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KWAIO GRAMMAR

Roger M. Keesing



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INTRODUCTION

THE GRAMMAR AND ITS USES

This grammar of the Kwaio language represents a by-product of twenty years of anthropological research with Kwaio speakers (including more than four years in the field). Since I am not a professional linguist, the decision to attempt a more serious grammatical description than the introduction to my 1975 Kwaio dictionary was made with some trepidation. It represents the confluence of several interests and kinds of work.

First, I have a professional interest in Pacific prehistory, in which the relationships between languages of the south-eastern Solomons, Vanuatu, and Fiji have become particularly important. Although lexical information is now available for many of these languages, detailed grammatical information is lacking for most of them. This poses serious problems for the linguist seeking to establish historical relationships on the basis of morphological patterns and/or to reconstruct the grammar of Proto-Oceanic (POC) or the tentatively established Proto-Eastern Oceanic (PEO) subgroup (see Pawley 1972). For such purposes, it is not necessary that a grammatical analysis be sophisticated in terms of contemporary grammatical theory: only that it clearly describe surface morphology and syntactic patterns, and where possible provide texts than are amenable to reanalysis. In writing a grammar of Kwaio, I have been guided by the example of the pioneer grammarians of these languages, amateurs like myself: Codrington, Ivens, Deck.... Unlike these pioneers, I have guidelines in the work of contemporary analysts of Oceanic syntax such as Pawley, Clark, Lynch, Crowley and Lichtenberk, as well as a non-specialist acquaintance with linguistic theories far more powerful than the classical philology available to them.

Second, this grammar grows out of practical experience and interest. In 1977, I wrote a 97-page pedagogical grammar of Kwaio ("in twenty lessons"), to meet the needs both of my fieldwork collaborator Shelley Schreiner and of missionaries working among the Kwaio. In 1979, I gave an intensive Kwaio course to two Peace Corps Volunteers beginning a project (which I had helped to design) for community development and education in the vernacular. The notes from this Kwaio instruction, and the pedagogical grammar, laid the foundation for the present grammar (which goes far beyond, and corrects many errors in, the grammatical introduction to Keesing 1975).

Third, continuing anthropological research in Kwaio has yielded several thousand new dictionary entries, and many corrections to old ones. The need for an extensively revised edition of Kwaio dictionary has become clear. One of the shortcomings of the original dictionary was the absence of grammatical information, especially identification of form classes for lexical entries. This

sketch grammar was in fact originally envisioned as a new and expanded introduction to the revised dictionary, which would (among other things) provide a morphological key to lexical entries. Although the grammar has now outgrown these bounds, it remains closely geared to the new version of the dictionary, of which Jonathan Fifi'i, my long-time lexicographic collaborator, is co-author.

A final line of interest reflected in this grammar concerns the structure and historical emergence of nineteenth century Bichelamar (Melanesian Pidgin) and its twentieth century derivatives (Solomons Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama, Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin, Torres Straits Creole). I had an experience probably unique among students of Pacific pidgins: I acquired conversational fluency in an Eastern Oceanic language, spoken on one of the key source islands in the nineteenth century Labour Trade, prior to learning a Melanesian pidgin (Solomons Pijin); and I learned Pijin through Kwaio. This experience made me aware, in a particularly vivid way, how closely the surface morphological, syntactic and semantic structures of Solomons Pijin and Malaita languages parallel one another. In early drafts of this grammar, Kwaio and Pijin constructions were compared in many places. Deciding that the comparisons should be more systematic, that an analytic commentary was needed, and that explication of Kwaio can best be pursued without comparative materials, I have consigned the Pijin comparisons to other publications.

The grammar, in its present form, inevitably represents a compromise, in terms of the different purposes to which it will be put. Unlike the 1977 "Kwaio in twenty lessons", it is organized in terms of (what I construe to be) the structure of the language, rather than in terms of a path for language-learning. Nonetheless, it should be useful for the practically oriented learner and user of the language. It is primarily intended for linguists concerned with the comparative analysis of Oceanic Austronesian languages. In attempting to set out the surface grammatical facts clearly, my analysis invites grammatical restatement at a deeper level; and at the same time, explicates in some detail morphological processes of comparative importance. The extreme paucity of grammatical data on the Oceanic languages of Melanesia makes inferences about PEO or POC structure extremely difficult; more detail about morphology reduces areas of uncertainty and can reveal old patterns whose realization in daughter languages may be disguised, obscured, or simply poorly documented. Finally, I have provided in the appendices substantial texts of Kwaio narrative.

THE KWAIO LANGUAGE

Kwaio is an Austronesian language spoken by some 10,000 people in the mountainous central zone of Malaita, in south-eastern Solomon Islands. All the Malaita languages are relatively closely related; they fit into the Cristobal-Malaita subgroup of Southeast Solomonian languages. How these Southeast Solomonian languages fit into the wider comparative picture remains uncertain. Pawley (1972) included

them (along with North New Hebridean, Fijian and Polynesian) in a putative Eastern Oceanic (EO) subgroup. He has since had doubts (Pawley 1977; see Grace 1976); the position of Southeast Solomonic remains in doubt. The issue is now complicated not only by a lack of strong evidence that Southeast Solomonic languages subgroup with the EO languages to the east but by Blust's proposal (1984) that Cristobal-Malaita languages may subgroup not with Guadalcanal-Gelic languages, but with the Nuclear Micronesian languages. Whether or not these languages of the south-eastern Solomons turn out to fit into an EO subgroup, they are very important in terms of historical linguistics by virtue of their striking conservatism in retaining POC grammatical (and phonological) patterns, and lexicon. (This conservatism has played an important part in the development of Oceanic linguistics since Ivens' Sa'a dictionary was drawn on by Dempwolff in his reconstructions of Proto-Austronesian.)

A firm subgrouping of Malaita languages has not been established. All the Malaita languages are fairly closely related, although their precise relationships are obscured by chaining, both at the level of dialect and language, by extensive borrowing, and by customs of word tabooing that lead to phonological shifting and lexical replacement (Keesing and Fifi'i 1969, Simons 1981). Kwaio is quite markedly different from the languages and dialects to the north-west (the best documented of which are Lau and Kwara'ae, and now, with Lichtenberk's recent grammar, To'abaita); and from the languages and dialects to the south-east, of which Sa'a and 'Are'are are best known. Its closest affinities are apparently with Langalanga, spoken in the lagoons adjacent to the Kwaio-Kwara'ae border on the west coast (although virtually no lexical or grammatical data are available for Langalanga that would permit precise comparison).

Kwaio and two closely related dialects, Kwarekwareo (Doori'o) on the west coast and Kwaikwaio on the east coast, comprise a putative subgroup I call "Kwaiic". These two dialects, along the 'Are'are border, manifest phonological shifts corresponding to some of those in 'Are'are:

Kwaio	Kwaikwaio
<i>kw</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>
	etc

But despite heavy lexical (and cultural) borrowings from 'Are'are, grammatically and lexically the affinity of these dialects with Kwaio is unmistakable. The dialect of Kwaio described here (marked by the common use of an unvoiced velar spirant /x/ in place of /k/) is spoken along the east Kwaio coast and in the adjacent mountains (i.e. the old administrative "passages" of Uru, Sinalagu, and 'Oloburi). There is considerable lexical variation even between these zones; the version described here is that spoken in the mountains behind Sinalagu, though forms from 'Oloburi and Uru are recorded in my Kwaio dictionary. Kwaio speakers from any particular area have a substantial passive lexicon they understand but cannot

use because of local patterns of word tabooing (Keesing and Fifi'i 1968). Thus speakers of Sinalagu Kwaio certainly understand, but cannot use, such forms as

<i>ama-na</i>	'his father'
<i>manu</i>	'bird'
<i>kai</i>	'yam' (they must use English-derived /ais/ instead)
<i>dunga</i>	'fire'.

The western Kwaio dialects Kwareuna and Siesie appear to be very close to the dialect described here (see map in Keesing 1975), distinguished more lexically than grammatically. I have not documented these dialects in detail.

In subgrouping Kwaio into the wider pattern of Malaita languages, several questions remain unclear - notably, whether Kwaio languages comprise a central subgroup separate from and coordinate with both the northern Malaita languages/dialects (To'abaita, Baelelea, Baegu, Fataleka, Kwara'ae) and the southern subgroup ('Are'are, "Oroha", and perhaps the Small Malaita dialects including Sa'a); or whether they fall into the northern subgroup in sharing phonological/morphological/lexical innovations not present in the southern group. The question awaits more evidence, particularly on the relationships of Kwaio to Langalanga and to "Gula'ala'a" (the dialect spoken on Kwai and Ngongosila islets off the east Kwara'ae coast); it is obscured by the pervasive metathesis in Kwara'ae. However, from Deck's Kwara'ae grammar (1934) and Geerts' 'Are'are dictionary (1970), it would seem that the gulf between the Kwaio described here and the neighbouring languages to the north-west and south-east is relatively old and deep.

CONVENTIONS USED IN THE GRAMMAR

The conventions used in decisions regarding word boundaries are explicated in 1.4, as are orthographic conventions followed in the grammar. Morpheme boundaries are indicated by hyphens, except where (because a form is semantically exocentric) the internal constituents are irrelevant, and in reduplicated forms (where hyphens would serve no useful purpose).

Kwaio sentences used to illustrate syntactic patterns (hence relevant for cross-referencing purposes) are sequentially numbered through the grammar. Where modifications of a sentence are given, these are indicated with postscripted capital letters (52A, 52B). Where sentence examples are referred to in cross-referencing, they are preceded by the number sign # (to distinguish these sentence examples from cross-references to the outline-numbered sections of the grammar). A key to abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme analysis is included as Appendix IV.

Appendices I to III comprise extended texts in Kwaio, with interlinear analysis following the conventions used in the exemplifying sentences in the body of the grammar. The exemplifying

sentences, taken (except for the first few simple sentences) from actual texts, and the extended texts in Appendices I to III, were analyzed and formatted using the TRANSC program written by Dr John Haviland. This program, initially intended for the analysis of conversational transcripts, is extremely useful in analyzing target sentences and texts grammatically in that the spacing of the first two lines is automatically aligned, and in that as sentences are analyzed morphemically, the program compiles a dictionary of forms and their identifications, and proffers entries from the dictionary when similar forms are encountered (offering a choice among alternative entries for homonyms, etc.). The program is available from Dr Haviland, c/- The Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, A.N.U., GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601.

CHAPTER 1: PHONOLOGY

1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Kwaio distinguishes twenty one segmental phonemes, sixteen consonants (C) and five vowels (V).

1.1.1 Consonants

Kwaio consonants can be distinguished according to the modes (stops, nasals, fricatives, liquid, semivowel) and points of articulation:

	LABIAL	ALVEOLAR	VELAR	LABIALISED VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS V	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gw</i>	
VL		<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kw</i>	?
NASALS	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	ŋ	ŋw	
FRICATIVES	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
LIQUID		<i>l(r)</i>			
SEMIVOWEL	<i>w</i>				

The following distributional rules govern these consonants:

- (1) The labialised velars occur only preceding *a*, *e* and *i*.
- (2) The labialised velar nasal ŋw occurs only morpheme medially with two exceptions (see below), *w* occurs only morpheme initially.
- (3) Voiced stops are prenasalised (i.e., preceded by the homorganic nasal) except in the following circumstances:
 - (a) When the voiced stop occurs in morpheme-initial position and the form is uttered in isolation;
 - (b) When the voiced stop occurs in sentence-initial or phrase-initial position (i.e. is preceded by juncture across phrase boundaries).

Thus

/laba/ = [*lamba*]
/fada/ = [*fanda*]
/faga/ = [*fanga*]
/lagwi/ = [*langwi*]

Many speakers prenasalise voiced stops slightly when in utterance-initial or phrase-initial position.

- (4) The lateral [*l*] and alveolar flap [*r*] are in complementary distribution, as follows:

[*l*] precedes low vowels (*a*, *o*, *e*)
 [*r*] precedes high vowels (*i*, *u*).

Thus

[lafa] [lefu] [lofo]
[riu] [ruma]

In the grammar, I have followed the practical orthography used in the second edition of *Kwaio dictionary*, writing *l* and *r* separately. I have also, for practical convenience, used the digraph *ng* for the velar nasal [ŋ], and the trigraph *ngw* for its labialized counterpart, following the conventions used in the new edition of *Kwaio dictionary*, and taking advantage of computer processing, with its printout limitations, for both dictionary and grammar. I use the apostrophe throughout the grammar, as in the dictionary, for a glottal stop. This is unfortunate in view of the past tendency to treat the glottal stop as the absence of a consonant which has dropped out, rather than as a phoneme in its own right; but it is a compromise worthwhile both in terms of machine processing and typing constraints and usage on Malaita.

Although no detailed historical/comparative treatment of Kwaio phonology is appropriate here, several points bear mention. First, in some northern Malaita languages/dialects (e.g., To'abaita) *w* and *ngw* are in complementary distribution, with *w* occurring in initial position and *ngw* occurring in medial position. The general Kwaio pattern is similar, with the proviso that *w* occurs in *morpheme*-initial position. Thus when a base beginning with *w* is reduplicated, *w* occurs *word* medially. Moreover, *-we'e-* is an allomorph of the infix *-Ce'e-*, so *w* occurs medially in transitive verb endings:

wela > weewela
'oko-we'e-ni-a

However, two Kwaio forms in which *w* apparently occurs in *morpheme*-medial position

wewe
wawa-ri-a

preclude our treating *w* and *ngw* as allophones of a single phoneme. *ngw* has been recorded medially following *e* and *a*

lengwa
angwa-fai-a

Secondly, the *l/r* phoneme in Kwaio represents the coalescence of three separate phonemes in northern Malaita languages (*l*, *r*, and the phoneme variously realised as *s*, *h*, *th*). The single phoneme resulting from the coalescence of what historically were three phonemes and the pattern of complementary distribution of allophones conditioned by the preceding vowels, creates the illusion of thoroughly muddled sound correspondences when Kwaio is compared to the northern Malaita languages.

Some Kwaio speakers used a trilled *R* in the single form *aRa*, a common Malaita word for the trade winds from the south-east.

Two further articulatory notes on Kwaio consonants are needed. First, although the phonemes *k* and *kw* are here treated as stops, most speakers of the Sinalagu dialect of Kwaio in fact articulate *k* as a velar spirant [X]. The labialised velar *kw* is also spirantised, though less strongly, by many Kwaio speakers. Second, the labiodental *f* is rendered as a bilabial spirant [ϕ] by many speakers, especially in initial position.

1.1.2 Vowels

Kwaio retains the five-vowel system reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic

i u
e a o

The Kwaio vowels retain their short, tonally pure quality when they occur in paired sequences

aa ai ao ee ei eo
ae au ea eu
ii ie io uu ue uo oo ae ou
ia iu ua ui oa ol

When *e* is stressed (see below) it is more high and tense (e); when unstressed, it is lower and more lax [ɛ].

I treat *aa*, *ee*, *ii*, *uu*, and *oo* as paired vowels rather than as long vowels written with a macron because (not surprisingly, because they mainly reflect the historical dropping out of an intervening consonant) they function as separate syllables in the operation of stress rules.

1.2 SYLLABIC AND STRESS PATTERNS

1.2.1 Syllabic patterns/phonotactics

The canonical patterns of Kwaio bases (lexical morphemes) is CVCV. The dropping out of consonants has produced sequences of VCV, CVV, and in a few forms, VV. Most particles and other grammatical morphemes have the forms CV, V, VCV, etc. Thus (V)CV(V) sequences are pervasive, and there are no consonant clusters (CC). Every syllable ends in a vowel. The dropping out of one or both consonants from what historically was a (C)VCV base has placed two vowels in sequence. Thus the dropping out of **t* has produced (as has been noted) such Kwaio reflexes of old CVCV Oceanic forms as

<i>mae</i>	'die'	(POC * <i>mate</i>)
<i>maa-</i>	'eye'	(POC * <i>mata-</i>)
<i>'uu</i>	'louse'	(POC * <i>kutu</i>)
<i>kau</i>	'thither'	(POC * <i>katu</i>)

Where both consonants have dropped out, we get such forms as

uu 'stand up straight'

In the operation of stress rules, particularly in relation to the operation of stress-preserving morphophonemic modifications (1.5.3), the two vowels in CVV and VV sequences act as separate syllables, even where the same vowel is repeated. A disyllabic or trisyllabic base in which the first syllable is V, when it occurs in isolation (that is, by itself or in clause-initial position) is given a long vowel onset, as follows.

aCV	aaCV	abu	[aambu]
eCV	eeCV	ele	[eele]
iCV	a i CV	i'a	[a i ? a]
		(the lengthening of <i>i</i> with a euphonic <i>a</i> is common, though optional)	
oCV	ooCV	oru	[ooru]
uCV	uucv	ubu	[uumbu]

We thus need not mark the lengthening of initial vowels as phonemic: in isolation all initial vowels of disyllabic and trisyllabic bases are lengthened.

We need to indicate vowel length phonemically in Kwaio only when this lengthening is not environmentally conditioned. Where the lengthening is invariant to context, it very rarely produces a "tripling" of the vowel length. An example would be:

nau ku uu-a 'I stood it up vertically.'

In such rare contexts, the "tripling" of vowel length (which of course crosses morpheme boundaries) is clearly audible.

1.2.2 Stress

Stress within morphemes is, with few exceptions, placed on the penultimate vowel. Stress is somewhat heavier on the penultimate vowel of the final segment of a polymorphemic form.

ábu
fá'a-abú'a
té'e
máa
máe
moórl

One exception to this pattern is that when a verb base assumes the form CVV (which, as noted above, is technically bisyllabic), and a monosyllabic pronoun object is suffixed to it, stress does not shift to the second vowel. Thus

<i>dáu</i>	'hold'
<i>dáu-a</i>	'afflict (him)'
<i>dáu-gí-a</i>	'afflict us'
<i>fái</i>	'perform the act of scratching'
<i>fái-a</i>	'scratch (it)'
<i>máe</i>	'be dead'
<i>fá'a-máe-a</i>	'extinguish (it)'

When other suffixes are added to bases of CVV form, stress shifts in the normal fashion. Thus

<i>máe</i>	'be dead'
<i>>maé-na</i>	'his death'
<i>maé-'a</i>	'dying, epidemic'

A further limited variation from the pattern of penultimate stress occurs with trisyllabic bases, treated by speakers as unanalyzable. In these forms, added stress - if any - is placed on the penultimate vowel; but most speakers place roughly equal stress on the first two vowels, with lesser stress on the third:

<i>fánúa</i>	'place, territory'
<i>ádálo</i>	'ancestral spirit'
<i>bá'ékwa</i>	'shark'
<i>áláfa</i>	'big man'
<i>nánáma</i>	'be efficacious, convey efficacy'

Some of these forms, like the last, may historically be the result of reduplication (in this case, metathesis as well), or like *alafa* (Pawley 1982) may once have been morphologically complex. But these formative processes are sufficiently ancient in the history of the language that native speakers treat the forms as unanalyzable and do not apply normal stress rules based on the morphology of their constituents.

A trisyllabic form that is analyzable, or treated as such (e.g. one formed by a prefix that converts active verbs to statives), is pronounced with stress on the penultimate vowel, with secondary stress on the first syllable.

<i>wá-síu</i>	'wet'	(from <i>siu</i> , 'bathe', with stative-formative prefix)
---------------	-------	---

má-bóta 'smashed' (from *bota*, 'smash'
with stative-formative
prefix).

Further details on stress patterns will be noted in examining (in 1.4.5) the stress patterns of polymorphemic forms.

1.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication of nouns and verbs carries semantic information that will be treated in 2.1.3 and 2.3.7. Here, the relatively complex phonological patterns of reduplication will be analyzed. The form of reduplication depends on the phonological shape of the base (lexical morpheme) being reduplicated.

(a) VCV bases: full reduplication

Where a base has the shape VCV, the entire base is normally reduplicated. (As will be seen below, partial reduplication depends on the first syllable of a disyllabic having a CV-shape.)

aga 'look' > *agaaga*
olo 'jump' > *oloolo*

If V1 in a V1CV2 base is a front vowel (*i* or *e*), a vowel shift occurs in reduplication, as follows

eno 'lie down' > *eneeno*
eso 'play around' > *eseeso*
ifu 'hair, feather' > *iflifu-*

The doubling of the base occurs even where the base is modified by suffixation. Thus

ori 'return' > *orlori-ta-na* 'descend from'
> *orlori-a* 'send away
magically'
> *orlori-si-a* 'query'

As will be seen below, partial reduplication of VCV bases (through adding a "buffer" initial consonant) and full reduplication of CVCV bases are also possible, though rare.

(b) CVCV bases: partial reduplication

The most common pattern of reduplication, with CVCV bases, is repetition of the initial CV-syllable, with the vowel doubled in length:

c1V1C2V2 > *c1V1V1C1V1C2V2*
leka 'go' > *leeleka*

lama 'stay' > *laalama*
**sika* 'be small' > *silsika*

Only slightly less common with CVCV forms is full reduplication

bono 'be closed' > *bonobono*
'ani-a 'eat' > *'ani'ani-a*
rumu 'moss' > *rumurumu*
lebe 'tremble' > *lebelebe*
'aba-na 'shoulder, wing' > *'aba'aba-na*
lofo 'fly' > *lofolofo*
go'u 'taro' > *go'ugo'u-na*
**'ago* 'be hot' > *'ago'ago*

The pattern of partial repetition is sometimes used for bases of VCV shape, with a "buffer" glottal stop inserted. Thus

oba > *(o)o'oba* 'lean-to'

Most commonly, CVV bases are reduplicated using a full reduplication of the base

fai(-a) 'weed' > *falfai(-a)*
waa 'snake' > *waawaa*
'ai 'tree' > *'ai'ai*

but an alternative pattern is

C1V1V2 > C1V1V1C1V1C2
'ae- 'base' > *'aa'ae* 'legs/feet'
riu 'pass' > *riiriu*

(c) Trisyllabic bases

As has been seen in 1.4.1, where a disyllabic base is modified by suffixation, the normal pattern of reduplication takes place.

tege-la 'be strong' > *teetege-la* 'be very strong'

Or, using full repetition

ba'l-ta 'be big' > *ba'lba'i-ta* 'be very big'

In a few trisyllabic forms where a disyllabic form with a glottal stop as initial consonant is modified by suffixation, the initial glottal stop is dropped in reduplication:

'etela 'be greedy' > *e'etela* 'be very greedy'.

Where a trisyllabic form (CVCVCV or CVCVV) is genuinely unanalyzable (rare in Kwaio), reduplication normally operates in a normal fashion on the initial CVCV. Thus

warifu > *waawarifu-* 'great-grandparent'

faruta > *faafaruta* 'water conduit'

Or sometimes by full reduplication of the initial CVCV:

farisi > *farifarisi*'a 'be grassy'.

Trisyllabic VCVCV bases are rare, hence attestations of the reduplication patterns are few; those recorded reduplicate the initial VCV. Thus, from *aringa*- 'ear':

arlarl-nge'e 'earlike projection-of'

(d) Multisyllabic suffixes, reduplication, and stress

Although as noted above, reduplication patterns are not affected by suffixation to bases, the pattern is changed slightly when a long string of suffixes alters the overall stress pattern. This requires a more detailed examination of stress patterns. Within each sequence (C)VCV or CVV, a full or partial stress is given to the penultimate vowel. This pattern is preserved in reduplication (is minor or single stress, is major stress in a form with two or more stressed syllables):

láma 'stay' > *láa[́]láma*
ólo 'jump' > *óloó[́]lo*

Where a single-syllable suffix is added to the base, primary stress shifts to the second syllable of the base

nímá-gu 'my hand' > *ní[́]inímá[́]-gu*

When polysyllabic suffix is added, stress patterns shift somewhat:

óri > *óri-sí[́]-a* 'ask' > *ó[́]lori-sí[́]-a*
táke > *táke-ní[́]-a* 'pack inside' > *tá[́]atáke-ní[́]-a*
sína > *sína-fí[́]-a* 'warm in sun' > *sí[́]lsína-fí[́]-a*

The latter (CVCV-CI-a) form, where the medial base is unstressed, is sometimes avoided by full reduplication of the CVCV base to which a disyllabic suffix has been added:

gáru > *gáru-mí[́]-a* 'clasp around middle'
 > *gáru[́]gáru-mí[́]-a*

Another regular pattern of suffixation to verbs (2.3.1.2) adds four syllables to the base:

kólo > *kólo-té[́]e-ní[́]-a* 'slip'
tó'o > *tó'o-mé[́]e-ní[́]-a* 'plan out'

Where the form being reduplicated, to which the four-syllable suffix is added, is itself trisyllabic (whether or not morphologically complex), this shortening of the initial reduplicated syllable is unnecessary:

tegé-la > *téetegé-la*
tegé-la-nge'e-ní-a > *téetegé-la-nge'e-ní-a*

I have chosen to write lengthened reduplicated first syllables with two vowels rather than one partly because of the complexity of environmental conditioning. A further complexity that dictates this orthographic convention is the existence of a prefix (marking the action of a verb as spontaneous or precipitate) which assumes as allomorph the phonemic shape of the first syllable of the verb base, but without lengthening it. Thus

ta'e > *ta-ta'e* 'stand up'
tola > *to-tola* 'run'.

Marking the lengthening of reduplicated first syllables avoids a potential ambiguity. This "prefix of spontaneity" is explicated in 2.3.8.

1.3 MORPHOPHONEMIC PATTERNS

1.3.1 Elision of glottal stop

Kwaio pervasively elides glottal stops when they would occur in successive syllables. The pattern is

[...V'V] + ['V...] > /...VV'V.../

Thus:

te'e + *'ola* > *tee'ola* 'one thing'
ga'l + *-'o* > *gal-'o* 'your mother'
fa'a + *'afu-a* > *faa-'afua* 'wrap up; include'

This change is avoided only when elision of the first glottal would create a semantic ambiguity the speaker wishes to circumvent. This pattern is particularly pervasive because of the widespread use of *'ola*, 'thing', with numerical classifiers in genitive constructions (3.1.1.1.2, 3.1.4), and in other constructions common in everyday speech.

1.3.2 Elision of second syllables

Three common nouns are characteristically (though not obligatorily) contracted by the elision of the second syllable of the base when they occur before deictics (2.5.3) indicating "this" and "that":

'ola 'thing'
wane 'man'
wela 'child'

These forms are conventionally contracted prior to the deictics

<i>lo'o-ri</i>	}	'this'
<i>lo'o-o</i>		
<i>no'o-na</i>	}	'that'
<i>lo'o-na</i>		

In these contractions, the first syllable of the noun is doubled in length:

<i>waa no'o-na</i>	'that man'
<i>'oo lo-'oo</i>	'this thing'
<i>wee lo'o-ri</i>	'this child'

1.3.3 Vowel shifting in transitive verbs

A recurrent though not fully regular phonological pattern modifies the bases of transitive verbs (2.3.1) when pronoun objects are affixed. This shifting takes place with verb bases of the form (C)V1CV2 where V2 is *a*. When the transitive form V + PrOBJ is used, V2 shifts to *-e-*.

<i>sunga</i>	>	<i>sunge-a</i>	'peel'
<i>oba</i>	>	<i>obe-a</i>	'beat down undergrowth'
<i>oka</i>	>	<i>oke-a</i>	'eat raw'

Some CVC*a* transitive verb bases remain invariant:

<i>taka</i>	>	<i>taka-a</i>	'fell'
<i>suda</i>	>	<i>suda-a</i>	'shoot'

1.3.4 Vowel shifting in genitive and nominalizing constructions

When nouns in a normally inalienable possessive relationship (3.1.4) are conjoined in genitive constructions based on their *separation*, Kwaio manifests another regular pattern of vowel shifting. The grammatical relationship must first be examined:

<i>oga-na boo</i>	'a pig's belly'
<i>oge-'e boo</i>	'a belly section of pork'

It is the pattern of vowel shifting manifest as

<i>oga</i>	>	<i>oge-'e</i>
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we will examine here. The pattern depends on the second vowel in the base of the modifying noun (here 'belly'). In (C)V1CV2, if V2 is

<i>a</i>	(C)V <i>C</i> <i>a</i>	>	(C)V <i>C</i> <i>e</i> - <i>'e</i>
<i>oga-</i>		>	<i>oge-'e</i> 'belly of'

	<i>lafa-</i>	>	<i>late-'e</i>	'kind of'
<i>e</i>	(C)V <i>Ce</i>	>	(C)V <i>Ce-'e</i>	
	<i>fote-</i>	>	<i>fote-'e</i>	'shoulder blade of'
<i>i</i>	(C)V <i>CI</i>	>	(C)V <i>CI-'i</i>	
	<i>lasi-</i>	>	<i>lasi-'i</i>	'head of'
<i>o</i>	(C)V <i>Co</i>	>	(C)V <i>Ce-'e</i>	
	<i>lodo-</i>	>	<i>lode-'e</i>	'seed of'
				(but note the shift in both stem and ending in <i>goo-'i</i> , 'head of', from <i>gou-</i> , 'head')
<i>u</i>	(C)V <i>Cu</i>	>	(C)V <i>C-u-'i</i>	
	<i>nunu-</i>	>	<i>nunu-'i</i>	'shade of'

When, as is very common, the head noun is *'ola*, 'thing', the elision rule (1.3.1) leads to elision of the glottal stop of the genitive ending:

<i>nunu-i</i>	<i>'ola</i>	'ghost, shade'
<i>late-e</i>	<i>'ola</i>	'kind of thing'

A very similar pattern occurs where nouns, created from verbs, refer to pieces or objects or units created by the action specified by the verb and modify head nouns in genitive constructions. Here the patterns of phonological shifting are the same, with one exception. Where the form has the shape (C)V*Co*, the shift is to (C)V*Co-'e*.

<i>taga</i>	'scatter, dismantling'	<i>tage-'e gani</i>	'day ("the dismantling of night")'
<i>lango</i>	'feed'	<i>lango-'e ku-'i</i>	'a pack of hunting dogs'
<i>bulo</i>	'twist'	<i>bulo-'e firli</i>	'rope of domestic tobacco'
<i>kwari</i>	'cut'	<i>kwari(')-i 'ota</i>	'half kernel of areca nut'
<i>tari</i>	'slice off'	<i>tatarl-'i boo</i>	'pork slice'
<i>tofu</i>	'separate'	<i>tofu-'i boo</i>	'slice of pork'
<i>lafa</i>	'spread out'	<i>lafe-'e alo</i>	'portion of taro'

I have few examples of such shifts where the verb base has the shape CVV, but note

mou 'be broken' *moo-'i naefl* 'broken piece
of knife'

The CVCV pattern above is rarely used for nouns conjoined such that the object labelled with the noun is "made out of" the substance labelled with the second:

sua 'spear' *sue-'e gwange* 'spear made out
of *gwange*
reed'

A closely related set of vowel shifts occurs with numerical classifiers. These can best be set out when these classifiers are described in 3.1.1.1.2.

1.3.5 Stress-preserving modifications

Some of the patterns of reduplication described in 1.2.3 can be viewed as stress-preserving - notably the shortening of reduplicated first syllables when quadri-syllabic transitive endings are added to bisyllabic verb roots.

Some other morphophonemic patterns serve to preserve stress. Most pervasive is a modification of the nominalizing suffix [-*nga*]. This suffix commonly transforms intransitive verbs to abstract nouns, as in

leka 'go' > *leka-nga* 'trip'
oso 'eat' > *oso-nga* 'meal'
masa 'play' > *masa-nga* 'playing, games' (see 2.6.2).

Here the stress shifts from the first vowel to the second:

léka > *leká-nga*

However, with a trisyllabic verb base, Kwaio avoids shifting stress to the final vowel of the base by employing as an allophone of [-*nga*] the lengthened form *-ngaa*. Thus

to'óru-ngáa 'living'
nánáma-ngáa 'ancestral support'

This happens when a nominalized form is created from a transitive verb plus conventionalized noun direct object, where the noun is trisyllabic; but when the noun is disyllabic, *-nga* is used. Thus

lango-nl-a boo 'do (a) bad (thing)'
lango-nl-boo-nga 'pig raising'
age-a manl 'do (a) bad (thing)'
age-manl-nga 'wrong doing'

but

<i>age-a omea</i>	'give mortuary feast'
<i>age-omea-ngaa</i>	'feast giving'
<i>firi-a adalo</i>	'compensate ancestors'
<i>firi-adalo-ngaa</i>	'compensate to ancestors'

This lengthening of the nominalizing ending occurs when a trisyllabic verbal form is itself created by affixation. Thus

<i>mae</i>	'die, be dead'
------------	----------------

is modified into

<i>mae'a</i>	'be (in) a state of dying, be afflicted by epidemic';
--------------	--

and this in turn, in its manifestation as stative verb, can be nominalized as trisyllabic

<i>maé'a-ngáa</i>	'epidemic, collective experience of death'
-------------------	--

Note here that CVV is treated as disyllabic, CVV-CV as trisyllabic.

A somewhat similar pattern (also entailing stress-preservation) occurs when a four-syllable form consisting of disyllabic base + transitive suffix (2.3.1.2) + pronoun object is rendered intransitive by dropping the pronoun object. This process creates an intransitive verb (which can then be nominalized by [-nga] and at the same time renders the form to be nominalized trisyllabic (so the suffix becomes the allomorph -ngaa). Thus

<i>'úla-sĩ-a</i>	'open (it)'
------------------	-------------

becomes intransitive as

<i>'ulá-si</i>	'perform the act of opening something'.
----------------	--

And that in turn is nominalized as trisyllabic:

<i>'ulá-si-ngáa</i>	'opening'
---------------------	-----------

However, when a CVV base is modified by the transitive suffix [-a'i] in its intransitive form (2.3.1.2), the CVV acts as two syllables, not one (see 1.2 above) - and thence -nga is used as the nominalizing suffix:

<i>láu-ngáa'i</i>	'make (things), do (things), work' (the intransitive form of <i>lau-nge-'e-ni-a</i>)
<i>láu-nga'ĩ-nga</i>	'work' (not * <i>lau-nga'i-ngaa</i>).

to it in the operation of stress rules (even where in other contexts the suffixed morpheme can stand alone). Thus, for example, a possible convention of separating pronoun objects from verbs

**aga-si nau* 'see me'

**aga-si 'o* 'see you'

is contravened not only by the fact that no particle can intervene, but by the fact that it would render substantially irregular otherwise almost completely regular stress rules where primary stress falls on the penultimate vowel:

ága-si-náú

ága-sí-'o.

CHAPTER 2: MORPHOLOGY

Kwaio morphemes comprise two major classes, bases and particles. The bases, lexical morphemes, have a canonical form of CVCV, with CVV and VCV as variants. Trisyllabic bases are rare, and most result from a frozen prefix or suffix. Particles include a range of grammatical morphemes that attach to or distribute around bases and mark the relationship between phrases and clauses.

