ ‘As for me, a man who does this kind of work, I do not show special respect to him, guys!’

(*Faqa-baqita*, lit. ‘make big’, designates behaving (highly) respectfully to certain people, showing special respect to them.)

In (30-107) too the primary topic is the speaker. The secondary topic is a kind of ear decoration mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. In (30-107) it is referred to by means of *doo* ‘(the) thing’ in the secondary topic position.

(30-107) *Qoo, koqo kera, nau, doo ku thathami-a*
 oh! friend 3PL 1SG thing 1SG.NFUT like-3SG.OBJ

qasia naqa [n=e nii i
 INTS INTS REL=3SG.NFUT be.located LOC

alinga-marōqa nena].

ear-2DU.PERS NPAST.THERE

‘[He (an ogre) saw the two children who had decorated themselves with the fruit of the *raaraga* plant, and it looked very nice in their ears, (and) it was red.] Oh, friends, I, the thing, I like it very much that is in your ears.’

Chapter 31

Conditional sentences

31.1. The protasis and the apodosis

31.1.1. The structures

Most commonly, the protasis is marked by means of clause-initial *mada* ‘or’, or one of its variant forms, immediately followed by the irrealis marker, whose basic form is *sa* (section 18.2). *Mada* also functions as a disjunctive coordinator with phrases and clauses (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4, respectively) and to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition (section 18.5.3).

- (31-1) *Mada sa dani qe qaru, qe=aqi*
or IRR rain 3SG.NFUT fall 3SG.NFUT=NEGV
- kwasi lae.*
1SG.NEG go
‘If it rains, I won’t go.’

Mada and *sa* frequently fuse together as *ma=sa*:

- (31-2) *Ma=sa dani qe qaru, qe=aqi*
or=IRR rain 3SG.NFUT fall 3SG.NFUT=NEGV
- kwasi lae.*
1SG.NEG go
‘If it rains, I won’t go.’

Occasionally, *mada* is realized as *man* when it fuses with the irrealis marker: *man=sa*. The *n* reflects the prenasalization of the *d* in *mada*.

- (31-3) *Man=sa kulu lae kau, kuka*
or=IRR PL(INCL).NFUT go AND PL(INCL).SEQ

oli mai faafi-a.
 return VENT CONF-3SG.OBJ
 ‘If we go (there), we’ll come back with it [i.e., we will bring it back with us].’

It is even possible for ‘or’ to be realized as *mana* before the irrealis marker, although this is not common. The form *mana* is most likely the result of reintroduction of the final *a* to the reduced form *man*.

(31-4) ... *mana sa nia ka manta uri-a,*
 or IRR 3SG 3SG.SEQ think ALL-3SG.OBJ

kai ngali-a ta botho
 3SG.FUT take-3.OBJ some pig
 ‘... if he thinks about it [what to contribute to a feast], (he knows) he will take a pig’

The irrealis marker sometimes has the form *so*, rather than *sa*:

(31-5) ... *mada so qo laa-lae qoko*
 or IRR 2SG.SEQ RDP-walk 2SG.SEQ

toda-a ta gwauliqi ai
 come.across-3.OBJ some married.person woman

suli=ta kada tala, ma qoko lae
 PROL:3.OBJ=some block path and 2SG.SEQ walk

bii-a, qe=aqi qosi laebiibii
 COM-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG walk.close.to.sb.

buir-a.
 behind-3SG.PERS
 ‘... if you are walking and come across a married woman [another man’s wife] on a stretch of a path and (if) you are walking in the same direction (lit.: walking with her), you do not walk closely behind her.’

See also (31-7) and (31-10) below.

Instead of the combination of ‘or’ and the irrealis marker, the protasis can be introduced by means of the form *laalae*. *Laalae* is a reduplication of the verb *lae* ‘go’. As a grammatical element, *laalae* is used primarily to introduce tem-

poral ‘when’ clauses (section 35.2.2). When it marks the protasis of a conditional sentence, *laalae* is treated here as a unitary form and is glossed ‘if’. The use of *laalae* to introduce protases is less common than the use of *mada sa*.

- (31-6) *Qigi-toqo-na fasi fa niu qena. Laalae*
 shake-TEST-3.OBJ PREC CLF coconut that(2) if
- suul-a qe nii qi*
 coconut.water-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.located LOC
- ei, qoko ngali-a.*
 LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
- ‘Check the coconut first by shaking it. If there is water in it, take it.’

In the sentence in (31-7), there are two protases. The first one is introduced by ‘or’ and the irrealis marker (in its form *so*), while the second one is introduced by *laalae*:

- (31-7) *Mada so e thato, kwai lae*
 or IRR 3SG.NFUT (weather)be.clear 1SG.FUT go
- qana uusi-a, laalae qe=aqi si*
 GENP buy-DVN if 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG
- thato, nau qe=aqi kwasi lae.*
 (weather)be.clear 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG go
- ‘If it is clear, I’ll go to the market; if it is not clear, I won’t go.’

A clause introduced by *laalae* may function as a protasis or as a temporal ‘when’ clause:

- (31-8) *Laalae qo fula mai, nau kwai fale-a*
 if/when 2SG.NFUT arrive VENT 1SG 1SG.FUT give-3.OBJ
- fanga qi fa-mu.*
 food LOC REC-2SG.PERS
- a. ‘If you come, I will give you food.’
 b. ‘When you come, I will give you food.’

It is possible for *laalae* and the combination of ‘or’ and the irrealis marker jointly to introduce a protasis, with *laalae* coming first:

- (31-9) *Laalae ma=sa kuka lae ofu, nia*
 if or=IRR PL(INCL).SEQ go be.together 3SG
ka thaka nena.
 3SG.SEQ escape NPAST.THERE
 ‘If we go together [to catch a bird], it will escape [i.e., it will fly away].’

- (31-10) *Laalae mada so e qaru qi qusungadi,*
 if or IRR 3SG.NFUT fall LOC tomorrow
qe aqi kusi kafara.
 3SG.NFUT NEGV PL(INCL).NEG make.copra
 ‘If it rains tomorrow, we won’t make copra.’

However, while the combination of ‘or’ and the irrealis marker is available for all types of conditions (see section 31.2), *laalae* is not available for counterfactual conditions. (As a temporal marker, *laalae* can be used only with reference to states of affairs subsequent to the time of reference or to general, temporally unrestricted states of affairs.)

- (31-11) *{Ma=sa / *laalae} qosi qaa-qadomi nau, nau sa*
 or=IRR / if 2SG.NEG RDP-help 1SG 1SG IRR
kwa qadomi qoe qe aqi.
 1SG.SEQ help 2SG 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘If you had not helped me, I would not have helped you.’

A single protasis marker may have more than one protasis in its scope. The protases are in coordination with each other.

- (31-12) *Mada s=o lae qi laa qamali qoko*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT go LOC IN sea 2SG.SEQ
dee-toqo-na iqa qeri, qoki
 catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ fish that 2SG.FUT
faqa-mamane-qa-a si doo qeri na fa
 CAUS-be.true-PROP-3.OBJ PRPT thing that COMP CLF
io qeri qe ngela qi maqa
 arrow that 3SG.NFUT stick.out LOC CLF

daar-a, ka ngela bo=naq=i
 forehead-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ stick.out ASRT=INTS=LOC

taraqena.

today

‘If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, you will believe the thing (that I said) that the arrow stuck out from its head and has been sticking out until today.’ (Discussing a species of fish whose appearance is said to be due to an arrow having been stuck into its head.)

See also the first two clauses in (31-5) further above.

Topicalized constituents occur before the protasis. In (31-13) the topic corresponds to the subject of the protasis:

(31-13) *Ma wela qeri, mada sa ka ade*
 and child that or IRR 3SG.SEQ act

ba-na sul-i-a thaina-na bia maka
 LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS and father

nia, nia sa ka toda-a mae-la-na
 3SG 3SG IRR 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

qa=fa bongi qeri qe aqi.

GENP=CLF day that 3SG.NFUT not.be.so

‘And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death on that day.’

In (31-14) the topic is unlinked (section 38.5):

(31-14) *Kamiliqa, mada sa ta wane ka qasila,*
 1PL(EXCL) or IRR some person 3SG.SEQ sneeze

ka quna qeri, “Qoo, ta wane qe
 3SG.SEQ manner this oh some person 3SG.NFUT

qai-thata-ku.”

call-name-1SG.OBJ

‘With us (the custom is), if a person sneezes, he or she will say, “Oh, somebody has called, mentioned my name.”.’

The relation between propositions may be conditional without any overt conditional marking, as in the next two examples:

- (31-15) *Wane e thathami-a malefo qoro,*
 man 3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ money be.numerous
- ka raa suukwaqi qana kafara ma koukou.*
 3SG.SEQ work be.strong GENP copra and cocoa
 ‘If a man wants (to have) a lot of money, he works/will work hard on copra and cocoa.’ (Lit.: ‘A man wants (to have) a lot of money, he works/will work hard on copra and cocoa.’)

(Even though *malefo* may today be used to designate modern money, it also signifies traditional shell money, which was arranged in strings; hence the use of *qoro* ‘be numerous’, used with count nouns.)

- (31-16) *Loi, qo rada-a, taa!, ma qoki*
 snake 2SG.NFUT poke-3SG.OBJ lo! and 2SG.FUT
- riki-a lofo-na neri.*
 see-3.OBJ underside-3SG.PERS VIVID
 ‘A snake, you poke it and, lo!, you see its underbelly.’ The meaning is, approximately, ‘You reap what you sow.’

As discussed in section 31.2, the semantic distinctions between different kinds of conditionals in Toqabaqita are expressed in the apodosis, not in the protasis. In a grammatically positive protasis that contains a verb, the subject marker may be nonfuture, sequential or imperfective, but not future. (However, the same set of subject markers serves to mark future tense and imperfective aspect; see table 4.5 in section 4.8 and section 15.2.2.)

In (31-17) the protasis contains an imperfective subject marker:

- (31-17) *Man=s=ta wane kai too, ka*
 or=IRR=some person 3SG.IPFV be.present 3SG.SEQ
- quna qeri, “Nee, wana weleqi, ma ni*
 manner this hey! man! man! and PROFORE
- qoo tago ba-muqa.”*
 2SG go.emptyhanded LIM-2SG.PERS
 ‘If somebody is there (and sees you), they will say, “Hey, man, you are empty-handed.”.’ (In Toqabaqita culture, a person will normally

carry something with him/her when going somewhere away from his/her village, even if just a small knife, a fan, a little branch, etc. The direct speech in [31-17] is what a person might say when seeing somebody going somewhere, without carrying anything at all.)

Sequential subject markers are used in protases if the state of affairs follows another state of affairs (section 16.1), which may, but need not, be expressed. In (31-18) the hypothetical event of people in pictures moving follows the event of the pictures having been painted, encoded in a relative clause. The apodosis is verbless.

(31-18) *Nau kwa riki-a ba-kuqa doo kera*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

keda-a, mada sa ka qisu, wane
 paint-3SG.OBJ or IRR 3SG.SEQ move person

ni bo=naqa.

LIG ASRT=INTS

‘(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.’
 (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

See also (31-12) further above, where there are two coordinated protases (in the scope of one protasis marking). The first one has a nonfuture subject marker, and the second one a sequential subject marker: the hypothetical event of the second clause would follow the (hypothetical) event of the first clause: ‘If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, ...’

A sequential subject marker can be used in a protasis even if there is no prior mention of a preceding state of affairs. The implication is that if the state of affairs of the protasis were to be (eventually) realized/had been realized, there would be/would have been other states of affairs before it. In (31-19) the women’s working on the speaker’s garden would have been preceded by their arriving from a different location, as seen from the final, negative clause:

(31-19) *Mada sa kini baa ki keka raa qana oqola*
 or IRR woman that PL 3PL.SEQ work GENP garden

nau i roqo, nau kwa fale-a seleni
 1SG LOC yesterday 1SG 1SG.SEQ give-3.OBJ money

qi fa-da, ma ni kera qe=aqi
 LOC REC-3PL.PERS and PROFORE 3PL 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

kesi fula.
 3PL.NEG arrive

‘If the women had (come and) worked on my garden yesterday, I would have given them money; but (lit.: and) they did not arrive.’

The nonfuture subject markers are, in a sense, the default case in protases: they are used unless the state of affairs of the protasis is to be presented explicitly as being in progress or as habitual, or as following one or more other states of affairs:

(31-20) *Mada sa dani qe qaru qi qusungadi,*
 or IRR rain 3SG.NFUT fall LOC tomorrow

qe aqi kesi kafara.
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3PL.NEG make.copra
 ‘If it rains tomorrow, they won’t make copra.’

(31-21) *Mada sa ku thaofa, kwa fanga, ma*
 or IRR 1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ eat and

ni nau qe aqi kwasi thaofa.
 PROFORE 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG be.hungry
 ‘If I were hungry, I would eat, but (lit.: and) I am not hungry.’

As (31-22) below illustrates, either a sequential or a nonfuture subject marker may be used in a protasis when there is no overt expression of one or more states of affairs preceding the one of the protasis:

(31-22) *Mada sa {kwa / ku} lae i Qaoke*
 or IRR 1SG.SEQ / 1SG.NFUT go LOC Auki

qi qusungadi, kwai rofe aniani mai qi
 LOC tomorrow 1SG.FUT look.for onion VENT LOC

laa uusi-a lakoo.
 IN buy-DVN that(3)

‘If I go to Auki tomorrow, I’ll look for onions at the market there (to bring back).’

In grammatically negative protases, the negative subject markers are used, and the distinction between the nonfuture, sequential and imperfective categories is neutralized.

- (31-23) *Mada sa kwasi riki-a tai wane, nau*
 or IRR 1SG.NEG see-3.OBJ some.PL person 1SG
- kwa oli qaliqali laqu bo=ma-kuqa.*
 1SG.SEQ return be.quick ADD ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS
 ‘If I don’t see anybody, I’ll come back quickly.’

A protasis may be verbless. In (31-24) the protasis is verbless and subjectless:

- (31-24) *Ma ni nau thaqaro ni bana neqe.*
 and PROFORE 1SG bird LIG LIM VIVID
- Mada sa ta wane quu boqo na*
 or IRR some man ANTCONT INTS REL
- tha Bariqi qe thaa-thare-a, nau*
 PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.NFUT RDP-beget-3SG.OBJ 1SG
- ku thaitoqoma-na si doo kwai ili-a.*
 1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ PRTT thing 1SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ
 [A bird speaking.] ‘But (lit.: and) I am just a bird. If I were a man that Bariqi [a man] had begotten [i.e., if I were Bariqi’s child], I would know what to do (lit.: I would know the thing I would do).’

Occasionally, although by no means commonly, the apodosis contains initial *doo* ‘thing’. *Doo* does not seem to carry any meaning of its own here (see also discussion of *doo* in section 6.2). It occurs more commonly in counterfactual apodoses, but is not restricted to such cases. However, *doo* is not used if the apodosis contains a subject noun phrase.

- (31-25) *Mada sa ku thaofa, doo kwai fanga,*
 or IRR 1SG.NFUT be.hungry thing 1SG.FUT eat
- ma ni nau qe aqi kwasi*
 and PROFORE 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG

thaofa.

be.hungry

‘If I were hungry, I would eat, but (lit.: and) I am not hungry.’

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-21) further above, without *doo* in the apodosis. (For the use of the sequential and the future subject markers in apodoses, see section 31.2.)

- (31-26) *Ma=sa qo qadomi nau, doo kwai qadomi qoe.*
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT help 1SG thing 1SG.FUT help 2SG
 ‘If you help me, I’ll help you.’

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-35) in section 31.2, without *doo* and with the first person singular pronoun in the subject position in the apodosis.

31.1.2. Ordering of the protasis and the apodosis

It is considerably more common for the protasis to precede the apodosis, as in all the examples above, but the order apodosis – protasis is possible:

- (31-27) *Qoko manata-lube nau, ma=sa kwa*
 2SG.SEQ mind-be.untied 1SG or=IRR 1SG.SEQ

sore-a ta si doo i laa letter neqe
 say-3.OBJ some PRTT thing LOC IN letter this

ka aqi si talaqa-na manata-la-mu.
 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG fit-3.OBJ think-NMLZ-2SG.PERS
 ‘Forgive me if I have said something in this letter and it does not fit your thinking/thoughts.’

- (31-28) *Imole nau ki mena keki ele quu*
 person 1SG PL FADD 3PL.FUT be.happy ANTCONT

boqo ma=sa laa-lae kwa too bii qoe
 ASRT or=IRR RDP-go 1SG.SEQ reside COM 2SG
 ‘My people/folks too would still be really happy if one day I lived with you’

- (31-29) *Nau kwai lae mai qi sa-mu qi*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go VENT LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS LOC
- qusungadi, mada sa dani qe aqi*
 tomorrow or IRR rain 3SG.NFUT NEGV
- si qaru.*
 3SG.NEG fall
 ‘I’ll come to (see) you tomorrow, if it’s not raining.’

Usually, although not necessarily, the protasis and the apodosis are said under two separate intonation contours, with a slight rise at the end of the first clause, and there may be a slight pause between them, regardless of which order the two clauses occur in.

The protasis and the apodosis usually occur next to each other, but, as the next example shows, that is not necessarily the case. It is possible for the protasis to be extracted from a subordinate position under a higher verb and placed away from the apodosis. In (31-30) the protasis ‘if I work with him’ has been extracted from the complement position under the higher verb ‘promise’ and placed sentence-initially, and only the apodosis ‘he will give me 10 dollars’ is in the complement position. The protasis and the apodosis are in bold.

- (31-30) *Wane naqi qe gani nau uri-a*
 man this 3SG.NFUT ask.sb.to.do.st. 1SG PURP-3.OBJ
- kwai kafara bii nia. Mada sa kwa*
 1SG.FUT make.copra COM 3SG or IRR 1SG.SEQ
- raa bii nia, nia qe ala-ngani-a*
 work COM 3SG 3SG 3SG.NFUT promise-TR-3.OBJ
- kai fale-a ten dola qi a-ku.*
 3SG.FUT give-3.OBJ ten dollar LOC REC-1SG.PERS
 ‘This man asked me to make copra with him. If I work with him, he promised to give me 10 dollars.’

It is the man’s giving 10 dollars to the speaker, not his promising to do it, that is conditional on the latter’s making copra with him. The clause *nia qe ala-ngani-a* ‘he promised’ is not part of the apodosis. The meaning is not ‘If I work with him, he will promise to give me 10 dollars’.

31.2. The semantics of conditional sentences

On the basis of their semantic and formal properties, two types of conditional sentences are distinguished in Toqabaqita: reality conditionals and unreality conditionals. The terms “reality conditionals” and “unreality conditionals” have been adopted from Thompson and Longacre (1985), but they do not have exactly the same meanings here. Under reality conditions Thompson and Longacker include habitual/generic conditionals. In Toqabaqita such conditionals are expressed in the same way that unreality conditionals are; see (31-37) further below. On formal grounds, the distinction between reality and unreality conditionals is manifested in the apodosis through different sets of subject markers, but only in grammatically positive apodoses, because all the tense/aspect/sequentiality contrasts are neutralized under negation.

For Toqabaqita, the term “reality conditionals” only refers to those conditional sentences where both the protasis and the apodosis encode states of affairs that are real at the relevant time, in particular the one encoded in the apodosis. The apodosis expresses a state of affairs that obtains under the circumstances expressed in the protasis at reference time. In reality conditional sentences, the apodosis has a non-future or a negative subject marker. The sentence in (31-31) describes a situation after a man has made a war-club. He has been experimenting with creating a new kind of war club, and having made this one, he does not like its appearance. The apodosis has the third person singular non-future subject marker *e*, fused with the nominalization of the verb ‘look at’:

- (31-31) *Nia ka takwe-la-ngani-a, ka lio ka*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ look 3SG.SEQ
- riri-riki-a, qoo, si qai neqe, mada sa*
 RDP-look.at-3SG.OBJ oh, PRTT wood this or IRR
- ka alu-a ba-na teqe gwalusu-qi*
 3SG.SEQ put-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS one nose-ASSOC
- doo qu=naqi, riki-la-n=e*
 thing manner=this look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT
- taqaa neri.*
 be.bad NPAST.HERE
 ‘He stood it [the club] up, looked, and kept looking at it; oh, this stick, if he puts a “nose” (lit.: a nose thing) (on it) like this, it [the war-club] looks no good (lit.: its looking-at/appearance is bad).’

(*Gwalusu* designates noses of humans and snouts of animals, and also a kind of carved projection on one kind of war-club.)

In the events expressed in (31-31) the circumstances are such that the war-club has been made in a certain way, and as a result it does not look good.

However, what is grammatically a conditional sentence need not express one state of affairs following on from another one. The sentence in (31-32) below is a comment about a kind of people who do exist. The (verbless, subjectless) protasis does not express a condition, which, if fulfilled, results in the state of affairs expressed in the (negative) apodosis. Rather, the protasis identifies the circumstances under which the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis obtains.

(31-32) ... *laalae wane n=oki kofe ba-muqa,*
if person REL=2SG.IPFV copy LIM-2SG.PERS

qosi thaitoqoma-na bo=naqa ta si doo
2SG.NEG know-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS some PRTT thing

qani-a.

GENP-3SG.OBJ

‘... if you are a person who only copies/imitates (others when doing something), then you don’t really know anything.’

Reality conditional sentences are not common in Toqabaqita, and the rest of the discussion deals with unreality conditionals.

There are two subtypes of unreality conditionals in Toqabaqita, formally distinguished by the types of subject markers in positive apodoses, sequential or future. It is also possible for apodoses to contain a nonfuture subject marker, but this is neither obligatory nor common. The use of the sequential and the future subject markers is considered first. A sequential subject marker is used when the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis would be/would have been a direct and, especially, relatively immediate consequence of the state of affairs of the protasis and when the speaker wishes to make this explicit. The state of affairs of the protasis is a cause that results in the state of affairs of the apodosis. A future subject marker is used in all other cases: (i) when the state of affairs of the apodosis would follow/would have followed that of the protasis, but not as a direct, more-or-less immediate consequence of the latter; and (ii) even if the state of affairs of the apodosis would be/would have been a direct, relatively immediate consequence of the state of affairs of the protasis, the speaker chooses not to present it as such.

The use of the future subject markers is a semantically unmarked option. The use of the two sets of markers is not sensitive to how likely it is that the condition will be fulfilled or whether the condition is potential or counterfactual. Compare the next two examples, both with sequential subject markers in the apodoses (and nonfuture subject markers in the protases). In the first one, the condition could be fulfilled, while in the second one the condition is counterfactual. In (31-33) the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *baa* with *thaqaro* ‘bird’ signals that bird-hunting was discussed before; that is, the purpose of the two people getting together is to go bird-hunting. The addressee’s coming would result in the two people going bird-hunting.

- (31-33) *Man=sa qo lae ma=i qusungadi,*
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT go VENT=LOC tomorrow

kuka rofe uri-a thaqaro baa.
 PL(INCL).SEQ look.for PURP-3.OBJ bird that
 ‘If you come tomorrow, we’ll hunt (lit.: look for) those birds.’

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (31-34), the condition of the addressee’s coming was not fulfilled:

- (31-34) *Uri-a taa na qosi lae mai i*
 REAS-3.OBJ what? FOC 2SG.NEG go VENT LOC

roqo? Mada so qo fula, koka
 yesterday or IRR 2SG.NFUT arrive DU(INCL).SEQ

lae, koka quu ngede-ngali
 go DU(INCL).SEQ shoot pluck-canarium.nut

qa-karoqa.
 SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘Why didn’t you come yesterday? If you had come, we would have gone pigeon-shooting.’

(*Ngede-ngali* ‘pluck’-‘canarium.nut’ is one of the names for the native pigeon, *bola*; see section 12.4.4.)

Even though in counterfactual conditionals the situation of the protasis does not obtain, and consequently that of the apodosis does not either, neither clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* to signal counterfactuality (section 18.3). In the case of the protasis, this is most likely because the irrealis marker is present to introduce it. In the case of the apodosis, this is possibly because there the coun-

terfactuality is derivative. It is the result of the counterfactuality of the protasis: if the state of affairs of the protasis did obtain/had obtained, so would/would have that of the apodosis. (However, *sa* can occur in an apodosis when it functions as an element in a negative construction; see, for example, [31-50] further below.)

In the next two examples, the apodoses contain future subject markers. (In both cases the subject markers in the protases are nonfuture.) In the first one the condition may be fulfilled:

- (31-35) *Ma=sa qo qadomi nau, nau kwai qadomi goe.*
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT help 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT help 2SG
 ‘If you help me, I’ll help you.’

In (31-36) the condition is counterfactual. The verb in the protasis is reduplicated to show that the condition is a past one, specifically past-in-the-past (section 15.1.4):

- (31-36) *Ma=sa qo qaa-qadomi nau, kwai qadomi*
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-help 1SG 1SG.FUT help

goe.
 2SG
 ‘If you had helped me, I would have helped you.’

A few more examples of conditional sentences with sequential subject markers in the apodoses are given below. The states of affairs of the apodoses are/would be/would have been an immediate consequence of the states of affairs of the protases. The conditional relation between the propositions in (31-37) may be a habitual/generic one, or an unreality one (see the first paragraph of this section.)

- (31-37) *Mada s=o sua-na iqa naqi,*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT touch-3.OBJ fish this

rake-na ka boe nena.
 belly-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ puff.up NPAST.THERE
 (a) ‘If/when you touch this (kind of) fish, its belly puffs up.’
 (b) ‘If you touch this fish, its belly will puff up.’

- (31-38) *Laalae ma=sa kuka lae ofu, nia*
 if or=IRR PL(INCL).SEQ go be.together 3SG

ka thaka nena.

3SG.SEQ escape NPAST.THERE

‘If we go together [to catch a bird], it will escape [i.e., it will fly away].’

In the overall states of affairs expressed in the next two examples, it is the non-occurrence of the events of the protases that will result and would have resulted, respectively, in the situations expressed in the apodoses. In (31-39) the condition may be fulfilled:

(31-39) *Mada sa tarake e=aqi si fula,*
or IRR truck 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

mika lae ba-miliqa.

1PL(EXCL).SEQ walk LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

‘If the truck doesn’t arrive, we’ll just (have to) walk.’

In (31-40) the condition is counterfactual.

(31-40) *Mada sa kwasi kuqu meresina qi*
or IRR 1SG.NEG drink medicine LOC

roqo, qoo, ka taqaa qasia naqa qi
yesterday oh 3SG.SEQ be.bad INTS INTS LOC

a-ku.

BEN-1SG.PERS

‘If I hadn’t drunk medicine yesterday, oh, that would have been very bad for me.’

Sequential markers in apodoses may also serve to express an obligation, request, suggestion for the addressee(s) to act. As discussed in section 20.2.3, the sequential subject markers are used in imperatives to express encouragement or suggestions to act. Their use in the apodoses of conditional sentences follows from that, but also from the fact that the action that is requested is requested as a consequence of the situation of the protasis. For example, being asked a question should result in the addressee’s responding:

(31-41) *Laalae ku soe-toqo-mu uri-a ta*
if/when 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ some

si doo, qoko luqu-a.
 PRTT thing 2SG.SEQ answer-3SG.OBJ
 ‘If/when I ask you about (lit.: for) something, you must answer (lit.: answer it).’

Similarly in the next example: if one is hungry, one should eat:

- (31-42) *Ma=sa go thaofa qoko fanga.*
 or=IRR 2SG.NFUT be.hungry 2SG.SEQ eat
 ‘If you are hungry, you should eat.’ (The addressee is hungry at the moment.)

Even though in the situation expressed in (31-42) the condition is fulfilled (the addressee is hungry), this conditional sentence is not a reality one, as the term “reality conditionals” is used here, because the state of affairs of the apodosis does not obtain at the time of speaking.

An apodosis may be interrogative. In (31-43) the apodosis inquires whether the event of the protasis would result in an acceptable state of affairs:

- (31-43) *Mada sa mika fula qi qusungadi,*
 or IRR 1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive LOC tomorrow

ka leqa ba-na?
 3SG.SEQ be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘If we come tomorrow, will that be all right (lit.: will that only be good)?’ ‘If we came tomorrow, would that be good?’

The next set of examples illustrates conditional sentences where the apodosis has a future-tense subject marker. In the situation expressed in (31-44), while the man’s return to the Solomon Islands later on is a precondition for his talking about his experiences in the country where he is at the time, his talking about his experiences is not a direct result of his return:

- (31-44) *Wane naqi qe lae mai bii qoe,*
 man this 3SG.NFUT go VENT COM 2SG

laalae mada sa ka oli uri Solomoni
 if or IRR 3SG.SEQ return ALL Solomon

Aylen, kai uqunu qufita ba-na
 Islands 3SG.FUT narrate be.how? LIM-3SG.PERS

suli-a *riki-laa* *n=e* *riki-a*
 PROL-3.OBJ see-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ

qana *fanu* *naqi?*
 GENP country this

‘[A woman asked him about me, she said,] This man has come here with you; if he returns to the Solomon Islands, just what will he say about what he saw in this country (lit.: just how will he narrate about the seeing that he saw in this country)?’

The sentence in (31-45) is a suggestion, offer made by the speaker. It is not certain that the addressee does want to learn how to weave fans:

(31-45) *Mada* *s=o* *thathami-a,* *kwai*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.FUT

toqo-a *faa-teeteru-laa* *qi* *sa-mu.*
 teach-3.OBJ weave-fan-NMLZ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS

‘If you want, I’ll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).’

Future marking sometimes occurs in the apodosis even if there is a direct, immediate causal link between the two states of affairs but the speaker does not choose to express it as such (perhaps because it is obvious):

(31-46) *Ma=sa* *ku* *riki-a* *tha* *Maeli,* *kwai*
 or=IRR 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ PERSMKR Maeli 1SG.FUT

ngata *bii* *nia.*
 speak COM 3SG

‘If I see Maeli, I will speak with him.’

An apodosis may contain a nonfuture subject marker but only if the state of affairs it expresses obtained at the time of reference or before it. In other words, the nonfuture subject markers are used only with counterfactual conditionals. However, they are not obligatory there. The sequential and the future subject markers are used much more commonly in counterfactual conditionals, as discussed and illustrated above. The next two examples contain nonfuture subject markers in the apodoses. In the first one, the subject marker is in bold:

(31-47) *Ma* *ni* *nau* *thaqaro* *ni* *bana* *neqe,*
 and PROFORE 1SG bird LIG LIM VIVID

mada sa ta wane quu boqo na
IRR or some man ANTCONT INTS REL

tha Bariqi qe thaa-thare-a, nau
PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.NFUT RDP-beget-3SG.OBJ 1SG

ku thaitoqoma-na si doo kwai ili-a.
1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ PRTT thing 1SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ
[A bird speaking.] ‘But (lit.: and) I am just a bird. If I were a man that Bariqi [a man] had begotten [i.e., if I were Bariqi’s child], I would know what to do (lit.: I would know the thing I would do).’

(31-48) *Ma=sa qo qaa-qadomi nau, doo ku*
or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-help 1SG thing 1SG.NFUT

qadomi qoe.
help 2SG

‘If you had helped me, I would have helped you.’

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-36) further above, with the future-tense subject marker in the apodosis.

The distinction between the meanings carried by the sequential and the future (and the nonfuture) subject markers disappears in negative and verbless apodoses. In (31-49) and (31-50) the apodoses are negative:

(31-49) *Kamuluqa, mada sa musu bulasi fasi-a*
2PL or IRR 2PL.NEG turn ABL-3.OBJ

Masin Ruul, qe=aqi musu oli mai.
Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2PL.NEG return VENT

‘[The Government issued a warning to the leaders of the Marching Rule movement, saying,] You, if you do not turn away from Marching Rule, you will not come back (to your homes).’

In (31-50) the conditional is counterfactual:

(31-50) *Ma wela qeri, mada sa ka ade*
and child that or IRR 3SG.SEQ act

ba-na suli-a thaina-na bia maka
LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS and father

nia, nia sa ka toda-a mae-la-na
 3SG 3SG IRR 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

qa=fa bongi qeri qe aqi.
 GENP=CLF day that 3SG.NFUT not.be.so
 ‘And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death on that day.’

And in (31-51) the apodosis is verbless:

(31-51) *Nau kwa riki-a ba-kuqa doo kera*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

keda-a, mada sa ka qisu, wane
 paint-3SG.OBJ or IRR 3SG.SEQ move person

ni bo=naqa.
 LIG ASRT=INTS
 ‘(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.’
 (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

The constructions used to express conditional relations between propositions are also used with another function. The state of affairs of the apodosis is not conditional on that of the protasis. Rather, the state of the apodosis holds regardless, but is somehow relevant in case the state of affairs of the protasis holds. What the relevance is depends on the situation. By saying the sentence in (31-52) the speaker informs the addressee that there is food in the basket (the apodosis), in case the addressee were hungry (the protasis):

(31-52) *Laalae wane qe thaathala-qa, si*
 if person 3SG.NFUT be.lightweight-PROP DIM

fanga qe ni=i laa naanado.
 food 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC IN k.o.basket
 ‘If you are hungry, there is a little bit of food in the *naanado* basket.’

(*Thaathala-qa* is a polite word for ‘be hungry’, and the indirect expression ‘if a person is hungry’ is a polite way of saying ‘if you are hungry’.)

And in (31-53) the apodosis serves to inform the addressee how he would recognize that kind of fish were he to catch one:

(31-53) *Mada s=o dee qi laa qamali, qoko*
 or IRR=2SG.NFUT fish LOC IN sea 2SG.SEQ

dee-toqo-na thatafau, foko-n=e
 fish-TEST-3.OBJ reef.triggerfish mouth-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

susu.

(opening)be.small

‘If you are fishing in the sea and catch a Reef triggerfish, its mouth is small.’

Chapter 32

Concessive clauses

32.1. The concessive constructions

To form concessive clauses, the postverbal particle *mena* is used. For the position of *mena* in the verbal complex see table 5.2 in section 5.2.1. *Mena* also functions as a clause-level foregrounding-additive particle, which sometimes expresses unexpectedness (section 28.6), and it also forms part of the clausal coordinator *sui mena* ‘but’, which expresses the relations of contrast, unexpectedness between propositions (section 28.3). The notions of contrast and, especially, unexpectedness also apply to concessive relations between propositions (section 32.2).

In addition to postverbal *mena*, another element, *dooqanitaa* or, rarely, *boro*, may occur clause initially. *Dooqanitaa* also functions as an intransitive verb meaning ‘forgive’:

- (32-1) *Qoko dooqanitaa qi a-ku, qoko*
 2SG.SEQ forgive LOC BEN-1SG.PERS 2SG.SEQ
- manta-lube nau, ma qoko faqa-faalu-ngaqi*
 mind-be.untied 1SG and 2SG.SEQ CAUS-be.clean-TR
- nau qana qabu-mu, Diises, tha san of tha*
 1SG INS blood-2SG.PERS Jesus the son of the
- living Good.*
 living God
 ‘Forgive me, forgive me, and cleanse me with your blood, Jesus, the son of the living God.’

(*Manata-lube* ‘mind’-‘be.untied’ [realized as *manta-lube* in (32-1)] too has the meaning ‘forgive’.)

Dooqanitaa can also function as a kind of interjection with the meaning ‘never mind’:

- (32-2) *Leqa ba-na, dooqanita.*
 be.good LIM-3SG.PERS never.mind
 ‘[It could be better, but] it’s OK; never mind.’

Historically, *dooqanita* probably consists of *doo* ‘thing’, the general preposition *qani* and *taa* ‘what?’.

Example (32-3) shows the optionality of *dooqanita* in concessive clauses:

- (32-3) (*Dooqanita*) *kuka feda mena, qe*
 CONC PL(INCL).SEQ be.tired CONC 3SG.NFUT

aqi kusi mamalo.
 NEGV PL(INCL).NEG rest
 ‘Even though/Never mind we are tired, we won’t/shouldn’t rest.’

In place of *dooqanita* the form *boro* is possible, but its use is rare. There is also a noun *boro* ‘bottom’, but whether the concessive marker is historically related to it is not clear.

- (32-4) (*{Boro / dooqanita}*) *kwa mataqi mena, kwai*
 CONC / CONC 1SG.SEQ be.sick CONC 1SG.FUT

lae bo=naqa.
 go ASRT=INTS
 ‘Even though I am sick, I’ll go nevertheless.’

In (32-5) a topic noun phrase precedes *dooqanita*:

- (32-5) *Kukeqe nau, dooqanita ka aqi si*
 wife 1SG CONC 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG

too leqa mena, nia ka lae
 be.in.certain.condition be.good CONC 3SG 3SG.SEQ go

bo=naqa qi laa raa.
 ASRT=INTS LOC IN garden
 ‘My wife, even though she was not (feeling) well, she still went to the garden.’

Grammatically positive verbal concessive clauses have a sequential or a non-future subject marker, unless a future/imperfective subject marker is called for. When *dooqanita* or *boro* is present, it is the sequential, rather than the

non-future subject markers that are used. In grammatically negative concessive clauses it is the double negative construction that is used (section 17.4), and it is the negative verb *aqi* that has the (third person singular) sequential subject marker if it is used. For a negative concessive clause see (32-5) above. A concessive clause may be verbless; see (32-12) in section 32.2.

Concessive clauses precede their main clauses, and typically there is a rise in intonation at the end of a concessive clause, and there may also be a slight pause between the concessive clause and the main clause.

32.2. The semantics of the concessive constructions

The concessive constructions are used with several functions. In one, they express the fact that in view of the state of affairs expressed in the concessive clause one might not expect the state of affairs expressed in the main clause to obtain, but it does nevertheless.

(32-6) *Kera rongo-a mena gavman e*
3PL.NFUT hear-3.OBJ CONC government 3SG.NFUT

ala-ngani-a lokap, kera keka sore-qe,
threaten-TR-3.OBJ jail 3PL 3PL.SEQ say-DETR

“*Leqa ba-na.*”

be.good LIM-3SG.PERS

‘Even though they heard that the Government was threatening (them with) jail, they said, “Fine.” (Lit.: “[It is] just good.”)’

(32-7) *Kuka ade-de-a mena manta-le-qe*
PL(INCL).SEQ do-RDP-3.OBJ CONC think-NMLZ-ASSOC

doo qeeqeta ki sui bana, kuka
thing be.different PL EXHST LIM PL(INCL).SEQ

ade-de-a mena, sa ka ofu
do-RDP-3SG.OBJ CONC IRR 3SG.SEQ gather

qe=aqi nena.

3SG.NFUT=not.be.so NPAST.THERE

‘Even though we keep having (lit.: doing) all kinds of (different) ideas/thoughts, even though we keep having them, it won’t/can’t come together [i.e., we cannot agree].’

- (32-8) *Manga na nia toqotoqo-na maqe maala*
 time REL 3SG have.feeling.that-3.OBJ CLF sore
- ba=e mafo, ma ka aqi si*
 that-3SG.NFUT heal and 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG
- mafo lalanganiqa quu mena qa-na,*
 heal be.good ANTCONT CONC SBEN-3SG.PERS
- na, nia ka lae ka manta uri-a*
 HESIT 3SG 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ think PURP-3.OBJ
- na kai lae kai raqa i gwau-na*
 COMP 3SG.FUT go 3SG.FUT climb LOC top-3.PERS

teqe thaame-q=qai ...

one father-ASSOC=tree

‘When he had a feeling that his sore was healing, (and) even though it had not yet healed well, he nevertheless (went and) thought that (lit.: in order that) he would go and climb to the top of a big tree ...’

- (32-9) *Wane taa ni boqo? Kai lae mena,*
 man what? LIG INTS 3SG.IPFV go CONC
- ngali-a bana qai-na biqu nia.*
 carry-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS wood-3.PERS house 3SG
- ‘Who is he (lit.: what man)? Even if/Even though he goes (some-where), he carries timber for (lit.: of) his house (with him).’ (This is a traditional riddle. The answer: a spider.)

To emphasize the fact that a state of affairs obtains in spite of another one (the one expressed in the concessive clause), the assertive marker *boqo*, usually, but not necessarily, in combination with the intensifier *naqa*, as *bo=naqa*, is used in the clause that expresses the unexpected state of affairs. The concessive clause is likely to contain *dooqanitaa* or, less commonly, *boro*.

- (32-10) *Dooqanitaa fanua ka thato fii-fii*
 CONC place 3SG.SEQ be.sunny RDP-be.painful
- mena, kera raa bo=naqa.*
 CONC 3PL.NFUT work INTS=INTS
- ‘Even though the sun was very strong, they worked nevertheless.’

(*Fii-fii*, a reduplication of the verb *fii* ‘hurt, be painful’, is used to express the fact that the situation designated by the preceding verb is unpleasantly intense.)

See also (32-4) and (32-5) in section 32.1. For an example with the assertive marker without the intensifier see (32-11) below.

The state of affairs expressed in a concessive clause may be an imagined one, as in the next two examples. The relation between the two propositions is simultaneously concessive and conditional, but there is no conditional marking in the concessive clause. (See section 31.1.1 for the structures of the protases of conditional sentences).

- (32-11) *Keka firu mena bii kamiliqa, qe=aqi*
 3PL.SEQ fight CONC COM 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT=NEGV
- misim maqu boqo.*
 1PL(EXCL).NEG be.afraid ASRT
 ‘Even if they fought (with) us, we wouldn’t be afraid.’ ‘Even if they were to fight with us, we wouldn’t be afraid.’ ‘Even if they fight with us, we won’t be afraid.’

In (32-12) the concessive clause is verbless (and subjectless). The sentence is about women in general, not about a particular woman.

- (32-12) *Dooqanitaa ta ai qana langwis*
 CONC some woman GENP language
- qeeqeta mena, laalae qilu qeri qe*
 be.different CONC when love.magic that 3SG.NFUT
- thau-ngi nia naqa, nia ka ngata*
 affect.negatively-TR 3SG PRF 3SG 3SG.SEQ speak
- bo=naqa qana ngata-la-na wane fuu.*
 ASRT=INTS GENP speak-NMLZ-3.PERS man that
 ‘Even if (she is) a woman of [i.e. speaking] a different language, when she has been affected by that love magic (lit.: when that love magic has affected her), she will speak in the language (lit.: in the speaking) of that man [the one who worked the love magic on her].’

The concessive construction is also used when the speaker concedes, accepts a certain situation, expressed in the concessive clause, and makes a comment on it, such as approval, resignation, warning, or instruction, as in (32-13) and (32-14).

- (32-13) *Qoko lae mena qa-muqa, qe leqa*
 2SG.SEQ go CONC SBEN-2SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good

ba-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘Even if you go, it’s all right.’ That is: ‘You may go; it’s all right.’

In (32-14) the subject marker in the concessive clause is imperfective, because the situation expressed there is a habitual, repeated one:

- (32-14) *Kini qeri ka quna qeri, “Moki laa-lae*
 woman that 3SG.SEQ manner this 2DU.IPFV RDP-go

mena, qe aqi mosi lae uri tolo.”.

CONC 3SG.NFUT NEGV 2DU.NEG go ALL bush

‘The woman said, “Even if you go, never go towards the bush.”.’

‘The woman said, “OK, while you may go, don’t ever go towards the bush.”.’

The construction that serves to express concessive relations between states of affairs is also used when a certain state of affairs, the one expressed in the main clause, unexpectedly or against one’s wish obtains at the time of the state of affairs expressed in the concessive clause:

- (32-15) *Mili fula mena kau, kera*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT arrive CONC AND 3PL.NFUT

lae naqa.

go PRF

‘When we arrived there, they had already (and unexpectedly) gone.’

‘They had gone by the time we arrived there.’ (That is, the speaker and his group arrived too late.) (Lit.: ‘Even though we arrived there, they had already gone.’)

- (32-16) *Laa-lae, qe tona mena, fanua*
 RDP-go 3SG.NFUT be.surprised CONC place

rodo ngado naqa.

be.dark be.settled PRF

‘(He) went on [bailing water out of a pool in a stream], and was surprised when (he saw that) it had gotten completely dark.’ (That is, he had not noticed that it was getting dark.) (Lit.: ‘[He] went on and

on, and even though he was surprised, it had already gotten completely dark.’)

The same construction may also signal the following contrast between two states of affairs: while a certain event, process, or state applies to one entity, it does not apply to another entity to which it might or should apply. While there may be some degree of unexpectedness with respect to the event, etc. of the main clause, it is primarily the contrast between the two states of affairs that is expressed.

- (32-17) *Qoki soke mena, qoki maruki*
 2SG.FUT be.happy CONC 2SG.FUT live
- qa-muqa, kamareqa meki mae naqa*
 SBEN-2SG.PERS 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).FUT die PRF
- qi taraqena.*
 LOC today
 ‘While you will be happy (because) you will live, the two of us are going to die today.’

To express the fact that even though the event expressed in a concessive clause was attempted (by the referent of the subject), the attempt was unsuccessful, the irrealis marker (sections 18.2 and 18.3) is used in the concessive clause.

- (32-18) *Si manga kera thara-si-a boqo qaburu*
 PRTT time 3PL.NFUT wake.up-TR-3.OBJ INTS ogre
- baa ma qaburu baa qe tona,*
 that and ogre that 3SG.NFUT be.startled
- so=e tataqe mena, ma ifu-na*
 IRR=3SG.NFUT get.up CONC and hair-3SG.PERS
- ka katu teqefau ba-na.*
 3SG.SEQ be.hindered.from.movement every.one LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘When they woke up the ogre, the ogre was startled, and even though he tried to get up (he could not because) all of his hair held fast [here: was tied down].’

In (32-19) there are two concessive clauses, but only the second one has the irrealis marker: it was only the event of that clause that had an unsuccessful outcome:

- (32-19) *Wela baa qe dee-dede-a nga iqa qi*
 child that 3SG.NFUT RDP-fill-3.OBJ IDENT fish LOC
- laa rake-na, tataqe mai, fula mena,*
 IN belly-3SG.PERS stand.up VENT arrive CONC
- s=e thamo mena ura kula baa*
 IRR=3SG.NFUT reach CONC ALL place that
- kai alu-lu-a gwau-na qi ei,*
 3SG.IPFV put-RDP-3.OBJ head-3SG.PERS LOC LOCPRO
- m=e aqi naqa.*
 and=3SG.NFUT not.be.available PRF
- ‘The child kept filling his belly with fish (lit.: kept filling fish into his belly), (then) he stood up, (and) even though he arrived (at that place), (and) even though he reached out/tried to reach out towards the place where he always put his head (in order to retrieve it), it was not there.’ (A boy used to take his head off, leave it hidden on the shore, walk into the sea, catch fish and put them into his belly. Having caught enough fish, he would walk back to the shore and put his head back on.)

The coordinator *ma* (*m=*) ‘and’ in the last clause is pleonastic (section 28.2.2.)

Chapter 33

Reason clauses, purpose clauses, and purpose nominalizations

33.1. Introduction

Reason clauses and purposes clauses are best dealt with together because there is some overlap in the marking of these two types of subordinate clause. And purpose nominalizations share some marking with purpose clauses. Reason clauses and purpose clauses are discussed first, and purpose nominalizations subsequently.

With respect to reason clauses and purpose clauses, the following elements are relevant: *uri*, *fasi*, *suli*, and *ada*. *Uri* and *suli* have variants *ura* and *sula*, respectively. *Uri*, *fasi*, and *suli*, but not *ada*, also function as (verb-like) prepositions (sections 10.3.2, 10.3.3., and 10.3.4, respectively). In this section *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* are discussed with respect to some of their general properties, to highlight the similarities as well as the differences among them. The fourth form, the timitive marker *ada*, is discussed in detail in section 18.6, and here it is dealt with only briefly in section 33.3.4.

Table 33.1 summarizes the functions of *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* in marking reason and/or purpose clauses and their functions as prepositions.

Table 33.1. Functions of *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* with clauses as complements and with noun phrases as complements

	with clauses as complements	with noun phrases as complements
<i>uri</i>	purpose, reason	allative, purpose, reason
<i>fasi</i>	purpose	ablative
<i>suli</i>	reason	prolative, reason

All three forms optionally take the third person object suffix *-a* to index the reason or the purpose clause, just as they take the suffix in their prepositional functions with lexical objects. That is, reason and purpose clauses function as their objects/complements.

- (33-1) *Qo lae bo=ma-muqa uri-a*
 2SG.NFUT go ASRT=VENT-2SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ
- qoki faqa-maruki-a ni tei bana*
 2SG.FUT CAUS-be.alive-3.OBJ PERSMKR who LIM
- n=e dola, ...*
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.lost
 ‘You have come in order to save the lives of (lit.: to make alive) whoever is lost,’

- (33-2) ... *ka lae i maa-na uusia, ka*
 3SG.SEQ go LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN 3SG.SEQ
- ngali-a mai iqa, fasi-a ka fale-a*
 take-3.OBJ VENT fish PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ
- qana toqa na kera raa qana biqu*
 GENP people REL 3PL.NFUT work GENP house
- nia qeri.*
 3SG that
 ‘... (and) he [a man who is building a new house] goes to the market place and brings (back) fish, so that he may give them to the people who have worked on that house of his.’

- (33-3) *Ku too qi luma suli-a ku*
 1SG.NFUT stay LOC house REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT
- mataqi.*
 be.sick
 ‘I stayed at home because I was sick.’

While the three forms share the property of (optionally) taking the object suffix to index their reason or purpose clauses, each one also exhibits unique properties. *Suli* always has the object suffix (but see further below for the variant *sula*). On the other hand, *uri* and *fasi* not infrequently occur without the suffix. It is more common for *fasi* than for *uri* to occur without the object suffix (regardless of whether the latter marks reason or purpose).

- (33-4) *Fale-a ta si fanga qana wela naqi*
 give-3.OBJ some PRTT food GENP child this

fasi ka bona.
PURP 3SG.SEQ be.silent

‘Give some (of the) food to the (lit.: this) child so that he is quiet.’

(33-5) *Qoe, qe aqi qosi lae bii nau, uri*
2SG 3SG.NFUT NEG 2SG.NEG go COM 1SG REAS

qoe kwai-na wane ramo, nau
2SG spouse-3.PERS man professional.killer 1SG

wane teqe nau, ada ka ala-si nau.
man sole 1SG TIM 3SG.SEQ attack.to.kill-TR 1SG

‘You, don’t come (lit.: go) with me, because you are the wife of a professional killer, (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me), (and) he might attack and kill me.’

(33-6) *Kamareqa mena meki lae ofu laqu*
1DU(EXCL) FADD 1DU(EXCL).FUT go be.together ADD

boqo, uri meki riki-a si doo na
ASRT PURP 1DU(EXCL).FUT see-3.OBJ PRTT thing REL

toqa qe=ki keki baqe suli-a qa=fa
people that=PL 3PL.FUT speak PROL-3SG.OBJ GENP=CLF

thato qeri.
day this

‘The two of us too will go together in order to see the thing that the people will talk about today.’

There is no semantic difference between the variants with and without the object suffix. It is possible that the two subordinators are in the process of losing the verb-like property of taking the object suffix. As discussed in section 10.3.1, all the verb-like prepositions have innovative, reduced forms which are also unlike verbs, although there the original object suffix has been incorporated into the prepositions themselves: *ura*, *fasa*, *sula*, etc. The forms *uri* and *suli*, used with reason clauses, also have reduced variants *ura* and *sula*, respectively, although these are used only rarely; see section 33.2 for examples.

The reason- and purpose-marking form *uri* and the reason-marking form *suli* may be accompanied by the complementizer *na* (section 29.3), although this is not very common. The complementizer immediately follows *uri* or *suli*, and is itself followed by the reason or the purpose clause. This is likely to be due to

uri and *suli* deriving historically from erstwhile transitive verbs that, presumably, could take complement clauses as their direct objects. With *suli*, the use of the complementizer is less common than with *uri* (in either function of the latter). When the complementizer is present, *suli* and *uri* take the object suffix *-a*. That is, the constructions with these two subordinators exhibit properties of certain verbal constructions with complement clauses: the clause is indexed with the object suffix and the complementizer may be present (sections 29.2.1 and 29.3).