A strict separation in presentation between bases and particles is unfeasible; classes of bases may be defined in terms of the particles they select, and some sets -- e.g. pronouns -- include both bases and particles. However, the general procedure followed here will be to introduce the major form classes of Kwaio bases in this section, with those particles introduced with them which either fit closely with the bases (e.g., pronoun suffixes), serve to define classes of bases, or are otherwise directly associated with bases. These will include transformative affixes that convert bases of one form class so as to fit into different grammatical slots (e.g., causative prefixes, nominalizing suffixes, stative-formatives).

In distinguishing the major form classes of Kwaio bases, I follow fairly closely the schema suggested by Pawley (1972). Following Pawley, I define the major form classes in terms of the interrogatives they select. Like other Oceanic languages, Kwaio is relatively flexible in that a particular base form may fit into two or more form classes without morphological marking. However, it would be easy to overstate this flexibility. Most bases, with no morphological marking, are unambiguous as to form class; if they are fitted into a different form class, they are marked with a prefix or suffix. Thus

<i>leka</i>	'go'	>	<i>leka-nga</i>	'trip'
<i>siu</i>	'bathe'	>	<i>wa-siu</i>	'be wet'
<i>fou</i>	'stone'	>	<i>fou-la</i>	'rocky'

Where a single base fits, without such affixation, into two or more form classes, this is clearly marked with other syntactic devices. Thus:

<i>mae</i>	'die' (intransitive verb) 'be dead' (stative verb) 'a fight' (common noun)
<i>nanama</i>	'be efficacious, "work"' (stative verb) 'convey support/protection, of ancestors' (intransitive verb)

2.1 NOUNS

Nouns comprise a major set of bases, divisible into subclasses. A major separation is between personal nouns and common nouns. Common nouns are further divisible into several classes according to modes of possession, animate vs. inanimate, individual vs. mass, etc.

2.1.1 Personal nouns

Personal nouns comprise a class of personal names, for which the focal pronouns (2.2.2) can substitute. They select the interrogative (*ni*) *dal*, 'who?' (4.4.1). Personal names are preceded by one of a set of personal articles, except when used in direct address:

<i>la</i>	masculine article, used before names of male humans
<i>ni</i>	feminine article, used before names of female humans
<i>ni</i>	article, unmarked for gender, used preceding the interrogative <i>dal</i>
<i>na</i>	neuter article, optionally used before pseudonyms (<i>fo'ota</i> names) of ancestral ghosts, and sometimes names of pet animals
<i>la Ba'efaka</i>	"Mr Ba'efaka"
<i>ni Boori'au</i>	"Ms Boori'au"
<i>ni dal</i>	'who?' (i.e., what named person?)
<i>na Amadia</i>	"Ancestor Amadia"
<i>la longu</i>	'John Doe' (i.e., a hypothetical male 'so-and-so')
<i>ni longu</i>	'Jane Doe' (i.e., a hypothetical female 'so-and-so')

In some contexts, a kin term acts as a personal noun:

(a) as a term of address:

<i>teete'e</i>	'mommy'
<i>'oo ma'a a-na</i>	'you, father' (especially used in addressing a dead father, using as a mark of deference the 3 p.s. pronoun).

(b) as a term of reference, prefixed by the personal article:

kwate-a fa-la ma'a a-gu
 give-PrO(3s) to-ART father PsP-PrS(1s)
 Give it to my father.

2.1.2 Common nouns

Common nouns select the interrogative pronoun *taa* 'what?' and fit into the slot preceded by the common (though optional -- see 3.1.1.1) nominal article *nga*. As in other Oceanic languages, common nouns can be roughly classified according to the mode of possession (alienable or inalienable) they select. Common nouns can also be subclassified (again with considerable contextual shifting) as animate or inanimate, or higher animate or non-higher animate (2.1.2.2) and as mass or individual (2.1.2.3). We can first examine possessive constructions.

2.1.2.1 Modes of possession: alienable vs. inalienable

In traditional grammars of Oceanic languages, nouns were usually treated as falling into two classes (hence comprising a sort of "gender" system). One class, consisting of body part nouns and often some other nouns (often including some kin terms), is "inalienable": pronoun suffixes are directly attached to the noun base. A second supposed class consists of nouns not inseparably connected to the possessor; in most Oceanic languages, the pronoun suffixes are attached to a possessive particle. (Many Oceanic languages use a different possessive particle to mark possession of edible items, and sometimes a different particle for drinkables.)

Kwaio, like other Malaita languages, does not distinguish possession of edibles and drinkables, but it otherwise conforms to the pattern:

<i>nima-gu</i>	'my hand'
<i>'lfi a-gu</i>	'my house' (where <i>a-</i> is the possessive particle, reflex of PEO * <i>ta-</i>).

Kwaio also distinguishes a third, rare, mode of possession:

<i>fue nau</i>	'my namesake'
----------------	---------------

where the pronoun form that serves as direct object of a transitive verb directly follows the noun. This is the means used to mark alienable possession in most Malaita languages.

However, the work of Pawley (1973) and Lynch (1973, 1982) makes it clear that these are not gender systems: nouns are not either alienable or inalienable. Rather, possessive constructions *establish semantic relationships between nouns*. Ample evidence now shows that in Oceanic languages the same noun may be "possessed" using different modes of possession-marking, to establish different relationships between possessor and possessed nouns. Lynch's recent work (1982) makes it particularly clear that possessive

constructions must be looked at in a wider context of the relationships between nouns. These relationships, including possessive constructions, are examined in section 3.1.4.

2.1.2.2 Animate vs. inanimate nouns

Nouns designating humans or sentient beings classed as, in context, having their essential qualities -- what I will designate as "higher animate" nouns -- enter into constructions which other nouns (which I will here class as grammatically inanimate) do not. Dogs are usually not classed as higher animate; domestic pigs usually are.

Higher animate nouns are replaced by, or followed by, focal and subject-referencing personal pronouns (2.2.2) marked for person and number. Grammatically non-higher animate nouns are replaced by, or followed by, a neutral "it" pronoun (2.2.2). Thus

rua o'a-gu gala fii
two el. br.-PrS(1s) SRP(3d) be sick
My two older brothers are sick.

suri-gu ka fii
bone-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) be painful
My bones ache.

In the second construction, the inanimate "bones" select as subject-referencing pronoun the "it" pronoun *ka* (or *e*). In the first, the higher animate noun selects the corresponding 'they two' subject-referencing pronoun.

In other contexts the distinction is between animate (but not necessarily higher animate) nouns and inanimate ones. Thus most active verbs denote actions that only animate entities can perform (although there are exceptions, such as *tori* 'fall down'). The agent of a transitive verb is usually an animate subject. Thus:

ngaia ka aga-si-nau
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(1s)
He saw me.

Most commonly an inanimate subject noun is followed by a stative verb (2.3.4) with the neutral subject-referencing pronoun *e* as copula:

rua lefu lo-lo'o e abu
two place DEI SRP(3s) be taboo
Those two places up there are taboo.

2.1.2.3 Mass vs. individual nouns

Inanimate common nouns are distinguishable according to whether they can be quantified by numerals or the plural article *ni* (i.e., are "countable"; see 3.1.1.1). Thus individual nouns such as

<i>'ifi</i>	'house'
<i>'ai</i>	'tree'

enter into constructions such as

<i>oru 'ifi ba'ita</i>
three house big
three big houses

and

<i>ni 'ai</i>
PLU tree
trees

In contrast, nouns for mass substances cannot directly be quantified by numerals or marked for plurality:

<i>one</i>	'sand'
<i>asi</i>	'sea, seawater, salt'
<i>wado</i>	'earth'

but

<i>*oru wado</i>
<i>*ni one.</i>

However, Kwaio has a developed system of numerical classifiers (3.1.1.1.2), which in some constructions can be used to quantify mass nouns. Thus individual grains of sand could be distinguished by use of the classifier used for spherical or node-like objects:

<i>oru foo'i one:</i>	'three grains of sand'
-----------------------	------------------------

A different classifier, which designates individual units or portions, can be used to indicate quantities of "mass" substances put into containers:

<i>rua me'e asi</i>	'two containers of salt'
---------------------	--------------------------

Sometimes marking with a classifier entails a semantic shift. Thus:

<i>wado</i>	'earth'
<i>me'e wado</i>	'tract of land'

Finally, some nouns can be used in both a mass sense and an individual sense:

<i>ka'o</i>	'water'
-------------	---------

<i>oru ka'o</i>	'three bamboo containers filled with water'
<i>'ai</i>	'wood'
<i>rua 'ai</i>	'two trees'

2.1.3 Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication of nouns is relatively infrequent, with the exception of paired body parts:

<i>'ae-na</i>	'foot/leg, base'	>	<i>'aa'ae-na</i>	'his legs'
<i>nima-gu</i>	'my hand/arm'	>	<i>nlinima-gu</i>	'my hands/arms'

Otherwise, nouns are reduplicated only in forms where this carries special semantic import. Thus:

<i>waa</i>	'snake'	<i>waawaa</i>	'worm, caterpillar'
<i>'ego</i>	'betel pepper'	<i>'ee'ego</i>	'wild betel pepper'
<i>go'u</i>	'taro' (gen.)	<i>go'ugo'u-na</i>	'taro sucker'
<i>te'e-na</i>	'husk'	<i>te'ete'e-na</i>	'coconut husk'
<i>du'u</i>	'corner'	<i>du'udu'u</i>	'flat two- cornered bag'

2.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Kwaio personal pronouns follow closely the pattern reconstructed for PEO by Pawley (1972), although my treatment of this pattern differs slightly from his. For each semantic category there are four alternative forms, fitting into different syntactic slots. In 2.2.1 the fifteen semantic categories of the Kwaio pronominal system are defined componentially. In 2.2.2 the forms in each set are set out. The syntactic slots into which they fit will be progressively explicated (possessive constructions have already been glimpsed). The forms of the focal pronoun set substitute for personal nouns.

2.2.1 Semantic categories of pronouns

The fifteen pronominal morphemes are semantically distinguished in terms of four distinctions of "person" (first inclusive and exclusive, second and third) and four distinctions of number (singular, dual, trial, plural). These are componentially definable as follows:

A. NUMBER

A1 singular
A2 dual
A3 trial
A4 plural

B. PERSON

B1 first
(a) includes alter
(b) excludes alter
B2 second
B3 third

A1B2	'I/me'
A1B2	'you'
A1B3	'he/she/it'
A2B1(a)	'you and I'
A2B1(b)	'I and someone else'
A2B2	'you two'
A2B3	'the two of them'
A3B1(a)	'we (including you)'
A3B1(b)	'we (excluding you)'
A3B2	'you'
A3B3	'they'
A4B1(a)	'we (including you)'
A4B1(b)	'we (excluding you)'
A4B2	'you'
A4B3	'they'

What is morphologically a trial set (i.e., the forms are constructed from the morpheme *oru* 'three') semantically designates any plurality of higher animate entities. Often use of the trial set indicates a small number of entities, in contrast to the unlimited plural number implied by the plural set. But no firm distinction is maintained in practice, particularly since some of the plural forms are rarely used. I shall follow Pawley and Geraghty in referring to this (morphologically) trial set as "paucal".

2.2.2 Pronominal forms

The four sets of pronominal forms for each of these categories are set out below. The first set consists of what I will call focal pronouns; the second, of subject-referencing pronouns. Together, I will class them as two sets of subject pronouns, in that they index anaphorically the subject/agent of a following verb. The third and fourth sets are used as suffixes bound to bases and particles. The third, pronoun objects, reference objects of transitive verbs and certain prepositions that are verbal in structure (2.4). The fourth, pronominal suffixes, are suffixed to nouns, locative bases, and prepositional and possessive particles. I will class these third and fourth sets as object/possessive pronouns.

(a) Subject pronouns

	FOCAL PRONOUNS	SUBJ.-REFERENCING PRONOUNS	GLOSS
A1B1	(i)nau	ku	'I'
A1B2	(i)'oo	[ko] ['oi]	'you'
A1B3	ngal(a)	ka	'he, she, it'
A2B1(a)	('i)da'a	golo	'you two'
A2B1(b)	('e)me'e	mele	'we two (excl.)'
A2B2	('o)mo'o	molo	'you two'
A2B3	('i)ga'a	gala	'they two'
A3B1(a)	('i)dauru	goru (=guru)	'we (incl.)'
A3B1(b)	('e)meeru	meru (=miru)	'we (excl.)'

A3B2	(<i>'o</i>)mooru	moru	'you'
A3B3	(<i>'i</i>)gauru	garu	'they'
A4B1(a)	<i>gla</i>	<i>ki</i>	'we (incl.)'
A4B1(b)	(<i>'i</i>)mani	<i>mi</i>	'we (incl.)'
A4B2	(<i>'a</i>)miu	<i>mu</i>	'you'
A4B3	<i>gila</i>	(<i>gi</i>) <i>lla</i>	'they'

For those who prefer a more conventional table to the componential definitions, we can set out the subject pronouns as follows:

		FOCAL PRONOUNS	SUBJ.-REFERENCING PRONOUNS
SING.	1	(<i>i</i>) <i>nau</i>	<i>ku</i>
	2	(<i>i</i>)' <i>oo</i>	[<i>ko</i>] [<i>'oi</i>]
	3	<i>ngai</i> (<i>a</i>)	[<i>ka</i>] [<i>e</i>]
DUAL	1 incl.	(<i>'i</i>) <i>da'a</i>	<i>golo</i> (=guru)
	1 excl.	(<i>'e</i>) <i>me'e</i>	<i>mele</i> (=miru)
	2	(<i>'o</i>) <i>mo'o</i>	<i>molo</i>
	3	(<i>'i</i>) <i>ga'a</i>	<i>gala</i>
PAUCAL	1 incl.	(<i>'i</i>) <i>dauru</i>	<i>goru</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>'e</i>) <i>meeru</i>	<i>meru</i>
	2	(<i>'o</i>) <i>mooru</i>	<i>moru</i>
	3	(<i>'i</i>) <i>gauru</i>	<i>garu</i>
PLURAL	1 incl.	<i>gla</i>	<i>ki</i>
	1 excl.	(<i>'i</i>) <i>mani</i>	<i>mi</i>
	2	(<i>'a</i>) <i>miu</i>	<i>mu</i>
	3	<i>gila</i>	(<i>gi</i>) <i>lla</i>

Some points of detail are necessary before we examine the syntactic functions of subject pronouns. First, the particles in parentheses preceding most of the focal pronouns represent a morphological pattern reconstructed for PEO and POC. In Kwaio [*i*-] marks singular forms and [*'i*-] marks plural forms, with allomorphs /*'e*-/, /*'a*-/, and /*'o*-/ conditioned by the following vowel. These personal articles are optional and serve to emphasize the focal pronoun.

Second, there are some alternative forms in the singular series. The most important and pervasive is a pattern of equivalence/alternation between the A1B3 subject-referencing pronoun *ka*, and *e*, which is historically a predicate marker used as copula with stative verbs. The equivalence can be seen in the following constructions:

1 *wane ka 'ame aga-si-a*
 man SRP(3s) NEG see-TrS-Pro(3s)
 The man didn't see it.

2 *ngala ka leka no'o*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3S) go PRF
 He has gone.

3 *'ifi lo'oo e ba'ita*
 house SRP(3s) be big
 this house is big.

Note that *ka* and *e* are interchangeable as subject-referencing pronouns preceding both transitive and intransitive active verbs (although *ka* can probably be considered the canonical form) and as predicate marker/copula preceding stative verbs (although *e* can probably be considered the canonical form).

Different patterns of alternation occur in the second person singular and third person plural. When the second person singular focal pronoun ('oo) is used with the subject-referencing pronoun, the latter assumes the form *ko*. When the subject-referencing pronoun is used without the focal pronoun, the subject-referencing pronoun form *'oi* is used. This pattern is examined further below. With the third person plural, the full form of the subject-referencing pronoun *gila* is used less often than the shortened form *la*. Repetition of the identical focal and subject-referencing pronouns is usually avoided: thus *gila la* rather than *gila gila*, unless a particle intervenes.

Where focal pronoun and subject-referencing pronoun are used together, they may be contracted:

ngala + e > ngal-e or nga-e
nau + ku > na-ku
'oo + ko > 'o-ko

Use of focal and subject-referencing pronouns can usefully be clarified in preliminary fashion. The focal pronoun, in a verbal sentence or clause, is syntactically and semantically redundant, because the subject-referencing pronoun is referenced for person and number to the unspecified subject/agent of a following verb, or references by reiteration an explicit noun subject. The focal pronoun is used for emphasis -- in effect, to topicalize or foreground. As will be seen in Chapter 4, object noun phrases (direct or oblique objects of verbs) normally follow the verb, in an SVO order; but either direct or oblique object noun phrase can be topicalized by left dislocation, so as to precede the subject noun phrase. A focal pronoun, substituting for the head noun of a subject noun phrase, topicalizes the subject/agent of the verb.

Where a noun serves as head of the subject noun phrase, it is followed by a third person subject-referencing pronoun, which then serves a double syntactic function: marking the preceding noun phrase as subject, and marking the following base as verb. The

third person focal pronoun can substitute for a noun as head of the NP:

4 'e-meru meru kwate-a boo ba'ita fa-na
 FPr(1t) SRP(1t) give-PrO(3s) pig big for-PrS(3s)
 We gave him a big pig.

5 noni a-gu ka age-a naaboni
 wife PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s) yesterday
 My wife did it yesterday.

When in serial clauses the subject-referencing pronoun (co-referential with the subject of the verb phrase in the preceding clause) is preceded by the conjunction *ma* 'and', the normal subject-referencing pronoun is used, except for these contracted forms:

ma + *ko* > *mo-ko*
 (alternatively *mo-o*)
ma + *e* > *me-e*
 (alternatively *ma + ka* > *ma-ka*)

A construction fairly common in Kwaio emphasizes topicalization of the subject NP or focal pronoun by inserting a topicalizing marker *no'o*, usually (in third person singular) elided with the SRP, as *ne-'e*. In other syntactic contexts, the morpheme *no'o*, free or bound, is used as a deictic ('there', 'that') or postverbal perfect aspect marker (PRF).

6 *ngai e leka no'o*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go PRF
 He has gone.

7 *ngai ne-'e leka*
 FPr(3s) TOP-SRP(3s) go
 He's the one who went.

The topicalizing *no'o* in *ne-'e* would seem to be paralleling its use as deictic following a noun. Compare:

8 *rua wane no'o-na gala leka...*
 two man DEI SRP(3d) go
 Those two men went ...

Sometimes *ne-'e* is replaced by *le-'e* (*lo'o-* is manifest in deictics as 'here' or 'this'). Where a focal pronoun demands topical emphasis the article *'i-* and its allomorphs serve this function:

9 'o-mo'o molo age-a
 FPr(2d) SRP(2d) do-PrO(3s)
 You two did it./ It was the two of you who did it.

Like a number of other Southeast Solomonian languages, Kwaio fairly often uses the focal pronoun 'oo in slots where the subject-referencing pronoun would be expected (that is, without the following subject-referencing pronoun *ko*). Thus:

10 'oo 'ame age-a
 FPr(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s)
 You didn't do it.

Sometimes the second person singular focal pronoun, used in a syntactic slot where the subject-referencing pronoun would normally fit, includes the prefixed personal article:

lauta /-'oo *aga-si-a* ...
 if FPr(2s) see-TrS(3s)
 if you see it...

(b) Object/possessive pronouns

	PRON. OBJECT	PRON. SUFFIX	GLOSS
A1B1	- <i>nau</i>	- <i>gu</i>	'me'
A1B2	- <i>'o</i>	- <i>mu</i>	'you'
A1B3	- <i>a</i>	- <i>na</i>	'him/her'
	- <i>'i</i>	- <i>i</i>	'it' (indefinite)
A2B1(a)	- <i>'ada'a</i>	- <i>da(a)'a</i>	'us two'
A2B1(b)	- <i>'eme'e</i>	- <i>me(e)'e</i>	'us two (excl.)'
A2B2	- <i>'omo'o</i>	- <i>mo(o)'o</i>	'you two'
A2B3	- <i>'aga'a</i>	- <i>ga(a)'a</i>	'the two of them'
A3B1(a)	- <i>'adauru</i>	- <i>dauru</i>	'us (incl.)'
A3B1(b)	- <i>'eme(e)ru</i>	- <i>meru</i>	'us (excl.)'
A3B2	- <i>'omo(o)ru</i>	- <i>moru</i>	'you'
A3B3	- <i>'agauru</i>	- <i>gauru</i>	'them'
A4B1(a)	- <i>gla</i>	- <i>da</i>	'us (incl.)'
A4B1(b)	- <i>'amani</i>	- <i>mani</i>	'us (excl.)'
A4B2	- <i>'amiu [-'ami'u]</i>	- <i>miu [-mi'u]</i>	'you'
A4B3	- <i>ga</i>	- <i>ga</i>	'them'
		- <i>ni</i>	'them (indefinite)'

The vowels in parentheses indicate optional vowel lengthening. The forms in brackets represent phonological variants.

Again, a more conventional paradigmatic chart may be useful:

		PRON. OBJECT	PRON. SUFFIX
SINGULAR	1	- <i>nau</i>	- <i>gu</i>
	2	- <i>'o</i>	- <i>mu</i>
	3	- <i>a(-'i)</i>	- <i>na(-i)</i>
DUAL	1 incl.	- <i>'ada'a</i>	- <i>da(a)'a</i>
	1 excl.	- <i>'eme'e</i>	- <i>me(e)'e</i>
	2	- <i>'omo'o</i>	- <i>mo(o)'o</i>
	3	- <i>'aga'a</i>	- <i>ga(a)'a</i>

PAUCAL	1	incl.	- <i>'adauru</i>	- <i>dauru</i>
	1	excl.	- <i>'eme(ə)ru</i>	- <i>meru</i>
	2		- <i>'omo(o)ru</i>	- <i>moru</i>
	3		- <i>'agauru</i>	- <i>gauru</i>
PLURAL	1	incl.	- <i>gia</i>	- <i>da</i>
	1	excl.	- <i>'amani</i>	- <i>mani</i>
	2		- <i>'amiu [-'ami'u]</i>	- <i>miu [-mi'u]</i>
	3		- <i>ga</i>	- <i>ga(-ni)</i>

The pronoun object series, suffixed to transitive verbs, comprise clitic pronouns which reference explicit or implicit direct object NP's. Where a direct object NP has a common noun as head, the clitic pronoun is used in its invariant 3ps form. Where the object NP is implicit, the suffixed clitic pronoun is marked as appropriate for person and/or (if higher-animate and non-singular) for non-singular number.

- 11 *ngai e kwate-a*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s)
 He gave it.
- 12 *nau ku aga-si-'aga'a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3d)
 I see the two of them.
- 13 *ngai e dau-a rua boo*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) destroy-PrO(3s) two pig
 He killed two pigs.
- 14 *nau ku aga-si-a nima wane*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) five man
 I saw five men.

However, when the following direct object nouns are personal, not common, the clitic may be marked for non-singular number:

- 12A *nau ku aga-si-'aga'a la Diake ma la Seda*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3d) ART Diake CON ART Seda
 I see Diake and Seda.

A similar duality of function operates with the third person singular pronoun suffix. First, it functions as third person singular pronoun (in several grammatical slots), referencing an implicit object of a preposition or noun in a genitive construction:

kwate-a fa-na
 'give it to him/her'

i na'o-na
 'in front of him/her'

'aa'ae-na
'his leg'

Second, it references the prepositional base or locative base to a following noun phrase, and is unmarked for number:

kwa-te-a fa-na wane
'give it to the man'

na'o-na wane
'in front of the man'

The pronoun object and pronoun suffix forms listed as "indefinite-impersonal" need clarification. When the pronoun object does not reference the verb to a following noun, but itself replaces an unspecified direct object of the transitive verb (or prepositional verb; 2.4) to which it is suffixed, and if the noun for which it substitutes is inanimate and the reference to it is indefinite, the neutral pronoun -/ may be used:

12 nau ku aga-si-a
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
I see it.

(when "it" is a particular thing to which explicit reference has been made).

12A nau ku aga-si-'/
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(Ind)
I see it/one.

(where the "it" or "one" is indefinite).

For pronoun objects, no impersonal-indefinite form specifically marked for plurality is used: *aga-si-'/* can be 'see those things'. Where a pronominal suffix references the oblique object of a verb, and the object noun is unspecified, the PrSuff may be marked as impersonal-indefinite, when the noun for which PrSuff substitutes is inanimate and the reference is indefinite.

aga fa-na 'look for him'; 'look for it'
(a particular object to which reference has been explicitly made)

aga fa-l 'look for it', 'look for them'.

These forms may (optionally) be marked for plurality:

aga fa-nl 'look for them'.

Occasionally these indefinite endings are used when reference is to a human (or more usually to a plurality of humans), in a way that renders the reference impersonal:

kwa/-'i 'kill them'

2.2.3 Pronoun morphology

Pawley (1972) notes the morphological parallels, in the four pronoun sets reconstructed for PEO, between focal pronouns and object pronouns, on the one hand, and between subject-referencing pronouns and corresponding pronominal suffixes, on the other (he calls these two sets "unemphatic subjective personals" and "possessive pronouns" respectively). These parallels are apparent, for Kwaio, only for the first person singular forms:

FOCAL PRONOUN	PRONOUN OBJECT
<i>nau</i>	<i>-nau</i>
PREVERBAL PRONOUN	PRONOMINAL SUFFIX
<i>ku</i>	<i>-gu</i>

The dual and trial pronoun sets are morphologically complex, comprising morphemes marking person, and morphemes marking number. The person-marking morphemes are:

[<i>da-</i>]	'we (incl.)'
[<i>me-</i>]	'we (excl.)'
[<i>mo-</i>]	'you'
[<i>ga-</i>]	'they'

The number-marking morphemes are:

[<i>-a</i>]	'two'
[<i>-oru</i>]	'three' (plural: <i>oru</i> is number three)

The person-marking morpheme [*da-*] has the allomorph /*go-*/ in the subject-referencing pronoun set; the number-marking morpheme [*-a*] has the allomorph [*-la*] in the subject-referencing pronoun set. The initial vowels of the number-marking morphemes are conditioned by the preceding vowels (the vowel of the person-marking morpheme) as follows:

PMM VOWEL	NMM	
	DUAL	TRIAL
<i>-e</i>	<i>-e/-le</i>	<i>-eru</i>
<i>-o</i>	<i>-o/-lo</i>	<i>-oru</i>
<i>-a</i>	<i>-a/-la</i>	<i>-uru</i>

Use of the four sets of pronouns will be explicated as verbs, locatives, noun phrases and verb phrases are analyzed in the sections to follow.

2.3 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Kwaio verbs fall into two main categories, ACTIVE and STATIVE. Active verbs describe actions; stative verbs describe states. Active verbs, in turn, fall into two categories, transitive and intransitive.

These distinctions are based on the constraints and relationships of verbs towards the noun phrases (NP's) in simple sentences. We can begin with some definitions.

(1) A verb, in Kwaio, is a form marked by and following a subject-referencing pronoun. (In surface strings, the verb itself may be separated from the subject-referencing pronoun by tense/aspect markers.)

(2) The distinctions between transitive and intransitive verbs, and between active verbs and statives, depend on constraints in relation to other NP's in simple sentences/clauses. These constraints operate as follows:

(a) A transitive verb is one that, in a simple sentence or clause, governs two NP's, one a subject NP and the other a direct object NP. Either NP may in fact be unspecified, in the context of discourse, but is obligatorily referenced within the VP by a subject-referencing pronoun (which references the subject NP) and a clitic object pronoun (which references the direct object NP).

(b) An intransitive verbal sentence minimally has a subject NP, or is referenced to an unspecified subject NP by the subject-referencing pronoun; and it can include a second NP as oblique object; it cannot have a direct object NP. An intransitive verb form is one that enters such constructions.

(c) A stative verbal sentence is one which has only one NP as subject (experiencer), or is referenced by the subject-referencing pronoun to an unspecified NP; and which cannot take a predicate NP either as direct object or oblique object NP. A stative verb is one that enters such constructions.

These criteria enable identification of a particular verbal construction as transitive, intransitive, or stative. There is a developed series of morphological devices that convert stative roots to transitive verbs, intransitive roots into transitive verbs, transitive verbs into intransitives, etc. Analytically, we might hope that it would be possible to define verb roots as basically transitive, intransitive or stative; but that turns out to be relatively complicated. Instead, a series of classes of verb roots can be distinguished, according to their morphological and syntactic potentialities.

2.3.1 Transitive verbs

2.3.1.1 Roots forming transitives with ProObj

The largest, and canonical, class of verb roots which are basically transitive (in that they describe actions that carry over to a direct object NP) comprises those to which a clitic pronoun suffix is directly suffixed. As noted this suffixed pronoun either references an implicit direct object NP or marks a following noun as direct object:

<i>takwe</i>	>	<i>takwe-a</i>
<i>'ui-</i>	>	<i>'ui-a</i>
<i>kwa'i-</i>	>	<i>kwa'i-a</i>
<i>feda-</i>	>	<i>feda-a</i>
<i>'ani-</i>	>	<i>'ani-a</i>

Thus:

takwe-a fou 'dig up a stone'
'ui-a langasi 'shoot a bird'

This pattern of direct affixation of pronoun objects (Pawley's "object-person markers" (1973)) to transitive verb roots goes back to POC; but in POC (as in most daughter languages), the largest and canonical class of transitive verbs was formed not by such direct suffixation, but by addition of a transitive suffix. Pawley infers for POC that

all but a few transitive verbs required a transitive suffix before a direct object...[But] some transitive verbs were directly followed by an object person-marker [what I am here calling a pronoun object]. This...class was probably a small one in POC (1973:114-115).

Lynch (1982:251-252) has suggested that a POC pattern of Vb + TrSuff + PrObj has been modified in daughter languages which have tended to drop either transitive suffixes or pronoun objects as redundant. Although, as will shortly be seen, Kwaio employs both transitive suffixes reconstructed for POC (Pawley 1972, 1973; Clark 1973), the class of transitive verbs *obligatorily* marked as transitive with transitive suffixes is small and anomalous. Most transitive verbs are used with direct affixation of a pronoun object *and* one or both transitive suffixes, with semantic/case-marking modification (see below). Transitive verbs formed by direct suffixation of PrObj can be subclassified according to the mode in which performance of the act described by the verb without a specified direct object is indicated. We can identify three subclasses:

(a) Intransitive performance indicated by verb in root form

For most of these transitive verbs formed by direct suffixation of PrObj, performance of the act without a specified object is indicated by use of the root alone:

<i>takwe</i>	'perform the act of digging'
<i>kwa'i</i>	'perform the act of hitting'
<i>'ui</i>	'perform the act of shooting'.

(b) Obligatorily transitive verbs

A small subclass of these transitive verbs formed by direct suffixation of PrObj *cannot* be used intransitively

<i>'ani-a</i>	'eat (it)' cannot be used intransitively;
---------------	---

a different form (*oso* or *fanga*) is used to indicate intransitive performance of the act.

<i>tani-a</i>	'hold it, take it in the hand' cannot be used intransitively.
<i>siri-a</i>	'want it' cannot be used intransitively, although <i>ma'a-siri</i> is 'not want (something)' (see 3.2.4.5).

(c) Verbs with human objects rendered intransitive with *kwai-*

A further small subclass of transitive verbs is distinctive in that they regularly take nouns referring to humans as direct object; and that when they are (rarely) used intransitively, they are marked by prefixation of the reciprocal prefix *kwai-* (2.3.6.2). Except when the root ends in two vowels, the intransitive forms of the verb are further marked with a stress-preserving *-i*:

<i>binu-a</i>	'defile (a person)'
<i>kwai-binu-i</i>	'perform the act of defiling someone'
<i>rui-a</i>	'forbid (someone)'
<i>kwai-rui</i>	'perform the act of forbidding someone'
<i>ale-a</i>	'send (someone)'
<i>kwai-ale-i</i>	'perform the act of sending someone'
<i>belo-a</i>	'expel (someone)'
<i>kwai-belo-i</i>	'perform the act of expelling someone'

When these latter forms are nominalized (2.6.2), the nominal forms follow the pattern of stress-preservation described in 1.3.5:

<i>kwai-binu-i-ngaa</i>	'defilement'
<i>kwai-ale-i-ngaa</i>	'expulsion'
<i>kwai-belo-i-ngaa</i>	'banishment, expulsion'
but	
<i>kwai-rui-nga</i>	'prohibition'

As noted, the largest and canonical class of transitive verbs employ directly suffixed pronoun objects. But many of them may also take one or both of two transitive suffixes ancient in Oceanic. A small subclass of basically transitive verb roots comprises verbs rendered transitive with transitive suffix plus pronoun object, rather than direct suffixation of *PrObj*, as will be seen (2.3.3).

2.3.1.2 Transitive suffixes

(a) Transitive suffix I: *-Ci-*

The first of the two ancient sets of transitive suffixes represented in Kwaio comprises allomorphs of the morpheme [*-Ci-*], which are attached to the verb stem and to which are suffixed the pronoun object. This transitive suffix [*-Ci-*] can be used to render a normally intransitive verb root transitive; and it can be attached to verb roots that are (also) used transitively through direct suffixation of *PrObj*. When these two alternative ways of marking transitivity are used with the same verb root, some semantic contrast between the forms is usually established. The consonants (including ϕ) that can form allomorphs of *-Ci-* include

Consonant	Form	Example	Gloss
<i>f</i>	<i>-fi-a</i>	<i>slu-fi-a</i>	'wash'
<i>m</i>	<i>-mi-a</i>	<i>ono-mi-a</i>	'swallow'
<i>n</i>	<i>-ni-a</i>	<i>lango-ni-a</i>	'feed'
<i>ng</i>	<i>-ngi-a</i>	<i>tori-ngi-a</i>	'divide'
<i>r</i>	<i>-ri-a</i>	<i>ta'e-ri-a</i>	'get aboard'
<i>s</i>	<i>-si-a</i>	<i>labu-si-a</i>	'wrestle down'
'	<i>-'i-a</i>	<i>odo-'i-a</i>	'go straight'
<i>d</i>	<i>-di-a</i>	<i>feru-di-a</i>	'open the mouth of (a pouch, etc.)'
ϕ	<i>-i-a</i>	<i>abu-i-a</i>	'invoke spirits of ancestors as injunction' (the 0 is presumably ancestral * <i>f</i>)

Of these, *-si-*, *-fi-*, are very common; *-mi-*, *-ni-*, and *-ri-* much less so, and *-ngi-*, *-phi-*, and *-'i-* quite rare. In some cases a single verb root may take two or even three different transitive suffixes, each creating a semantically different form. Thus the intransitive verb root *fane*, 'ascend' is modified by three different transitive suffixes:

<i>fane-fi-a</i>	'climb up (it), get (it) by climbing'
<i>fane-si-a</i>	'pick (it) up'
<i>fane-'i-a</i>	'raise (it) up'

It is worth noting that although there is no regular phonological patterning in the use of one allomorph of [*-s/-*] or another (so that use of *-fi-*, *-si-*, *-mi-*, etc. is in a sense arbitrary), many of the particular forms for which reflexes are found in Kwaio are very old in the history of Oceanic. Some of the consonants in *-Ci-* transitive suffixes may represent final consonants of POC CVCVC bases. Thus when Kwaio has *ano-mi-a* 'bury it', instead of **ano-ri-a* or **ano-fi-a*, it can be derived from POC **tanumi-* 'to bury (something)', in which the *m* may well have been the final consonant of the root.

As noted, Kwaio uses two ancient forms of transitive suffix. For most transitive verb roots, as noted, direct affixation of the ProObj is the canonical transitive form; and one or both transitive suffixes are used to create some semantically modified form or alter case relations of transitivity. A few transitive verbs follow the canonical Oceanic pattern in that they must be marked with a transitive suffix to express a transitive meaning. Transitive suffixes, as will shortly be seen, can be added to intransitive and even stative (see 2.3.4) verb roots to convert them to transitive verbs.

A transitive verb root can be used:

(a) in isolation to express an intransitive performance of an act that normally implies an object;

(b) with pronoun object to express this transitive meaning with specified object; and

(c) with transitive suffix and pronoun object to express a semantically modified transitive sense

as illustrated in the following series:

<i>gefu</i>	'perform the act of rolling something'
<i>gefu-a</i>	'roll it'
<i>gefu-si-a</i>	'capsize it'
<i>figu</i>	'gather (things) together'
<i>figu-a</i>	'gather (them)'
<i>figu-si-a</i>	'roll (it) up'
<i>'iri</i>	'spill (something)'
<i>'iri-a</i>	'pour (it)'
<i>'iri-si-a</i>	'empty (it) out'
<i>kala</i>	'polish (something)'
<i>kala-a</i>	'polish (it), grind (it)'
<i>kala-si-a</i>	'scrape (it) clean'
<i>beri</i>	'do (something) in secret, steal (things)'
<i>beri-a</i>	'steal (it)'
<i>beri-si-a</i>	'do in secret from (him), steal from (him)'

The semantic shifts effected by the transitive suffix potentially create the need to express the performance of the act without specified object. If the occasion arose to express such a meaning, it would be conveyed by using root + transitive suffix without the pronoun object. Thus

<i>gefu-si</i>	'perform the act of capsizing (things)'
<i>figu-si</i>	'perform the act of rolling (things) up'

We will see in 2.3.4 that these transitive suffixes can also be used

to render stative verbs transitive, in some semantically shifted sense.

(b) Transitive suffix II: *-(C)e'eni-*

The second transitive suffix derives from POC *-(C)aki(ni)*, which may have marked dative or instrumental case roles. It corresponds to *-(C)a'i-ni-* in other Malaita languages. This would appear to be the underlying form in Kwaio, although in transitive constructions it is subject to the vowel shift *-a'i > -e'e-*. In Kwaio this second transitive suffix characteristically creates a semantic contrast, but not necessarily a shift in case relationships; it often serves to mark some heightened or intensified transitivity.

The second transitive suffix may take the following shapes

Consonant	Form
<i>f</i>	<i>-fe'e-ni-a</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>-me'e-ni-a</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>-ne'e-ni-a</i>
<i>ng</i>	<i>-nge'e-ni-a</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>-le'e-ni-a</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>-te'e-ni-a</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>-we'e-ni-a</i>
\emptyset	<i>-e'e-ni-a</i>

The second transitive suffix functions, like the first, to convert intransitive verb roots into transitive forms:

<i>ula</i>	'stand'
<i>ula-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'stand (them) up, line (them) up'
<i>su'a</i>	'name, know'
<i>su'a-le'e-ni-a</i>	'call (his) name, accuse (him)'
<i>nigi</i>	'arrive'
<i>nigi-e'e-ni-a</i>	'get betrothed to (someone)'

With transitive verb roots, the second transitive suffix often falls into a series in which progressive (and often slight) semantic modifications of the root meaning are created. In this series, the second transitive suffix characteristically intensifies the action of the verb. Thus

<i>filo</i>	'perform the act of squeezing (something)'
<i>filo-a</i>	'squeeze (it)'
<i>filo-si-a</i>	'twist (it), wring (it) out'
<i>filo-te'e-ni-a</i>	'wring out a confession from (him), query (him) repeatedly'
<i>'idu</i>	'move, shift one's position'
<i>'idu-a</i>	'move (it)'
<i>'idu-fi-a</i>	'move (oneself) forward, crouching'

<i>'idu-e'e-ni-a</i>	'shift (it) forward'
<i>dala</i>	'perform the act of singeing (a pig)'
<i>dala-a</i>	'singe (it: a pig's carcass)'
<i>dala-fi-a</i>	'singe (it)'
<i>dala-me'e-ni-a</i>	'burn the stumps off from (a garden)'
<i>dala-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'leave out (as a spinster is left out from marriage)'

Here note the quite specialized meanings that can be created with this second series of transitive suffixes, and the fact that two different forms can be created using different allomorphs of the suffix. In some cases the second transitive suffix is used where there is no form using the first transitive suffix. Thus

<i>tai</i>	'sew (something)'
<i>tai-a</i>	'sew (it)'
<i>tai-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'look after (him), care for (him)' (<i>tai-a</i> is used metaphorically for gathering together, being close)

As we will see in 2.3.4, the second transitive suffix, like the first, can be used with stative verbs. Because in series such as those for *filo*, above, the second transitive suffix often intensifies the action of the verb or the sense of transitivity, I have referred to these forms in previous analyses of Kwaio as "transitive intensifiers". The facts of Kwaio morphology suggest an analysis of these forms -- as in Keesing 1975 -- as morphologically complex. That is, I treated [-*Ce'e-*] as an infix marking intensification, and *-ni-* attached to it as an invariant form of the transitive suffix. Such an analysis for PEO has been made by Clark, 1973, who sees the initial consonant of *-Ca'l-* as replacing the final consonant of the POC base, and sees *-ni-* as transitive suffix. In view of the complexities of semantics and the markings of case relationships in these forms (see (c) below) it may no longer be apt to label [-*Ce'e-*] as an "intensifier". But in Kwaio *-(C)e'eni-* is patently morphologically complex, comprising *-(C)e'e-* and *-ni-*. Whether the *-ni-* derives from the first transitive suffix is a question that awaits further historical/comparative evidence, but that would appear to be the case. That the second transitive suffix is composed of two morphemes is manifest when these verbs are used in an intransitive sense describing performance of the act. The suffix *-ni-* and the pronoun object suffixed to it are dropped, and *-(C)e'e-* shifts to *-(C)a'l-*:

<i>ano-me'e-ni-a</i>		'bury it'
	becomes	
<i>ano-ma'l</i>		'perform the act of burying something'

The vowel shifting operates in a slightly different way when (1) the base selects the allomorph *-Oe'e-* (historically **-te'e-*) and (2) the second vowel in a CV1CV2 verb root is *a*. Here the transitive infix *-Ce'e-* takes the form *-a'e-*:

<i>lada-a'e-ni-a</i>	'block it, cover it over' (as second element in compound verbs)
<i>lakwa-a'e-ni-a</i>	'spread it out'.

In the intransitive constructions where *-e'e-* shifts to *-a'l*, we see clearly that [*Ce-'e-*] carries the *semantic* information of the verb, where the transitive suffix marks the verb as transitive. For some verbs created by the second transitive suffix, particularly when the act labelled by the verb entails some reciprocal interaction, the form when rendered intransitive must be prefixed by the reciprocal prefix *kwai-* (see 2.3.6.2). Thus

<i>labu-te'e-ni-a</i>	'wrestle (him) down'
<i>kwai-labu-ta'l</i>	'wrestle with one another'

The action in such constructions is not always transparently reciprocal. Thus

<i>to'o-me'e-ni-a</i>	'plan (it) out'
<i>kwai-to'o-ma'l</i>	'plan (something) out'

(c) Transitive suffixes and patterns of transitivity

For some verbs, the second transitive suffix redefines the direction of transitivity -- that is, changes the case relationship between transitive verb and object NP. Thus

<i>fale-si-a</i>	'demand (it) as compensation'
<i>fale-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'make a claim for compensation against him'

The complexity of the several kinds of transitivity and the subtlety of semantic shadings created by allomorphs of the two transitive suffixes are illustrated by permutations of the verb root *ala*:

<i>ala-mi-a</i>	'allow (it)'
<i>ala-ri-a</i>	'hand (it) over; hand over to (him)'
<i>ala-nge 'e-ni-a</i>	'permit (him)'
<i>ala-teaaa'e-ni-a</i>	'arrange for (it)'
<i>kwai-ala-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'send (it) [to someone] by means of a third party'

The intransitive verb *lofo*, 'fly', further illustrates permutations of transitivity.

<i>lofo-'l-a</i>	'swoop on (it) and seize' (of a bird of prey)
<i>lofo-te'e-ni-a</i>	'carry it by air' (of a bird, or metaph., of a plane)
<i>lofo-le'e-ni-a</i>	'train (it) to fly' (of a bird teaching fledglings)
<i>fa'a-lofo-si-a</i>	'cause (a bird) to take flight'

In view of Pawley's (1972) suggestions regarding the contrastive functions of the two transitive suffixes in POC in establishing case relationships between subject and object noun phrases, it is worth making explicit that no such regular patterns occur in Kwaio.

A few patterns of regular semantic relationship between *-Ci-* forms and *-Ce'e-ni-a* forms of the same verbs have emerged, and more doubtless await discovery. Thus

fe'e-si-a fou 'shit on the stone'
fe'e-te'e-ni-a fe'a 'shit out faeces'
'oni-si-a kisu 'menstruate on the mat'
'oni-te'e-ni-a 'abu 'issue menstrual blood'.

Yet even the same transitive ending (whether direct affixation of *PrObj* or either transitive suffix) may serve to establish different case relationships between subject and object. Thus

ala-ri-a *go'u*
 hand over-TrS-PrO(3s) taro
 hand over the taro

ala-ri-nau
 hand over-TrS-PrO(1s)
 hand it over to me

A similar pattern is established by

beri-a *boo*
 steal-PrO(3s) pig
 steal pigs/a pig

berl-nau
 rob-PrO(1s)
 rob me

Note also

iri-a *a-gu*
 say-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(1s)
 tell me about it

iri-nau
 say-PrO(1s)
 notify me

and

mae-ri-a *fonumela*
 die-TrS-PrO(3s) TB
 die from TB

mae-ri-nau
die-TrS-PrO(1s)
die on account of me

ala-nge'e-ni-nau 'allow me'
ala-nge'e-ni-a fa-gu 'allow it to me'
ala-me'e-ni-a age-la-i 'allow the doing of it'
ala-mi-nau 'allow me'
ala-mi-a fa-gu 'allow it to me'

Thus

- 15 *ala-nge'e-ni-nau* 'a-ku-i age-a
allow-TrI-TrS-PrO(1s) INF-SRP(1s)-i do-PrO(3s)
Let me do it.

(where 'a-ku-i is 'that I'; see 4.5: "allow me that I do it").

- 16 *ala-mi-nau* 'a-ku-i age-a
allow-TrS-PrO(1s) INF-SRP(1s)-i do-PrO(3s)
Let me do it.

- 17 *ala-mi-a* fa-gu 'a-ku-i age-a
allow-TrS-PrO(3s) for-PrS(1s) INF-SRP(1s)-i do-PrO(3s)
Let me do it.

Use of the clitic pronoun object *-a* to reference an "it" or "him/her" as implied direct object of a transitive verb is very occasionally (sensed by speakers to be) semantically inadequate to reference a human in the semantic role of patient. Where a stress on an unspecified "him/her", rather than "it", is required, Kwaio speakers may use the focal pronoun following the clitic *-a*:

ma'a a-la Maenaari'i ne-'e lango-ni-a
father PsP-ART Maenaari'i TOP-SRP(3s) feed-TrS-PrO(3s)
ngaia
FPr(3s)
He (himself) was fed by Maenaari'i's father.

2.3.2 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb form is an active verb that does not have a suffixed clitic pronoun object. Because Kwaio has a rich set of morphological devices for modifying verb roots, there is little point in trying to define *roots* as canonically transitive or intransitive. However, there is a class of verbs that are used in root form and cannot take a suffixed pronoun object, which we can usefully consider as canonically intransitive. Thus:

leka 'go, walk'
nigi 'arrive'
to'oru 'stay, sit, live'
nana'i 'stay'

<i>oso</i>	'eat' (intrans.)
<i>riu</i>	'pass'
<i>fanga</i>	'eat'
<i>su'a</i>	'know'
<i>ori</i>	'return'
<i>naru</i>	'bathe'
<i>tori</i>	'fall down'
<i>to-tola</i>	'run' (where <i>to-</i> is a prefix of "spontaneity"; see 2.3.8)
<i>fane</i>	'climb'
<i>sifo</i>	'descend'
<i>taa</i>	'curse'
<i>fata</i>	'speak'
<i>'osa</i>	'laugh'
<i>ani</i>	'cry'
<i>tago</i>	'do (something) for nothing'

Many of these forms can be rendered transitive by addition of the first transitive suffix:

<i>leka</i>	'go'	>	<i>leka-fi-a</i>	'go after (him)'
<i>nigi</i>	'arrive'	>	<i>nigi-fi-a</i>	'take possession (of someone), of ancestor'
<i>naru</i>	'bathe'	>	<i>naru-fi-a</i>	'wash (it)'
<i>riu</i>	'pass'	>	<i>riu-fi-a</i>	'surpass (it), be greater than (it)'
<i>fanga</i>	'eat'	>	<i>fanga-ri-a</i>	'feed (him)'
<i>fana</i>	'hunt'	>	<i>fana-si-a</i>	'shoot (it)'
<i>afe</i>	'flow'	>	<i>afe-si-a</i>	'carry (it) away'
<i>ani</i>	'cry'	>	<i>ani-si-a</i>	'cry for (it)'

A few intransitive verb roots are rendered transitive by the second transitive suffix, not the first.

<i>ula</i>	'stand'	>	<i>ula-te'e-ni-a</i>	'stand it up'
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Intransitive verb roots can be rendered transitive as causatives with the causative prefix *fa'a-*, with the pronoun object suffixed. Thus *leka*, 'go', is converted to *fa'a-leka-a*, 'cause (him) to go'; *oso*, 'perform the act of eating', is rendered as *fa'a-oso-a*, 'cause him to eat'. Note that the person or agent that is caused to perform the (intransitive) action of the verb is direct object: *fa'a-oso-nau*, 'cause me to perform the act of eating'. The causative prefix is analyzed in 2.3.6.1.

2.3.3 Transitive vs. intransitive verbs: some complications

As noted in 2.3.2, some verbs are anomalous or ambiguous if we seek to distinguish verb roots (as opposed to verb forms or verbal sentences) as either transitive or intransitive. These ambiguities are of three types:

(a) Verb roots that are basically intransitive in meaning, but which can have the pronoun object attached directly to the root. Use of the verb stem with pronoun object (i.e., transitively) entails some substantial change in meaning. Thus

eno
sleep/lie down
eno-a
experience it in dream

(b) Verb roots that fit the criteria for intransitive verbs, but have transitive forms (created with a transitive suffix) that, with substantial shift in meaning, have a separate and coordinate sense as transitive verbs. (Since the creation of transitive verbs from intransitive roots by use of transitive suffixes is quite regular and widespread, what makes these forms anomalous is the coordinate importance of the verb in its transitive sense.) Thus:

ori
return
ori-si-a
ask it/him

aga
look
aga-si-a
see it

(c) Verbs that are basically transitive (in that the root labels a usually transitive act and in that the transitive form is most often used), yet where the commonly used transitive form is created with a transitive suffix, not direct affixation of a pronoun object. As noted, this is the canonical OC pattern, but is an anomalous one for Kwaio, where the root meaning of the verb is transitive. These verbs comprise a separate small subclass, in that the root is not used in isolation to express an intransitive meaning. Thus

'ula-si-a 'open (it)'
lango-ni-a 'feed (it)'

But the intransitive forms of these verbs are not

**'ula* and **lango*

but

'ula-si and *lango-ni*

There is no conclusive evidence that *'ulas* incorporates a transitive suffix; *'ulas* could be the base form, though this seems unlikely. That *lango* is the base form is attested by such constructions as

lango-'e ku'i 'a pack of hunting dogs'
(that one feeds).

A few verbs with roots of the shape *Caa* occur only in transitive forms using the second transitive suffix; these must be marked with (the intransitive *-Ca'i-* form of) this suffix to express performance of the action without specified object.

gaa-nge'e-ni-a 'plant it into the ground'
(of a post)
gaa-nga'i 'perform the act of planting a
post into the ground'
gaa-te'e-ni-a 'tamp (a tubular container)
onto a solid surface to
shake the contents to the
bottom'
gaa-ta'i 'perform an act of tamping'

and an alternative form of the same verb root

faa-nge'e-ni-a 'plant it into the ground'
faa-nga'i etc.

A homophonous verb root *faa-*, with the second transitive suffix, describes acts of showing and leading:

faa-te'e-ni-a 'show it, lead him'
kwai-faa-ta'i 'perform the act of showing
or leading'
(*kwai-* is the
reciprocal prefix:
see 2.3.6.2).

Note here that *faate'eni-a* can take as direct object either the object that is shown or the person who is led -- further indication of the flexibility of Kwaio transitive suffixes in marking case relationships.

(d) A final minor complication is the existence of a few morphologically transitive verbs that (at least in some constructions) take an impersonal "it" in lieu of an agent, as in English "It happened to me.", or "It rained (on me).". The "it" is represented only in the neutral (3p.s.) form of subject-referencing pronoun.

18 *ka age-nau*
SRP(3s) do-PrO(1s)
It happened to me.

19 *ka ne'u-fl-nau*
SRP(3s) rain-TrS-PrO(1s)
It rained on me.

The second example illustrates the (rare) occurrence of a transitive verb created by affixing a transitive suffix to a *noun* base

ne'u 'rain' *ne'u-fi-a* 'rain on'

A somewhat similar construction occurs with the base *foto*, 'hammer, pound (something)'

foto-'i-a 'drive (it) in, hammer (it)'

- 20 *ka foto-e'e-ni-nau*
SRP(3s) pound-*TrI-*TrS-*PrO*(1s)**
I stubbed my toe. ("It pounded me.")

The verb bases *ada* 'spill' and *kolo* 'slip' enter into similar constructions:

- 21 *ka ada-nge'e-ni-nau*
SRP(3s) spill-*TrI-*TrS-*PrO*(1s)**
I slipped and fell down. ("It spilled me.")
- 22 *ka kolo-te'e-ni-nau*
SRP(3s) slip-*TrI-*TrS-*PrS*(1s)**
I slipped and fell down.

The first might literally be rendered as "It spilled me.", and the second "It slipped me.". The verb base *te/e*, which with transitive suffixes carries meanings of 'cut down, fell', enters into transitive constructions of this kind with an abstract, unspecified "it" in place of a specified agent:

- 23 *ka tele-fe-e-ni-a 'aa'ae-gu*
SRP(3s) fell-*TrI-*TrS-*PrO*(1s)** leg-*PrS*(1s)
I tripped. ("It felled me.")
- 24 *ka tele-fe'e-ni-nau*
SRP(3s) fell-*TrI-*TrS-*PrO*(1s)**
I tripped. ("It felled me.")

The form *dala-nge'e-ni-a*, 'be left out from, miss out on', enters into constructions with "it" as agent such as

- 25 *te'e l-nau ka dala-nge'e-ni-nau naa odu*
only *FPr*(1s) SRP(3s) miss out-*TrI-*TrS-*PrO*(1s)** LOC palolo worms
Only I failed to get any palolo worms.

The derivation is from the stative base *dala*, which carries meanings of 'be bare, be naked, be stripped, be smooth, be unencumbered', etc. A slightly more aberrant Kwaio construction, from the standpoint of English, is '*esi-a* 'fall'. This is *always* used as a transitive verb with an impersonal "it" in place of an agent and the person who falls as direct object.

- 26 *ka 'esi-nau*
 SRP(3s) fall-PrO(1s)
 I fell down. ("It felled me.")

This construction can only be used with an animate being as surface direct object (an inanimate entity *tori*, 'falls down'). And where a specified object explicitly causes the actor to fall down, a causative construction is used: a stone "caused-fall-down-me":

- 27 *fou ka faa-'esi-nau*
 stone SRP(3s) CAUS-fall-PrO(1s)
 I fell over a stone.

In some constructions, *'esi-a* can be used without a subject-referencing pronoun as a grammatical marker of an unspecified agent:

- 28 *lauta 'esi-a wane a-i*
 if fall-PrO(3s) man LOC-PrS(Ind)
 If a man fell down there ...

2.3.4 Stative verbs

A large class of Kwaio bases comprises stative verbs: forms that are used verbally (in that they follow a subject-referencing pronoun) but describe states, not acts. These can mainly be glossed as 'be...', using an English adjective. These stative verbs are distinguishable from intransitive verbs in that they cannot govern an oblique object NP (nor, of course, a direct object NP). This class includes:

<i>le'a</i>	'be good'
<i>abu</i>	'be taboo'
<i>mou</i>	'be broken'
<i>'ago'ago</i>	'be hot'
<i>gwari</i>	'be cold'
<i>fou</i>	'be disclosed'
<i>ba'ita</i>	'be big'
<i>biri</i>	'be old (of a thing)'
<i>koko'o</i>	'be old (of a person)'

Kwaio statives also include the interrogative *'uutaa* 'be in what state?' ("be how?") and the negative *'amoe* 'be not existent', 'be not so'.

In addition to the large class of stative verb roots, there are formatives that create statives from transitive and intransitive verb roots, and create statives from nouns. These will be examined in 2.6.1.

Some verb roots are used both as active and as stative verbs. Thus

<i>mae</i>	'die'
------------	-------

<i>mae</i>	'be dead'
<i>nanama</i>	'convey efficacy' (of an ancestor)
<i>nanama</i>	'be efficacious, "work"'

Like intransitive active verb roots, stative verb roots can be converted to transitive forms by addition of a transitive suffix. Thus

ma'u
be afraid
ma'u-ni-a
fear it

odo
be straight
odo-'i-a
straighten it

bono
be shut
bono-si-a
shut it

'ago'ago
be hot
'ago-fi-a
heat it

mou
be broken
mou-si-a
break it

A few stative verbs are rendered transitive with the second transitive suffix. Thus

<i>abu</i>	'be taboo'	<i>abu-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'maintain taboos for (him)'
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Where a single root functions both as intransitive verb and as stative verb, separate allomorphs of the transitive suffix *-Ci-* may serve to create transitive verbs contrasting in meaning. Thus

<i>mae</i>	'die'	<i>mae-ri-a</i>	'die from (it)'
		<i>mae-si-a</i>	'to the breaking point' (as the second verb in compounds).

Like intransitive active verbs, stative verbs can be converted by the causative prefix *fa'a-* (2.3.6.1) into transitive forms. Thus

abu
be taboo
fa'a-abu-a
taboo it

mae
be dead
fa'a-mae-a
extinguish it

ba'ita
be big
fa'a-ba'ita-a
enlarge it

Pawley (1973) distinguished for POC a class ("class B") of stative verbs that are rendered transitive by adding a transitive suffix, and another class ("class A") of stative verbs that are rendered (causatively) transitive by adding a causative prefix. There is in fact a substantial series of Kwaio statives that can be modified in both ways (see Keesing 1984). We have just seen *abu-nge'e-ni-a* and *fa'a-abu-a*. Further examples are

ma'u-ni-a
fear it
ma'u-nge'e-ni-a
fear it
fa'a-ma'u-a
frighten (him)

bono-si-a
shut it
fa'a-bono-a
shut it

'ago-fi-a
heat it
faa-'ago'ago-a
heat it

fou-le'e-ni-a
disclose it
fa'a-fou-a
disclose it

The causative and "reciprocal" prefixes in Kwaio will be further examined below.

First, preliminary attention must be given to two problems which have long puzzled missionary grammarians of Oceanic languages. The first problem is to interpret an apparent class of adverbs, following and modifying verbs; the second is to interpret a class of adjectives, directly modifying common nouns.

2.3.5 Stative verbs, adverbs and adjectives

Roots that are canonically stative verbs in Oceanic languages may fit into two other grammatical slots. But in any particular language, only some statives can be used in these slots. One such slot is adverbial: a root that canonically describes the state of an object or an entity may be used, following a verb, to describe the manner of performance of an act. Thus in Kwaio:

ngai e ba'ita 'It is big.'
kwa'i ba'ita a-na 'hit him hard'

In the second phrase, *ba'ita* refers to the magnitude of the action of the transitive verb.

The second such slot is adjectival; some statives can modify nouns directly, describing their nature. Thus

wane lo-'oo e ba'ita 'This man is big.'
wane ba'ita lo-'oo 'this big man'

This would seem to call for analysis in terms of two more form classes, one of adverbs and the second of adjectives. This is the path followed by the pioneer missionary grammarians, although they were given to regarding the adjectival usages as primary, and seldom treated stative verbs as essentially verbal. But it is a messy path; as *ba'ita* illustrates, some forms can fit into all three slots. Moreover, there are in Kwaio no forms that fit exclusively into a putative form class of adjectives.

I will propose in 3.2.4.3 that what appear to be adverbs (in that they describe the manner of performance of acts) are syntactically *verbs* that function as the second verbs in compound verbal constructions. Most of them are stative verbs which, if they appear in single-verb constructions, describe the state of a subject (experiencer). Some much more commonly occur as the second verb in compounds, and others only occur (in uncontrived contexts) as second verbs describing the manner of the performance of the act of the first verb.

In some cases, a gerund construction reveals an underlying stative-verb structure. Thus

29 *ngai e leka gole*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go be slow
 He walks slowly.

would seem to have an underlying structure of

29A *leka-la-na e gole*
 go-GER-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) be slow
 His walking is slow. Compare

30 *ngai e gole*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be slow
 He is (habitually) slow/He is late.

However, a stative verb used adverbially as the second verb in a compound construction may have a substantially different meaning than it carries in a single-verb stative construction.

31 *wane no'o-na e ba'ita*
 man DEI SRP(3s) be big
 That man is big.

But

32 *ngai e kwa'l ba'ita a-na*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit be big LOC-PrS(3s)
 He hit her hard.

In this case a gerundive construction would be at best semi-grammatical

32A **kwa'i-la-na ka ba'ita*
 hit-GER-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 The hitting of her was severe.

Because *ba'ita* in the sense of 'severely', 'to a large degree' is relatively far from its sense as 'be big', it would be more apt even in a gerundive construction to use a compound verb, the first element of which is the intransitive *lau* 'happen'. Thus

32B *kwa'i-la-na ka lau ba'ita*
 hit-GER-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) happen be big
 The hitting of her happened severely.

That the underlying construction is a stative verb used in an adverbial sense is more clear if we examine an alternative (and preferred) form of 32B that uses an embedded stative clause:

32C *kwa'i-la-na ka lau e ba'ita*
 hit-GER-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) happen SRP(3s) be big
 The hitting of her was done severely.

Here the gerund *kwa'i-la-na* 'the hitting of her' is subject of the intransitive verb *lau* 'happen' but also, syntactically, the "experiencer" of the stative verb *ba'ita*, in this context 'be severe' (i.e., be extreme, in degree). The verb *mani* 'be done inappropriately, wrongly', describing the manner of performance of an act, is appropriate as a single stative verb only in contrived contexts. It, too, would more appropriately be used following *lau*:

33 *ka lau mani a-i*
 SRP(3s) happen badly LOC-PrS(Ind)
 It happened badly.

The putative adjectival slot similarly represents, I believe, a more

complex underlying structure. In this case, I will analyze the underlying structure of constructions such as

wane ba'ita 'a big man'

as representing a stative relative clause embedded in an NP with the modified noun (here *wane* 'man') as head;

34 *wane ngai e ba'ita*
 man FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 The man is big./The man who is big ...

In formal or expanded speech the full embedded clause is expressed; in more condensed everyday usage, a deletion rule operates to delete the coreferential focal and subject-referencing pronouns of the embedded phrase, leaving the surface adjectival construction. We thus need not define adjectives as a separate form class exclusively filled by stative verbs, but need merely mark the subclass of stative verbs to which this deletion rule applies (3.1.1.2.2).

These analyses, I believe, not only avoid the messiness of the "traditional" path, but help to dispel a prevailing assumption in Oceanic grammar that roots are fundamentally ambiguous in fitting into two, three or more form classes, without morphological marking. In Kwaio, few roots are indeed grammatically multivalent (most of these apparently had the same multivalence in POC):

<i>wane</i>	'man' (as noun)
	'be male' (as stative)
<i>mae</i>	'die, lose consciousness' (as intransitive verb)
	'be dead, unconscious' (as stative)
<i>nanama</i>	'convey efficacy' (as intransitive verb)
	'be efficacious' (as stative).

In Kwaio, these forms are very few in number and are clearly marked in syntactic context. The great majority of roots are marked morphologically by transformative prefixes or suffixes when they fit into a form class other than that of the root form. A recapitulation of the uses of causative and "reciprocal" prefixes will further illustrate this process.

2.3.6 Causative, reciprocal and privative prefixes

2.3.6.1 The causative prefix

As noted in 2.3.3 and 2.3.5, the causative prefix *fa'a-* (PEO **paka-*; Pawley 1972:39) converts intransitive verb roots and stative verb roots to causative verbs. The pronoun object in such constructions marks the actor who is caused to perform the act, or the actor or entity that is caused to be in the state. Thus, with intransitive verbs:

<i>ula</i>	'stand'	<i>fa'a-ula-a</i>	'stand it up, choose (him) to represent one'
<i>nanau</i>	'practice, learn'	<i>fa'a-nanau-a</i>	'teach (him)'
<i>leka</i>	'go'	<i>fa'a-leka-a</i>	'send (him), cause (him) to go'
<i>oso</i>	'eat'	<i>fa'a-oso-a</i>	'cause (him) to eat'

thus

<i>fa'a-nanau-nau</i>	'teach me'
<i>fa'a-oso-nau</i>	'get me to eat'

With stative verbs,

<i>nabe</i>	'be tame'	<i>fa'a-nabe-a</i>	'tame (it)'
<i>ngasi</i>	'be strong'	<i>fa'a-ngasi-a</i>	'strengthen (it)'
<i>langa</i>	'be dry'	<i>fa'a-langa-a</i>	'dry (it)'
<i>fou</i>	'be public'	<i>fa'a-fou-a</i>	'disclose (it)'

Note in these constructions the pattern where the causative has a pronoun object directly suffixed to the intransitive or stative root. But several variations to this pattern occur.

(a) Intransitive causatives

Just as most transitive verbs formed by affixing the pronoun object to the verb stem can be used without the suffix to indicate performance of the act without a specified or implied object, so can causatives.

<i>fa'a-to'o</i>	'acknowledge an obligation' (<i>to'o</i> , is 'be true', <i>fa'a-to'o-a</i> is 'verify, keep one's promise about')
<i>fa'a-abu</i>	'observe taboos'
<i>fa'a-daadala'a</i>	'clear things up'

(b) Causatives with *-Ci-* suffix

A very few verbs take the *-Ci-* transitive suffix in causative constructions. These are semantically anomalous in some ways; and generally they use the canonical causative construction (with *-a* directly suffixed) in one semantic sense, and *-Ci-* to create another. Thus:

<i>kuru</i>	'be submerged, soaked'
<i>fa'a-kuru-a</i>	'soak'
<i>kuruu</i>	'sink into the water'
<i>fa'a-kuru-fi-a</i>	'sink something' (i.e., cause it to sink)

<i>sina</i>	'sun'
<i>fa'a-sina</i>	'sun oneself'
<i>sina-fi-nau</i>	'sun myself'
<i>fa'a-sina-fi-a kaleko</i>	'dry a skirt in the sun'

(c) Causatives with -Ce'e- suffix

Again, this is a tiny class of semantically anomalous forms, where the usual causative construction is also used, with a different semantic shading.

<i>lagu</i>	'gather together' (intrans.)
<i>lagu-me'e-ni-a</i>	'hold (two things) together'
<i>fa'a-lagu</i>	'make an appointment'
<i>fa'a-lagu-me'e-ni-a</i>	'persuade to go on a date'
<i>sifo</i>	'descend'
<i>fa'a-sifo-a</i>	'lower' (v.t.)
<i>fa'a-sifo-le'e-ni-a</i>	'offload, disembark' (v.t.)

(d) Double causatives

The causative prefix may be doubled, with important (though not quite predictable) semantic implications:

<i>abu</i>	'be taboo'
<i>fa'a-abu</i>	'observe taboos'
<i>fa'a-abu-a</i>	'prohibit by interdiction'
<i>fa'a-fa'a-abu-a</i>	'teach (one's children) to observe taboos; instill taboo-following in'
<i>nanau</i>	'learn, study'
<i>nanau-a</i>	'learn (something, by oneself)'
<i>fa'a-nanau-a</i>	'teach (someone)'
<i>fa'a-fa'a-nanau-a</i>	'instill knowledge in (someone) by long instruction'

(e) Causatives from locative nouns and numerals

Finally, as (apparently) in PEO (and POC?), the causative prefix is used in a few constructions where the base to which it attaches is not an intransitive or stative verb:

<i>fa'a-buri</i>	'backwards, behind, returning' (as the second, "adverbial" element in verbal compounds (see 3.2.4.3)).
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Here *buri* is the locative base, morphologically a noun, 'behind, back of'.

<i>fa'a-na'o-fi-a</i>	'turn toward (him)'
-----------------------	---------------------

Here *na'o* is the locative base, complement to *buri*, 'in front, front of'

na'o-fi-a is 'be face to face with, stand opposite, square off with'

The causative changes the perspective: by turning in the direction of things or persons, one causes them to be face to face, as it were, with you.

Whereas Kwaio does not use productively the PEO pattern where prefixing the causative to a numeral creates "do -- X times" (PEO **paka-tolu* 'do three times'; Pawley 1972:39), there is a reflex of it in

<i>tafanga-fa'a-rua</i>	'double-fathom-length shell valuable'
<i>tafanga</i>	'fathom'
<i>rua</i>	'two'

(f) Alternative causative forms

Another causative prefix *fafu-* is used in some constructions.

(1) <i>fafu-to'o</i>	'divine' (<i>to'o</i> 'be true')
(2) <i>fafu-to'o-a</i>	'discover it by divination'
(3) <i>fafu-longo</i>	'listen, pay attention'
(4) <i>fafu-longo-si-a</i>	'pay attention to him'
(5) <i>fafu-sina-fi-a</i>	'dry (something) in the sun'

Note that the case relationship established with the surface direct object in (2) and (4) seems to follow a quite different pattern than that established by *fa'a*; but that the relationship in (5) is the same as with *fa'a-sina-fi-a* (see above). The number of forms using *fafu-* is too small to establish a general pattern.

A more complicated relationship is established in a rarely used causative construction using *faa-te'e-* as prefix:

<i>faa-te'e-so-o a-na</i>	'cause (him) to pick up things'
<i>so'o</i>	'pick up (things)'
<i>so'o-fi-a</i>	'pick it up'

Here

faa-te'e-ni-a is 'lead him, show him'

If this prefix paralleled *fa'a-*, we would expect **faa-te'e-so'o-a* with the clitic *-a* referring to the subject/experiencer of the act/state that is caused.