In (33-7) *uri-a* and the complementizer introduce a reason clause:

- (33-7) ... *ruuruqu-da ka leqa qasia naqa*
 chest-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.good INTS INTS
- uri-a na kere fanga lalanganiqa.*
 REAS-3.OBJ COMP 3PL.NFUT eat be.good
 ‘... they felt very happy (lit.: their chests were very good) because they had eaten well.’

In (33-8) there are two instances of purpose-marking *uri-a* combined with the complementizer:

- (33-8) ... *nia ka lae ka manta uri-a na*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ think PURP-3.OBJ COMP
- kai lae kai raqa i gwau-na teqe*
 3SG.FUT go 3SG.FUT climb LOC top-3.PERS one
- thaame-q=qai uri-a na kai qai*
 father-ASSOC=tree PURP-3.OBJ COMP 3SG.FUT shout
- tatalo qani-a*
 (voice)be.loud GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘... he nevertheless (went and) thought that (lit.: in order that) he would go and climb to the top of a big tree in order to shout loudly about it’

And in (33-9) *suli-a* and the complementizer introduce a reason clause:

- (33-9) *Adelana bana na kwa thathami-a kwai uqunu*
 CONS LIM FOC 1SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate

kau, suli-a na tha weleqi qe
 AND REAS-3.OBJ COMP PERSMKR guy 3SG.NFUT

soe-toqo-ku uri-a nga maqaluta-na
 ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ IDENT detail-3.PERS

raa qeri

work that

‘And so, and only for that reason, I wanted to talk (about it), because the guy had asked me for details about that work’

33.2. Reason clauses

There are two main types of reason clauses in Toqabaqita: non-focused and focused. They differ from each other in their marking and in their positioning with respect to their main clauses.

33.2.1. Non-focused reason clauses

Non-focused reason clauses are introduced either by *suli* or by *uri*, the latter being much more common (Lichtenberk 1991b). The norm is for non-focused reason clauses to follow their main clauses. The first three examples illustrate *uri*. In each case *uri* carries the object suffix. For an example without the suffix see (33-5) in section 33.1.

(33-10) *Qoo, kamaroqa sa moka mae e aqi,*
 oh 2DU IRR 2DU.SEQ die 3SG.NFUT not.be.so

uri-a e=aqi mosi
 REAS-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG

faga-ulafu-a qasia naga soldia nau ki,
 CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ INTS INTS soldier 1SG PL

‘Oh, the two of you won’t die, because you did not make my policemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing you).’

(33-11) ... *nau ku seqe-thaathala qasia naga*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT body-be.lightweight INTS INTS

uri-a kwai uqunu laqu kau bii qoe qi
 REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT converse ADD AND COM 2SG LOC

laa fa ngali faalu qeri.

IN CLF year be.new this

‘... I am very happy because I will (be able to) speak with you again in this new year.’

In (33-12) *uri-a* is accompanied by the complementizer *na*:

(33-12) *Tai wane ki sa keki mae, uri-a*
 some.PL man PL IRR 3PL.FUT die REAS-3.OBJ

na kera qoro qasia naqa, ma keka
 COMP 3PL.NFUT be.many INTS INTS and 3PL.SEQ

ngali kera, ma keka stakim kera bo=naqa qi
 take 3PL and 3PL.SEQ stack 3PL ASRT=INTS LOC

boor-a faka mala tai baeka-na kafara.
 bottom-3.PERS ship EQT some.PL bag-3.PERS copra

‘Some (of the) men looked like they would die, because there were very many of them, (and) they [policemen] had taken them and stacked them in the lower deck of the ship like some bags of copra.’

Uri can be followed by the limiter *bana* to emphasize that the reason given is the sole reason for the state of affairs expressed in the main clause. Historically, this *bana* is most likely *ba-na*, where *-na* is the third person singular suffix, as discussed in section 5.2.11. The limiter construction *ba-na* occurs post-verbally as part of the verb complex, and the personal suffix indexes third person singular subjects. Arguably, the occurrence of *bana* (*ba-na*) after the reason marker is a reflection of the verbal origin of *uri*. Since in this function the form of the limiter is always *bana*, no other personal suffixes being possible, *bana* is treated as an unanalyzed whole here. When *bana* occurs with the reason marker, the complementizer *na* is not used.

Compare (33-13) without *bana* but with the complementizer, and (33-14) with *bana* but without the complementizer:

(33-13) *Nau qe=aqi kwasi fula uri-a*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG arrive REAS-3.OBJ

na ku mataqi.
 COMP 1SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I did not come because I was sick.’

- (33-14) *Nau qe=aqi kwasi fula uri-a*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG arrive REAS-3.OBJ

bana ku mataqi.
 LIM 1SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I did not come, but only because I was sick.’ I did not come for the sole reason that I was sick.’

The next two examples illustrate the use of *suli*. *Suli* always takes the object suffix *-a*.

- (33-15) *Oh my God, nau ku dora qana*
 oh my God 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP

biinga-laa qa=fa rodo, ma kwa dora
 sleep-NMLZ LOC=CLF night and 1SG.SEQ not.know

qana fanga-laa, suli-a ku dora
 GENP eat-NMLZ REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT not.know

qana qani-la-na Japanese food.
 GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese food
 ‘Oh my God, I was not able to sleep (I did not know how to get to sleep) at night, and I could not eat (I did not know how to eat), because I did not know how to eat Japanese food.’

- (33-16) *Kera kesi lae ura dee-laa, suli-a*
 3PL 3PL.NEG go PURP fish-NMLZ REAS-3.OBJ

qamali qe kuburu-qa qasia naqa.
 sea 3SG.NFUT storm-PROP INTS INTS
 ‘They did not go fishing, because the sea was very stormy/rough.’

Both of the reason subordinators can occur in forms that are identical to the reduced forms of the respective prepositions, *ura* and *sula*. However, the use of these forms to mark reason clauses is rare.

- (33-17) *Nau ku lalakwa qana wane naqi, ura nia*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.like GENP man this REAS 3SG

qe rake-qiri kwasi qasia naqa.
 3SG.NFUT belly-be.angry be.wild INTS INTS
 ‘I don’t like this man because he gets terribly angry.’

- (33-18) *Ma adelana boqo keekero*
 and CONS ASRT yellow.bibbed.lory

riki-la-na seqe-na ka leqa
 look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.nice

fuqu, sula nuta qe qeda-a
 down.there REAS bird.sp 3SG.NFUT dye-3.OBJ

seqe-na ka leqa.
 body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.nice

‘And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory’s body looked nice, because the *nuta* bird had nicely dyed its body.’ (Lit.: ‘And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory, its body’s looking-at was nice, because the *nuta* had dyed its body and it was nice.’)

Sula can combine with *qani-a* to introduce a reason clause. The form *qani* with an object suffix also functions as a general verb-like preposition (section 10.3.7). And the combination *sula qani-a* can also function as a stacked prepositional phrase with a prolativ function (see example [10-142] in section 10.3.7). In the combination *sula qani-a* it is only the second element, *qani*, that carries the object suffix. In [verb verb] compounds with a Class 1 verb in the first position only the final verb can carry an object suffix (section 12.5). This suggests that the complex reason marker *sula qani-a* and the complex preposition *sula qani-a* may derive historically from a [verb verb] compound. The use of the complex reason marker *sula qani-a* is not very common, but it is more common than the use of *sula* alone. In this function *qani* is glossed REAS.

- (33-19) *Nau qe=aqi kwasi fula sula*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG arrive REAS

qani-a ku mataqi.
 REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘I did not come because I was sick.’

Compare the synonymous sentence in (33-13) further above with *uri* as the reason marker.

(33-20) ... *kerā* *thau-ngani-a* *qana* *imole, tatha*
 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person pass.by

qani-a *wela kini.* *Si* *doo qeri ka*
 GENP-3.OBJ child woman PRTT thing this 3SG.SEQ

raa bo=naqa sula *qani-a* *kerā*
 work ASRT=INTS REAS REAS-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT

faqa-mamane-a *qa=fa* *thato na* *ka*
 CAUS-be.true-3.OBJ GENP=CLF day REL 3SG.SEQ

sui *ki* *na=mai.*
 be.finished PL PRF=VENT

‘... they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls. This thing [the love magic] worked, because they believed in it in the days gone by.’

It is possible for a reason relation between states of affairs to be only implied, rather than be signalled explicitly:

(33-21) *Nau ku* *katu,* *qe=aqi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hindered 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

kwasi *lae kau, wela nau e* *mataqi.*
 1SG.NEG go AND child 1SG 3SG.NFUT be.sick

‘I could not go; my child was sick.’ ‘I was tied down (and) so did not go; my child was sick.’

A reason marker can be used to introduce a clause that does not express a reason for the state of affairs expressed in the main clause; rather, that clause supplies evidence or presumed evidence for why the state of affairs expressed in the main clause exists or seems to exist:

(33-22) *Wane e* *mataqi suli-a* *rake-na*
 man 3SG.NFUT be.sick REAS-3.OBJ belly-3SG.PERS

e bōse.
 3SG.NFUT be.distended
 ‘The man is sick, because his belly is distended.’ ‘The man must be sick, because his belly is distended.’

33.2.2. Focused reason clauses

To foreground, highlight, emphasize the reason, or the cause, why the state of affairs expressed in the main clause obtains, the reason clause can occur in a focus construction. As discussed in section 39.1, focused elements are fronted and the presupposition domain is marked by the “focus” marker *na*. Similarly, a focused reason clause is placed before the main clause, which is in the scope of *na*. Focused reason clauses are not normally marked by the reason markers *suli* or *uri*; but see (33-27) further below. Compare (33-23), where the reason clause is not focused and occurs after the main clause, and (33-24), where the reason clause is focused and occurs before the main clause:

(33-23) *Wela naqi qe angi {uri-a / suli-a}*
 child this 3SG.NFUT cry REAS-3.OBJ / REAS-3.OBJ

nia qe thaofa.
 3SG 3SG.NFUT be.hungry
 ‘The (lit.: this) child is crying because he/she is hungry.’

(33-24) *Wela naqi qe thaofa na ka angi neqe.*
 child this 3SG.NFUT be.hungry FOC 3SG.SEQ cry VIVID
 ‘It’s because the child is hungry that he/she is crying.’

Two more examples of focused reason clauses follow:

(33-25) *Bariqi ka quna qeri, “Qoo, ma tha*
 Bariqi 3SG.SEQ manner this oh and PERSMKR

Suriaoa takona, e rofe nau na
 Suriaoa SURPR 3SG.NFUT look.for 1SG FOC

ka lae mai.”
 3SG.SEQ go VENT

‘Bariqi said (to himself) (on unexpectedly seeing Suriaoa, his pet bird), “Oh, that is Suriaoa! It’s because he’s been looking for me that he has come.”’

In (33-26) the focused reason/cause clause is an interrogative one:

(33-26) *Qo ade qufita na qaba-mu ka*
2SG.NFUT do do.what? FOC arm-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

qoo?

break

‘What did you do to break your arm?’ ‘How did you break your arm?’ ‘How did your arm get broken?’

To highlight and emphasize the reason for a state of affairs even further, a focused reason clause may be introduced by the reason marker *uri* followed by the limiter *bana*:

(33-27) *Uri-a bana ku mataqi na kwasi fula.*
REAS-3.OBJ LIM 1SG.NFUT be.sick FOC 1SG.NEG arrive
‘It was because I was sick, and only because of that, that I did not come.’

Compare the broadly synonymous sentences in (33-13) and (33-14) in section 33.2.1, with non-focused reason clauses.

Sentences with focused reason clauses exhibit close links with sentences that contain consequence clauses (chapter 34), where the clause encoding the reason/cause comes first and the clause encoding the consequence second.

33.3. Purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations

33.3.1. Introduction

Several types of purpose construction need to be distinguished in Toqabaqita. First, there are finite purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations. Second, there are different markers used with (finite) purpose clauses, partly depending on whether the purpose is positive or negative. And third, there are special purpose constructions used with the verb *lae* ‘go’ in the preceding clause.

Purpose clauses are discussed first. Regardless of the type of purpose-clause construction, the order of the clauses is always iconic: main clause - purpose clause. The same types of purpose clauses are used regardless of whether the subjects of the main and the purpose clauses are different or identical.

There are three markers used with purpose clauses: *uri*, *fasi*, and *ada*. *Uri* is used only with positive-purpose clauses; *fasi* is used both with positive-purpose clauses and with negative-purpose clause, but much less commonly with the

latter; and *ada*, which is the timitive marker (section 18.6), is used only to express negative purpose.

33.3.2. Positive-purpose clauses

Positive-purpose clauses ([do something] in order that a certain state of affairs may obtain) can be introduced by *uri* or by *fasi*, or, rarely, by the two simultaneously, with *uri* preceding *fasi*. *Fasi* is more common than *uri* as a purpose marker (Lichtenberk 1991b). Both *uri* and *fasi* can occur with or without the third person object suffix *-a*, which indexes the purpose clause. With *uri*, the object suffix is much more likely to be present than absent, while with *fasi* it is much more likely to be absent than present. The subject marker in a verbal positive-purpose clause can be either sequential or future, without any appreciable difference in meaning. However, *fasi* favours sequential marking, while *uri* favours future marking.

The first two examples below contain *fasi* and the subsequent two *uri*. In each pair, the subjects of the main and the subordinate clause are different in the first example, and identical in the second example.

- (33-28) *Wane nau, nau kwai naqare-a tai alo*
 man 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT roast-3.OBJ some.PL taro

fasi qoko ngali-a.
 PURP 2SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ

‘My man, I’ll roast some taros so that you can take them (with you).’ ‘My man, I’ll roast some taros for you to take (with you).’

- (33-29) *Tari-a teqe iqa fasi qoko thau-ngi-a.*
 chase-3.OBJ one fish PURP 2SG.SEQ kill-TR-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Chase one fish so that you may kill it.’ This is a proverb whose meaning is something like ‘(Do) one (big) thing at a time’. It is used to caution people not to take on more than one major undertaking at a time.

For an example of *fasi* with the object suffix see (33-2) in section 33.1.

In (33-30) there are two instances of the purpose marker *uri*. The first one has a noun phrase as its complement, and the second one a clause:

- (33-30) *Qe alu-a uri-a kule-qe*
 3SG.NFUT put-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ place-ASSOC

toqa qeri, uri-a keki thau-ngi-da.

people that PURP-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT kill-TR-3PL.OBJ

‘He put it [a bounty] up on (lit.: for) (the heads of) the people of a place (lit.: a place of people) so that they would be killed (lit.: so that they [other people] would kill them).’

- (33-31) *Gavman qe firu uri-a kai kwaqe*
government 3SG.NFUT fight PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT hit

muu-si-a bo=naqa Masin Ruul fasi-a
break-TR-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS Marching Rule ABL-3.OBJ

laa aququa naqi.

IN island this

‘The Government fought to crush/break up Marching Rule on this island.’ ‘The Government fought to get rid of Marching Rule from this island by crushing it/breaking it up.’

Uri, but not *fasi*, can occur in combination with the complementizer *na*, in which case it always takes the object suffix *-a*. In (33-32) the combination of *uri* and *na* has two coordinated clauses in its scope:

- (33-32) *Babatana, si manga na ka sui ki*
love.magic PRTT time REL 3SG.SEQ finish PL

na=mai, imole kera qaru-toqo-na
PRF=VENT person 3PL.NFUT fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ

uri-a na keka foli kini ma keka
PURP-3.OBJ COMP 3PL.SEQ buy woman and 3PL.SEQ

toqo-wane.

intend-man

‘Love magic, in the days gone by, people used it in order to (be able to) get married, both men and women.’ (*Foli kini* signifies a man marrying a woman [paying a bride price] and *toqo-wane* signifies a woman marrying a man.)

For another example of *uri-a* with the complementizer see (33-8) in section 33.1.

It is possible for the two purpose markers to be combined as *uri-a fasi*:

- (33-33) *Iu, kera keka fita uri-a fasi seqe-da*
 yes 3PL 3PL.SEQ run PURP-3.OBJ PURP body-3PL.PERS
- ka, ka sukani oli mai.*
 3SG.SEQ[HESIT] 3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree return VENT
 ‘Yes, (and) they run [here: jog] so that their bodies may become a
 little slimmer again (lit.: so that their bodies come back a little).’

Such combined use of the two purpose markers is rare. Unexpectedly, it is the first one, *uri*, that carries the object suffix. If *uri-a fasi* continued an earlier [verb verb] compound, one would expect the object suffix to appear on the second element rather than on the first one: **uri fasi-a*. (See section 10.5 for [verb verb] compounds, and section 33.2.1 for the complex reason marker *sula qani-a*.) The fact that the object marker occurs on the first component suggests that the complex purpose marker does not continue an earlier [verb verb] compound and that it developed only after *uri* and *fasi* ceased to function as verbs.

Purpose clauses can function as relative clauses modifying nouns. The purpose clause expresses the purpose that the referent of the overall noun phrase serves/would serve. Here it is normally the purpose marker *fasi* that is used, not *uri*, although the combined form *uri-a fasi* is possible (see 33-38). *Fasi* does not take the object suffix. In (33-34) there are two purpose constructions. The first one employs a nominalized verb (section 33.3.5). The nominalization is a complement of the purpose marker *uri-a*. The second one employs a finite purpose clause. This second purpose construction restates, in a different way, what is expressed in the first purpose construction, but here it is the marker *fasi* that is used. In the finite purpose clause, instrument inversion has taken place (section 10.7).

- (33-34) *Aia, nga qato loo na kera*
 all.right IDENT rafter upward REL 3PL.NFUT
- qato-a, doo uri-a kani-la-na*
 install.rafter-3SG.OBJ thing PURP-3.OBJ tie-NMLZ-3.PERS
- thao suli-a, doo na fasi keka*
 thatching.panel PROL-3SG.OBJ thing REL PURP 3PL.SEQ

kani-a qana thao.

tie-3SG.OBJ GENP thatching.panel

‘All right, the rafters that they install, (they are) things for tying the thatching panels to (lit.: along), things to which they tie the thatching panels (things for them to tie the thatching panels to).’

The sentence in (33-35) too contains a relative purpose clause:

(33-35) *Keko fula qa=si manga na fasi*
3DU.SEQ arrive GENP=PRTT time REL PURP

keeroqa keki nofi naqa, keki hangim keeroqa.
3DU 3DU.FUT die PRF 3PL.FUT hang 3DU

‘They reached (lit.: arrived at) the time (which was) for them to die; they would be hanged (lit.: they would hang them).’

Relative purpose clauses are also used to modify the subject nouns in grammatically negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2). In such cases there is a strong tendency for the relative marker *na* not to be used. In (33-36) the variant without the relative marker is preferred.

(33-36) *Qe aqi ta kula (na) fasi*
3SG.NFUT not.exist some place REL PURP

kuka agwa qi ei.
PL(INCL).SEQ hide LOC LOCPRO

‘There is no place for us to hide.’

(33-37) *Qe aqi ta wane fasi kwa ngata*
3SG.NFUT not.exist some person PURP 1SG.SEQ speak

bii-a.

COM-3SG.OBJ

‘There was no one (there) for me to speak with.’

In (33-38) the noun-modifying purpose clause is introduced by the complex purpose marker *uri-a fasi*:

(33-38) *Ma ka aqi naqa ta si*
and 3SG.SEQ not.be.available PRF some PRTT

thaqegano laqu uri-a fasi wane ka
ground ADD PURP-3.OBJ PURP person 3SG.SEQ

fasi-a fanga qi ei ka leqa.
plant-3.OBJ food LOC LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ be.good

‘And there is now no more ground for a person to plant food where it would do well.’ (Lit.: ‘There is now not more ground so that a person might plant food there and it would be good.’)

A number of verbs take purpose clauses as their complements, for example the verbs with the meanings ‘be ready to do st.’, ‘prepare/make sb. ready to do st.’, ‘invite sb. to do st.’, ‘ask sb. to do st.’, and ‘try to do st.’. Here it is the complementizer *uri* that is normally used. A few examples are given in (33-39) – (33-43).

(33-39) *Nau ku too uri-a kwai biinga*
1SG 1SG.NFUT be.ready PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT sleep

naqa.

PRF

‘I am ready to go to sleep now.’ ‘I am ready to go to bed now.’

(33-40) ... *ma nia ka alu-ngani-a ta wane*
and 3SG 3SG.SEQ invite-TR-3.OBJ some man

uri-a na kai ngali-a ta si
PURP-3.OBJ COMP 3SG.FUT take-3.OBJ some PRTT

doo uri-a qae-na faa-fanga-a qeri,
thing ALL-3.OBJ venue-3.PERS RDP-eat-DVN that

‘... and he would invite a man to bring (lit.: take) something to the (venue of the) feast,’ (That is, he would invite a man to the feast, the expectation being that the guest would bring something.)

(33-41) *Tai wane mai qana Qanglikan, kera*
some.PL man VENT GENP Anglican 3PL.NFUT

gani-da laqu boqo uri-a keki
ask.sb.to.do.st.-3PL.OBJ ADD ASRT PURP-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT

lae keki raa laqu boqo bii kera qana bali
go 3PL.FUT work ADD ASRT COM 3PL GENP side

qana foqa-laa.

GENP pray-NMLZ

‘Some men among the Anglicans (living) around, they [the people celebrating the opening of a new (non-Anglican) church building] asked them [the Anglicans] too to come (lit.: go) and take part in the prayers (lit.: ‘work with them on the side of [i.e., with respect to] the praying).’

(The orthographic *ng* in *Qanglikan* represents /ŋg/.)

With expressions that mean ‘try, attempt to do st.’, the irrealis marker *sa* is used in the purpose clause when the attempt is unsuccessful (sections 18.2 and 18.3). Compare (33-42) without *sa*, which is about a successful attempt, and (33-43) with *sa*, which is about an unsuccessful attempt:

(33-42) *Nau, manga ku riki-a fau naqi, kwa*
1SG time 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ rock this 1SG.SEQ

sore-qe doo e kuluqa, ma ni
think-DETR thing 3SG.NFUT be.heavy and PROFORE

nau kwa ili uri-a kwai kwau-a,
1SG 1SG.SEQ do PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT lift-3SG.OBJ

ma ka thaathala qasia boqo.
and 3SG.SEQ be.lightweight INTS INTS

‘I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.’

(33-43) *Kera ade uri-a sa keki raqu-a,*
3PL.NFUT do PURP-3.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT catch-3SG.OBJ

ma ka qafetaqi.
and 3SG.SEQ be.difficult

‘They attempted to catch it [a bird] (lit.: they did in order to catch it), but (lit.: and) it was (too) difficult [they did not succeed].’

There need not be any overt marking of purpose, the purpose relation being only implied. In some cases the clause that expresses the purpose situation is in coordination with the preceding clause:

(33-44) *Ni=e sifo, kai kwaqe fole-a*
3SG=3SG.NFUT descend 3SG.FUT hit split-3.OBJ

niu.

coconut

‘He went down to split coconuts.’ (Lit.: ‘He went down, he will split coconuts.’)

The clause that expresses the purpose situation may be a paratactic complement clause:

(33-45) *Qoe, kera kwaathata-mu qoki ngali-a*
2SG 3PL.NFUT appoint-2SG.OBJ 2SG.FUT take-3.OBJ

foqa-a qana uiki loo.

pray-DVN GENP week upward

‘You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.’ ‘You, they have appointed you to take the prayers next week.’

Such absence of purpose marking is particularly common when the first clause contains the verb *lae* ‘go’. Since sentences with ‘go’ in the first clause exhibit other unique properties, such constructions expressing or implying purpose are discussed separately in section 33.3.3.

In (33-46) there is a purpose marker, but it does not have the following clauses as its complement. This is evident from the fact that it carries the third person plural object suffix *-da*, rather than the suffix *-a*. Here *uri* functions as a preposition: ‘for them’. The purpose relation between the first event and the subsequent events is only implied. The presence of the irrealis marker in the clauses expressing the desired events shows that the attempt was unsuccessful.

(33-46) ... *ka uufi-a bungu fuu i laa*
3SG.SEQ blow-3.OBJ conch downward LOC IN

faka uri-da, sa keki rongo-a, sa
ship PURP-3PL.OBJ IRR 3PL.FUT hear-3SG.OBJ IRR

keki lae, sa keki oli kokoto
3PL.FUT go IRR 3PL.FUT return do.straightaway

kau quna fuu.

AND manner downward

‘[The crew of a ship] blew a conch shell on the ship for them [some other members of the crew], so that they would hear it, so that they would (go and) return straightaway down (but they did not).’

33.3.3. Constructions implying purpose when the verb in the first clause is ‘go’

When the main clause contains the verb *lae* ‘go’, the purpose-clause strategies discussed thus far can be used, regardless of whether the subjects of the main and the purpose clauses are identical, as in (33-47) and (33-48), or not, as in (33-49):

(33-47) *Teqe nau na kwai lae fasi kwa raqu-a, ...*
 sole 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT go PURP 1SG.SEQ catch-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It will be me alone who will go to catch it [a bird], ...’ ‘I alone will go to catch it, ...’

(33-48) *Gavman ka lae uri-a kai*
 government 3SG.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

fula-toqo-na qi sa-na wane baqita
 arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS man be.big

n=e qita ma=i Merika
 REL=3SG.NFUT originate VENT=LOC America

ka lae mai, ...
 3SG.SEQ go VENT

‘The Government went to investigate (the substance of certain claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and had come), ...’

(33-49) *Lae ma=i ku=naqi fasi-a mika*
 go VENT=LOC place=this PURP-3.OBJ 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

ngata bii qoe.
 speak COM 2SG

‘Come here so that we may speak with you.’

However, when the subject of the purpose clause and the subject of the main clause are identical, the use of the constructions with the subordinators discussed above is not common. Instead, there are several “reduced” strategies that are available. All of these share the following properties. First, no purpose marker is present. Second, the two clauses are coordinate with each other, rather than being in a main-subordinate clause relation. And third, even though

the two clauses are coordinate with each other, when the verb *lae* immediately precedes the purpose clause, without any intervening material, the two clauses are normally said under one intonation contour and without a pause between them. Strictly speaking, such constructions do not explicitly express purpose. Rather, the purpose relation between two states of affairs is implied (and inferred). However, for convenience the term “purpose” clause is used here with reference to the second of two clauses, the one that expresses the state of affairs which is the implied purpose of the state of affairs expressed in the preceding, “first” clause.

Examples (33-50) – (33-58) below concern cases where it is only the purpose marker that is absent. As discussed towards the end of section 33.3.2, such absence of overt purpose marking may also happen with verbs other than ‘go’ in the first clause, but with the verb ‘go’ in the first clause such absence of overt purpose marking is the norm. What is said in the first part of the discussion that follows applies also to constructions with a verb other than ‘go’ in the first clause, but the discussion focuses on the verb ‘go’. For a different motion verb, *sifo* ‘descend’, see (33-44) in section 33.3.2.

No purpose marking is present in (33-50) and in (33-51). In such cases the second, purpose clause normally has a future-tense subject marker (but see further below).

(33-50) *Nau kwai lae kwai riki-a wane baa, ada*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT see-3.OBJ man that TIM

ka rake-giri uri nau.
 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry ALL 1SG

‘I’ll go and see the man so that he doesn’t get angry with me.’ ‘I’ll go see the man so that he doesn’t get angry with me.’

(33-51) *Bita qe lae kai siisiu qa-na.*
 Bita 3SG.NFUT go 3SG.FUT bathe SBEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘Bita went to bathe.’

The future-tense subject marker in the second, purpose clause signals time subsequent to the time of going, not necessarily to the time of speech. For example, with respect to (33-51) Bita may have bathed already by the time of the speech act.

When the purpose is not realized, the irrealis marker *sa* is used in the purpose clause. In (33-52) the lack of realization of the purpose is signalled, in addition, by means of the final negative existential clause:

- (33-52) *Nau ku laa-lae i maa-na uusi-a,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-go LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN
- sa kwai ngali-a ta gwa iqa, ma*
 IRR 1SG.FUT take-3.OBJ some CLF fish and
- ka aqi ta iqa.*
 3SG.SEQ not.be.available some fish
- ‘I went (lit.: had gone) to the market place to buy (lit.: take) fish, but (lit.: and) there weren’t any.’

The type of construction exemplified above overtly signals only a sequence of events, but there is a strong implication of a purpose relation. In the situation expressed in (33-50) above the speaker will go *in order to* see the man, in the situation expressed in (33-51) Bitu went *in order to* bathe, and in that expressed in (33-52) the speaker went to the market *in order to* buy fish. In all those cases the subject marker in the second, purpose clause is future-tense. However, it is possible for a sequential subject marker to be used, rather than a future-tense one. It is true that in the situation expressed in (33-53) below, the event of bringing back the shrimp is explicitly encoded only as being subsequent to the event of going. However, the event of going is not merely incidental to the event of bringing back the shrimp: the two people went (to the streams) *in order to* catch shrimp and bring them back to the house.

- (33-53) *Tai si manga keko lae keko*
 some.PL PRTT time 3DU.SEQ go 3DU.SEQ
- ngali-a mai denge na=i laa kafo ki.*
 take-3.OBJ VENT shrimp REL=LOC IN stream PL
- ‘Sometimes they would go and bring (home) shrimp (that were) in the streams.’

However, in one respect there is a difference between sentences with a future-tense subject marker in the purpose clause and sentences with a sequential subject marker in the purpose clause. When the state of affairs encoded in the first clause is in the past, a sequential subject marker serves to signal that the state of affairs of the purpose clause did eventuate: in the type of situation expressed in (33-53) above, the two people (normally) did (catch and) bring some shrimp home. It is, of course, possible/likely that their shrimp-catching expeditions were sometimes unsuccessful, but this is not what (33-53) implies. On the other hand, the use of a future subject marker leaves it open whether the state of affairs expressed in the purpose clause did indeed obtain or not. For example,

in the situation expressed in (33-51) above, Bita may not have bathed after all. The difference between future-tense and sequential marking in the purpose clause is also evident in the next pair of examples. In the situation expressed in (33-54), with a future-tense subject marker, although the speaker may assume that the addressee did/will buy something, he does not explicitly commit himself/herself to that. On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (33-55), with a sequential marker, the speaker makes his/her assumption that the addressee did buy something clear.

(33-54) *Taa n=o lae qoki uusi-a*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go 2SG.FUT buy-3SG.OBJ

qi laa sitoa?

LOC IN store

‘What did you go to buy in the store?’ Also: ‘What are you going to the store for (to buy there)?’

(33-55) *Taa n=o lae qoko uusi-a mai*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go 2SG.SEQ buy-3SG.OBJ VENT

qi laa sitoa qi roqo?

LOC IN store LOC yesterday

‘What did you go and buy in the store yesterday? (More lit.: ‘What did you go to the store and buy and bring back yesterday?’)

In (33-55) the ventive directional *mai* expresses displaced directionality (section 5.2.14.4): buying something and bringing it to the deictic centre (such as the addressee’s house).

When the time of the state of affairs expressed in the first clause is present or future, it is never certain whether the state of affairs of the purpose clause will eventuate, and here either sequential or future-tense subject marking is possible without any difference in meaning:

(33-56) *Kwai lae kwai fale qana botho.*
 1SG.FUT/IPFV go 1SG.FUT give GENP pig

a. ‘I will go (and) give (food) to the pig(s).’

b. ‘I am going to give (food) to the pig(s).’

(33-57) ... *koro koki lae kau, koko*
 DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT go AND DU(INCL).SEQ

rongo-a fasi taa b=e sore-a
 hear-3.OBJ PREC what? that=3SG.NFUT say-3SG.OBJ

qi sa-karoqa.
 LOC GOAL-DU(INCL).PERS
 ‘... let’s go and hear first what he says to us.’

In saying (33-58) below, the speaker claims to be certain that the event expressed in the purpose clause will take place; nevertheless, he uses the future-tense subject marker rather than the sequential one:

(33-58) *Nau kwai lae mai, kwai riki qoe laqu*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go VENT 1SG.FUT see 2SG ADD

qa=fa Sandee loo, qe=aqi
 GENP=CLF Sunday upward 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

si aqi.
 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case
 ‘I’ll come and see you again next Sunday, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).’

In addition to the absence of a purpose marker, reductions are also common in the first clause, but only if that clause contains the verb ‘go’. Such reductions occur, optionally, when nothing intervenes between the verb ‘go’ in the first clause and the onset of the purpose clause, that is when there are no postverbal particles or oblique objects in the ‘go’ clause. Commonly, the verb ‘go’ in the first clause has no subject marker. Subject markers may be omitted in declarative and interrogative sentences with any verb (section 4.8), but in the constructions discussed here such omission is common. This type of reduced construction is not used with reference to past situations where the purpose has been realized. The purpose clause always has a future-tense subject marker, except for imperatives, where sequential markers are more common. For imperatives see further below. The first, ‘go’ clause may contain a subject noun phrase:

(33-59) *Nau lae kwai siisiu fasi.*
 1SG go 1SG.FUT bathe PREC
 ‘I’ll go bathe first.’

(33-60) *Toqa baa lae keki kilu-a oqola*
 people that go 3PL.FUT plant.taro.in-3.OBJ garden

kerā ki.

3PL PL

‘The people went to plant taros in their gardens.’

- (33-61) *Maka nau lae kai waroqa qa-na.*
 father 1SG go 3SG.FUT work SBEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘My father went to work.’ ‘My father went to do some work.’

In the three examples above, there is no subject marker in the ‘go’ clause, but there is a subject noun phrase there. However, quite commonly not only the subject marker but also the subject is omitted in the ‘go’ clause, provided the referent is identifiable by other means, such as the subject marker in the following, purpose clause.

Compare (33-59) above, where the verb ‘go’ occurs with a subject pronoun, and (33-62) below, where the verb ‘go’ has neither a subject marker nor a subject pronoun:

- (33-62) *Lae kwai siisiu si qa-kuqa.*
 go 1SG.FUT bathe PREC SBEN-1SG.PERS
 ‘I’ll go bathe first.’

More examples of the absence both of subject markers and of subject phrases in the ‘go’ clauses are given below.

- (33-63) *Lae kwai bebesi kaoda qa-kuqa*
 go 1SG.FUT lean.against counter SBEN-1SG.PERS

qi Sainitaoni.

LOC Chinatown

‘I’ll go and lean against (shop) counters in Chinatown (in Honiara).’

A jocular way of saying that the person will just hang around shops with no intention of buying anything (because of lack of money).

- (33-64) *Lae qoki dee?*
 go 2SG.FUT fish
 ‘Are you going fishing?’

- (33-65) *Lae moki fanga naqa.*
 go 2DU.FUT eat PRF
 ‘Go eat now.’

In imperatives, the subject marker in the second clause may be sequential, nonfuture, rather than future, or there may be no subject marker at all in second-person imperatives. (See section 20.2 for the use of subject markers in positive imperatives.) Compare (33-65) just above, with a future-tense subject marker, and (33-66) below, with a sequential subject marker:

- (33-66) *Lae moka fanga naqa.*
 go 2DU.SEQ eat PRF
 ‘Go (and) eat now.’

In (33-67) the subject marker in the exhortative purpose clause is nonfuture:

- (33-67) *Lae kulu qili nguda.*
 go PL(INCL).NFUT dig crab.spp.
 ‘Let’s go crab-digging.’

In second-person imperatives, where there is normally no subject marker present with any verb (section 20.2.1.2), even the verb in the second, purpose clause may lack a subject marker:

- (33-68) *Lae riki-a kuki baa.*
 go see-3.OBJ saucepan that
 ‘Go see [here: check] the saucepan.’ (Is it boiling now?)

Alternatively, the purpose clause may have the sequential subject marker:

- (33-69) *Lae qoko thamataqi.*
 go 2SG.SEQ prepare.sleeping.place
 ‘Go (and) get the sleeping place/bed ready.’

In the absence of a purpose marker, a purpose relation between states of affair is only implied (and inferred). And clearly, the relation between an event of going expressed in one clause and the event expressed in the immediately following clause need not be one of purpose. In (33-70) below, the verb ‘go’ in the first clause has neither a subject marker nor a subject phrase, but the events expressed in the two clauses are in a simple temporal sequence, not in a purpose relation. In the overall situation, the speaker did not go *in order to see the pool*, because he did not even know at the outset that he was going to see a pool.

- (33-70) *Lae kwa riki-a laa teqe kafo.*
 go 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ IN one pool
 ‘I went and saw a pool (there).’ In the given context, not ‘I went to see a pool.’

33.3.4. Negative-purpose clauses

There are several ways in which negative purpose ([do something] in order that a certain state of affairs may not obtain) is signalled. The most common one by far uses the timitive marker *ada* in its preventive precautionary function. This function is discussed in more detail and exemplified in section 18.6.3, and here only a brief summary is given. When *ada* is used, the negative-purpose clause is grammatically positive, and the subject marker is always sequential. The (notional) subject of the first clause and the subject of the purpose clause may be identical or different.

- (33-71) *Qoko riki-a ada qoko rusu.*
 2SG.SEQ watch-3.OBJ TIM 2SG.SEQ slip
 ‘Watch out (lit.: watch it) so that you don’t slip.’

- (33-72) *Nau kwai lae kwai riki-a wane baa, ada*
 1SG 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT see-3.OBJ man that TIM

ka rake-qiri uri nau.
 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry ALL 1SG
 ‘I’ll go and see the man so that he doesn’t get angry with me.’ ‘I’ll go see the man so that he doesn’t get angry with me.’

The timitive construction is used when the speaker and possibly somebody else is/are are apprehensive about a possible state of affairs and so a preventive action is taken to (try to) avoid it. When there is no apprehension about a possible state of affairs, the timitive marker is not used. Instead, the purpose subordinator *fasi* is used, which also functions to express positive purpose. The other positive-purpose subordinator, *uri*, is not, by itself, used in this function; but see further below. Negative-purpose clauses introduced by *fasi* are grammatically negative. When the negative verb *aqi* is present in the purpose clause, its subject marker is non-future.

In the situation expressed in (33-73) the speaker wants to prevent a state of affairs from obtaining, not because he fears it, but because he wants to play a trick on others:

- (33-73) *Nau kwai malalia nau, fasi kesi*
 1SG 1SG.FUT disguise.os. 1SG PURP 3PL.NEG

thaitoqoma-ku.

know-1SG.OBJ

‘I’ll disguise myself so that they won’t recognize (lit.: know) me.’

Fasi can be used to signal negative purpose when the speaker is apprehensive about a state of affairs coming about, as in (33-74a) below, but *ada* is normally preferred in that function, as in (33-74b):

- (33-74) a. *Nau ku agwa qi buir-a fau,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hide LOC behind-3.PERS rock

fasi-a wane qeri qe=aqi
 PURP-3.OBJ man that 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

si riki nau.
 3SG.NEG see 1SG

‘I hid behind the rock so that the man would not see me.’

- b. *Nau ku agwa qi buir-a fau,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hide LOC behind-3.PERS rock

ada wane qeri ka riki nau.
 TIM man that 3SG.SEQ see 1SG

‘I hid behind the rock so that the man would not see me.’

Fasi is more likely to be used in apprehensive contexts when the apprehension is on the part of somebody other than the speaker (and his or her group):

- (33-75) *Wane e dalafa-a*
 man 3SG.NFUT use.dalafa.magic.on-3.OBJ

manta-ku, fasi-a qe=aqi kwasi
 mind-1SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

rake-qiri.

belly-be.angry

‘The man used *dalafa* magic on my mind so that I would not be/get angry.’

(*Dalafa* is a kind of magic possessed by some people that enables them to allay other people's anger.)

The timitive marker *ada* can combine with the purpose markers *fasi* or *uri*, even though the latter does not mark negative purpose by itself. *Fasi* or *uri* come directly before *ada*. *Fasi* can occur with or without the object suffix, *uri* only with the suffix. With these complex negative-purpose markers, it is *ada*, not *fasi* or *uri*, that determines the grammatical polarity of the purpose clause and the type of subject marker in the purpose clause: the clause is grammatically positive and the subject marker can only be sequential.

(33-76) *Ngali-a kaleko qaaqako, {fasi-a / fasi} ada*
 take-3.OBJ clothes be.warm PURP-3.OBJ / PURP TIM

qoko gwagwari qa=fa rodo.
 2SG.SEQ feel.cold GENP=CLF night
 'Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.'

(33-77) *Nau ku kani-a botho naqi qana maqe*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT tie-3.OBJ pig this GENP CLF

qai naqi, uri-a ada ka thaka.
 wood this PURP-3.OBJ TIM 3SG.SEQ run.away
 'I tied the (lit.: this) pig to the post so that it might not run away.'

33.3.5. Purpose nominalizations

Instead of a finite purpose clause, it is possible to use, under certain conditions, a non-finite construction headed by a nominalization (section 9.1). First, such purpose constructions can be used only if the notional subject of the nominalization is coreferential with the subject or, with a few verbs, the direct object of the clause in which the purpose nominalization occurs. Nominalizations can only be grammatically positive, and so only positive purpose can be expressed in this way. Although finite positive purpose clauses can be the complements of the purpose subordinators *fasi* or *uri*, purpose nominalizations can only be the complement of the purpose preposition *uri*, with the object suffix *-a*, or of its reduced variant *ura* (section 10.3.2), or of the reduced form of the general preposition *qana* (section 10.3.7), not of the preposition *fasi*, which is ablative (section 10.3.3). *Uri-a* is the most commonly used form, while *qana* is the least common one (although it is by no means rare). For the details concerning the expression of the notional arguments of nominalizations see section 9.1.3., specifically table 9.1.

Purpose constructions where the notional subject of the nominalization is coreferential with the subject of the clause in which the nominalization occurs are exemplified first. Examples (33-78) – (33-83) contain the purpose preposition *uri*.

(33-78) *Qo lae mai uri-a*
2SG.NFUT go VENT PURP-3.OBJ

faqa-maruki-la-na imole.

CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-3.PERS person

‘You have come in order to save people.’ (Lit.: ‘You have come for making-alive of people.’)

Compare (33-1) in section 33.1, with the verb *faqa-maruki* ‘save life’ in a finite purpose clause.

The two examples in (33-79) and (33-80) below, with a finite purpose clause and a purpose nominalization, respectively, are nearly synonymous, apart from the presence vs. absence of the limiter construction *ba-kuqa*. In (33-79) the clause preceding the purpose clause contains the verb *lae* ‘go’, and the construction with a purpose subordinator is not used (section 33.3.3). On the other hand, with a purpose nominalization, the purpose preposition is required. In (33-80) the nominalization is of the double type (section 9.1.2).

(33-79) *Nau qe=aqi kwasi thathamia ta*
1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG want-3.OBJ some

si doo, ku lae bo=ma-kuqa
PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT go ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS

kwai riki qoe ba-kuqa.
1SG.FUT see 2SG LIM-1SG.PERS

‘I don’t want anything; I have come just to see you.’

(33-80) *Nau qe=aqi kwasi thathamia ta*
1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG want-3.OBJ some

si doo; ku lae bo=ma-kuqa
PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT go ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS

uri-a riki-la-mu-laa.
PURP-3.OBJ see-NMLZ-2SG.PERS-NMLZ

‘I don’t want anything; I have come to see you.’

Below are given three more examples of purpose nominalizations with the purpose preposition *uri*.

- (33-81) *Kamareqa meka lae ura riki-la-na*
 1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ go PURP see-NMLZ-3.PERS

iqa.

fish

‘We went to see fish (in an aquarium).’

In (33-82) there are two purpose nominalizations, one occurring with the *ura* variant of the purpose preposition, and the other with the *uri* variant:

- (33-82) *Kere qui-a ngali qeri,*
 3PL.NFUT crack.canarium.nut-3.OBJ canarium.nut that

tai kini ki na keki qono ura
 some.PL woman PL FOC 3PL.IPFV sit PURP

gegwe-la-na, uri-a
 extract.kernel.out.of-NMLZ-3SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ

alu-la-na i laa fo ongi.
 put-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LOC IN CLF bamboo.sp

‘[When] they [men] crack canarium nuts, it is some (of the) women who sit (there) to extract the kernels out of them (and) to put them [the kernels] in *ongi* bamboo (containers).’ (Lit.: ‘They crack canarium nuts, it is some women who sit for extracting the kernels out of them, for putting them in *ongi* bamboo.’)

In (33-83) the purpose nominalization has its own purpose adjunct:

- (33-83) *Kera lae uri-a luulufu-laa*
 3PL.NFUT go PURP-3.OBJ cut.off.branches/fronds-NMLZ

uri-a luma kera.
 PURP-3.OBJ house 3PL

‘They went to cut fronds for their house.’ (Here: They went to cut sago-palm fronds to make thatching panels for their house.)

In the next two examples it is the general preposition *qana* that has purpose nominalizations as its complements:

- (33-84) *Keka kwaqe nau qana*
3PL.SEQ beat 1SG GENP

faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa,

CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ

‘They [the speaker’s parents] would give me whippings to straighten me,’ (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give him whippings to make him behave.)

- (33-85) *Si doo qeri kera thau-ngani-a qana*
PRTT thing that 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP

selebreytim-la-na mae-la-na toqa
commemorate-NMLZ-3.PERS die-NMLZ-3.PERS people

baqita ki ma toq=qinoto ki na=i
be.big PL and people=be.wealthy PL REL=LOC

laal-a aququa na=i Malaqita.
inside-3SG.PERS island REL=LOC Malaita

‘This (kind of) thing [a series of mortuary feasts] they used to hold (lit.: make) to commemorate the deaths (lit.: dying) of big people and wealthy people on (lit.: inside) the island of Malaita.’

As mentioned in section 33.3.2, some verbs require as their complements purpose clauses. Some of these verbs are transitive where it is the direct object that is co-referential with the subject of the purpose clause. Such verbs can take purpose nominalizations instead. They function as “object-control” verbs: it is their direct object that corresponds to the notional subject of the nominalization. *Kwaathata* ‘choose, appoint sb. to do st.’ is one such verb. In (33-86) the clause with *kwaathata* functions as a main clause, followed by a purpose clause, while in (33-87) *kwaathata* has a purpose nominalization as an oblique object:

- (33-86) *Wane qe kwaathata-ku uri-a kwai*
man 3SG.NFUT choose-1SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT

kafara bii nia.
make.copra COM 3SG

‘The man chose me to make copra with him.’ (Lit.: ‘The man chose me so that I would make copra with him.’)

- (33-87) *Nau, kera kwaathata-ku uri-a raa-laa.*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT appoint-1SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ work-NMLZ
 ‘Me, they appointed me to work.’ ‘I was appointed to work.’ (Lit.:
 ‘I, they appointed me for working.’)

In (33-88) the verb is *gani* ‘ask sb. to do st.’. The purpose nominalization has its own prepositional-phrase adjunct:

- (33-88) *Kera gani kamiliqa ura*
 3PL.NFUT ask.sb.to.do.st. 1PL(EXCL) PURP

qadomi-la-da-laa qana kafara.
 help-NMLZ-3PL.PERS-NMLZ GENP copra
 ‘They asked us to help them with (making) copra.’

In the next example, there are two verbs that take purpose complements: *manata-toqo* (*man-toqo*) ‘think of doing st.’, with a finite purpose clause, and *fale* ‘send sb. (with a task)’, with a purpose nominalization. There are two other instances of the preposition *uri* there, one with the allative function and one with the purpose function. The latter, purpose prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the purpose nominalization.

- (33-89) ... *toqa gwaungaqi qana sios keka*
 people be.important GENP church 3PL.SEQ

man-toqo-na uri keki fale kamiliqa uri
 think-TEST-3SG.OBJ PURP 3PL.FUT send 1PL(EXCL) ALL

Honiara ura rofe-laa ura ta si doo
 Honiara PURP look.for-NMLZ PURP some PRTT thing

qu=neqe.

manner=this

‘... the big people in the Church thought of sending us to Honiara to look for something like this.’ (Lit.: ‘... the important people in the Church thought about it in order that they would send us to Honiara for looking for something of this manner.’)

Chapter 34

Consequence clauses

To express the fact that one state of affairs is the consequence of another state of affairs, the form *adelana* is used to introduce the clause that expresses the consequence. *Adelana* is a nominalization of the Class 1 transitive verb *ade* ‘do’, with the third person (singular) personal suffix *-na*: *ade-la-na* ‘its doing’, ‘doing of it’. Example (34-1) shows *ade* as a transitive verb:

- (34-1) *Taa* *n=o* *ade-a?*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT do-3SG.OBJ
 ‘What are you doing?’

In its consequence-marking function the nominalization *ade-la-na* is treated as an unanalyzed whole: *adelana*. However, even though *adelana* has a grammatical function of signalling consequence, it exhibits nominal properties: it can be placed in focus, and it can be accompanied by certain particles that occur in noun phrases.

As discussed in section 19.3.8, the nominalization *ade-la-na* is used in one type of open interrogative to inquire about what led to a certain state of affairs. There *ade-la-na* does function as a nominalization: it is the subject of the interrogative predicate ‘be located where?’. There is a close link between the consequence-marking function discussed in this chapter and the function of *ade-la-na* in such interrogatives: ‘How did that come about that such and such is the case?’. However, in the consequence-marking function, *adelana* does not function as an argument of a verb.

Grammatically positive consequence clauses normally contain the appropriate sequential subject marker, unless the imperfective subject marker is called for. Grammatically negative consequence clauses contain the appropriate negative subject marker.

Consequence clauses are normally, but not always (see further below), accompanied by a clause that states the reason for, or the cause of, the consequent state of affairs. The order of the two clauses may be iconic or non-iconic: reason/cause clause – consequence clause, or consequence clause – reason/cause clause, respectively. When the clause of reason/cause precedes the consequence clause, the two clauses are in syndetic coordination with each other.

In examples (34-2) – (34-4) the clauses expressing the reason/cause precede the consequence clauses.

- (34-2) *Qi roqo sa kwai lae qi laa raa,*
 LOC yesterday IRR 1SG.FUT go LOC IN garden
kwa feda qasia naqa, adelana kwasi lae.
 1SG.SEQ feel.weak INTS INTS CONS 1SG.NEG go
 ‘Yesterday I would have gone to the garden, (but) I felt very weak,
 and so I did not go (lit.: [and as] its doing I did not go).’

In (34-3) the consequence clause has an imperfective subject marker: the state of affairs expressed there is a habitual one.

- (34-3) *Qo nii qa=si kula ki sui*
 2SG.NFUT be.located GENP=PRTT place PL EXHST
bana, adelana qoki thuu-fi kamiliqa.
 LIM CONS 2SG.IPFV protect-TR 1PL(EXCL)
 ‘You [God] are everywhere (lit.: in all places) and therefore (can)
 protect us.’

To emphasize the fact that a given state of affairs is indeed the consequence of some other state of affairs, the consequence marker is put in focus (section 39.1):

- (34-4) *Wela seqe-na qe noni, adelana na*
 child body-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.shy CONS FOC
ka thaka.
 3SG.SEQ run.away
 ‘The child was shy and so ran away.’ ‘The child was shy, and it was
 because of that that he ran away.’ (Lit.: ‘The child, his body was
 shy, so he ran away.’)

For another example see (39-27) in section 39.2.

Quite commonly, the consequence clause comes first, before the reason/cause clause. The consequence clause occurs before the expression of the reason/cause when the consequent state of affairs is old information and the expression of reason/cause provides an explanation for it, or some other kind of elaboration. The consequence clause functions as a main clause, and the clause that expresses the cause or reason as a subordinate one. The clause of

cause/reason is the complement of the reason subordinator *suli* (section 33.2.1), but not of the other reason subordinator *uri*.

In the discourse preceding (34-5) it is established that it is difficult to find possums at a certain place, and the reason clause provides an explanation:

(34-5) *Adelana thaqaro-na ku=naqi ka qafetaqi,*
 CONS possum-3.PERS place=this 3SG.SEQ be.difficult

suli-a kera i=i thaqegano
 REAS-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT be.located=LOC ground

neri.