But *so'o* is an odd verb in that although its meaning is basically transitive, it usually occurs in root form as the first element in serial verbal compounds, with the pronoun direct object attached to the second verb, also transitive (see 3.2.4.1):

<i>so'o darl-a</i>	'find it' (<i>darl-a</i> 'find it, get it')
<i>so'o goni-a</i>	'pick up pieces' (<i>goni-a</i> 'gather them together')

The *a-* in *faa-te'e-so'o a-na* is the locative particle used for a satellite object when it is separated from a transitive verb by an intervening form (see 3.3.2).

(g) Idiomatic causative constructions

The causative prefix *fa'a-* creates a small number of forms which are not causative verbs, usually through some idiomatic construction which may not be transparent. Thus *fa'a* creates a modal in:

<i>fa'a-boo</i>	'almost, about to'
-----------------	--------------------

35 *ino fa'aboo ka lafi*
 woman almost SRP(3s) give birth
 The woman is about to give birth.

The causative prefix can create a stative verb (which also functions adjectivally and adverbially in compounds):

<i>fa'a-ekwa</i>	'be minor, be easy' (from <i>ekwa</i> 'be quiet, desist')
<i>fa'a-ee</i>	'be minor, be level, be better than nothing' (from <i>ee</i> 'bridge')

It can create an intransitive verb:

<i>fa'a-gani</i>	'fish at daybreak' (from <i>gani</i> 'day').
------------------	---

And it can create a noun:

<i>fa'a-basu</i>	'a warning' (from <i>basu</i> 'be wary')
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2.3.6.2 The reciprocal prefix

The "reciprocal prefix" is more complex. As Pawley says of Oceanic languages more generally

"reciprocal verbs" [i.e., verbs formed with the reciprocal prefix] do not always imply a number of

actors doing the same action to one another. In many Oceanic languages, for example, such verbs sometimes refer to unified or combined action by a plural subject, or repeated action by a singular subject, or unification of objects rather than the subject of the verb (Pawley 1973:151).

We have seen examples already of the diverse semantic permutations created by the reciprocal prefix *kwa/-*.

With some transitive verbs, the reciprocal prefix, added to the transitive root+PrObj or root+Trsuff+PrObj, marks the action of the verb as performed reciprocally or back-and-forth. The resulting verb remains transitive.

<i>fii</i>	'think, reflect'
<i>fii-a</i>	'think about (him), suspect (him)'
<i>kwai-fii-a</i>	'think about one another, suspect one another'
<i>ori</i>	'return'
<i>ori-si-a</i>	'ask about (it)'
<i>kwai-ori-si-a</i>	'discuss with one another, question one another'

These forms are "genuinely" reciprocal in that the subjects of the verbs must be animate/human (or human-like, as in an animal story with anthropomorphized actors) and the direct objects of the verbs are indicated with pronouns marked for person and number and coreferential with the subject pronoun or NP. Thus:

36 *gala kwai-fii-'aga'a*
SRP(3d) RECIP-think-PrO(3d)
Those two suspect one another.

37 *gila kwai-ori-si-ga*
SRP(3p) RECIP-return-TrS-PrO(3p)
They questioned one another.

Other verbs are similar in construction, but lack this reciprocal/referential pattern. In these, *kwai-* implies that the action is performed in a group, or by some spreading; but the object of the verb is target, not instigator, of the action:

<i>di'l-a</i>	'criticize (him), ridicule (him)'
<i>kwai-di'ldi'l-a</i>	'gossip about (him), ridicule (him) vis-a-vis others'

Or alternatively, the reciprocal prefix may simply imply that the action is performed vis-a-vis a collectivity of people as objects:

<i>lango-ni-a</i>	'feed (him/it)'
<i>kwai-lango-ni-ga</i>	'feed everyone in a group'

Sometimes *kwai-* creates an intransitive form (whether from a transitive or intransitive verb root) which in some sense expresses reciprocal action or action vis-a-vis a group:

<i>ala</i>	'agree'
<i>kwai-ala</i>	'arrange for (something)'
<i>fata</i>	'talk'
<i>kwai-fata</i>	'have a conversation, argument'
<i>du'a-a</i>	'exchange'
<i>kwai-du'a</i>	'exchange, swap (something)'
<i>fida</i>	'slap'
<i>kwai-fida</i>	'clap the hands'
<i>dau-a</i>	'afflict (him), destroy (it)'
<i>kwai-dau</i>	'spread affliction'

Sometimes when a form is rendered intransitive with *kwai-* a stress-preserving *-i* is inserted after the base from which the verb is created (which need not itself be a verb):

<i>agi</i>	'head' (archaic)
<i>kwai-agi</i>	'prohibit (something) by ritual injunction referring to one's head'
<i>iri-a</i>	'tell (it)'
<i>kwa-irii</i>	'report (something)' (here the final <i>i</i> of the prefix is dropped euphonically)
<i>kunu-a</i>	'be jealous about, accuse'
<i>kwai-kunui</i>	'be jealous of, spread accusations about'
<i>abu</i>	'taboo'
<i>kwai-abui</i>	'forbid (something)'
<i>fari</i>	'be separate'
<i>kwai-farifarli</i>	'rivalry or enmity with'

Here the *-i* substitutes for an (unspecified) pronoun object, and may be followed by an oblique object NP or prepositional phrase.

As has been seen at several points, *kwai-* may be required to render a transitive verb formed with the second transitive suffix intransitive:

<i>gula-te'e-ni-a</i>	'turn (him) aside, ignore (him)'
<i>kwai-gula-ta'i</i>	'turn (someone) aside'

<i>fele-fe'e-ni-a</i>	'accuse (him) strongly'
<i>kwai-fele-ta'i</i>	'make a strong accusation'

In 1.5.5, a further pattern whereby transitive verbs are rendered intransitive by *kwai-* and then nominalized was examined

<i>ale-a</i>	'send (him) away'
<i>kwai-alel-ngaa</i>	'expulsion'
<i>rui-a</i>	'forbid (it), prohibit (him)'
<i>kwai-rui-ngaa</i>	'prohibition'

Finally, *kwai-* may be used with nouns, statives, prepositional verbs (2.4), or other forms, to create intransitive or stative verbs.

<i>kwai-maa</i>	'be kind to, have an affair with' (from <i>kwai-</i> + <i>maa</i> 'eye', i.e., have eye contact with)
<i>kwai-le'a</i>	'talk enviously about (something)' (from <i>kwai-</i> + the stative <i>le'a</i> , 'be good')
<i>dau-kwai-nima</i>	'hold clasped in the hands' (from <i>dau</i> 'hold onto' + <i>kwai-</i> + <i>nima</i> 'hand')

These three function as intransitive verbs selecting oblique object NP's (4.1.1). But the form created may, whatever its constituents, be a stative verb.

<i>gala-ngi-a</i>	'close to (it)' (a prepositional verb in the form of verb + TrSuff + PrObj; see 2.4)
<i>kwai-gala-ngi</i>	'be close to one another'
<i>fanga</i>	'eat' (intrans.)
<i>kwai-fanga</i>	'be wild' (of an animal)
<i>riu</i>	'pass'
<i>kwai-riu</i>	'be shiftless, be worthless' (as second element in compound verbs, 'be reciprocal, go back and forth')
<i>saku-a</i>	'join (them)'
<i>kwai-saku</i>	'be together'

<i>tari-a</i>	'separate (them)'
<i>kwai-tatari</i>	'be different'

To add semantic emphasis, *kwai-* can in a few forms be reduplicated:

<i>kwai-dau</i>	'spread affliction'
<i>kwai-kwai-dau</i>	'spread affliction far and near'
<i>kwai-du'a</i>	'exchange, swap (something)'
<i>kwai-kwai-du'a</i>	'back and forth'.

It is even possible for the reciprocal prefix to be used with the causative prefix.

<i>didi-a</i>	'accuse, question (him)'
<i>fa'a-didi-a</i>	'ignore accusations or demands' (i.e., cause someone to escalate their accusations or demands)
<i>kwai-fa'a-didi-a</i>	'oppose a proper course of action' (e.g., refuse to pay back a debt when one is able, thus causing everyone to make demands or accusations).

Both *kwai-* and the causative prefix *fa'a-* appear in compound verbs (3.2.4). The following set of verb forms is instructive:

<i>kwa-iri</i>	'report, make an announcement'
<i>kwa-iri to'o</i>	'report correctly'
<i>kwa-iri fe'e-ni-a</i>	'imitate, report on behalf of'
<i>kwa-iri lafu-a</i>	'exaggerate about' (<i>lafu-a</i> is 'lift')
<i>kwa-iri lada-mi-a</i>	'report accurately about' (<i>lada-mi-a</i> is 'fit', 'be equal to')
<i>kwa-iri fa'a-lada-mi-a</i>	'demonstrate to' (<i>fa'a-lada-mi-a</i> is 'cause to be the same as', <i>kwa-iri</i> conveys the information that makes this possible).

2.3.6.3 "Privative" prefixes

Kwaio uses, though apparently to much lesser extent and less productively than neighbouring Kwara'ae (Deck 1934), the "privative" prefix *abu-* 'be unable to ---, not ---'. Thus:

<i>abu-longo-a</i>	'be unable to hear' (<i>longo-a</i> 'hear it')
<i>abu-aga-si-a</i>	'not see it' (<i>aga-si-a</i> 'see it')

<i>abu-age-a</i>	'be unable to do it' (<i>age-a</i> 'do it')
<i>abu-to'o (a-i)</i>	'not receive any of it' (<i>to'o a-i</i> 'receive it')

This appears to be the basis for the interesting causative construction:

38 *adalo ka fa'a-abu-keto-a wela no'o-na*
ghost SRP(3s) CAUS-PRIV-eat-PrO(3s) child DEI
An ancestor is making that child unable to eat.

In addition, Kwaio uses another interesting privative prefix, like *abu* ultimately derived from a stative:

<i>lalakwe'e-</i>	'fail to' (with the implication that it is for want of sufficient effort)
<i>lalakwe'e-riu</i>	'fail to get past' (<i>riu</i> 'go past')
<i>lalakwe'e-nigi</i>	'fail to arrive' (<i>nigi</i> 'arrive')
<i>lalakwe'e-age-a</i>	'fail to do it' (<i>age-a</i> 'do it')
<i>lalakwe'e-kwate-a</i>	'fail to give it' (<i>kwate-a</i> 'give it').

The derivation is from *laalakwa* 'be lazy'. Note that this prefix can be used with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

2.3.7 Reduplication of verbs

Some Oceanic languages draw fine distinctions semantically in the use of different forms of reduplication of active verbs: indicating whether the action is performed repeatedly, continuously, habitually, or in some intensified way. Kwaio draws no such fine and regular distinctions; reduplication is largely (see 1.2.3) governed by the phonological shape of the root. However, reduplication can convey any of these implications, depending on the semantics of the root and on the linguistic and sociolinguistic context. Thus

<i>faafata</i> , from <i>fata</i>	'speak' usually is 'speak on and on'
<i>ageage-a</i> from <i>age-a</i>	'do it' can be 'do it continuously' 'do it repeatedly' 'do it regularly'
<i>taatau-nga'i</i> from <i>tau-nga'i</i>	'work (in a taro garden)' is usually 'work and work and work'.

With stative verbs reduplication usually marks an intensified degree of the state (but see 3.2.4.3):

<i>ba'iba'ita</i>	'be very big' (from <i>ba'ita</i> 'be big')
<i>teetegele</i>	'be very strong' (from <i>tege-la</i> 'be strong')

Sometimes the same information is conveyed by the stative verb *iki* 'be big' used in an "adverbial" position in a double stative compound.

39 *e ba'ita iki*
SRP(3s) be big be large
It's very big.

40 *e tege-la iki*
SRP(3s) be strong be large
He's very strong.

In a few conventional phrases, further intensification can be added. Thus from *'ato* 'be difficult, be impossible', we find the conventional phrase

41 *e 'ato'ato ma ka 'ato*
SRP(3s) be impossible(REDUP) CON SRP(3s) be difficult
It's completely and utterly impossible.

Reduplication of stative verbs need not imply intensification; a few stative verbs, particularly *'ago'ago* 'be hot', are normally used in reduplicated form, so that intensification of degree can only be expressed through a double stative compound (3.2.4.3):

42 *e 'ago'ago iki*
SRP(3s) be hot be large
It's very hot.

2.3.8 Prefix of spontaneity

A somewhat problematic form, both morphologically and semantically, resembles but must be distinguished from verb reduplication. Semantically, the prefix is problematic because the shift in meaning created varies considerably. Morphologically, it is problematic because of the range of allomorphs represented (which then makes it difficult to be certain whether the same prefix is involved). The prefix resembles reduplication because it assumes the phonological shape of the first syllable of the base that follows, but can be distinguished from it because the replicated syllable is not doubled. The clearest attestations are

<i>ta-ta'e</i>	'get up'
<i>to-tola</i>	'run'

Note that the reduplicated form of *ta'e* 'ascend, embark' would be *taata'e* 'ascend repeatedly'.

Probable attestations of the prefix of spontaneity include:

<i>di-dirī</i>	'slip
<i>ma-magu</i>	'recoil from'
<i>mo-molo-l-a</i>	'eat something up by oneself, eat greedily'
<i>da-darī-a</i>	'earn by one's own labour' (<i>darī-a</i> is 'find, obtain')

Note that this prefix of spontaneity makes it imperative that the disyllabic form of reduplicated first syllables be treated orthographically as phonemic, rather than as environmentally conditioned.

tee-tege-la 'be very strong' (not **te-tege-la*)

2.4 PREPOSITIONAL VERBS

Kwaio, like most Oceanic Austronesian languages, has a form class of bases which follow the morphological pattern of transitive verbs, but which fit into predicate slots characteristically occupied by prepositions.

These "prepositional verbs" are presumed to have derived historically from serial verbal-compounds in which the second verb has become, in effect, disconnected from the first. They are distinguished from the second verbs in compound constructions, in Kwaio, by the fact that postverbal particles that occur in verb-phrase-final position can intervene between them and the preceding verb (3.2.3.2). Prepositional verbs are thus cut off from the verb phrase, and occur in postverbal predicate positions.

Their morphology, paralleling that of transitive verbs, poses no special problems. Syntactically, they introduce prepositional phrases, with a specified or implied noun phrase following (3.3). However, the surface semantic role relationships they establish and the predicate slots they fill are diverse and relatively complex. These complexities must await examination in 4.1. Morphologically, prepositional verbs fall into two series.

2.4.1 PrV + PrObj

Four common prepositional verbs and two rare ones consist of root + pronoun object:

<i>'ani-a</i>	'with (it), by (it)' (instrumental)
<i>suri-a</i>	'along, about, on, with (it)'
<i>'usi-a</i>	'against (it), on behalf of (him)'
<i>dari-a</i>	'to (him)' (after verbs of reporting, announcing, etc.; <i>dari-a</i> 'find')

also serves as a second verb in
compound constructions)

agi-a 'between (them), among (them)' (rare)

susu-a 'for a period of, during' (rare)

The first two are reconstructed for POC. Pawley (1973:147) reconstructs **su(lɔR)ɪ*, as 'according to, concerning, on behalf of'. Historically *'ani-a* is ambiguous in derivation: Pawley (1973:145-46) reconstructs **kini* or **ni*, and suggests that it represents a prepositional particle **ki-* to which a transitive suffix **-ni* has become attached. For Kwaio, the base would seem to be *'ani-*, whatever its historical derivation.

2.4.2 PrV + *-Ci-* + PrObj

Eight prepositional verbs consist of the root-plus-first transitive suffix (*-Ci-*)-plus-pronoun object:

fe'e-ni-a
'together with (him)'

fa'a-si-a
'away from (it)'

fono-si-a
'against (it)' (from the stative *fono* 'be shut')

faa-fl-a
'on top of (it)'

'oo-fi-a
'looking for (him/it)'

dola-ri-a
'among (them)'

gala-ni-a
'close to (it/him)'

'afu-l-a
'around, surrounding (it); on behalf of (him)'
(from the stative *'afu* 'be complete,
be wrapped up').

2.4.3 Prepositional verbs in predicates

As will be seen, prepositional verbs of the second class (incorporating transitive suffixes) characteristically follow intransitive verbs of motion or position:

leka fe'e-ni-a
go with-TrS-PrO(3s)
go with him

nana'i dola-ri-ga
stay among-TrS-PrO(3p)
stay amongst them

ru'u 'oo-fi-a *kwaiasinga*
hunt search for-TrS-PrO(3s) opossum
hunt for opossums

to'oru fa'a-si-a
stay away-TrS-PrO(3s)
stay away from him

leka fa'a-si-a *'ifi*
go away-TrS-PrO(3s) house
go away from the house

However, this pattern is not fully regular. Most of these prepositional verbs can follow transitive verbs:

aru-a wa'i fe'e-ni-a 'put the bag with it'
age-a omea fe'e-ni-a 'give a mortuary feast with him'
aru-a faa-fi-a mode 'put it on top of the mat'

Prepositional verbs of the first class, with pronoun object directly suffixed, have more complex syntactic functions. Thus *'ani-a*, which characteristically establishes an instrumental semantic role relationship between its object and the preceding verb, in some constructions serves to render an intransitive verb semantically transitive, by connecting it (as transitive suffixes do) to a following noun object as patient.

masa 'play'
masa-ri-a 'play around with (her);
make fun of (her)'
masa 'ani-a 'play around with (her);
despoil (it)'

The prepositional verb *suri-a* poses parallel complications.

leka suri-a bonga 'walk along the stream-bed'
su'a i suri-a giri-nga 'know (about) writing'

Such constructions, which I treat as prepositional object phrases, must await explication in 4.1.4. The structure of prepositional phrases introduced by prepositional verbs, which is relatively straightforward, is sketched in 3.3.4.

2.5 "LOCATIONALS": LOCATIVES AND DEICTICS

Locatives and deictics, together with proper nouns that are the names of places and certain common nouns describing areas, comprise what we can class as "locationals". These select the interrogative (*i*) *fa* 'where?'. The locative particle *i*, 'at', which precedes *fa* normally precedes the forms fitting into this slot.

2.5.1 Proper and common nouns as locationals

The names of places, and some common nouns which refer generically to areas, can select the interrogative *i fa* 'where?'. First, place names:

<i>i 'Ola'o</i>	'at 'Ola'o' (a descent group territory)
<i>i Taunau'a</i>	'at Taunau'a' (a place on the coast)

Second, common nouns as generic terms for areas:

<i>i asi</i>	'at the coast' (lit., "sea")
<i>i fataia</i>	'in the interior'
<i>i kalonga</i>	'in the forest'.

Finally, a common noun referring to a specific location

<i>i 'ifi</i>	'at the house'
<i>i 'ifi a-la Kwa'ilamo</i>	'at Kwa'ilamo's house'

2.5.2 Locatives

A small set of bases, morphologically nouns, act as locatives describing relative position. They fit into two kinds of constructions. First a subset of them can be used, following the locative particles *i* 'at' and *naa* 'to the, at the', as substitutes for place names (selecting the interrogative (*i*) *fa*). Second, they can be used in genitive constructions, morphologically functioning as inalienable nouns. Because they are nouns morphologically, and enter into genitive constructions of a type to be analyzed below in 3.1.4, interests of descriptive economy dictate that they be analyzed there and in 3.3, where locative phrases and their place within clauses are examined. Here we need only glimpse the subset of locational nouns that stand alone as bases following the particle *i* 'at'

(<i>i</i>) <i>na'o</i>	'(at) the front'
(<i>i</i>) <i>buri</i>	'(at) the behind/back'
(<i>i</i>) <i>lalo</i>	'(at) the space in-between'
(<i>i</i>) <i>sae</i>	'(at) the middle'
(<i>i</i>) <i>langi</i>	'(at) the space above'

These substitute for place names and common nouns labelling places,

but describe relative position.

aru-a i na'o
put-PrO(3s) LOC front
put it in front

leka i buri
go LOC behind
go behind

to'oru i lalo
stay LOC middle
stay in between

Note that with the possible exception of *sae*, these are all ancient forms reconstructed for PEO and POC.

Syntactically, these forms comprise the head nouns of prepositional phrases (as do place names and common nouns following the particle *i*). As will be seen in 3.3, these prepositional phrases may follow verb phrases (describing the location or direction of an action), may follow noun phrases (describing the location of the head noun), or may follow noun phrases as the predicates of prepositional clauses or sentences, which contain no verbs.

2.5.3 Deictics

Deictics fall into several sets, and these (in some cases with morphological marking) in turn fit into several syntactic slots.

(a) "Hither" and "thither" directionals

Kwaio uses contrasting 'hither' and 'thither' (that is, in the direction of the speaker and away from the direction of the speaker) that are reflexes of ancient OC forms:

mai 'hither'
ka(')u 'thither' (*kau* is
the commonly
used form)

Thus

ngari-a mai
bring-PrO(3s) DEI
bring it

ngari-a kau
bring-PrO(3s) DEI
take it

(b) Vertical relationships

Another set indicates relationships on a vertical plane. These consist of *lo-* plus one of three morphemes indicating relative vertical position.

<i>lo-lo</i>	'o	'up there'
<i>lo-ko</i>	'u	'over there'
<i>lo-fo</i>	'u	'down there'

These can be used to identify nouns according to their position relative to speaker and hearer.

<i>tau lo-lo'o</i>	'that men's house up there'
<i>langa'a lo-fo'u</i>	'that garden down there'.

They can also indicate directionality of an action, when used following a verb:

aru-a lo-fo'u
 put-PrO(3s) DEI
 put it down there

43 *ngal e fane lo-lo'o*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) ascend DEI
 He climbed up there.

As will be seen shortly, these deictics also, in conventional metaphors, indicate past ("down") and future ("up").

(c) Upward/downward relationships

Another set of deictics indicate an upward or down direction of motion. Here the particle to which the deictic morphemes are bound is *'a-/'ai-*. Again, these are forms reconstructed for PEO (Pawley 1972:42).

<i>'a-la'a</i>	'upwards'
<i>'ai-sifo</i>	'downwards'

These characteristically function as postverbal modifiers (3.2.2).

<i>leka 'a-la'a</i>	'go upwards'
<i>aga 'a-la'a</i>	'look upwards'
<i>leka 'ai-sifo</i>	'go downwards'

Sometimes the 'upwards' or 'downwards' in such constructions is metaphoric:

manata 'a-la'a a-na 'think it to be difficult'
 (lit., "think upwards at it").

These forms are commonly used to indicate direction relative to the north-west to south-east orientation of Malaita Island. In the Kwaio conception, the north-western end of Malaita is "down", the

south-eastern end of Malaita is "up". Thus *leka 'ai-sifo* is 'travel in a north-westerly direction' and *leka 'a-la'a* is 'travel in a south-easterly direction' (Pawley 1972:42 reconstructs a meaning of 'eastward' for PEO *(ka)Raka). However, when *leka* is used with the deictic *mai*, it means 'come' rather than 'go'; and this reverses the polarity:

leka 'ai-sifo mai is 'travel in a south-easterly direction' (i.e., "come from downward hither")

and

leka 'a-la'a mai is 'travel in a north-easterly direction' (i.e., "come from upward hither")

These forms are sometimes used not as statives in compound verbs but as deictics modifying nouns, or following an active verb and indicating the direction or locus of the action:

maa'e 'a-la'a 'top section of scaffolding'
(lit., "section up high")

aru-a 'ai-sifo 'put it upside down'.

(d) Proximal/distal relationships

This last construction parallels those in which a final set of very common deictics indicating 'here' and 'there' and 'this' and 'that' occur. Morphologically, the key contrast is marked by *l/r* 'here'/'this' v.s. *n* 'there'/'that' (recall that *l* and *r* are allophones of a single phoneme).

lo'o-ri 'here, this'
(alternative form *lo-'oo*)
no'o-na 'there, that' (or rarely,
the alternants *lo'o-na* or *lo'o-la*)

The full, but rarely used, variants of these forms are

lo'o-ri-'a
no'o-ni-'a (rarely *lo'o-ni-'a*)

These forms function as modifiers of nouns

'ifi lo-'oo 'this house'
ta'a no'o-na 'those people'

They also serve, when used after a verb, to indicate the direction or location of an action:

aru-a lo-'oo
put-PrO(3s) DEI
put it here

age-a no'o-na
do-PrO(3s) DEI
do it there

When it follows a noun subject, *lo-'oo* is commonly elided with a following subject-referencing pronoun *e* as *le-'e* (this may also be the basis for the topicalizing *ne-'e*; see 2.2).

ifi le-'e ba'ita 'This house is big.'

Two forms function as deictics alternative to *lo'o-ri* and *no'o-na*, particularly in indicating the locus or direction of an action:

se'e-ke-ri 'here' (alternatively, *te'e-ke-ri*)
se'e-ke-na 'there' (alternatively, *te'e-ke-na*).

Note again the suffix *-ri* 'here' and *-na* 'there'.

aru-a se'e-ke-ri 'put it here'

(e) Deictics as statives/quotatives

These postverbal deictics as locatives are distinguished from a series derived from the same roots where the deictics serve as the second, stative, verbs in compound constructions (3.2.4.3). In these constructions, the deictic forms are marked by the prefix '*i-*' 'be like...':

'i-lo'oo 'be like this'
'i-no'o-na 'be like that'
(rarely, *'i-lo'o-na*)

These function in constructions such as

age 'i-no'o-na a-i
do be like that LOC-PrS(Ind)
do it like that

ngala ka fata 'i-lo'oo
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) speak be like this
he spoke thusly

Often, in reporting conversations, the deictic stative '*i-lo'oo* is used alone as a quotative:

44 *la Ba'efaka ka 'i-lo'oo*
ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) be like this
Ba'efaka said...

An alternative quotative form, again with the '*i-*' prefix that marks it as a deictic stative (although the root is not otherwise used as a deictic) is '*i-laba'a*.

45 *la Ba'efaka ka fata 'i-laba'a*
 ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) speak QUOT
 Ba'efaka said...

45A *la Ba'efaka ka 'i-laba'a*
 ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) QUOT
 Ba'efaka said...

A substantial number of grammatical classes remain to be explicated. Some of these are important building blocks in noun phrases, others in verb phrases; others operate as temporals; still others operate at clause level as modals, or operate at sentence level, relating clauses. These can best be introduced in Chapters 3 and 4. However, a crucial series of morphological processes whereby forms are transformed from one form class into another needs examination at this stage.

2.6 TRANSFORMATIVES

Like other Oceanic languages, Kwaio employs an extensive set of derivational affixes to transform bases so they fit into one or more alternate form classes. Some, such as the causative and transitive suffixes converting statives and intransitive verbs to transitive verbs, have been examined. As has already been noted, Kwaio has some bases that fit, without morphological transformation, into two or more form classes.

2.6.1 Stative formatives

Stative verbs are formed from active verbs and from nouns. These processes, and several of the prefixes and suffixes used in Kwaio, have a long history in Oceanic languages.

2.6.1.1 Statives formed from verbs

(a) *a-*

The prefix *a-* converts transitive verb stems to statives. This is a fully productive process, and the following list is only illustrative:

<i>farl-a</i>	'split (it), divide (it)'
--> <i>a-farl</i>	'be divided, split'
<i>bota-ri-a</i>	'smash (it)'
--> <i>a-bota</i>	'be smashed'
<i>bulo-a</i>	'turn (it)'
--> <i>a-bulo</i>	'be turned, twisted'

rube-a 'untie, loosen'
 --> *a-rube* 'be loose, slack'

'iri-si-a 'pour (it) out'
 --> *a-'iri* 'be spilt'

Note that the experiencer of the stative formed by prefixing *a-* is the direct object of the transitive verb:

'iri-si-a tarusi
 pour-Trs-PrO(3s) water
 Pour out the water.

tarusi e a-'iri
 water SRP(3s) SFm-spilt
 The water is spilt.

(b) *ma-*

The prefix *ma-* (with *mo-* as allomorph) also converts transitive verbs to statives. This prefix, ancient in Oceanic, is no longer fully productive in Kwaio. Some of the implied verbal forms have not been recorded; the apparently frozen stative forms remain as attestations. Again, the direct object of the transitive verb becomes experiencer of the stative.

tari-a 'separate (them)'
 --> *ma-tari* 'be different'

bota-ri-a 'smash (it)'
 --> *ma-bota* 'be smashed'

lede-a 'snap (it)'
 --> *ma-lede* 'be snapped off'

**dikwa-* 'break (it)'
 --> *ma-dikwa* 'be broken'

ngilo-a 'twist, wring (it)'
 --> *ma-ngilo* 'be tired of
 doing something'

kwe'e-a 'break (it)'
 --> *ma-kwe'e* 'be broken'

'oi-a 'break (it)'
 --> *mo-'oi* 'be broken'

Note that these verbs all have to do with breaking, twisting, and pulling apart, although the meaning of the stative form is often semantically exocentric.

(c) *wa-*

The prefix *wa-* converts transitive and intransitive verbs to statives:

<i>siu</i>	'wash'	-->	<i>wa-siu</i>	'be wet'
<i>taga</i>	'scatter'	-->	<i>wa-taga</i>	'be clear'
<i>sufu-ni-a</i>	'perforate, drill'	-->	<i>wa-sufu</i>	'be perforated'
<i>ruu</i>	'slacken, loosen'	-->	<i>wa-ruu</i>	'be slack'

A number of statives apparently formed with this prefix have not been recorded as active verbs:

* <i>la'u(?)</i>	-->	<i>wa-la'u</i>	'be soft, easy'
* <i>da'u(?)</i>	-->	<i>wa-da'u</i>	'be easy'
* <i>eso(?)</i>	-->	<i>wa-eso</i>	'be supple, lithe'

In one of these forms putatively formed by *wa-*, the base is reduplicated; and the apparent prefix is lengthened to be rendered disyllabic, preserving the stress pattern:

* <i>nema(?)</i>	-->	<i>waa-nemanema</i>	'be paper thin'
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(d) *la-*

An alternative form of *wa-* is *la-*, also forming statives from intransitive and transitive verbs:

<i>ruu</i>	'loosen, slacken'	-->	<i>la-ruu</i>	'be loose, slack'
<i>la'o-a</i>	'tame, befriend'	-->	<i>la-la'o</i>	'be attached, be bonded' (of child to mother)

Here a possible allomorph is *le-*; but the putative verb form has not been recorded:

* <i>le'u(?)</i>	-->	<i>le-le'u</i>	'be bent over, of an edge'
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A more clearly attested allomorph is /o-, in

loto 'bend over the top'
 --> *lo-loto* 'be bent over, at the top'

A further form that fits morphologically into this series, the prefix 'a-, probably historically represents a stative formative, but now actually forms a noun and transitive verb from an intransitive base:

galo 'twist a fibre'
'a-galo 'twisted cord'
'a-galo-a 'braid a cord or rope'

We will see 'a- below in another guise, forming a stative with modified meaning from a stative base.

2.6.1.2 Statives formed from nouns

Two suffixes, which operate in parallel fashion, convert nouns to statives -- a process semantically similar to English "stone" --> "stony", and "blood" --> "bloody".

(a) The suffix *-la*:

'abu 'blood' --> *'abu-la* 'be bloody'
fou 'stone' --> *fou-la* 'be stony'
wado 'earth' --> *wado-la* 'be muddy'

(b) The suffix *-'a*:

farisi 'grass' -->
farisi-'a 'be grassy, covered
 with grass seed'
adalo 'ancestral spirit' -->
adalo-'a 'be haunted'
'ola 'thing' -->
'ola-'a 'be rich'

2.6.1.3 Statives from statives

A few stative bases can have the *-la* and *-'a* suffixes, normally attached to nouns, affixed: the resulting stative form may be substantially modified semantically, or little changed in meaning from the original base:

'ato 'be difficult, be impossible' -->
'ato'ato-la 'be impossible'
tege 'be strong' -->
tege-la 'be strong'

<i>bir</i>	'be old'		-->
	<i>biribir</i> - <i>'a</i>	'be dirty'	
<i>gwar</i>	'be cold'		-->
	<i>gwar</i> - <i>'a</i>	'be cured'	

One form morphologically representing this pattern is in fact used as a common noun:

<i>laga</i>	'be dry'	
-->	<i>laga</i> - <i>'a</i>	'a garden, a taro garden'

A second rather problematic form which derives statives from statives falls morphologically not into this series of suffixes, but into the series of prefixes forming statives from verbs: the prefix *'a-*. Semantically, in the two apparent attestations, *'a-* indicates that the experiencer is emerging or recovering from the state indicated by the base form:

<i>mala</i>	'be wounded; a cut, a wound'
	<i>'a-mala</i> 'be regaining strength, of sow after having had a litter'
<i>leo</i>	'be sick, be an invalid'
	<i>'a-leo</i> 'be on the way to recovery from an illness'

2.6.2 Nominalizing suffixes

Intransitive verbs are regularly transformed into verbal nouns or abstract nouns by affixation of *-nga* to verb stems:

<i>leka</i>	'go'	-->	<i>leka-nga</i>	'trip'
<i>suu</i>	'burn'	-->	<i>suu-nga</i>	'cremation'
<i>fane</i>	'ascend'	-->	<i>fane-nga</i>	'ascent'
<i>oso</i>	'eat'	-->	<i>oso-nga</i>	'meal'
<i>eno</i>	'sleep'	-->	<i>eno-nga</i>	'sleeping'
<i>masa</i>	'play'	-->	<i>masa-nga</i>	'game'

The stress-preserving allomorph *-ngaa* is used when the verb base is trisyllabic (see 1.3.5):

<i>to'oru</i>	'live'	-->
	<i>to'oru-ngaa</i>	'living'

nanama 'convey efficacy
(of ancestor)' -->
nanama-ngaa 'ancestrally
conferred
efficacy'

This suffix is sometimes used to nominalize a normally transitive verb. Here we need to remember that most transitive verbs in Kwaio have as their basic form the verb root, plus pronoun object directly affixed to it; and that when such a verb is used in root form, without pronoun object, it indicates performance of the act without specified object:

takwe-a 'dig (it) up'
takwe 'perform the act of digging'

The nominalizing suffix, attached to such a transitive verb stem, forms a noun referring to performance of the act described by the verb without specified object:

'ui-a 'hit (it) with a projectile'
'ui 'perform the act
of throwing or shooting'
'ui-nga 'a shot'

kwa'l-a 'hit it'
kwa'l 'perform the act
of hitting'
kwa'l-nga 'blow, killing'

The intransitive forms of normally transitive verbs formed by reciprocal prefix, or vowel shift in the second transitive suffix, may also be rendered intransitive by *-nga* or *-ngaa*, as noted in 1.3.5. Thus the nominalized forms

tau-nga'i-nga 'work'
(from
tau-nge'e-ni-a
'build (it)')

kwai-belo-i-ngaa 'expulsion'
(from
belo-a
'expel (him)').

In 1.4, it was seen that the nominalizing suffix *-nga* can be used to form a conventional noun from a transitive verb-plus-noun object, treated as though it were an (intransitive) verb:

garu-a boo 'tether the pig(s)' -->
garu-boo-nga 'pig tethering'
(an event)

age-a omea 'give feast(s)' -->
age-omea-ngaa 'feastgiving'

This nominalizing suffix *-nga*, and its allomorph *-ngaa*, are also used with some statives:

ba'ita 'be big' -->
ba'ita-ngaa 'bigness, size'

mae'a 'be dying' -->
mae'a-ngaa 'epidemic'

gole 'be slow'
gole-nga 'busy-ness'

abu 'be taboo' -->
abu-nga 'restriction'

gou-fa'a 'be cold' -->
gou-fa'a-nga 'chill'

koko'o 'be old' -->
koko'o-nga 'old age'

A relatively uncommon alternative nominalizing suffix is *-laa*, used with statives or transitive or intransitive verbs:

fonu 'be full' -->
fonu-nga 'mortuary feast'
fonu-laa 'mortuary feast'

kwasi-a 'decorate (it)' -->
kwasi-nga 'ornaments'
kwasi-laa 'ornaments'

ogu 'gather together' -->
ogu-nga 'gathering'
ogu-laa 'gathering'

figu 'gather together' -->
figu-laa 'gathering'

An even less common variant form of the nominalizing suffix is *-a*:

ala-nga'i-nga 'agreement'
ala-nga'i-a 'agreement' (both from *ala-nga'i* 'agree')

A final noun formative operating on statives, *-fa*, indicates the instrument used to create the state. The only clear example is

bono 'be closed'
bono-ta 'a stopper'

What may historically represent the same form is attested as a stative, and only with further modification, as a noun labelling the instrument used:

du'u-ta 'be closed'
du'u-ta-i 'a stopper'

2.6.3 Gerunds

Gerunds are commonly formed from transitive verbs by addition of the infix *-la-* to verb root (plus transitive suffix, if there is one). Where there is no specified direct object the impersonal pronoun ending *-i* is added to the infix *-la-*:

<i>kwa'i-a</i>	'hit (him)'	
	<i>kwa'i-la-i</i>	'hitting, killing'
<i>age-a</i>	'do (it)'	
	<i>age-la-i</i>	'deed, doing of it'
<i>aga-si-a</i>	'see (it)'	
	<i>aga-si-la-i</i>	'seeing'
<i>kiru-a</i>	'plant (it)'	
	<i>kiru-la-i</i>	'planting'

Where a noun direct object is specified, the pronoun suffix *-na* references the object:

<i>kwa'i-a</i>	<i>wela</i>
hit-PrO(3s)	child
hit a child	
<i>kwa'i-la-na</i>	<i>wela</i>
hit-GER-PrS(3s)	child
hitting of the child	
<i>aga-si-a</i>	<i>ta'a</i>
see-TrS-PrO(3s)	people
see people	
<i>aga-si-la-na</i>	<i>ta'a</i>
see-TrS-GER-PrS(3s)	people
seeing the people	

Where a personal pronoun is direct object of the verb, the pronoun suffix marked for person and number is affixed to *-la-*:

kwa'i-la-da 'hitting (of) us'
siri-la-gu 'desiring me'

However, this construction can also be used for intransitive verbs.
 Thus

oso 'eat' --> *oso-la-i* 'eating'
 (alternative
 to
oso-nga)

And it can be used with statives as well:

ba'ita 'be large' -->
ba'ita-la-i 'growth'

moori 'be alive' -->
moori-la-i 'life'

However, an interesting pattern emerges where *-la-*, affixed to an intransitive or stative verb, is used with a following object. Here the subject of the intransitive verb, or experiencer of the stative verb, becomes the direct object:

sina ka suu
 sun SRP(3s) sink
 the sun has set

suu-la-na sina
 sind-GER-PrS(3s) sun
 setting of the sun

wela e ba'ita
 child SRP(3s) be big
 the child is big

ba'ita-la-na wela
 big-GER-PrS(3s) child
 the growth of the child/size of the child

Compare

'ani-la-na boo
 eat-GER-PrS(3s) pig
 eating of pork
 ('*ani-a* is the transitive verb
 'eat it')

oso-la-na wela
 eat-GER-PrS(3s) child
 the child's eating
 (*oso* is the intransitive verb
 'eat')

These constructions can also be used with first and second person

pronoun objects. Thus

ba'ita-la-gu 'my size'
moori-la-da 'our survival'

Since many verbs can be used either transitively (with *-a* affixed as clitic) or intransitively (in root form), some constructional ambiguities can result. Thus

Buumae ka kwa'i 'Buumae was a killer'
 and
Buumae ka kwa'i-a 'Buumae killed him'

Thus the gerundive construction can be ambiguous:

kwa'i-la-mu
 can be given a reading as
 'killing you'
 or as
 'your killing (of other people)'.

Such ambiguities are disambiguated contextually.

2.6.4 Verbs formed from nouns

A few transitive verbs are derived from noun bases by attachment of a transitive suffix:

sina 'sun' *sina-fi-a* 'sun-bake'

A more common way of transforming noun bases into transitive verbs is direct affixation of pronoun object to the base. The list of nouns that can be so transformed is, however, relatively short:

	NOUN		TRANSITIVE VERB
<i>eba</i>	'mat'	<i>eba-a</i>	'spread (it) out' (of pudding)
<i>feo</i>	'fence'	<i>feo-a</i>	'fence (it) in'
<i>fo'u</i>	'platform'	<i>fo'u-a</i>	'carry (it) on a platform'
<i>furi</i>	'bed'	<i>furi-a</i>	'make (a bed)'
<i>kiru</i>	'hole'	<i>kiru-a</i>	'plant (it)'

<i>lafa</i>	'leaf tray'	<i>lafa-a</i>	'divide (food) into portions'
<i>meme(na)</i>	'soft inside of'	<i>meme-a</i>	'chew (it)'
<i>ngisu(na)</i>	'saliva'	<i>ngisu-a</i>	'spit (it) out'
			(<i>ngisu-fi-a</i> 'spit on it')
<i>obi</i>	'bracelet'	<i>obi-a</i>	'put on (woven) bracelets'
<i>tafanga</i>	'fathom'	<i>tafanga-a</i>	'measure (it) in fathoms'
<i>'afu</i>	'parcel'	<i>'afu-a</i>	'wrap (it) up'
<i>'efo(na)</i>	'skin (of)'	<i>'efo-a</i>	'peel (it)'
<i>'ofu</i>	'bruise'	<i>'ofu-a</i>	'bruise (him)'
<i>'ola</i>	'thing'	<i>'ola-a</i>	'do (it)'

The versatility of derivations a noun can undergo is illustrated by the following series:

<i>ano</i>	'ground'
<i>ano-a</i>	'bury (it), trap (it) in a pig trap'
<i>ano-mi-a</i>	'plant (it), bury (it)'
<i>ano-me'e-ni-a</i>	'bury (it)'
<i>ano-ma'i</i>	'sink beneath the ground, waste away'

And, as explicated in Keesing 1979,

<i>ano-ma'i-te'e-ni-a</i>	'cause (by malevolent magic) a person to waste away'
---------------------------	--

The latter form is interesting because the second transitive suffix is rendered intransitive; and the resulting form is itself rendered transitive by addition of the second transitive suffix-plus-PrObj.

2.6.5 Further derivations from statives

We have noted how statives can be converted to transitive verbs by addition of a transitive suffix. A few statives can be converted to transitive verbs by direct suffixation of an object pronoun:

<i>ngado</i>	'be stable, be steady'
<i>ngado-a</i>	'balance, stabilize (it)'
<i>foga</i>	'be split, ruptured'
<i>foge-a</i>	'split (it)'
	(note the vowel shift)

A few statives can take a more complex derivational series:

<i>gole</i>	'be slow'
<i>gole-a</i>	'delay (him), put (it) off'
<i>gole-fi-a</i>	'do (it) slowly'
<i>gole-nge'e-ni-a</i>	'do (it) slowly'
<i>gole-te'e-ni-a</i>	'do (it) slowly'

2.6.6 The prefix *mala-*

The prefix *mala-* 'as if, like', is often not strictly speaking derivational, in that the base to which it is prefixed may remain in the same form class. Prefixed to a plant name, for example, it may indicate 'plant like a ----'. But it may also transform bases into new form classes:

<i>mala-ba'ekwa</i>	'bluff, make a bluff charge at'
	(from <i>ba'ekwa</i> 'shark')
<i>mala-wela</i>	'play around with, make fun of'
	(from <i>wela</i> 'child')
<i>mala-ba'ita</i>	'act big, put on airs'
	(from <i>ba'ita</i> 'be big').

CHAPTER 3: SYNTAX: PHRASE LEVEL

Analysis of Kwaio syntax will begin with examination of the internal structure of noun phrases (NP's) in 3.1 and verb phrases (VP's) in 3.2. These, along with temporals and locative phrases, comprise the building blocks of clauses. The structure of clauses will be examined in 4; and the sentence-level syntax of multiple-clause (complex) sentences will be examined in 5.

3.1 NOUN PHRASES

NP's may fill four syntactic slots in simple sentences: (a) as subject (b) as direct object (c) as oblique object or prepositional object (4.1.4) (d) as object of locative phrase.

Either or both of the essential noun components of clauses in active sentences, subject NP and direct object NP (in transitive sentences), may in discourse be deleted. Because the verb phrase is referenced to subject NP by a subject-referencing pronoun and referenced to a direct object NP (in a transitive sentence) by a clitic object pronoun, the VP itself contains the semantic information necessary to sustain reference without explicit noun and/or object.

This system of referencing within VP's also allows modification of the preferred SVO order by fronting (left dislocation) of an object NP (direct or oblique) to sentence-initial position, as will be seen in 4.1.5.1.

Noun phrases fall into three principal subtypes, depending on the noun that fills the head position: (1) common NP (2) personal NP (3) pronoun NP. Common NP's with multiple nouns in genitive constructions, i.e., possessive constructions, pose some special complexities.

3.1.1 Common NP's

An NP with common noun as head includes the following elements (optional elements enclosed in parentheses)

(Determiner) + Common Noun + (Adjectival Stative) +

(Adjectival Locative Phrase) + (Deictic) +

(Postnominal Qualifier)

3.1.1.1 Determiners

Determiners precede the head noun of an NP and specify, qualify or quantify it. The patterns used depend heavily on whether the head noun is mass or individual (count). I distinguish three subcategories of determiners:

- (a) articles ("the" "a" "a plurality of")
- (b) quantifiers ("three" "four pieces of")
- (c) qualifiers ("some" "all" "any" "only")

A final set of forms can be analytically grouped with determiners; but, unlike them, these fit into phrase-final position in NP's. These operate semantically to limit, qualify, or otherwise specify the identity or number of the preceding head noun (hence they parallel qualifiers). They can be classed as

- (d) postnominal qualifiers ("another", "only", "entire", "yet another", "together").

Although these postnominal qualifiers fit into a different slot, they can be conveniently analyzed with other qualifiers, particularly because (as will be seen below) they and qualifiers are closely linked in alternative and sometimes ambiguous constructions.

3.1.1.1.1 Articles

When the head noun is individual, and when its plurality is not stressed, it is often (though not obligatorily) preceded by the article *nga* 'a, the' (sometimes lengthened to *ngaa* to preserve phrasal stress patterns). Literate Kwaio speakers use *nga* as article regularly when they write; in speech it is commonly omitted in rapid conversation, particularly when the head noun is subject of sentence or clause. Where the head noun is object of verb or preposition, it is typically omitted in a fluent, continuous sequence of conversational speech; and it is typically inserted, almost euphonicly, during a pause (e.g., when the speaker is searching for the appropriate noun):

aga suri-a boo 'look after the/a pig'
aga suri-a nga (pause) *boo*.

...*fa-na 'ola* 'for the thing'
 ...*fa-na nga* (pause) *'ola*.

When an individual noun (or a mass noun individualized by a numerical classifier: see (b) below) is specifically marked for plurality, the alternative article *ni* is used:

ni 'ola no'o-na
 PLU thing DEI
 those things

This construction (conventionally contracted to *ni 'oo no'o-na*) emphasizes the plurality of the entities.

ni 'ifi
 PLU house
 houses(cf. *'ifi*, which can refer to one
 house or several or houses in general).

As a bound particle *-ni* is used in several contexts to mark plurality. It acts as the impersonal/indefinite form of pronoun suffix marked for plurality:

fata fa-i 'speak about it'
fata fa-ni 'speak about those things'

With the qualifiers in 3.1.1.1.3 the ending *-ni* marks plurality when the head noun that follows is individual:

to'o-ni wane 'all the (individual) people'

An individual noun referring to humans is sometimes marked for plurality with the third person plural focal pronoun *gila*. This is most common with kin terms, and indicates reference to a plurality of individuals classed by the term (e.g., a group of classificatory 'fathers'):

fe'e-ni-a *gila* *ma'a* *a-na*
 with-TrS-PrO(3s) PLU father PsP-PrS(3s)
 with his 'fathers'

Sometimes *nga* is used preceding a numeral as quantifier, as in English "the two men", with similar semantic import (i.e., that it is the collectivity of entities so quantified to which reference is made):

fa-na nga rua wane 'for the two men'

3.1.1.1.2 Quantification

A set of forms, including numerals, quantify nouns; they select *fifa* 'how many?', followed by a noun. The pattern of quantification is complicated by a relatively elaborate system of numerical classifiers.

(a) Numerals

As quantifiers, Kwaio uses the following numerals:

<i>fe'e</i>	1
<i>rua</i>	2
<i>oru</i>	3
<i>fai</i>	4

<i>nima</i>	5
<i>ono</i>	6
<i>fiu</i>	7
<i>kwaru</i>	8
<i>mule</i>	9 (less commonly <i>sikwa</i>)
<i>akwale-'e</i>	10 (<i>akwala</i> if not directly followed by a noun; the glottal stop is elided out when the noun being quantified has an initial glottal stop)

(The same numerals are used in counting, with the exception of *eta* 'one, beginning' and *tangafuru* 'ten'.) For quantifying above ten, the following pattern is used (here, illustrating with *'ola* 'thing' as noun):

akwale-e 'ola ma rua a-i
 ten thing and two LOC-PrS(Ind)
 twelve things

rua akwale-e 'ola
 two ten thing
 twenty things

Ordinal numbers, also used in quantifying nouns, are formed by suffixing *-na* to the cardinal forms used in counting:

<i>eta-na</i>	'first'
<i>rua-na</i>	'second'
<i>oru-na</i>	'third'
.	
.	
.	
.	
.	
<i>tangafuru-na</i>	'tenth'

(b) Quantification with numerals

Cardinal numerals can be used to quantify any individual noun; and they can be used to quantify a mass noun individualized by a numerical classifier, as will shortly be seen. In rare contexts, they can even be used to quantify personal nouns:

rua 'Ubuni 'The two 'Ubuni's'
 -- the older person by
 that name and the younger.

Kwaio also quantifies with ordinal numerals:

oru-na boo 'the third pig'

Where the reference is clear, an ordinal numeral can substitute for an NP, as a focal pronoun can.

46 *oru-na e ba'ita*
 three-ORD SRP(3s) be big
 The third one is big.

More commonly, Kwaio topicalizes an ordinal without specified referent, and recapitulates it with the "it" (3rd person singular) focal pronoun + subject-referencing pronoun, with an embedded clause:

46A *oru-na ngai e ba'ita*
 three-ORD FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 The third one is big./It's the third one which is big.

This pattern, as we will see, is very common in Kwaio syntax.

(c) Numerical classifiers

Kwaio has a system of numerical classifiers, of a sort reconstructed for POC by Pawley. These are forms designating one or more items of a particular sort. They resemble English "piece" and "pieces" in such constructions as "a piece of cheese", and "three pieces of pie": but in Kwaio, there are several different classifiers, which denote kinds of units. These kinds are classified by their shape or form, or by the sort of series described. As with "piece", they designate either a single unit ("a piece of...") or, following a numeral, a plurality of such units.

Numerical classifiers are used to quantify individual nouns, particularly in referring to pieces, parts or collectivities of individuals:

<i>me-e 'ai</i>	'piece of wood' (lit. "piece of tree")
<i>me-'e boo</i>	'piece of pork' (lit. "piece of pig")
<i>bale-e 'o'o</i>	'set of slit drums'

They also serve to individuate mass nouns:

<i>wado</i>	'land, earth'	<i>me-'e wado</i>	'tract of land'
<i>one</i>	'sand'	<i>oru foo-'l one</i>	'three grains of sand'
<i>asi</i>	'sea, salt'	<i>rua me-'e asi</i>	'two containers of salt'

The following numerical classifiers are found in Kwaio (the list is possibly incomplete, but Kwaio lacks some of the numerical classifiers found in the languages of northern Malaita). Those forms marked with asterisks have not been recorded as free forms, but are inferred from the classifiers.

NOUN FORM		CLASSIFIER	
* <i>gaa</i>	'leaf, sheet'	<i>gaa-'e</i>	'leaf of, sheet of'
<i>fa'i</i>	'fruit'	<i>fe-'e</i>	'fruit of'
* <i>gwaa</i>	'elliptical object'	<i>gwe-'e</i>	'whole of, elliptical entity of'
<i>ma'i</i>	'piece'	<i>me-'e</i>	'piece of'
<i>fo'o</i>	'node, bullet, bead'	<i>foo-'i</i>	'node of, bead of'
<i>fa'i</i>	'time'	<i>fe-'e</i>	'time, unit, occurrence of'
<i>maa</i>	'unit, section'	<i>maa-'e</i>	'section of, group of'
<i>fungu</i>	'bunch'	<i>fungu-'i</i>	'bunch of'
<i>fu'u</i>	'group'	<i>fuu-'i</i> (or <i>fu-'i</i>)	'group of'
<i>bala</i>	'brace, set, row'	<i>bale-'e</i>	'set of, brace of'
* <i>lasi</i>	'half portion'	<i>lasi-'i</i>	'half portion of'

These enter into forms such as:

<i>gaa-'e beba</i>	'a sheet of paper'
<i>fe-'e niu</i>	'a coconut'
<i>oru fe-'e ba'u</i>	'three bananas'
<i>gwe-'e bio</i>	'a wave'
<i>gwe-'e i'a</i>	'a whole fish'
<i>me-'e boo</i>	'a piece of pork'
<i>rua foo-'i bata</i>	'two shell beads'
<i>fai fe-'e wiki</i>	'four weeks'
<i>rua fe-'e leka-nga</i>	'two trips'
<i>maa-'e mae</i>	'kin group, fighting party'
<i>fungu-'i ba'u</i>	'bunch of bananas'
<i>te-'e fuu-'i wane</i>	'a kin group' (lit. one group of people)
<i>bale-'e 'o'o</i>	'a set of slit gongs'
<i>lasi-'i 'u'u</i>	'half finger length of strung shell beads'

The pattern of vowel shifting with these numerical classifiers resembles the pattern in genitive constructions glimpsed in 1.3.4.

<i>bulo-a</i>	'twist (it)'	>
<i>bulo-'e firi</i>	'rope of tobacco'	

A closer look at these patterns will be deferred to 3.1.4, where genitive constructions are examined. In addition to this series of numerical classifiers, there is a smallish class of quantifiers for particular objects or classes of objects; in many cases these refer to units of ten of the individual items. These include:

* <i>ada</i>	>	<i>ade-'e niu</i>	'unit of ten coconuts'
<i>umu</i>	'set of >	<i>umu-'i boo</i>	'series of pigs'

<i>lama</i>	'set of > ten	<i>lame-'e lakeno</i>	'ten taro puddings'
* <i>uni</i>	>	<i>uni-'i</i>	'grove of' (especially canarium almonds)
<i>fini</i>	>	<i>fini-'i</i>	'bundle of' (fibre, leaves, etc.)
* <i>uringa</i>	>	<i>uringe-'e</i> <i>uringe-'e kuma</i> <i>uringe-'e alo</i>	'unit of ten tubers' 'ten sweet potatoes' 'ten taro corms'
* <i>anga</i>	>	<i>ange-'e</i>	'sack of' (fish, tubers, etc.)

3.1.1.1.3 Qualifiers

An alternative set of forms qualify the nouns they precede (the head nouns of NP's), indicating "some", "any", "all", etc.:

<i>(to'o)to'o-ni</i>	'every'
<i>te'e-ni</i>	'every'
<i>afiri-na</i>	'all, every'
<i>risi-ma-na</i>	'every'
<i>'afu-ta-na</i>	'all of, whole of' (' <i>afu</i> is 'be wrapped up')
<i>'ai-na</i>	'all of' (a set of things of the same kind; cf. Deck 1934, Section 20)
<i>ta-ni</i>	'some'
<i>gula-ta-ni</i>	'some'
<i>ta</i>	'any'
<i>'ua-ta</i>	'any at all' (from ' <i>ua</i> , perfective aspect marker)
<i>'ua-ta-na</i>	'any at all, no matter which'
<i>te'efu-ta</i>	'any at all, no matter which' (from <i>te'efu</i> 'be worthless, be without purpose, purposelessly')
<i>ata-na</i>	'any at all' (from <i>ata</i> 'common ordinary, worthless')

Thus,

to'oto'o-ni wane
every man

'afu-ta-na ta'a
all the people

'ai-na alafa
all the chiefs

gula-ta-ni 'ola
some things

ta bata
some money.

Two points about the morphology of these forms bear noting. First, they are morphologically complex (with the exception of *ta*). *gula-ta-ni* will illustrate:

gula 'side' + *ta* 'some' + *ni* plural marker.

Second, the particles suffixed to them are, morphologically, articles (see below):

-*na* precedes mass nouns;
-*ni* precedes plural individual nouns;
-*ta* precedes individual or mass nouns,
as 'any'.

Two other qualifying slots require explication, one preceding the qualifiers set out above and one following the head noun. Two postnominal qualifiers can be set out first:

ngaai 'another'
la'u 'more, another, as well'

These two forms may fit into different slots relative to those other forms following, and satellite to, the head noun in NP. When they are used with a stative used adjectivally (see 3.2.4.2), they follow it:

wa'i ba'ita ngaai
bag be big PstNmQlf
another big bag

kaleko meku la'u
skirt red PstVbP
a red skirt as well

They would normally follow a deictic indexically identifying the position of the object:

tarusi lo-fo'u la'u
water DEI PstVbP
the water down there as well

As will be seen below in 3.1.4.3, they fit in quite complex ways with nouns conjoined in genitive relationships.

Even more complex and subtle in operation are the limiting qualifiers *te'e* and *mola*. These operate in conjunction with quantified nouns in NP's, qualifying the quantified number with 'only' (as in "only three houses", "only one fish"). They thus are used with numbers as quantifiers. *te'e* fits into a slot preceding a numeral (or, rarely, a qualifier); *mola* (or its reduplicated form *moomola*) fits in final position in an NP.

The morpheme *te'e* 'only' can precede a numeral quantifying a noun:

te'e oru boo
only three pig
only three pigs

It can also fit into the slot otherwise occupied by the qualifiers 'every', 'all', 'some':

te'e ta'a i 'Ai'eda
only people LOC 'Ai'eda
only the 'Ai'eda people

It can also precede a qualifier where this is semantically appropriate

te'e gula-ta-na ta'a i 'Ai'eda
only QLF-PRT-PrS(3s) people LOC 'Ai'eda
only some of the 'Ai'eda people

The potential ambiguities between *te'e* as limiting quantifier and *te'e* as the numeral one (*te'e wane* 'one man') can best be examined after the alternative limiter *mola/moomola* in NP-final position has been examined.

The limiter *mola/moomola* in the final slot in an NP conveys the limiting meaning 'only'. These forms occur only when:

- (1) the head noun is quantified with a numeral; and
- (2) the speaker is emphasizing that the total number of entities is small, or (when the head noun is quantified with an ordinal) that reference is made to only the particular entity in a numbered series.

oru goi-'ola mola 'only three major
valuables'
oru-na goi-'ola mola 'only the third
valuable'

As noted, the same semantic information can alternatively be conveyed by the quantifier *te'e* 'only':

te'e 'one' (in counting)
te'e 'only'.

Thus

te'e rua boo 'only two pigs'
te'e boo 'one pig'
te'e boo moomola 'only one pig'

but

**te'e te'e boo* 'only one pig', is
 not possible.

Ambiguity can otherwise be avoided by using a numerical classifier:

te'e me'e boo 'one pig'.

This can avoid the semantic ambiguity of the sentence *te'e boo ngai* / *'ifi*, which can be given two different readings.

te'e boo ngai / *'ifi*
 only pig FPr(3s) LOC house
 only the pig which is in the house

te'e boo ngai / *'ifi*
 one pig FPr(3s) LOC house
 one pig which is in the house

The sentence

te'e me'e boo ngai / *'ifi*

can only be given the first reading.

3.1.1.2 Adjectivals

As noted in 2.3.5, the existence in Oceanic languages of a subclass of statives that can be used adjectivally, directly modifying nouns, as well as verbally, posed something of a problem to the missionary pioneers of Oceanic grammatical analysis. Like other Austronesian languages of Melanesia, Kwaio uses a set of common statives, describing the immediate properties (size, color, age, etc) of entities, as adjectives:

wane ba'ita 'a big man'
ta'a memena-'a 'brown-skinned people'
'ola meku 'a red thing'
wela wane 'male child'
fanua biri 'old place' (lit.
 "dirty").

3.1.1.2.1 "Adjectives" as embedded statives

The surface constructions where adjectivals appear in NP's pose no problems. The head noun in an NP may be directly modified by an adjective, with or without a quantifier:

rua ala'i kwao
two master white
two white men

'afu-ta-na ta'a ba'ita
QLF-PRT-PrS(3s) people big
all the important people

oru foo-'i bata meku
three NUCL money red
three beads of red shell

The statives used in this adjectival slot can also be used verbally:

47. *ngai e meku*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be red
It's red.

48 *nga 'ola e ba'ita*
ART thing SRP(3s) be big
It's a big thing.

As has been noted, the simple analysis that suggests itself -- the one followed by the pioneer Oceanic grammarians -- is to treat adjectives as comprising a separate small subclass and to note that all, or almost all, of its members also function as stative verbs: in effect, to flag a subset of stative verbs as also fitting into a second form class as adjectives. (As I have noted, the pioneer missionary grammarians tended to work the other way round, and to treat statives as basically adjectival, although commonly used in verbal constructions.) Just as a more powerful analysis of "adverbs" as stative verbs in compound constructions appears to fit the Kwaio data, so a more powerful analysis of the underlying structure of "adjectives" seems to be called for.

This analysis views "adjectives" as based (through transformational deletion rules) on stative relative clauses embedded in NP's. The rationale for doing so, apart from general descriptive power and elimination of an unnecessary form class, lies in the fact that in elaborated (i.e., formal or rhetorical) speech and even in everyday conversation, the entire embedded relative clause is often used. Thus, these pairs are semantically equivalent and equally grammatical:

wane ba'ita
man big
a big man

wane ngai e ba'ita
 man FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 the man who is big

tala biri
 path old
 the old path

tala ngai e biri
 path FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be old
 the old path

ta'a kooko'o
 people old
 old people

ta'a gila kooko'o
 people SRP(3p) be old
 the people who are old

wa'i meku
 bag red
 a red bag

wa'i ngai e meku
 bag FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be red
 the bag which is red

The statives that can appear in such embedded clauses include those which cannot fit into the adjectival slot:

wela ngai e gou-fa'a
 child FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be cold
 the child who is cold

ta'a gila ma'u
 people SRP(3p) be afraid
 the people who are frightened

This analysis thus requires that we still flag the subclass of stative verbs to which an "adjectival deletion" rule (deleting the focal and subject-referencing pronouns of the embedded clause) applies. Further evidence for an analysis of "adjectives" in terms of embedded clauses comes from a second small subclass of statives, referring to quantities, to which a different deletion rule applies. As stative verbs:

e 'afu 'it is complete'
 (lit. "wrapped up")
e aula 'they are numerous'
e aba 'it is short'

e ori 'it is becoming doubled'
(more commonly *ori* is the
intransitive verb 'to return')

With this subclass, an embedded clause is subject to deletion of the focal pronoun; but either obligatorily (with *'afu*) or optionally (with *aba* and *ori*) the clause retains the subject-referencing pronoun. Thus the embedded clause remains as a clause:

akwale-e 'ola e 'afu
ten thing SRP(3s) be wrapped up/complete
fully ten things

ta'a e aula
people SRP(3s) be plentiful
lots of people

In some conventional constructions, the latter two terms (*aba* and *ori*) can be used without the subject-referencing pronoun (hence operating according to the more general adjectival deletion rule):

tafanga-aba a valuable with four
strings six *lousu'u*
long (where four
lousu'u is *tafanga*,
a fathom); that is, two
lengths short of a
double fathom

tafanga-ori a valuable with four
strings seven *lousu'u*
long (hence approaching
a double fathom)

However, *'afu* and *aula* obligatorily retain subject-referencing pronouns in embedded clauses whose subjects are co-referential with the head nouns of NP's.

Further evidence for the analysis in terms of embedded clauses comes from one conventional construction in which a transitive verb fits into the slot we have identified as adjectival:

bata 'esi-a 'shell money given
without expectation
of direct reciprocation'

Here *'esi-a* is a transitive verb (+ pronoun object); but an anomalous one in that its agent may be an abstract "it" or may be a noun co-referential with its direct object (see 2.3.3).

ka 'esi-nau 'I fell down.'
(lit. "it felled me")
or
wane ka 'esi-a 'The man fell.'
(lit. "man felled himself").

Thus *bata 'esi-a* is "shell money [it] fell [itself] down"; it could be (and sometimes is) more fully expressed either as

bata e 'esi-a (using the
subject-referencing pronoun,
hence the same
deletion rule as
'*afu*)

or
bata ngai e 'esi-a (using the
focal pronoun +
subject-referencing pronoun)

The possibility of these deletions that project a transitive verb into the adjectival slot derives from the (in Kwaio) anomalous co-referentiality, the approximation to a reflexive verb, whereby agent and direct object are the same. It is a moot point whether *ori* in *tafangaori* should be viewed similarly as an active verb (the intransitive verb 'to return') optionally subject to either the strong (adjectival) deletion rule or the weak ('*afu*-type) deletion rule which preserves subject-referencing pronoun.

3.1.1.2.2 Statives subject to adjectival deletion

A partial list of stative verbs subject to the strong (adjectival) deletion rule, grouped into semantic categories, is as follows:

COLOUR

<i>boobola-a</i>	'blue, black'
<i>meku</i>	'red'
<i>mela</i>	'red'
<i>memena-a</i>	'brown'
<i>'ata'atakwa-a</i>	'yellow'
<i>malakwa</i>	'green'
<i>kwaakwao-a</i>	'white'
<i>kwao</i>	'white'

SIZE

<i>ba'ita</i>	'big'
<i>iki</i>	'big'
<i>siisika</i>	'small'
<i>sika'u</i>	'small'
<i>siisita</i>	'small'
<i>kobu</i>	'fat'

GENDER

<i>wane</i>	'male'
<i>geni</i>	'female'
<i>wa'u</i>	'male'

GENERAL STATE/STATUS

<i>ma-tari</i>	'different'
<i>toto'o</i>	'equivalent, equal'
<i>mola</i>	'ordinary, secular'

AGE/CONDITION

<i>koko'o</i>	'old (of people)'
<i>biri</i>	'old (of things)'
<i>fooru</i>	'new'
<i>(ata)ata</i>	'ordinary, worthless'
<i>buru</i>	'overgrown'
<i>te'efu</i>	'ordinary, worthless'

PSYCHOLOGICAL STATES

<i>manata-'a</i>	'sensible'
<i>kaku</i>	'foolish'
<i>kakaru</i>	'crazy'
<i>to'ofunga-'a</i>	'serious'
<i>masa-'a</i>	'playful'
<i>(a)ila-'a</i>	'quarrelsome'
<i>doo-'a</i>	'joking'

3.1.1.3 Locative phrases and deictics as adjectivals

(a) Adjectival locatives

The "adjectival" slot in NP's can also be filled by a locative phrase. The locative phrase here comprises a proper noun, the name of a place, or a common noun that indicates a general location, preceded by *i*. Here the particle *i* is best glossed 'of' or 'from':

ta'a i asi
people LOC seacoast
the coastal people

ta'a i Kwangafi
people LOC Kwangafi
the Kwangafi people

aliola i 'Ale'ale
canoe LOC 'Are'are
'Are'are canoes

These locatives acting as adjectivals identify which object or person the head noun refers to. A locative phrase functioning adjectivally follows an adjectival stative:

ta'a ba'ita i 'Ai'eda
 people big LOC 'Ai'eda
 the important people from 'Ai'eda

In the underlying structure, the locative phrase precedes the embedded stative clause

49 *ta'a i 'Ai'eda gila 'ola-'a*
 people LOC 'Ai'eda SRP(3p) be rich
 The 'Ai'eda people (who) are rich(.)

(b) Deictics

Where deictics function adjectivally, they similarly answer the interrogatives "who?" and "which?" indexically by pointing.

Deictics follow determiner + noun. If the adjectival slot is filled, they follow the adjective (which reflects deletion of the pronominal subjects of an embedded stative clause) in the surface string; in the underlying construction, the deictic (like the stative phrase just illustrated) precedes the embedded clause

rua 'ifi no'o-na
 two house DEI
 those two houses

'ai ba'ita se'eke-na
 tree big DEI
 that big tree

'ai se'eke-na ngal e ba'ita
 tree DEI FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 That tree is big.

A deictic is occasionally further qualified by a locative phrase:

'ifi ba'ita lo-lo'o i langi
 house big DEI LOC up above
 that big house up there

More commonly such a clarifying locative would comprise a separate clause (note that it is verbless; see 4.3.1):

'ifi ba'ita lo-lo'o ngal i langi
 house big DEI FPr(3s) LOC up above
 that big house which is there up above

Such a locative phrase or clause is not part of the NP, as is a locative phrase in the "adjectival" slot immediately following the head noun. Compare

'ifi ba'ita lo-lo'o i langi

with

wane i 'Ale'ale lo'o-ri
'This 'Are'are man.'

The locative phrase 'from 'Are'are', identifying and describing the head noun and preceding the deictic, is functioning adjectivally; the locative phrase 'on top' is describing the location of the head noun. The contrast can be further clarified by

wane i 'Ale'ale lo-fo'u i lalabata
man LOC 'Are'are DEI LOC clearing
the 'Are'are man down there in the clearing

3.1.2 Personal NP's

An NP with personal noun as head (i.e., a name) has as normal components

Pers Article + Personal Noun.

As will be seen below in 4.1.1, in an oblique object NP, the obligatory personal article may substitute for the third person singular pronoun suffix which references a prepositional particle to its noun object (hence may not, strictly speaking, be part of the NP).

The personal articles are

<i>la</i>	Mr	<i>la 'Ubuni</i>	'Mr 'Ubuni'
<i>ni</i>	Ms	<i>ni Moruka</i>	'Ms Moruka'
<i>ni</i>	INT	<i>ni dai</i>	'who?'

The name of an ancestor/ancestress is sometimes preceded by the neutral personal article *na*.