NPAST.HERE

‘(And) so the possums at (lit.: of) this place are difficult (to spot), because they are on the ground (rather than up in the trees).’

To emphasize the fact that the consequent state is indeed the consequence of a given state of affairs, there are several strategies available. The consequence marker *adelana* may be in the scope of the assertive/intensifying particle *boqo* (section 7.6). In (34-6) both the consequent and the reason clauses express old information, but the latter clause restates, highlights the reason.

(34-6) *Ma adelana boqo keekero*
 and CONS ASRT yellow.bibbed.lory

riki-la-na seqe-na ka leqa
 look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.nice

fuqu, sula nuta qe qeda-a
 down.there REAS bird.sp 3SG.NFUT dye-3.OBJ

seqe-na ka leqa.
 body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.nice

‘And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory’s body looked nice, because the *nuta* bird had nicely dyed its body.’ (Lit.: ‘And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory, its body’s looking-at was nice, because the *nuta* had dyed its body and it was nice.’)

Alternatively, the consequence marker may be in focus, and in addition it may be in the scope of the limiter *bana* (section 7.7). Focusing alone is found in (34-8) further below. The next example shows focusing combined with the limiter. After speaking on a certain topic for some time, the speaker uses a rea-

son clause to explain why he has been speaking about the matter. The reason marker *suli-a* is followed by the complementizer *na* (section 33.1).

(34-7) *Adelana bana na kwa thathami-a kwai uqunu*
 CONS LIM FOC 1SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate

kau, suli-a na tha weleqi qe
 AND REAS-3.OBJ COMP PERSMKR guy 3SG.NFUT

soe-toqo-ku uri-a nga maqaluta-na
 ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ IDENT detail-3.PERS

raa qeri

work that

‘And so, and only for that reason, I wanted to talk (about it), because the guy had asked me for details about that work’

A clause of reason or cause need not follow the consequence clause directly. In (34-8) the consequence clause is immediately followed by a clause that announces that an explanation of the reason will follow. The consequence marker is in focus.

(34-8) *Adelana na si tarafula-a qeri ka*
 CONS FOC PRTT quote.proverb-DVN this 3SG.SEQ

mango, nia e quna qeri.
 appear 3SG 3SG.NFUT manner this

‘Why/How this proverb/saying came about (lit.: appeared), (it) is like this.’ (The speaker then proceeds to describe an incident that gave rise to the saying.)

Instead of being expressed by means of a clause, the cause or reason that has a certain consequence may be expressed by means of a noun phrase that is the complement of the prolativ/cause preposition *suli*. That prepositional phrase is juxtaposed to, and follows, the consequence clause.

(34-9) *Adelana toqa naqi keka firu, suli-a*
 CONS people this 3PL.SEQ fight REAS-3.OBJ

kwala-laa ba=i naqo quu mai.
 swear-NMLZ that=LOC earlier.time ANTCONT VENT
 ‘And so/That’s why these people fought, because of the swearing
 [that is, insults] (that happened) a long time ago.’

The fact that one state of affairs is the consequence of another one need not be coded explicitly. Rather, the reason/cause-consequence relationship need only be implied in, and inferred from, an iconic sequence of clauses: the clause expressing the reason/cause followed by the clause expressing the consequence. The latter clause has a sequential subject marker.

(34-10) *Kaala wela kere alifeo, ka aqi*
 little.PL child 3PL.NFUT make.noise 3SG.SEQ NEG V

kusi rongo tafa.
 PL(INCL).NEG hear be.unimpeded
 ‘The little children are making noise, and (so/as a result) we can’t
 hear well.’

Chapter 35

Temporal relations

35.1. Introduction

In the discussion that follows, two main types of temporal relations between states of affairs are distinguished: sequentiality and non-sequentiality, the latter including co-extensiveness, various degrees of overlap, and one state of affairs being fully included in another one. Most of the discussion has to do with sequentiality. There is a considerable variety of formal means in Toqabaqita to express temporal relations between states of affairs: noun phrases that contain relative clauses, adverbial clauses, clause coordination, particles inside the verb complex, and other elements.

35.2. Constructions that express ‘time when’ relations between states of affairs

There are two basic types of construction in Toqabaqita to express the ‘time when’ relation between two states of affairs, X and Y: ‘When X, Y’. These constructions express the temporal setting of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause. One is a type of noun phrase that contains a relative clause, and the other is a type of adverbial clause. The former is considerably more common than the latter. Temporal adverbial clauses are not only less common; they are also more restricted in terms of their function: they can only be used to express states of affairs subsequent to reference time or general, temporally unrestricted states of affairs. There are no such restrictions on temporal noun phrases with relative clauses.

35.2.1. Temporal noun phrases with relative clauses

In this type of construction, a relative clause has as its head the noun *manga* ‘time’ or, rarely, *kada* ‘time’. The relative clause expresses a state of affairs temporally related to the state of affairs expressed in the main clause; see further below for detail. The basic structure of the temporal noun phrase construction with a relative clause is shown in (35-1):

- (35-1) [(*si*) {*manga* / *kada*} (*na*) relative.clause]_{NP}
 PRTT time / time REL

In (35-2) the temporal noun phrase that contains a relative clause is in square brackets.

- (35-2) [*Si manga na kero fula mai*], *keko*
 PRTT time REL 3DU.NFUT arrive VENT 3DU.SEQ

qono qa-daroqa

sit SBEN-3DU.PERS

‘When (lit.: the time that) they arrived, they sat (down) ...’

For the sake of brevity, the relative clause inside the temporal noun phrase whose basic structure is given in (35-1) above is referred to here as the “temporal relative clause”, and the clause that expresses the state of affairs whose temporal circumstance is expressed in the temporal relative clause is referred to as the “main clause”. Thus, in (35-2), *si manga na kero fula mai* ‘the time that/when they arrived’ is a temporal noun phrase that contains a temporal relative clause; *kero fula mai* ‘they arrived’ is a temporal relative clause; and *keko qono qa-daroqa* ‘they sat down’ is the main clause, in the senses intended here. The temporal noun phrase with a relative clause is adjoined to the main clause, either before it or after it. Often there is a slight pause between them. This is especially common when the noun phrase with the temporal relative clause precedes the main clause. It is more common for the temporal noun phrase to precede the main clause, but the reverse order is not unusual.

Temporal relative clauses are not, structurally, a special type of relative clause. They have the normal structure of relative clauses (section 30.1), and other temporal nouns can function as their head. In (35-3) the head noun is *bongi* ‘day’:

- (35-3) *Fa bongi na kwai lae, qoe mena*
 CLF day REL 1SG.FUT go 2SG FADD

qoki lae laqu boqo fasi-a.

2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ

‘The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.’

The only difference is that in temporal relative clauses, as the term is used here, the temporal head noun *manga* (or *kada*) ‘time’ is a relatively general one.

Not infrequently, the head noun ‘time’ occurs without the partitive particle *si*; see, for example, (35-5) further below. And, as discussed in section 30.4, the

relative marker *na* can be omitted too. *Si* and *na* are omissible at the same time, as in (35-7).

Temporal relative clauses can express sequential as well as non-sequential relations between states of affairs. Temporal relative clauses may contain a nonfuture, future/imperfective, or negative subject marker. They do not contain the dehortative subject markers or the sequential subject markers. The (archaic) dehortative subject markers occur only in main clauses. Temporal relative clauses express background temporal information with respect to the states of affairs expressed in their main clauses, and for that reason the sequential subject markers are not used there. Grammatically positive main clauses most often contain sequential subject markers. However, if the time of the state of affairs of the main clause precedes that of the relative clause, the appropriate nonfuture subject marker is used in the main clause. And the imperfective subject markers are used, optionally, in the main clause when the state of affairs of the main clause is simultaneous with that of the relative clause.

In (35-4) and (35-5) the events of the temporal relative clauses take place and are completed before the events of the main clauses:

- (35-4) *Si manga na mak=keeroqa qe nofi naqa,*
 PRTT time REL father=3DU 3SG.NFUT die PRF

keko ngali-a, keko alu-a, sui
 3DU.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ 3DU.SEQ bury-3SG.OBJ then

keko oli.
 3DU.SEQ return
 ‘When/After their father died, they took him (and) buried him, and then went back.’

(For the sequencer *sui* ‘then’ see section 35.3.2.2.3.)

- (35-5) *Manga na kera thaka, keka too*
 time REL 3PL.NFUT escape 3PL.SEQ stay

ba-d=i laa Gela suli=fa thato
 LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC IN Nggela PROL:3.OBJ=CLF day

qoro ki laqu boqo.
 be.many PL ADD ASRT
 ‘When/After they escaped, they stayed on (lit.: in) (the island of) Nggela for many more days.’

In (35-6) and (35-7) the states of affairs in the relative and the main clauses are simultaneous:

- (35-6) *Si manga na ni nau ku faqekwa,*
 PRTT time REL PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.little

ku too bii keeroqa.
 1SG.NFUT reside COM 3DU
 'When I was little, I lived with the two of them [the speaker's parents].'

In (35-7) both the partitive marker *si* and the relative marker *na* are absent; and the noun phrase with the temporal relative clause comes after the main clause:

- (35-7) *Qani-a alo manga kai qaaqako.*
 eat-3.OBJ taro time 3SG.FUT be.warm
 'Eat the taro while it's warm (lit.: while it will be warm).'

In (35-8) too the temporal noun phrase follows the main clause, but its event is also temporally related to that of the following clause, coordinate with the first one:

- (35-8) *Qe=aqi kwasi lio i laa*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG look LOC IN

maa-na manga na kwai ngata, ma nia
 eye-3SG.PERS time REL 1SG.IPFV speak and 3SG

e=aqi si lio i laa
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG look LOC IN

maa-ku.
 eye-1SG.PERS
 '[In the old days] I would not look into her eyes when speaking (to her, the wife of another man), and she would not look into my eyes.'

It is possible for a topicalized element to precede a noun phrase with a temporal relative clause that in turn precedes the main clause:

- (35-9) *Qi ukita, si manga na kini qe lae*
 LOC heathen PRTT time REL woman 3SG.NFUT go

bisi, qe aqi si naqare-a
 menstrual.hut 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG cook-3.OBJ

fanga qana wane ki, kesi qani-a.
 food GENP man PL 3PL.NEG eat-3SG.OBJ

'In heathen (times), when a woman had her period (lit.: when she had gone [to] the menstrual hut), she would not cook food for the men; they would not eat it.'

(35-10) *Maka nau bia thaina-ku, manga na*
 father 1SG and mother-1SG.PERS time REL

kera riki-a na ni nau ku
 3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ COMP PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT

baqita naqa, keka toda-a qasia naqa
 be.big PRF 3PL.SEQ obtain.money-3.OBJ INTS INTS

malefo.
 money

'My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).'

While temporal relative clauses overtly signal only temporal relations, a causal relation may be implied as well: the state of affairs of the main clause obtains not just after or during that of the relative clause, but also because of it. In the situation expressed in (35-11) the speaker's cutting himself caused him to bleed:

(35-11) *Manga na ku kasi-a qaba-ku, qoo,*
 time REL 1SG.NFUT cut-3.OBJ arm-1SG.PERS oh,

qabu ka tafa qasia naqa.
 blood 3SG.SEQ emerge INTS INTS

'When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out.'

In the situation expressed in (35-12) the man got angry because of what the speaker was saying. The time of his being angry is included in the time of the speaker's speaking.

(35-12) *Teqe wane ka rake-qiri manga na kwai*
 one man 3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry time REL 1SG.IPFV

uqunu quna qeri.

narrate manner that

'One man was/got angry when I was talking like that/when I was saying that.'

Main clauses in construction with noun phrases that contain a temporal relative clause normally express states of affairs that follow, are simultaneous with, or are included in, the state of affairs expressed in the relative clause. To express the fact that the state of affairs of the main clause precedes that of the relative clause, one may resort to negation in the relative clause: the state of affairs of the relative clause does not yet obtain at the time of the state of affairs of the main clause:

(35-13) *Kini e kuki-a fanga si manga na*
 woman 3SG.NFUT cook-3.OBJ food PRTT time REL

wane qe aqi si fula quu.
 man 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG arrive ANTCONT

'The woman had cooked the food before the man arrived.' (Lit.: 'The woman cooked the food; the man had not arrived yet.')

As discussed in section 35.3.2.3, there is a special construction to express the fact that the completion/coming to an end of an extended state of affairs culminates in a new state of affairs. Temporal relative clauses can participate in that kind of construction: a temporal clause that expresses an extended state of affairs is followed by a coordinate clause that expresses the new state of affairs. The two clauses jointly modify the head noun 'time'.

(35-14) *Manga n=e raa-raqa ka fula i*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-climb 3SG.SEQ arrive LOC

fuufuur-a qai baa, nia ka qai
 crown.of.tree-3.PERS tree that 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout

qana teqe thaame-q=qai-laa n=e baqita.
 INS one father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT be.big

'When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the tree, he gave out a very loud shout.' (Lit.: 'When he climbed and climbed and arrived at the crown of the tree, he shouted with a father of a shout that was big.')

The culmination of an extended state of affairs may be just its being completed, its coming to an end. In such cases the temporal relative clause is followed by a “mini-clause” that contains the verb *sui* ‘be finished’ (see section 35.3.2.2.3 for discussion). In (35-15) the mini-clause is in bold.

(35-15) *Manga n=e booburi-a biqu*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT install.booburi.post.in-3.OBJ house

ba=e sui, nia ka ngali-a teqe
 that=3SG.NFUT be.finished 3SG 3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ one

fa qai, ka alu=i gwau-na
 CLF wood 3SG.SEQ put:3SG.OBJ=LOC top-3.PERS

booburi qeri,

k.o.post that

‘When he [a man building a new house] has finished installing the *booburi* posts in the house, he takes a beam and puts it on top of the *booburi* posts, ...’ (Lit.: ‘When he installs the *booburi* posts in the house, it is finished, he takes a beam and puts it on top of the *booburi* posts,’)

When the event expressed in a temporal relative clause is seen as temporally extended, the temporal clause and a “mini-clause” that contains the reduplicated verb *lae* ‘go’ with the completive/exhaustive marker *sui* (section 35.3.2.3) form a complex relative-clause structure:

(35-16) *Manga na kera qaa-qani-a oqola kera qeri,*
 time REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-eat-3.OBJ garden 3PL that

laa-lae sui, keka luka qa=si
 RDP-go COMPL 3PL.SEQ abandon GENP=PRTT

thaqegano qeri

ground that

‘When, after eating and eating (the food from) their garden, it is all gone, they abandon that piece of ground (and it lies fallow for four or five years).’ (Lit.: When they have been eating and eating their garden, it is finished, they abandon that piece of ground’)

There are two nouns with the meaning ‘time’, either of which can function as the head of a temporal relative clause, *manga* and *kada*. *Manga* is the one

normally used, as in all of the examples above. *Kada* is used only rarely, whether as the head of a relative temporal clause or elsewhere. In (35-17) *kada* functions as the head of a temporal relative clause:

(35-17) *Kada ku lae kwa too naqa i*
 time 3SG.NFUT go 1SG.SEQ stay PRF LOC

Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, kwai biqi
 Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre 1SG.FUT IMM

thaitoqoma-na qani-la-na Japanese food, bia
 know-3.OBJ eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese food and

kwa biqi biinga leqa naqa.
 1SG.SEQ IMM sleep be.good PRF

'When I went and stayed at the Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, I quickly learned (lit.: knew) to eat Japanese food and quickly was able to sleep well (lit.: quicky slept well).' (This after an initial period in Japan when the person could not eat Japanese food and could not sleep well.)

35.2.2. Temporal adverbial clauses with *laalae* 'when'

The other way in which the 'time when' relation between two states of affairs can be expressed is by means of an adverbial temporal clause introduced by the form *laalae*, although this is considerably less common than the use of temporal relative clauses. *Laalae* is historically a reduplication of the verb *lae* 'go': *laa-lae*. When *laalae* introduces a subordinate temporal clause, it is treated here as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed 'when'.

In contrast to temporal relative clauses, the use of *laalae* clauses is restricted to encoding states of affairs subsequent to reference time, or to general, temporally unrestricted states of affairs, not to states of affairs simultaneous with or preceding reference time. This corresponds to another use of *laalae*, which is to introduce the protases of conditional sentences other than in counterfactual conditions (section 31.1.1). And unlike noun phrases with temporal relative clauses, *laalae* temporal clauses always precede their main clauses.

If the time of the state of affairs of the temporal clause is future relative to the time of speaking, the subject marker may be future or nonfuture. The nonfuture subject markers are used if the state of affairs expressed in the temporal clause precedes that of the main clause. If not, it is the future subject markers that are used. See (35-18) and (35-19), respectively.

(35-18) *Laalae qo fula naqa i Kukumu, nau*
 when 2SG.NFUT arrive PRF LOC Kukumu 1SG

kwai biqi uqunu sa-mu suli-a
 1SG.FUT IMM narrate GOAL-2SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ

ta si doo ki bana

some PRTT thing PL LIM

‘When you have arrived in Kukumu, I’ll tell you straightaway about some things’ ‘As soon as you have arrived in Kukumu, I’ll tell you about some things’

(35-19) *Laalae qoki lae, qoko fonotai qana biqu*
 when 2SG.FUT go 2SG.SEQ lock GENP house

qena.

that(2)

‘When you go (out), lock the house.’

In (35-20) the state of affairs of the temporal clause precedes the time of speaking; however, it is subsequent to other states of affairs, expressed in preceding sentences. The reference time is in the past.

(35-20) *Laalae ku baqita naqa, kwa riki*
 when 1SG.NFUT be.big PRF 1SG.SEQ see

thaitoqoma-na maka nau, bii kwa riki
 know-3.OBJ father 1SG and 1SG.SEQ see

thaitoqoma-na thaina-ku.

know-3.OBJ mother-1SG.PERS

‘When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.’

When the state of affairs expressed in the temporal clause is a habitual one, it may be the imperfective subject marker that is used:

(35-21) *Laalae qoki kilu-a lali qoe, qoko*
 when 2SG.IPFV plant.taro-3.OBJ taro.top 2SG 2SG.SEQ

keekefu qana kwato.

wiggle GENP dibble.stick

‘When you are planting (your) taros (lit.: your taro tops), you should wiggle the dibble stick (in the ground to make a hole for the taro top).’

35.3. Coordinate clauses

The kinds of temporal relations discussed in this section hold not only between propositions expressed by coordinate clauses, but also between propositions expressed by sentences. Here the focus is on coordinate clauses, but a few examples of sequences of sentences are given as well.

35.3.1. Non-sequential relations between states of affairs

Coordination of clauses, syndetic or asyndetic, can be used to express states of affairs that are co-extensive, overlapping, or with one included in the other. In (35-22) the three states of affairs are, for all intents and purposes, co-extensive. The sequential subject markers in the second and the third clauses do not signify that the states of affairs occurred in sequence. Rather, all three states of affairs simultaneously followed earlier events. (As discussed in section 16.2, the sequential subject markers may be used when the relation between two states of affairs is not sequential.)

(35-22) *Keko qono, ma keko angi, ma keko*
 3DU.SEQ sit and 3DU.SEQ cry and 3DU.SEQ

lio-dila,

mind-slip

‘They sat and cried and were heartbroken,’

(35-23) *Nau ku thaofa, kwa mae-li kuqu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ die-TR drink

laqu boqo.

ADD ASRT

‘I’m hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.’

In the situation expressed in (35-24) the event(s) of vomiting took place during the time of the travel. There is no subject marker in the second clause.

As discussed in section 4.8, subject markers are occasionally omitted even in simple sentences. The absence of a subject marker in (35-24) is not due to a syntactic rule having to do with clause coordination.

- (35-24) *Nau ku lae i laa faka, ma moa qasia*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT go LOC IN ship and vomit INTS
naqa.
 INTS
 ‘I went on a ship and vomited a lot.’

35.3.2. Sequential relations between states of affairs

35.3.2.1. *Sequentiality signalled only by means of sequential subject markers*

This is formally the simplest strategy: clauses that encode the second and subsequent states of affairs contain the appropriate sequential subject markers. The clauses may, but need not, be conjoined by means of *ma* ‘and’ (section 28.2.2). This kind of construction is typically used when the sequentially related states of affairs are of relatively short duration and follow each other more or less directly. The use of the sequential subject markers to express sequentiality of states of affairs is discussed in more detail in section 16.1, and here only a few examples are given.

- (35-25) *Kera ngali-daroqa, keka lae bo=na=uri*
 3PL.NFUT take-3DU.OBJ 3PL.SEQ go ASRT=PRF=ALL
Tulake.
 Tulagi
 ‘They took [here: arrested] them and went to Tulagi [a place].’

As the next example shows, the first of two or more conjoined clauses too may have a sequential subject marker, when its own state of affairs is subsequent to another one, expressed in an earlier sentence:

- (35-26) “*Maeori, qoi riki-a si kasi qai qeri.*”
 Maeori 2SG.IMP look.at-3.OBJ PRTT small wood this

Maeori ka lae, ka raa uri-a si
 Maeori 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ reach ALL-3.OBJ PRTT

qai fuu, ka gwee-a, ka
 wood downward 3SG.SEQ pick.up-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

takwe-la-ngani-a, ma ka riki-a,
 stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ look.at-3SG.OBJ

ma ka kwala-ngi=ni Feefelo.
 and 3SG.SEQ swear-TR:3.OBJ=PERSMKR Feefelo
 ‘[Feefelo threw the stick towards Maeori (and said),] “Maeori take a look at this small stick.” Maeori went, reached for the stick, picked it up, stood it up and took a look at it, and swore at Feefelo.’

In addition to temporal sequence, there may also be an implication (and inference) of a cause/reason-consequence/result relation between two states of affairs:

(35-27) *Nau ku qaru, kwa toqo qana fau,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT fall 1SG.SEQ bang GENP stone

ka maga-a qaaqae-ku, ka tatariqa.
 3SG.SEQ break-3.OBJ leg-1SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ show.raw.flesh
 ‘I fell down, banged myself against a rock, it broke (the skin of) my leg, and it [the leg] was showing raw flesh.’

35.3.2.2. *Sequentiality signalled by more elaborate and more explicit strategies*

Although sequentiality of states of affairs can be expressed by means of clausal coordination, with or without the conjunction ‘and’, these strategies are not fully explicit. The absence of the conjunction is, of course, not explicit coding of sequentiality. And the sequential subject markers and *ma* ‘and’ do not exclusively encode sequentiality. Toqabaqita does have other, explicit elements and constructions to signal sequentiality.

35.3.2.2.1. *Temporal adjunct phrases*

Sequentiality can be explicitly signalled by means of oblique-object adjuncts that contain the nouns *naqo* or *tootoqonaqo* ‘earlier time’ in the clause expressing the first state of affairs, and *buri* ‘later time’ in the clause expressing the second state of affairs. Both *naqo* and *buri* also function as spatial locational

nouns, ‘in front of’ and ‘behind’, respectively (sections 10.8.2 and 10.8.3). Both *naqo* and *buri* occur in (35-28):

- (35-28) *Kulu unga si qa-kuluqa qi*
 PL(INCL).NFUT clear.scrub PREC SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS LOC

naqo, qi buri kuka qili butete.
 earlier.time LOC later.time PL(INCL).SEQ dig sweet.potato
 ‘Let’s first clear the scrub (in a garden); afterwards we’ll dig out
 sweet potatoes.’

For another example with *naqo* see (35-51) in section 35.3.2.2.4, and for an example with *tootoqonaqo* see (35-32) in section 35.3.2.2.2.

The form *buria*, which too functions as a locational noun ‘behind’ (section 10.8.3), can also have the temporal meaning ‘(time) after’. It functions as a clause-level adjunct. It occurs clause initially and takes the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The personal suffix indexes the proposition expressed in that clause. *Buria-na* signals that the state of affairs of its own clause is followed by the state of affairs expressed in a later, coordinate clause. In (35-29) there are two instances of *buria*, the first one in its temporal sense and the second one in its spatial sense:

- (35-29) *Ma roo ai baa ki keka lae naqa,*
 and two spouse that PL 3PL.SEQ go PRF

ma buria-na kero lae kau, kero
 and after-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT go and 3DU.NFUT

dola faa-faqekwa, wela qeri
 disappear.from.sight RDP-be.of.little.degree child that

ka lae buria-daroqa.
 3SG.SEQ walk behind-3DU.PERS
 ‘The husband and wife (lit.: the two spouses) went, and after (lit.: its
 time after) they had left and when they were a little away, out of
 sight, the child followed them.’

- (35-30) *Miki too laqu boqo, buria-na ta*
 1PL(EXCL).IPFV live ADD ASRT after-3SG.PERS some

roo fa ngali qe suqusia, maka nau
 two CLF year 3SG.NFUT elapse father 1SG

ka nofi.

3SG.SEQ die

‘We were living (like that) again, (then) after about two years (had elapsed) my father died.’

35.3.2.2.2. Particles in the verb complex

The postverbal completive particles *sui* and *danga* (section 5.2.4) signal that the state of affairs expressed in their clause has taken place by the time of reference. And the preverbal particles *biqu*, *mala*, *maka*, and *makaqe* (section 5.1.2) can signal an immediate sequence of states of affairs: one state of affairs follows another one more or less immediately. A completive particle and an immediate-sequence particle can occur, respectively, in two coordinate clauses: the first clause contains the completive particle, and the second one the immediate-sequence one. The two particles jointly signal that more or less immediately after the situation expressed in the first clause has taken place, the one expressed in the second clause takes place. Of the two completive particles, *sui* is the one normally used, and of the four immediate sequence-signalling particles *biqu* is the one normally used.

(35-31) *Qe=aqi mosi kwai-talami. Nia e*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG LIP-interrupt 3SG 3SG.NFUT

baqe sui, qoko biqu ngata.

speak COMPL 2SG.SEQ IMM speak

‘[When you are speaking to another man’s wife, allow her to speak.]
 Don’t interrupt each other. As soon as she has finished speaking,
 you speak.’

A clause that contains an immediate-sequence marker can be coordinated with a preceding clause that contains a noun phrase headed by a noun meaning ‘earlier time’, also to express a more or less immediate sequence of states of affairs:

(35-32) ... *keki faqa-mae qoe fas=i tootoqonaqo*
 3PL.FUT CAUS-be.dead 2SG PREC=LOC earlier.time

the two clauses. And second, the two clauses can jointly function as a complex relative-clause unit:

- (35-35) *Manga na kera thau-ngi-a kini qeri*
 time REL 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ woman that
- e sui, keko maqu.*
 3SG.NFUT be.finished 3DU.SEQ be.afraid
 ‘When/After they (had) killed/(had) finished killing the woman,
 they were/became afraid.’

In (35-36) the subject marker in the mini-clause is sequential:

- (35-36) *Mili takwe-la-ngani-a luma nia*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT stand-EXT-TR-3.OBJ house 3SG
- ka sui naqa.*
 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF
 ‘We have finished building (erecting) his house.’

The construction with a *sui* mini-clause can be part of an asyndetic clausal coordination to express a sequence of states of affairs, especially to highlight the fact that the first state of affairs reaches completion before the second state of affairs takes place. The first state of affairs is expressed in the first clause, preceding the *sui* mini-clause, and the second state of affairs is expressed in the clause following the *sui* mini-clause. Here too, the *sui* mini-clause is prosodically integrated with the preceding clause. On the other hand, there is normally a prosodic break between the *sui* mini-clause and the following clause: a rise in intonation at the end of the *sui* mini-clause and usually a slight pause. The basic structure of the overall construction is given schematically in (35-37). (SoF stands for “state of affairs”.)

- (35-37) [[clause.of.1st.SoF] [*sui*.mini-clause]] [clause.of.2nd.SoF]

The subject marker in the *sui* mini-clause is third person nonfuture or, less commonly, sequential. The perfect marker *naqa* is not used there. The subject marker in the clause expressing the second state of affairs is sequential.

- (35-38) *Kera thau-ngi-a ulu wela qe=ki qe*
 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ three child that=PL 3SG.NFUT

sui, keka lae na-da.
 be.finished 3PL.SEQ go PRF-3PL.PERS
 ‘After they killed the three children, they went (away).’

In (35-39) the clause that expresses the second state of affairs contains the immediate-sequence marking particle *biqu*:

(35-39) *Kulu fanga fasi. Kulu fanga*
 PL(INCL).NFUT eat PREC PL(INCL).NFUT eat

e sui, kuka biqu raa.
 3SG.NFUT be.finished PL(INCL).SEQ IMM work
 ‘Let’s eat first. After we have eaten, we’ll work straightaway./As soon as we have eaten, we’ll work.’

In (35-40) there are two instances of the *sui* mini-clause. In the first one the subject marker is sequential, while in the second one the subject marker is non-future.

(35-40) *Kera kasi-a fanu loo ka sui,*
 3PL.NFUT cut-3.OBJ land upward 3SG.SEQ be.finished

keka takwe-la-ngani-a nga fulake loo
 3PL.SEQ stand-EXT-TR-3.OBJ IDENT flag upward

qe sui, keka oli na-da.
 3SG.NFUT be.finished 3PL.SEQ return PRF-3PL.PERS
 ‘They cut down (trees in) the land up there, after that they raised the flag (lit.: they stood up the flag [i.e., they erected a mast with a flag]), and after that they went back.’

There is an alternative construction where the *sui* mini-clause consists solely of the verb *sui*. There is no subject marker in the mini-clause. Here, the *sui* mini-clause is not prosodically integrated with the preceding clause. Rather, it has a prosodic profile of its own. There is a rise in intonation at the end of the clause preceding the *sui* mini-clause, and the two may be separated by a slight pause. There is also a rise in intonation on the final syllable of *sui*, and there is a slight pause between it and the following clause. The basic structure of this construction is shown in (35-41):

(35-41) [clause.of.1st.SoF] [*sui*.mini-clause] [clause.of.2nd.SoF]

Such reduced *sui* mini-clauses are normally used only if *sui* cannot be structurally interpreted as a postverbal completive particle associated with the preceding verb. In (35-42) *sui* follows the direct object of the preceding clause and so cannot be part of the verb complex of that clause (see [4-1] in section 4.1):

- (35-42) *Ka ngali-a roo fa qai na=i*
 3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ two CLF wood REL=LOC
- faqalita ki, ka rada qani-a,*
 side.of.house PL 3PL.SEQ move.lengthwise GENP-3SG.OBJ
- ta foa qa=ta bali, ta foa*
 some k.o.stick GENP=some side some k.o.stick
- qa=ta bali, sui, nia ka*
 GENP=some side be.finished 3SG 3SG.SEQ
- gale-a falo-na biqu qe=ki.*
 cut.out.shape.in-3.OBJ crossbeam-3.PERS house that=PL
 ‘He [a man building a house] takes two sticks for (lit.: at) the side of the house and slides them (in), one on one side, one on the other side, and when that is finished he makes cutouts in the crossbeams (so that the crossbeams can rest securely on the posts).’

Since such reduced *sui* clauses are not prosodically integrated with the preceding clause, they can occur sentence-initially:

- (35-43) *Koki sore-qe ba-karoqa, mada*
 PL(INCL).IPFV say-DETR LIM-DU(INCL).PERS or
- sa i quuqusungadia, koki sore-qe*
 IRR LOC morning DU(INCL).IPFV say-DETR
- ba-karoqa, “Quuqusungadia”, mada i*
 LIM-DU(INCL).PERS morning or LOC
- thaqulafia naqa, koki sore-qe*
 evening PRF DU(INCL).IPFV say-DETR
- ba-karoqa, “Thaqulafia”. Sui,*
 LIM-DU(INCL).PERS evening be.finished

On the other hand, the relevant events expressed in the last two clauses in (35-46) were separated by an interval of three days.

(35-46) *Number 6 ku sifo qi Malaita, kwa*
 number six 1SG.NFUT descend LOC Malaita 1SG.SEQ

raa qi Kilufi Hospital, kwa oli mai
 work LOC Kilufi hospital 1SG.SEQ return VENT

qana 25 June, sui kwa lofo uri-a qi
 GENP 25 June then 1SG.SEQ fly ALL-3.OBJ LOC

Temotu province (Santa Cruz, Lata) qana 28
 Teamotu province Santa Cruz Lata. GENP 28

‘On the 6th I went down to Malaita and worked at Kilufi Hospital, returned [to Honiara] on the 25th of June, (and) then flew to Teamotu Province (Santa Cruz [Island], Lata [town]) on the 28th’

The *sui* elements in (35-45) and in (35-46) above are not the completive/exhaustive particle. If they were, they would be part of the verb complex. As such, *sui* would precede the lexical direct object *ree-na firi* ‘(the) tobacco leaves’ in (35-45), and it would precede the oblique objects *uri-a qi Temotu province (Santa Cruz, Lata) qana 28* ‘to Teamotu Province (Santa Cruz, Lata) on the 28th’.

Another example of the sequencer is given in (35-47). The sequencer cooccurs with the intensifier *feteqi*. *Feteqi* also functions as a postverbal intensifier (section 5.2.13). Its use with the sequencer is, presumably, a reflection of the verbal origin of the sequencer, from the verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’. *Feteqi* serves to emphasize that the second event will take place only after the first one has taken place. The second clause also contains the immediate-sequence marker *biqi*: the event of the second clause is to follow that of the first clause immediately.

(35-47) *Saqu-a qaba-mu, sui feteqi qoko biqi*
 wash-3.OBJ hand-2SG.PERS then INTS 2SG.SEQ IMM

fanga.

eat

‘Wash your hands and then (and only then) eat.’ ‘Wash your hands before you eat.’

The sequencer can occur sentence-initially:

(35-48) *Kukeqe nia bo=naqa na kai*
 wife 3SG ASRT=PRF FOC 3SG.IPFV

qegwe-a, bia wela nia ki.
 extract.kernel.out.of-3SG.OBJ COM child 3SG PL

Sui keka ngali-a bii-na
 then 3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ bamboo.container-3.PERS

ngali kera qeri, keka alu-a
 canarium.nut 3PL that 3PL.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ

bo=naq=i luma, ...
 ASRT=PRF=LOC house

‘[When the quantity of canarium nuts is relatively small, the man will crack them by himself, without the help of other men.] It will be his wife that will extract the kernels out of them, (together) with his children. Then they will take their bamboo-containerfuls of canarium nuts and put them in the house, ...’

35.3.2.2.4. *Long intervals between states of affairs*

To express the fact that one state of affairs follows one or more previous states of affairs after a relatively long period of time, the clause or sentence that expresses the second state of affairs is introduced by *tootoo*. *Tootoo* is historically a reduplication of the verb *too* ‘stay’, ‘remain’, also ‘be present’, ‘reside, live (at a place)’, etc. *Too* is also used in a construction that expresses the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4), where *too* it can be reduplicated. When *tootoo* signals long intervals between states of affairs, it does not function as a verb: it cannot have a subject marker or any of the postverbal or preverbal particles. In this function, *tootoo* is treated as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed ‘later’. *Tootoo* occurs at the beginning of its clause or sentence, unless another sentence element requires a position before it, such as a topicalized phrase. It is also possible for *tootoo* to be placed in the second position in a clause (not counting the topic and the focus positions.)

It is more common for *tootoo* to occur sentence-initially rather than clause-initially internally in a sentence. When a clause introduced by *tootoo* does occur sentence internally, it is in asyndetic coordination with the preceding clause, which expresses the earlier state of affairs:

- (35-49) *Nau ku ngalilanga*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT take.without.immediate.reciprocation

qana botho naqi, tootoo kwai
 GENP pig this later 1SG.FUT

duqu-a.

reciprocate.for/repay-3SG.OBJ

‘I’m taking this pig; I will reciprocate for it [e.g., by paying for it] at a later time.’

In the next two examples, *tootoo* occurs sentence-initially.

- (35-50) ... *wela qe=ki keka angi qasia naqa. Ma*
 child that=PL 3PL.SEQ cry INTS INTS and

tha Moomoli ka kasi-a teqe
 PERSMKR Moomoli 3SG.SEQ cut-3.OBJ one

ngasi qana fu-qi ngasi na
 sugarcane GENP clump-ASSOC sugarcane REL

tha Fiuomea e fasi-a,
 PERSMKR Fiuomea 3SG.NFUT plant-3SG.OBJ

ka fale-a qana wela qe=ki,
 3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ GENP child that=PL

keka qani-a. Tootoo fanu=e thaqulafia,
 3PL.SEQ eat-3SG.OBJ later place=3SG.NFUT be.evening

Fiuomea oli-li mai, ka fula, ka
 Fiuomea return-RDP VENT 3SG.SEQ arrive 3SG.SEQ

riki-a ngasi qeri na wela qe=ki
 see-3.OBJ sugarcane that REL child that=PL

ker a qani-a, ma ka soe suli-a,
 3PL.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ ask PROL-3SG.OBJ

“*Tete-na ngas=i fei?*”
 pulp-3.PERS sugarcane=LOC where?

[A man, Fiuoomea, had planted some sugar cane in preparation for a feast. One day he went to work in his garden. He left his children behind, with his brother Moomoli. During the day] ‘the children cried a lot. Moomoli cut off one sugar cane (plant) out of the clump of sugar cane that Fiuoomea had planted and gave it to the children. Later on, it (lit.: the place) was evening, Fiuoomea was coming back, got to the village and saw the (pulp of the) sugar cane that the children had chewed on (lit.: eaten), and asked about it: “Where is the sugar cane pulp from?” (Lit.: “The pulp of sugar cane at/from where?”).’

In (35-51) there are two instances of *tootoo*:

(35-51) *Maka nia bia thaina-na keka*
 father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS 3PL.SEQ

totoqo faafi-a, ma keka
 tell.sb.not.to.do.st. CONF-3SG.OBJ and 3PL.SEQ

lufi-a, ma ka aqi
 try.to.prevent.sb.from.doing.st.-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ NEG

si ruqu. Ka angi bo=naqa. Tootoo wela
 3SG.NEG obey 3SG.SEQ cry ASRT=INTS later child

qeri ka manata-toqo-na teqe si lio qi
 that 3SG.SEQ think-TEST-3.OBJ one PRTT idea LOC

ruuruqu-na, ka quna qeri, “Qoo, nau
 chest-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner this oh 1SG

kwai too qa-kuqa, maka nau bia
 1SG.FUT stay SBEN-1SG.PERS father 1SG and

thaina-ku keka lae qa-d=i
 mother-1SG.PERS 3PL.SEQ go SBEN-3PL.PERS=LOC

naqo, nau kwa lae na=ka-ku
 earlier.time 1SG 1SG.SEQ walk PRF=AND-1SG.PERS

buria-da, *suli=na* *kerā* *luḥi*
 behind-3PL.PERS REAS:3.OBJ=COMP 3PL.NFUT prevent

nau.” ***Tootoo*** *maka* *nia* *ma* *thaina-na*
 1SG later father 3SG and mother-3SG.PERS

keko *lae* *naqa.*
 3DU.SEQ go PRF

[A boy wanted to go to the market with his parents, but his parents did not want him to come with them.] ‘His father and mother told him not to (go), and they tried to stop him (from going), but he wouldn’t listen/obey. He cried a lot. Some time later/Eventually, the child had an idea in his mind (lit.: he thought of an idea in his chest) and he said (to himself), “Oh, I’ll stay (behind); my father and mother will go first, (and) I’ll walk behind them, because they stopped me (from going).”. Later on, his father and mother went.’ (The boy followed them.)

In (35-52) *tootoo* is preceded by a topicalized subject pronoun:

(35-52) *Nia ka* *thathami-a kai* *firu uri-a*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT fight PURP-3.OBJ

finish *qeri, fasi kai* *ngali-a* *qa-na*
 bounty that PURP 3SG.FUT take-3.OBJ SBEN-3SG.PERS

malefo *qoro* *na* *toq=qe=ki* *kerā*
 money be.numerous REL people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT

alu-a. *Nia tootoo* *ka* *faqa-rongo-a*
 put-3SG.OBJ 3SG later 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ

kule-qe *toqa* *na=i* *biqu* *nia,*
 place-ASSOC people REL=LOC men’s.house 3SG

kaluwani *nia ki,* *kerā keka* *lae* *uri-a*
 son 3SG PL 3PL 3PL.SEQ go ALL-3.OBJ

kule-qe *toqa* *na* *kerā* *alu-a*
 place-ASSOC people REL 3PL.NFUT put-3.OBJ

finish qeri uri kera.
bounty that PURP 3PL

[A certain man had put up a bounty on the killing of the people of another place. A *wane ramo* (a fighter, killer, collector of bounties) heard about it.] ‘He wanted to fight for the bounty so that he could collect the large amount of money that those people [who had come up with the bounty] had put up. He later told the people of his men’s house [i.e., the men living in his hamlet], his sons, that they would go to the people on whose head the bounty had been put up (lit.: that they would go to the people of the place that they [the other people] had put up the bounty on them).’

(*Finish*, a borrowing from English, is used here with the meaning ‘bounty (killing)’. *Kule-qe toqa*, lit. ‘place of people’, has the meaning ‘people of a certain place’.)

Similarly in the next example *tootoo* is preceded by a topic phrase:

(35-53) *Ma wane n=e ni=i thaqegano,*
and man REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC ground

tootoo ka taqisi ba-n=i
later 3SG.NFUT rush LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

buir-a.
behind-3SG.PERS

‘[After spotting a possum up in a tree, the man, also up in the tree, hits the possum (trying to dislodge it), and hits it, and keeps going like that, and then the possum jumps down to the ground. The man up in the tree shouts to the man on the ground “Man, the possum is there!”] And the man who is on the ground then chases after it.’

Although in the situation expressed in (35-53) the man on the ground presumably chases after the possum immediately after it has landed down on the ground, *tootoo* here appears to signal, and emphasize, the relatively long interval that separates the time when the man up in the tree began to hit the possum and the time of the other man’s chasing after it.

Tootoo can also introduce clauses or sentences that do not express states of affairs that follow, after some interval, another state of affairs expressed in a preceding clause or sentence. Rather, *tootoo* signals relatively distant and non-specific future from the time of speaking or another time of reference: ‘some-time in future/later, but not very soon’. That is, there is a relatively long inter-

val between the time of reference and the later state of affairs expressed in the clause introduced by *tootoo*.

- (35-54) *Tootoo qoki taqe-fuli-ku.*
 later 2SG.FUT ascend-replacement-1SG.OBJ
 ‘One day you will succeed me/will take my place.’ (A father speaking to his son about what will happen after his [the father’s] death.)

In (35-55) the subject noun phrase has been topicalized and placed before *tootoo*:

- (35-55) *Araqi loo, tootoo kai kwaqe kera*
 mature.man upward later 3SG.FUT punish 3PL

faafi-a abula-taqaa-laa kera ki.
 CONF-3.OBJ behave-be.bad-NMLZ 3PL PL
 ‘The Lord, one day he will punish them for their bad behaviour (lit.: bad behaviours).’

In (35-56) *tootoo* occurs after a noun phrase in focus and the subject noun phrase:

- (35-56) *Kini taa na wela qoe tootoo kai lae*
 woman which? FOC child 2SG later 3SG.FUT go

bii-a uri Qaoke?
 COM-3SG.OBJ ALL Auki
 ‘Which woman will your child go later to Auki with?’

The noun phrase *wela qoe* ‘your child’ in (35-56) is the subject, not a topic. When a topicalized phrase and a phrase in focus cooccur, the former precedes the latter (section 39.1).

In (35-57) *tootoo* occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, after the combination of *ma=* (from *mada*) ‘or’ and the irrealis marker (section 31.1.1):

- (35-57) *Ma=sa tootoo kuki thau-ngani-a*
 or=IRR later PL(INCL).FUT make-TR-3.OBJ

raa qeri ma kuki fale kwai-liu
 work that and PL(INCL).FUT give LIP-pass

qani-a *qi* *maqaluta-kuluqa,* *quna* *baa*
 GENP-3SG.OBJ LOC midst-PL(INCL).PERS manner that

ta *wane,* *quna* *baa* *ta* *wane,* *kuka*
 some man manner that some man PL(INCL).SEQ

qai-li-a *mai* *tha* *weleqi,* *ka* *too*
 call-TR-3.OBJ VENT PERSMKR guy 3SG.SEQ stay

manga *kuki* *ngata* *suli-a.*
 time PL(INCL).IPFV speak PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘If one day we go ahead with the job and (if) we give out [tasks] to each one among us, this task to one man, this task to another man, we will call the guy to come and be/stay (with us) while we are talking about it [i.e., each man will be told in person what his task will be].’ (Lit.: ‘If we make that work and give out dispersively of it in our midst, that way one man, that way one man, we will call the man here and he will stay [at] the time we are speaking about it.’)

Tootoo can also introduce negative clauses, in which case the meaning expressed is ‘not during subsequent time’. The subsequent time may be temporally circumscribed, as in (35-58) below; or it may be open-ended, that is, ‘never in future’, as in (35-59).

(35-58) *Tootoo* *qe=aqi* *kusi* *biinga*
 later 3SG.NFUT=NEGV PL(INCL).NEG sleep

qa=fa *rodo* *qeri.*
 GENP=CLF night this

‘We won’t sleep tonight.’ (The night is still some time away.)

Even though in (35-59) below, the *tootoo* clause is preceded by another (complex) clause, it is not a sequence of states of affairs that is expressed there. Rather, the preceding clause identifies a hypothetical state of affairs that conditions (or should condition) the kind of behaviour expressed in the *tootoo* clause: ‘If you are a person who wants to say something to a married woman’

(35-59) *Si* *doo* *suli-a* *gwauliqi* *ai,* *mada*
 PRRT thing PROL-3.OBJ married.person woman or

sa *ta* *wane* *na* *qo* *thathamia* *qoki*
 IRR some man REL 2SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT

faqa-rongo-a qana ta si doo, tootoo
 CAUS-hear-3SG.OBJ GENP some PRTT thing later

qe=aqi qosi sore-q=quna qeri ura
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG say-DETR=manner this ALL

gwauliqi ai qeri, "Lae si ma=i
 married.person woman that go PREC VENT=LOC

ku=naqi."

place=this

‘(One) thing about married women [i.e. wives of other men], if you want to talk to one about something (lit.: if you are a man who you want to tell her something), you will never say this to the married woman, “Come here now.”.’ (That is not how a man should speak to the wife of another man.)

The meaning ‘some time later after the time of reference’ can also be signalled by means of *laa-lae*, which is a reduplication of *lae* ‘go’; see the next section.

35.3.2.3. *Culmination or termination of an extended state of affairs*

As discussed in section 15.2.3, the continuative/iterative aspect is expressed by means of verb reduplication. For convenience, the term “extended state of affairs” will be used here as a cover term for ongoing states and activities and for iteratively occurring or iteratively performed events. Sometimes an extended state of affairs “culminates” in a certain outcome, a new state of affairs. There is a sequence of states of affairs: an extended state of affairs results in another state of affairs. Sometimes an extended state of affairs comes to an end, terminates because of a new state of affairs that brings it to an end. And sometimes an extended state of affairs simply comes to an end, terminates at the time of another state of affairs, there being no causal connection between the two. In all these types of case, verb reduplication can be used in the clause that expresses the extended state of affairs. That clause is followed, although not necessarily directly, by a coordinated clause that encodes the new state of affairs. The coordination may be of the syndetic or the asyndetic type. The clause that expresses the new state of affairs has a sequential subject marker.

Two examples are given below. In both, the clause expressing the new state of affairs directly follows the clause expressing the extended state of affairs. In

the situation expressed in (35-60) the ogre's extended sniffing around culminates in his sniffing out a stone oven with food inside it:

- (35-60) ... *ma ka non-nono, ma ka*
 and 3SG.SEQ RDP-sniff and 3SG.SEQ
- non-toqo-na bo=naqa kula na bii qeri*
 sniff-TEST-3.OBJ ASRT=PRF place REL stone.oven that
- nii i ei.*
 be.located LOC LOCPRO
 '... and he [an ogre] kept sniffing (around) until/and in the end he sniffed out (found by sniffing) the place where the stone oven was.'

(*Nono-toqo*, with the TEST suffix, has the meaning 'sniff out, locate by smell'.)

And in the situation expressed in (35-61) the extended activity of eating terminates when a person dies:

- (35-61) *Roowane, ma tarafula-a qaburu i*
 man! and quote.proverb-DVN ogre LOC
- Ratane, "Imol=e faa-fanga boqo ka mae."*
 Ratane person=3SG.NFUT RDP-eat ASRT 3SG.SEQ die
 'Man!, (you know) the saying of the ogre of Ratane: "A person eats until he or she dies."' (A reply used by people who have been chided or teased for eating too much at a feast or a communal meal.)

While using only a reduplicated verb that encodes the extended state of affairs is by no means uncommon, it is much more common to use a marker of an extended state of affairs, whose form is *laa-lae*. *Laa-lae* is a reduplication of the verb *lae* 'go'. The verb that encodes the extended state of affairs may, but need not, itself be reduplicated. Although as an extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marker *laa-lae* never has its own subject marker, it does have another verbal property, discussed further below. *Laa-lae* forms a mini-clause of its own which comes between the clause that expresses the extended state of affairs and the clause that expresses the new state of affairs. It is normally prosodically offset from both. There is a rise in intonation towards the end of the preceding clause, and there is a rise in intonation towards the end of the *laa-lae* mini-clause; and there may be slight pauses between the *laa-lae* mini-clause and the preceding and the following clauses, respectively. The clause that expresses the new state of affairs has a sequential subject marker, unless it is negative. (For an example of the latter, see [35-71]). The basic structure of this type of con-

struction is shown in (35-62). As discussed further below, there are more complex structures.

(35-62)

[clause.of.extended.SoF] [*laa-lae*.mini-clause] [clause.of.new.SoF]

Even though the marker of extendedness of states of affairs is a reduplication of the verb ‘go’, the extended state of affairs need not involve translational motion; see, for example, (35-63) and (35-65).

An extended state of affairs may culminate in a new state of affairs. The new state of affairs may, but need not, be the intended consequence of the preceding extended state of affairs. In (35-63) and (35-64) they are:

(35-63) *Koro* *fanga* *qa-karoqa,* *laa-lae,*
DU(INCL).NFUT eat SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS RDP-go

koka *aabusu* *leqa.*

DU(INCL).SEQ be.sated be.good

‘Let’s eat until we are nicely full.’ ‘Let’s keep eating until we are nicely full.’

(35-64) *Wane* *baa* *ki kera* *taa-tari-a* *botho*
man that PL 3PL.NFUT RDP-chase-3.OBJ pig

baa, *laa-lae,* *keka* *raqu-a.*

that RDP-go 3PL.SEQ catch-3SG.OBJ

‘The men kept chasing the pig until they caught it.’

On the other hand, in the situations expressed in (35-65) and (35-66) the consequences are unintended:

(35-65) *Nau* *ku* *mataqi,* *laa-lae,* *kwa* *suusufi.*
1SG 1SG.NFUT be.ill RDP-go 1SG.SEQ lose.head.hair
‘I was ill for a long time and in the end lost my (head) hair.’

(*Suusufi* ‘lose one’s head hair’ is historically a reduplication of *sufi* ‘shave [os.]’.)

(35-66) *Thaina-da* *qe* *angi-ngi,* *laa-lae,* *ka*
mother-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT cry-RDP RDP-go 3SG.SEQ

tatai naqa.

be.numb PRF

‘Their mother kept crying until her body (lit.: she) became numb.’

Rather than an extended state of affairs culminating in a new state of affairs, an extended state of affairs may come to an end either because of the onset of a new state of affairs or simply at the time of the onset of a new state of affairs, as in (35-67) and (35-68), respectively. In the situation expressed in (35-67) the speaker’s waiting for the others to arrive will not bring about their arriving, but it will come to an end when they do arrive.

- (35-67) *Nau kwai too, laa-lae, keka fula boqo.*
 1SG 1SG.FUT stay RDP-go 3PL.SEQ arrive ASRT
 ‘I’ll stay (waiting for them) until they have arrived.’