A kin term may be used as a uniquely-identifying personal noun, as head of a personal NP, in place of a name. but this requires that: (1) the kin term be indexically qualified by a possessive pronominal construction (see 3.1.1.4.2); (2) the kin term be preceded by the personal article *la* or *ni*; (3) the kin term in its narrowest unmarked or focal sense have a single and thus unambiguous referent (usually a parent, sometimes a parent-in-law).

la ma'a a-na 'his father'

In the unusual instance where (because two or more people have the same name) the referent is not uniquely identified, reference may be disambiguated by use of an adjectival stative ("big", "light-skinned") or an indexing deictic or locative phrase:

'Ubuni Sika'u 'Little 'Ubuni' (as
contrasted with
'Ubuni Ba'ita,
'Big 'Ubuni')

Ba'efaka lofo'u 'Ba'efaka down
there' (i.e., the one
who lives on the
coast)

Lobotalau i 'Ai'eda
'The Lobotalau from
'Ai'eda'

Ba'efaka i sifola
'Ba'efaka from the
coast' (as opposed
to *Ba'efaka i
fataia*, the one
from the mountains.

3.1.3 Pronoun NP's

A subject NP (or a coordinate set of conjoined NP's; see below) may be replaced, where reference is contextually clear, by a focal pronoun. Higher animate subject nouns, plural in number, are replaced by a pronoun marked for number; other subject nouns with plural referents select the 3p.s. focal pronoun *ngai(a)* and corresponding subject-referencing pronouns *ka* or *e* in the following VP.

oru wane + VP 'Three men...'-->
gila + VP 'They...'

Where personal NP's or common NP's are conjoined, they can collectively be replaced by a single focal pronoun

la Dione ma la 'Ubuni ma ni Mere
'Dione and 'Ubuni and Mere'
-->
gila

Where a pronoun substitutes for a direct object NP, and the object NP implied in the context of discourse is higher animate and non-singular, the pronoun object suffixed to the verb is marked for person and number to make the reference clear.

aga-si-a *rua wane no'o-na*
see-TrS-PrO(3s) two man DEI
see those two men

aga-si-'aga'a
see-TrS-PrO(3d)
see the two of them

Where a pronoun substitutes for an oblique object NP, the prepositional particle referenced to its unspecified (but contextually clear) object by a pronoun suffix (or in the case of a prepositional verb, with a suffixed pronoun object) is similarly

marked for person and number:

fa-na ta'a i fataia
for-PrS(3s) people LOC bush
for the bush people

fa-ga
for-PrS(3p)
for them

fe'e-ni-a ta'a moomoori
with-TrS-PrO(3s) people living
with living people

fe'e-ni-'adauru
with-TrS-PrO(3ti)
with us

Just as in English a noun referring to people can be indexed by a preceding pronoun:

"You Americans"
"We women"

so a similar indexical marking is possible (and fairly common) in Kwaio. Such a pronominal indexation is marked by the particle *-a* suffixed to the focal pronoun (for a subject NP), to pronoun object (for a direct object NP), and to pronoun suffix or object pronoun (for an oblique object NP)

'a-gauru-a ta'a i 'Ai'eda
FPr(3t) people LOC 'Ai'eda
those 'Ai'eda people

kwae-'adauru-a ta'a
pay-PrO(lti) people
pay us people

fa-meru-a ta'a geni
for-PrS(lte) people female
for us women

The full-plural series of focal pronouns is not used in such constructions: the trial (paucal) series is used. As the examples indicate, the normally-following noun is *ta'a* 'people' which may be qualified with an adjective/stative, locative phrase, or a following clause,

kwae-'adauru-a ta'a ki takuma'i
pay-PrO(lti) people SRP(lpi) work
pay us people who did the work

3.1.4 Conjoined nouns in genitive constructions

Two nouns may be conjoined in a genitive construction such that one is head (in contrast to coordinate NP constructions, explicated below). It is in this context that the common Oceanic distinction between "alienable" and "inalienable" possession can best be treated.

3.1.4.1 Conjoined nouns

Kwaio distinguishes five principal kinds of genitive relationships between entities (represented by nouns in NP's, or pronouns as their surrogates). These are, I should emphasize, grammatical or logical prototypes of the relationships.

PROXIMATE ASSOCIATION:	B is proximate to A
COMPONENT PART-NESS:	B is part of A
DISMEMBERED PART-NESS:	B is part detached from A
APPROPRIATENESS:	B is appropriate to A
BONDED ASSOCIATION:	A is derived from or bonded to B

Since the relationships, not the entities, are the basis for these constructions, no analysis in terms of gender ("inalienable", "alienable") or other noun classes is appropriate. While a bamboo of water cannot be in a component part relationship, it can be in a relationship either of proximate association or appropriateness

<i>tarusi naa wane</i>	'the man's water bamboo'
<i>tarusi ni wane</i>	'men's water bamboos';

while a stomach cannot normally be in proximate association, it can be in a relationship of either component or dismembered "part-ness":

<i>oga-na wane</i>	'a man's stomach'
<i>oge-'e boo</i>	'a butchered pig's stomach'.

As we will see, a noun usually involved in "part-ness" relationships may enter into relationships of proximate association:

<i>susu-na noni</i>	'a woman's breast'
<i>susu naa wela</i>	'an infant's breast' (i.e., the one it suckles at)

Before we consider how these four constructions, and one rare one, operate with a pronoun substituting for noun A, we need to examine their operation where noun A is explicit.

(a) Proximate association

The canonical form is

B *naa* A 'the B close to A'
 'the B belonging to A'

where A is a common noun. (The pattern where A is a personal noun is explicated in 3.1.2.2(a) below.)

'*ifi naa wane* 'the man's house'

fanua naa farisi 'the place where
 the grass is'
(the names of many land tracts and
settlements have this form, where
fanua is omitted:

Naakogi
Naamute
Naabiru
Naafarisi where *kogi*, etc.,
are terms for kinds
of vegetation

The "proximity" of the association between owner and owned, possessor and possessed, is logical but not necessarily physical. But grammatically, the relationship created by *naa* and its alternate form *a-na* is clear. As will be seen, the particle *naa* is commonly used in locative phrases, indicating proximity or directionality, or introducing temporal nouns, to show proximity in time:

50 e '*akwa naa X*
SRP(3s) run away LOC place-X
He ran away from X.

51 e *lau naa alata no'o-na*
SRP(3s) happen LOC time DEI
It happened at that time.

52 e *tau-nga'i naa langa'a a-na*
SRP(3s) work-TrI LOC garden PsP-PrS(3s)
She's working in her garden.

(b) Component part-ness

The canonical form is

B-*na* A 'A's B'

where *-na* is the third person singular pronoun suffix, and A is a common noun.

<i>'aa'ae-na ku'ito</i>	'the dog's legs'
<i>aringa-na wane</i>	'the man's ear'
<i>lama-na 'ai</i>	'the tree's flowers'
<i>nunu-na noni</i>	'the woman's shadow'
<i>lata-na wela</i>	'the child's name'
<i>asi-na wane</i>	'the man's younger brother'

The *-na* suffix is used even where the referent of noun A is plural. Thus

<i>lata-na ta'a</i>	'the people's names'
---------------------	----------------------

Here notice that just as the relationship of an owner to the object he owns is only logically (or metaphorically) one of proximate association, so the component part-ness need not be literal: names and younger brothers are not component parts, except perhaps metaphorically. We have noted that a mother's breast may be associated by component part-ness to the mother and by proximate association to her infant. Compare also

<i>lata-na noni</i>	'a woman's name'
<i>rua-na lata naa noni</i>	'a woman's second name'
<i>tala-na wane</i>	'a man's footprint'
<i>tala naa wane</i>	'a man's path' (e.g., the path to his garden).

The relationship of component part-ness also serves to express spatial relationships. A small set of nouns introduced in 2.5.1, of which

<i>na'o</i>	'front'
	and
<i>huri</i>	'back'

can be taken as prototypical, enter into constructions of B-*na* A pattern, to indicate relationships in time or space:

na'o-na *afolonga*
front-PrS(3s) wedding
before the wedding

huri-na *'ifi*
behind-PrS(3s) house
behind the house

Here, the relationship being established logically is that the *na'o-* and *huri-* are parts of (the fore-part of or hind-part of) the feast

or house. The further nouns that fit into the B slot mainly refer only to spatial relationships:

<i>sae-na</i>	'(in) the middle of'
<i>'ubu-la-na</i> }	'(in) the inside of'
<i>'ubu-na</i> }	
<i>daruma-na</i>	'(in) the inside of'
<i>olo-fa-na</i>	'underneath, the under-part of'
<i>gege-na</i>	'beside, the "next- to" part of'
<i>fofo-na</i>	'on top of'

While these locative nouns are most often used in locative phrases

53 *ngaia ka aru-a i olofa-na i 'ifi*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) LOC under-PrS(3s) LOC house
He put it underneath the house.

54 *ngaia ka aru-a 'ubu-na kesi*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) inside-PrS(3s) box
He put it inside the case.

they can be used in constructions where their expression of component-part relationships is clearly manifest:

55 *ngai e fida-ri-a fofo-na tebolo*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) slap-TrS-PrO(3s) top-PrS(3s) table
He banged on the table top.

56 *olo-fa-na 'ifi ka a-fola*
under-PrS(3s) house SRP(3s) be spacious
The area under the house is spacious.

57 *'ubu-la-na 'ifi ka a-fola*
inside-PrS(3s) house SRP(3s) be spacious
The interior of the house is spacious.

While *'ubu-na* is usually used in locative phrases it too occasionally functions as a noun in a component part relationship, notably in the construction *'ubu-na fataia* 'the interior bush' (i.e., the interior part of the island).

Where noun A is a personal noun, a constructional ambiguity occurs. When the name that follows is that of a woman, the personal article *ni* precedes the name and follows the suffixed *-na*

falai-na ni Oloi'a 'Oloi'a's head'

Where the name that follows is that of a man, the *-na* suffix is often, and optionally, replaced by the masculine personal article

aringe-e 'ola 'ears'

Here the relationship is not of dismembered part-ness, but "kind-of"-ness.

The same pattern is followed where a metaphoric relationship obtains between putative part and whole and reference is made to the part alone:

<i>goi'ola</i>	'major valuable' (lit. "head thing", and constructed from <i>goo-'i</i> - 'head of' + <i>'ola</i> 'thing')
<i>'aa'ae 'ola</i>	'base, foundation' ("base thing")
<i>fui'ola</i>	'custom, way' ("cluster thing" <i>fuu'i</i> + <i>'ola</i>).

(d) Appropriateness

Where B is appropriate to A (where A is usually a category of people), the particle *ni* 'for' follows B and precedes A:

B *ni* A 'B appropriate to A's',

where B is a substance, an event, a place, etc.

<i>tarusi ni geni</i>	'women's water bamboos'
<i>boo ni wane</i>	'men's pigs' (i.e., pigs that can be eaten only by men)
<i>riba-nga ni geni</i>	'women's sacralization'

In a society where women are very often excluded by cultural rules from partaking of pork and other special foods in ritual contexts, *ni geni* may indicate that both women and men can take part in A (if it is an event), partake of A (if it is a food), use A, etc.

<i>fonu-laa ni geni</i>	'a mortuary feast at which women can consume pork'
<i>boo ni geni</i>	'pork (at a feast) both women and men can eat'

(e) Bonded association

This relationship is very rarely expressed in Kwaio (although

the constructional pattern used is the one generally used in Malaita languages to indicate the genitive relationship of "alienable possession". In Kwaio, only two nouns can enter into this relationship, as B's vis-a-vis a noun A (which is usually a personal name):

<i>B-a</i>	A	'A's B' (where <i>-a</i> is 3ps pronoun object)
<i>ga'i-a la</i>	'Ubuni	'Ubuni's mother'
<i>fuai-a la</i>	'Ubuni	'Ubuni's namesake' (i.e., the other 'Ubuni who is named after him, or after whom he is named)

Rarely, *fuai-* is used as a kin term, to label two people W and X who are in a symmetrical relationship such that W's close relative Y and X's close relative Z are married (i.e., W is Z's sibling-in-law and X is Y's sibling-in-law). The prototypical relationship expressed here is that B, though separate from A, has a bond with A by virtue of origin (B was created from A) or common essence (B shares some defining or essential quality with A). As will be seen, two other nouns occasionally enter into this relationship, but only with suffixed object pronoun replacing noun A, and only in direct address.

3.1.4.2 Pronoun replacement of nouns

Where the A nouns in these genitive constructions are replaced by pronouns, we encounter the canonical "possessive" constructions that have loomed so large in interpretations of Oceanic grammar (and, incidentally, of other topics such as kinship terminology). The constructional patterns can again briefly be characterized.

(a) Proximate association

In relationships of proximate association (the "alienable possession" of Oceanic grammarians), we encounter a pattern of alternation pervasive in Kwaio syntax whereby the particle *naa* assumes the allomorph *a-* (+ pronoun suffix) where the following noun is unspecified.

<i>B a-na</i>		
	<i>'ifi a-gu</i>	'my house'
	<i>fanua a-dauru</i>	'our territory'

Possession can be stressed by using the focal pronoun following *a-* + PrS:

'ola a-gu i-nau 'my own things'.

The form *laka* is sometimes inserted between the possessed noun and

possessive particle, serving to emphasize the possession:

'ifi laka a-gu 'my (own) house'.

The particle *a-* is also used where a following noun *A* is a personal name. But in these constructions, the masculine or feminine or interrogative personal article is suffixed to *a-*:

<i>B a-la A</i>	'Mr A's B'
<i>B a-ni A</i>	'Ms A's B'
<i>B a-ni dai</i>	'whose B?'

Thus

'ifi a-ni Moruka 'Moruka's house'

A common construction embeds a locative clause (4.3.1) following the head noun:

<i>N ngai a-(na)</i>	:	(his) N
		(lit. "N it
		is his")

Thus

'ifi ngai a-gu
house FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(1s)
my house

ku'ito ngai a-na
dog FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(3s)
his dog

These constructions reinforce the locative character of the relationship of proximate association (see 4.3.1).

A set of kin terms is used in these possessive constructions of proximate association:

<i>ma'a a-gu</i>	'my father' (lineal or classificatory)
<i>wela a-gu</i>	'my son' (lineal or classificatory)
<i>laari'i a-gu</i>	'my daughter' (lineal or classificatory)
<i>ini a-gu</i>	'my maternal uncle/nephew/niece'
	(lineal or classificatory)
<i>koko'o a-gu</i>	'my grandparent/grandchild'
	(lineal or classificatory)

And, with a personal name

<i>ma'a a-la Maenaari'i</i>	'Maenaari'i's father'
<i>laari'i a-ni Fa'afataa</i>	'Fa'afataa's daughter'

(b) Component part-ness

The relationship of component part-ness (the "inalienable

possession" of Oceanic grammarians) is expressed by direct suffixation of the pronoun suffix to noun B:

<i>'aa'ae-gu</i>	'my legs'
<i>maa-dauru</i>	'our eyes'
<i>falai-ga</i>	'their heads'
<i>'l'l-na</i>	'its tail'

Note the pronominal usage in

maa-na dala-ga 'their foreheads'

Here *maa-* is 'eye', but used metaphorically: lit. "the eye of their foreheads". The *-na* pronoun suffix is invariant, even where (as in this case) the following noun is plural.

This mode of relating noun to pronoun is used with a subset of Kwaio kin terms.

<i>asi-gu (geni)</i>	'my younger (female) sibling' (in a classificatory sense)
<i>ifa-gu</i>	'my brother-in-law'
<i>o'a-gu</i>	'my older brother'
<i>wane-na</i>	'his siblings'
<i>fungo-gu</i>	'my father-in-law'

Several members of this subset represent reflexes of POC or even PAN kin terms, for which "inalienable" possessive constructions are postulated. In my judgement there are no salient sociological implications of the alternative possessive relationships used for kin terms in Kwaio, although there may once have been in an earlier stage of Oceanic culture history.

(c) Dismembered part-ness

For logical and semantic reasons, there could be no regular pattern of pronoun substitution for the former "possessor" of a detached part, except in rare and special instances (e.g., where a Kwaio pig-owner saves the tail or a piece of the ear of a pig so that in the event the pig is subsequently stolen he can use the remnant piece to perform contagious magic against the thief). Here and in other rare instances where such relationships might be expressed, as in cases where the reference is made to such detached parts in general, the "dummy" noun A *'ola* 'thing' is used:

(recall *aringee 'ola* 'ears', where the relationship is of an "ear-kind-of-thing").

<i>aringe-'e 'ola naa boo a-gu</i>	
ear-of	thing PsP pig PsP-PrS(ls)
a piece of my pig's ear	

aringe-'e 'ola a-na
 ear-of thing PsP-PrS(3s)
 its ear

(d) Appropriateness

Again, for logical and semantic reasons, there could normally be no need to specify the appropriateness of something to an unspecified category of people. If a context in which such expression was called for did arise, an alternate grammatical resource, in the form of the transitive verb *to'o-mi-a* 'be fit for, be appropriate' etc, is available:

58 *tarusi lo-'oo e to'o-mi-a ta'a geni*
 water DEI SRP(3s) fit-TrS-PrO(3s) people female
 This water is for women.

58A *tarusi lo-'oo e to'o-mi-ga*
 water DEI SRP(3s) fit-TrS-PrO(3p)
 This water is appropriate for them.

(e) Bonded association

Here the relationship of 'A's B' can be transformed to 'my B' by direct suffixation of the pronoun object (*not* pronoun suffix) to the noun:

<i>ga'i-nau</i>	'my mother'
<i>gal-'o</i>	'your mother'
<i>fue-nau</i>	'my namesake'
	(where <i>fue</i> is
	an allomorph of
	<i>fuai-</i>)
<i>fual-'o</i>	'your namesake'.

Some people use this construction in an affectionate form of address to their children, using the (otherwise sexually invasive and hence avoided) terms

<i>tol-</i>	'penis'
<i>'uru-</i>	'vulva/vagina'

As body part terms, these would enter into component part-ness relationships:

<i>tol-na</i>	'his penis'
	(a bawdy usage
	when made with
	reference to a human)

But used with the pronominal marker of bonded association, in direct address, they express affection, not sexual insult:

toi-nau 'my son'
'uru-nau 'my daughter'

Here what is expressed is an intimate tie of continuity of shared substance and social succession between parent and child.

Most Malaita languages employ this grammatical pattern as the general one for expressing "alienable possession". Note that, like other Malaita languages, Kwaio does not have a category of "semialienable" possession, used for edible substances. The expected reflex of a possessive particle marking this relationship, **ka-* (putatively related to or derived from the verb for 'eat'? c.f. Kwaio *'ani-a* -- or *'a-ni-a*?) apparently turns up in Kwaio, but is used postverbally to mark a special mode of transitivity. The special relationship established between agent, act and grammatical oblique object in such constructions is that both agent Q and oblique object R are humans, and that a share of a (specified or unspecified) object or substance (canonically a food portion) is to be given by Q to R:

59 *kwate 'a-gu* *mai*
 give share to-PrS(1s) DEI
 Give me a share.

cf.:

59A *kwate-a* *mai fa-gu*
 give-PrO(3s) DEI for-PrS(1s)
 Give it to me.

This pattern is examined more closely in 3.2.4.6.

3.1.4.3 Modification of conjoined nouns

Two nouns in a genitive relationship may be qualified by quantifiers, qualifiers, adjectival statives, postnominal qualifiers, and deictics. The two (or more) nouns generally function independently, in that each can be qualified or modified separately.

oru 'ifi naa wane ba'ita
 three house PsP man big
 the three houses of the important man

ni langa'a naa ta'a lo-'oo
 PLU garden PsP people DEI
 these people's gardens

'aa'ae-na wane naa ba'e i 'Ai'eda
 leg-PrS(3s) man LOC shrine LOC 'Ai'eda
 the leg of the 'Ai'eda priest

foo-'i bata naa ta'a galafa
 NUCL money PsP people poor
 poor people's shell beads

foo-'i bata a-dauru-a ta'a galafa
 NUCL money PsP-PrS(lti) people poor
 shell beads of us poor people

The use of postnominal qualifiers varies depending on the semantic pattern established.

'ifi a-la 'Ubuni
 house PsP-ART 'Ubuni
 'Ubuni's house

'ifi ngaai a-la 'Ubuni
 house PstNmQlf PsP-ART 'Ubuni
 'Ubuni's other house

'ifi a-la 'Ubuni la'u
 house PsP-ART 'Ubuni PstNmQlf
 'Ubuni's house as well

'ifi naa wane
 house PsP man
 the man's house

'ifi ngaai naa wane
 house PstNmQlf PsP man
 the man's other house

'ifi la'u naa wane
 house PstNmQlf PsP man
 the man's house as well

'ifi naa wane la'u
 house PsP man PstNmQlf
 the man's house, too

'ifi naa wane ngaai
 house PsP man PstNmQlf
 another man's house

3.1.5 Coordinate NP

A coordinate NP consists of two or more common NP's, or two or more personal NP's, conjoined with the particle *ma* 'and':

gwe-'e l'a ma bulo-'e firi ma rua alo
 NUCL fish and twist-of tobacco and two 100-taro corms
 a fish and a twist of tobacco and 20 taro corms

la Dione ma ni Mere ma la ma'a a-na
 Mr Dione and Ms Mere and Mr father PsP-PrS(3s)
 Dione and Mere and her father

3.2 VERB PHRASES

A verb phrase is the core of a verbal sentence. Some sentences, as will be seen, are not verbal: they either are locative (indicating the location of the entity specified in an NP) or equational (indicating a relationship of identity between the entities specified in two NP's):

"He is 'Ubuni", "They are 'Ai'eda people",
 "Those men are priests", etc.

A verb phrase is the only obligatory element in a verbal sentence: either subject NP or an object NP, or both, may be omitted in discourse. The implied subject and/or implied object is referenced to the verb by a pronominal element within the VP itself, which provides necessary semantic information to index the implied NP.

The elements of a VP include

- (1) subject-referencing pronoun;
- (2) tense/aspect markers;
- (3) the verb (or verbs, in a compound construction);
- (4) a pronoun object, if the verb is transitive.

3.2.1 Subject-referencing pronouns

A subject-referencing pronoun performs a twofold function. Syntactically, it marks a following form as verbal, in introducing a verb phrase (although a tense/aspect marker may precede the subject-referencing pronoun or separate it from the verb).

Semantically, it either echoes a preceding subject NP (and "agrees with" it) or, where the subject NP is omitted in a context of discourse, indexes it by preserving the necessary semantic information within the VP:

<i>(rua wane)</i>	<i>(gala nigi)</i>
two man	SRP(3d) arrive
NP	VP

or

<i>(gala nigi)</i>
VP
'Those two have arrived.'

As noted in 2.1.3, higher animate head nouns in NP's select subject-referencing pronouns marked for person and number. Inanimate nouns, whether singular or plural, select the third person singular subject-referencing pronoun (*ka* or *e*):

60 *oru wane no'o-na . garu nigi*
 three man DEI SRP(3t) arrive
 Those three men arrived.

61 *oru 'ifi no'o-na . ka ba'ita*
 three house DEI SRP(3s) be big
 Those three houses are big.

Here the full stop indicates the separation between subject NP and VP.

3.2.2 Tense/aspect markers

Kwaio VP's are not extensively marked for tense/aspect. The time-frame of Kwaio VP's is largely implicit, and is established contextually. Thus

ngaia ka leka

can in different contexts be glossed as

'He went.'
 'He is going.'
 'He (regularly) goes.' etc.

However, there are a few grammatical devices for making the time-frame of the action explicit.

(a) The future/irrealis marker

The particle *ta-* prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun usually indicates that the action or state indicated by the verb will take place in the future. As will be seen, less commonly it indicates that the future event is hypothetical, suppositional, or contingent on some specified preceding act or event (hence marking irrealis or non-accomplished mode).

62 *lauta ku aga-s/-a boo a-na*
 if SRP(1s) look-TrS-PrO(3s) pig PsP-PrS(3s)

i langa'a a-gu nau ta-ku 'ui-a
 LOC garden PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) shoot-PrO(3s)
 If I see his pig in my garden then I'll shoot it.

In conversation *ta-* or an allomorph conditioned by the following vowel is prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun; in slow or formal speech the longer form *ta'a* is sometimes used. Thus:

63 *gila ta-la leka*
 FPr(3p) FUT-SRP(3p) go
 They will go.

63A *gila ta'a gila leka*
 FPr(3p) FUT SRP(3p) go
 They will go.

The second person singular form contracts the future particle with the subject-referencing pronoun:

64 *'oo to-'o age-a*
 FPr(2s) FUT-SRP(2s) do-PrO(3s)
 You will do it.

The third person singular form contracts the future particle with the subject-referencing pronoun:

ta('a) + e > te-'e

64A *ngal te-'e age-a*
 FPr(3s) FUT-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 She will do it.

The alternative form

64B *ngal ta'a e age-a*
 FPr(3s) FUT SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 She will do it.

is also possible, but rare; **ta-ka* is not used.

(b) The particle *bi'l*

The particle *bi'l* following the subject-referencing pronoun is used both singly and in combination with the future marking particle. By itself it indicates recent completion of the action of the verb, and can usually be translated as 'just'.

65 *ngal e bi'l aga-si-a*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 He just saw it.

66 *ngal e bi'l nigl*
 FPr(3s) SRP(1s) TAM arrive
 He just got here.

In conjunction with the future particle *ta-*, *bi'l* indicates that the action of the verb will take place at some (unspecified) time a short while in the future ('after a while' or 'by-and-by'):

67 *ngal te-'e bi'l nigl*
 FPr(3s) FUT-SRP(3s) TAM arrive
 He'll arrive after a while.

68 *ta-goru bi'i aga-si-a*
 FUT-SRP(1t) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 We'll see it soon.

(c) The perfect marker *no'o*

The perfect-marking particle *no'o*, following the verb, is used with both active and stative verbs. The perfect marker serves to articulate a state at a reference time (the time of the speech event) to an earlier state or event, to indicate that the two are essentially and inseparably connected, and to focus attention on the present state (see Mordechay 1984 for a similar form in Toba Batak).

69 *ngai e leka no'o*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go PRF
 He has gone.

70 *nau ku aga-si-a no'o*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF
 I saw it.

In these sentences and the following, the particle *no'o* indicates that the event, act, or situation described has already taken place:

71 *e tori no'o*
 SRP(3s) fall down PRF
 It has fallen down.
 (to indicate that an action that
 has been underway has now taken place)

72 *e 'akwa no'o*
 SRP(3s) run away PRF
 She has run away.

In other constructions it can indicate that the action of the verb has commenced and is underway:

70 *nau ku aga-si-a no'o*
 can be given a reading of 'It's now in (my) view.'

Such usages may be conceptualized as prospective perfects (as in 'I'm finishing.' or 'I'm coming. '; Mordechay 1984). A sentence such as #70 can also be given a semantic reading as an experiential perfect -- say, in answer to a question, 'Have you seen Honiara?', #70 can be read as '(Yes), I've (already) seen it.'

With statives, the particle *no'o* indicates that the subject noun (experiencer) has attained the state described, and marks not only that the state exists but does so with reference to a previous, and different, state:

73 *e mae no'o*
 SRP(3s) be dead PRF
 He's dead.

74 e 'ago'ago no'o
SRP(3s) be hot PRF
It's (already) hot.

75 e mou no'o
SRP(3s) be broken PRF
It is broken.

The perfect marker *no'o* can be used with the interrogative stative verb '*e-fee'ua*, 'be how?':

76 'e-fee'ua no'o?
INT(how?) PRF
How is it now?/How's that?

In some contexts, especially imperative constructions, *no'o* indicates that the action is (to be) performed right away:

'oi age-a no'o! 'You do it now!'

(d) The particle *kee*

The particle *kee* is most often used either in narrative or in referring to a hypothetical act/event. However, there are several patterns.

(1) "And then it was..."

kee is used fairly often, serving in lieu of subject-referencing pronoun, preceding a temporal or the stative *sui* '(be) finished', to indicate "and then it was--" or (with *sui*) simply "and then":

<i>leeleka kee ganl</i>	'until daybreak'
<i>kee 'usugani mai</i>	'until morning'
<i>kee sui</i>	'and then' (or simply to indicate that the action of a preceding verb (finally) finished:
<i>la ageage-a kee sui</i>	'they kept on doing it until it was all finished'

The *kee sui* construction is particularly common in narrative, with a subsequent event in the narrative added after *kee sui* with a rising intonation.

(2) "And then he/it..."

Kee is sometimes used, serving in lieu of subject-referencing pronoun, preceding an active verb, in a parallel fashion:

77 *ka sigi kau ma kee to'o*
SRP(3s) fall down DEI CON TAM hit
It fell down and hit ...

78 *e ru'u kau l 'ifi kee eno mola*
SRP(3s) enter DEI LOC house TAM sleep PstVbP
He went into the house and just went to sleep.

79 *ka leka, kee kwai-ori-si*
SRP(3s) go TAM RECIP-ask-TrS
He went, and then he asked ...

Again, this particle is used in narrative recitation.

(3) PreVbPr + "then" + Vb

Kee is commonly used in narrative recitation, with a preceding subject-referencing pronoun, in contexts where *bi'i* would be used in everyday conversation, but (in narrative) with a semantic reading of "then"

80 *gila kee nigl 'ae-na taga ma gila*
SRP(3p) TAM arrive foot-PrS(3s) waterfall and SRP(3p)

kee saka fa-na falai-na langa'a lo-fo'u
TAM descend to-PrS(3s) head-PrS(3s) garden DEI
They got to the base of the waterfall and then went down
to the top of the garden down there.

81 *e kee nigl lo-lo'o me'e bi'i leka folo a-i*
SRP(3s) TAM arrive DEI TAM TAM go across LOC-PrS(3Ind)
Then he arrived there and went across ...

82 *ta'a la kee kwai-ri la'u a-i*
people SRP(3p) TAM RECIP-say PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
Then the people reported about that as well.

83 *ka kee saka l tarusi*
SRP(3s) TAM descend LOC water
And then it sank into the water.

84 *gila kee kwa'i-a maa-na ari'ae*
SRP(3p) TAM hit-PrO(3s) eye-PrS(3s) bottom of garden
And then they killed him at the bottom entrance of the garden.

85 *gila kee to'oru no'o*
SRP(3p) TAM stay PRF
Then they stayed.

Sometimes this construction follows a preceding temporal clause:

86 *alata gila leka mola gila kee a'ari-a 'inol*
 time SRP(3p) go PstVbP SRP(3p) TAM carry-PrO(3s) taro shoots
 When they set off, they were carrying taro shoots.

Following *bi'i* in narrative, *kee* can indicate "and just then":

ngai e bi'i kee aga-si-a
 Just then he saw it.

Rarely *kee* is used in such a pattern following the future particle, and hence describing a hypothetical "and then":

87 *to-'o kee naru-fi-nau mai 'ani-a*
 FUT-SRP(2s) TAM wash-TrS-PrO(1s) DEI with-PrO(3s)
ta kee nigi
 FUT TAM come
 Then you are to purify me with it -- and then he
 would (or might) come...

Note here that because the form immediately following *kee* is always serving as a verb (even where it is a temporal), it often substitutes for the 3 p.s. subject-referencing pronoun (though cf. #81 and #83), which is implied by *kee* unless otherwise marked by a subject-referencing pronoun specifying person and number.

(4) In quotations embedded in narratives in place of *bi'i*

88 *ae-mu e kee to'o i gogoru'a-gu*
 shit-PrS(2s) SRP(3s) TAM hit LOC knee-PrS(1s)
 Your shit just got on my knee.

89 *ma fe'e seleni nau ku kee 'ute-a no'o mai*
 CON NUCL shilling FPr(1s) SRP(1s) TAM grind-PrO(3s) PRF DEI
 ... and a shilling I just ground down and brought ...

(5) Marking irrealis mode of an act that is forbidden or is impossible (following *s/a*: see below).

90 *e sia kee mae mola*
 SRP(3s) NEG TAM die PstVbP
 He just won't die.

91 *sia kee leka mone*
 NEG TAM go NEG
 He won't be able to go.

92 *goru sia kee nigi mola naa fanua a-gu*
 FPr(1ti) NEG TAM arrive PstVbP LOC place PsP-PrS(1s)
 We wouldn't be able to reach my place.

(6) Marking irrealis mode of a hypothetical act preceded by the dubitive particle *ta-*:

93 *gila ta kee daudau-ga*
SRP(3p) DUB TAM destroy(REDUP)-PrO(3p)
They might destroy them.

94 *mo ta kee leka ta ngadangada*
SRP(2s) DUB TAM go DUB destroy(REDUP)
You might go bent on destruction.
(*mo* here is a shortened form of *moru*).

(7) Marking irrealis or non-accomplished mode in "in order to" constructions. Here *kee* follows the particle 'a- plus subject-referencing pronoun:

'a-ni kee kwa'l-a 'in order to kill him'

'a-lei kee sulasi kwa 'in order to collect
blood money'.

(8) "Thusly" as quotative.

Occasionally, in lieu of '*i-laba'a* 'thusly' *kee* is used to introduce a quote:

sul ma ngai kee... 'then he spoke
thusly:...'

(e) The particle *me'e*

The particle *me'e* is only slightly less complicated in function, than *kee*. Again, it is used mainly in narrative, but in several ways:

(1) "Went ahead and--": PrVPr + *me'e*

Most often *me'e*, in narrative, indicates that an actor "went ahead and" performed the action of the verb, indicating that the act so marked was subsequent to and consequent on the preceding one (hence there is an implied "and then" or "and so"):

95 *ma'a a-gu ne-'e me'e to'oto'oru*
father PsP-PrS(1s) TOP-SRP(3s) TAM stay(REDUP)
And then my father went ahead and stayed ...

96 *gila me'e fane naa 'ue la'a-kau*
SRP(3p) TAM ascend LOC rattan DEI
And then they went ahead and climbed that rattan vine.

97 *gila leka mai, gila me'e tafo-a nga sikwa, gila*
SRP(3p) go DEI SRP(3p) TAM pay-PrO(3s) ART bounty SRP(3p)

me'e sule-a no'o
TAM pay-PrO(3s) PRF
They came and then they paid the bounty, they
went ahead and paid it.

The events described in narrative can be hypothetical, events that (regularly) used to occur:

98 *la me'e nigi lo-fo'u e sul*
SRP(3p) TAM arrive DEI SRP(3s) be finished
They would arrive there, and then ...

99 *rua solodia gala me'e ula i suri-a*
two police SRP(3d) TAM stand LOC beside-Pro(3s)
Two policemen would then stand flanking him.

(2) "While (he) was--"

In another pattern, *me'e* in narrative can indicate a time frame while an act was being performed, within which another event was situated:

100 *gila me'e waka naa nga kabani na'a ma bio ka to'o*
SRP(3p) TAM work LOC ART company CON CON wave SRP(3s) hit
While they were working for the company ... a wave struck.

(3) "(You) go ahead and"

In conversations quoted in narrative (and possibly actual conversations?) *me'e* indicates that the addressee is to "go ahead and--":

101 *'oi me'e tani-a*
SRP(2s) TAM take-Pro(3s)
Go ahead and take it.

Me'e can be used with tense-aspect marking particles, again conveying "go ahead and":

(4) FUT + SRP + *me'e*

102 *ta-moru me'e fane la'a i suri-a*
FUT-SRP(2t) TAM ascend PstVbP LOC after-Pro(3s)
You go ahead and climb up after him.

(5) FUT + SRP + *bi'i* + *me'e*

103 *sui ma to-'o bi'i me'e suga-a takisi a-mu*
CON CON FUT-SRP(2s) TAM TAM buy-Pro(3s) tax PsP-PrS(2s)
i gani
LOC tomorrow
And then you are to go ahead and pay your taxes tomorrow.

(6) SRP + *me'e* + *bi'i*

Me'e can precede *bi'i* in such constructions, with or without the future particle:

104 *ngai e me'e bi'i suga-a*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM TAM buy-PrO(3s)
 At that point he went ahead and bought it.

105 *to-'o me'e bi'i aga-si-a*
 FUT-SRP(2s) TAM TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 At that point you'll see it.

(7) *bi'i + me'e* "and then"

In narrative, *bi'i + me'e* can indicate seriality in time:

106 *na'a ma'a a-gu ne-'e me'e to'oto'oru, ma i-nau*
 CON father PsP-PrS(1s) TOP-SRP(3s) TAM stay(REDUP) CON FPr(1s)

nga oru wela bi'i me'e futa gula a-la ma-a
 ART three child TAM TAM be born side PsP-ART father

a-gu

PsP-PrS(1s)

And so my father went ahead and stayed there, so (unlike me) the (other) three children were born on my father's side (i.e., with his kin).

The construction where *me'e* precedes *bi'i* militates in favor of an analysis, as above, of *me'e* and *kee* as particles within the tense/aspect system. However, semantically (and in other respects constructionally) they serve as a sort of auxiliary verb. Interestingly, when Kwaio speakers use Solomons Pijin in narrative recitation, they often (Keesing n.d.) use *kam* as equivalent to *me'e* and *go* as equivalent to *kee*, in exactly the same syntactic slot.

(f) The aspect marker *-a*

Again mainly in narrative recitation, Kwaio speakers sometimes indicate seriality in time, and some kind of logical connectedness of events, by suffixing the particle *-a* to the subject-referencing pronoun:

nau ku-a to'oto'oru mola....
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s)-TAM stay(REDUP) PstVbp
 So I just stayed...

miru eneeno i gani, ma miru-a leka no'o
 SRP(1te) sleep(REDUP) LOC day, CON SRP(1te)-TAM go PRF
 We slept until daylight, and then we went off.

gala leka no'o, gauru-a ngari-a kako...
 SRP(3d) go PRF, SRP(3t)-TAM take-PrO(3s) cargo
 The two of them went, and they all carried cargo...

(g) Other aspect markers

Other aspect markers fitting into the slot following the subject-referencing pronoun are sometimes used, but appear so rarely in texts and conversation that their precise semantic significance

is unclear. Thus *tee* (perhaps *te'e* with glottal stop elided) has been recorded in the slot in which aspect markers fit, but the data do not allow a clear analysis. The forms *ta* and its apparent allomorph *to* have been recorded in the slot immediately following a subject-referencing pronoun, but again without clearly analyzable semantic import. Rather than an aspect marker, this particle could possibly represent the initial morpheme *to-* of the deictic *to-('oo)* etc. (2.5.3), indexically pointing reference of the subject-referencing pronoun.

3.2.3 Verbal modifiers

A diverse collection of verbal modifiers indicate the possibility, impossibility, non-occurrence, certainty, etc, of the action of the verb (what I will call verbal modals, in contrast to fronted modals that occur in the slot immediately preceding a subject NP. Further verbal modifiers indicate repetition, directionality, limitation, or other specification of the action of the verb.

3.2.3.1 Verbal modals

(a) The dubitive particle *ta*

The particle *ta* following the subject-referencing pronoun indicates the possibility that the action of the verb will take place. It can usually be translated with English "might":

107 *gila ta age-a*
SRP(3p) DUB do-PrO(3s)
They might do it.

108 *nau ku ta ori mai gani*
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) DUB return DEI tomorrow
I might come back tomorrow.

Cf. the future-marking *ta-* prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun:

109 *nau ta-ku ori mai gani*
FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) return DEI tomorrow
I will come back tomorrow.

(b) The negative particle *'ame*

A simple sentence is rendered negative with the morpheme *'ame* following the subject-referencing pronoun and preceding the verb.

110 *ngai e 'ame nigl naaboni*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG arrive yesterday
He didn't arrive yesterday.

111 *nau ku 'ame aga-si-a ku'ito a-i*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG see-TrS-PrO(3s) dog LOC-PrS(Ind)
 I didn't see a dog there.

112 *e 'ame le'a*
 SRP(3s) NEG be good
 It's no good.

(c) The marker of impossibility *sia...mone*

To express the impossibility of the action of the verb (either as physically impossible or impossible because of interdiction), Kwaio uses the particle *sia* (sometimes contracted to *se*) following the subject-referencing pronoun and preceding the verb. In the full construction the negative marker *mone* immediately follows *sia* and the verb (occasionally the postverbal particle *mola* 'only' replaces *mone*).

113 *ngai sia leka mone a-i*
 FPr(3s) NEG go NEG LOC-PrS(Ind)
 She can't go there.
 (Here note the permitted omission of SRP where the reference and SVO clause structure are unambiguous.)

114 *'oo sia age-a mone*
 FPr(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s) NEG
 You can't do it.

114A *'oo sia age-a mola*
 FPr(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 You can't do it.

Occasionally in conversation the second element *mone* is omitted.

Although *mone* and other postverbal modals may be interposed between a transitive verb and direct object NP (as can the aspect marker *no'o* and deictics), Kwaio speakers sometimes avoid this interposition by fronting the direct object NP. Thus

115 *'oo sia takwe-a mone kuma*
 FPr(2s) NEG dig-PrO(3s) NEG sweet potatoes
 You can't dig up sweet potatoes.

115A *kuma 'oo sia takwe-a mone*
 sweet potatoes FPr(2s) NEG dig-PrO(3s) NEG
 You can't dig up sweet potatoes.

Kwaio has no direct way of expressing the ability or permission of a subject to perform the action of a verb. However, the verb 'know' (*su'a*), which in its most literal senses refers to naming and knowing spells, refers to both ability and knowledge:

116 *nau ku su'a a-l*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) know LOC-PrS(Ind)
 I know about it.

117 *nau ku su'a naa age-la-i*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) know LOC do-GER-PrO(Ind)
 I know how to do it.

(d) Modals of certainty and uncertainty: *bala* and *furi*

Two modals that most often function within the verb phrase, introducing it and preceding the subject-referencing pronoun, indicate the certainty or uncertainty of the action of the verb (or the magnitude or certitude of the state).

bala 'maybe'

118 *la 'Ubuni bala te-'e nigi i gani*
 ART 'Ubuni MOD FUT-SRP(3s) arrive LOC tomorrow
 Maybe 'Ubuni will arrive tomorrow.

furi 'really, certainly'

119 *la Ba'efaka furi ka aga-sl-a no'o*
 ART Ba'efaka MOD SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF
 Ba'efaka really saw it.

120 *faka no'o-na furi e ba'ita*
 ship DEI MOD SRP(3s) be big
 That ship is really big.

These modals are sometimes emphasized by being fronted into a slot preceding the subject NP (4.7).

(e) Modals of proximity: 'almost'

Two modals that fit into the same grammatical slot indicate the proximity of the action of the verb, either as impending in time (Eng. "it is almost boiling") or having come close to happening ("I almost fell").

gala 'almost' (usually in the latter sense)

121 *wane i 'Ale'ale gala ka age-a*
 man LOC 'Are'are MOD SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 The 'Are'are man almost did it.
 (*gala-ni-a* is the prepositional verb
 'near', *gala-ni* is the stative verb
 'be near')

fa'a-boo 'almost, nearly' (usually
 in the former sense)

- 122 *noni a-na fa'aboo ka lafi*
 wife PsP-PrS(3s) almost SRP(3s) give birth
 His wife is about to give birth.

3.2.3.2 Postverbal particles

(a) The postverbal particle *mola*

The morpheme *mola* has already been encountered as a stative verb ('be secular, ordinary, non-sacred') and as a limiter (*rua 'ola mola* 'only two things'). As a postverbal particle, it can often be translated as "only" or "just".

- 123 *ngai e 'akwa mola*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away PstVbP
 He just ran away.
- 124 *ngaia ka aga-si-a mola*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 He only saw it.

and with stative verbs:

e sika'u mola 'it's only small'

mola sometimes conveys meaning of "really" rather than "just" or "only":

le'a mola 'OK' (where *le'a* is the stative verb 'be good').

(b) The particle *'ua*

The perfective particle *'ua* was glimpsed in 2.6. It occurs postverbally both by itself and following the negative marker *'ame*, with the verb intervening. Used singly, *'ua* can be translated 'a long time ago', or sometimes 'already'.

- 125 *ngai e leka 'ua*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go PstVbP
 He went a long time ago.
- More common is the usage with *'ame*, which conveys meaning of 'not yet'.
- 126 *ngai e 'ame nigi 'ua*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG arrive PstVbP
 She hasn't arrived yet.
- 127 *e 'ame 'ago'ago 'ua*
 SRP(3s) NEG be hot PstVbP
 It's not hot yet.

(c) Postverbal markers of repetition: *la'u*, *furifuri* and *asiori*

la'u

The particle *la'u* following the verb indicates

(1) repetition of the act described by the verb:

128 *ngala ka age-a la'u*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 He, too, did it. (or He did it as well.)

(2) "also", referring to a different actor performing the same act

129 *ngala ka riu-fi-a la'u*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) pass-TrS-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 He surpassed it as well.

130 *gala 'akwa la'u*
 SRP(3d) run away PstVbP
 The two of them also ran away.

(3) "also", referring to the same actor performing a second act as well as a previous one

131 *ngala ka 'ani-a la'u*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) with-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 He ate it as well.

(4) with a stative verb, that the experiencer is in a second state, as well as the one previously described

132 *e ma-dikwa la'u*
 SRP(3s) FMA-break PstVbP
 It's broken, as well.

The modal *la'u* is often conjoined with *mola*. Note in #133 how the modals separate the transitive verb from its direct object NP:

133 *ngai e beri-a la'u mola*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) steal-PrO(3s) PstVbP PstVbP

boo fa-na gila ifa-na
 pig for-PrS(3s) PLU br-in-law-PrS(3s)
 He stole pigs again for his brothers-in-law.

furifuri

The form *furifuri* indicates that the action of the preceding verb is done regularly

eno furifuri i tau
 'regularly sleep in the men's house'

The same form may be used in a temporal phrase slot at the end of a

clause, indicating that the action of the verb happens all the time. In this latter usage, *furifuri* answers the interrogative *naanita* 'when?':

134 *ngai e leka i asi furifuri*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go LOC seacoast all the time
 She goes to the seacoast all the time.

Occasionally, *furifuri* is slotted at the beginning of a VP, separating focal pronoun from subject-referencing pronoun:

nau furifuri ku dee
 FPr(1s) all the time SRP(1s) fish
 I always (went) fish(ing).

asi-ori

The form *asi-ori* (lit., "tide returns") indicates that the act described by a preceding verb happens over and over again (as the tide keeps coming back):

135 *ngai e nigi aslori*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) arrive persistently

fa-na bata a-na
 for-PrS(3s) money PsP-PrS(3s)
 He comes back persistently to get his money.

(e) *madi* and *ga'u*

Two morphemes that follow verbs carrying meanings of "wait" and "be quiet" are probably best treated as postverbal particles (although alternatively they could be treated as second verbs in compounds: their usage is too limited to permit a motivated choice of alternative analyses):

alo madi 'Wait a minute.'
noto madi 'Be quiet for a minute.'
alo ga'u 'Wait a minute.'
noto ga'u 'Be quiet for a minute.'

(f) Directional particles

The postverbal directional particles *mai* 'hither' and *kau* (= *ka'u*) 'thither' were introduced, with the sets of deictics, in 2.5.3. They, especially *mai*, are very commonly used

kwate-a mai fa-gu 'Give it (hither)
 to me'
leka mai 'come'
aru-a kau a-i 'put it there'

The form *la'a-kau* 'out there' is sometimes used in this slot:

fee-a la'a-kau 'take it out there'

In narrative, *la'a-kau* often functions as a deictic, modifying a noun as *lo-'oo* and *no'o-na* do (but because the spatial relationships are imaginary, the 'out there' rather than a "pointer" is appropriate):

bata la'a-kau la berl-a
'That money they stole.'

Another small set of postverbal forms indicate the directionality of the action of the verb:

'*a-la'a* 'upwards'
'*ai-sifo* 'downwards'
'*ai-tori* 'downwards'

It was noted in 2.5.3 that they occur in such forms as

leka 'a-la'a 'go upwards'
aga 'ai-sifo 'look downwards'

and, metaphorically,

manata 'a-la'a a-na
'think it to be difficult'.

The deictics *lo-'oo* 'here' and *no'o-na* 'there' can also occur in this slot: *aru-a lo-'oo* 'put it here'.

3.2.4 Compound verbs

A Kwaio verb is the base that follows a subject-referencing pronoun (with or without tense/aspect markers). A common surface construction in Kwaio uses two verbs in sequence. No particle can intervene between them: any postverbal particles follow the second verb. This enables us to distinguish between compound verbs and prepositional verbs. Compare:

136 *ngala ka to'o dari-a no'o*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) meet find-PrO(3s) PRF
He met her.

vs.

137 *ngala ka aga no'o 'oo-fi-a*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) look PRF search for-TrS-PrO(3s)
She looked for it.

In #136 the verb *to'o* 'intersect with' is conjoined with *dari-a* 'find (it)' in a compound verbal construction; In #137 the intransitive verb *aga* 'look' is followed by the perfect aspect marker *no'o*, which separates it from the prepositional verb *'oo-fi-a*. With a noun as head of the prepositional phrase, #137 would take the form

137A *ngala ka aga no'o 'oo-fi-a* /'a
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) look PRF search for-TrS-Pro(3s) fish
 She looked for fish.

As foreshadowed in 2.3.5, I will analyze statives in "adverbial" slots as the second verbs in compound constructions:

dau le'ale'a al 'Hold on to it carefully.'
 where
dau-a is 'grasp (it)'
 and
le'ale'a is 'well' (the stative
le'a 'be good')

Compound verbal constructions represent the surface confluence of several different syntactic patterns:

(a) The subject/agent of the first verb is the same as the subject/agent of the second verb, and they represent sequential acts or stages of a single act:

- (1) *fedā boko-si-a* 'block the way'
 from
fedā-a 'fell (it)'
 +
boko-si-a 'block (it)'
- (2) *to'oru mama-ni-a* 'wait for it'
 from
to'oru 'sit, wait'
 +
mama-ni-a 'wait for (it)'
- (3) *leka riu-fi-a* 'go past'
 from
leka 'go'
 +
riu-fi-a 'pass, surpass (it)'

Note that the first verbs in these compounds can be either transitive (1) or intransitive (2) and (3). These constructions structurally resemble the serial verbs of many West African (and some Papuan) languages. They will be treated as *serial verbs*.

(b) The second verb describes the manner of performance of the first verb, but does so through a construction using a morphologically transitive verb taking as direct object the direct or oblique object of the first verb. Most of the second verbs in such constructions are not used (in the same form) as single verbs. These include

- mou-si-a* 'completely'
("to the breaking point",
formed from the stative
mou, 'be broken', with
transitive suffix)
- mae-si-a* 'completely'
("to death", from the
stative *mae*, 'be
dead', with transitive
suffix)
- tala-fi-a* 'be unable to, miss'
(from the intransitive
verb *tala*, 'miss',
with transitive suffix)
- dila-fi-a* 'be unable to, miss'
(from the intransitive
verb *dila*, 'slip
(from)', with
transitive suffix).

Thus

- longo tala-fi-a* 'be unable to hear'
takwe mou-si-a 'dig up completely'.

The underlying syntax of these constructions bears examination.

- 138 *ngal e longo-a fata-la-na*
fPr(3s) SRP(3s) hear-PrO(3s) sweet potatoes
She is digging up sweet potatoes.
- 139 *ngal e takwe-a kuma*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) dig-PrO(3s) sweet potatoes
She is digging up sweet potatoes.
- 140 *ngal e longo tala-fi-a fata-la-na*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hear miss-TrS-PrO(3s) speak-GER-PrS(3s)
He failed to hear what she said.
- 141 *ngal e takwe mou-si-a kuma*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) dig break-TrS-PrO(3s) sweet potatoes
She dug up all the sweet potatoes.

First, we may note that the agent of the transitive first verb in #138 and #139 is not the agent of the second verb in the compounds in #140 and #141. It is the talking that slipped by, not the hearer, in #140; it is the sweet potatoes, not the digger, that are finished, in #141. At the same time, the intransitive roots of the second verbs in #138 and #141 are substantially transformed in meaning through addition of the transitive suffix: the speaking does not miss; the sweet potatoes are not broken.

These compound constructions will be classed as *pseudo-transitive* compound verbs.

(c) The second verb describes the *act* (usually in the form of a stative), and has no syntactic subject (except in a construction where a gerundive form of the verb was subject of the stative):

142 *ngai e to'oru aloalo*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) stay be quiet
 He sat quietly.

to'oru 'sit'
aloalo 'be quiet, still',

which represents an underlying structure of

ngai e to'oru 'He sat.'
 +
to'oru-la-na ka aloalo
 'His sitting was quiet.'

These will be classed as *stative compound* constructions.

These three modes of compound verbal constructions will be examined in order. We will also examine a fourth, anomalous construction in which the agent of the second verb in a construction where both verbs are transitive is the direct object of the first verb.

3.2.4.1 Serialized verbal compounds

As noted, serial compounds are verbal compounds that have the same subject/agent, and hence have the underlying structures

NP1 + VP (+NP2)

NP3 + VP + NP4

where NP1 and NP3 are co-referential (and if NP2 exists, it is co-referential with NP4). The first verb in such compounds may be transitive or intransitive. These will be examined separately.

(a) Transitive first verbs

Constructions where the first verb is transitive (and its direct object NP is co-referential with the direct object NP of the second verb) characteristically have as their second elements transitive verbs having to do (literally or metaphorically) with opening, closing, blocking, encircling, and finding:

---- *'ula-si-a* 'open'
 ---- *bono-si-a* 'block, obstruct'
 (from *bono* 'be closed')

- *boko-si-a* 'block, obstruct, stop'
 ---- *'ele-a* 'block'
 (lit., "encircle")
 ---- *dari-a* 'find'
 (*dari-a* also acts as
 a prepositional verb in
kwa-iri dari-a, 'report to';
 see 2.4).

The second verb ---- *ato-ni-a* means 'in preparation for, as the start to'

- age ato-ni-a* 'do in preparation'
 (where the thing that
 is done, often an
 unspecified "it",
 is direct object NP
 of both verbs).

In these serialized verbal constructions with transitive first verbs, the first verb may be a transitive form in which the clitic pronoun object is suffixed directly to the verb stem (in single verb constructions):

- 'ol-a* 'break (it)'
takwe-a 'dig (it) up'
feda-a 'fell it'

or may be a form rendered transitive by suffixation of the first transitive suffix:

- taa-fi-a* 'curse (against) (it)'
so'o-fi-a 'pick (it) up'.

With these verbs, the meaning of the verb root is transparent in that the root alone is used to express intransitive meanings.

- so'o* 'perform the act of
 picking (something) up'
taa 'perform the act of
 cursing'

With these verbs, the root alone is used as the first element in a serialized verb. The direct object of the second verb is the (implicit) direct object of the first verb, even though the first verb is in root form. However, as noted in 2.3.3 there are some transitive verbs formed with the second transitive suffix where this suffix substantially changes the meaning of the root in isolation:

- ori* 'return'
ori-si-a 'ask him'.

In such a case, if one wanted to construct a compound form in which asking a question was the first element, the transitive suffix would have to be incorporated to preserve this semantic information:

ori-si dari-a 'find out by asking'

Similarly, the transitive verbs

'ula-si-a
lango-ni-a

appear only with the transitive suffix, and have as intransitive forms

'ula-si 'perform the act of
opening something'
lango-ni 'perform the act of
feeding some(one/thing)'

If they are used as the first element of compound constructions, the transitive suffix (but not pronoun object) must be incorporated:

lango-ni ato-ni-a 'feed a child but
not raise it properly'
(i.e., nurture it into
life and then just
let go of it)

In general, the verb form used as the first verb in a serial construction where both verbs are transitive is the intransitive form that would be used to describe performance of the action without specified object. However, where this intransitive form is obligatorily marked (in a single verb construction) with the reciprocal prefix *kwal-* this is dropped in a serial construction.

kwal-ori-si 'perform the act
of questioning'
ori-si dari-a 'discover by asking'

(b) Intransitive first verbs

Serial verb constructions in which the first verb is intransitive commonly take as first element verbs describing acts of sitting, staying, or waiting; and take as second elements the transitive verbs

mama-ni-a 'wait for (it)'
maa-si-a 'wait for it'.

Thus

to'oru mamania 'wait for'
(where *to'oru* is
'live, stay, sit')
lama maa-si-a 'stay waiting for'

nana'l mama-ni-a 'wait for'

(c) Intransitive second verb

In one rare construction type, the second verb in a serial compound is intransitive. This has been recorded only for the verb *dari*.

In its usual form, *dari-a*, this is the transitive verb 'find, obtain (it)'. As the transitive second verb in compounds *dari-a* is 'find (it)'

<i>to'o dari-a</i>	'meet (someone), find (something)'
<i>so'o dari-a</i>	'find (it)', (<i>so'o(fi-a)</i> is 'pick up').

However, *dari* is used intransitively in compounds to indicate that because an act has been rewarded, it is performed (over and over) again. Thus

<i>leka dari</i>	'go back repeatedly' (because of having been rewarded, having found what one went for)
<i>fanga dari</i>	'get fed, hence keep coming back'
<i>'ani dari</i>	'get fed, hence keep coming back'

3.2.4.2 Pseudo-transitive constructions

As noted, pseudo-transitive constructions have the same surface form as serial constructions; but the second verb does not have as agent, at the level of underlying syntax, the agent/subject of the first verb. We have seen pseudo-transitive constructions where the first verb is transitive:

<i>longo 'esi-a</i>	'hear but not pay attention to' (<i>longo-a</i> 'hear (it)' + <i>'esi-a</i> 'fall')
<i>suga mou-si-a</i>	'buy all of' (<i>suga-a</i> 'buy (it)' + <i>mou-si-a</i> 'be completed').

Rarely the first verb in such a construction is intransitive, taking an oblique object NP:

<i>su'a a-l</i>	'know about it'
<i>su'a lete-fi-a</i>	'know completely'

Here the oblique object NP of *su'a* becomes the surface direct object NP of the second verb *lete-fi-a* 'completely'. But the underlying structure is one in which the subject of the first verb, the knower, is not the subject of the second verb (it is the knowledge, the surface direct object of the second verb, that is complete).

3.2.4.3 Stative compounds

As seen above, Kwaio expresses meanings which in English would be expressed with adverbs -- that is, qualifying the action of the verb by indicating the manner of its performance -- with a limited number of stative verbs used as the second elements of compounds. Statives used in compound constructions, some of which are themselves morphologically derivative, include:

FORM AS STATIVE		FORM AS COMPOUND SECOND VERB	
<i>alo</i>	'be calm, be slow'	<i>aloalo</i>	'carefully, slowly'
<i>lala-to'o</i>	'be settled, be real'	<i>lala-to'o</i>	'in a stable way, genuinely'
<i>le'a</i>	'be good'	<i>le'ale'a</i> }	'carefully,
<i>lari-to'o</i>	'be strong, be serious'	<i>le'a</i> }	'well'
<i>to'o</i>	'be equal'	<i>lari-to'o</i>	'strongly, seriously'
<i>te'efu</i>	'be aimless'	<i>tooto'o</i>	'together'
<i>tege-la</i>	'be strong'	<i>te'efu</i>	'aimlessly'
<i>ba'ita</i>	'be large'	<i>teetege-la</i>	'strongly'
<i>kwai-tatari</i>	'be different'	<i>ba'ita</i>	'strongly, forcefully'
<i>kwai-saku</i>	'be similar, be together'	<i>kwai-tatari</i>	'separately, apart'
<i>ma-tari</i>	'be different'	<i>kwai-saku</i>	'together'
<i>kwai-riu</i>	'be back & forth'	<i>ma-tari</i>	'differently'
<i>'ee'eo</i> }	'be round,	<i>kwai-riu</i>	'back and forth'
<i>'ee'eo-la</i> }	'be indirect'	<i>'ee'eo</i> }	'circuitously
<i>ngiri</i>	'be strong'	<i>'ee'eo-la</i> }	'deviously'
<i>bono</i>	'be closed'	<i>ngiringiri</i>	'strongly'
<i>moori</i>	'be wrong'	<i>bonobono</i>	'blindly, without purpose'
<i>to'o</i>	'be true'	<i>moori</i>	'wrongly, incorrectly'
<i>gole</i>	'be slow'	<i>to'o</i>	'truly, with certainty or good faith'
<i>'aferu</i>	'be quick'	<i>gole</i>	'slowly'
<i>manata'a</i>	'be sensible'	<i>'aferu</i>	'quickly'
		<i>manata'a</i>	'sensibly, responsibly'

<i>kwasi</i>	'be wild'	<i>kwasi</i>	'wildly, without control, to an extreme degree'
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Thus:

<i>to'oru aloalo</i>	'stay quiet(ly)'
<i>nana'i lala-to'o</i>	'live permanently'
<i>leka bonobono</i>	'go for no reason'
<i>riu kwai-riu</i>	'go back and forth'
<i>ori ma-tari</i>	'be different' (lit., "return a different way").

Where the first element is a transitive verb, there is a constructional problem: how to deal with the clitic pronoun object that would normally be suffixed to the first verb. Where such compounds occur, the noun that semantically is *patient* (or a pronoun substituting for it) is, in effect, demoted to a prepositional phrase in predicate position following the VP (see 4.1). The locative particle *naa* and its allomorph *a-* (where the noun is replaced by a pronoun) serve to introduce the prepositional phrase:

<i>kwa'i ba'ita naa wane no'o-na</i>	'hit that man hard'
<i>kwa'i ba'ita a-na</i>	'hit him hard'
<i>kwate kwai-riu a-ni</i>	'exchange them'
<i>aru kwai-tatari a-i</i>	'put it separately'

Where the noun is referred to indefinitely, as in the last two examples, it is marked not with the pronoun suffix *-na* but by the indefinite form *-i* or its plural form *-ni*.

The interrogative '*uutaa* 'how?' can fit into this second stative slot in compounds. '*uutaa* by itself as a stative is 'be in what state?'

143 *ngai e 'uutaa?*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be how?
How is he?

As a second element in a compound '*uutaa* may follow an intransitive verb

144 '*a-ku leka 'uutaa?*
INF-SRP(1s) go be how?
How am I supposed to go?

or a transitive verb -- in which case the direct object is demoted to the periphery, marked with the particles *a-/naa*:

- 145 'oo to-'o age 'uutaa a-i?
 FPr(2s) FUT-SRP(2s) do be how LOC-PrS(Ind)
 How will you do it?

A small set of deictics can function as statives in a verbal slot. These can also function as second verbs in these compound constructions:

'i-no'o-na 'be like that, be there'
 'i-lo'o-ri } 'be like this,
 'i-lo'oo } be here'

- 146 ngal e 'i-no'o-na
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be like that
 That's the way he is.

When they operate as second verbs in compounds, they indicate 'thusly' and 'like this':

aru 'i-no'o-na a-i 'put it like that'
 fee 'i-lo'o-ri a-i 'carry it like this'.

Several stative verbs enter into compound constructions with statives as their first elements. They express degrees of the state described by a first verb, intensifying or minimizing the state (corresponding roughly to English "very" and "slightly" or "a little"). These include

iki 'be large' (in size, degree)
 sika'u 'be small' (in size, degree
 --alt. sika'a).

In the same slot, we find

to'o-funga-'a 'be real, be true'

and, less productively, such specialized forms as

bas/basi 'be strong'
 kwai-riu 'back and forth,
 reciprocally'

- 147 e 'ago'ago iki
 SRP(3s) be hot be large
 It's very hot.

- 148 e ma'u sika'u
 SRP(3s) be afraid be small
 He is a bit frightened.

- 39 e ba'ita iki
 SRP(3s) be big be large
 It's very big.

- 149 *nau ku mo-lo'u sika'u mola*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be hungry be small PstVbP
 I'm only a bit hungry.
- 150 *ngal e tegela basibasi*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be strong be strong
 He is very, very strong.
- 151 *e ngau kwai-riu*
 SRP(3s) be sharp back and forth(RECIP-pass)
 It is sharpened on both ends.

Finally, the second stative in a compound construction can be interrogative:

- 152 *ngal e ba'ita 'uutaa?*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big be how?
 How big is it?

As noted in 2.3.5, an alternative analysis of these forms would treat them as comprising a form class of adverbs. A number of these forms are much more commonly used in compound adverbial constructions than as statives in single-verb constructions; semantically, they specify the nature, manner, or degree of the action of the verb they follow. Thus

---- <i>gole</i>	'to --- slowly'
---- <i>'aferu</i>	'to --- quickly'
---- <i>kwai-riu</i>	'to --- back and forth'
---- <i>te'efu</i>	'to --- aimlessly'
---- <i>mani</i>	'to --- badly, irresponsibly'

would be much more common than

(e) <i>gole</i>	'be slow'
(e) <i>'aferu</i>	'be quick'
(e) <i>te'efu</i>	'be common, worthless'

However, both the surface morphology, paralleling compound verbal constructions, and some underlying syntactic patterns suggest that the analysis of these as compound verbal constructions is more powerful than their treatment as a separate form class of adverbs (which also function as statives).

First, in constructions referring to the characteristic performance of action in the manner described by the putative "adverbs", these forms may be used as statives in single-verb constructions. Thus:

- 153 *wane no'o-na e gole*
 man DEI SRP(3s) be slow
 That man is (habitually) slow.

Second, these forms that are canonically used "adverbially" can in some cases be nominalized with *-nga/-ngaa*, as other statives can. Thus, paralleling

goufa'a 'be cold' --> *goufa'a-nga* 'chill'

we have

gole 'be slow, slowly' --> *gole-nga* 'busy-ness' (the state of being busy)
'aferu 'be quick, quickly' --> *'aferu-ngaa* 'quickness'

Third, the underlying stative form of such "adverbs" as *gole*, *'aferu* and *kwai-riu* appears when intransitive verbs they follow in compound constructions are nominalized as gerunds (2.6.2 and 2.6.3).

leka 'go'

can be nominalized as

leka-nga 'trip' (i.e., "going")

or

leka-la-na 'his trip, his walking'

Fata 'speak' can be nominalized as

fata-nga 'speech'

or

fata-la-na 'his speaking'

When these forms are used in compound constructions

leka gole 'walk slowly'
fata 'aferu 'speak quickly'

these too can be nominalized. And when they are, the nouns so created can serve as subjects, with the modifying "adverb" as a stative:

leka-nga ka gole The trip was slow.
fata-la-na e 'aferu His speech is rapid.

With canonically adverbial statives, such as

te'efu 'aimlessly'
mani 'badly, wrongly'
'aferu 'quickly'
gole 'slowly'

the condition or performance they describe may itself be the semantic focus (rather than a preceding verb being the semantic focus). In such a case, the semantically "empty" verb *lau* 'happen, transpire' is often used preceding the adverbial stative:

lau te'efu mola 'be (aimlessly)
done' (that is,
"transpire
aimlessly")
lau mani a-i 'go badly,
be wrong'
lau 'aferu 'be quick'

(*fata-la-na ka lau 'aferu*
'His speaking took place quickly.)

Here, see also #32B, #32C, and #33 in 2.3.5.

That the syntactic pattern of these "adverbial" constructions represents compound verbs rather than a single verb followed by an "adverb" is clear from the way, as in #32, the direct object of a transitive first verb in the compound construction is demoted to a peripheral position following the second verb.

32 *ngal e kwa'i ba'ita a-na*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit be big LOC-PrS(3s)
He hit her hard.

and from the way tense-aspect markers that directly follow the verb (*mone, no'o*) occur immediately after the second, "adverbial", stative in a compound. We can add:

ngal e kwa'i ba'ita no'o a-na
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit be big PRF LOC-PrS(3s)
He hit her hard.

Note also:

ngal e ngari nagwanagwa naa bata no'o-na
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) take secretly LOC money DEI
We took that money secretly.

Here a noun direct object is specified and the direct object phrase, demoted to the periphery, assumes the form of the prepositional phrase *naa* + noun.

3.2.4.4 Compounds with *faa-te'e-ni-a*

The transitive first verbs examined in serial and pseudo-transitive constructions are all marked for transitivity either with suffixation of PrObj to the verb stem or with the first transitive suffix *-C/-*. One transitive verb with the second transitive suffix

faa-te'e-ni-a 'show it, show him'

is used as the first element in verbal compounds. The structure of such constructions is anomalous and revealing:

faa-te'e age-a a-na 'show (someone)
how to do it,
teach (someone)
to do it'.

Here note that whereas the agent/subject in serial verb constructions is the same (and this would on syntactic grounds seem to be a structural prerequisite of serial verbs), this construction conjoins verbs with different logical subjects:

154 *ngai e faa-te-e-ni-ga*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s)
She shows them.

155 *ngai e faa-te'e-ni-a tala a-ga*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) path LOC-PrS(3p)
She showed them the path.

156 *gila la age-a*
FPr(3p) SRP(3p) do-PrO(3s)
They did it.

157 *ngai e faa-te'e-age-a*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) show-TrI-do-PrS(3s)

naa ru'uru'ua sika'a
LOC family small
She showed her small children what to do.

Here the agent of the second verb *age-a* becomes the oblique object of the compound construction. Another example may be useful:

iba-a 'smoke it'

158 *ngai e faa-te'e-iba-a*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) show-TrI-smoke-PrO(3s)

naa wela a-na
LOC child PsP-PrS(3s)
He showed his son how to smoke.

Note also that the form of the second transitive suffix (in these constructions *-te'e*) without the following *-ni-* further reinforces an analysis in which the second transitive suffix is *-Ca'/-* (with its allomorph *-Ce'e-*), to which the first transitive suffix (in the form *-ni-*) is suffixed (see 2.3.1.2).

3.2.4.5 "Not want to" compounds

There are two interchangeable verbs meaning 'not want to' which are commonly used as the first verbs in compounds -- followed by either an intransitive or a transitive verb. The verbs are

ma'a-siri
ma'a 'not' + *siri* 'want (something)'
ma'a-sini
 where *sini* is a phonological variant of *siri*. (*Siri-a* is the common transitive verb 'desire (him/it)', but **sini-a* does not occur.)

By themselves these forms serve as intransitive verbs. Thus an answer to the question "Do you want X?" or the imperative "Have some X" can be

nau ku ma'a-siri/nau ku ma'a-sini
 'I don't want it.'

But an answer to "Come and see it" can be

159 *nau ku ma'a-sini aga-si-a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) not-want see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 I don't want to see it.