In the situation expressed in (35-68) the event of raining did not stop because it was daylight but merely when it was daylight:

- (35-68) *Utarodo e qaru, laa-lae, ka dani.*
 night.rain 3SG.NFUT fall RDP-go 3SG.SEQ be.daylight
 ‘It rained (at night) until it was daylight.’

In some cases the interpretation of a sentence may be indeterminate, depending on whether an extended state of affairs comes to an end because it results in a new state of affairs, or merely because of the new state of affairs. For example, in the situation expressed in (35-69) the child may, but need not, have cried for food:

- (35-69) *Wela baa qe angi-ngi, laa-lae,*
 child that 3SG.NFUT cry-RDP RDP-go
- thaina-na ka fale-a fanga qi*
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ give-3.OBJ food LOC

fa-na.

REC-3SG.PERS

‘The child kept crying until his/her mother gave him/her food.’

It is possible for the non-occurrence of a certain state of affairs to be extended until the time of a new state of affairs:

(35-70) *Wane taa ni boqo? Roo*
 person what? LIG INTS two

qiiqiu qita ni boqo na
 child.from.multiple.birth originate LIG INTS REL

kera futa ofu mai kesi
 3PL.NFUT be.born be.together VENT 3DU.NEG

rik=keeroqa, laa-lae, keka mae.
 see=3DU RDP-go 3PL.SEQ die

‘Who is it? (Lit.: What person?) Two children that are born together (lit.: two originating children that are born together) but do not see each other until they die.’ (This is a traditional riddle. Answers: a person’s eyes, and/or a person’s ears.)

The culmination of an extended state of affairs may be negative; that is, the anticipated later state of affairs has not materialized, and is no longer expected to materialize. The perfect marker *naqa* in the negative clause in (35-71) signals that there was no (further) sighting (of possums):

(35-71) *Kero raa-raqa, laa-lae, ma kesi riki-a*
 3DU.NFUT RDP-climb RDP-go and 3DU.NEG see-3.OBJ

naqa ta doo.
 PRF some thing

‘They [possum hunters] kept climbing (trees, in search of possums), but (lit.: and) in the end had not seen any.’

The extendedness-of-state-of-affairs construction can function as a complex subordinate structure. In (35-72) it functions as a complex temporal relative-clause structure. There are two instances of *laa-lae* in (35-72): the first one signals the extendedness of the cooking in the stone oven, while the other one signals translational motion, ‘go’ (here ‘fly’).

(35-72) *Si manga na keeroqa bii-a*
 PRTT time REL 3DU cook.in.stone.oven-3.OBJ

futa qe=ki, laa-lae, karangi-a sa kai
 possum that=PL RDP-go be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 3SG.FUT

qako boqo, teqe qaburu, thata-na
 be.cooked ASRT one ogre name-3SG.PERS

Fitararaihalo, ka lolosi-a ma=fa que
 Fitararaihalo 3SG.SEQ bend-3.OBJ VENT=CLF waist.strap

nia, laa-lae mai ka togo.
 3SG RDP-go VENT 3SG.SEQ bang

‘When they were cooking and cooking their possums in a stone oven and/until they were nearly done (cooked), an ogre, his name was Fitararaihalo, flew there and landed (near them) with a bang.’ (Lit.: ‘The time they were cooking and cooking the possums of theirs in a stone oven, (and) it was close to they would be cooked, an ogre, his name was Fitararaihalo, bent his waist-strap in this direction and came and banged [on the ground].’) (The expression *lolosi-a ma=fa que* ‘bend one’s waist-strap in this direction’ is used to describe ogres’ movement through the air in a semicircular trajectory, starting on the ground at one place and landing at another.)

To convey the idea that a state of affairs was extended greatly, multiple reduplication of the verb encoding the state of affairs or of the extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marking form *laa-lae* is used. Multiple reduplication of the verb encoding the extended state of affairs is discussed and exemplified in section 15.2.3. Here the focus is on multiple reduplication of the extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marking verb *laa-lae*. In such multiple reduplication, the second of the two *a* vowels in the reduplicants are normally lengthened beyond the usual extent of lengthening (sections 2.1.3 and 2.4).

(35-73) *Kero raqa, laa:-laa:-laa:-lae, keko raqa*
 3DU.NFUT climb RDP-RDP-RDP-go 3DU.SEQ climb

ma=i bali labaa, keka mango qi bali naqi.
 VENT=LOC side that(3) 3PL.SEQ emerge LOC side this

‘They climbed and climbed and climbed and climbed, until they climbed up (to the top of a tree) on the other, far side (lit.: on that side) and then came out on this side.’

However, rather than multiple reduplication, what is more common is lengthening of the *l* in the root of *laa-lae*. The lengthening may be quite considerable.

- (35-74) *Keka traim spitim Tulake, Tulake ka*
 3PL.SEQ try outspeed Tulagi Tulagi 3SG.SEQ

ili-toqo-na Japan, laa-l:ae, ka fula
 do-TEST-3.OBJ Japan RDP-go 3SG.SEQ arrive

faafi-a.

CONF-3SG.OBJ

‘They [people in a Japanese boat] tried to outspeed the Tulagi [a boat], (but) the Tulagi kept challenging (in speed) the Japanese [boat] until it caught up with it.’

- (35-75) ... *ka thamo ura teqe gafa,*
 3SG.SEQ reach ALL one triple.tip.arrow

ka kutu-ngani-a fafo=lakwafi-na
 3SG.SEQ press.against-TR-3SG.OBJ top:3.PERS=bowstring-3.PERS

basi, ka fae-a naqa,
 bow 3SG.SEQ draw.bowstring-3SG.OBJ PRF

teo-fi-a f=io loo, laa-l:ae,
 lie-TR-3.OBJ CLF=arrow upward RDP-go

fusi-a io baa.
 shoot.arrow arrow that

‘... he reached for a triple-tip arrow, pressed it against the bowstring, kept drawing the bowstring more and more (lit.: kept putting the arrow against the bowstring), until he let go of the arrow (lit.: until he shot the arrow).’

(*Teo-fi-a* has as one of its senses ‘place an arrow against the bowstring in order to fire it’.)

In (35-76) there is both multiple reduplication and lengthening of the *l* of the root of *laa-lae*:

- (35-76) *Ma si manga qeri, nia ka sifo,*
 and PRTT time that 3SG 3SG.SEQ descend

laa-laa-l:ae, ka too ba-na qae-na
 RDP-RDP-go 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS foot-3.PERS

teqe daadaku qi fafo-na qamali.

one Calophyllum.sp LOC top-3.PERS sea

‘And at that time she walked down (to the sea), kept walking down, on and on and on, and stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree by (lit. on top of) the sea.’

To emphasize that an extended state of affairs is finished as it culminates in a new state of affairs, the extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marking *laa-lae* takes the postverbal completive/exhaustive particle *sui* or, rarely, *danga* (section 5.2.4). This is evidence that *laa-lae* is a verb here, in spite of the fact that it never has a subject marker.

In (35-77) there are two instances of *laa-lae* with *sui*:

(35-77) ... *nia ka lae mai, ka laakali-a oqola*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ fence-3.OBJ garden

qeri. Laakali-a oqola nia qeri, laa-lae sui,
 that fence-3.OBJ garden 3SG that RDP-go COMPL

wane qeri ka faqa-rongo-a kukeqe nia,
 man that 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ wife 3SG

ma wela nia ki, keka unga-ni-a
 and child 3SG PL 3PL.SEQ clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ

oqola qeri. Kera unga-ni-a
 garden that 3PL.NFUT clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ

oqola qeri, laa-lae sui, keka luka
 garden that RDP-go COMPL 3PL.SEQ abandon

qani-a, ka teo si qa-na
 GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ lie PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS

suli-a ta kwalu fa bongi, mada ta
 PROL-3.OBJ some eight CLF day or some

fiu fa bongi, mada ta ono fa bongi,
 seven CLF day or some six CLF day

‘[When a man is making a new garden,] he goes (there) and fences off the (area for the) garden. He keeps fencing off his garden until it is done, then the man tells his wife, and his children, to go and clear

away the scrub from (inside) the garden. They keep clearing away the scrub from the garden, and when that is done, they leave it [the garden] for eight days, or seven days, or six days (and then they burn off the vegetation in the garden).’ (Lit.: ‘... he comes and fences off the garden. He keeps fencing off the garden, it is finished, the man tells his wife, and his children, they go and clear away the scrub from the garden. They keep clearing away the scrub from the garden, it is finished, they abandon it, it lies for some eight days, or some seven day, or some six days,’)

In (35-78) it is the rarely used form *danga* that functions as the completive marker. The extendedness-of-state-of affairs construction functions as a complex temporal relative-clause structure.

- (35-78) *Manga n=e kilu-a oqola qeri*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT plant.taro.in-3.OBJ garden that
- qana alo nia qeri, laa-lae danga, ka too*
 GENP taro 3SG that RDP-go COMPL 3SG.SEQ stay
- si qa-na sul-i-a ta lima fa bongi,*
 PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ some five CLF day
- mada ta ono maqe dani, mada ta fiu maqe*
 or some six CLF day or some seven CLF
- dani, ka maqasi-a lolo na kai*
 day 3SG.SEQ wait.for-3.OBJ grass REL 3SG.FUT

taqe mai.

grow VENT

‘When he has finished planting the garden with taros (lit.: when he has planted the garden with those taros of his, it is finished), he stays (away from the garden) for some five days, or six days, or seven days, and waits for grass [weeds] to grow (lit.: waits for grass that will grow)’. (The garden will then be weeded.)

Instead of containing a completive marker, the extendedness-of-state-of affairs marking mini-clause with the verb ‘go’ can be followed by a mini-clause that consists of the verb *sui* ‘end, finish; be finished’, which has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker.

- (35-79) *Qeda-a, laa-laa-laa-laa-lae, qe*
 dye-3SG.OBJ RDP-RDP-RDP-RDP-go 3SG.NFUT
- sui, aia, nuta ka quna qeri, “Aia,*
 be.finished OK bird.sp 3SG.SEQ manner this OK
- keekero, qoe naqa neri qoki*
 yellow.bibbed.lory 2SG PRF NPAST.HERE 2SG.FUT
- qeda-a laqu seqe-ku.”*
 dye-3.OBJ ADD body-1SG.PERS
 ‘He [a *nuta* bird] went on dyeing it [the body of a Yellow-bibbed Lory], on and on, until it was finished, OK, (and) the *nuta* said, “OK, Yellow-bibbed Lory, now *you* will dye *my* body.”.’

Sui mini-clauses are also used to signal completion of the first of two states of affairs when the first state of affairs is not (identified as) extended; see section 35.3.2.2.3. The fact that *sui* mini-clauses can follow extendedness-of state-of-affairs marking *laa-lae* can be taken as evidence that *laa-lae* is a (mini-)clause and that *laa-lae* is a verb.

More often than not, a *laa-lae* mini-clause joins two clauses in a sentence in the type of construction shown in (35-62), with possible elaborations as discussed above. However, it can also be used sentence-initially: the clause that follows expresses the new state of affairs. The extended state of affairs that culminates in it is expressed in the preceding sentence.

- (35-80) *Manga na ku kasi-a qaba-ku, qoo,*
 time REL 1SG.NFUT cut-3.OBJ arm-1SG.PERS oh
- qabu ka tafa qasia naqa. Laa-lae,*
 blood 3SG.SEQ emerge INTS INTS RDP-go
- karangi-a sa kwai nofi.*
 be.near.to-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT die
 ‘When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out. On and on (it kept gushing out), and/until I nearly died.’

In (35-81) the sentence initial *laa-lae* mini-clause contains the completive particle *sui*:

(35-81) ... *keka figu-a laqu boqo qi laa qooqoba*
 3PL.SEQ gather-3SG.OBJ ADD ASRT LOC IN shelter

na kere thau-ngani-a taal-a
 REL 3PL.NFUT build-TR-3SG.OBJ sake-3.PERS

ngali qeri na keki figu=i
 canarium.nut that REL 3PL.FUT gather:3SG.OBJ=LOC

ei. Laa-lae sui, nia ka
 LOCPRO RDP-go COMPL 3SG 3SG.SEQ

qui-a laqu boqo ngali nia
 crack.canarium.nut-3.OBJ ADD ASRT canarium.nut 3SG

qeri.
 that

[When it is canarium-nut harvest time, the children and the wife of a man who owns the canarium-nut trees go to pick up nuts that have been harvested from the trees and thrown to the ground.] ‘... they gather them [the nuts] in a shelter that they have built for (lit.: for the sake of) the canarium nuts, in which they will gather them. When it [the gathering of the nuts] is finished, he [the owner of the nuts] will again crack the nuts.’

However, a sentence-initial *laa-lae* mini-clause can be used even if there is no mention of a preceding extended state of affairs. Here *laa-lae* signals that the state of affairs will obtain at some time after the time of reference, which is often, but not necessarily, the time of speaking. This is similar to the use of sentence-initial *tootoo* to signal relatively distant and non-specific future from the time of speaking or another time of reference (section 35.3.2.2.4). Unlike *tootoo*, however, such *laa-lae* mini-clauses do not, of themselves, present the future, later time as being very distant from the time of reference, although that time is judged not to be very close to the time of reference. The construction [[*laa-lae*] [clause.of.future.SoF]] can be seen as having the meaning ‘the relevant state of affairs at the time of reference will continue until a new state of affairs comes into existence’, the present relevant state of affairs being the absence of the future state of affairs. In this function, *laa-lae* is used without the completive particles *sui* or *danga*. The clause that expresses the state of affairs after the time of reference has a future-tense subject marker, unless another type of subject marker is required (see examples [35-88] and [35-89] further below).

This sentence-initial extendedness-of-state-of-affairs *laa-lae* with future orientation must be distinguished from clause-initial *laalae* ‘when’, which introduces subordinate temporal clauses (section 35.2.2).

The *laa-lae* mini-clause occurs sentence-initially, unless another sentence element requires a position before it, such as a topicalized phrase.

(35-82) *Laa-lae, kuki kani-da qana qoko naqi.*
 RDP-go PL(INCL).FUT tie-3PL.OBJ INS tope this
 ‘Later, we will tie them with this rope.’

(35-83) *Laa-lae, kwai soe-toqo=tha Ulufaalu.*
 RDP-go 1SG.FUT ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR Ulufaalu
 ‘I will ask Ulufaalu later on.’

In (35-84) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by a topicalized subject of the following clause:

(35-84) *Toqa naqi, laa-lae, keki lolé qoe ba-da.*
 people this RDP-go 3PL.FUT tell.lie.to 2SG LIM-3PL.PERS
 ‘These people, later, they will just lie to you.’

In (35-85) it is preceded by a focused noun phrase in an open interrogative:

(35-85) *Nau ku soe-toqo-na toq=qe=ki,*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST-3.OBJ people=that=PL
 “*Manga taa na, laa-lae, muki lae mai?*”
 time what? FOC RDP-go 2PL.FUT go VENT
 ‘I asked the people, “When will you come?”.’

And in (35-86) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by the protasis-marking combination of *ma=* (from *mada*) ‘or’ and the irrealis marker *sa*:

(35-86) *Imole nau ki mena keki ele quu*
 person 1SG PL FADD 3PL.FUT be.happy ANTCONT
boqo ma=sa laa-lae kwa too bii qoe
 ASRT or=IRR RDP-go 1SG.SEQ reside COM 2SG
 ‘My people/folks too would still be really happy if one day I lived with you’

A *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following clause may be jointly in the scope of a clause-introducing element, as in the next three examples. In such cases the mini-clause and the following clause are normally prosodically integrated with each other under one intonation contour. In (35-87) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by another clause. However, *laa-lae* does not express extendedness of that state of affairs here. Rather, it signals posteriority of the event expressed in the following clause with respect to the state of affairs expressed in the preceding clause. Here the time of reference is not the time of speaking. The *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following clause that follows are jointly in the scope of the purpose marker *uri*.

- (35-87) *Keka thathai nau qani-a, uri-a*
 3PL.SEQ make.ready 1SG INS-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ

laa-lae nau kwai uusi kini.

RDP-go 1SG 1SG.FUT buy woman

‘They [the speaker’s parents] made me ready by means of it [the bride-price money they had managed to secure], so that later I might get married (lit.: so that later I would buy a woman).’

And in the next two examples, the *laa-lae* mini-clauses and the following clauses are jointly in the scope of the timitive marker *ada*. The clause that follows the *laa-lae* mini-clause has a sequential subject markers, required in the timitive construction (section 18.6.1).

In (35-88) *ada* expresses negative purpose:

- (35-88) *Faqa-fale-a wela ada laa-lae ka fanga*
 CAUS-give-3.OBJ child TIM RDP-go 3SG.SEQ eat

bila.

stink

‘Teach (your) child to give (things to others), so that later he/she is not stingy.’

(*Fanga bila*, lit. ‘eat stinkingly’ has the idiomatic meaning ‘be stingy, miserly, with food as well as with other things; not sharing, or keeping the best for os.’.)

And in (35-89) the clause following the *laa-lae* mini-clause expresses situations feared by the speaker (the “fear” context). The timitive marker has in its scope the *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following two clauses.

- (35-89) *Nau ku maqu qasia naqa ada laa-lae*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.afraid INTS INTS TIM RDP-go

toqa baa ki keka lae mai, keka thau-ngi
people that PL 3PL.SEQ go VENT 3PL.SEQ kill-TR

kulu.

PL(INCL)

'I am very worried that one day the people might come and kill us.'

Chapter 36

Deranked subordinate clauses

Toqabaqita has a type of adverbial subordination where the subordinate clause is deranked. The term “deranking” is taken from Stassen (1985), who says that a common characteristic of deranking is “a *reduction* of the verbal morphology which is normally allowed to predicates” (p. 82, original emphasis). (See also, for example, Croft 2002 and Cristofaro 2003.) In Toqabaqita, such deranking involves absence of a subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negation marker. However, if the verb in a deranked clause is transitive (and most verbs that occur in deranked clauses are), it carries an object-marking suffix under the same conditions that apply to transitive verbs elsewhere. In subordination with deranking, the main clause comes first and the deranked clause second. There is no overt marker of the subordination.

Deranked clauses do not express states of affairs additional to those expressed in the main clauses. Rather, they express a characteristic or a circumstance of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause, as relating to one (set) of the participants. Not infrequently, there is an implication of purpose, but unlike in purpose subordination (discussed in section 33.3), there are not two separate states of affairs (do X in order that Y maybe the case). Instead, the purpose is presented as just a property of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause.

Clause deranking in Toqabaqita is reminiscent of constructions with converbs in other languages (see Haspelmath 1995 for an overview of converbs). They are non-finite by virtue of the absence of subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negation markers. However, unlike (prototypical) converbs, verbs in deranked clauses in Toqabaqita do not have any marking identifying them as such. And second, only a relatively small number of verbs can head the predicates in deranked clauses.

While subject markers can be omitted with any verb (section 4.8), their absence is characteristic of the deranking construction discussed here. And, importantly, deranked clauses do not express states of affairs separate from, or additional to, the states of affairs expressed in their main clauses. In other cases of omission of subject markers, the clauses do typically express separate states of affairs.

It is mostly transitive verbs that can occur in deranked clauses, but only a small number of them do. There is also at least one intransitive verb that can

occur in deranked clauses, in which case it obligatorily takes an oblique-object complement. The verb in the main clause may be transitive or intransitive. The deranked clause has no expression of the subject, whether by means of a subject marker or a subject noun phrase. The notional subject of a deranked clause is normally coreferential with the subject or the direct object of the main clause; but see (36-21). On the other hand, the direct object or, in the case of the intransitive verb, the oblique object in a deranked clause is not coreferential with any noun phrase of the main clause. That is, the deranked clause adds an argument to the overall frame of the main-deranked clause complex. The verb in the deranked clause occurs clause-initially.

Constructions with deranked adverbial clauses must be distinguished from serializing [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5). In [verb verb] compounds the constituent verbs must be contiguous, and if the first verb is Class 1 transitive, it cannot carry an object suffix. Second, the verbs in [verb verb] compounds are prosodically integrated with each other: there is (normally) no pause between them. And third, when both verbs in a [verb verb] compound are (notionally) transitive, the two verbs must share their subjects and direct objects; that is, the second verb cannot introduce an additional argument. It is the compound as a lexical unit that has a (unified) argument structure. On the other hand, in subordination with clause deranking, some of the material in the main clause may intervene between the two verbs: postverbal particles, direct objects and oblique objects. Second, there may be a pause between the main and the deranked clause, and there may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of the main clause, just as is the case with other kinds of complex sentences. However, such pausing and rise in intonation does not always happen in subordination with deranking, especially if the overall sentence is relatively short. And third, as mentioned above, the verb in a deranked clause supplies an argument not associated with the verb in the main clause, even if the verb in the main clause is transitive. The two verbs occur in different clauses, and each one has its own argument structure. Examples of [verb verb] compounds that involve verbs that can also occur in deranked clauses are given below.

One of the verbs that can occur in deranked clauses is the Class 1 transitive verb *kali* ‘move around st., sb.; be positioned around st., sb.; surround’. The first example shows it in a relative clause, without deranking:

- (36-1) *Sulufau* *n=e* *kali-a* *biqu* *naqi*
 stone.wall REL=3SG.NFUT surround-3.OBJ house this
- e=aqi* *si* *baqita.*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.big
- ‘The stone wall that surrounds this house is not big.’

In (36-2) the verb *kali* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, but its direct object *era* ‘fire’ is not shared with the main clause. The limiting particle *ba-miliqa* intervenes between the two verbs.

- (36-2) *Kamiliqa mili qono ba-miliqa,*
 1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT sit LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

kali-a era.
 surround-3.OBJ fire
 ‘We just sat around (lit.: surrounding) the fire.’

The sentence in (36-2) does not express two separate states of affairs. Rather, the deranked clause specifies the spatial configuration of the participants involved in the event expressed in the main clause.

In (36-3) the notional subject of the deranked clause is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause. Here too the direct object of *kali* encodes an additional participant. Even though the two verbs are adjacent to each other, the presence of the object suffix on the first, Class 1 transitive verb is evidence that this is not a [verb verb] compound. The verb *kali* is reduplicated to signal ‘all around’.

- (36-3) *Keka ngali-a keka fasi-a*
 3PL.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ 3PL.SEQ plant-3SG.OBJ

kaa-kali-a biqu keeroqa na=i Takwaraasi.
 RDP-surround-3.OBJ house 3DU REL=LOC Takwaraasi
 ‘They took them [various plants] (and) planted them all around their house at Takwaraasi.’

On the other hand, in (36-4) *kali* and the preceding intransitive verb do form a compound. The two verbs are prosodically integrated with each other.

- (36-4) *Wela e fita kali-a luma.*
 child 3SG.NFUT run move.around-3.OBJ house
 ‘The child ran around the house.’

The sequence *fita kali* is nominalized as a unit, which too is evidence of its status as a [verb verb] compound:

- (36-5) *Ai qe lufi-a wela nia fasi-a*
 woman 3SG.NFUT stop-3.OBJ child 3SG ABL-3.OBJ

maqe dani, ka maqasi-a lolo na kai
 CLF day 3SG.SEQ wait.for-3.OBJ grass REL 3SG.FUT

tage mai.

grow VENT

‘When he has finished planting the garden with taros (lit.: when he has planted the garden with those taros of his, it is finished), he stays (away from the garden) for some five days, or six days, or seven days, and waits for grass [weeds] to grow (lit.: waits for grass that will grow).’ (The garden will then be weeded.)

In (36-9) the man’s waiting is asserted just as much as that of his staying away from the garden. On the other hand, in (36-10) below, the people’s waiting is backgrounded by being presented as a circumstance of the event of gathering. The clause in which *maqasi* ‘wait for’ occurs has been deranked. The verb *ofu* ‘gather’ in the main clause and *maqasi* in the deranked clause are separated by the combination of the assertive and the perfect postverbal particles *bo=naqa* and by the oblique object *i laa vilish qe=ki* ‘in those villages’. The notional subject of *maqasi* is coreferential with the subject of *ofu* ‘gather’.

(36-10) ... *keka ofu bo=naqa i laa vilish qe=ki,*
 3PL.SEQ gather ASRT=PRF LOC IN village that=PL

maqasi-a faka kai togo ma=i Merika,
 wait.for-3.OBJ ship 3SG.FUT start VENT=LOC America

kai lae mai, kai ngali-a ma=kako.
 3SG.FUT go VENT 3SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ VENT=cargo

‘... they gathered in those villages, waiting for a ship to come from America (lit.: waiting for a ship that would start out in America and come) and bring cargo.’

The people’s gathering in the villages does not have waiting for the ship as its sole purpose. Rather, their waiting is one aspect of their gathering, living in the villages.

In the next example, which too involves *maqasi* ‘wait for’ in the deranked clause, the notional subject of the deranked clause is coreferential with the direct object of the first clause. It is the two coconuts that are to be waiting for the speaker, not necessarily the addressee. The presence of a direct-object phrase in the first clause is evidence that the two verbs do not form a compound.

- (36-11) *Qoko kori-a roo fa niu maqasi nau.*
 2SG.SEQ grate-3.OBJ two CLF coconut wait.for 1SG
 ‘Grate two coconuts for me.’

In the situation expressed in (36-11) the speaker does not need the coconuts straightaway. He wants them ready for when he will need them; literally: ‘Grate two coconuts, (them) waiting for me.’

Examples (36-12) – (36-16) involve the Class 1 transitive verb *quri* ‘resemble, look like, be like’. In (36-12) *quri* occurs in a coordinate clause, without deranking:

- (36-12) *Kera thaa-thau-ngani-a, ka quri-a*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-make-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ look.like-3.OBJ

bo=naqa wane.
 ASRT=INTS person
 ‘They had made it and it looked just like a (real) person.’ (Speaking about a picture of a person on a billboard.)

In (36-13) *quri* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. The object of *quri* is a negative clause that does not correspond to any constituent in the main clause.

- (36-13) *Wane baa qe baqe uri nau, nau ku*
 man that 3SG.NFUT speak ALL 1SG 1SG 1SG.NFUT

rongo-a ba-kuqa, sui taa ku
 hear-3SG.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS but but 1SG.NFUT

lole qa-kuqa, quri-a s=e
 pretend SBEN-1SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ IRR=3SG.NFUT

aqi kwasi rongo-a.
 NEG 1SG.NEG hear-3SG.OBJ
 ‘The man spoke to me; I heard him all right (lit.: I just heard him), but I pretended not to have heard him.’ (‘... I pretended making it look like I had not heard him.’)

And in (36-14) the notional subject of *quri* is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause. The direct object of *quri* is a verbless subjectless ascriptive sentence *sa tai baqekwa* ‘as if (they were) sharks’. The prepositional phrase *qana beta-na abu qeri* ‘on the posts of that sacred house’, which has an

adjunct status with respect to the main clause, occurs to the right of the deranked clause.

- (36-14) *Qi laa abu laungi-a kera*
 LOC IN sacred.house decorate-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT
- thau-ngani-a nuu-na doo ki, quri-a*
 make-TR-3.OBJ likeness-3.PERS thing PL look.like-3.OBJ
- qa-na sa tai baqekwa, qana*
 SBEN-3SG.PERS IRR some.PL shark GENP
- beta-na abu qeri.*
 post-3.PERS sacred.house that
 ‘Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks, on the posts of that sacred house.’ (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

In (36-15), the verb ‘be like’ immediately follows another verb, but the two do not form a compound. First, the two verbs are not prosodically integrated with each other, and second, as the broadly synonymous sentence in (36-16) shows, it is only the first verb that is nominalized, and it is that nominalization that is the subject of the verb ‘be like’. The deranked clause specifies the manner of the man’s calls.

- (36-15) *Wane e qai, quri-a ta geo.*
 man 3SG.NFUT call be.like-3.OBJ some megapod
 ‘The man calls/can call like a megapod.’ (That is, the man can imitate megapod calls.) (Lit.: ‘The man calls, being like a megapod.’)
- (36-16) *Wane qai-la-n=e quri-a*
 man call-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ
- ta geo.*
 some megapod
 ‘The man’s calls (lit.: calling) is like (that of) a megapod.’

The notions of ‘resemble, be like’ can also be expressed by the Class 1 transitive verb *uusuli*, which also means ‘of a boat/ship or people on a boat/ship: follow the coast/coastline of (an island)’. *Uusuli* is shown with the meanings ‘follow the coastline’ and ‘resemble’ in simple sentences in (36-17) and (36-18), respectively:

(36-17) *Keka uusuli-a na=mai Malaqita,*
 3PL.SEQ follow.coast.of-3.OBJ PRF=VENT Malaita
 ‘They followed the coast of Malaita, coming here,’

(36-18) *Wela e uusuli-a maka nia.*
 child 3SG.NFUT resemble-3.OBJ father 3SG
 ‘The child resembles his father.’

In (36-19) *uusuli* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject corresponds to the direct object of the main clause:

(36-19) *Ngali-a ma-ku=ta kaleko uusuli-a*
 take-3.OBJ VENT-1SG.PERS=some cloth be.like-3.OBJ

kaleko qoe qena.
 cloth 2SG that(2)

‘Bring me (from a shop) some cloth like/the same as that one of yours.’ (The speaker wants exactly the same kind of cloth.)

Another transitive verb that can occur in deranked clauses is *suqu-si* ‘protect, defend’, also a Class 1 transitive verb. In (36-20) it occurs in a simple sentence:

(36-20) *Kuki suqu-si-a maqa toaa kulu.*
 PL(INCL).FUT defend-TR-3.OBJ CLF village PL(INCL)
 ‘We will/We have to defend/protect our village.’

And in (36-21) *suqu-si* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject corresponds to the possessor of the oblique-object nominalization in the main clause:

(36-21) *Nau ku kwele qana ngata-la-mu*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.amazed GENP speak-NMLZ-2SG.PERS

suqu-si-a wane baa.
 defend-TR-3.OBJ man that

‘I was amazed at your speaking defending/in defence of the man.’ ‘I was amazed at what you said defending/in defence of the man.’

Suqu-si also has the senses ‘block’, ‘stop, restrain, prevent sb. (from doing st.)’. It is used with the sense ‘restrain’ in (36-22) below. There, however, it forms a compound with the preceding verb, *kani* ‘tie’. *Kani* too is a Class 1

transitive verb, but since in (36-22) it occurs as the first member of a [verb verb] compound, it cannot carry an object suffix. Rather, the object suffix is attached to the second verb, but it belongs to the compound as a whole.

- (36-22) *Wane kere kani suqu-si-a maa-na.*
 man 3PL.NFUT tie restrain-TR-3.OBJ eye-3SG.PERS
 ‘The man was blind-folded.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, they (had) tie-restrained his eyes.’)

There is at least one intransitive verb that can occur in deranked clauses. The verb is *tatha*, which, when used in a finite clause, has the meaning ‘pass, pass by’:

- (36-23) *Nau kwai tatha fasi.*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT pass.by PREC
 A formula used when wanting to pass close to somebody, such as in a constrained place: ‘Excuse me.’ (Lit.: ‘I will pass now/first.’)

Tatha is also used to express comparison of inequality. There it occurs in a clause that is coordinate with a clause that expresses the proposition with respect to which the comparison is made (chapter 25):

- (36-24) *Qo suukwaqi ka tatha qani nau.*
 2SG.NFUT be.strong 3SG.SEQ pass.by GENP 1SG
 ‘You are stronger than me.’

In deranked clauses, *tatha* takes an oblique-object complement with the general proposition *qani*. Exceptionally, the form of the preposition is *qani*, rather than *qana* when the preposition has a lexical complement (section 10.3.7). The meaning of *tatha qani-a X* is ‘especially X’, ‘X in particular’. The notional subject of *tatha* corresponds to the direct object of the main clause.

- (36-25) ... *kera thau-ngani-a qana imole, tatha*
 3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person pass.by

qani-a wela kini.
 GENP-3.OBJ child female
 ‘... they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.’

In subordination with deranking, the deranked clause does not express a state of affairs separate from the one expressed in the main clause. Conse-

quently, deranking is not possible when the second clause would necessarily express a separate state of affairs, as in (36-26):

- (36-26) **Nia e qono ba-na i laa biqu*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT sit LIM-3SG.PERS LOC IN house

keda-a leta.
 write-3.OBJ letter
 ('He is just sitting in the house, writing a letter.')

There are two, albeit simultaneous, events expressed in (36-26): sitting and writing a letter. Instead of a subordinating construction with a main and a deranked clause, two clauses in coordination are required:

- (36-27) *Nia e qono ba-na i laa biqu,*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT sit LIM-3SG.PERS LOC IN house,

kai keda-a leta.
 3SG.IPFV write-3.OBJ letter
 'He is sitting in the house (and) is writing a letter.'

On the other hand, deranking is possible in (36-28), which is structurally similar to the ungrammatical (36-26). In (36-28) the deranked clause does not express an event separate from that of the main clause, but rather the manner in which the event of the first clause takes place, specifically the spatial configuration of the participants.

- (36-28) *Toqa kere qono qa-da i laa biqu,*
 people 3PL.NFUT sit SBEN-3PL.PERS LOC IN house

kaa-kali-a tefolo.
 RDP-surround-3.OBJ table
 'The people are sitting in the house (all) around the table.'

It is possible (although there is no evidence to hand) that the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3) derive historically from verbs when those were used in deranked clauses, rather than from verbs as second members of [verb verb] serializing compounds, because a variety of elements can intervene between the prepositional phrases they head and the preceding verbs, such as postverbal particles, direct objects, and other oblique objects.

Chapter 37

Direct speech

37.1. Introduction

As discussed in section 29.4.7, there are a number of locutionary verbs that take clauses of indirect speech as their complements, verbs such as transitive *sore* ‘say’, with the third person object-indexing suffix *-a*, which cataphorically indexes the clause of indirect speech, its detransitivized counterpart *sore-qe* (or, rarely, *sore-qa*) ‘say’, *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (that)’, and *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (about sb., st.)’, which take paratactic complement clauses. These verbs can also serve to introduce direct speech. There are also means to introduce direct speech that cannot be used with indirect-speech complements. The most common one of these is a noun phrase that functions as a “pseudo-verb”: *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’ (section 4.7). It is even possible for a clause introducing direct speech to lack a verb or the pseudo-verb. On the whole, direct speech is more common than indirect speech in Toqabaqita.

37.2. Direct speech is not necessarily direct quotation

Before considering the means that serve to express direct speech, one note of clarification is in order. So-called direct speech does not necessarily reproduce verbatim another person’s speech. Not infrequently, it reproduces just the content or the gist of what the other person said, rather than the exact words. For example, as pointed out by Haiman (1985), what was originally said may have been delivered in a language other than that used to report it in a direct speech. This is illustrated in the next two examples. In the first one, what the direct speech is presented as reporting is what an American officer had allegedly said to one or more representatives of the British colonial government in Honiara sometime in the 1940s. It is a safe assumption that the language used was not Toqabaqita.

(37-1) *Gavman* *ka* *lae* *uri-a* *kai*
 government 3SG.SEQ go PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

fula-toqo-na *qi* *sa-na* *wane* *baqita*
 arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS man be.big

n=e *qita* *ma=i* *Merika*
 REL=3SG.NFUT originate VENT=LOC America

ka *lae* *mai,* *n=e* *ni=i*
 3SG.SEQ go VENT REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

Hedson, *ka* *soe-toqo-na* *maqaluta-na.*
 Henderson 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ essence-3SG.PERS

Wane *qeri* *mena* *ka* *dora* *laqu*
 man that FADD 3SG.SEQ not.know ADD

ba-na *qani-a,* *ka* *sore-qe,* **“Nau**
 LIM-3SG.PERS GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ say-DETR 1SG

kwasi ***thaitoqoma-na.***
 1SG.NEG know-3SG.OBJ

‘The Government went to investigate (the substance of certain claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and had come) and who was at Henderson [Henderson Airport in Honiara], and it [the Government] asked him for details (lit.: asked about its essence). Even that man did not know (anything) about it, and he said, “I don’t know.”’

And in the situation described in (37-2) the Japanese person asking the question spoke in English, not in Toqabaqita.

(37-2) *Teqe noniqi* *wane,* *teqe* *kini* *qi* *Japana,* *ka*
 one CLF person one woman LOC Japan 3SG.SEQ

soe-toqo-na *tha* *Franke* *uri* *nau,* *ka*
 ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR Frank PURP 1SG 3SG.SEQ

quna *qeri,* **“Wane** *naqi* *qe* *lae* *mai* *bii*
 manner this man this 3SG.NFUT go VENT COM

goe, laalae mada sa ka oli uri
 2SG if or IRR 3SG.SEQ return ALL

Solomoni Aylen, kai uqunu qufita
 Solomon Islands 3SG.FUT narrate be.how?

ba-na sulia riki-laa n=e
 LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ see-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT

riki-a qana fanu naqi?'
 see-3SG.OBJ GENP country this

‘One person, a woman from (lit.: at) Japan, asked Frank about me, she said, “This man has come here with you; if he returns to the Solomon Islands, just what will he say about what he saw in this country (lit.: just how will he narrate about the seeing that he saw in this country)?”.’

Second, the longer a piece of direct speech is, the less likely it is that it is a verbatim rendition of what was said. And finally, direct speech is also used to express not what was said, but what is expected or predicted to be said, what might be said, or what should not be said, rather than reporting what was said:

(37-3) *Qoko qai-thata-na kwai-na kini qeri,*
 2SG.SEQ call-name-3.OBJ spouse-3.PERS woman that

nia naqa na kai sore-qe, ta si doo,
 3SG PRF FOC 3SG.FUT say-DETR some PRPT thing

“Kai too ba-na.”, mada ka
 3SG.IPFV be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS or 3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo qani-a, “Ni=e lae qa-na.”
 CAUS-hear GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT go SBEN-3SG.PERS
 [This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] ‘You call out the woman’s husband’s name, (and) it’s now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), “He is at home.”, or she will say about him, “He’s gone (out).”.’

(37-4) *Qosi sore-qe, “Lae si ma=i ku=naqi.”*
 2SG.NEG say-DETR go PREC VENT=LOC place=this

qana gwauliqi ai
 GENP married.person woman
 ‘You don’t say, “Come here now.” to a married woman’. (It is impolite to speak like that.)

Direct speech does not, then, necessarily represent verbatim quotation. Most of the time it is the content that matters; whether the content was expressed in exactly the same way it is presented in a direct speech is often immaterial.

37.3. Clauses of direct speech are not direct objects

Most verbs of speaking in Toqabaqita are intransitive, and so with them the clause or clauses of direct speech cannot be a direct object by definition. For example, *sore-qe* is a detransitivized variant of the transitive verb *sore* (section 4.6) and as such does not take direct objects:

(37-5) *Ma nia ka sore-qe, “Uri taa na*
 and 3SG 3SG.SEQ say-DETR REAS what? FOC

qosi qani-a tai sii qana fanga
 2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ some.PL piece GENP food

neqe? Nau ku thathami-a koro
 this 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ DU(INCL)

koki fanga.”
 DU(INCL).FUT eat
 ‘And he said, “Why aren’t you eating any pieces of this food? I want us to eat.”.’

(Although in [37-3] further above *sore-qe* is directly followed by a noun phrase, that noun phrase is an unintegrated adjunct, not a direct object.)

In the next two examples too, the clauses that introduce the direct speech are intransitive: the first one contains the intransitive verb *qai* ‘shout’, and the second one the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’ (see section 37.4 for more detail on the latter).

(37-6) ... *nia ka qai, “Qoo, mulu olo mai*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout oh! 2PL.NFUT land VENT

uri nau!”

PURP 1SG

‘... she shouted (to people passing by in canoes), “Oh!, come ashore for me (lit.: land for me)!”.’

- (37-7) *Thaari baa ka quna qeri, “Qe leqa*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT be.good

ba-na, koki fanga.”

LIM-3SG.PERS DU(INCL).FUT eat

‘The girl said, “That’s fine; we’ll eat.”.’

There are some transitive verbs that can introduce direct speech. However, some of them take the addressee, not the clause(s) of direct speech, as their direct object. *Soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (st.)’ and *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (st.)’ are two such verbs:

- (37-8) *Kera kesi soe-toqo-ku boqo, “Qo*
 3PL 3PL.NEG ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ ASRT 2SG.NFUT

thaofa?”

be.hungry

‘They did not (even) ask me, “Are you hungry?”.’

- (37-9) ... *keka faqa-rongo-da, “Kamaroqa moki*
 3PL.SEQ CAUS-hear-3PL.OBJ 2DU 2DU.FUT

mae naq=i qusungadi.”

be.dead PRF=LOC tomorrow

‘... they told them, “You two will be dead tomorrow.”.’

The transitive verb *sore* takes the object-indexing suffix *-a* when it introduces a direct speech. The suffix does not index the addressee, but there is evidence that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of the verb. There are, in fact, two kinds of evidence. One of them demonstrates solely that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects; the other demonstrates that as well and also that clauses of direct speech are only relatively loosely connected to the clauses that introduce them. The first piece of evidence is this: As discussed in section 13.7, Toqabaqita has situational demonstrative adverbs. These are clause-level constituents and occur clause-finally, after direct objects and any other elements that come after direct objects, such as oblique-object adjuncts:

- (37-10) ... *ma ka kasi-a ta thakwa ongi*
 and 3SG.SEQ cut-3.OBJ some length bamboo.sp.

neri, ma ka rada-a bo=naqa
 NPAST.HERE and 3SG.SEQ poke-3SG.OBJ ASRT=INTS

qani-a neri.
 INS-3SG.OBJ NPAST.HERE

‘... and he cuts a length of *ongi* bamboo and pokes it [a possum] vehemently with it.’

The situational demonstrative adverb *neri* also has a vividness function:

- (37-11) *Wane kuki thau-ngi-a qi qusungadi*
 man PL(INCL).FUT kill-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC tomorrow

neri.
 VIVID

‘The man we will kill tomorrow.’

When a clause that introduces a direct speech contains a situational demonstrative adverb, the clause(s) of direct speech come(s) after the adverb:

- (37-12) ... *ta wane kai sore-a ba-na*
 some person 3SG.FUT say-3SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS

neri, “Weleqi, qoto ade-de mala
 NPAST.HERE man! 2SG.DEHORT behave-RDP EQT

tha Liliqa.”
 PERSMKR Liliqa

[When a person prematurely claims to have dealt with something or to have overcome a difficulty,] ‘... somebody will just say, “Man!, don’t act like Liliqa.”’ (See text 2 in the Appendix.)

In (37-13) the clause introducing the direct speech contains a transitive verbs whose object suffix indexes the addressee. There too the situational demonstrative, in its “vividness” function, comes at the end of the clause, and the clauses of direct speech follow.

- (37-13) ... *keka soe-toqo-ku ba-da neri,*
 3PL.SEQ ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ LIM-3PL.PERS VIVID

“*Qo laa-lae qana fanu baa, uqunu*
 2SG.NFUT RDP-go GENP country that narrate

suli-a, nau kwai rongo-a.”
 PROL-3SG.OBJ 1SG 1SG.FUT listen.to-3SG.OBJ
 ‘[Some people when they see me,] they ask me (about my trip),
 “You went to that country; tell (me) about it, (and) I will listen to
 it.”.’

Since clauses of direct speech occur after the situational demonstrative adverbials, they cannot be the direct object of *sore-a* ‘say it’.

The other piece of evidence that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of *sore-a* comes from the prosody. Normally, direct objects, whether non-clausal or clausal, are prosodically integrated with the transitive verbs they are objects of. They are contained in the same intonational contour with the verbs; and there is normally no appreciable pause between the two, or between the objects and any postverbal particles that are part of the verb complex. With direct speech, on the other hand, there is normally no such prosodic integration: there is an intonation break, an intonation “re-setting” between the end of the clause that introduces the direct speech and the beginning of the direct speech, and typically there is a (slight) pause between the two. There is a rise in intonation towards the end of the clause introducing a direct speech characteristic of non-final clauses in sentences. A new intonation pattern begins with the onset of the direct speech. Such intonation re-setting and pausing is evidence that clauses of direct speech are not constituents of the clauses that introduce them. Hence, clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of *sore-a* ‘say’ or any other kind of constituent of the clauses that introduce them.

When a clause of direct speech follows, the object-indexing suffix in *sore-a* ‘say it/this’ functions cataphorically, pointing forward to the direct speech:

(37-14) ... *ma ta imole taqe, kai sore-a*
 and some person rise 3SG.FUT say-3SG.OBJ

ba-na, “Weleqi, ma ni qoo fanga
 LIM-3SG.PERS man! and PROFORE 2SG eat

qasia naqa.”
 INTS INTS

‘[At a feast, when people see that somebody is eating too much,] one person will stand up (lit.: rise) and say: “But (lit.: and), man!, you do eat a lot.”.’ That is, ‘... one person will stand up and say it/this, “But, man!, you do eat a lot.”.’

Clauses of direct speech are complements paratactically adjoined to the clauses that contain a locutionary verb or the locutionary pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘(in) this manner; thus’. The rise in intonation at the end of a clause introducing a direct speech shows that that clause and the clause(s) of direct speech are part of one and the same sentence. Clauses of direct speech are complements in the sense that, cases of discourse-based ellipsis apart, their presence is required by the clauses that introduce them. For example, if the direct speech were omitted from (37-14) above, the sentence would be incomplete: ... *ma ta imole taqe, kai sore-a ba-na*. ‘... and one person will stand up and say it.’ And clauses with the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘(in) this manner; thus’ that are commonly used to introduce direct speech (see the next section) would be ungrammatical in the intended sense without a direct-speech complement:

- (37-15) **Thaari baa ka quna qeri*.
 girl that 3SG.SEQ manner this
 (‘The girl said.’)

Compare (37-7) further above. (The sentence in [37-15] would be grammatical if *quna qeri* ‘that manner’ referred anaphorically to behaviour mentioned previously: ‘The girl behaved like that.’.)

37.4. A noun phrase that functions as a pseudo-verb of speaking

Toqabaqita has general verbs that can serve to introduce direct speech: transitive *sore-a* ‘say it/this’, its detransitivized variant *sore-qe* (or *sore-qa*) ‘say’, and also transitive *faqa-rongo* ‘tell sb. (st.)’ (the direct object expressing the addressee), as opposed to other verbs of speaking that are specific with regard to the manner of speaking, such as intransitive *qai* ‘shout’ and transitive *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (st.)’ (the direct object expressing the addressee). However, unless the manner of speaking is to be specified, the commonest way to introduce direct speech is not by means of a verb but by means of a noun phrase that functions as a “pseudo-verb”: *quna qeri* ‘manner’ ‘this’, that is, ‘(in) this manner; thus’. The verb-like characteristics of *quna qeri* and other noun phrases headed by *quna* ‘manner’ are discussed in section 4.7, and here only a few additional examples of *quna qeri* in its function of introducing direct speech are given.

- (37-16) *Nau kwa quna qeri, "Qoo, qi Niu*
 1SG 1SG.SEQ manner this oh LOC New
Silana, fanu=e leqa neri."
 Zealand country=3SG.NFUT be.nice VIVID
 'I said, "Oh, the country of New Zealand is really nice."' (Lit.: '...
 "Oh, in New Zealand the country is really nice."')

In (37-17) the clause introducing the direct speech is negative:

- (37-17) *Qe=aqi kosi quna qeri, "Fanga*
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV DU(INCL).NEG manner this food
qoe ki neq. Qani-a fanga naqi." Qe
 2SG PL here eat-3.OBJ food this 3SG.NFUT
abu.
 not.be.allowed
 [When offering food to others, polite language has to be used. This
 is what you or I do not do when we want to offer food to a married
 man or a married woman.] 'We don't say, "Here is your food (lit.:
 foods). Eat this food." That is not allowed.'

The addressee may be expressed as an allative object of *quna qeri*:

- (37-18) ... *kera keka quna qeri uri nau, "Qoo,*
 3PL 3PL.SEQ manner this ALL 1SG oh
ni qoe qo winim kamiliqa neri,"
 PROFORE 2SG 2SG.NFUT win.over 1PL(EXCL) VIVID
 '... they said to me, "Oh, you've done better than us,"' (Lit.: '...
 "Oh, you have won over us,"')

It is even possible for the demonstrative *qeri* to be omitted, although this is not common:

- (37-19) ... *keka riki-a subi, alafolo,*
 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ k.o. warclub k.o.warclub
ka quna, "Qoo, ma doo na toqa neqe
 3SG.SEQ manner oh and thing REL people this

ki keki fii-firu ki qani-a
 PL 3PL.IPFV RDP-fight PL INST-3SG.OBJ

takona na=nia,....”

most.likely this=3SG

‘... they saw *subi* clubs, *alafolo* clubs, and (one of them) said, “Oh, these must be the things [weapons] that the (lit.: these) people used to fight with, these ones here,”.’

While *quna qeri* is commonly used to introduce direct speech, unlike *sore-qe* ‘say’ and *sore-a* ‘say it/this’ it cannot be used with indirect speech complements (section 29.4.7) or as propositional-attitude pseudo-verb (29.4.8).

37.5. Combinations of clauses introducing direct speech

A clause that contains one of the two basic verbs/pseudo-verbs of speaking, *sore-qe* ‘say’, and *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’ can be combined in asyndetic coordination with another clause that too contains a verb of speaking, other than *sore-qe* and *quna qeri*. That clause comes first, before the one that contains *sore-qe* or *quna qeri*. In this type of construction also, it is the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’ that is more common.

(37-20) *Akalo e tatha, ka*
 ancestral.spirit 3SG.NFUT pass.by 3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo-a, ka quna qeri, "Qoe
 CAUS-hear-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ manner this 2SG

s=oko mae e aqi. Tataqe i
 IRR=2SG.SEQ die 3SG.NFUT not.be.so stand.up LOC

aa, qoko lae bo=naqa si manga qeri.”
 space.up 2SG.SEQ go ASRT=INTS PRTT time this
 ‘The [man’s] ancestral spirit passed by and told him [the man], he said, “You will not/cannot die. Stand up and go now.”.’

(37-21) *Si manga na kera firu, ume qe*
 PRTT time REL 3PL.NFUT fight fish.sp. 3SG.NFUT

fita mai, ka qai faafi-a oomea
 run VENT 3SG.SEQ shout concerning-3.OBJ fight

fuu, ka sore-qe, "Bona! Luka qana
 that 3SG.SEQ say-DETR be.silent stop.doing.st. GENP

oomea neqe ka teo, e aqi
 fight this 3SG.SEQ cease 3SG.NFUT NEGV

musi firu!"

2PL.NEG fight

‘When they [people from two islands] were fighting, an *ume* fish came running and shouted on account of the fight, “Quiet! Stop this fight; it must end; don’t fight!”.’

For an example with *soe-toqo* ‘ask sb. (st.)’ in the first clause and *quna qeri* in the second clause see (37-2) in section 37.2.

37.6. Direct speech introduced by a clause that contains a verb other than a verb of speaking

It is possible for a direct speech to be “introduced” by a clause that contains not a verb of speaking nor the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’, but some other verb. A clause with a verb of speaking has been omitted. In some cases the first clause expresses a situation that leads a participant to say something. In (37-22) and (37-23) the clauses that introduce the direct speeches contain the verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’, respectively:

(37-22) *Bariqi lio ka riki-a, "Taa neri?*
 Bariqi look 3SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ what? NPAST.HERE

Qoo, thaqaro neqe."

oh bird here

[Little children had been chasing a bird]. ‘Bariqi looked and saw it [and said to the children], “What’s this? Oh, it’s a bird (lit.: [a] bird here).”.’

(37-23) *Kero rongo-a thaqaro fuu ki, "Qoo, thaqaro*
 3DU.NFUT hear-3.OBJ possum that PL oh possum

baa ki takona neri. Teqe futa
 that PL most.likely NPAST.HERE one possum

na=mai neri.”

PRF=VENT NPAST.HERE

‘They [possum hunters] heard the possums [and one of them said],
“Oh, that must be the possums. There is a possum here now.”.’

(*Thaqaro* may be used to refer to birds or to possums.)

Clearly, the instances of direct speech in (37-22) and (37-23) are not direct objects of the sensory-perception verbs. What the direct speech expresses is not what the participants saw and heard, respectively, but their reaction to what they saw and heard.

In (37-24) below, the clause preceding the direct speech contains the intransitive verb *qinkwayeri* ‘hold an inquiry’ from English/Solomon Islands Pijin. *Qinkwayeri* is not a verb of speaking here (‘inquire’). The direct speech is a statement, accusation, not a question. Here the direct speech expresses what was said during the inquiry.

(37-24) *Keka qinkwayeri bo=naqa neri, “Qo*
3PL.SEQ hold.inquiry ASRT=INTS VIVID 2SG.NFUT

bili nabaa.”

steal PAST.THEN

‘They held an inquiry [and said to him/accused him], “You stole.”.’

However, there need not be any direct semantic link between a clause of direct speech and the immediately preceding clause where a clause with a verb of speaking has been omitted. In (37-25) below, the clause that immediately precedes the direct speech contains the verb *tataqe* ‘stand up’. The speaker’s standing up (and moving in the direction of the addressee) is only incidental to her speaking and to what she says. There are two clauses of direct speech in (37-25): the first one is not introduced by a clause with a verb of speaking, whereas the second one is.

(37-25) *Mada sa gwauliqi ai qeri ka*
or IRR married.person woman that 3SG.SEQ

ni=i laa toaa qeri, ka tataqe
be.located=LOC IN household that 3SG.SEQ stand.up

mai, “Taa neri?”, qoe qoki sore-qe
VENT what? NPAST.HERE 2SG 2SG.FUT say-DETR

ba-muqa, “*Ma tha weleqi e lae*
LIM-2SG.PERS and PERSMKR chap 3SG.NFUT go

uri fei neq?”

ALL where? VIVID

[This is what you do when you go to visit a man and do not see him around. First you call out, “Hey!”.] ‘If his wife (lit.: the married woman) is in the household, she will stand up (and move) in your direction [and say], “What is it?”, and you will just say, “(And) where has the chap gone to?”.’

37.7. Direct speech introduced by clauses without any verb and without the pseudo-verb

It is possible for a direct speech to be introduced by a clause that contains neither a verb of any sort, nor the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* ‘this manner; thus’. Nevertheless, the clause has the appropriate subject marker that indexes the person producing the direct speech and expresses the appropriate tense or aspect. In addition there may be a subject phrase. The verb phrase consists only of the subject marker. Usually there is a brief pause between the subject marker and the following clause(s) of direct speech. Such pauses are evidence that clauses of direct speech do not function here as (complex) delocutives. This way to introduce direct speech is particularly common when the clause of direct speech consists of, or begins with, an interjection, but as the last two examples below illustrate, it is not restricted to such cases. It is only relatively short and simple stretches of direct speech that are introduced in this way.

(37-26) *Kali wela qeri qe tona, ka*
little.SG child that 3SG.NFUT be.startled 3SG.SEQ

“*Hmm!*”, *ma ka lae bo=naqa qi laa*
hmm and 3SG.SEQ go ASRT=INTS LOC IN

kilu.

hole

‘The little child was startled; he (went) “Hmm!”, and went straight into the hole (having been thrown into it by a murderer).’

(*Hmm* represents a prolonged nasalized [h]. There is no phoneme /h/ in Toqabaqita.)

- (37-27) *Roo wela qe=ki keka, "Qoiqale, teqe doo kai*
 two child that=PL 3PL.SEQ gee! one thing 3SG.IPFV
karau boqo."
 make.crunching.sound ASRT
 'The two children (went), "Gee, something is making a crunching sound.".'
- (37-28) *Ma nia ka, "Qee, nga doo neqe, nga*
 and 3SG 3SG.SEQ hey! IDENT thing this IDENT
imole qe aqi neqe, nga
 human.being 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case VIVID IDENT
doo qeeqeta neqe."
 thing be.different VIVID
 'And he went (to himself), "Hey, this thing is not a human being; it is something else (lit.: a different thing)."'
- (37-29) *Keka qinkwayeri bo=naqa neri, "Qo*
 3PL.SEQ hold.inquiry ASRT=INTS VIVID 2SG.NFUT
bili nabaa." Nia ka, "Nau ku bil=i
 steal PAST.THEN 3SG 3SEQ 1SG 1SG.NFUT steal=LOC
fei?"
 where?
 'They held an inquiry [and said to him/accused him], "You stole." He went, "I stole where?''
- (37-30) *"Talaqa-na ba-na kwai lae*
 fit-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS 1SG.FUT go
ba=ka-kuqa bii qoe?" Nia ka,
 LIM=AND-1SG.PERS COM 2SG 3SG 3SG.SEQ
"Leqa ba-na, lae ma=i buri-ku,"
 be.good LIM-3SG.PERS go VENT=LOC behind-1SG.PERS
 "Is it possible for me to go with you?" He went [replied], "That's fine, follow me,".'

Chapter 38

Topicalization

38.1. Subjects as default topics

The topic of a proposition is that which the proposition is about. That part of the proposition that supplies information about the topic is the comment. In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topic expressions: unless another part of a sentence is made into a topic expression, unless it is “topicalized”, it is the subject that encodes the topic.

The first example below shows the link between subjecthood and topichood. In the portion of the text the example is from, a young man is telling his mother about his meeting a girl. There are two topics in the various sentences: the man and the girl. The last sentence, in (38-1c), consists of two parallel clauses: in the first one the man is referred to in the subject position, and the girl in the direct-object position; and in the second clause the encoding is reversed. The switch in subjects corresponds to a switch in topics. In (38-1a) the topic is the man, encoded first by means of the first person singular independent personal pronoun and then by the first person singular sequential subject marker (repeated in the first sentence due to hesitation):

- (38-1) a. *Qoo, thaina-ka qae, nau ku*
oh mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC 1SG 1SG.NFUT
- laa-lae neri, kwa, kwa toda-a mai*
RDP-go VIVID 1SG.SEQ 1SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ VENT
- teqe thaari. Kwa riki-a thaari qeri.*
one girl 1SG.SEQ look.at-3.OBJ girl that
'Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the girl.'

In the next sentence it is the girl that becomes the topic. The noun phrase referring to her has been topicalized by left dislocation (section 38.3), but there is also a noun phrase referring to her in the subject position. The girl is being described by the man who also spoke the sentences in (38-1a) and in (38-1c).

- (38-1) b. *Thaari qeri, thaari qe leqa*
 girl that girl 3SG.NFUT be.beautiful
- mamana boqo neri, ta ai leqa*
 be.true ASRT VIVID some woman be.beautiful
- qe aqi si quri-a boqo.*
 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG be.like-3SG.OBJ ASRT
 ‘The girl, she was truly beautiful. No woman is as beautiful as she is.’ (Lit.: ‘That girl, (the) girl was truly beautiful. Some beautiful woman is not at all like her.’)

The girl continues as the topic in the first clause in the next sentence, still expressed in the subject position. In the second clause there is a change of subject and a change of topic: the topic is again the man.

- (38-1) c. *Ma thaari qeri ka thatham i nau, nau*
 and girl that 3SG.SEQ like 1SG 1SG
- mena kwa thatham i-a laqu boqo thaari*
 FADD 1SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD ASRT girl
- qeri.*
 that
 ‘And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.’

38.2. Topicalization: general characteristics

Subjects, then, are default topics. It is possible for sentence constituents to be topicalized, to be explicitly identified as topics. In fact, subjects too can be topicalized. With some qualifications, the essence of topicalization is placing the topicalized constituent clause/sentence initially, in the topic position. One type of exception has to do with the presence of interjections, which occur or may occur before topicalized elements. In (38-2) the pronominal direct-object topic *nau* ‘I’ is preceded by the interjection *qoo* ‘oh’:

- (38-2) *Qoo, nau susuqi e susuqi nau.*
 oh 1SG hornet 3SG.NFUT sting 1SG
 ‘Oh, I have been stung by a hornet.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I, a hornet has stung me.’)

Second, as discussed in section 17.4, in the double negative construction the mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi* may be preceded by a topic noun phrase coreferential with the subject of the event clause. That topic noun phrase may be preceded by another element that normally occurs clause initially. In (38-6) further below, the topic phrase is preceded by the coordinator *ma* ‘and’.

And third, Toqabaqita permits double topicalization in a simple sentence, where there are two topicalized phrases occurring one after the other, expressing different topics (section 38.6).

Adopting, and adapting, Lambrecht’s (1994) term “unlinked topics”, a distinction is made here between linked and unlinked topics. Linked topics are those that are directly connected to the comment domain (see further below). With two types of exception, linked topics are indexed anaphorically in the comment domain. One exception is topicalized subjects of verbless sentences, which may but need not be indexed (section 38.3.2), and the other is topicalized temporal phrases, which are normally not indexed (section 38.3.4). However, even when such topics are not indexed in the comment domain, they are linked to it in the sense that if they were not topicalized, they would occupy a structural position (an argument one or an adjunct one) in a clause in the comment domain. That is, topic linking and the indexing of topics in the comment domain are not one and the same thing. On the other hand, unlinked topics, as the term is used here, have only a relatively loose semantic link to the comment domain. They are not linked to any structural position in the comment domain, and, of course, are not indexed in it.

The basic structure of sentences with topicalized expressions is shown in (38-3), with the provisos that certain elements may precede topics (see above) and that multiple topics are possible:

(38-3) [topic comment.domain]

The comment domain is usually a single clause, a comment clause, but it may be more than one clause. As discussed in section 38.4, long-distance linked topicalization is possible, where one or more clauses may intervene between a topic and the clause to which it is linked. In such cases the comment domain is not only the clause to which the topic is linked but also the intervening material. The term “comment clause” specifically signifies the clause to which a topic is linked or the clause that provides a comment about an unlinked topic.

Often, but not always, the topicalized phrase is prosodically set off from the comment domain: there is a rise in intonation at the end of the topic phrase, and/or a pause between the topic phrase and the comment domain. Such prosodic marking of topics is more likely to be absent when the topic expression is short. Prosodic marking of topics is indicated in the examples by means of commas.

A topicalized phrase, whether linked or unlinked, is not a syntactic constituent of the comment domain; and, with the exception of verbless clauses where the topic is not indexed, the comment domain is grammatically self-contained.

Example (38-4) illustrates topicalization. In the first sentence, a new participant, a hole, is introduced. The hole is referred to in the following sentence, where the grammatical relation of that noun phrase would otherwise be direct object. There the noun phrase ‘the hole’ does not occur in the canonical direct-object position, after the verb. Rather, it occurs sentence initially, before the comment domain. Because the topicalized noun phrase corresponds to the direct object in the comment clause, it is indexed on the verb in the comment clause by means of an object suffix. This is an instance of a linked topic. The topicalized phrase and the object suffix that indexes it in the comment clause are in bold.

(38-4) ... *ker* *taqe*, *laa-lae*, *keko* *tatha*, *tala*
 3PL.NFUT ascend RDP-go 3DU.SEQ walk path

qeri na kero *lae suli-a* *ka* *tatha*
 that REL 3DU.NFUT walk PROL-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ pass

karangi-a *maa-na* *teqe kilu kwasi*.
 be.near.to-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS one hole be.deep

Kilu qeri, *ker* *qalangi-a* *qana*
 hole that 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP

“*Gwaagwathamela*”.

Gwaagwathamela

‘... they went up and up, they walked (on), (until) the path they were walking on (lit.: along) passed near the mouth of a deep hole. The hole was called “*Gwaagwathamela*”.’ (Lit.: ‘... The hole, they named it “*Gwaagwathamela*”.’)

Topicalization may be contrastive. In such cases, it may, but need not, occur in both/all clauses; see (38-5) and (38-6), respectively:

(38-5) *Tai* *si* *kula*, *kere* *alu=si*
 some.PL PRTT place 3PL.NFUT plant:3.OBJ=PRTT

fanga *qi* *ei* *ka* *taqe, tai*
 food LOC LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ grow some.PL

si *kula* *ka* *aqi* *naqa,* *uri-a*
 PRTT place 3SG.SEQ not.be.so PRF REAS-3.OBJ

thaqegano *qeri* *qe* *raarangeqa* *naqa.*
 soil that 3SG.SEQ be.dry PRF

‘Some places they plant food in and it grows there; some places no more [i.e., they plant food there but it does not grow any more], because the ground is exhausted (lit.: dry) now.’

(38-6) *Nau* *ku* *rongo-a* *kini* *fuu* *ki,* *ma*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ woman downward PL and

ni *qoe* *qe* *aqi* *kwasi* *rongo* *qoe.*
 PROFORE 2SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG hear 2SG

‘I heard the women down there, but (lit.: and) you I did not hear.’

Topics must be definite, non-referential, or generic. Definite topics are found in, for example, (38-4) and (38-6) above. There is a non-referential topic in (38-5). For an example with a generic topic see (38-56) in section 38.4.

Topicalization and focusing can both occur in one and the same clause, in which case the topic constituent precedes the focus constituent; see (39-2) in section 39.1.

Various aspects of topicalization are considered in more detail in the following sections, starting with linked topics.

38.3. Linked topics

38.3.1. Introduction

Structurally, linked topicalization in Toqabaqita is left dislocation. In this section, topicalization by left dislocation is discussed depending on the position the topicalized element is linked to: subject, direct object, oblique object, or possessor. With the exceptions of topicalized subjects of verbless sentences and topicalized temporal phrases, linked topics are always indexed in the comment domain. And with some exceptions, the indexing of topics in the comment domain is the same as the indexing of the positions relativized inside relative clauses, discussed in section 30.6; and see also section 4.9. The details can be

found in the two sections. Here the focus is on the properties characteristic of topicalization.

38.3.2. Subject topicalization

When it is the subject that is topicalized, there are two options. In one, the subject noun phrase is dislocated, there is prosodic marking of its topic status, and the comment clause contains the appropriate subject marker, if it contains a verb. For subject topicalization in connection with verbless sentences see further below. In (38-7) there are several instances of topicalization; it is the last one (in bold) that involves subject topicalization.

- (38-7) *Manga qeri nau kwai uqunu suli-a*
 time this 1SG 1SG.FUT narrate PROL-3.OBJ
- ngata-la-na roo noniqi wane, roo wane*
 speak-NMLZ-3.PERS two CLF man two man
- qe=ki thata-da, ta wane thata-na*
 that=PL name-3PL.PERS some man name-3SG.PERS
- tha Filithau bia tha Bubuqota. **Roo***
 PERSMKR Filithau and PERSMKR Bubuqota two
- noniqi wane qe=ki, kero ngata ofu,*
 CLF man that=PL 3DU.NFUT speak be.together
- ngata-la-daroqa na kwai ili-fani-a*
 speak-NMLZ-3DU.PERS FOC 1SG.FUT do-TR-3SG.OBJ

si manga qeri.

PRTT time this

‘This time I will talk about two men; the two men, their names (were), one man, his name was Filithau, and (the other was) Bubuqota. The two men, (they) talked together, and it is their talking that I am going to mimic.’ (The speaker then plays a flute piece which represents the two men speaking.)

In (38-8) the topicalized phrase is linked to a temporal subordinate clause (section 35.2.2):

(38-8) *Wane baqita, laalae qe mae, keka*
 man be.important when 3SG.NFUT die 3PL.SEQ

buuleqemae qani nia fai taafuli
 beat.drum.to.announce.death GENP 3SG four ten

maqe ogo.

CLF drum

‘An important man, when he died, they would give (lit.: beat) 40 drum beats for him.’

In (38-9) it is the subject of a verbless ascriptive sentence that has been topicalized. Since the comment clause is verbless, there is no subject marker there and so no indexing.

(38-9) *Nga ululu kwasi, kali maama*
 IDENT branches be.wild small.SG mortuary.feast

faqekwa ni bana neri.
 be.small LIG LIM VIVID

‘*Ululu kwasi*, (is) just a small mortuary feast.’ (*Ululu kwasi* is one in a series of mortuary feasts. The dancers at the feast can hold any kind of branch or leaves in their hands while dancing.)

Subject topicalization by left dislocation must be distinguished from cases where a noun phrase functions as the subject of a sentence, and so (perhaps) as a default topic. In the latter type of case, the subject noun phrase falls under one intonation contour with the rest of the clause. In the next example, there is an alternation between two topics, a man and a child. Both topics are encoded by non-topicalized subject noun phrases.

(38-10) *Ka soe-toqo-na, “Nee, koqo, qo lae*
 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ hey! friend 2SG.NFUT go

uri fei?” Wela qeri ka quna qeri, “Nau
 ALL where? child that 3SG.SEQ manner this 1SG

ku lae buria-na thaina-ku
 1SG.NFUT go behind-3.PERS mother-1SG.PERS

bia maka nau.” Wane qeri ka quna qeri,
 and father 1SG man that 3SG.SEQ manner this

In (38-13) the topicalized phrase is inanimate:

- (38-13) *Ma si manga qeri, nia ka sifo,*
 and PRTT time that 3SG 3SG.SEQ descend
- laa-laa-l:ae, ka too ba-na*
 RDP-RDP-go 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
- qae-na teqe daadaku qi fafo-na*
 foot-3.PERS one Calophyllum.sp LOC top-3.PERS
- qamali. Daadaku qeri, nia qe takwe*
 sea Calophyllum.sp that 3SG 3SG.NFUT stand
- qi laa one, ka olo, ka*
 LOC IN sand 3SG.SEQ be.bent.down 3SG.SEQ
- sifo uri qamali.*
 be.positioned.downward ALL sea

‘And at that time she walked down (to the sea), kept walking down, on and on and on, and stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree by (lit. on top of) the sea. The *daadaku* tree, it stood in the sand (on the beach) and was bent down towards the sea.’

In (38-14) it is the subject of a verbless equational identificational sentence that has been topicalized. There is a resumptive pronoun in the subject position of the comment clause.

- (38-14) *Akalo i Rokasi, nia tha*
 ancestral.spirit LOC Rokasi 3SG PERSMKR
- Feotoqoniwane.*
 Feotoqoniwane
 ‘The ancestral spirit at/of Rokasi [a place], he is Feotoqoniwane [name of the spirit].’

Subject independent pronouns too can be topicalized, although usually without an (identical) resumptive pronoun in the subject position. In (38-15) the pronoun is in the topic position, before *mada* ‘or’, which here signals the speaker’s less-than-full certainty about the factual status of the proposition (section 18.5.3):

- (38-15) *Qoe mada go mataqi?*
 2SG or 2SG.NFUT be.sick
 ‘You, are you perhaps sick?’ ‘You, might you be sick?’

When a subject pronoun has been topicalized, resumptive pronouns in the subject position are possible provided the two pronouns are not next to each other. In (38-16) the topicalized pronoun occurs with the foregrounding additive marker *mena* (section 28.6), and a resumptive pronoun is possible, although the variant without it is preferred.

- (38-16) *Nau mena, (nau) ku feda qasia naqa.*
 1SG FADD 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired INTS INTS
 ‘I, too, (I) am very tired.’

There is one special construction that involves subject topicalization. A lexical subject noun phrase is dislocated, and the subject position in the comment clause is filled, not by the corresponding resumptive pronoun but by a noun that is identical to the head noun in the topic phrase. This kind of construction is used (optionally) when the comment clause characterizes, attributes a property to, the topic.

- (38-17) *Toqa i Merika, toqa kere ngangasuala.*
 people LOC America people 3PL.NFUT be.mighty
 ‘American people, they are mighty, powerful people.’ (Lit.: ‘People in America, people are mighty.’)

- (38-18) *Fanu qeri, fanu e leqa. Fanu*
 country that country 3SG.NFUT be.nice country

arekwao, fanu e leqa neri.
 white.person country 3SG.NFUT be.nice VIVID
 ‘That country, it is a nice country. The white people’s country, it is a nice country.’

For another example see the first clause of (38-1b) in section 38.1.

38.3.3. Direct-object topicalization

In direct-object topicalization, the topic phrases are indexed in the comment clause either by an object suffix or by means of an independent pronoun in the direct-object position. With Class 2 transitive verbs, only object suffixes are

possible. With Class 1 transitive verbs, either object suffixes or independent pronouns are possible in the third person. In persons other than third, only independent pronouns are available. For more detail see section 30.6.2, where the indexing in relativization on direct objects is discussed.

In (38-19) and (38-20) the comment domains contain Class 2 transitive verbs, and the topics can be indexed only by means of object suffixes:

- (38-19) *Toqa lakoo ki, qe=aqi kwasi*
 people that(3) PL 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-da.

know-3PL.OBJ

‘Those people I don’t know.’ ‘Those people, I don’t know them.’

- (38-20) *Qoe, kera kwaathata-mu qoki ngali-a*
 2SG 3PL.NFUT appoint-2SG.OBJ 2SG.FUT take-3.OBJ

foqa-a qana uiki loo.

pray-DVN GENP week upward

‘You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.’ ‘You, they have appointed you to take the prayers next week.’

In the remaining examples, the verbs in the comment domains are Class 1 transitive. The first one illustrates the possibility of using either an object suffix or a pronoun in the direct-object position, when the topic phrase is third person. When the topic phrase is lexical (rather than pronominal), the option with an object suffix is used with non-human topics and is more common even with human topics.

- (38-21) a. *Araqi kwao naqi, wane qoro ki*
 mature.man be.white this man be.many PL

ma kini qoro ki kesi thathami-a.
 and woman be.many PL 3PL.NEG like-3SG.OBJ

‘This white man, many men and many women do not like him.’

- b. *Araqi kwao naqi, wane qoro ki*
 mature.man be.white this man be.many PL

ma kini qoro ki kesi thathami nia.
 and woman be.many PL 3PL.NEG like 3SG
 ‘This white man, many men and many women do not like him.’

In the next two examples the topic phrases are lexical, and the indexing is by means of object suffixes. In the first one the topic phrase is inanimate, and in the second one human.

- (38-22) *Rua-na maama, kera qalangi-a*
 two-3.PERS mortuary.feast 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ

qa=si “gwai”.

GENP=CLF oil

‘The second mortuary feast (in a series of mortuary feasts) is called “*gwai*” [“oil”]. (Lit.: ‘The second mortuary feast, they name it “*gwai*”). (Those who are going to dance at the feast apply coconut oil to their bodies.)

- (38-23) *Toq=qe=ki nau ku riki-da qana*
 people=that=PL 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ GENP

uusi-a.

buy-DVN

‘The people, I saw them at the market.’

On the other hand, when the topic phrase is pronominal, the option with a pronoun in the direct-object position in the comment domain is preferred. Pronominal topic phrases are normally used only when the referents are human.

- (38-24) a. *Nia ku riki nia i maa-na uusi-a.*
 3SG 1SG.NFUT see 3SG LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN
 ‘Him/Her I saw at the market place.’

- b. *Nia ku riki-a i maa-na*
 3SG 1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ LOC point-3.PERS

uusi-a.

buy-DVN

‘Him/Her I saw at the market place.’

When the topic is other than third person and so the topic phrase is pronominal, a copy of the pronoun occurs in the direct-object position in the comment domain:

- (38-25) *Kamiliqa, thaofa-a* *qe* *kwaqe kamiliqa*
 1PL(EXCL) be.hungry-DVN 3SG.NFUT afflict 1PL(EXCL)

si manga qeri.

PRTT time that

‘We suffered from hunger at that time.’ (Lit.: ‘We, hunger afflicted us that time.’)

- (38-26) *Qoo, nau susuqi e* *susuqi nau.*
 oh 1SG hornet 3SG.NFUT sting 1SG

‘Oh, I have been stung by a hornet.’ (Lit.: ‘Oh, I, a hornet has stung me.’)

38.3.4. Oblique-object topicalization

The ways oblique-object topics are indexed in the comment domain depends first of all on the type of preposition involved: noun-like, verb-like, or bare. The ways in which indexing takes place are the same as those that apply in relativization on oblique objects; see section 30.6.3 for detail.

In topicalization of the objects of the noun-like and the verb-like prepositions, only the noun phrases are left-dislocated; the prepositions are stranded behind (section 10.6).

Topicalized phrases that correspond to the objects of the noun-like prepositions are indexed in the comment clause on the preposition by means of the appropriate personal suffix.

- (38-27) *Toqa na kera* *raa* *bii kamiliqa,*
 people REL 3PL.NFUT work COM 1PL(EXCL)

mili *fale-a* *fanga qi a-da.*

1PL(EXCL).NFUT give-3.OBJ food LOC REC-3PL.PERS

‘The people who had worked with us, we gave food to.’

In (38-28) below, the topicalized phrase is pronominal. The intransitive verb *faqa-seqe-laqa* ‘be free, without obligations, without hindrance’ takes a semantically-empty third-person singular subject marker, and never has a subject

noun phrase (section 4.5). The sentence-initial first person singular pronoun is the topic, not the subject.

- (38-28) *Nau qe faqa-seqe-laqa*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

na=ka=i a-ku neri.
 PRF=AND=LOC BEN-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
 ‘I am free now, from now on.’ (E.g., all my work has been done).
 (Lit.: ‘I, it is free for me now.’)

Lexical topicalized phrases that correspond to the objects of the verb-like prepositions are indexed in the comment clause by means of object suffixes or by means of independent personal pronouns in the object position. The option with independent pronouns is normally used only when the topic phrase has a human referent. The two options, with an object suffix and with a pronoun when the referent is human are shown in (38-29a) and (38-29b), respectively:

- (38-29) a. *Doqora-mu ku ngata bii-a.*
 sibling-2SG.PERS 1SG.NFUT speak COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Your brother, I spoke with him.’
- b. *Doqora-mu ku ngata bii nia.*
 sibling-2SG.PERS 1SG.NFUT speak COM 3SG
 ‘Your brother, I spoke with him.’

In (38-30) the topic phrase has an inanimate referent, and the indexing can be only by means of the object suffix:

- (38-30) *Kula loo, ku lalakwa lae uri-a.*
 place upward 1SG.NFUT not.want go ALL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘That place up there, I don’t want to go there (lit.: to it).’

Pronominal topics are normally used only when the referent is human. When the topic is third person, the indexing in the comment clause may be by means of a pronoun or an object suffix, the former being more common. In (38-31) there is long-distance topicalization (section 38.4): the topic phrase is linked to the complement clause embedded under the verb *thathami* ‘want’:

- (38-31) a. *Nia ku thathami-a muki beta*
 3SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT take.care

leqa suli nia.
 be.good PROL 3SG
 ‘Him I want you to take good care of.’

- b. *Nia ku thathami-a muki beta*
 3SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT take.care

leqa suli-a.
 be.good PROL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Him I want you to take good care of.’

When the topic is other than third person, the indexing may only be by means of independent pronouns, there being no object suffixes for persons other than third. In (38-32) there is direct-object topicalization in the first clause, and oblique-object topicalization in the second clause. Both topics are pronominal. *Thaitoqoma* ‘know’ in the first clause is a Class 2 transitive verb, and so the direct-object topic can be indexed only by means of an object suffix. *Dora* ‘not know’ in the second clause is an intransitive verb.

- (38-32) *Nau, kera thaitoqoma-ku, ni qoe,*
 1SG 3PL.NFUT know-1SG.OBJ PROFORE 2SG

kera dora qani qoe.
 3PL.NFUT not.know GENP 2SG
 ‘Me they know; you they don’t know.’

When an instrument noun phrase has been topicalized and there is a lexical patient or theme noun phrase in the comment clause, instrument inversion takes place; see section 10.7 for discussion and examples.

Topicalized locative oblique objects are indexed in the comment clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, which is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.2).

- (38-33) *Aququa naqi, qe=aqi tai toqa qi*
 island this 3SG.NFUT=not.exist some.PL people LOC

ei.
 LOCPRO
 ‘This island, there are no people (living) there.’

Locative prepositional phrases headed by the general locative preposition *qi* or by the inessive preposition *laa* can be topicalized. The topicalized preposi-

tional phrase is indexed in the comment clause by a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form. In (38-34a) and (38-34b) below, which are broadly synonymous with (38-33) above, there are two variants, depending on whether the larger prepositional phrase, headed by *qi*, has been topicalized or only the inner one, headed by *laa*. (As discussed in sections 10.2.3 and 10.5, prepositional phrases headed by *laa* are usually themselves complements in stacked prepositional phrases headed by *qi*.)

- (38-34) a. *Qi laa aququa naqi, qe aqi*
 LOC IN island this 3SG.NFUT not.exist
- tai toqa si too i ei.*
 some.PL people 3SG.NEG reside LOC LOCPRO
 ‘On (lit.: in) this island, nobody lives there.’
- b. *Laa aququa naqi, qe aqi*
 IN island this 3SG.NFUT not.exist
- tai toqa si too i ei.*
 some.PL people 3SG.NEG reside LOC LOCPRO
 ‘On this island, nobody lives there.’

Compare a similar sentence without topicalization:

- (38-35) *Qe aqi tai toqa qi laa*
 3SG.NFUT not.exist some.PL people LOC IN
- aququa naqi.*
 island this
 ‘There are no people (living) on this island.’

While topicalized locative phrases are indexed in their comment clauses by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, topicalized temporal phrases normally are not:

- (38-36) *Manga qeri, nau kwai uqunu fasi suli-a*
 time this 1SG 1SG.FUT narrate PREC PROL-3.OBJ

maqaluta-na qota.

aspect-3.PERS areca.nut

‘This time I am going to talk about things having to do with areca nuts (lit.: about aspects of areca nuts) [i.e., activities and customs associated with areca nuts].’

- (38-37) *Keko sore-qe, “Qoo, qi qusungadi koro*
3DU.SEQ say-DETR oh LOC tomorrow DU(INCL)

koki lae qana uusia.”
DU(INCL).FUT go GENP buy-DVN

‘They said, “Oh, tomorrow we’ll go to the market.”.’

- (38-38) *Fa bongi na kwai lae, qoe mena*
CLF day REL 1SG.FUT go 2SG FADD

qoki lae laqu boqo fasi-a.
2SG.FUT go ADD ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ

‘The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.’

As mentioned in section 10.2.2, temporal topic phrases are optionally indexed by means of the locative pro-form if the temporal period in question is relatively long and the state of affairs can be metaphorically located within it; see example (10-25) there. However, such indexing is never obligatory and is dispreferred.

38.3.5. Possessor topicalization

When a possessor phrase is topicalized, the way it is indexed in the comment clause depends on the type of possessive construction involved. When the possessive construction is of the bare type, the topic is indexed by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun in the possessor position:

- (38-39) *Wane kere qui-a si onga nia*
man 3PL.NFUT make.tattoo-3.OBJ CLF tattoo 3SG

qana iqa.
GENP fish

‘The man had a tattoo of a fish done.’ (Lit.: ‘The man they made his tattoo of a fish.’)

- (38-40) *Kamuluqa, raa kamuluqa ki karangi-a*
 2PL work 2PL PL be.near.to-3.OBJ
kai sui naqa?
 3SG.FUT be.finished PRF
 ‘You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?’

When the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the topic is indexed by the appropriate personal suffix on the possessum noun:

- (38-41) *Kwato naqi maa-na e tutu naqa.*
 digging.stick this tip-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.blunt PRF
 ‘This digging stick has a blunt tip.’ (Lit.: ‘This digging stick, its tip is blunt now.’)

Possessor topicalization is common, especially when the possession is of the inalienable type, and in particular when the possessum is part of the possessor, or an aspect, characteristic, or a property of the possessor. Frequently, it is the referent of the possessor phrase rather than the possessum that is the “real” topic. The possessum referent may be said to be in a certain state, condition, or to have a certain property, but because it is a part or an aspect of the possessor, it is ultimately the possessor that is in that state, condition, or has that property (see the quote from Bally [1996 (1926): 33] in section 12.3, following example [12-25]). Such topicalization is a common way of speaking about the state or characteristic of a person or an object. There is often no prosodic marking of the topicalization, especially if the topicalized possessor relates to the subject of the comment clause. Such topicalization of possessors is reminiscent of “external possession” (see, for example, Payne and Barshi 1999), except that in Toqabaqita the possessor is also encoded inside the possessive construction, besides being expressed in the topic position.

Below are given a few more examples. In the first two, the possessive noun phrases function as the subjects of the comment clauses. The sentence in (38-42) is first and foremost a statement about the speaker’s physiological state, not about his chest:

- (38-42) *Nau lio-ku qe laalanga.*
 1SG inside.chest-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.dry
 ‘I have a dry throat.’ ‘My throat is dry.’ (That is, ‘I am thirsty.’)
 (Lit.: ‘I, the inside of my chest is dry.’) (*Lio* is used in a variety of constructions to speak about people’s mental and physical states.)

And (38-43) is mainly about the bird, rather than about its wing:

- (38-43) *Thaqaro naqi kuukuba-na e qoo.*
 bird this wing-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.broken
 ‘This bird has a broken wing.’

In the next example the possessive noun phrase functions as the direct object of the comment clause:

- (38-44) *Wane, uru e thau-ngi-a*
 man leprosy 3SG.NFUT afflict-TR-3.OBJ

kuukuu-na.

finger/toe-3SG.PERS

‘The man has leprosy in his fingers/toes.’ (Lit.: ‘The man, leprosy has afflicted his fingers/toes.’)

In the next example too, the possession is of the inalienable kind, although the possessive construction is of the bare type because the possessum has been individuated by the ordinal numeral *rua-na* ‘second’ (section 8.1.7). The possessive noun phrase is the subject of a verbless ascriptive sentence:

- (38-45) *Kini qeri, rua-na thata nia ni tei?*
 woman that two-3.PERS name 3SG PERSMKR who?
 ‘What (lit.: who) is the woman’s second name?’ ‘The woman, what is her second name?’

Possessor topicalization is also common when the possessum is a nominalization that expresses a state, a characteristic, or a property of the possessor. In (38-46) a new participant, a girl, is introduced into the discourse. The girl is the topic of the next sentence: the sentence is primarily about her, even though it is her appearance (her looks) that the assertion is ostensibly about:

- (38-46) ... *nia ka toda-a teqe thaari. Thaari qeri*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ one girl girl that

riki-la-na qe leqa mamana boqo.

look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice be.true ASRT

‘... (and) he met a girl. The girl looked truly beautiful.’ (Lit.: ‘... he met a girl. The girl, her looking-at was truly nice.’)

The sentence in (38-47) is about Jim Reeves:

- (38-47) *Dim Riifs, nguu-la-na qe leqa.*
 Jim Reeves sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good
 ‘Jim Reeves, he sings well.’ (Lit.: ‘Jim Reeves, his singing is good.’)

And the sentence in the next example is primarily about flying foxes, characterized as being good to eat. The verb *qani* ‘eat’ is Class 1 transitive. That is, *lakwatho* ‘flying fox’ is in a direct-object, patient relation to the nominalized verb.

- (38-48) *Lakwatho, qani-la-na qe leqa qasia*
 flying.fox eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.good INTS

naqa.
 INTS
 ‘Flying foxes are very good to eat.’ (Lit.: ‘Flying fox, its eating is very good.’)

On the whole, possessor topicalization is more common with inalienable possession, but it is found with alienable possession as well; see (38-40) further above and (38-49) below:

- (38-49) *Ta wela fanga nia.*
 some child food 3SG
 ‘Each child (gets) his/her (share of) food.’ (Lit.: ‘Some child, his/her food.’) (Said when distributing food to a group of children.)

Noun phrases that are in a possessor relation to locational nouns (section 10.8) also can be topicalized. In (38-50) the locational noun is *buir-a* ‘behind it’:

- (38-50) *Biqu nau, teqe qota qe ni=i*
 house 1SG one areca.nut 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

buir-a.
 behind-3SG.PERS
 ‘My house, there is an areca nut (tree) behind it.’ ‘My house has an areca nut (tree) behind it.’

Alternatively, it is possible to topicalize the possessive noun phrase headed by a locational noun, or the whole prepositional phrase, of which that noun phrase is the complement. In either case, the topicalized phrase must be indexed in the comment clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei* with the general locative preposition *qi* (see also section 38.3.4 on oblique-object topicalization). The two options are illustrated in (38-51a) and (38-51b):

- (38-51) a. *Qi buir-a biqu nau, teqe qota*
 LOC behind-3.PERS house 1SG one areca.nut
- qe ni=i ei.*
 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Behind my house there is an areca nut (tree).’
- b. *Buir-a biqu nau, teqe qota*
 behind-3.PERS house 1SG one areca.nut
- qe ni=i ei.*
 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Behind my house there is an areca nut (tree).’

Possessor topicalization is found not only with respect to attributive possessive constructions but also in possessive sentences (section 26.2). The topicalized possessor is indexed in the comment clause by means of the corresponding personal suffix on the possessive marker *qa-*. There is topicalization of the possessor in B’s sentence in (38-52):

- (38-52) A: *Qa-muqa fita botho?*
 POSS-2SG.PERS how.many? pig
- B: *Nau qa-kuqa ulu botho.*
 1SG POSS-1SG.PERS three pig
- A: ‘How many pigs do you have?’
 B: ‘I, I have three pigs.’ (Lit.: ‘I, of mine [there are] three pigs.’)

And as discussed in section 12.3.2, with subject-incorporating compounds the notional possessor is expressed as the subject, and subjects are default topics.

38.4. Long-distance topicalization

Most commonly, linked topics are linked to immediately following comment clauses, as in the next three examples.

- (38-53) *Doo ni kasi luma kamiliqa ki,*
 thing LIG build.house house 1PL(EXCL) PL
kuburu ka thau teqefau qani-a.
 storm 3SG.SEQ destroy every.one GENP-3SG.OBJ
 ‘Our house-building materials (lit.: our things for building houses)
 [i.e., trees for timber], the storm [cyclone] destroyed them all.’

In the next two examples the topics are linked to subordinate clauses, a relative temporal clause, and the protasis of a conditional sentence, respectively.

- (38-54) *Maka nau bia thaina-ku, manga na*
 father 1SG and mother-1SG.PERS time REL
kerā riki-a na ni nau ku
 3PL.NFUT see-3.OBJ COMP PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT
baqita naqa, keka toda-a qasia naqa
 be.big PRF 3PL.SEQ obtain.money-3.OBJ INTS INTS
malefo.
 money
 ‘My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).’

- (38-55) ... *qe fale-a vooning ka sore-qe,*
 3SG.NFUT give-3.OBJ warning 3SG.SEQ say-DETR
“Kamuluqa, mada sa musi bulasi fasi-a
 2PL or IRR 2PL.NEG turn ABL-3.OBJ
Masin Ruul, qe=aqi musi oli mai.”
 Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2PL.NEG return VENT
 ‘[The Government] issued a warning [to the leaders of the Marching Rule movement], saying, “You, if you do not turn away from Marching Rule, you will not come back (to your homes).”.’

However, long-distance topicalization, that is, topicalization across more than one clause boundary, is possible, and by no means rare. In the examples below, the topics and the elements that index them are in bold:

- (38-56) *Nga, **biqu**, si manga na wane e*
 HESIT house PRTT time REL man 3SG.NFUT
- thafali-a kai thau-ngani-a, kai manta*
 begin-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT build-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.FUT think
- fasi suli-a raa-laa na kai raa*
 PREC PROL-3.OBJ work-NMLZ REL 3SG.FUT work

qani-a qana biqu qeri qi laa
 INS-3SG.OBJ GENP house that LOC IN

manta-na tootoqonaqo, ...
 mind-3SG.PERS earlier.time

‘Well, a house, when a man wants to build one, he will first of all think about the work he will do on the house in his mind (its size, etc.), ...’ (Lit.: ‘... he will first think of the working that he will work with on the house in his mind first, ...’) (That is, the man will make a mental plan of the house first.)

- (38-57) *Araqi **naqi**, ku faqa-rongo qoe sui*
 mature.man this 1SG.NFUT CAUS-hear 2SG COMPL
- naga ku thathamia qoki qadomi nia.*
 PRF 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT help 3SG
 ‘This man, I have told you already I want you to help him.’

- (38-58) *Qoo, baru neqe mena, qe aqi si*
 oh canoe this FADD 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG
- talaqa-na qoki lae qi ei.*
 fit-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT go LOC LOCPRO
 ‘Oh, this canoe too, it is not possible for you to go in (it).’ (After a number of passing canoes had refused to take the person on board.)

In (38-59) below, the relative clause to which the topicalized phrase is linked has been extraposed to the right (section 30.7.2), which has resulted in long-distance topicalization:

- (38-59) *Imole keka qara-tani-a, "Ma ni*
 person 3PL.SEQ call.out.to-TR-3SG.OBJ and PROFORE
- qoe, fanga e qoro mamana boqo*
 2SG food 3SG.NFUT be.numerous be.true ASRT
- n=o qani-a ku=neqe."*
 REL=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ place=this
 'People (passing by) would call out to him (on seeing a large number of discarded shellfish shells), "And you, that's truly a lot of food that you have eaten here."' (Lit.: ... "And you, the foods are truly numerous that you have eaten (at) this place."')

Long-distance topicalization normally involves a link to a subordinate clause. However, long-distance topicalization can take place out of a coordinate clause when the preceding (coordinate) clause contains the verb *lae* 'go' and it is purpose that is being expressed, or rather implied, not just a sequence of events (cf. section 33.3.3):

- (38-60) *Kali fa doo qeri ku lae kwa*
 small.SG CLF thing that 1SG.NFUT go 1SG.SEQ
- riki-a sui na=mai.*
 see-3SG.OBJ COMPL PRF=VENT
 'That little thing [a watch], I have already gone to see it [before deciding whether to buy it].' 'That little thing I have already gone and seen it.'

38.5. Unlinked topics

Unlinked topics have much looser semantic relations to their comment domains than linked topics do. They do not correspond to any of its arguments, adjuncts or possessors; nevertheless, they are, in some sense, what the comment clause(s) is/are about (Lambrecht 1994). In the first example below, the unlinked topic is the person's father and other members of her family.

- (38-61) *Bali suli-a Maka nau kera, doo e*
 side PROL-3.OBJ father 1SG 3PL thing 3SG.NFUT

leqa teqefau.

be.good all.of.it

‘(On) the side of my father ’n them, everything is fine.’ ‘As far as my father ’n them are concerned, everything is fine by them.’

In (38-62) the topic phrase is the first person plural exclusive pronoun, which here refers collectively to the Toqabaqita people. The subject of the comment clause is non-referential, signifying any Toqabaqita person, but there is no structural position for the pronoun in the comment domain:

(38-62) *Kamiliqa, mada sa ta wane ka qasila,*
1PL(EXCL) or IRR some person 3SG.SEQ sneeze

ka quna qeri, “Qoo, ta wane qe
3SG.SEQ manner this oh some person 3SG.NFUT

qai-thata-ku.”

call-name-1SG.OBJ

‘With us (the custom is), if a person sneezes, he or she will say, “Oh, somebody has called, mentioned my name.”’

In the next example there is a part-whole relation between the subject and the topic, but there is no position for the topic in the comment clause to be linked to:

(38-63) *Qamali, naanafo e baqita qasia naqa.*
sea wave 3SG.NFUT be.big INTS INTS
‘The sea has very big waves.’ (Lit.: ‘The sea, the waves are very big.’)

Similarly in the next example: the writing being inquired about is on the side of a ship that is encoded as the topic. The noun phrase that refers to the writing does have a possessor phrase, but that phrase inquires about the originator of the writing, not about the ship:

(38-64) *Bauta qeri, keekeda-laa ni tei?*
ship this write-NMLZ PROFORE who?
‘This ship, whose writing is it?’

Unlinked topics may also be used in existential possessive sentences, positive or negative, with the topic phrases expressing the possessor; see sections 26.2.1.1 and 26.2.1.2, respectively, for discussion.

(38-65) *Nau roo wela.*

1SG two child

‘I have two children.’ (Lit.: ‘I, [there are] two children.’)

(38-66) *Nau qe aqi ta fa qota.*

1SG 3SG.NFUT not.be.available some CLF areca.nut

‘I have no areca nuts.’ (‘With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.’)

38.6. Double topicalization

It is possible for a single comment domain to have two topicalized phrases, and such double topicalization, while not very common, is not unusual. (No instances of more than two topics have been encountered.) Most often in such cases one of the topics is temporal. The sentence in (38-67) has two topic phrases. The first one is a temporal phrase, *qan=teqe fa thato* ‘(on) one day’. It is followed by a topicalized subject phrase, *wane qeri* ‘the man’. The topic status of *wane qeri* is evidenced by the presence of the resumptive third person singular independent pronoun in the subject position in the comment clause:

(38-67) *Kera too-too, qan=teqe fa thato wane qeri,*
3PL.NFUT RDP-stay GENP=one CLF day man that

nia ka lae ka liiliu ba-na
3SG 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ stroll LIM-3SG.PERS

qi laa fanua qer=i sa-na fanua qeri
LOC IN land that=LOC ADJC-3.PERS place that

thaina-na kero nii qi ei neri,
mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT be.located LOC LOCPRO VIVID

laa kade-qe fanua qeri.
IN block-ASSOC land that

‘They [a young man and his mother] stayed (there like that). One day the man, he went and just strolled in the land, near the place where he and his mother were/lived, in that area of land.’

If one of the topics is pronominal, it normally comes first.

- (38-68) *Ma tha baastoo ka quna qeri*, “*Nau*,
and PERSMKR pastor 3SG.SEQ manner this I

sios naqi, ku ili-toqo-na qono-laa i
church this 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ sit-NMLZ LOC

ei qa=fa thato, ka taqaa.”
LOCPRO GENP=CLF daytime 3SG.SEQ be.bad
‘And the Pastor said, “I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the
day, but it was no good.”.’ (People outside the church were making
too much noise.)

Each of the next two examples contains a pronominal and a temporal topic, in that order.

- (38-69) *Nau qana June ku tour qa-kuqa qi*
1SG GENP June 1SG.NFUT tour SBEN-1SG.PERS LOC

laa province.
IN province
‘I, in June, toured the [Malaita] Province.’
- (38-70) *Keka quna qeri*, “*Qoo, kulu,*
3PL.SEQ manner this oh PL(INCL)

qi quuqusungadia kuka taqe, kuka
LOC tomorrow PL(INCL).SEQ ascend PL(INCL).SEQ

rongo-a fasi toqa loo keki lae qufita.”
hear-3.OBJ PREC people upward 3PL.FUT go be.how?
‘They said, “Oh, we, tomorrow, let’s go up and hear first where
those people up there will go.”.’

Unless the other topic is pronominal, temporal topics tend to come first, as in (38-67) further above and in (38-71) below. The second topic in (38-71) is non-referential.

- (38-71) *Taraqena futa kwai thau-ngi-a bo=naqa*
today possum 1SG.FUT kill-TR-3SG.OBJ ASRT=INTS

neqe; qe=aqi si aqi boqo.
 VIVID 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG not.be.the.case ASRT
 ‘Today a possum I will definitely kill, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).’

However, as the next example shows, temporal topics need not come first, even if the other topic is not pronominal:

- (38-72) *Ai qena, tai si manga kai*
 woman that(2) some.PL PRTT time 3SG.IPFV
- qono qa-na nena, ka*
 sit SBEN-3SG.PERS NPAST.THERE 3SG.SEQ
- qafi-si-a ba-na ta kaleko*
 wear.clothes-TR-3.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS some clothes
- n=e muumuu*
 REL=3SG.NFUT be.torn
 ‘The woman, sometimes she sits (in her house in a relaxed manner) and just wears clothes that are torn [and she would be startled if you, a man, should see her like that].’

More often than not, the two topics in double topicalization are linked to the same comment clause. That is so in all of the examples above. However, as (38-73) below shows, that is not necessarily the case. There, the first topic phrase, referring to the writer, is linked to, and indexed in, the last clause, by means of the subject marker, while the second topic phrase, referring to a hat, is linked to, and indexed in, the first clause, as well as in the second clause. (The sentence comes from a written text. In spoken language there would most likely be prosodic marking of the second, long topic phrase *kifi nau baa qo fale-a* ‘that hat of mine that you gave [me]’ [with a rise in intonation towards the end of the phrase and a (slight) pause before the comment clause] and possibly also prosodic marking of the first, pronominal topic phrase.)

- (38-73) *Nau kifi nau baa qo fale-a*
 1SG hat 1SG that 2SG.NFUT give-3SG.OBJ
- doqora-ku e gani-a kwa*
 sibling-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT ask.for-3SG.OBJ 1SG.SEQ

fale-a na=i fa-na.
 give-3SG.OBJ PRF=LOC REC-3SG.PERS
 ‘I, the hat (lit.: that hat of mine) that you gave (me), my brother asked for it, and I have given it to him.’

And in (38-74) the first, pronominal topic is linked to the main clause in the comment domain, while the second topic is linked to the first complement clause:

(38-74) *Nau raa naqi ku riki-a*
 1SG work this 1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ

qe=aqi si katu boqo,
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.hindered ASRT

qe=aqi si fono boqo,
 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.completed ASRT

qe lae ba-na.
 3SG.NFUT go LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘I, this work, I see it has not been hindered (from going on), it has not been completed, it just goes on.’

38.7. Affect topics

To express the fact that the speaker has some kind of personal attitude towards the referent of a topic phrase, there is a special “affect” topic marker, whose form is *molo*. *Molo* follows the topic phrase, to which it can be linked by means of the ligature *ni*.

Molo can be used to express the speaker’s view of the referent of the topic phrase as in some way unusual, remarkable, in a positive or negative way, whether in general or at a given time. It may signal surprise, admiration, regret, wistfulness, anger, indignation on the part of the speaker with respect to the referent of the topic phrase, which may be the speaker himself/herself. Sometimes there is a contrastive flavour to affect topics: the referent is remarkable in contrast to something or someone else. Affect topic phrases tend to be relatively short and not prosodically separated from the comment domain.

- (38-75) *Nia molo qe=aqi kusi talaqa-na!*
 3SG AFFTOP 3SG.NFUT=NEGV PL(INCL).NEG fit-3SG.OBJ
 ‘This one we won’t manage!’ (Lit.: ‘It, we won’t fit it.’) (Speaking about a pig that was so heavy that the people present would not be able to lift it.)

- (38-76) *Nau molo ku mataqi ka too*
 1SG AFFTOP 1SG.NFUT be.sick 3SG.SEQ stay

ba-na.

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘(Poor, unfortunate) me, I am always sick.’

In (38-77), the affect topic (in the second clause) is contrastive, and it is unlinked: *lalakwa* ‘not like’ is an intransitive verb.

- (38-77) *Qe leqa ba-na uri-a visit-laa,*
 3SG.NFUT be.good LIM-3SG.PERS PURP-3.OBJ visit-NMLZ

ma too-laa molo ku lalakwa.

and reside-NMLZ AFFTOP 1SG.NFUT not.like

‘It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but (lit.: and) living (there) I do/would not like.’

In the next two examples, *molo* is linked to the topic phrases by the ligature *ni*.

- (38-78) *Kaluwani nau ni molo e laa-lae,*
 son 1SG LIG AFFTOP 3SG.NFUT RDP-walk

ka lema naqa.

3SG.SEQ glisten.with.sweat PRF

‘My son (just look at him) has been walking and walking, and now he is glistening with sweat.’

In (38-79) a relative clause has been extraposed to the right of the topic marker, possibly in order to keep the phrase preceding *molo* short.

- (38-79) *Ma fanga ni molo na kera ngali-a*
 and food LIG AFFTOP REL 3PL.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ

mai i laa oomea lakoo qe
 VENT LOC IN war that(3) 3SG.NFUT

qoro qasia naqa.
 be.numerous INTS INTS

‘And the (kinds and items of) food they brought during the war, there were so many of them.’ (Lit.: ‘And the food they brought inside the war was very numerous.’) (The speaker was impressed by the amount of food the American Army brought to the Solomon Islands during the Second World War.)

A sentence with the affect topic marker need not contain a comment domain when the information can be deduced from extralinguistic context.

(38-80) *Wela naqi molo, roo-wane qae!*
 child this AFFTOP two-man/person VOC
 ‘This child (just look at him), man!’ (Expressing anger, exasperation at what the child has just done.)

(For the expletive *roo-wane* see [27-48] in section 27.3.2.)

38.8. Topic participants after their introduction into discourse

When a new participant has just been introduced into discourse, the normal pattern is for it to be referred to next by means of a lexical noun phrase that contains the demonstrative *qeri* used anaphorically (section 13.5.1). In fact, the use of lexical noun phrases with *qeri*, rather than of a subject marker, an object suffix, a personal suffix, or an independent personal pronoun signals that the participant just introduced will be thematically prominent in a stretch of discourse that follows. In the first example below, a girl is introduced into the discourse by means of an indefinite noun phrase. In the next sentence she is referred to by means of a topicalized possessor noun phrase. And she is referred to again in a number of sentences that follow, only some of which are included in the excerpt. The noun phrases referring to the girl, the noun phrase characterizing her and the reference to her by means of an object suffix on the comitative preposition are in bold.

(38-81) ... *nia ka toda-a teqe thaari. Thaari qeri*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ one girl girl that

riki-la-na *qe* *leqa* *mamana* *boqo.*
look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice be.true ASRT

Thaari mamana. *Si* *manga* *n=e*
girl be.real PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT

toda-a ***thaari qeri,*** *nia* *ka* *ngata*
meet-3.OBJ girl that 3SG 3SG.SEQ speak

bii-a. ***Thaari qeri*** *ka* *thathami-a*
COM-3SG.OBJ girl that 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ

tha *wela qeri,* *ma* *wela qeri* *mena* *ka*
PERSMKR child that and child that FADD 3SG.SEQ

thathami-a laqu boqo thaari qeri.
like-3.OBJ ADD ASRT girl that

‘... (and) he [a boy mentioned earlier] met a girl. The girl looked truly beautiful. (Lit.: The girl, her looking-at was truly nice.) (She was) a real girl. [Later on, an ancestral spirit took the place of the girl.] When he met the girl, he spoke with her. The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.’

To say that a participant will be thematically prominent does not necessarily mean that it will be the (primary) topic throughout the subsequent discourse. The thematic prominence of a participant may be only relatively local. In the next example, the woman introduced in the first sentence is referred to in the following sentence by means of a topicalized phrase. She is then referred to again in the next two clauses, but after that is not mentioned again.

(38-82) *Kera* *thau-ngi-a* ***teqe kini.*** ***Kini qeri,***
3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ one woman woman that

kera *thau-ngi-a* *qi* *qae-na*
3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC foot-3.PERS

fu-qi *kaqo,* *qae-na* *teqe faa-fanga-a*
clump-ASSOC bamboo.sp. venue-3.PERS one RDP-eat-DVN

na *kera* *thau-ngi-a* ***kini*** ***qeri*** *qi*
FOC 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ woman that LOC

ei. Manga na kera thau-ngi-a
 LOCPRO time REL 3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ

kini qeri e sui, keko maqu.
 woman that 3SG.NFUT be.finished 3DU.SEQ be.afraid
 ‘They killed a woman. The woman, they killed her at the foot of a clump of *kaqo* bamboo; it was (at) the venue of a feast that they killed that woman. When/After they had killed the woman, they were/became afraid.’

The remainder of the text is about the two men who killed the woman and about what happened to them on account of the killing.

A newly introduced thematically prominent participant is often referred to in the first subsequent mention by means of a topicalized phrase: *thaari qeri* ‘the girl’ as a topicalized possessor in (38-81) above and *kini qeri* ‘the woman’ as a topicalized direct object in (38-82). However, this is not necessary, as the next example shows. There the newly introduced participant, a garden, is subsequently referred to in the subject position, subjects being default topics.

(38-83) *Keka kilu-a teqe oqola, oqola qeri*
 3PL.SEQ plant.taro.in-3.OBJ one garden garden that

ka taqe naqa, qana Unsde qana fa wiki
 3SG.SEQ grow PRF GENP Wednesday GENP CLF week

naqi keki kwaqi-a oqola qeri
 this 3PL.FUT harvest.taro.in-3.OBJ garden that

uri-a faa-fanga-a qeri.
 PURP-3.OBJ RDP-eat-DVN that

‘They planted taros in a garden; the (food in the) garden has grown; on Wednesday of this week they will harvest the taros in the garden for the feast.’

For more detail on the anaphoric strategies in Toqabaqita with respect to thematic prominence of participants see Lichtenberk (1988b, 1996).

Chapter 39

Focusing

39.1. Introduction

Following Lambrecht (1994: 207, original emphasis), the focus of a proposition is viewed here as “the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion *differ* from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the *unpredictable* or pragmatically *non-recoverable* element in an utterance.”. In Lambrecht’s approach, assertion is, at an abstract level, an added proposition that “enriches [the hearer’s] representation of the world” (1994: 54), and the notion is equally applicable to declarative and non-declarative speech acts. A further characterization of focus is given in section 39.3 below. Assertion is not to be equated with the concept of *assertive* function as employed in this grammar with respect to the particle *boqo*, used in verb phrases as well as in noun phrases (sections 5.2.8 and 7.6, respectively).

This chapter is concerned with a syntactic construction that explicitly identifies the focus part of a clause and sets it off from that part of the sentence that contains the presupposed material, the “presupposition domain”. As is the case with the comment domain discussed in the chapter on topicalization, the presupposition domain also most often consists of a single clause, a presupposition clause, but may consist of more than one clause. It may also consist of a noun phrase.

The presupposition domain is introduced by the element *na*, which also serves to introduce relative clauses (section 30.1) and, less commonly, complement clauses (section 29.3), and is also used with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2). In fact, with some qualifications to be mentioned later, there are structural parallels between constructions with relative clauses and the focus construction. One type of relative clause, the restrictive relative clause, also expresses presupposed information, and it is this function that motivates the use of the same element and similar structures in the two types of construction.

The focus constituent precedes the presupposition domain. The basic structure of the focusing construction is shown in (39-1):

(39-1) [focus [*na* presupposition.domain]]
FOC

Although the marker *na* introduces the presupposition domain, it is glossed here FOC(us) to highlight the fact that the construction in question is a focusing one. The label also signals that the constituent to the immediate left of *na* is the focus.

The focus constituent normally occurs clause-initially, except that an interjection and/or a coordinator, in particular *ma* ‘and’, may precede it. Only one constituent may be in focus in a clause, but a single clause may have both a focused and a topicalized constituent, in which case the latter precedes the former. The comment domain (section 38.2), then, consists of the focused constituent, the focus marker, and the presupposition domain, as shown schematically in (39-2):

(39-2) [topic [focus [*na* presupposition.domain]]]
FOC

The sentence in (39-3) has a “basic” structure, with neither a focused nor a topicalized constituent:

(39-3) *Maka nau e fasi-a ngali naqi.*
father 1SG 3SG.NFUT plant-3.OBJ canarium.nut this
‘My father planted this canarium-nut (tree).’

In (39-4) the referent of the subject noun phrase in the basic structure *maka nau* ‘my father’ is in focus. What is presupposed is that somebody planted the canarium-nut tree. The focus marker has fused with the third-person singular non-future subject marker *qe* as *n=e* (see the next section).

(39-4) *Maka nau n=e fasi-a ngali*
father 1SG FOC=3SG.NFUT plant-3.OBJ canarium.nut
naqi.
this
‘It was my father who planted this canarium-nut tree.’

And in (39-5) the direct object of the basic structure has been topicalized, with *maka nau* ‘my father’ again in focus:

(39-5) *Ngali naqi, maka nau n=e*
canarium.nut this father 1SG FOC=3SG.NFUT

fasi-a.

plant-3SG.OBJ

‘This canarium-nut tree, it was my father who planted it.’

Topicalization and focusing also cooccur in the next two examples, the second one of which is an open interrogative:

- (39-6) *Tha weleqi, akalo n=e*
 PERSMKR guy ancestral.spirit FOC=3SG.NFUT

faqa-kwasi-a neq.

CAUS-be.wild-3SG.OBJ VIVID

‘The guy, he has been possessed by an ancestral spirit.’ (Lit.: ‘The guy, it is an ancestral spirit that has possessed him.’)

- (39-7) *Fanga naqi, ni tei n=e*
 food this PERSMKR who? FOC=3SG.NFUT

naqare-a?

cook-3SG.OBJ

‘This food, who cooked it?’

For other examples of clauses with both focusing and topicalization see (39-18) and (39-35) in section 39.2.

The formal properties of the focus construction are discussed in more detail in section 39.2, and its semantic properties and functions in section 39.3.

39.2. The formal properties

Relative clauses and the presupposition domain of the focus construction receive the same marking, *na*. *Na* frequently fuses with immediately following subject markers whose full forms begin with *q*, in which case the focus marker has the form *n=* and the glottal stop of the subject marker drops out; for example *n=e* from *na qe*, with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*, as in (39-7) above.

While there are other parallels between constructions with relative clauses and the focus construction, especially when it comes to the indexing of the focus constituent in the presupposition domain (see further below), there are also differences. First, relative clauses are modifiers of nouns. On the other hand, focused constituents may be not just noun phrases, but also clauses and even a marker of inter-propositional relations. Second, as noun-phrase internal modifi-

ers, relative clauses always occur within a higher clause, whereas the clauses in the presupposition domain need not. The focus construction freely occurs in simple clauses, without subordination or coordination. And third, even though *na* as a focus marker may be omitted (see examples [39-34] and [39-35] below, this happens only rarely, whereas the relative-clause marking *na* is absent more commonly.

The constituent in focus often receives some prosodic prominence, which falls on its last (or sole) phonological word. The level of stress is somewhat higher than it would be otherwise, and the word is given higher pitch than it would receive otherwise. And there may be a slight pause between the end of the focus constituent and the focus marker.

Noun phrases in focus may be lexical or pronominal. Pronouns are commonly used in the focus position even if the referent is inanimate; see (39-13) and (39-31) further below, and (6-75) in section 6.3.2.

The phrase, clause, or grammatical element in focus is not a syntactic constituent of the presupposition domain; and, with the exception of verbless clauses, where the focus phrase is not indexed, the presupposition domain is grammatically self-contained.

In the discussion that follows, the various structural subtypes of the focusing construction are discussed and illustrated. Terms such as “subject focusing”, “direct-object focusing”, etc. are used as convenient shorthand expressions for “focusing where the constituent in focus corresponds, respectively, to the subject, direct object, etc. of the presupposition clause”.

With two types of exception, noun phrases in focus are indexed in the presupposition domain. One type of exception is verbless sentences. Either the subject or the predicate phrase can be in focus, but neither is indexed. The other exception is temporal phrases, which are not normally indexed. Clauses in focus are not indexed either, nor is the marker of inter-propositional relations. Otherwise, the conditions on the indexing of focused noun phrases in the presupposition clauses are the same as those for the indexing of the positions relativized in relative clauses; see sections 30.6 and 4.9 for detail.

In subject focusing the focus phrase is indexed in the presupposition clause by means of the appropriate subject marker, if the clause contains a verb. This is illustrated in (39-4) (and [39-5]) in section 39.1 for lexical focus phrases, and in (39-8) below for a pronominal focus phrase. As is generally the case when the referent of a pronoun is foregrounded, pronominal noun phrases in focus often, although not always, contain the foregrounding particle *ni* (section 6.3.2).

(39-8) *Ni* *qoe* *n=o* *faqa-aqana-a*
 PROFORE 2SG FOC=2SG.NFUT CAUS-be.lost-3.OBJ

qila qeri.
 knife that
 ‘It was you who lost the knife.’

In (39-9) it is the subject of a verbless sentence that is in focus. There is no indexing in the subjectless presupposition clause:

(39-9) *Masta nau qeri bo=naqa na tha mista*
 master 1SG that ASRT=INTS FOC PERSMKR mister

Feebratha naba.
 Fairbrother PAST.THEN
 ‘Mr Fairbrother, he was *my master* then’ ‘It was (being) my master
 (lit.: it was that master of mine) that Mr Fairbrother was then.’

Examples (39-10) – (39-13) illustrate direct-object focusing. The focused noun phrase is indexed in the presupposition domain by an object suffix or by an independent personal pronoun, depending on the class of verb, 1 or 2, and on the grammatical person. In the first two examples, the indexing is by means of object suffixes:

(39-10) *Tarausisi tekwa nau baa na qoki wasi-a.*
 trousers be.long 1SG that FOC 2SG.FUT wash-3SG.OBJ
 ‘It’s my long trousers that you will wash.’

(39-11) *Kaala wela qe=ki bana na kera alu-da.*
 little.PL child that=PL LIM FOC 3PL.NFUT put-3PL.OBJ
 ‘It was only the little children that they put (there) (to guard a captive).’

In (39-12) the focused phrase is second person and is indexed in the presupposition clause by a copy of the pronoun:

(39-12) *Qoe na ku rongo qoe.*
 2SG FOC 1SG.NFUT hear 2SG
 ‘It was you I heard.’

In (39-13) below, there is a number mismatch between the pronoun in the focus phrase and the object suffix on the verb in the presupposition clause. The pronoun is third person singular. It refers to a musical group mentioned earlier. The object suffix is plural because of the plurality of the members of the group. *Fula-toqo* ‘encounter’ (‘arrive’-TEST), is a Class 2 transitive verb, and so the

indexing can only be by means of an object suffix, not by means of a personal pronoun. The sentence involves long-distance focusing, with the noun phrase in focus and the clause in which it is indexed separated by another clause. *Kotho* ‘enter’ is an intransitive verb, and its clause does not index the noun phrase in focus. (For long-distance focusing see further below.)

- (39-13) *Nia na ku kotho mai kwa*
 3SG FOC 1SG.NFUT enter VENT 1SG.SEQ

fula-toqo-da

arrive-TEST-3PL.OBJ

‘It was that [the group] that I entered and (so) encountered them’

‘It was that that I entered to join them’

When an instrument noun phrase is in focus and there is a lexical patient or theme noun phrase in the presupposition clause, instrument inversion takes place; see section 10.7 for discussion and examples.

In oblique-object focusing only the noun phrase is in the focus position. The noun-like and the verb-like prepositions must be stranded behind. (Preposition stranding need not take place in purpose/reason open interrogatives, with the preposition *uri*; section 19.3.4.) With the noun-like prepositions, focus phrases are indexed by means of personal suffixes:

- (39-14) *Nia na ku kuki i a-na.*
 3SG FOC 1SG.NFUT cook LOC BEN-3SG.PERS
 ‘It was him that I cooked for.’

With the verb-like prepositions focus phrases are indexed by means of object suffixes or by means of pronouns, depending on the grammatical person of the object. With third-person objects either option is available, except that the pronouns are not normally used with non-human reference.

- (39-15) a. *Ni tei qana n=o ngata*
 PERSMKR who? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT speak

bii-a?

COM-3SG.OBJ

‘Who was it that you spoke with?’

- b. *Ni tei qana n=o ngata*
 PERSMKR who? INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT speak

bii nia?
 COM 3SG
 ‘Who was it that you spoke with?’

When a locative noun phrase is in focus, it is indexed in the presupposition clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, which is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*.

(39-16) *Ma ku=naqi takona na thaqaro qe*
 and place=this most.likely FOC possum 3SG.NFUT

qoro i ei.
 be.many LOC LOCPRO
 ‘And it is most likely at this place/here that there are many possums.’ ‘And it must be this place where there are many possums.’

Temporal focused phrases are normally not indexed in the presupposition clause (section 10.2.2):

(39-17) *Roo kade-qe thato na mili*
 two block-ASSOC daytime FOC 1PL(EXCL).NFUT

maqasi-da, ka aqi kesi fula.
 wait.for-3PL.OBJ 3SG.SEQ NEG 3PL.NEG arrive
 ‘Two hours we waited for them during the day, (but) they did not arrive.’

(*Roo kade-qe thato*, literally ‘two blocks of daytime’ signifies two hours at daytime.)

The indexing of possessors in the presupposition clause depends on the type of possessive construction in the corresponding basic structure (without focusing). If the possessive construction is of the bare type, the focused possessor is indexed by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun, as in (39-18). The presupposition clause is verbless and subjectless: *kafa nia neri* ‘his comb’. Here focusing cooccurs with topicalization.

(39-18) *Kafa qeri, wane mae naqa na kafa nia*
 comb this man be.dead PRF FOC comb 3SG

neri.

NPAST.HERE

‘This comb, it was *the dead man’s.*’ (Lit.: ‘This comb, it was the now-dead man that it was his comb.’)

If the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the focused possessor is indexed by means of the appropriate personal suffix on the possessum noun. In (39-19) too the presupposition clause is verbless and subjectless: *nuu-na* ‘his picture’, ‘picture of him’.

- (39-19) *Ni nia na nuu-na.*
 PROFORE 3SG FOC picture-3SG.PERS
 ‘(It is) a picture of *him.*’ ‘It’s him that it is a picture of.’

The predicate noun phrases of verbless sentences may be in focus. The presupposition clause only contains the subject, and there is no indexing of the focus noun phrase.

Example (39-20) contains a verbless ascriptive sentence in its basic structure, without focusing: the subject phrase ‘the length of this stick’ comes first, and the predicate noun phrase, which specifies the length, second:

- (39-20) *Tekwa-la-na si qai qeri lima*
 be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS PRTT wood this five

malafunu.

finger.span

‘The length of this stick is five finger spans (from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger or another finger, with the fingers fully spread).’

In (39-21) the predicate noun phrase, which too specifies length, is in focus:

- (39-21) *Sikwa fa fale-qae-a boqo na*
 nine CLF give-leg-DVN ASRT FOC

tekwa-la-na biqu naqi.

be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS house this

‘Nine paces, that’s what the length of this house is.’ (‘It is nine paces that the length of this house is.’)

In (39-22) too the predicate noun phrase is in focus:

- (39-22) *Marukita-kuluqa na fanga.*
 sustenance-PL(INCL).PERS FOC food
 ‘Our sustenance, that’s what food is.’

One area where focusing differs from relativization is the possibility for a whole clause to be in focus. This is the case in focused reason/cause clauses (section 33.2.2).

- (39-23) *Wela naqi qe thaofa na ka angi neqe.*
 child this 3SG.NFUT be.hungry FOC 3SG.SEQ cry VIVID
 ‘It’s because the (lit.: this) child is hungry that he/she is crying.’

For an example of a focused clause in an open interrogative see (39-53) in section 39.3.

A presupposition clause may be negative:

- (39-24) *Teqe keeroqa bo=naqa n=e aqi*
 sole 3DU ASRT=INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT NEGV

kisi mae qana thau-wane-a.
 3PL.NEG die GENP kill-person-DVN

‘It was only the two of them who did not die for a murder.’ ‘The two of them were the only ones not to die for a murder.’ (That is, unlike any other murderer they were spared the death penalty.)

Negation may be located in the focus part of the construction. In such cases the focus constituent is a clause that consists of a subject noun phrase that encodes the participant in focus and the negative verb *aqi* ‘not be so, not be the case’, which takes the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. This is the same construction as the one used in the negative counterparts of positive verbless sentences (section 27.2.5).

- (39-25) *Fanga neqe qe aqi n=e*
 food this 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case FOC=3SG.NFUT

ade-a wela neqe ka mataqi.
 do-3.OBJ child this 3SG.SEQ be.sick

‘It was not this food that made this child sick.’ (Lit.: ‘This food was not the case that made this child sick.’)

- (39-26) *Wane naqi qe aqi n=e*
 man this 3SG.NFUT NEGV FOC=3SG.NFUT

bili-a naifa qoe, ta wane qeeqeta
 steal-3.OBJ knife 2SG some man be.different

n=e bili-a naifa qoe qeri.
 FOC=3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ knife 2SG that

‘It was not this man who stole your knife; it was a different man who stole that knife of yours.’

Unlike in relativization, the element in focus may be the consequence marker *adelana*. Placing *adelana* in focus serves to emphasize that the state of affairs expressed in the presupposition clause is indeed the consequence of the state of affairs expressed in another, usually the preceding, clause (chapter 34).

- (39-27) *Wela qe thaofa, adelana na ka*
 child 3SG.NFUT be.hungry CONS FOC 3SG.SEQ

angi.

cry

‘The child is hungry; that’s why he is crying.’ ‘The child is hungry, and it is because of that that he is crying.’

For another example see (34-4) in chapter 34.

On the other hand, just as there is cognate relativization, where the head noun is a nominalization of the same verb that occurs in the relative clause (section 30.5), there is also “cognate focusing”, where the noun phrase in focus contains a nominalization of the same verb that occurs in the presupposition clause. In (39-28) cognate focusing occurs in an open interrogative:

- (39-28) *Fita fa lae-laa n=o lae*
 how.many? CLF go-NMLZ FOC=2SG.NFUT go

qani-a uri Honiara?
 INS-3SG.OBJ ALL Honiara

‘How many times have you been to Honiara?’ (Lit.: ‘How many goings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?’)

Cognate focusing is also found in the following fixed constructions, with *kini* ‘be a woman’ and *wane* ‘be a man’, respectively, as the verbs:

- (39-29) *Kini-laa ni boqo na ku kini.*
 be.woman-NMLZ LIG ASRT FOC 1SG.NFUT be.woman
 ‘I am a real/true/hundred-percent woman.’ ‘A real/true/hundred-percent woman, that’s what I am.’ (Lit. ‘It is being a woman that I am a woman.’)
- (39-30) *Wane-laa ni boqo na ku wane.*
 be.man-NMLZ LIG ASRT FOC 1SG.NFUT be.man
 ‘I am a real/true/hundred-percent man.’ ‘A real/true/hundred-percent man, that’s what I am.’

As a norm, the presupposition clause with its focus marker immediately follows the focused element. However, just as long-distance relativization and long-distance topicalization are possible, so is long-distance focusing: the focused element and its presupposition clause are separated by another clause. In (39-31) the clause in which the focused element is indexed is a complement clause:

- (39-31) *Nia na ku thathami-a kwai uqunu fasi*
 3SG FOC 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate PREC
- suli-a i manga qeri.*
 PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC time this
 ‘It’s that [possum hunting] that I want to talk about at this time.’
 ‘That is what I want to talk about at this time.’

And in (39-32) the presupposition clause is separated from the element in focus by a coordinated clause. Such long-distance focusing may take place when there is an (implied) purpose relation between the situations expressed in the coordinate clauses, in addition to a temporal relation. The intervening clause typically contains the verb *lae* ‘go’ or, less commonly, a different verb of translational motion. The two clauses are coordinated asyndetically.

- (39-32) *Taa n=o lae qoki uusi-a*
 what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go 2SG.FUT buy-3SG.OBJ
- qi laa sitoa?*
 LOC IN store
 ‘What did you go to buy in the store?’ Also: ‘What are you going to the store for (to buy there)?’

For an example of long-distance focusing where the intervening coordinate clause contains a verb other than *lae* ‘go’ see (39-13) further above.

It is possible for a focus constituent to be linked to more than one presupposition clause, which, then, involves both regular and long-distance focusing:

(39-33) *Meresina neqe n=e faqa-aqi-a*
 medicine this FOC=3SG.NFUT CAUS-not.exist.-3.OBJ

mataqi-a nau, n=e ade-a kwa
 be.sick-DVN 1SG FOC=3SG.NFUT do-3.OBJ 1SG.SEQ

qakwaa.

be.cured

‘It was this medicine that finished my sickness and made me get well.’ ‘It was this medicine that finished my sickness, that made me get well.’

As a norm, the presupposition domain is introduced by *na*. It is only rarely that *na* is absent. *Na* is occasionally absent if the element in focus is in the scope of the perfect marker *naqa*:

(39-34) *Nia naqa moki riki nia.*
 3SG PRF 2DU.FUT see 3SG
 ‘(It’s) her now you should (go and) see.’

And it is also occasionally absent in the case of fronted interrogative elements in open interrogatives. The sentence in (39-35) involves both topicalization and focusing:

(39-35) *Koro taa ni boqo koki ade-a,*
 DU(INCL) what? LIG INTS DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ

fasi koro koka thau-ngi-a qaburu naqi?
 PURP DU(INCL) DU(INCL).SEQ kill-TR-3.OBJ ogre this
 ‘You and I, what on earth shall we do to kill this ogre?’

Since the element in focus is informationally the most prominent part of a sentence and often signals contrast (see the next section), the focus phrase often contains a highlighting, emphasizing element, most commonly the assertive particle *boqo*, sometimes together with the intensifier *naqa*, or the limiter *bana*:

- (39-36) ... *kukeqe nau ni boqo n=e aqi*
 wife 1SG LIG ASRT FOC=3SG.NFUT NEG

si maqu.
 3SG.NEG be.afraid

‘[My children and I were afraid;] my wife was the one who was not afraid.’

- (39-37) *Fa bongi baa bo=naqa na kwai oli*
 CLF day that ASRT=INTS FOC 1SG.FUT return

kau

AND

‘It will be (on) that day that I will go back’

- (39-38) *Ngata-la-na bana n=e*
 talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT

faqa-kwaiakaura-a.
 CAUS-be.easy-3SG.OBJ

‘It’s only his/her talk(ing) that makes it [a job] easy.’ (Said about a person who claims that a certain job is easy when, in fact, it is difficult.)

39.3. The functions

Another definition of focus given by Lambrecht (1994: 213) is as follows: “[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.” (Pragmatic) presupposition is the proposition(s) “which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered” (Lambrecht 1994: 52). That which is presupposed may, but need not, be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of speech. In Toqabaqita the focus construction can also be used when the proposition(s) in the presupposition domain is/are not known to the addressee but the speaker can assume that the addressee can accommodate the information.

Commonly, the proposition(s) expressed in the presupposition domain can be presupposed because of explicit prior mention. The sentence in (39-39) below is preceded by an account of how the colonial government tried to dissuade Solomon Islanders from following the Marching Rule movement and how the leaders of the movement were punished by the government. The speaker then

mentions one kind of attempt by the government to dissuade people from following the movement.

- (39-39) *Gavman ka faqa-rongo kera boqo,*
 government 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear 3PL ASRT
- sore-qe, "Doo garo na mulu lae*
 say-DETR thing be.wrong FOC 2PL.NFUT go
- suli-a neqe."*
 PROL-3SG.OBJ VIVID
 'The government told them, (it) said, "It is a wrong thing you are following (lit.: going along)."'

Not infrequently, however, the presupposed material is only implicit in the preceding discourse, as in the next example. In Toqabaqita society, when people become old and cannot fully take care of themselves, it is expected that somebody will help them out. In (39-40) the speaker first mentions his parents' becoming old, and then he emphasizes that it was him and his wife who helped them. There is no prior mention of helping.

- (39-40) *Kera araqi naqa. Kesi*
 3PL.NFUT (married.couple)be.old. PRF 3PL.NEG
- talaqa-na naqa raa-laa, nau naqa bia kukeqe*
 fit-3.OBJ PRF work-NMLZ 1SG PRF and wife
- nau na mere qadomi keeroqa qa=si*
 1SG FOC 1DU(EXCL).NFUT help 3DU GENP=PRTT
- fanga, ma si qai, mere ngali-a*
 food and PRTT wood 1DU(EXCL).NFUT take-3SG.OBJ
- mai, uri-a ka thara-ngi keeroqa.*
 VENT PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ (fire)warm.up-TR 3DU
 'They [the speaker's parents] had grown old. They were no longer able to work (and) it was me then and my wife who helped them out with food, and (with) (fire)wood; we took (lit.: brought) it (to them), so that (fire) might warm them up.'

The focus construction is used in open interrogatives when the interrogative phrase is fronted. In the situation expressed in (39-41) the captain sees a person

arrive but does not know the identity of the person and asks the others who are present:

- (39-41) *Kapintana ka quna qeri, “Ni tei*
 captain 3SG.SEQ manner this PERSMKR who?
n=e lae mai neq?”
 FOC=3SG.NFUT go VENT VIVID
 ‘The captain said, “Who is it that has come?”.’

The use of the focus construction in open interrogatives is discussed in section 19.3.2.

A presupposition clause may contain information that is not fully known to the addressee or that is not known to the addressee at all. Following Prince (1978), such presupposition clauses can be referred to as “informative presupposition clauses”. Importantly, however, even though that information is new to the addressee (at the time of utterance), it is not the main information point of the utterance. It is the material in focus that expresses the main information point of the utterance (Borkin 1984). It is that information that is asserted; the information in the informative presupposition clause(s) is not. And second, the addressee can be assumed to be able to accommodate the new information presented in the presupposition domain. (Even though the clause[s] in question does/do not express a presupposition here, the terms “presupposition clause” and “presupposition domain” are retained for convenience.)

In (39-42) the presupposition domain is *kai sore-qe, ta si doo*, ‘she will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as])’. However, the preceding clause is about the visitor’s calling out the woman’s name. Nevertheless, both events have to do with speaking, and the prior mention of calling out a name makes it easy for the addressee to accommodate the information presented in the presupposition domain:

- (39-42) *Qoko qai-thata-na kwai-na kini qeri,*
 2SG.SEQ call-name-3.OBJ spouse-3.PERS woman that
nia naqa na kai sore-qe, ta si doo,
 3SG PRF FOC 3SG.FUT say-DETR some PRTT thing
“Kai too ba-na.”, mada ka
 3SG.IPFV be.at.home LIM-3SG.PERS or 3SG.SEQ
faqa-rongo qani-a, “Ni=e lae
 CAUS-hear GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT go

qa-na.”

SBEN-3SG.PERS

[This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] ‘You call out the woman’s husband’s name, (and) it’s now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), “He is at home.”, or she will say about him, “He’s gone (out).”’

The presupposition clause in (39-42) contains information that is not fully presupposed by the addressee, and in that sense it is an informative presupposition clause.

It is even possible for a presupposition clause to contain information that is completely new to the addressee. In the situation expressed in (39-43), person A is looking for a third person, and person B identifies her as being the one standing at a certain location.

(39-43) A: *Lifuna ni=i fei?*
Lifuna be.located=LOC where?

B: *Nia na kai takwe fuq.*
3SG FOC 3SG.IPFV stand down.there

A: ‘Where is Lifuna?’

B: ‘*There* she is, standing down there.’ ‘That’s her, standing down there.’ (Lit.: ‘It is her who is standing down there.’)

A’s primary interest is not so much in the person’s location; rather, he needs to find her. B identifies her as being the one occupying a certain posture at a certain location. (*Fuq[u]* is a presentative locative demonstrative adverb; see section 13.6.2.) While there is a general presupposition on A’s part that the person is somewhere, it is not (necessarily) part of his presupposition that she is standing at a lower location. The presupposition clause in (39-43) is an informative one. However, even though the information in the presupposition clause is new to A (hence his question), it is not the main point of B’s utterance. The main point is the identification of the person for A’s benefit. The person is referred to by a pronoun in the focus position. The information in the presupposition clause facilitates the identification of the person, and because she is in A and B’s general location and can be pointed at, A can easily accommodate that information.

A similar case is found in (39-44). Person A is looking for his (personal) basket, and B identifies it as being the one hanging at a certain location:

(39-44) A: *Ma waqi nau baa?*
and basket 1SG that

B: *Nia bana na kai taa-taru ba-na*
 3SG LIM FOC 3SG.IPFV RDP-hang LIM-3SG.PERS

loq.

up.there

A: 'And (where is) my basket (lit.: that basket of mine)?'

B: '*There* it is, just hanging up there.' (Lit.: 'It is just the one that is just hanging up there.')

A's primary interest is not in the basket's location as such; rather, he wants to have it. His assumption is that his basket is somewhere, but he does not know where, and he does not (necessarily) assume that it is hanging at a higher location. The presupposition clause is an informative one.

The focus construction can also be used if everything, including the element in focus, is presupposed. Here too the focus construction serves to highlight the main information point of a proposition. By saying the sentence in (39-45) the speaker announces that he will talk about possum hunting. In the subsequent sentence he puts the third person singular pronoun in the focus position. The pronoun refers back to some of the information presented in the preceding sentence.

(39-45) *Nau ku thathami-a kwai uqunu fasi*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate PREC

suli-a nga maqaluta-na lae-laa ura
 PROL-3.OBJ IDENT essence-3.PERS go-NMLZ PURP

futa, keki lae qufita uri-a. Nia
 possum 3PL.IPFV go do.how? PURP-3SG.OBJ 3SG

na ku thathami-a kwai uqunu fasi
 FOC 1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT narrate PREC

suli-a i manga qeri.
 PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC time this

'I want to talk now about going (to hunt) for possums (lit.: about the essence of going for possums), how they [the hunters] go (hunting) for them. It's that that I want to talk about at this time./That is what I want to talk about at this time.'

All the information expressed in the last sentence is presupposed and is in the addressee's consciousness, having been mentioned in the immediately pre-

ceding sentence. The pronoun in the focus position does not add anything that is not presupposed; rather, it highlights some of the information just presented.

The same is true in the next example, from the same text. Here too the third person singular pronoun is used to highlight some of the information presented in the immediately preceding sentence. The first sentence mentions the hunters' returning home from the hunt and the time when that happened: when daylight was coming and the roosters were crowing. The next sentence contains a focus construction. The presupposition clause refers to the hunters returning home. The third person singular pronoun in the focus position emphasizes the time when the hunters returned: they had hunted through the night, until morning. That information is not new, but it is much more noteworthy than just the fact of the hunters returning. Since the pronoun in the focus position has temporal reference here, there is no coding of the focus element in the presupposition clause. (For the lengthening of the medial *l* in *laa-l:ae* see section 35.3.2.3.)

- (39-46) *Laa-l:ae, kera fula i biqu keeroqa ki,*
 RDP-walk 3PL.NFUT arrive LOC house 3DU PL
- ma fanua kai dani naqa neri,*
 and place 3SG.FUT be.daylight PRF VIVID
- kuukua ka qai naqa neq. Nia na keeroqa*
 chicken 3SG.SEQ crow PRF VIVID 3SG FOC 3DU
- keko oli na-daroqa i biqu keeroqa ki.*
 3DU.SEQ return PRF-3DU.PERS LOC house 3DU PL
 [The hunters are returning home.] 'After walking and walking and walking, they arrive at their (respective) houses, and it is already becoming daylight, (and) the roosters are crowing. It is then that they return to their houses.'

And in the following example the speaker does not use the focus construction to identify a type of referent and to inform the addressee about it. The speaker has no reason to assume that the addressee is not able to identify the kind of bird from the sound the bird is making. The function of the focus construction here seems to be for the speaker to acknowledge to the addressee his (the speaker's) identification of the type of bird involved and perhaps to invite the addressee's agreement.

- (39-47) *Teqe rungau n=e rungau*
 one native.pigeon FOC=3SG.NFUT (pigeon)coo

neri.

NPAST.HERE

'That's a pigeon cooing.' (On hearing a cooing sound.)

In Toqabaqita, the element in focus expresses the information high point of an utterance, either because it is that part of the message that is asserted, not presupposed, or because, even though it is presupposed, it is more important, more relevant than the other parts of the utterance. The presupposition clause may express a proposition that is not known to the addressee, which, however, the speaker assumes the hearer can accommodate.

Frequently, the focus construction serves to express contrast: the proposition in the presupposed clause applies to a certain entity rather than to some other(s). The contrast may be explicit, where all the potential (sets of) candidates are mentioned, and the phrase in focus refers to the candidate(s) to whom or to which the proposition applies. This is the case in (39-48) and (39-49):

(39-48) *Teqe nau na kwai lae fasi kwa raku-a,*
sole 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT go PURP 1SG.SEQ catch-3SG.OBJ

kamuluqa muka maqasi nau qa-muluqa.

2PL 2PL.SEQ wait.for 1SG SBEN-2PL.PERS

'It will be me alone who will go to catch it [a bird]; you wait for me.' 'I alone will go to catch it; you wait for me.'

(39-49) *Qoe bana na qoko lalakwa qani nau, nau kwasi*
2SG LIM FOC 2SG.SEQ not.like GENP 1SG 1SG 1SG.NEG

lalakwa boqo qani qoe.

not.like ASRT GENP 2SG

'It is just you who dislikes me; I do not dislike you.' ('It is just you who does not like me; I do not not like you.')

Sometimes the contrast is only implicit: only that participant is mentioned to whom or to which the proposition applies:

(39-50) *Araqi qeri bana n=e oli mai*
mature.man that LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT return VENT

qana wane kiloko. Qi manga qeri
GENP one o'clock LOC time this

meka qono neri.
 1DU(EXCL).SEQ sit NPAST.HERE
 ‘It was only the old man who came back at one o’clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.’

- (39-51) *Qoe bo=naqa n=o thaitoqoma-na.*
 2SG ASRT=INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ
 ‘You know best.’ (Lit.: ‘It is you who knows it.’)

Sometimes the notion of contrast does not apply, unless it is interpreted extremely broadly. With respect to the proposition expressed in (39-52), there is no clear set of the potential candidates with which the sustenance function of food is being contrasted. Here the focus construction serves to highlight what the function is.

- (39-52) *Marukita-kuluqa na fanga.*
 sustenance-PL(INCL).PERS FOC food
 ‘Our sustenance, that’s what food is.’

And while (39-51) further above can be seen as expressing contrast, the set of potential candidates is not clearly defined: the addressee as against every human being?

Contrastiveness is not a binary notion, rather a gradient one (see, for example, Lambrecht [1994], following Bolinger [1961]). It ranges from clear, explicit contrast where the alternatives are identified, as for example in (39-49) above (the speaker and the addressee), to implicit contrast where only the candidate to which the proposition applies is identified, the other or others being suggested more or less strongly, as in (39-50) (the other members of the old man’s family), in (39-51) (all other humans?), and in (39-52) (all other conceivable functions that food might have?).

The focus construction is used with two other functions. In one it is a clause that is in focus. The clause in focus expresses the reason for, or the cause of, the situation expressed in the presupposition domain. The reason/cause is highlighted, emphasized:

- (39-53) *Qo ade qufita na qaba-mu ka*
 2SG.NFUT do do.what? FOC arm-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

qoo?
 break
 ‘What did you do to break your arm?’ ‘How did you break your arm?’ ‘How did your arm get broken?’

Focused reason clauses are discussed in section 33.2.2

And second, the consequence marker *adelana* can be put in focus to emphasize the fact that the situation expressed in the presupposition clause is indeed the consequence of the situation expressed in another, usually the immediately preceding, clause; see (39-27) in section 39.2, and chapter 34.

Chapter 40

Toqabaqita, Solomon Islands Pijin, and English

40.1. Introduction

As a norm, Toqabaqita people are bilingual in their own language and in Solomon Islands Pijin, an English-lexifier creole, which is the lingua franca in the Solomon Islands. School education is in English, and so some people, especially those of the younger generations, with several years of formal education, have some knowledge of English. Furthermore, people also tend to have at least some passive knowledge of the neighbouring languages and dialects.

Borrowing from Pijin into Toqabaqita has been quite extensive, but with the exceptions of numerals, it has been restricted to lexical items that belong in the major, open classes of nouns and verbs, the former in particular. There is no evidence of borrowing of grammatical items or of structural borrowing. By borrowing is here meant the adoption of a Pijin lexical item into the lexicon of Toqabaqita, which often necessitates phonological accommodation. This is to be distinguished from code-mixing, where Pijin words are used in Toqabaqita discourse in a basically ad hoc manner, often without being accommodated to Toqabaqita phonological patterns. However, the distinction between established borrowings and code-mixing is not a hard and fast one. Some Pijin words happen to fit the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita and so no accommodation is necessary. Second, some Pijin words that do not fit the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita are used commonly in Toqabaqita discourse without accommodation. And third, one and the same Pijin etymon may sometimes be used in an accommodated form and sometimes in a non-accommodated form, even by the same speaker. The boundaries of the Toqabaqita lexicon are not clear-cut. For discussion of this with respect to what should or should not be included in a dictionary of Toqabaqita see Lichtenberk (2003b).

The discussion that follows is concerned only with borrowing and code-mixing that involves Solomon Islands Pijin or, occasionally, English. It is not concerned with borrowing and code-mixing that involves the neighbouring or nearby lects. Because of the close similarities between Toqabaqita and the other lects, borrowings and instances of code-switching are difficult to identify in the absence of a detailed study. Not infrequently, speakers of Toqabaqita disagree among themselves whether a given word is a borrowing from a neighbouring or a nearby lect or not.

It needs to be kept in mind that the main donor/source language, Solomon Islands Pijin, itself is not monolithic. There is a large amount of variation with respect to how anglicized a person's Pijin is. On the whole, urban Pijin has more English features than rural Pijin. Second, people with extensive formal education in English tend to speak Pijin with more English features than speakers with little or no such education. And the extent of English features in a person's Pijin may also depend on the speech situation itself: one and the same person may use more anglicized Pijin in formal contexts than in informal contexts. (See Jourdan [2002] for a brief mention of the difficulties with drawing a line between Pijin and English.) The kind of Pijin a person speaks may also be affected by his or her native language.

40.2. Borrowing and phonological accommodation

Most cases of borrowing involve nouns. There are a few verbs that were borrowed as such, and there are some verbal forms that were formed in Toqabaqita from borrowings. Although Solomon Islands Pijin has a class of adjectives, Toqabaqita has only one adjective (section 6.12), and Pijin adjectives are not borrowed. Not surprisingly, borrowing is common with non-traditional concepts, for example:⁴⁸

(40-1)	Toqabaqita	Pijin
	<i>seleni</i> 'Western-style money'	<i>selen</i>
	<i>kaleko</i> 'cloth', 'clothes'	<i>kaleko</i>
	<i>raisi</i> 'rice'	<i>raes</i>
	<i>kafara</i> 'copra', 'make copra'	<i>kopra</i> 'copra'
	<i>tefolo</i> 'table (furniture)'	<i>tebol</i>
	<i>banikeni</i> '(drinking) cup, mug'	<i>panikin</i> ^a

Note: a. Toqabaqita people normally use *kap* rather than *panikin* when speaking Pijin

However, there are also well-established borrowings where there is a native Toqabaqita word or expression for the same or a very similar concept:

(40-2)	<i>wasi</i> (Class 1 tr. v.) 'wash st.'; Pijin <i>wasim</i> ; original Toqabaqita words: <i>saqu</i> and <i>taqu</i> (Class 1 tr. v.'s) <i>mago</i> 'mango'; Pijin <i>manggo</i> ; original Toqabaqita word: <i>qasai</i> <i>komu</i> (n.) 'comb'; Pijin <i>kom</i> ; original Toqabaqita words <i>kafa</i> , <i>suta</i> , <i>taqegwau</i> ; also in <i>komu-rinaa</i> 'decorative comb' (<i>rina</i> 'k.o.
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- ear ornament’); cf. the original Toqabaqita synonyms *kafarinaa* and *suta-rinaa*
butete ‘sweet potato’; Pijin *butete*; original Toqabaqita word *kai-rogi*, not normally used today
sofusofu ‘soup’; Pijin *supsup*; original Toqabaqita word *waino*, not in common use today
naifa (n.) ‘knife’; Pijin *naef*; Toqabaqita has several terms for various traditional knife-like cutting implements, but today steel knives are normally used, designated as *naifa*

With respect to its phonology, Toqabaqita is different from Pijin both in its sound inventory and in its phonotactics. As far as the phonotactics is concerned, the syllable structure of Toqabaqita is (C)V, whereas Pijin does permit closed syllables and consonant clusters. (At the phonetic level there are closed syllables in Toqabaqita, but these arise through optional vowel deletion; see section 2.2.1.) When Pijin words are accommodated to the phonotactics of Toqabaqita, there are certain general patterns that are followed, although they are not exceptionless. To avoid closed syllables and consonant clusters, paragogic and epenthetic vowels are inserted. Leaving aside nasal-consonant sequences, which are discussed further below, there are several patterns. One involves insertion of a copy of the vowel in the immediately preceding or the immediately following syllable:

(40-3)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>savol</i>	<i>safolo</i> (n.) ‘shovel, spade’
	<i>skul</i>	<i>sukulu</i> ‘school’, ‘attend school’
	<i>dram</i>	<i>darama</i> ‘drum (container), barrel’

Another pattern involves insertion of /ɪ/ or /ʊ/ rather than a vowel copy. After the dental consonants, especially /s/, it is usually /ɪ/ that is inserted, while after the bilabial consonants it is usually /ʊ/ that is inserted (orthographic *f* represents /ɸ/, that is, [ɸ] word-initially and [β] intervocalically).

(40-4)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>lus</i>	<i>lusi</i> (intr. v.) ‘lose (e.g. in cards)’
	<i>fislaen</i>	<i>fisilaeni</i> ‘fishline’
	<i>frok</i>	<i>furoko</i> ‘introduced spp. of frog’
	<i>gam</i>	<i>gamu</i> ‘chewing gum’

In some cases the two criteria — the nature of the vowel in the neighbouring syllable and the nature of the preceding consonant — coincide:

(40-5)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>fenis</i>	<i>fenisi</i> (n.) ‘fence’
	<i>rum</i>	<i>rumu</i> ‘room in a house’

In some other cases, neither pattern is followed. Instead, in word-final position /a/ is sometimes inserted or, less commonly, /ɛ/:

(40-6)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>naef</i>	<i>naifa</i> (n.) ‘knife’
	<i>nil</i>	<i>nila</i> ‘(iron) nail’
	<i>bret</i>	<i>bereta</i> ‘bread’
	<i>trak</i>	<i>tarake</i> (n.) ‘truck’
	<i>pinat</i>	<i>binate</i> ‘peanut’

Toqabaqita voiced stops and /w/ are prenasalized, even though there are differences in the degree of prenasalization, depending on the sound in question and on the position in a word (section 2.1.2). There is always prenasalization word-medially, and this is what is relevant here. Pijin does allow homorganic nasal-consonant sequences word-medially and word-finally. When a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal and a voiced stop, the sequence is realized in Toqabaqita as a prenasalized voiced stop:

(40-7)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>namba</i>	<i>naba</i> (n.) ‘number’
	<i>handol</i>	<i>adele</i> (n.) ‘handle’
	<i>manggo</i>	<i>mago</i> ‘mango’

When a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal and a voiceless stop, the cluster is usually replaced by a (prenasalized) voiced stop with the same place of articulation as the Pijin consonants.

(40-8)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>angka</i>	<i>aga</i> (n.) ‘anchor’
	<i>siment</i>	<i>simede</i> (n.) ‘cement’, ‘concrete’
	<i>Frank</i>	<i>Farage</i> Frank

However, Pijin *hangkaf* ‘handcuffs’ and *hangkafem* ‘handcuff sb.’ have become *anikaba* (n., Class 1 tr. v.) ‘handcuffs’, ‘handcuff sb.’, with epenthesis.

There are also cases where the English source of a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal followed by a voiceless stop, but the voiceless stop is usually not pronounced in Pijin. The original English sequence is realized in Toqabaqita as the corresponding voiced stop, which suggests that those words were adopted into Toqabaqita at a time when those consonants were pronounced.

(40-9)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>pam</i>	<i>babu</i> (n.) ‘pump’
	<i>pamken</i>	<i>babakenu</i> ‘pumpkin’
	<i>ing</i>	<i>igi</i> ‘ink’

Conversely, there are a few cases where Pijin voiced stops, which are not prenasalized in Pijin, are realized as the corresponding voiceless stops:

(40-10)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>goava</i>	<i>koava</i> ‘guava’
	<i>gras</i>	<i>karasi</i> (n.) ‘grass’
	<i>dram</i>	<i>tarama</i> , but also <i>darama</i> ‘drum (container), barrel’
	<i>gaedim</i>	<i>gaetemu</i> (tr. v.) ‘guide’ (<i>t</i> for <i>d</i>)

What all this suggests is that even though prenasalization is not phonemic in Toqabaqita, speakers of Toqabaqita are sensitive to it: prenasalization of a voiced stop replaces the nasal in a Pijin nasal-voiceless stop sequence, and lack of a nasal before a voiced stop in Pijin may lead to its replacement by a (non-prenasalized) voiceless stop in Toqabaqita. (And as mentioned in section 2.1.2, when adults speak to babies, they sometimes do not prenasalize the relevant sounds.)

There may be further evidence of the status of prenasalization as just outlined, which has to do with the situation in Pijin. Some Pijin words contain sequences of a nasal followed by a voiced stop where the English source word has a nasal followed by the corresponding voiceless stop: Pijin *kaonda*, English (*shop*) *counter*; Pijin *stambem* (transitive verb), English *stamp* (cf. Pijin *stam* (n.) ‘stamp’); Pijin *hanggasif*, English *handkerchief*. Since Pijin does permit sequences of nasals and voiceless stops, the replacement of English voiceless stops after nasals by voiced stops cannot be attributed to a prohibition on nasal-voiceless stop sequences in Pijin. Speakers of Malaitan languages, of which Toqabaqita is one, had a major impact on the early development of Solomon

Islands Pijin (Keesing 1988), and it is conceivable that the substitution of voiceless stops after a nasal with voiced stops is a substrate influence from those languages. In those languages English nasal-voiceless stop sequences would have been reinterpreted as unitary prenasalized voiced stops, which, in turn, would have been reinterpreted as nasal-voiced stop sequences in Pijin.

Like Pijin, Toqabaqita has the sound /w/, but its distribution is severely restricted: it occurs only word-initially or stem-initially before /a/ and /ɛ/, apart from a few exceptions that historically may have fitted the restricted pattern (section 2.2.3). When a Pijin word begins with /w/ before a vowel other than /a/ or /ɛ/, the /w/ is replaced by /ʊ/, unless in the Pijin word the /w/ is already followed by /ʊ/, in which case the /w/ drops out:

(40-11)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>wiket</i> (English <i>wicked</i>)	<i>ukita</i> ‘pagan’
	<i>wik</i>	<i>uiki</i> ‘week’
	<i>waf</i>	<i>uafa</i> ‘wharf’
	<i>wul</i> (English <i>wool</i>)	<i>ulu</i> ‘sweater’, ‘sweatshirt’

Toqabaqita has the same inventory of vowels as does Pijin, but it lacks some of the consonants that Pijin has: /p/, /h/, /v/, and /dʒ/. Pijin /p/ is replaced with /b/ or with /ɸ/. Word-initially /b/ is more common than /ɸ/, while word-medially both are common (with /ɸ/ realized as [β] intervocally):

(40-12)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>pepa</i>	<i>beba</i> (n.) ‘pepper (spice)’, ‘pepper, capsicum’
	<i>pepa</i>	<i>befa</i> (n.) ‘paper’
	<i>paep</i>	<i>baifa</i> ‘pipe (conduit)’
	<i>sop</i>	<i>sofu</i> (n.) ‘soap’
	<i>spun</i>	<i>subuni</i> (n.) ‘spoon’
	<i>rop</i>	<i>robu</i> (n.) ‘rope’
	<i>piksa</i>	<i>bikisa</i> (n.) ‘picture’, ‘photograph’
	<i>pilo</i>	<i>bilo</i> ‘pillow’
	<i>plei</i>	<i>bilei</i> , also <i>filei</i> (n.) ‘play’
	<i>pent</i> (n.), <i>pendem</i> (tr. v.)	<i>feda</i> (n.; intr. v.; Class 1 tr. v.)

In Pijin, /h/ normally occurs only word-initially (and word-medially in compounds). In Toqabaqita it is dropped:

(40-13)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>hama</i>	<i>ama</i> (n.) ‘hammer’
	<i>handol</i>	<i>adele</i> (n.) ‘handle’

In the borrowings that contain /v/ in their Pijin sources, the /v/ is word-medial, and it has been replaced by /ϕ/, which is realized medially as [β]:

(40-14)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>devol</i>	<i>defolo</i> ‘devil’, Satan
	<i>savol</i>	<i>savolo</i> (n.) ‘shovel, spade’

Pijin /dʒ/ (orthographic *j*) is replaced with the sequence /dɪ/ before non-front vowels, and with /d/ before front vowels, although in the latter type of case only one instance of full accommodation has been encountered; see *dele* ‘jail, prison’ in (40-15).

(40-15)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>Japan</i>	<i>Diabana</i> Japan
	<i>Jon</i>	<i>Dione</i> John
	<i>jel</i>	<i>dele</i> (n.) ‘jail, prison’

and with only partial accommodation:

<i>Jim</i>	<i>Dim</i> Jim
<i>Jisas</i>	<i>Diises</i> Jesus

Pijin words that phonemically begin with a vowel often have an initial non-phonemic glottal stop. In Toqabaqita, such words usually (although not always) receive an initial glottal stop (orthographic *q*), which, in contrast to the situation in Pijin, is phonemic.

(40-16)	Pijin	Toqabaqita
	<i>apol</i>	<i>qabolo</i> ‘apple’
	<i>ofis</i>	<i>qofisi</i> ‘office’
	<i>ami</i>	<i>qami</i> , also <i>ami</i> ‘Army’
	<i>oel</i>	<i>qoela</i> (n.), also <i>oela</i> ‘oil’

but:

anian

aniani ‘onion’

While there are various patterns in the ways that Pijin words are phonologically accommodated in Toqabaqita, there are also cases that are exceptional in various respects. For example:

- (40-17) Pijin *strap*, Toqabaqita *tarafu* (n.) ‘strap, belt’ (omission of the initial *s* rather than epenthesis)
 Pijin *balun*, Toqabaqita *balume* (n.) ‘balloon’ (*m* instead of *n*)
 Pijin *bisiket*, Toqabaqita *fisikete* ‘biscuit’, ‘cracker’ (*f* instead of *b*)
 Pijin *supsup*, Toqabaqita *sofusofu* ‘soup’ (*o* instead of *u*, twice)
 Pijin *handol*, Toqabaqita *adele* (n.) ‘handle’ (*e* instead of *o*)
 Pijin *kuinin*, pronounced [kwínin] by Toqabaqita speakers, Toqabaqita *koniana* (*ko* for *kw*, and several irregularities involving vowels)

The bulk of the borrowings from Pijin into Toqabaqita involve nouns. There are some verbs in Toqabaqita that are based on Pijin words. Some such verbs show evidence of having been created within the Toqabaqita language rather than having been borrowed as verbs. For example, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *feda* ‘paint st.’, where the corresponding Pijin verb is *pendem* (*pend-em*). The Pijin verb contains the transitive suffix *-em*, which is missing from the Toqabaqita verb. Toqabaqita also has the words *feda* (n.) ‘paint’ and *feda* (intr. v.) ‘paint’, where Pijin has *pent* (also *pen*) (n.). (Jourdan [2002] gives no intransitive verb ‘paint’.) Evidently, what Toqabaqita borrowed from Pijin was the form *pent*, which was accommodated as *feda*, which nowadays functions as a noun, an intransitive verb, and a transitive verb. Similarly with the Class 1 transitive verb *kuki* ‘cook st.’, where Pijin has *kukim* (*kuki-m*). Toqabaqita also has a noun *kuki* ‘cooking pot, saucepan’ and an intransitive verb *kuki* ‘cook’, where Pijin has *kuki* (intr. v.) ‘cook’. The form that was borrowed into Toqabaqita was *kuki*, which came to be used not only as an intransitive verb and as a noun, but also as a transitive verb. Another such borrowing is the Class 1 transitive verb *wasi* ‘wash st.’. Pijin has transitive *wasim* (*was-im*) ‘wash st.’ and intransitive *was* (variant *wasi*) ‘wash (st.)’.⁴⁹ Both *kuki* ‘cook st.’ and *wasi* ‘wash st.’ are used commonly, even though there are native Toqabaqita counterparts of both.

There some verbs in Toqabaqita that have been borrowed as verbs. Some of them are intransitive; for example, *ringi* ‘make a telephone call’, for which the Pijin source is *ring*; and *rama* ‘stuff oneself with food’, where the Pijin spoken by the Toqabaqita has *ramem* (tr. v.) ‘ram’. Jourdan (2002) gives *ramam*, with

ramem as a variant, (tr. v.) ‘ram’, ‘pound’, ‘copulate, have sex with’ for Pijin, and also *ramarama* (intr. v.) ‘copulate’. She also mentions the form *ram*, but gives no gloss. Some other transitive verbs have been borrowed as such. Nearly all Pijin transitive verbs contain a transitive suffix (*-m*, *-im* or *-em* in the Pijin spoken by the Toqabaqita), and some Toqabaqita borrowings contain the suffix. For example, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *bekamu* ‘bake’; cf. Pijin *bekem*. Pijin also has intransitive *beka* ‘bread’ (archaic) (Jourdan 2002), and Toqabaqita has *beka* (intr. v.) ‘bake’. Similarly, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *gaetemu* ‘guide’; cf. Pijin *gaedim*.

All the documented transitive verbs that are based on Pijin words or are borrowings from Pijin are Class 1 transitive; none are Class 2 transitive.

Pijin numerals are commonly used in Toqabaqita, frequently without phonological accommodation (see the next section).

40.3. Code-mixing

Code-mixing between Toqabaqita and Pijin is quite common, and it is not unusual for adults to use Pijin words without phonological accommodation even to little children, and for such children to use them themselves. Not surprisingly, code mixing is often resorted to when there is no Toqabaqita equivalent, native or borrowed. For example:

(40-18) ... *kerā* *suqu-si-a* *qana* *plastik*, ...
 3PL.NFUT protect-TR-3SG.OBJ INS plastic
 ‘... they protected it [a place] with plastic (as a cover) ...’

(40-19) *Mika* *lafu-a* *miksa* *qeri*, *teqe* *miksa*,
 1PL(EXCL).SEQ pick.up-3.OBJ mixer that one mixer

teqe qamplifae, *teq=qenjin*, *roo* *maekrofon*.

one amplifier one=engine two microphone

‘We picked up [in a shop; that is, ‘we bought’] the (sound) mixer, one mixer, one amplifier, one generator (lit.: engine), two microphones.’

Examples of code-mixing are found in many places in this grammar.

However, non-accommodated Pijin words are used even when there is a native equivalent or an accommodated borrowing. There are certain non-accommodated words that are particularly common. For example:

- (40-20) *kastom* ‘custom’, even when referring to traditional customs; besides *biibirangaa* ‘custom, customary way of doing things’, *biranga* ‘usual behaviour; usual, customary way of doing st., of behaving’, and *birangaa* ‘behaviour; way of doing st.; usual, customary way of doing things’
langwis [laŋgwɪs] (or [la^hgwɪs]?) ‘language’; besides the deverbal noun *ngata-a* ‘talk, speech’, ‘language’, and the nominalization *ngata-laa* ‘speaking; talk, speech’, ‘language’, based on the verb *ngata* ‘talk, speak’
kisin ‘cookhouse, kitchen’, besides *luma ni naqare(-laa)* (*luma* ‘family house’, *ni* ligature, *naqare* ‘cook’, *-laa* nominalizer), which is not normally used; and accommodated *kisina* (less common than *kisin*)
gavman ‘government’; there is an accommodated form *gafumanu*, but it is not used much

In code-mixing, the Pijin words are usually treated syntactically in the same way that native words of the corresponding grammatical categories and sub-categories are. In (40-21) below, *kastom* ‘custom’ occurs in the possessum position in a bare possessive construction, and in (40-22) *kisin* ‘kitchen’ functions as the head of the complement in a stacked prepositional phrase:

- (40-21) *Qe* *abu.* *Kastom kulu* *qana*
 3SG.NFUT be.forbidden custom PL(INCL) GENP

toqa *na=i* *Toqabaqita.*
 people REL=LOC Toqabaqita
 ‘That [a kind of behaviour just discussed] was forbidden. (Such was) our custom, (a custom) of the people of Toqabaqita.’

- (40-22) *Qi* *laa* *kisin* *qe=aqi.*
 LOC IN kitchen 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
 ‘Not in the kitchen.’ Here: ‘It is not in the kitchen.’ (Speaking to a person who was going to look for something, thinking it might be in the kitchen.)

In the next example, there are two instances of code-mixing, *gavman* ‘government’ and *lokap* ‘jail, prison’. Both have accommodated variants, *gafumanu* and *lokafu*, respectively, but these are less common than their non-accommodated counterparts.

- (40-23) *Gavman ka ngali-da, ka alu-da*
 government 3SG.SEQ take-3PL.OBJ 3SG.SEQ put-3PL.OBJ
qi laa lokap, ...
 LOC IN jail
 ‘The Government took them, put them in jail, ...’

Only a relatively small number of verbs have been borrowed from Pijin. On the other hand, Pijin verbs commonly occur in code-mixing. In (40-24) the Pijin verb *interes* ‘be interested’ is negated in the same way that Toqabaqita verbs are:

- (40-24) *Nia qe aqi si interes.*
 3SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG be.interested
 ‘He is not interested (in listening to the radio).’

And in (40-25) the verb *qapiil* ‘appeal’ is followed by two postverbal particles:

- (4-25) *Qe qapiil sui naqa?*
 3SG.NFUT appeal COMPL PRF
 ‘Has he appealed (the court decision)?’ ‘Has he lodged an appeal?’

A commonly heard expression is:

- (40-26) *Tenkyu qasia naqa.*
 thank.you INTS INTS
 ‘Thank you very much.’

Tenkyu is phonetically [tɛŋkjʊ]. The English phrase ‘thank you’ has been re-interpreted as a unitary lexical item in Pijin. In the Pijin spoken in the Toqabaqita area the form is *tenkyu*. (Jourdan [2002] gives the following Pijin forms for ‘thank you’: *tangio*, also *tankio*, *tankiu*, *tangiu*.) In Toqabaqita, *tenkyu* has the verbal property of taking the postverbal intensifiers *qasia* and *naqa*. On the other hand, it is possible that the two particles are used here idiosyncratically as the equivalent of Pijin *tumas* ‘very much’ in *tenkyu tumas* ‘thank you very much’. The use of *tenkyu* appears to be restricted to the expression *Tenkyu qasia naqa*. ‘Thank you very much.’

The next example contains a non-accommodated verb nominalized in the same way that Toqabaqita verbs are, with the suffix *-laa*. The nominalization *felouship-laa* is used with the meaning ‘holding a fellowship meeting in church’. The speaker pronounced the word with the /ʃ/ sound (represented

orthographically as *sh*), which is not characteristic of Pijin, and so this is likely to be an instance of English code-mixing.

(40-27) *Kuki* *raa* *ba-kaluqa* *qana*
 PL(INCL).FUT work LIM-PL(INCL).PERS GENP

felouship-laa *qena,*
 hold.fellowship-NMLZ that(2)

‘We will hold fellowship meetings,’ (Lit.: ‘We will work on holding fellowship meetings,’)

As discussed in section 4.7, noun phrases can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs. This can also be done with Pijin noun phrases in code-mixing. In (40-28) *seven klok* ‘seven o’clock’ has been re-ranked and used as a verb: it has a subject marker and is followed by the perfect marker:

(40-28) *Qe* *seven* *klok* *naqa?*
 3SG.NFUT seven o’clock PRF
 ‘Is it seven o’clock now/already?’

Names that are not native Toqabaqita names are often not accommodated; for example: *Solomon Ayles* Solomon Islands, *Gwalkana* Guadalcanal, *Honiara* Honiara, *Dim Riifs* Jim Reeves, *Good*, also *Goot* (*oo* represents long /ɔ/) God, *Unsde* Wednesday, *Qeprol* April. In addition to their native names, Toqabaqita people also normally have Christian names. These are typically not accommodated: *Ruel* Ruel/Reuel (a man’s name), *Joy* (/dʒɔj/) Joy (a woman’s name). However, *Adam* is not infrequently accommodated as *Qadama*.

Numerals, especially, but not exclusively, higher numerals often occur in code-mixing:

(40-29) ... *mili* *raqu* *faafi-a* *fulinga-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT possess CONF-3.OBJ amount-3.PERS

ta tri hundred dolas togo.
 some three hundred dollar perhaps

‘... we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.’

A person in her twenties used only Pijin numerals when counting (food) plates, even though she had just spoken to another person in Toqabaqita and reverted to Toqabaqita after the counting:

- (40-30) *Wan, tu, tri, fo, faev, siks, seven, eit, naen.*
 one two three four five six seven eight nine
 ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine.’

In the next example, a numeral is used in a way that does not follow the syntactic pattern of Toqabaqita: *tri* ‘three’ occurs without a head noun, which is not possible with Toqabaqita numerals, unless numerals are recited in a sequence, as in (40-30) above:

- (40-31) *Ngali-a mai tri.*
 carry-3.OBJ VENT three
 ‘Bring three of them [iron nails].’

If the Toqabaqita numeral *ulu* ‘three’ had been used instead, a noun identifying the type of entity in question would have to be used (the borrowing *nila* ‘nail’), or the noun *doo* ‘thing’ (section 6.2): *ulu doo* ‘three things’, that is, ‘three of them’. It is conceivable, however, that *tri* is treated here as a numeral noun.

There is no clear-cut dichotomy between fully accommodated words and words that are not accommodated at all. One and the same etymon may be fully or partially accommodated or not at all, even by the same speaker; for example: *bereta* and *bret* ‘bread’, *komu* and *kom* (n.) ‘comb’, *kisina* and *kisin* ‘cook-house, kitchen’; *grupu* and *grup* (n.) ‘group’, *futbolo* and *futbol* ‘football’. The word for Japan is realized in a variety of ways, from full accommodation to no accommodation at all: *Diabana*, *Diapana*, *Japana*, *Jaban* and *Japan*, where orthographic *j* represents /dʒ/.

Code-mixing also takes place when people write in Toqabaqita (usually personal letters or brief public notices). Not infrequently, the code-mixing involves words written in English, if the writer knows the written form of the English word. (The Toqabaqita words are written here using the orthographic conventions adopted in this grammar.)

- (40-32) *Dear maka ma thaina-ka qae,*
 dear father and mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC
 ‘Dear Father and Mother, ...’ (The opening line of a letter.)

- (40-33) *Nau qana June ku tour qa-kuqa qi*
 1SG GENP June 1SG.NFUT tour SBEN-1SG.PERS LOC

laa province.

IN province

'I, in June, toured the [Malaita] Province.'

Children are exposed to code-mixing from an early age. One day a 13-year-old girl was teaching a girl of less than three years of age to count in Pijin: *wan*, *tu*, *tri*, ..., and the little girl responded, also using the Pijin words, as well as she could. The sentence in (40-34) is what a grandfather said to his little grandson who was experimenting with playing a guitar:

- (40-34) *Ngali-a* *mai*, *kwai* *tyunim*.
 carry-3SG.OBJ VENT 1SG.FUT tune
 'Bring it [a guitar] here; I'll tune it.'

And by using the sentence in (40-35), the speaker was cheering on a group of young children who were chasing a chicken to kill it for a meal, one of whom was carrying a stick to throw at the chicken:

- (40-35) *Sutim* *fasi* *ka* *mae!*
 throw(st.).at PURP 3SG.SEQ die
 'Throw (it) at it to kill it!' (Lit.: 'Throw (it) at it so that it dies!')

Code-mixing is not at all unusual, and there is no particular stigma attached to it. Normally it is not commented on, provided it is not done to excess. (On certain occasions, such as church sermons, the speaker may engage in code-switching, where whole sentences are delivered in Pijin, which may be influenced by English to various degrees, and in such cases people may comment [subsequently], especially if they found it difficult to understand what was said.) Since bilingualism in Toqabaqita and Pijin is the norm, code-mixing does not normally impede communication. Because of their facility in Pijin, nothing forces speakers of Toqabaqita to accommodate Pijin words phonologically. The language is above all an instrument of communication and self-expression, and sometimes those functions are fulfilled just as well or even better using Pijin words. At present, there is no evidence that code-mixing is endangering the vitality of the Toqabaqita language.

Appendix

Texts

Text 1: A young man and an ancestral spirit

Narrator: Reuel Riianoa

1. *Si manga qeri laqu, nau kwai uqunu laqu*
PRTT time this ADD 1SG 1SG.FUT narrate ADD

suli-a rua-na si uqunu laqu boqo, suli-a
PROL-3.OBJ two-3.PERS DIM story ADD ASRT PROL-3.OBJ

teqe noniqi wane.
one CLF man

‘This time too/again I will tell another little story, about a man.’

2. *Wane qeri wan=daraa n=naqa,*
man that man=be.young.and.single LIG=PRF

thaama-na wane baqita naqa, sui nia
father-3.PERS man be.big PRF but 3SG

wan=daraa.

man=be.young.and.single

‘The man was already a *daraa* man, a very big man, but (still) only a *daraa* man.’ (*Daraa* is used about males who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young and not yet married.)

3. *Maka nia ka mae naqa.*
father 3SG 3SG.SEQ die PRF

‘At one point his father died.’

4. *Nia bana bia thaina-na kero too qana*
3SG LIM and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside GENP

teqe kasi maqa toaa.
 one small CLF hamlet

‘Only he and his mother lived in a small hamlet.’

5. *Kera too-too, qan=teqe fa thato wane qeri,*
 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay GENP=one CLF day man that

nia ka lae ka liiliu ba-na
 3SG 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ stroll LIM-3SG.PERS

qi laa fanua qer=i sa-na fanua qeri
 LOC IN land that=LOC ADJC-3.PERS place that

thaina-na kero nii qi ei neri,
 mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside LOC LOCPRO VIVID

laa kade-qe fanua qeri.
 IN block-ASSOC land that

‘They stayed (there like that). One day the man, he went and just strolled in the land, near the place where he and his mother lived, in that area of land.’

6. *Nia laa-lae, nia ka toda-a teqe thaari.*
 3SG RDP-walk 3SG 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ one girl
 ‘He walked on and on, and he met a girl.’

7. *Thaari qeri riki-la-na qe leqa*
 girl that look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.nice

mamana boqo.
 be.true ASRT

‘The girl looked truly beautiful.’

8. *Thaari mamana.*
 girl be.real
 ‘(She was) a real girl.’

9. *Si manga n=e toda-a thaari qeri, nia*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT meet-3.OBJ girl that 3SG

- ka ngata bii-a.*
 3SG.SEQ speak COM-3SG.OBJ
 ‘When he met the girl, he spoke with her.’
10. *Thaari qeri ka thathami-a tha wela qeri, ma*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ PERSMKR child that and

wela qeri mena ka thathami-a laqu boqo thaari qeri.
 child that FADD 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD ASRT girl that
 ‘The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.’
11. *Keeroqa keko thathami keeroqa qa=fa bongi qeri.*
 3DU 3DU.SEQ like 3DU GENP=CLF day that
 ‘They liked each other on that day.’
12. *Keeroqa keko kani-a ruana-a.*
 3DU 3DU.SEQ tie-3.OBJ be.friends-DVN
 ‘They formed a friendship.’
13. *Keko thathami keeroqa kwailiu.*
 3DU.SEQ like 3DU RECP
 ‘They liked each other.’
14. *Iu, kero ngata quna qeri, keeroqa keko*
 all.right 3DU.NFUT talk manner this 3DU 3DU.SEQ

qolo-a fa thato na keeroqa keki toda
 agree.on-3.OBJ CLF day REL 3DU 3DU.FUT meet

keeroqa qi laa kada fanua qeri.
 3DU LOC IN block land that
 ‘All right, they talked like that, (and) they agreed on a day they would meet in that area of land.’
15. *Ma si manga na kero qolo-a na*
 and PRTT time REL 3DU.NFUT agree.on-3.OBJ COMP

keki toda keeroqa, ma teqe akalo ka
 3DU.FUT meet 3DU and one ancestral.spirit 3SG.SEQ

rongo-a.

hear-3SG.OBJ

‘And when they agreed to meet, an ancestral spirit heard it.’

16. *Akalo qeri ka rongo-a ngata-la-na wane*
ancestral.spirit that 3SG.SEQ hear-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ-3.PERS man

qeri bia thaari qeri na kero ngata qani-a
that and girl that REL 3DU.NFUT speak INS-3SG.OBJ

na kero qolo keeroqa na tootoo
COMP 3DU.NFUT have.agreement.with 3DU COMP later

keki fula-toqo-daroqa qi kula qeri.
3DU.FUT arrive-TEST-3DU.OBJ LOC place that

‘The ancestral spirit heard the speaking of the man and the girl that they agreed to meet later at that place.’

17. *Akalo qeri ka rongo-a.*
ancestral.spirit that 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ

‘The ancestral spirit heard it.’

18. *Ma si manga na qe too suli-a*
and PRTT time REL 3SG.NFUT stay.at.place PROL-3.OBJ

fa bongi na kera too ki fa bongi
CLF day REL 3PL.NFUT be.at.home PL CLF day

na kera qolo-a.
REL 3PL.NFUT agree.on-3SG.OBJ

‘And (then there was) the time when he [the ancestral spirit] stayed (away) during those days, when they [the boy and the girl] were in their (respective) homes, (until) the day they had agreed on.’

19. *Iu, wane baa ka oli mai.*
OK man that 3SG.SEQ return VENT

‘OK, the man came back (home).’

20. *Nia ka lae mai, ka fula sa-na*
3SG 3SG.SEQ go VENT 3SG.SEQ arrive ADJC-3.PERS

thaina-na, ka faqa-rongo-a thaina-na,
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ CAUS-hear-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS

“*Qoo, thaina-ka qae, nau ku laa-lae*
 oh mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC 1SG 1SG.NFUT RDP-go

neri, kwa, kwa toda-a mai teqe thaari.
 VIVID 1SG.SEQ 1SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ VENT one girl

Kwa riki-a thaari qeri. Thaari qeri, thaari
 1SG.SEQ look.at-3.OBJ girl that girl that girl

qe leqa mamana boqo neri, ta
 3SG.NFUT be.beautiful be.true ASRT VIVID some

ai leqa qe aqi si
 woman be.beautiful 3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG

quri-a boqo. Ma thaari qeri ka
 be.like-3SG.OBJ ASRT and girl that 3SG.SEQ

thathami nau, nau mena kwa thathami-a laqu
 like 1SG 1SG FADD 1SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD

boqo thaari qeri.”
 ASRT girl that

‘He came (home), arrived to his mother and told his mother, “Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the girl. The girl, she was truly beautiful. No woman is as beautiful as she is. And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.”’

21. *Thaina-na ka quna qeri, “Qoo, wane nau,*
 mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner this oh man 1SG

si doo leqa qasia naqa neri. Nau mena
 PRTT thing be.good INTS INTS NPAST.HERE 1SG FADD

ku laa-lae mai, kwa kukeqe naqa,
 1SG.NFUT RDP-go VENT 1SG.SEQ be.old.woman PRF

kwa thathami-a bo=naqa so ni qoe
 1SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS IRR PROFORE 2SG

qoki uusi-a naqa ta kini fasi kini qeri
 2SG.FUT buy-3.OBJ PRF some woman PURP woman that

ka qadomi nau, ka too i sa-ku,
 3SG.SEQ help 1SG 3SG.SEQ reside LOC ADJC-1SG.PERS

uri-a talifili nau, nau ku feda naqa. Ma
 REAS-3.OBJ only 1SG 1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired PRF and

ni qoo qoko baqita naqa, qe faara-na
 PROFORE 2SG 2SG.SEQ be.big PRF 3SG.NFUT fit-3.OBJ

naqa qoki uusi kini naqa. Si doo leqa
 PRF 2SG.FUT buy woman PRF PRTT thing be.good

neri.”

NPAST.HERE

‘His mother said, “Oh, my man, (that is) a very good thing. I, too, have become old, (and) I wish very much you would marry a woman, so that the woman might help me (and) live with me, because (I am) by myself (and) I am tired. You are big now; it is now possible for you to get married. (That is) a good thing.”’

22. *Wane qeri ka quna qeri, “Iu, ma thaari qeri,*
 man that 3SG.SEQ manner this yes and girl that

nia sore-ge nau kwai lae kwai toda nia qi
 3SG say-DETR 1SG 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT meet 3SG LOC

fafone.”

day.after.tomorrow

‘The man said, “Yes, and the girl said I should go and meet her the day after tomorrow.”’

23. “*Qoo, m=e leqa. Wane nau, qoki lae.*”
 oh and=3SG.NFUT be.good man 1SG 2SG.FUT go
 “‘Oh, that’s good. My man, you will go.”’

24. *Tootoo qe fula qa=fa thato baa.*
 later 3SG.NFUT arrive GENP=CLF day that
 ‘Later the day arrived.’

25. *Thaina-na wane baa ka quna qeri*, “*Wane nau*,
mother-3.PERS man that 3SG.SEQ manner this man 1SG

nau kwai naqare-a tai alo fasi qoko
1SG 1SG.FUT roast-3.OBJ some.PL taro PURP 2SG.SEQ

ngali-a. Si manga na ruana qoe moro ngata,
take-3SG.OBJ PRTT time REL friend 2SG 2DU.NFUT talk

moro ngaa-ngata qe sui, moka
2DU.NFUT RDP-talk 3SG.NFUT be.finished 2DU.SEQ

qani-a fanga qe=ki.”
eat-3.OBJ food that=PL

‘The man’s mother said, “My man, I’ll roast some taros so that you can take them (with you). When your friend and you are talking, (when) you have finished talking, you two will eat this food.”.’

26. *Wane qeri ka quna qeri*, “*Qe leqa*
man that 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT be.good

ba-na.”

LIM-3SG.PERS

‘The man said, “That’s good.”.’

27. *Thaina-na, qe fula qa=fa thato baa*,
mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT arrive GENP=CLF day that

ka naqare-a alo baa ki, naqare-a, ka
3SG.SEQ roast-3.OBJ taro that PL roast-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

bee-beta-a seqe-na ka sui,
RDP-handle.with.care-3.OBJ body-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ be.finished

ka kesi-a seqe-na ka faalu
3SG.SEQ scrape-3.OBJ body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.clean

teqefau, sui, nia ka ngali-a ka
every.one be.finished 3SG 3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

alu-a laa teqe kaufa, ka kosu-a,
put-3SG.OBJ IN one mat 3SG.SEQ fold-3SG.OBJ

ka fale-a qana kaluwani nia, ka
 3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ GENP son 3SG 3SG.SEQ

ngali-a.

take-3SG.OBJ

‘His mother, (when) the day arrived, roasted the taros, roasted them, handled them carefully until they were done, scraped them until they were all clean, (then) she took them and put them in a mat, folded it and gave it to her son, (and) he took it.’

28. *Wane baa ka lae, qe lae ura kula*
 man that 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.NFUT go ALL place

ba=nia toda-a thaari baa ma keeroqa keko
 that=3SG meet-3.OBJ girl that and 3DU 3DU.SEQ

qolo qi ei keki kwai-toda=i kula qeri.
 arrange LOC LOCPRO 3DU.FUT LIP-meet=LOC place that

‘The man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had arranged to meet (at that place).’

29. *Si manga n=e laa-lae kau ma ka*
 PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-go AND and 3SG.SEQ

riki-a na-na, thaari qeri na kero
 see-3SG.OBJ PRF-3SG.PERS girl that REL 3DU.NFUT

ngaa-ngata ka aqi si lae na=ma-na,
 RDP-speak 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG go PRF=VENT-3SG.PERS

ma teqe doo qeeqeta na-na n=e
 and one thing be.different PRF-3SG.PERS FOC=3SG.NFUT

lae mai.

go VENT

‘When he went (and thought) he saw her, the girl with whom he had spoken had not come, and it was something different that had come.’

30. *Qe toda-a na-na akalo, sui*
 3SG.NFUT meet-3.OBJ PRF-3SG.PERS ancestral.spirit but

akalo qeri qe bula-si nia, ka
 ancestral.spirit that 3SG.NFUT change-TR 3SG 3SG.SEQ

lio-ngaqi nia mai qan=teqe thaari laqu boqo.
 look-TR 3SG VENT GENP=one girl ADD ASRT
 ‘He met an ancestral spirit, but the spirit had changed herself and had made herself look again like a girl.’

31. *Ka lio-ngaqi nia mai qana kini, sui*
 3SG.SEQ look-TR 3SG VENT GENP woman but

ta thaari riki-la-na qe lee-leqa
 some girl look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT RDP-be.nice

ka leqa mamana boqo.
 3SG.SEQ be.nice be.true ASRT
 ‘She [the ancestral spirit] had made herself look like a woman, but (like) a girl that looked truly beautiful.’

32. *Riki-la-na qe aqi si*
 look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

kwai-fa-maqu-i.
 LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
 ‘She did not look frightening.’

33. *Riki-la-na quri-a bo=naqa ta thaari*
 look.at-NMLZ.3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS some girl

mamana quu boqo, sui taa m=akalo
 be.real ANTCONT ASRT but but and=ancestral.spirit

ni bana n=e bulasi mai qana thaari.
 LIG LIM REL=3SG.NFUT transform.os. VENT GENP girl
 ‘She still looked just like a real girl, but (she was) just an ancestral spirit that had changed herself into a girl.’

34. *Iu, keeroqa keko ngata qa-daroqa qa=fa*
 OK 3DU 3DU.SEQ talk SBEN-3DU.PERS GENP=CLF

thato loo, keko too qa-daroqa.
 sun upward 3DU.SEQ stay.at.place SBEN-3DU.PERS
 ‘OK, the two of them talked on that sunny day; they stayed (there).’

35. *Wane qeri ka sore-a kini mamana*
 man that 3SG.SEQ think-3.OBJ woman be.real

neri, sore-a thaari mamana.
 VIVID think-3.OBJ girl be.real
 ‘The man thought (she was) a real woman, (he) thought (she was) a real girl.’

36. *Keko too qa-daroqa qa=fa thato*
 3DU.SEQ stay.at.place SBEN-3DU.PERS GENP=CLF sun

loo.
 upward
 ‘They stayed (there) on that sunny day.’

37. *Kero too qa=fa thato loo, laa-lae,*
 3DU.NFUT stay.at.place GENP=CLF sun upward RDP-go

ka fula qintoqo-na thato.
 3SG.SEQ arrive middle-3.PERS day
 ‘They stayed (there) on that sunny day, until it was midday.’

38. *Wane qeri ka quna qeri, “Qoo, nau ku*
 man that 3SG.SEQ manner this oh 1SG 1SG.NFUT

thathamia-koro koki qani-a tai si fanga
 want-3.OBJ DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT eat-3.OBJ some PRTT food

ki na ni nau ku ngali-a mai.”
 PL REL PROFORE 1SG 1SG.NFUT take-3SG.OBJ VENT
 ‘The man said, “Oh, I want us to eat some of the food I have brought.”.’

39. *Thaari qeri ka quna qeri, “Qe leqa*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT be.good

ba-na.”
 LIM-3SG.PERS
 ‘The girl said, “That’s fine.”.’

40. *Wane baa ka ngali-a kaufa baa, ka*
 man that 3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ mat that 3SG.SEQ
- faala-a qi thaqegano, sui ka ngali-a alo*
 spread-3SG.OBJ LOC ground then 3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ taro
- baa ki, ka nii-a, ka alu-a*
 that PL 3SG.SEQ break.up.food-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ
- qi fafo-na.*
 LOC top-3SG.PERS
 ‘The man took the mat, spread it on the ground, then he took the taros,
 broke them up, (and) put them on it.’
41. “*Qoo, ma si manga qeri koro koki*
 oh and PRTT time this DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT
- fanga.*”
 eat
 ‘“Oh, and now we’ll eat.”’
42. *Thaari baa ka quna qeri, “Qe leqa*
 girl that 3SG.SEQ manner this 3SG.NFUT be.good
- ba-na, koki fanga.*”
 LIM-3SG.PERS DU(INCL).FUT eat
 ‘The girl said, “That’s fine; we’ll eat.”’
43. *Ma wane baa ka fanga, ma ka lio*
 and man that 3SG.SEQ eat and 3SG.SEQ look
- ma ka riki-a thaari baa ka aqi*
 and 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ girl that 3SG.SEQ NEGV
- si raa uri-a tai si fanga qana*
 3SG.NEG reach ALL-3.OBJ some.PL PRTT food GENP
- doo baa ki, si qani-a.*
 thing that PL 3SG.NEG eat-3SG.OBJ
 ‘And the man was eating, and he looked and saw that the girl had not
 reached for any of the food; she was not eating it.’

44. *Ma nia ka sore-qe, “Uri taa na qosi*
and 3SG 3SG.SEQ say-DETR REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG

qani-a tai sii qana fanga neqe? Nau
eat-3.OBJ some.PL piece GENP food this 1SG

ku thathami-a koro koki fanga.”
1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ DU(INCL) DU(INCL).FUT eat

‘And he said, “Why aren’t you eating any (pieces) of this food? I want us to eat.”.’

45. *Thaari baa ka thamo uri-a tai si*
girl that 3SG.SEQ reach ALL-3.OBJ some.PL PRTT

fanga qana doo baa ki, ka qani-a.
food GENP thing that PL 3SG.SEQ eat-3SG.OBJ

‘The girl reached for some of the food, (and) ate it.’

46. *Si manga n=e qani-a, ma wane baa*
PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ and man that

lio ka riki-a si manga n=e qani-a
look and see-3.OBJ PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ

fanga qe=ki, qe aqi si
food that=PL 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

oko-mi-a laqu.
swallow-TR-3SG.OBJ ADD

‘When she was eating it, the man looked and saw that when she was eating the food, she did not swallow it.’

47. *Si manga n=e qani-a neri, si fanga*
PRTT time REL=3SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ VIVID PRTT food

qe=ki ka thada ba-na fasi-a
that=PL 3SG.SEQ fall LIM-3SG.PERS ABL-3.OBJ

foko-na, ka afufu, ka qasi-a, ka
mouth-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ scatter 3SG.SEQ fall-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

too laqu ba-na qi thaqegano.
 remain.at.place ADD LIM-3SG.PERS LOC ground

‘As she was eating it, some of the food would just fall down from her mouth and scatter; it would fall down and would just remain on the ground.’

48. *Ma nia ka, “Qee, nga doo neqe, nga*
 and 3SG 3SG.SEQ hey! IDENT thing this IDENT

imole qe aqi neqe, nga doo qeeqeta
 human 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case VIVID IDENT thing be.different

neqe. Ma n=nau, takona, na nga Kiniliqo
 VIVID and PROFORE=1SG SURPR FILLER IDENT Kiniliqo

ba=i laa fanu naqi i Afolongana neqe
 that=LOC IN place this LOC Afolongana this

n=e lole nau. Ma ni nau,
 FOC=3SG.NFUT tell.lie.to 1SG and PROFORE 1SG

kai ade-a mena wane ku mae bo=naqa
 3SG.FUT do-3.OBJ CONC man 1SG.NFUT be.dead ASRT=INTS

takona.”

certainly

‘And he went (to himself), “Hey, this thing is not a human being; it is something else. And I, it is Kiniliqo [an ancestral spirit] in this place, in this (place) Afolongana, that has lied to me. And I, she will definitely make me a dead man.’

49. *Ma si manga na kai ngata ba-na*
 and PRTT time REL 3SG.IPFV talk LIM-3SG.PERS

quna qeri, ma doo baa, roo maa nia ki
 manner that and thing that two eye 3SG PL

ka lua mai, ka taru ba-na fasi-a
 3SG.SEQ fall.out VENT 3SG.SEQ hang LIM-3SG.PERS ABL-3.OBJ

qi fafo-na babali-na qi ku=naqi, ma
 LOC top-3.PERS cheek-3SG.PERS LOC place=this and

mea-na ka thaka mai, ka
 tongue-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ fall.out VENT 3SG.SEQ

tarutaru ba-na qi ruuruqu-na.
 (st.that.should.not.be.there)hang LIM-3SG.PERS LOC chest-3SG.PERS
 ‘And as he was was talking to himself like that, that thing [the ancestral spirit], both of her eyes fell out and just hung from the top of her cheeks, here [the speaker points to his cheeks], and her tongue fell out and just hung on her chest.’

50. *Ma nia tona, qe tataqe men=i aa,*
 and 3SG be.stunned 3SG.NFUT get.up CONC=LOC space.up

ma ka riki-a nga doo qeeqeta
 and 3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ IDENT thing be.different

ni bana.
 LIG LIM

‘And he was stunned (and) got up and saw that it was something else [not the girl he had met earlier].’

51. *Ma doo qeri ka dola bo=naqa si*
 and thing that 3SG.SEQ disappear ASRT=INTS PRTT

kade-qe manga qeri quu boqo, ka aqi
 block-ASSOC time that RESTR ASRT 3SG.SEQ NEG

si riki-a laqu.
 3SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ ADD

‘And that thing disappeared at that very point in time; he did not see it again.’

52. *Ma ni nia ka lae bo=naqa mai uri*
 and PROFORE 3SG 3SG.SEQ go ASRT=INTS VENT ALL

maqa fera.
 CLF home

‘And he went back home.’

53. *Laa-lae mai, qe fula qi fera, ka*
 RDP-walk VENT 3SG.NFUT arrive LOC home 3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo-a thaina-na, ka quna, “Qoo,
CAUS-hear-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner oh

thaina-ka qae, si do=e taqaa
mother-PL(INCL).PERS VOC PRTT thing=3SG.NFUT be.bad

mamana boqo, Kiniliqo na=i Afolongana neqe
be.real ASRT Kiniliqo REL=LOC Afolongana this

qe lole nau. Thaari mamana baa
3SG.NFUT tell.lie.to 1SG girl be.real that

mere ngata, nia qe aqi si
1DU(EXCL).NFUT talk 3SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG

fula. Ma Kiniliqo na=i Afolongana bana
arrive and Kiniliqo REL=LOC Afolongana LIM

b=e lole nau, ma ni nau
that=3SG.NFUT tell.lie.to 1SG and PROFORE 1SG

kwa laa-lae ma kwa toda-a. Ma
1SG.SEQ RDP-go and 1SG.SEQ meet-3SG.OBJ and

ni nau wane ku mae bo=naqa neqe.
PROFORE 1SG man 1SG.NFUT be.dead ASRT=INTS VIVID

Thaina-ka, si do=e taqaa qasia
mother-PL(INCL).PERS PRTT thing=3SG.NFUT be.bad INTS

naqa.”

INTS

‘(He) kept walking, arrived home, (and) he told his mother, he said, “Oh, Mother, it’s really bad. Kiniliqo of this (place) Afolongana lied to me. The girl I had talked with, she did not arrive. And that (ancestral spirit) Kiniliqo of Afolongana lied to me, and I went and met her. And I am a dead man. Mother, it’s very bad.”’

54. *Ma nia, gwagwari-a ka toqe-a bo=naqa*
and 3SG feel.cold-DVN 3SG.SEQ affect-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS

tha wela qeri, ma ka ili-toqo-na
 PERSMKR child that and 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ

qono-laa, ka aqi si raraqu, ma
 sit-NMLZ 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG be.at.rest and

ka ili-toqo-na teo-laa, ma ka aqi
 3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ lie-NMLZ and 3SG.SEQ NEG

si ngado.
 3SG.NEG be.still

‘And he, the boy, felt cold, and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down) but could not stay still.’

55. *Ma kai ade quna qeri bana qana fa*
 and 3SG.IPFV behave manner that LIM GENP CLF

thaqulafia qeri.
 evening that

‘And he was behaving just like that that evening.’

56. *Ma thaina-na ka, lio-na ka dila,*
 and mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ mind-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ slip

ma ka dora qana si ade-laa kai
 and 3SG.SEQ not.know GENP PRPT do-NMLZ 3SG.FUT

ili-a, ma nia tona mena, ma wela qeri
 do-3SG.OBJ and 3SG be.startled CONC and child that

ka mae bo=naqa qa=fa bongi qeri
 3SG.SEQ die ASRT=INTS GENP=CLF day that

bo=naqa.
 ASRT=INTS

‘And his mother, she, she was heartbroken, and she did not know what to do, and she was startled, but the child did die on that day.’

57. *Nau ku uqunu mai, si uqunu qeri ka*
 1SG 1SG.NFUT narrate VENT PRPT story this 3SG.SEQ

fula bo=naqa quna qeri, ka sui naqa.
arrive ASRT=INTS manner this 3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF
'I have been telling (this story); it has arrived (at this point), and now it is finished.'

Text 2: Man called Liliqa
Narrator: Adam Ulufaalu

(*Tarafulaa*'s are traditional sayings, proverbs. They are associated with true or apocryphal stories and are attributed to a character (human or otherwise) in the story. For two *tarafulaa*'s see [17-58] in section 17.6 and [35-61] in section 35.3.2.3.)

1. *Rua-na* *si* *tarafula-a* *suli-a* *teqe wane*
 two-3.PERS DIM quote.proverb-DVN PROL-3.OBJ one man

kera *qalangi-a* *qa=tha* *Liliqa.*
 3PL.NFUT name-3SG.OBJ GENP=PERS.MKR Liliqa.
 'The second saying, proverb (is) about a man called Liliqa.'

2. *Wane* *na* *tha* *Liliqa,* *maala* *qe*
 man REL PERSMKR Liliqa sore 3SG.NFUT

tharu-fi-a *qae-na* *na* *keki*
 (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ leg-3SG.PERS REL 3PL.IPFV

qalangi-a *qana* "basi".
 name-3SG.OBJ GENP basi

'This man, Liliqa, his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "basi" [yaws].'

3. *Manga* *na* *too* *qana* *kada* *fanua* *n=e*
 time REL reside GENP block land REL=3SG.NFUT

too *qani-a,* *imole* *ki* *sui* *na=i* *laa*
 reside GENP-3SG.OBJ person PL EXHST REL=LOC IN

taafoloa qeri *ma=i* *laa* *kada* *fanua* *na* *nia*
 district that and=LOC IN block land REL 3SG

e *too* *i* *ei* *kera* *thaitoqoma-na*
 3SG.NFUT reside LOC LOCPRO 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ

tha *Liliqa.*
 PERSMKR Liliqa

'When he lived in that block of land that he was living in, everybody in that district and in the block of land he was living in knew Liliqa.'

4. *Nia gwa tero.*
 3SG CLF person.in.permanently.bad.physical.or.medical.condition
 ‘He was (a person) in bad condition.’
5. *Maal=e tharu-fi nia.*
 sore=3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR 3SG
 ‘A sore had afflicted him.’
6. *Keka thaitoqoma-na ma keka rongo suli-a.*
 3PL.SEQ know-3SG.OBJ and 3PL.SEQ hear PROL-3SG.OBJ
 ‘They knew (about) it, and they heard about it.’
7. *Nia, tootoo, qana teqe fa thato, nia, maqe maala*
 3SG later GENP one CLF day 3SG CLF sore
- qeri, ka ade quri-a na sa kai*
 that 3SG.SEQ act be.like-3.OBJ COMP IRR 3SG.FUT
- mafo fasi nia.*
 (sore)heal ABL 3SG
 ‘It, later, one day, it, the sore, looked (to him) like it was going to heal.’
8. *Ma nia kai ade quna baa, kai ade*
 and 3SG 3SG.IPFV behave manner that 3SG.IPFV behave
- quna baa, ma maqe maala baa ka*
 manner that and CLF sore that 3SG.SEQ
- sukani mafo.*
 be.of.little.degree (sore)heal
 ‘And he was behaving like that [i.e., he was thinking his sore was healing],
 he was behaving like that; and the sore healed a bit.’
9. *Manga na nia toqotoqo-na maqe maala*
 time REL 3SG have.feeling.that-3.OBJ CLF sore
- ba=e mafo, ma ka aqi si*
 that=3SG.NFUT (sore)heal and 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG
- mafo lalanganiqa quu mena qa-na,*
 (sore)heal be.good ANTCONT CONC SBEN-3SG.PERS

na nia ka lae ka manta uri-a
 FILLER 3SG 3SG.SEQ go 3SG.SEQ think PURP-3.OBJ

na kai lae kai raqa i gwau-na
 COMP 3SG.FUT go 3SG.FUT climb LOC top-3.PERS

teqe thaame-q=qai uri-a na kai qai
 one father-ASSOC=tree PURP-3.OBJ COMP 3SG.FUT shout

tatalo qani-a na si doo qeri
 (voice)be.loud GENP-3SG.OBJ COMP PRTT thing that

qe=aqi naqa fasi nia.
 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF ABL 3SG

‘When he had a feeling that his sore was healing, and even though it had not yet healed well, he nevertheless (went and) thought that he would go and climb to the top of a big tree in order to shout loudly about it, that that thing was gone from him.’

10. *Nia ka ili-a si doo qeri, lae ka fula*
 3SG 3SG.SEQ do-3.OBJ PRTT thing that go 3SG.SEQ arrive

i qae-na teqe thaame-q=qai,
 LOC base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS one father-ASSOC=tree

ka raqa.
 3SG.SEQ climb

‘He did that (thing), went and arrived at the bottom of a big tree (and) climbed.’

11. *Manga n=e raa-raqa ka fula i*
 time REL=3SG.NFUT RDP-climb 3SG.SEQ arrive LOC

fuufuur-a qai baa, nia ka qai
 crown.of.tree-3.PERS tree that 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout

qana teqe thaame-q=qai-laa n=e baqita.
 INS one father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT be.big

‘When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the tree, he gave out a very loud shout.’

12. *Qai-laa* *n=e* *qai* *qani-a* *e*
 shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT shout INS-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

quna *qeri*, “*Roo-wane!*, *ta* *imole* *ka*
 manner this two-man/person some person 3SG.SEQ

too *i* *fe=i* *laa* *kada* *taafoloa* *neqe*,
 reside LOC where=LOC IN block district this

nau, *tha* *Liliqa*, *na* *ku* *qai* *neri!*
 1SG PERSMKR Liliqa FOC 1SG.NFUT shout NPAST.HERE

Moka *rongo* *suli-a* *maala* *b=e*
 2DU.SEQ hear PROL-3.OBJ sore that=3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi *nau!* *Maala* *b=e* *tharu-fi*
 afflict-TR 1SG sore that=3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR

nau *qe=aqi* *naqa!* *Maala* *baa* *e*
 1SG 3SG.NFUT=not.exist PRF sore that 3SG.NFUT

mafo *naqa!* *Ta* *imole* *qoko* *too*
 (sore)heal PRF some person 2SG.SEQ reside

i *fei*, *qoko* *too* *qa=ta* *kula*,
 LOC where 2SG.SEQ reside GENP=some place

qoko *rongo-a* *mai:* *Maala* *ba=e*
 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3SG.OBJ VENT sore that-3SG.NFUT

aqi *naqa!*”
 not.exist PRF

‘This is what he shouted, “Hey, anybody, wherever you may live in this section of the district, it’s me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed! Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen to this: The sore is no more!”.’

13. *Neri*, *manga* *b=e* *qai* *quna* *baa*
 all.right time that=3SG.NFUT shout manner that

ka sifo, qe sifo, manga
3SG.SEQ descend 3SG.NFUT descend time

n=e sifo sulī-a qai baa ka
REL=3SG.NFUT descend PROL-3.OBJ tree that 3SG.SEQ

aqi si thaitoqoma-na na teqe si
NEGV 3SG.NEG know-3.OBJ COMP one DIM

kuukusu e togo faafi-a kida baa.
small.stick 3SG.NFUT prick CONF-3.OBJ scar that

‘All right, he shouted that at that time, (then) he went down (the tree), he went down, (but) as he was going down the tree, he did not know/notice that a small stick had pricked the scar (where the yaws sore had been).’

14. *Kida baa ka busu qana qabu.*
scar that 3SG.SEQ burst GENP blood
‘The scar burst (open) with blood.’

15. *Nia ka sifo, fula i thaqegano, ka oli,*
3SG 3SG.SEQ descend arrive LOC ground 3SG.SEQ go.back

ka fula i biqu nia, ka manta sulī-a,
3SG.SEQ arrive LOC house 3SG 3SG.SEQ think PROL-3SG.OBJ

“*Qoo, roo-wane, ma si doo e taqaa.*
oh two-man/person and PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT be.bad

Sa maqe maala neq=e mafo naqa
IRR CLF sore this=3SG.NFUT (sore)heal PRF

nabaa, ma sui si doo neqe ka thau
PAST.THEN and but PRTT thing this 3SG.SEQ hit

laqu qi ei, ma ka oka naqa
ADD LOC LOCPRO and 3SG.SEQ bleed.profusely PRF

qana qabu na=nia.”
GENP blood this=3SG

‘He went down, reached the ground, went back, arrived at his house, and thought about it, “Oh, man!, this thing is bad. It looked like the sore had

healed then, but this thing hit (me) there, and now it is bleeding profusely (with blood), it is.”.’

16. *Ma toqa baa kera rongo sulī-a qai-a*
and people that 3PL.NFUT hear PROL-3.OBJ shout-DVN

baa, keka fita mai, keka fula i biqu
that 3PL.SEQ run VENT 3PL.SEQ arrive LOC house

tha Liliqa.

PERSMKR Liliqa

‘And the people (had) heard (about) that shout, they came running, (and) arrived at Liliqa’s house.’

17. *Manga na kera lae mai, kera fula,*
time REL 3PL.NFUT go VENT 3PL.NFUT arrive

“Nee wana araqi baa!”

oh man! mature.man that

‘When they were coming, they arrived, “Oh, man!, the old man!”.’

18. *“Qoo, qai nabaa, qoo, doqora kera, na*
oh shout PAST.THEN oh sibling 3PL REL

ku qai nabaa, sa maqe maala
1SG.NFUT shout PAST.THEN IRR CLF sore

ba=e mafo naqa nabaa, ku sifo
that=3SG.NFUT (sore)heal PRF PAST.THEN 1SG.NFUT descend

mai sulī-a qai baa, ma teqe si kuukusu
VENT PROL-3.OBJ tree that and one DIM small.stick

ka toqo qi ei. Manga n=e toqo
3SG.SEQ prick LOC LOCPRO time REL=3SG.NFUT prick

qi ei, ma ka busu feteqi qana qabu.”
LOC LOCPRO and 3SG.SEQ burst INTS GENP blood

“‘Oh, the shout then, oh, brothers, that I shouted then, it looked like the sore had healed, (but) I was coming down the tree, and a small stick pricked (me) there. When it pricked (me) there, it [the old sore] burst (open) with a lot of blood.”.’

19. *Ma maqe maala na ka biqi tharu*
and CLF sore FOC 3SG.SEQ IMM (sore)afflict

mae-li nia feteqi neri.
die-TR 3SG INTS VIVID

‘And it was a sore that quickly afflicted him and (eventually) killed him.’

20. *Fula i kula qeri, maqe maala baa ka*
arrive LOC place that CLF sore that 3SG.SEQ

oka qana qabu, ka biqi tharu,
bleed.profusely GENP blood 3SG.SEQ IMM (sore)be.painful

ka qidu-a naqa, qe
3SG.SEQ (sore)grow.bigger.on-3SG.OBJ PRF 3SG.NFUT

thaa-tharu-fi nia, ka mae bo=naqa.
RDP-(sore)afflict-TR 3SG 3SG.SEQ die ASRT=INTS

‘It got to the point (where) the sore bled profusely, quickly got painful, grew bigger on him, kept bothering him, until he died.’

21. *Si tarafula-a qeri qe lae mai*
DIM quote.proverb-DVN this 3SG.NFUT go VENT

suli-a uni-qi wane ki n=e
PROL-3.OBJ generation-ASSOC person PL REL=3SG.NFUT

laa-lae mai, ka fula qana uni-qi
RDP-go VENT 3SG.SEQ arrive GENP generation-ASSOC

imole na=i manga qe=ki na keki
person REL=LOC time this=PL REL 3PL.IPFV

qaru-toqo-na.

fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ

‘This proverb has been passed down by the generations that have gone by; it has come down to the present-day generation, who (still) use it.’

22. *Keki qaru-toqo-na qana si manga na mana*
3PL.IPFV fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ GENP PRTT time REL or

sa keka riki-a ta wane na qoko raa
IRR 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ some person REL 2SG.SEQ work

qana ta si doo, manga na qo raa qana
GENP some PRTT thing time REL 2SG.NFUT work GENP

si doo fuu, ma qoko riki-a na ka
PRTT thing that and 2SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ COMP 3SG.SEQ

aqi si sui quu ba-na na=nia,
NEGV 3SG.NEG be.finished ANTCONT LIM-3SG.PERS this=3SG

ma qoko ili uri-a na qoki taqe,
and 2SG.SEQ do PURP-3.OBJ COMP 2SG.FUT ascend

qoki faqa-rongo tatalo qani-a, mada
2SG.FUT CAUS-hear (voice)be.loud GENP-3SG.OBJ or

qoki alu laalaqa qani-a, si doo
2SG.FUT put be.clear GENP-3SG.OBJ PRTT thing

n=o raa qani-a neri,
REL=2SG.NFUT work GENP-3SG.OBJ NPAST.HERE

na qoko ngata na=kau suli-a.
REL 2SG.SEQ speak PRF=AND PROL-3SG.OBJ

‘They use it at a time if they see a person (like) you working on something, when you are working on that thing, and you see it is not yet finished, it is not, and (still) you try to go up (somewhere) (and) tell loudly about it or tell explicitly about it, the thing that you have been working on, that you are speaking about.’

23. *Rua-na imole ka rongo-a na=kau, ma*
two-3.PERS person 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ PRF=AND and

uul-a imole ka rongo-a na=kau, ma
three-3.PERS person 3SG.SEQ hear-3SG.OBJ PRF=AND and

ka lae faaladoa, ma uqunu ka lae na=kau
3SG.SEQ go spread and story 3SG.SEQ go PRF=AND

suli-a na si doo qeri qe danga
 PROL-3SG.OBJ COMP PRTT thing that 3SG.NFUT be.finished

naqa, ma do=e aqi si danga
 PRF and thing=3SG.NFUT NEG 3SG.NEG be.finished

quu ba-na.
 ANTCONT LIM-3SG.PERS

‘A second person will hear it, a third person will hear it, and it will spread, and a story will go (round) about it that the thing is finished, but the thing is not yet finished.’

24. *Qaru-toqo-na-laa na keki qaru-toqo-na*
 fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ REL 3PL.IPFV fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ

qani-a, si manga nia ni boqo neri,
 INS-3SG.OBJ PRTT time 3SG LIG ASRT NPAST.HERE

manga na kera rongo-a uqunu tatalo
 time REL 3PL.NFUT hear-3.OBJ story (voice)be.loud

suli-a ta si doo na qoko ili-a
 PROL-3.OBJ some PRTT thing REL 2SG.SEQ do-3SG.OBJ

ka aqi si danga, ta wane kai
 3SG.SEQ NEG 3SG.NEG be.finished some person 3SG.FUT

sore-a ba-na neri, “Weleqi,
 say-3SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS NPAST.HERE man!

qoto ade-de mala tha Liliqa.”
 2SG.DEHORT act-RDP EQT PERSMKR Liliqa

‘The way they use it [the saying], its time is like this: when they hear a loud story (being told by you) about something that you have done but it is not finished, a person will just say, “Man!, don’t act like Liliqa.”.’

Notes

39. Lichtenberk (1987) is an earlier study of the irrealis marker, which is superseded by the present analysis.
40. *Quri* can take nominalizations of other verbs as its subject, but in such cases it has the basic meaning ‘resemble, be like’, expressing comparison of equality, not epistemic possibility. For example:

(i) *Wane naqi, ngata-la-na qe quri-a wane*
 man this talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ man

qe thaitoqome-qe doo, ...
 3SG.NFUT know-DETR thing

‘This man talks like someone who knows a lot (but he doesn’t know a thing).’ (Lit.: ‘This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, ...’)

41. In Lichtenberk (1995) the term “avertive” was used. However, to avoid confusion with the avertive constructions (sections 5.1.7 and 15.1.2.3.3), the term “preventive” has been adopted here.
42. Compare the English expression *shout somebody a drink/lunch*, etc.
43. Lichtenberk (2007b) is an earlier study of constructions that serve to express reciprocal and related meanings in Toqabaqita. That study was originally written in the mid-1990s and is superseded by the present work. However, the reference to it in section 21.1 with respect to the development of the earlier prefix *wai is valid.
44. Compare *mala* ‘quite, indeed, even’ in the closely related Kwara’ae language (Deck 1934: 89).
45. The terms “comparee”, “comparative predicate”, and “clause of comparison” have been adopted from Stassen (1985: 26).
46. In Lichtenberk (1991b) it was stated that *bii* and *bia* could not link clauses at all. At that time no examples of such use had been recorded.
Bii and *bia* developed from an earlier transitive verb ‘accompany’ into a comitative preposition and then a noun-phrase conjunction, and their use to connect clauses is another step in a series of grammaticalization stages. As argued in Lichtenberk (1991a), one would not expect the clause-conjoining function to develop before the noun-phrase conjoining function.
47. Called “utterance” complement-taking verbs by Noonan.
48. When a Pijin word has more than one variant, the form given here is the one normally used by Toqabaqita people when speaking Pijin.
49. The meanings ‘bathe (os.)’ and ‘bathe sb.’ are expressed in Pijin by *suim* and *suimim*, respectively. Their Toqabaqita equivalents are *siisiu* (intr.) and *siu-fi* (Class 1 tr.), respectively.

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Index

- ablative, 161, 238, 239, 451, 453, 465–468, 470, 471, 475–477, 480, 500, 501, 593, 597, 821–824, 1043, 1065, 1135, 1162
- accommodation, phonological, 9, 428, 1100, 1282, 1284, 1285, 1288, 1291–1293, 1297–1304
- additive, 140, 174, 185–188, 190, 197, 231, 343, 352, 356–359, 545, 591, 685, 807, 808, 944, 964, 966, 972, 974, 975, 977, 978, 1127, 1246
- adjacency, 495, 497, 499
- adjective, 47, 52, 229, 230, 233, 235, 264, 288, 318, 326, 339, 342, 383, 534, 1292
- adverb phrase, 54, 161, 242, 450, 452, 467, 470, 471, 475, 534, 596, 637, 827, 828, 900, 934, 936
- adverbs, 52, 54, 161–163, 242, 386, 450, 452, 467, 470, 471, 475, 534, 596, 603, 631, 632, 635, 637–640, 646–649, 676, 795, 813, 819, 822, 826–828, 900, 902, 934, 936, 1228
- adverbs, locative demonstrative, 162, 163, 386, 451, 452, 603, 605, 616, 631, 632, 634, 772, 799, 805, 925, 934, 936, 940, 1285
- adverbs, situational demonstrative, 43, 163, 192, 603, 639, 647, 649–651, 701, 749, 772, 799, 805, 940, 948, 1227–1229
- agreement, 41, 73, 75, 116, 149, 153, 656, 676, 829–834, 876, 877, 947, 962, 1038, 1086, 1088, 1129, 1287, 1307, 1308
- allative, 49, 161, 237–239, 241, 441, 451, 453, 465, 467, 468, 470, 471, 498, 500–502, 508, 822–824, 875, 1038, 1135, 1166, 1231
- animacy, 51, 52, 74, 81, 106, 116, 149, 150, 152–155, 200, 201, 206, 230, 233, 245, 246, 253, 325, 326, 339, 340, 488, 497, 506, 540, 890, 892–894, 914, 917, 1035, 1088, 1244, 1245, 1248, 1250, 1273
- answers to questions, 790
- anterior, 16, 58, 142, 174, 177–180, 675, 686, 689, 715, 716, 718, 832, 1001
- anterior-continuing, 16, 58, 142, 174, 177, 179, 180, 675, 686, 689, 715, 716, 718, 832, 1001
- apodosis, 237, 679, 727, 791, 941, 957, 1106, 1111, 1112, 1114–1126
- apposition, 228, 231, 534, 537, 549, 550, 928, 944
- apprehensional-epistemic, 783, 787, 788
- ascriptive sentences, 142, 796, 937, 938, 940, 1089, 1090, 1218, 1243, 1255, 1277
- aspect, continuative/iterative, 33, 139, 699, 702–704, 852, 1199
- aspect, frequentative, 29, 208, 441, 699, 706–709, 727, 1192
- aspect, imperfective, 52, 56–59, 143, 145, 148, 159, 677, 680, 693, 699–702, 706, 721, 736, 739, 1017, 1111, 1114, 1128, 1132, 1167, 1168, 1174, 1180
- assertive, 12, 13, 165, 174, 175, 183, 192–195, 199, 210, 305, 319, 321, 352, 354, 355, 357, 358–361, 368, 530, 591, 747, 831, 832, 836, 837, 884, 946, 1057, 1069, 1130, 1131, 1169, 1217, 1270, 1281
- associative noun phrase, 135, 228, 231, 266, 281, 287, 289, 292, 293, 295, 321, 375, 407–409, 416, 418, 419, 438, 602, 1080
- asyndetic coordination, 535, 721, 737, 828, 952, 973, 974, 1100, 1167,

- 1181, 1186, 1187, 1190, 1192,
1199, 1216, 1232
- attenuative, 164, 165, 168, 1058
- avertive, 164, 170, 171, 689–691, 759,
760, 1331
- basic constituent order, 43, 44
- benefactive, 133, 197, 199–203, 212,
221, 332, 453, 494–497, 1092
- beneficiary, 200, 202, 203, 376, 473,
496, 497, 675, 886, 926
- bilingualism, 1, 1291, 1304
- borrowing, 52, 77, 271, 1196, 1291,
1292, 1297–1299, 1303
- causative, 24, 56, 60, 68, 70, 100–109,
111–113, 123, 133, 727, 740, 815,
863, 883, 984, 987, 990, 1034–
1036, 1079
- causer, 112, 113, 1034–1036
- chaining situations, 863, 884, 885
- classifiers, 53, 229, 230, 232, 233, 239,
255, 259, 260, 264–276, 278–290,
292, 293, 299, 300, 322, 376, 383,
395, 402, 413, 419, 420, 575, 576,
597, 675
- cliticization, 16, 19, 33–35, 145, 746
- code-mixing, 1291, 1299–1304
- cognate focusing, 438, 1086, 1279
- cognate objects, 130
- cognate relativization, 262, 438, 1080,
1084–1086, 1279
- cognate subjects, 130
- comitative, 53, 440, 465, 468, 470,
486, 487, 503, 504, 529, 535, 539,
541, 547, 805, 1267, 1331
- comparison, of equality, 463, 908,
1096, 1331
- comparison, of inequality, 489, 908,
1076, 1092, 1221
- complement clauses, 44, 52, 56, 60,
131, 136, 137, 229, 232, 442, 443,
507, 679, 682, 694, 754, 756, 759,
790, 942, 981–991, 993–1009,
1011, 1014–1039, 1042, 1045–
1047, 1049, 1054–1060, 1062,
1138, 1152, 1223, 1250, 1265,
1270, 1280
- complementizer, 37, 982, 986, 988,
990, 991, 999, 1000, 1005, 1011,
1057, 1060, 1137, 1138, 1140,
1147, 1150, 1170
- complement-taking verbs, 756, 762,
982–986, 988, 989, 992, 999, 1022,
1331
- completive, 53, 174, 180, 182–185,
208, 319, 710, 831, 964, 1001,
1178, 1185, 1186, 1189, 1191,
1206–1209
- compounds, 19, 25, 26, 59, 65, 67, 69,
78, 80, 85, 110, 117, 121, 133, 136,
137, 140, 141, 168, 184, 238, 250,
276, 292, 327, 330, 333, 334, 400,
405, 423, 427, 446, 463, 467, 493,
512, 551–564, 566–595, 598, 599,
601, 625, 675, 682, 707, 750, 815,
816, 841, 848, 863, 871, 873, 877,
878, 882–885, 911, 914, 915, 925,
960, 971, 993, 1007, 1008, 1038,
1048, 1051, 1058, 1086, 1142,
1148, 1214, 1215, 1217, 1219,
1220, 1222, 1257, 1296
- concessive, 174, 197, 795, 959, 964,
974, 1127–1134
- conditionals, 8, 178, 237, 546, 679,
694, 698, 727, 755, 776, 791, 793,
795, 941, 957, 969, 1108, 1111,
1116–1125, 1131, 1179, 1197, 1258
- confective, 23, 465, 468, 471, 481,
483–485, 546, 676, 933, 1086
- consequence clauses, 429, 1145, 1167,
1168, 1170
- coordination, 182, 228, 231, 296, 306,
361, 413, 426, 449, 455, 528, 534–
538, 540–542, 544–548, 550, 658,
721, 722, 737, 782, 791, 828, 838,
901, 952, 957, 958, 963, 966, 969,
971–974, 989, 1006, 1008, 1025,
1046, 1050, 1060, 1076, 1100,
1109, 1112, 1147, 1151, 1153,
1167, 1172, 1175, 1177, 1181–
1187, 1190, 1192, 1199, 1216,
1218, 1221, 1222, 1232, 1260,
1273, 1280, 1281

- coordinators, 53, 534–541, 546–549,
 776, 952, 955, 960, 962, 964, 968,
 969, 974, 1106, 1127, 1134, 1239,
 1271
- counterfactual, 178, 677, 681, 690,
 698, 755, 759, 761, 770, 1026,
 1029–1031, 1109, 1114, 1119–
 1121, 1123, 1124, 1179
- counterfactuality, 755, 756, 758–761,
 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 989, 1003,
 1006, 1025, 1029–1031, 1045, 1119
- dehortative, 143, 144, 148, 734, 842,
 851, 853–856, 1174
- deictic centre, 212–216, 219, 225–227,
 371, 372, 608, 611, 613, 614, 616,
 619, 620, 632, 634, 643, 945, 1156
- demonstratives, 12, 17, 36, 37, 137,
 139, 146, 147, 162, 163, 229–232,
 258, 265, 325, 329, 337, 347, 373,
 374, 386, 413, 439, 452, 476, 521,
 562, 595, 596, 603–606, 608, 609,
 614, 616, 617, 619, 622, 627, 629–
 632, 634, 637–639, 643, 645, 649,
 650, 652, 653, 676, 749, 936, 946,
 1071, 1083, 1119, 1228, 1231, 1267
- demonstratives, determiner, 16, 17,
 229, 232, 603, 605–607, 610, 613,
 614, 616, 617, 620, 622, 635, 639,
 640, 645, 649, 822
- demonstratives, endophoric functions
 of, 606, 608, 622, 629
- demonstratives, qualifying, 17, 232,
 603, 615–618, 631, 634, 638, 649,
 651
- deranked subordinate clauses, 148,
 768, 1213–1222
- desiderative, 164, 992, 1001, 1003,
 1004, 1006–1009, 1011, 1026,
 1054–1059
- detachment of head nouns and their
 relative clauses, 1098, 1103
- diminutive, 229, 232, 259, 263, 264,
 280, 287, 288, 341, 439
- direct speech, 137, 156, 627, 630, 676,
 840, 941, 961, 1020, 1112, 1223,
 1225–1235
- directional, andative, 37, 55, 142, 174,
 197, 198, 208, 212, 214–217, 222,
 352, 367, 371, 373
- directional, ventive, 13, 69, 122, 174,
 197–199, 209, 212, 214–216, 219–
 224, 226, 352, 371–373, 439, 562,
 600, 611, 643, 718, 820, 945, 1010,
 1069, 1156
- directionality, displaced, 220–222,
 1156
- disabling conditions, 730, 741, 751–
 753, 756
- disagreement, 528, 673
- dispersive situations, 864, 883
- distal, 352–354, 373, 374
- distributed situations, 883, 884
- distributive, 298, 317, 324
- empty subjects, 131–134
- Endpoint, 104, 107
- English, 3, 9, 41, 251, 271, 411, 829,
 1196, 1224, 1234, 1291, 1292,
 1295, 1296, 1301–1304, 1331
- equational identificational sentences,
 935, 1245
- equative, 451, 460, 463, 600, 665, 903,
 908, 1096
- exhaustive, 53, 174, 180, 183–185,
 195, 208, 319–321, 352, 355, 359,
 364, 369, 831, 964, 992, 1068,
 1178, 1186, 1191, 1206
- existential sentences, 734, 738, 801,
 837, 914, 916, 918, 919, 921, 924–
 926, 929, 931, 1072, 1149
- fear contexts, 783
- focus, 37, 50–52, 146, 154, 162, 215,
 246, 256, 327, 361, 362, 366, 368,
 370, 438, 509, 511, 515, 577, 648,
 667, 668, 709, 738, 778, 795–797,
 799, 800, 815, 816, 820, 824, 826–
 828, 840, 841, 872, 898, 899, 908,
 918, 935, 944, 988, 990, 991, 1062,
 1071, 1144, 1167–1170, 1181,
 1192, 1197, 1204, 1241, 1242,
 1270–1290

- focus marker, 37, 146, 648, 795–797, 800, 828, 990, 991, 1062, 1271–1273, 1280
 focusing, 50, 73, 199, 248, 366, 454, 504, 505, 509, 515, 657, 671, 778, 796–798, 801, 805, 816, 824, 884, 940, 974, 1086, 1139, 1144, 1145, 1169, 1210, 1241, 1270–1281
 fusion, 8, 9, 12, 33–39, 49, 145–147, 173, 202, 311, 325, 331, 344, 360, 368, 492, 545, 610, 615, 619, 625, 639, 650, 664, 741, 746, 754, 758, 767, 770, 777, 795, 806, 884, 946, 962, 990, 1030, 1062, 1106, 1117, 1271
 future, immediate, 164–166, 679–681, 711, 717, 856, 1058
 future, near, 678, 681–683, 686–690, 717, 759, 886, 992
 general locative, 17, 26, 34, 38, 161, 162, 242, 344, 450–453, 458, 460, 494, 499–502, 516, 597, 631, 637–639, 649, 800, 823, 824, 826, 889, 1095, 1251, 1257, 1276
 general preposition, 36, 49, 126, 240, 241, 402, 406, 435, 451, 463, 467, 470, 481, 488–491, 502, 515, 580, 590, 909, 910, 932, 1004, 1006, 1008, 1012, 1045, 1047–1049, 1051–1053, 1080, 1081, 1085, 1100, 1128, 1162, 1164
 goal, 497, 498
 habitual, 57, 59, 571, 576, 677, 693, 699–702, 721, 861, 864, 865, 867, 997, 1006, 1113, 1117, 1120, 1132, 1168, 1180
 head-marking, 44, 47, 73
 hedging, 760, 761, 763, 765
 heterosemy, 53
 identifier, 229, 254–256, 258, 807, 808
 imperatives, 147, 157, 166, 171, 176, 196, 244, 583, 611, 612, 639, 646, 683, 694, 717, 730, 754, 842–859, 892, 893, 1121, 1157, 1159
 imperatives, negative, 138, 139, 171, 173, 704, 736, 842, 850–854, 856, 858
 imperatives, positive, 145, 677, 843, 852, 853, 856–859, 1159
 inceptive, 164, 1000, 1054–1058
 inclusive, 48, 52, 142, 159, 160, 208, 243, 244, 247, 249, 335, 350, 376, 377, 382, 655, 656, 843, 846, 848, 946
 inclusory, 545, 655–673, 676, 804, 1088, 1244
 incorporation, 68, 78, 80, 85, 117, 135, 137, 141, 186, 222, 333, 360, 427, 512, 566–568, 573–575, 587, 589, 600, 601, 1013, 1051, 1052, 1137
 indirect speech, 840, 1020, 1223, 1232
 ineffectuality, 164, 165, 169
 inessive, 121, 343, 451, 453, 460, 499–501, 516, 531, 702, 1095, 1251
 ingressive, 224
 Initiator, 102, 104–106
 instrument inversion, 126, 491, 508–515, 570, 769, 800, 801, 809, 820, 821, 825, 827, 1080, 1083–1085, 1094, 1148, 1251, 1275
 instrumental, 126, 465, 468, 488, 491, 511, 515, 1083, 1085, 1086
 integrative use of inclusives, 249, 846
 intensifiers, 12, 110, 140, 174, 191–193, 195, 196, 208–211, 232, 331, 338, 341, 352, 355, 358–360, 364, 365, 368–370, 545, 583, 584, 645, 647, 709, 748, 749, 800, 807, 808, 896, 971, 1130, 1131, 1191, 1281, 1301
 interjections, 158, 813, 845, 849, 946, 947, 950–952, 961, 962, 964, 1127, 1235, 1238, 1271
 interrogatives, 49, 50, 161, 162, 229, 242, 253, 255, 257, 291, 307, 308, 330, 359, 364, 367, 370, 371, 451, 452, 473, 475, 615, 790, 791, 793, 795–802, 805, 807, 808, 811, 813, 817–824, 826–828, 831–835, 838–

- 841, 900–902, 906, 919, 961, 964,
1122, 1145, 1157, 1167, 1281, 1283
- interrogatives, closed, 790, 817, 838,
840
- interrogatives, closed, alternative, 794,
839, 970
- interrogatives, closed, polar, 743, 749,
776, 791–793, 840
- interrogatives, complex, 790, 817,
838–840
- interrogatives, dependent, 790, 839–
841, 1023
- interrogatives, open, 370, 790, 795,
797, 798, 801, 827, 838–840, 900,
940, 1167, 1210, 1272, 1278, 1279,
1281, 1283, 1284
- irrealis, 8, 13, 39, 54–56, 171, 679,
689, 690, 694, 696, 698, 729, 730,
751, 754–762, 765–770, 776, 781,
782, 969, 989, 1003, 1005, 1025,
1029–1031, 1045, 1046, 1106–
1109, 1119, 1133, 1134, 1151,
1154, 1197, 1210, 1331
- lexicalized phrases, 26, 27, 332, 333,
342, 346, 348, 409, 475, 551, 595–
602, 866
- ligature, 329, 331, 348, 351, 366, 595,
597, 599, 600, 602, 772, 773, 808,
827, 828, 866, 974, 979, 1265,
1266, 1300
- limiter, 140, 141, 155, 157, 165, 170,
171, 174, 197–199, 204–208, 321,
332, 343, 348, 352, 355, 361–363,
369, 589, 706, 855, 890, 899, 900,
903, 906, 996, 1054, 1140, 1145,
1163, 1169, 1281
- locational sentences, 914, 915, 918,
919
- low individuation of participants, 860,
861
- negation, 44, 52, 143, 185, 210, 314,
319, 320, 568, 646, 702, 719, 730–
732, 734–736, 740, 743, 744, 747,
749–751, 777, 794, 834, 944, 993,
1004, 1005, 1020, 1022, 1023,
1026, 1027, 1040, 1117, 1177, 1213
- negative, 19, 20, 34, 35, 39, 138, 139,
142–145, 148, 171, 173, 178–180,
185, 188, 193–195, 210, 211, 308,
311, 314, 315, 319, 332, 357, 363,
584, 636, 678, 689, 690, 702, 704,
714, 715, 718, 730, 731, 734–739,
741–751, 754, 756, 761, 765, 767,
770, 771, 776, 777, 780, 781, 784,
788, 792–794, 801, 813, 829, 831–
834, 836, 837, 842, 850–854, 856,
858, 859, 890, 914, 918, 919, 921–
925, 928, 929, 931, 934, 942–944,
953, 955–957, 972, 976, 979, 1002–
1004, 1011, 1014, 1025, 1032,
1034, 1035, 1042, 1046, 1048,
1049, 1056, 1072, 1087, 1112,
1114, 1117, 1118, 1120, 1124,
1129, 1145, 1149, 1154, 1160–
1162, 1167, 1174, 1198, 1200,
1203, 1211, 1218, 1231, 1239,
1262, 1265, 1278
- nominalization, 37, 51, 79, 262, 274,
337, 360, 421–443, 473, 528, 567,
569, 573, 585, 587, 597, 598, 602,
740, 758, 763–767, 825, 903, 987,
988, 997, 1001, 1012, 1013, 1019,
1020, 1023, 1041, 1043–1047,
1049, 1051, 1053, 1056, 1078–
1081, 1083–1086, 1097, 1117,
1148, 1162, 1163, 1165–1167,
1215, 1216, 1219, 1220, 1255,
1256, 1279, 1300, 1301
- nominalization, cognate, 438, 1081
- nominalization, double, 422, 429–431
- noun phrase, 44–48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 66,
67, 72–75, 81, 82, 101, 114, 126,
131, 133–135, 137, 141–143, 145,
146, 148–152, 154, 155, 157, 171,
173, 183, 202, 204, 205, 228–233,
236, 237, 241, 242, 244, 245, 247,
248, 251, 254–256, 258, 261–264,
266–268, 270, 271, 281, 284, 289,
291, 296, 298, 304, 305, 308–311,
314, 315, 317–321, 323, 325–329,
332, 335–337, 339–344, 347–349,
351–359, 361–367, 369–376, 381–

- 385, 387, 399, 400, 402, 404, 406, 407, 413–415, 425, 426, 429, 430, 436–438, 441, 443, 450, 452, 453, 461, 462, 464, 466, 472, 473, 479, 488, 491, 492, 494, 506, 509–511, 513, 515, 520, 526, 528, 529, 531, 534–536, 538, 540–550, 559, 569, 576, 582, 589, 595–597, 599, 606–608, 612–617, 622–627, 630, 638, 648, 649, 655–657, 661, 666, 669, 673, 682–688, 709, 712, 738, 739, 741, 744–746, 754, 764, 767, 768, 771–773, 776, 779, 780, 794, 796, 805–807, 816, 818, 822, 827, 828, 858, 859, 865, 878, 889, 891, 892, 895, 896, 898–900, 903, 905, 906, 919–921, 923, 926–929, 930, 934, 935, 937, 939–944, 952, 963, 974, 975, 977–979, 982, 985, 986, 988, 994, 1000, 1004, 1005, 1009, 1016–1018, 1022, 1030–1032, 1034, 1048, 1053, 1059, 1063–1065, 1067, 1068, 1070, 1077, 1079, 1084, 1085, 1087, 1088, 1091–1094, 1098, 1100, 1103, 1114, 1128, 1135, 1146, 1148, 1157, 1158, 1167, 1170, 1172, 1173, 1175, 1177, 1179, 1185, 1197, 1210, 1214, 1223, 1226, 1230, 1237, 1239, 1240, 1242–1244, 1246, 1249, 1251, 1257, 1261, 1267, 1270–1275, 1277–1279, 1302
- nouns, common, 232, 233, 236, 239, 242, 252, 807, 811
- nouns, count, 233–236, 259, 307, 308, 311, 318, 321, 339, 340, 919, 1111
- nouns, deverbal, 18, 19, 22, 31, 51, 78, 79, 91, 95, 110, 262, 273, 421, 444–449, 486, 517, 551, 567, 570, 599, 602, 865, 866, 1051, 1052, 1058, 1300
- nouns, locational, 225, 390, 451, 453, 458, 460, 461, 481, 516–525, 527–532, 663, 985, 992, 1038, 1095–1097, 1184, 1256, 1257
- nouns, locative, 236, 239, 241, 441, 467, 516, 921, 1276
- nouns, mass, 234, 235, 259, 260, 307, 308, 311, 318, 339, 418, 818, 919
- nouns, proper, 232, 237, 251, 255, 325, 408
- numerals, cardinal, 52, 229, 292, 293, 299, 305–308, 379, 795, 818
- numerals, ordinal, 52, 228, 242, 292, 293, 302–308, 367, 379, 393, 795, 818, 870, 1255
- object suffixes, 13, 14, 38, 44–48, 50, 51, 69, 71–75, 78, 81, 82, 91, 114–116, 122, 136, 137, 144, 149, 153–156, 161, 184, 233, 237, 267, 293, 323, 324, 376, 377, 381, 382, 422–426, 431, 436, 437, 439, 440, 450, 460, 462, 466, 467, 470, 503, 504, 506, 507, 513, 514, 539, 543, 544, 547, 559, 561–563, 568, 574, 578, 579, 591, 660, 662, 669, 682, 767, 802, 804, 811, 817, 821, 874–876, 878, 892–894, 930, 982–985, 1015, 1017, 1024, 1034, 1056, 1057, 1070, 1078, 1083, 1084, 1090, 1091, 1093, 1135–1139, 1141, 1142, 1146–1148, 1162, 1214, 1215, 1221, 1228, 1240, 1246–1248, 1250, 1251, 1267, 1274, 1275
- object-incorporation, 61, 68, 70, 117, 334, 446, 467, 512, 559, 561–563, 568, 570–572, 578, 589, 598, 599, 625, 675, 1058
- obligation, 174, 193, 196, 679, 754, 762, 774, 1121
- particle complex, 229, 231, 244, 331, 343
- partitive, 49, 229, 232, 259–261, 263, 264, 287, 288, 341, 492, 567, 807, 808, 1080, 1173, 1175
- past, immediate, 164–166, 693, 711, 1058
- past-in-the-past, 677, 694, 696–698, 1086, 1120
- perfect, 12, 55, 57, 166, 174, 176, 177, 180–182, 184, 192–194, 197–199,

- 208, 211, 224, 242, 305, 308, 331–333, 352, 365–367, 543, 544, 567, 590, 639, 645–647, 661, 675, 677, 680, 682, 687, 689, 709–718, 732, 748, 749, 797, 807, 808, 819, 856, 857, 920, 946, 981, 1014, 1186, 1187, 1203, 1217, 1281, 1302
- person markers, 16, 39, 229, 236, 237, 250–252, 258, 408, 664, 802–806
- personal suffixes, 14, 18, 19, 22, 31, 38, 39, 44–48, 114, 140, 144, 149, 155–157, 159, 160, 173, 197, 199, 202, 204, 208, 212, 214, 233, 245, 247, 292, 302, 303, 305, 308, 332, 334–337, 341, 350, 376–382, 387, 392, 395, 399, 409, 421, 424–426, 429, 431, 434, 437, 440, 450, 493, 494, 503, 506, 508, 519, 521, 524, 525, 528, 529, 531, 558, 561, 562, 574, 575, 655, 662–664, 669, 706, 763, 764, 806, 818, 825, 868, 874–876, 878, 883, 889–892, 894, 903, 926, 927, 930, 942, 946, 996, 1063, 1074, 1080, 1092, 1096, 1140, 1167, 1184, 1249, 1254, 1257, 1267, 1275, 1277
- phonotactics, 12, 1293
- Pig-Latin, 18, 19
- Pijin, 1, 3, 9, 41, 52, 77, 143, 251, 271, 297, 299, 428, 675, 676, 712, 812, 1234, 1291–1302, 1304, 1331
- plural marker, 33, 36, 48, 72, 81, 150–152, 155, 229, 231, 233, 325–327, 347, 372, 562, 595–597, 610, 625, 807, 1063, 1067–1070, 1077, 1083
- position relativized, 47, 454, 921, 922, 1063, 1070, 1072, 1074, 1080, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1088, 1090–1097, 1100–1102, 1241, 1273
- possession, 375, 388, 398, 405, 407, 919, 925, 926, 931–933, 1254–1256
- possession, fluidity, 394, 396–398, 433
- possessive noun phrase, 45, 228, 231, 281, 303, 337, 351, 375, 376, 382, 383, 385, 386, 388, 419, 431, 461, 551, 569, 666, 806, 826, 894, 903, 929, 1080, 1096, 1254, 1255, 1257
- possessive noun phrase, bare, 375, 380, 383, 387, 432, 665, 669
- possessive noun phrase, suffixing, 308, 336, 376, 380, 432, 493, 556, 573, 597, 662, 669, 818, 826, 892
- possessive sentences, 319, 818, 914, 918, 921, 925, 928–931, 942, 1152, 1257, 1262
- possessor, 39, 45, 46, 49, 50, 199, 202, 203, 237, 303–305, 334–336, 375, 376, 380–390, 393, 396–406, 415, 417, 423, 427, 429, 430, 432, 434–437, 439, 440, 493, 514, 516, 518, 524, 528, 557, 558, 569, 574, 575, 587, 628, 635, 658, 662–666, 669, 670, 675, 676, 685, 802, 803, 805, 806, 811, 826, 868, 869, 895, 903, 905, 906, 919, 921, 926, 927, 930–932, 942, 985, 987, 988, 1009, 1019, 1022, 1023, 1031, 1038, 1043, 1048, 1074, 1087, 1092, 1096, 1097, 1220, 1241, 1253–1257, 1260–1262, 1267, 1269, 1276, 1277
- possessum, 39, 45, 49, 50, 237, 259, 281, 303–305, 335, 336, 367, 375, 376, 380, 383–385, 387–391, 393, 394, 396–402, 404–407, 409, 415, 417, 419, 431, 432, 435–437, 461, 493, 494, 519, 520, 556, 558, 569, 573–575, 596–598, 662–666, 669, 672, 676, 806, 807, 811, 826, 876, 892, 894, 903, 926–929, 931–933, 942, 988, 1038, 1096, 1097, 1254, 1255, 1277, 1300
- possessum individuation, 400, 404, 405, 407
- postverbal particles, 16, 35, 55, 58, 75, 114, 116, 140, 149, 155, 173–175, 191, 197, 321, 329, 331, 332, 352, 365, 371, 372, 376, 377, 439, 440, 543, 544, 566, 589–591, 593, 594, 660–662, 686, 689, 699, 707, 709, 713, 738, 746, 803, 889, 896, 944,

- 965, 972, 981, 1022, 1051, 1056,
1057, 1068–1070, 1127, 1157,
1186, 1214, 1217, 1222, 1229, 1301
- precedentive, 11, 58, 166, 173–177,
561, 562, 716
- prenasalization, 7, 8, 9, 1106, 1294,
1295
- preposition stranding, 50, 469, 473,
474, 479, 504, 506–510, 512, 513,
799, 805, 807, 809, 811, 1072,
1081, 1082, 1085, 1092, 1104,
1249, 1275
- prepositional phrase, 52, 56, 161, 162,
202, 229, 232, 240, 241, 304, 333,
342–344, 346, 402, 403, 406, 435,
436, 450–454, 458, 460–464, 470,
472–475, 479, 486, 489, 493, 494,
496–501, 520, 521, 529, 534, 540,
541, 547, 550, 595, 596, 600, 601,
637, 638, 666, 669, 702, 771, 773,
799, 800, 809–811, 820, 824, 826,
878, 884, 889, 896, 898, 902, 914,
921, 934, 937, 939, 952, 974, 975,
1053, 1064, 1076, 1166, 1170,
1218, 1222, 1251, 1257
- prepositional phrases, stacked, 238,
343, 460, 488, 494, 497, 499–502,
516, 528, 530, 1092, 1142, 1252,
1300
- prepositions, bare, 451, 454, 460, 468,
502, 531, 600, 665, 669, 1087,
1092, 1095, 1096
- prepositions, noun-like, 453, 493–495,
499, 500, 503–508, 662, 663, 666,
669, 670, 799, 802, 803, 807, 892,
894, 1092, 1249, 1275
- prepositions, verb-like, 161, 237, 240,
453, 460, 465, 466, 468, 469, 471,
474, 498, 500, 501, 503–510, 523,
544, 659, 661, 666, 669, 687, 799,
802, 803, 807, 809, 811, 821, 822,
874, 892, 893, 981, 990, 1092,
1093, 1137, 1142, 1222, 1249,
1250, 1275
- presentational identificational
sentences, 632, 650, 651, 925, 936,
937
- preverbal particles, 137, 164, 165, 171,
206, 333, 711, 717, 889–891, 898,
992, 1055, 1058, 1185, 1192
- pro-form, locative, 451–458, 460, 462,
800, 820, 824, 921, 1063, 1076,
1094, 1251–1253, 1257, 1276
- prolative, 50, 163, 440, 459, 465, 468,
470, 471, 477–481, 488, 501, 502,
544, 593, 863, 885, 1085, 1135,
1142, 1170
- pronominal foregrounder, 244, 248,
803, 804
- pronouns, 44–48, 51, 52, 55, 69, 71,
72, 75, 78, 79, 82, 116, 122, 133,
144–146, 148, 149, 156, 159, 173,
228, 243–250, 258, 298, 321, 323,
324, 351, 376, 377, 382, 386, 399,
404, 423, 466, 468, 494, 503, 506–
508, 538, 540, 543, 544, 549, 555,
593, 595, 602, 617, 627, 628, 649,
650, 655, 657–669, 684, 685, 745,
778, 802–804, 806, 831, 856, 858,
869, 874–878, 882, 891–896, 921,
922, 944, 946, 983, 985, 986, 1002,
1014, 1017, 1022, 1034, 1063,
1069, 1070, 1078, 1085, 1087,
1091–1093, 1098, 1104, 1115,
1158, 1195, 1237, 1244–1251,
1253, 1261, 1262, 1267, 1273–
1276, 1285–1287
- protasis, 8, 178, 546, 694, 698, 727,
755, 776, 793, 969, 1106–1122,
1125, 1131, 1179, 1197, 1210, 1258
- proximity principle, 661–663, 666
- pseudo-verbs, 137–142, 223, 347, 348,
630, 858, 945, 1223, 1226, 1230,
1232, 1233, 1235, 1302
- purpose, 43, 172, 253, 465, 468, 471–
475, 478, 490, 508, 514, 597, 599,
679, 680, 727, 758, 780, 784, 785,
788, 809–811, 816, 828, 844, 845,
857, 924, 928, 957, 981, 1025,
1037, 1041, 1046, 1053, 1065,

- 1100, 1119, 1135–1138, 1145,
1146, 1148–1166, 1211, 1213,
1217, 1260, 1280
- purpose clauses, 475, 478, 727, 758,
828, 924, 957, 981, 1037, 1135–
1137, 1145, 1146, 1148–1160,
1162, 1163, 1165, 1166
- purpose clauses, negative-purpose,
1145, 1160
- purpose clauses, positive-purpose,
1145, 1146
- purpose nominalizations, 1135, 1145,
1162–1166
- quantification, 291, 292, 318, 321, 355
- quantifiers, 229, 242, 264, 268, 269,
289, 291, 307, 308, 313–317, 321–
326, 406, 407, 567, 767, 795, 818,
920, 923
- quantifiers, indefinite, 233, 308, 773,
903, 919
- quantifiers, interrogative, 291, 307,
308, 367
- quantifying particle, 319, 355
- reason, 19, 30, 39, 76, 92, 95, 172,
205, 237, 259, 273, 378, 383, 392,
465, 468, 471, 474, 475, 478, 480,
481, 486, 488, 508, 509, 525, 603,
676, 697, 728, 757, 758, 801, 809–
811, 815, 816, 896, 981, 1003,
1135–1145, 1148, 1152, 1167–
1171, 1174, 1183, 1287, 1289, 1290
- reason clauses, 816, 1135, 1137–1139,
1141, 1142, 1144, 1169, 1170, 1290
- reason clauses, focused, 816, 1139,
1144, 1145, 1278
- reason clauses, non-focused, 1139,
1145
- recipient, 174, 197–199, 202, 203, 208,
209, 212, 214, 221, 332, 376, 377,
448, 453, 490, 495, 496, 675, 875,
889, 925, 926, 1092
- recipient-benefactive, 174, 197–199,
202, 203, 208, 209, 212, 221, 332,
377, 496, 675, 889, 925, 926
- reciprocal situations, 69, 80, 860–862,
872–877, 880–883
- reduced predicates, 945
- reduplication, 10, 14, 15, 18, 24, 28–
33, 59, 61–64, 66, 67, 84, 88, 89,
94, 95, 102, 130, 137, 139, 165,
171, 173, 178, 441, 444, 445, 463,
561, 566, 571, 576, 577, 584, 585,
610, 686, 691, 694, 696–700, 703–
708, 852–854, 862, 867, 882, 884,
922, 936, 1001, 1085, 1086, 1107,
1120, 1131, 1178, 1179, 1192,
1199–1201, 1204, 1205, 1215
- reflexive situations, 875, 878, 888,
891–895
- reiterative demonstrative pronominals,
603, 649, 650, 934, 937, 940
- relative clause marker, 746, 922, 1073,
1076
- relative clauses, 47, 50, 52, 81, 82,
154–156, 229, 232, 244, 327–329,
337, 343–345, 438, 455, 493, 510,
512, 513, 524, 531, 567, 596, 671,
696, 697, 702, 726, 746, 900, 901,
913, 921–924, 932, 940, 942, 990,
1062–1090, 1094–1104, 1112,
1148, 1172–1179, 1214, 1241,
1244, 1259, 1266, 1270, 1272,
1273, 1279
- relative prepositional phrases, 344–
346, 990, 1062, 1064, 1270
- relativization, long-distance, 1074,
1098–1100, 1280
- restitutive, 174, 185, 189–191, 675
- restrictive, 164, 165, 171, 352–354,
359, 1058, 1064, 1065, 1067, 1071,
1089, 1270
- reversed result, 694, 696–698
- self-benefactive, 136, 174, 197–201,
204–206, 208, 209, 212, 332, 377,
496, 566, 763, 883, 889, 925, 926,
1051
- self-contained situations, 164, 170,
888, 889, 891, 895, 897, 898, 926,
992, 1240, 1273
- self-directed situations, 170, 888, 891,
892, 895–898

- self-generated situations, 170, 888, 890, 897, 898
- sequencer, 29, 177, 183, 1174, 1186, 1190–1192
- sequential, 138, 142–145, 147, 148, 157–159, 166, 167, 381, 678, 684, 696, 706, 707, 719, 721, 722, 724–732, 739, 742, 743, 745–747, 751, 754, 761, 779, 780, 815, 825, 842, 843, 848–850, 858, 881, 882, 909, 919, 924, 954, 957, 963, 972, 993, 995, 1002, 1034, 1036, 1038, 1075, 1111–1115, 1118–1121, 1123, 1124, 1128, 1146, 1155–1157, 1159, 1160, 1162, 1167, 1171, 1174, 1181–1183, 1186–1188, 1199, 1200, 1211, 1237
- spontaneous situations, 854, 855, 888, 890
- stem extenders, 23, 82, 83, 85, 86, 91, 95, 96, 674, 862
- stress, 7, 10, 11, 16, 17, 19–28, 33–35, 39, 82, 551, 601, 632, 746, 829, 1273
- subject markers, 4, 13, 19, 20, 34, 35, 37–39, 44, 48, 51, 55–59, 69, 131, 134, 137–139, 142, 143, 145–152, 155–160, 164–167, 170, 171, 182, 201, 233, 243–245, 247, 328, 344, 462, 541, 547, 555, 615, 644, 655–657, 666, 669, 672, 673, 677–681, 683–685, 687–691, 693, 694, 696, 699–702, 706, 707, 715, 716, 719–721, 724–731, 734–739, 741–747, 750, 751, 754, 755, 760, 762, 763, 766, 767, 777, 779, 780, 795, 813–816, 825, 829, 836–838, 842–850, 852, 854, 856–858, 892, 895, 909, 919–924, 929, 940, 942, 945, 957, 962, 982, 984–986, 990, 993–998, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1007–1009, 1015, 1017, 1023, 1024, 1029, 1032, 1034, 1036, 1038, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1054–1056, 1062, 1063, 1087–1090, 1099, 1102, 1111–1115, 1117–1124, 1128, 1132, 1146, 1154, 1155, 1157–1160, 1162, 1167, 1168, 1171, 1174, 1179–1183, 1186–1188, 1190, 1192, 1199, 1200, 1206, 1207, 1209, 1211, 1213, 1214, 1216, 1235, 1237, 1242–1244, 1249, 1264, 1267, 1271–1273, 1278, 1302
- subject-incorporation, 61, 68, 110, 133, 446, 555–558, 848, 993, 1048, 1257
- subordinators, 1137, 1138, 1141, 1153, 1160, 1162, 1163, 1169
- superessive, 465, 468, 471, 481, 482, 484, 523, 1086
- syllable structure, 12, 1293
- syndetic coordination, 535, 546, 721, 952, 973, 1181, 1199
- temporal relations, 390, 1172, 1176, 1181, 1280
- temporal relations, culmination/termination, 704, 1177, 1178, 1199–1201, 1203, 1206, 1208
- temporal relations, long interval, 105, 1196, 1197
- temporal relations, sequential, 720, 1174, 1181
- tense, future, 52, 56–59, 134, 143–146, 148, 165–167, 171, 181, 188, 354, 373, 520, 609, 610, 621, 642, 644, 645, 677–683, 686–690, 693, 694, 699, 701, 702, 711, 715–717, 719, 720, 725, 727, 735, 736, 739, 751, 754, 755, 759–762, 780, 782, 842, 843, 850, 919, 962, 993, 995, 996, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1007–1009, 1023, 1024, 1032, 1036, 1038, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1111, 1115, 1117–1120, 1122–1124, 1128, 1146, 1154–1157, 1159, 1160, 1174, 1179, 1196, 1209, 1210
- tense, nonfuture, 13, 34, 37, 38, 44, 52, 55–59, 69, 143–148, 156–160, 165, 170, 243, 555, 677, 678, 691, 693, 694, 696, 701, 702, 707, 716, 720, 724–726, 735, 741, 743, 746, 747, 751, 754, 755, 763, 777, 780, 829,

- 836, 838, 842–848, 919, 942, 993,
1062, 1111–1114, 1118–1120,
1123, 1124, 1159, 1174, 1179,
1186–1188, 1207, 1271, 1272, 1278
- TEST suffix, 117, 118, 324, 1006, 1008,
1010, 1023, 1043, 1200
- thematic consonants, 76–78, 82, 83,
85–88, 90–99, 101, 102, 446, 674
- timitive, 730, 780–785, 787, 850, 971,
1135, 1146, 1160, 1162, 1211, 1239
- topic, 50, 51, 73, 133, 404, 508, 532,
540, 542, 555, 557, 558, 664, 667,
669, 683–686, 688, 724, 744–747,
764, 766, 767, 780, 781, 828, 904,
921, 926, 927, 930, 943, 944, 976,
994, 1104, 1110, 1128, 1169, 1192,
1196, 1197, 1237–1243, 1245–
1251, 1253–1255, 1258–1266,
1268, 1271
- topic, affect, 1265–1267
- topic, default, 404, 557, 1237, 1238,
1243, 1257, 1269
- topic, linked, 1239–1241, 1258, 1260
- topic, unlinked, 921, 1239, 1260
- topicalization, 50, 73–75, 116, 154,
246–248, 382, 385, 404, 454, 469,
479, 493, 504, 505, 511, 515, 558,
657, 671, 685, 776, 779, 791, 805,
898–900, 921, 935, 975, 987, 1104,
1175, 1192, 1195, 1197, 1210,
1237–1246, 1249–1260, 1262,
1267–1272, 1276, 1281
- topicalization, double, 685, 1239,
1262, 1264
- topicalization, long-distance, 1250,
1259, 1260, 1280
- uncertainty, 765, 771–773, 775, 776,
778, 779, 793, 949, 1029, 1031
- undesiderative, 164, 1004, 1055–1058
- unrestricted choice, 364, 901, 912
- valency rearrangement, 123, 127, 515
- verb complex, 55, 56, 74, 75, 164, 173,
175, 183, 184, 197, 224, 229, 232,
327, 331, 352, 357, 358, 372, 686,
687, 736, 741, 743, 774, 896, 919,
925, 944, 945, 974, 1140, 1172,
1185, 1189, 1191, 1229
- verb phrase, 37, 53–56, 72–75, 116,
137, 141, 145, 149, 153–155, 161,
162, 173, 220, 229, 242, 319–321,
327, 329, 332, 341, 352, 382, 440,
534, 543, 559, 561, 577, 639, 646,
647, 656, 666, 669, 709, 734, 800,
801, 827, 859, 934, 982, 984, 1235,
1270
- verb serialization, 446, 577, 578, 581,
588
- verb, negative, 19, 20, 34, 35, 39, 142,
211, 731, 734, 738, 741, 744, 746,
751, 780, 794, 829, 831, 836, 837,
852, 859, 942–944, 957, 1034,
1129, 1160, 1239, 1278
- verbless clauses, 142, 242, 255, 303,
443, 632, 634, 657, 659, 669, 741,
796, 799, 805, 934, 940–943, 945,
950, 984, 1239–1242, 1273, 1274,
1277, 1278
- verbs, applicative, 56, 60, 100, 101,
102, 104–106, 123, 515
- verbs, causative, 68, 100–102, 107–
109, 112, 984, 1034, 1079
- verbs, depatientive, 69, 79, 111, 330,
432, 687, 861, 864–868, 870, 872,
880, 883, 885
- verbs, detransitivized, 61, 135–137,
570, 942, 1015, 1016, 1020, 1021,
1028, 1051, 1052, 1058, 1223,
1226, 1230
- verbs, interrogative, 330, 801, 813,
827, 838, 841
- verbs, intransitive, 23, 25, 31, 32, 44,
51, 53, 54, 56, 59–63, 66, 68, 69,
76, 83–85, 91, 94, 100, 102–106,
108–111, 117–120, 129–131, 133,
134, 136, 137, 184, 202, 217, 222,
276, 279, 327, 333, 334, 339, 414,
422, 424, 427, 428, 432, 434, 437,
444, 463, 490, 510, 512, 517, 553,
554, 556, 561–566, 568–571, 577–
582, 585–587, 589–593, 595, 600,
601, 674, 681, 682, 687, 688, 690,

- 703, 749, 813, 816, 838, 860–863, 865–868, 872, 875, 877, 878, 880, 882–884, 886, 893, 895, 896, 908, 909, 911, 932, 933, 964, 971, 982, 985, 992, 998, 1001, 1004, 1006–1008, 1012, 1023, 1024, 1037, 1038, 1041, 1046, 1050–1052, 1054, 1058, 1080–1082, 1085, 1086, 1100–1102, 1127, 1186, 1213, 1215, 1221, 1226, 1230, 1234, 1249, 1251, 1266, 1275, 1298
- verbs, nonstative, 56–59, 701
- verbs, proprietive, 25, 31, 32, 61–68, 277, 394, 749
- verbs, stative, 25, 56–59, 63, 68, 108, 318, 327, 334, 339, 582, 586, 587, 816
- verbs, transitive, Class 1, 70, 71, 73, 75, 85, 92, 102, 107, 114–117, 120, 122, 123, 130, 132, 133, 135, 149, 153, 171, 184, 192, 322, 323, 364, 422, 423, 425, 432, 434, 435, 437, 440, 443–445, 450, 466, 467, 517, 521, 559, 561–563, 570–572, 578–581, 589, 594, 659, 661, 666, 669, 672, 674, 681, 687, 749, 763, 802, 803, 813, 825, 853, 862, 872, 874, 876, 877, 884, 892, 893, 908, 931, 982, 984, 985, 999, 1001, 1009, 1014, 1016, 1020, 1022, 1024, 1026, 1028, 1032–1034, 1036, 1038–1040, 1042, 1046, 1049, 1050, 1054, 1058, 1079, 1091, 1142, 1167, 1214–1216, 1218–1220, 1247, 1256, 1292, 1295, 1296, 1298, 1299, 1331
- verbs, transitive, Class 1, bare, 76, 77, 91, 94, 101, 104, 107, 120, 125, 422, 434, 444, 559, 563, 566, 863
- verbs, transitive, Class 1, long, 23, 76–78, 82, 85–98, 101, 102, 104, 107, 109, 110, 123, 125, 126, 155, 184, 422, 446, 543, 568, 591, 660, 674, 862, 1024
- verbs, transitive, Class 1, short, 23, 76–78, 85, 86, 88, 89, 91–95, 97–99, 101, 104, 110, 123, 125, 126, 422, 446, 561, 563–566, 572, 574, 674, 675, 862
- verbs, transitive, Class 2, 70, 73, 114–117, 121, 122, 132, 135, 144, 149, 153, 303, 324, 376, 422–425, 431, 432, 435–437, 439, 440, 442, 444, 525, 551, 561–563, 568, 570, 572, 573, 578–580, 595, 662–664, 666, 669, 670, 672, 674, 759, 802, 803, 875–878, 892, 894, 982, 983, 992, 997, 1006, 1008, 1010, 1023, 1026, 1032, 1036, 1037, 1043, 1078, 1084, 1090, 1246, 1247, 1251, 1274, 1299
- vocative, 335, 348, 349, 383, 946
- vowels, geminate, 10, 11, 16–19, 38
- women's speech, 114, 243, 249, 377, 382
- word classes, 6, 52, 53