An answer to "Come and do X" can be

160 *nau ku ma'a-siri age-a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) not-want do-PrO(3s)
 I don't want to do it.

An answer to "Stay there" can be

161 *nau ku ma'a-sini to'oru a-i*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) not-want stay LOC-PrS(Ind)
 I don't want to stay there.

The latter illustrates an intransitive "not want to" construction.

3.2.4.6 Verbal compounds with *to'o-na*, *tala-na* and *'a-na*

Another pattern of compounding does not entail conjoining verbs, but uses three second-elements which -- although not verbs -- produce compound meanings. In these constructions, a verb root is conjoined with a base to which a pronoun suffix is attached.

(a) *to'o-na*

The first base, *to'o-na*, produces compound meanings parallel to those of "not want to" constructions. As the second element in verbal compounds, *to'o-na* is 'try to--', put to the test by--' (from the stative *to'o*, 'be true'). Thus

<i>aga to'o-na</i>	'test by looking at'
<i>age to'o-na</i>	'try to do (it)' (from <i>age-a</i> , 'do (it)')
<i>dil'ai to'o-gu</i>	'put me to the test' (from <i>dil'ai-a</i> 'try (it), put (it) to the test')
<i>iri to'o-na</i>	'try (it), attempt (it)' (lit. "try to say it", from <i>iri-a</i> , 'say (it)')

Note that all of these constructions are transitive although *aga to'o-na* uses an intransitive verb root as verb. In each case the object of the transitive verb is marked by pronoun suffix rather than pronoun object (see 4.1.1 for pronoun suffixes as verbal complements, i.e., oblique objects).

(b) *tala-na*

A second and somewhat less common and productive form of verbal compounding uses *tala-na*. *Tala* as alienable noun is 'path'; *tala-na* as inalienable noun is 'path of, track of, footprint of' etc. As the second element in verbal compounds, *tala-na*, is '-- the way for'. Thus

<i>suga tala-na</i>	'pay the way for' (i.e. to have contributed to a person's father's bridewealth, hence have jural rights in that person)
---------------------	--

Occasionally, this form is used with the indefinite *-i* as pronoun suffix:

<i>sufu tala-i</i>	'drill a hole in preparation'
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We can usefully contrast *to'o-na* and *tala-na* by examining the relationship between the agent and patient in each construction. The noun following *to'o-na* (or, if it is unspecified, referenced by the suffixed clitic) is co-referential with the direct object of that first verb if (in its transitive form) it were used alone:

<i>age-a tau-i-nga</i>	'do the work'
<i>age to'o-na tau-nga'i-nga</i>	'try the work'
<i>aga-si-a foo'i bata</i>	'see a shell bead'
<i>aga to'o-na foo'i bata</i>	'test a shell bead by examining it'
<i>dii'ai-nau</i>	'test me'
<i>dii'ai to'o-gu</i>	'test me'

For *tala-na* the pattern is more complex. Semantically,

suga tala-gu 'pay for the
marriage that
brought me into
existence' ("pay
my way")

implies not

suga-nau 'buy me'

but

suga-a ga'i-nau 'buy my mother'
(i.e., pay
bridewealth
for her).

Moreover, the first verb in a compound may be intransitive; the noun referenced by the pronoun suffix attached to *tala-* is the *oblique* object (i.e., in the semantic role of *goal*) of this first verb if used alone:

taunga 'i fa-gu 'work for me'
(see section 4.1.1)
taunga'i tala-gu 'work to
raise me'

(c) 'a-na

This pattern where the noun referenced by the suffixed pronoun is the oblique object of the first verb is clear in the case of a third, and even more anomalous, form, 'a-na.

This form, as noted in 3.1.4.2, is an apparent reflex of the form used to mark possession of "edibles" in many Oceanic languages. It implies division or provision of a share (canonically, a share of food). The construction parallels *to'o-na* and *tala-na*:

kwate 'a-gu mai 'Give me a piece.'
'olo 'a-na 'Give him a
piece of his
(shell valuable)
prestation in
reciprocation.'
fa'a-susu 'a-na 'Give (the
baby) the breast.'

In such constructions, the noun direct object must be implicit in a context of discourse. If a noun object follows 'a-na, it is the oblique object (4.1.1) of a transitive verb; note the absence of a clitic pronoun suffixed to the transitive verb stem. Compare

162 *kwate-a me'e boo*
 give-PrO(3s) TAM pig
 Give a piece of pork.

162 *kwate 'a-na wane*
 give share to-PrS(1s) man
 Give the man some.

Here again (as with *fa/a-*) the noun referenced by the clitic suffixed to *'a-* is the oblique object (4.1.1) of the preceding transitive verb. Compare:

162A *kwate-a me'e boo fa-na wane*
 give-PrO(3s) TAM pig for-PrS(3s) man
 Give the man a share of pork.

The use of *'a-* in contexts of command and request is illustrated in the following passage from a text, which in content and pronominal usage makes clear the canonical sense of food-sharing:

164 *ma boo lauta ko beri-a boo mo ko*
 CON pig if SRP(2s) steal-PrO(3s) pig CON SRP(2s)

kwaakwate 'a-da la'u;
 give(REDUP) share to-PrS(1pi) PstVbP
 A pig -- if you've stolen a pig, then let's all share it.

kwaakwate 'a-meeru la'u
 give(REDUP) share to-PrS(1te) PstVbP
 Give us a share too.

Note here how a noun object is specified in a preceding clause, and is implicit in the clause using the *'a-* construction.

As noted in passing in 3.1.4.2, the *'a-* may derive from what historically was the transitive verb root for 'eat'. Kwaio ostensibly analyze the verb

'ani-a

as derived from the base *'ani-* (there being no monosyllabic verb bases in Kwaio). But such forms as Mota *ga-* 'eat' (and the Mota particle for edible possession, *ga-*) suggest that *-ni-* was historically the transitive suffix *-Ci-*, and that Kwaio *'ani* is historically *'a-TrS*.

As comparison with the Kwara'ae construction given by Deck (1934, Section 71) will reveal, this *'a-* construction is less flexible and productive than the Kwara'ae equivalent.

3.2.4.7 Compound verbs vs. morphologically complex verbs

Note the distinction drawn between compound verbs, formed by conjoining two verbs, and other verbal compounds where a compound verbal meaning is created by conjoining a verb to a non-verbal base. A further set of morphologically complex verbs can be distinguished in which a noun and a verb are conjoined to form a semantically exocentric verb (exocentric in the sense that the meaning of the resulting verb cannot be predicted from the morphemes from which it is constructed, but is in some sense "metaphoric" or idiomatic). These differ from verbal compounds both in their form and in the fact that the resulting verb is not semantically compound. In these constructions, a noun is conjoined with a following transitive verb. These create a literal meaning in which the noun is direct object of the verb (hence reversing the normal SVO construction). Thus

<i>maa-fane-a</i>	'hope for, expect'
from <i>mae</i>	'eye, face'
<i>fane</i>	'rise, go up'
	+ pronoun object
<i>maa-bono-si-a</i>	'forget'
from <i>maa</i>	'eye, face'
<i>bono</i>	'be closed'
	+ transitive suffix
	+ pronoun object

and two phonetic variants of the same form

<i>maa-bolo-si-a</i>	'forget'	and
<i>naa-bono-si-a</i>	'forget'	

Some other verbs are morphologically complex, sometimes analyzably and sometimes unanalyzably. Thus the forms

<i>maafo-te'e-ni-a</i>	'allow to slip
<i>naafo-te'e-ni-a</i>	from the mind'

would seem historically to have been parallel to

<i>maa-bono-si-a</i>
<i>naa-bono-si-a</i> , etc.

but are no longer clearly analyzable (perhaps because a syllable has been dropped). A common verb is

<i>kwairi</i>	'report'
---------------	----------

used either by itself or with a following prepositional verb:

<i>kwairi (a-i) dari-a</i>	'disclose it to (him), tell it to him'
----------------------------	---

Apparently this represents

kwai- reciprocal prefix
 +
iri(-a) 'say (it)'

i.e., "say back and forth", which has been shortened by dropping one of the "i's" in

**kwai-iri*.

Other morphologically complex verbs are more transparent morphologically, as in

age mani 'do a bad thing'
 (with sexual
 connotations, i.e.,
 commit adultery, seduce)
 from
age-a 'do (it)'
 +
mani 'be (done) badly'

3.2.4.8 Compound constructions with *tago*

The intransitive verb *tago* 'do (something) for nothing, for no reason, gratis', is unique in entering into constructions with following verbal nouns or gerunds to create semantically compound verbal meanings. In a context of sufficient semantic redundancy, *tago* can be used by itself as an intransitive verb, as in the following conversation:

ngaia ka fee-a kau wa'i no'o-na
 'She took that bag over.'

gila suga-a a-na?
 'Did they buy it from her?'

ngai e tago a-i
 'She just gave it (to them).'

Here *tago* is 'do (something) for nothing, free, without reciprocation'. With a following verbal noun or gerund, *tago* expresses the meaning 'just----', '----without reason', '----without recompense'. In these constructions, the particle *ni* separates *tago* from the nominalized verb:

tago ni to'oru-ngaa 'staying for no reason,
 just staying' (*to'oru*
 is 'stay, sit')

tago ni kwate-la-l 'giving free'.

3.2.4.9 Productivity with verbal compounding

Where an appropriate semantic context emerges, new serial verbal constructions can be coined. In principle, any two sentences with the same agents/subjects and, if transitive, coreferential direct object NP's, that describe sequential stages in the same action or one action consequent upon another can be conjoined as serial verbs through the deletion of the subject/agent of the second verb and deletion of the redundant direct object NP. Serial constructions are thus, subject to fairly heavy semantic and syntactic constraints, productive. Thus I recorded, in a domestic quarrel, the rhetorical question

- 165 'oo 'ame buu fa'a-tolo-ngi-nau?
 SRP(2s) NEG stamp CAUS-startle-TrS-PrO(1s)
 You mean you didn't stamp and startle me?
 (buu is to 'stamp the heel'; fa'a-tolo-ngi-a is 'cause (someone) to be startled').

The latter construction illustrates the productivity of serial constructions, and two other interesting grammatical points:

(1) Causative verbs, in rare cases, incorporate the first transitive suffix *-Ci-*, rather than suffixing *PrObj* directly to Causative + *Vb* Root (neither *fa'a-tolo-a nor *tolo-ngi-a has been recorded).

(2) Causatives can operate in compound constructions, potentially as first verbs as well as second verbs. Thus

- 166 'oo fa'a-tolo-ngi 'uutaa a-gu?
 SRP(2s) CAUS-startle-TrS be how LOC-PrS(1s)
 How dare you stamp and startle me?

3.3 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

What I am classing together as prepositional phrases on the basis of their phrase-level morphology establish several different surface case relationships to verb and subject NP. Hence at the level of clause syntax they must be treated as comprising subclasses based on these surface case relationships (oblique object NP's, locative phrases, etc.). However, such a classification cuts across a classification based on phrase-level morphology:

<i>kwate-a fa-na wane</i>	'give it to the man'
<i>leka fa-na boo</i>	'go for the pig'
<i>leka fa-na i 'Aoke</i>	'go to Auki'
<i>kwate-a fa-na i 'Aoke</i>	'give it to him in Auki'

Here the several constructional patterns whereby a base or

particle functioning prepositionally is related to an NP as head or referenced to an NP unspecified in a context of discourse will be explicated. The various clause-level syntactic functions of such prepositional constructions will be explicated in 4.1.

3.3.1 The locative particle *i*

Phrases comprising the locative particle *i*, followed by a common noun referring to a place or type of place or the name of a place, are very commonly used.

<i>i asi</i>	'at the coast'
<i>i fataia</i>	'in the bush'
<i>i 'ifi</i>	'in the house'
<i>i Maaburu</i>	'at Maaburu'.

This construction has already been encountered in examining the internal structure of NP's. Recall

<i>ta'a i asi</i>	'sea people'
<i>ta'a i 'Ale'ale</i>	'Are'are people'.

And it was encountered in 2.5, both in introducing the subclass of nouns that can serve as locationals, selecting the interrogative *i fai* 'where?', and in introducing the class of locative bases:

<i>i na'o</i>	'in front'
<i>i langi</i>	'up above'.

The head noun introduced by the locative particle *i* need not stand alone. Subject to the semantic constraint that it must be amenable to conceptualization as a single place, the head noun can be modified and comprise a fully developed NP, or a coordinate NP:

<i>i 'ifi a-la 'Ubuni</i>	'at 'Ubuni's house'
<i>i 'ifi kwaakwaa</i>	'at the open-sided house'
<i>i Maaburu i langi</i>	'at the upper Maaburu'
<i>i Taunau'a ma (i) Kwalakwala</i>	'at Taunau'a and Kwalakwala'
<i>i 'ifi a-gu ma 'ifi a-la Diake</i>	'at my house and Diake's as well'
<i>i rua 'ifi a-la Diake</i>	'at Diake's two houses' (but only if they are close enough together to comprise a single place')

The head noun must be specified: the locative particle cannot be used alone to refer to an unspecified location implied in a context of discourse. If such a reference were appropriate, the next construction -- using *a-/* 'there' -- would be used.

3.3.2 The locative particles *a-/naa*

A second constructional pattern, encountered already (particularly in marking the relationship of "proximate association" in genitive constructions (3.1.4)), uses as allomorphs the particles *a-* and *naa*. Recall that where a following common noun is specified in a genitive construction, the allomorph *naa* is used:

'ifi naa wane 'the man's house'

Where the following noun is personal, or where a following noun is replaced by a pronoun in a context of discourse, the allomorph *a-* is used:

'ifi a-la Diake 'Diake's house'
'ifi a-gu 'my house'.

This pattern is pervasive as a prepositional phrase construction (underlining the fact that the genitive constructions of proximate association are locational in character -- *'ifi a-la Diake* is the house proximate to Diake). We need only add a further element to the pattern: that where a common noun that would be head of the locative phrase is unspecified in a context of discourse, the indefinite pronoun suffix *-l* is affixed to *a-*.

167 *nau ku leka no'o naa langa'a*
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go PRF LOC garden
I'm going to the garden now.
(I've gone to the garden.)

168 *nau ku leka no'o a-l*
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go PRF LOC-PrS(Ind)
I'm going there now. (I went there.)

In such constructions *naa* carries meanings 'to the' 'at the' (as well as 'of the'). As noted, this pattern would be used where a locative phrase using the particle *l* + NP is replaced in a context of discourse with an unspecified "there":

169 *'oo saka l asl?*
FPr(2s) descend LOC seacoast
Are you going down to the coast?

170 *ta-ku bi'i saka a-l*
FUT-SRP(1s) TAM descend LOC-PrS(Ind)
I'll go down there after a while.

Historically this constructional pattern seems anomalous because **a-* and **naa* are reconstructed as separate particles in POC. But could Kwaio, like other Southeast Solomonian languages strikingly conservative, be preserving an ancient pattern obscured in most daughter languages?

3.3.3 Prepositional bases with pronoun suffix

A small subclass of bases function prepositionally to introduce phrases of spatial relationship, directionality, or (metaphorically) of causal relationship. In case-grammatical terms, they mark the semantic role of a following noun argument as goal or beneficiary or, with two of the forms, as cause or instrument (in a context of discourse the noun argument may be implicit, and referenced by the pronoun suffixed to the preposition).

The constructional pattern resembles that encountered in examining genitive constructions of component part-ness and the locative constructions of the same type:

'aa'ae-na wane 'the man's legs'
na'o-na wane 'in front of the man'

However, the prepositional forms expand the pattern slightly. Two common forms carry meanings of 'to' and 'for':

fa- 'to, for'
te'a- 'to'

When followed by a noun or pronoun, *te'a-* commonly marks it as oblique object of a preceding verb:

kwate-a te'a-la Diake
 'Give it to Diake.'

The grammatical functions of *fa-* are more diverse. Here it is worth noting that Kwaio *fa-* is derived from POC **pani*, which as Pawley (1973) and Lichtenberk (1984) note is in many daughter languages either a lexical verb ('give'), a grammatical marker (a prepositional verb or a preposition case-marking the following noun argument as goal/beneficiary), or both. Lichtenberk (1984) discusses the Malaita usages in some detail. The form *fa-* can, like *te'a-*, introduce an oblique object:

kwate-a fa-na 'Give it to him.'

It can also indicate an instrumental relationship between verb and following noun:

leka fa-na taunga'i-nga 'go for work'
leka fa-na bata 'go to get
 the money'

And finally, after the verb *leka*, it can introduce a locative

phrase, when followed by the locative particle *i*:

leka fa-na i 'Ai'eda 'go to 'Ai'eda'
(commonly elided in speech
to *fa-ni 'Ai'eda*)

Where the head noun is unspecified, in a context of discourse, the third person singular pronoun suffix is used to reference a definite but inanimate noun (2.1.2.2); a pronoun marked for person and number is used when reference is made to a person or sentient being treated as person-like:

kwate-a te'a-ga'a 'Give it to the
two of them'

Where the reference is indefinite, the neutral indefinite ending *-i* is used:

leka fa-i 'go for it.'

A parallel constructional pattern, as noted, is used with locative bases:

olofa-na (i) 'ifi 'under the house'
olofa-i 'underneath it'.

More directly parallel to *fa-* and *te'a-* are two prepositional bases used for relations of causality:

du'a-na 'because of'
tofu-na 'because of'

Du'ana derives from the verb root *du'a*, 'replace, exchange'. Metaphorically, the causal relationship is treated as though it were a relationship of reciprocation or retaliation. That is, *du'a-na X* is 'as a consequence of X'.

'akwa (i) du'a-na oga-ria-nga
'run away because of (people's) anger'.

The derivation of *tofu-na* is less transparent. It appears to derive from the verb root *tofu*, 'separate, cut (something) off', which is widely used in constructions that indicate relations of partition that imply a remaining connection between the divided segments.

Where a noun follows *du'a-na* or *tofu-na*, the locative particle *i* is often omitted.

171 *ngai e taa tofu-na nga beri-nga*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) curse because-PrS(3s) ART steal-NOM
He invoked a curse because of the theft.

Where the noun is unspecified, the locative particle is regularly used:

- 172 *ngai e taa i du'a-i*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) curse LOC because-PrS(Ind)
 He invoked a curse because of it.

The form *tofu-i* is grammatically possible, but avoided in favour of *du'a-i*. The form *du'a-i* can occur in sentence-initial position, although this is not common in everyday conversation.

- 173 *du'a-i la ma'a-sini ori i 'Aoke*
 because-PrS(Ind) SRP(3p) not-want return LOC Auki
 That's why they don't want to go back to Auki.

3.3.4 Prepositional phrases with prepositional verbs

Prepositional verbs introducing prepositional phrases have already been glimpsed in 2.4. Morphologically, they parallel a transitive verb-plus-direct object NP. As will be seen, their syntactic functions within predicates are complex; as phrasal constructions, they are straightforward enough.

Where the head noun is specified, the construction is similar to transitive verb with clitic pronoun object referencing the following noun (although of course the base is not marked as a verb by a preceding subject-referencing pronoun, and has no tense/aspect markers):

<i>'afu-l-a lalabata</i>	'around the clearing'
<i>fe'e-ni-a taa ba'ita</i>	'with the important people'
<i>fa'a-si-a namo</i>	'away from the pool'
<i>'ani-a akisi</i>	'with an axe'

Where, in a context of discourse, the NP is unspecified, it is referenced by a suffixed pronoun object:

<i>fe'e-ni-a</i>	'with him'
<i>'ani-a</i>	'with it'
<i>fa 'a-si-ga</i>	'away from them'

In some contexts, where reference is to an indefinite "it" which is inanimate and non-personal, the indefinite form of the pronoun object *-i* may be used:

<i>fe'e-ni-'i</i>	'with it'
<i>'ani-'i</i>	'with it' (instrumental)
<i>gala-ni-'i</i>	'near it'.

The complex syntactic functions of prepositional phrases introduced by prepositional verbs will be examined in 4.1.3 and 4.1.4.

3.4 TEMPORAL PHRASES

A temporal phrase establishes a time frame for the action of the verb (which, as noted, is otherwise not extensively marked to indicate temporal relationship). A temporal phrase characteristically occurs either in clause-initial or clause-final position. Because this is fairly closely related to the constituent elements of the phrase, it is worth anticipating the analysis of clausal syntax by indicating the constraints on and patterns of occurrence of temporal phrases.

3.4.1 Temporals

The core of a temporal phrase consists of a temporal or a modified noun serving as time-marker. A temporal is a form selected by the interrogative *naan/ta* 'when?'.

A common form used as or in lieu of a temporal is the noun *alata*. It acts as temporal when preceded by the particle *naa* 'at', which then must be qualified with a deictic, a locative, or a following clause.

<i>alata lo-'oo</i>	'now'
<i>alata no'o-na</i>	'then'
<i>alata i na'o</i>	'before'
<i>alata 'ua'ua</i>	'in the old days'
<i>alata la leka i Uru...</i>	'when they went to Uru...'

The *'ua* in *alata 'ua'ua* is the (normally postverbal) particle (PEO **tua(i)* 'already'); in this reduplicated form (and sometimes unreduplicated) it means 'long ago'.

An alternative form to *alata* is *fa'i* 'time, times'

<i>fa'i la'u</i>	'once more'
<i>fa'i lo'oo</i>	'now'
<i>fa'i (i) na'o</i>	'before'
<i>fa'i buri</i>	'from now on'

A small set of temporals refers to absolute points in time or to times or durations of occurrence.

<i>lo'o bu'i</i>	'right now'
<i>'ua</i>	'long ago'
<i>fo'olasi</i>	'one of these days'

Another set, used in pseudo-genitive constructions with following nouns, refers to relationships in time (and rarely, metaphorically, in space). Here the temporal form has the genitive (pronoun) suffix *-na* attached:

<i>boni-na</i>	'during, within'
<i>boni-na omea</i>	'while the mortuary feast (<i>omea</i>) was going on' (from <i>boni</i> 'night, hence lit. "night of").
<i>oto-fa-na</i>	'at the time of, during'
<i>oto-fa-na omea</i>	'while the mortuary feast was going on'
<i>'oo-fa-na</i>	'at that time of, during'
<i>'oo-fa-na takisi</i>	'while taxes were being collected'
<i>oo-fa-l</i>	'at that time'
<i>abu-na</i>	'at the same time as'

A set of temporals refers to times of the day. There are many alternative forms (see *Kwaio dictionary*); these include:

<i>fini-galo</i>	'dawn, daybreak'
<i>'usu-gani</i>	'early morning'
<i>asuaa</i>	'mid-morning'
<i>aba-riri</i>	'midday'
<i>uu-odoodo</i>	'noon'
<i>laulafi</i>	'afternoon'
<i>kee-ani</i>	'dusk'
<i>gani-a'i</i>	'evening'
<i>gaagani</i>	'daytime'
<i>boni-a'i</i>	'night time'
<i>naa kwarita</i>	'more than three days ago'
<i>gani</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>fule'e</i>	'day-after-tomorrow'
<i>fue fai</i>	'three days from now'
<i>fue nima</i>	'four days from now'
etc.	

To indicate a point in time relative to an event (such as an *omea*, 'mortuary feast') Kwaio uses ordinal numerals:

<i>rua-na omea</i>	'day before the mortuary feast'
<i>oru-na omea</i>	'two days before the mortuary feast'.

3.4.2 Temporal phrases: structure and distribution

Temporal phrases, as noted, occur both in clause-initial and clause-final position. The initial position is canonically used for temporal phrases introduced by *alata*, or the less common alternative form *fa'i*:

- 174 *alata i na'o ta'a ba'ita la 'ame feda-a 'ai*
 time LOC front people big SRP(3p) NEG fell-PrO(3s) tree
'ani-a akisi
 with-PrO(3s) axe
 In the olden days our forebears didn't fell trees with axes.

This position is also often occupied by a temporal-plus-deictic indicating a year, lunar month, or (nowadays) week:

- 175 *singari lo-'oo mi sia leka mone a-i*
 month DEI SRP(1pe) NEG go NEG LOC-PrS(Ind)
 This month we can't go there.

Both of these temporal phrases can alternatively be moved to sentence-/clause-final position:

- 174A *ta'a ba'ita la 'ame feda-a 'al 'ani-a akisi*
 people big SRP(3p) NEG fell-PrO(3s) tree with-PrO(3s) axe
naa alata i na'o
 LOC time LOC front
 Our forebears didn't fell trees with axes in the olden days.
- 175B *mi sia leka mone a-i singari lo'oo*
 SRP(1pe) NEG go NEG LOC-PrS(Ind) month
 We can't go there this month.

The locative particle *i*, or alternatively *naa*, can introduce a temporal phrase in clause-final position. The locative particle is used to refer to an unspecified or imprecise period in time; *naa alata* is 'at the time', and indicates co-occurrence in time -- hence

- 176 *'e-fee'ua 'oo 'ame age-a naa alata 'oo ko*
 INT(why?) FPr(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s) LOC time FPr(2s) SRP(2s)
ma'ala a-i?
 visit LOC-PrS(Ind)
 Why didn't you do it when you visited there?
- 177 *nau ku 'ame aga-si-a naa alata no'o-na*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG see-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC time DEI
 I didn't see it at that time.

In a context of discourse *naa* may also introduce a temporal phrase in clause-initial position:

- 177A *naa alata no'o-na ku 'ame aga-si-a*
 LOC time DEI SRP(1s) NEG see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 At that time I didn't see it.

In Kwaio temporals indicating days relative to today more commonly fit into the sentence-/clause-final position, although the sentence-/clause-initial position is optional.

- 178 *ta-goru leka fue fai*
 FUT-SRP(1t) go days four
 We'll go in four days.

- 178A *fue fai ta-goru leka*
 days four FUT-SRP(1t) go
 In four days we'll go.

- 179 *ta'a i 'Ale'ale la nigi naaboni*
 people LOC 'Are'are SRP(3p) arrive yesterday
 The 'Are'are people arrived yesterday.

- 179A *naaboni ta'a i 'Ale'ale gila nigi*
 yesterday people LOC 'Are'are SRP(3p) arrive
 Yesterday the 'Are'are people arrived.

The sentence-/clause-final position is also more commonly used, in Kwaio, for temporals marking times of day, although the initial position is also common:

- 180 *ta-la age-a laulafi*
 FUT-SRP(3p) do-PrO(3s) afternoon
 They'll do it in the afternoon.

- 180A *laulafi ta-la age-a*
 afternoon FUT-SRP(3p) do-PrO(3s)
 In the afternoon, they'll do it.

Temporal phrases consist of the forms set out above, as heads of phrases, modified by deictics or locatives or in isolation. The form *alata* is obligatorily marked with a locative or particle (or with an embedded clause), as are *farisi* 'year', *singari* 'month', and *wiki* 'week'.

<i>alata i na'o</i>	'before, in the old days'
<i>alata lo-'oo</i>	'now'
<i>alata no'o-na</i>	'then'
<i>alata 'ua</i>	'long ago'
<i>farisi lo-fo'u</i>	'last year'
<i>singari lo-'oo</i>	'this month'

Note that it is these obligatorily qualified forms that canonically fit into sentence-/clause-initial position. The temporals that canonically fit into sentence-/clause-final position are those that indicate positions in time that need no qualification, since semantically they define times relative to the present or in

relation to the passage of the sun.

<i>naa-boni</i>	'yesterday'
<i>gani</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>gani-a'i</i>	'at night, tonight'
<i>'usu-gani</i>	'in the morning, this morning, etc.'

However, one can, where semantically appropriate, conjoin a form indicating a time of day with a form indicating a day relative to the present:

<i>'usu-gani gani</i>	'tomorrow morning'
<i>gaagani tala'i-na</i>	'today during daytime'.

One can also indicate the day to which a time-of-day term refers with a deictic:

<i>'usu-gani lo-'oo</i>	'this morning'
<i>gani-a'i no'o-na</i>	'that night'.

verbal constructions where the first verb is transitive and the second is a stative, a core argument (direct object NP) is "demoted" to the periphery, as object of a locative phrase.

Since temporal phrases, subject NP's, VP's and direct object NP's have all been explicated in some detail, attention here must focus on the further constituents of the predicate; and then on patterns of left dislocation. Despite their positioning in the same slot as direct object NP's, prepositional object NP's can be most clearly explicated after oblique object NP's, locative phrases, and prepositional verbal phrases have been examined.

4.1.1 Oblique object NP

The oblique object NP indicates the *goal* (in terms of semantic roles), i.e., the "indirect object", of the act of the verb. As noted in 3.3, an oblique object NP is morphologically a prepositional phrase introduced by

fa-
te'a-

with pronoun suffix attached.

181 *ngai e kwate-a mai boo te'a-gu*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s) DEI pig to-PrS(1s)
He gave me a pig.

182 *gila kwate-a bata te'a-na ta'a i asi*
SRP(3p) give-PrO(3s) money to-PrS(3s) people LOC seacoast
They gave (shell) money to the coastal people.

183 *ngai e giri-a mai leta fa-gu*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) write-PrO(3s) DEI letter for-PrS(1s)
He wrote me a letter.

184 *gala aru-a te'a-na*
SRP(3d) put-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s)
The two of them left it with him.
(lit. "put it to him").

The notion of "goal" needs clarification in semantic terms. Following a transitive verb, the oblique object NP is perhaps more precisely defined as *beneficiary* or as *recipient*. But following a verb of motion, the goal might better be characterized as *destination*, in such (unusual) constructions as

'akwa te'a-la 'Ubuni 'run away to (the protection of) 'Ubuni'

Kwaio fa- is a reflex of POC **pani*, the uses of which as a verb ('give') and as a goal/beneficiary marker (in Southeast Solomonic languages) are discussed by Lichtenberk (1984).

4.1.2 Locative phrase

A locative phrase indicates the location of the action of the verb. Locative phrases are prepositional phrases introduced by the locative particles *i* 'at, to' or *a-/naa* 'to, at the'. After verbs of motion

<i>leka</i>	'go'
<i>'akwa</i>	'run away'
<i>totola</i>	'run'
<i>riu</i>	'pass'
<i>fane</i>	'ascend'
<i>saka</i>	'descend'

etc.

a locative phrase indicates directionality: the direction or destination of the movement. After other active verbs, a locative phrase indicates the location of the action.

Note that, as we have seen in 3.1, a locative phrase may qualify the head noun of an NP adjectivally. Hence locative phrases can occur in subject NP's, preceding the verb; and they can occur in predicate NP's, both direct object NP's

185 *la 'ui-a ta'a i Ngudu*
 SRP(3p) shoot-PrO(3s) people LOC Ngudu
 They shot the Ngudu people.

and oblique object NP's

182 *gila kwate-a bata te'a-na ta'a i asi*
 SRP(3p) give-PrO(3s) money to-PrS(3s) people LOC seacoast
 They gave (shell) money to the coastal people.

For both of these sentences, the locative phrase can be given an alternative reading, as indicating the locus of the action of the verb. Thus #185 can be assigned a reading 'They shot the people at Ngudu.'; #182 can be assigned a reading 'They gave money to the people down at the seacoast.'. These sentences are, when spoken, disambiguated intonationally, by a marking of phrase juncture where the locative phrase specifies the locus of action of the verb. (This is achieved both by a pause and by added stress on the penultimate syllable of the phrase--either *te'a-na ta'a i Asi* for 'the coastal people' or *te'a-na tA'a i Asi*, for 'at the seacoast' (stressed vowels are capitalized.)

A further complication is that the prepositional base

fa-na

which we have seen introducing oblique object NP's can introduce a locative phrase within the predicate, following a verb of motion:

fa-na i 'Aoke 'to Auki'
 (usually shortened to *fa-ni 'Aoke*)

Thus

- 186 *gala 'akwa fa-ni 'Ai'eda*
 SRP(3d) run away to-LOC 'Ai'eda
 The two of them ran away to 'Ai'eda.

The locative phrase slot, and morphology, are also used in Kwaio in reflexive constructions to express action of the verb by the (human) subject/agent himself or by himself. Kwaio uses the locative particle *i* followed by *tala-na* 'his tracks':

- 187 *nau ta-ku leka i tala-gu*
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) go LOC track-PrS(1s)
 I'll go by myself.
 (lit. "in my own tracks")
- 188 *mele age-a no'o i tala-me'e*
 SRP(1de) do-PrO(3s) PRF LOC track-PrS(1de)
 We two did it ourselves.

"Reflexive" meanings must often be conveyed indirectly in Kwaio. Thus

- 189 *ngal e aga-si-a labe-na naa ilonunu*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) body-PrS(3s) LOC mirror
 He saw (the reflection of) his body in the mirror.

An alternative construction uses the old Pijin loan word *lakanisi*, "likeness", which is also used for 'photograph':

- 189A *ngal e aga-si-a lakanisi a-na naa*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) reflection PsP-PrS(3s) LOC
- ilonunu*
 mirror
 He saw his reflection in the mirror.

In Kwaio, reflexivity of action can be expressed by combining a noun direct object referring to an entity possessed by the agent with *i tala-na*, to express 'his own---'.

- 190 *ngal e tofu-a 'aa'ae-na i tala-na*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) cut-PrO(3s) leg-PrS(3s) LOC track-PrS(3s)
 He hit his own leg.

4.1.3 Prepositional verbal phrase

The slot following an oblique object and locative phrase is occupied by prepositional phrases indicating the directionality, location, modality, or instrumentality of performance of the act of the verb. Canonically such prepositional phrases are introduced by one of the prepositional verbs:

<i>fa'a-si-a lalabata</i>	'away from the clearing'
<i>gala-ni-a langa'a</i>	'near the garden'
<i>'afu-i-a namo</i>	'around the sides of the pool'
<i>fe'e-ni-a ta'a geni</i>	'with the women'
<i>'oo-fi-a kwalasinga</i>	'looking for a cuscus opossum'
<i>'ani-a akisi</i>	'with an axe'
<i>suri-a ile</i>	'along the ridge'
<i>fono-si-a sinamaa</i>	'against the door'
<i>faa-fi-a fou</i>	'on top of the rock'
<i>'usi-a tala</i>	'blocking the path'
<i>dola-ri-a ta'a</i>	'among the people'

Semantic constraints limit the possibility of this prepositional verbal phrase-slot being filled following an oblique object prepositional phrase; but in some circumstances such sequences can occur:

191 *ngaia ka kwate-a fa-la Diake gala-ni-a*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s) to-ART Diake near-TrS-PrO(3s)

fanua a-na
place PsP-PrS(3s)
He gave it to Diake near his place.

192 *ngai e ale-a bata te'a-gu fe'e-ni-a*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) send-PrO(3s) money to-PrS(1s) with-TrS-PrO(3s)

wela a-gu
child PsP-PrS(1s)
He sent money to me by way of my son.

193 *nau ku kwate-a lakeno fa-na wane naa*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) give-PrO(3s) taro pudding for-PrS(3s) man LOC

ba'e 'afu-l-a langa'a a-da
 shrine behalf-TrS-PrO(3s) garden PsP-PrS(1pi)
 I gave a taro pudding to the priest on behalf of our garden.

194 *gala ori-te'e-ni-a bata te'a-la Diake*
 SRP(3d) return-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) money to-ART Diake

'usi-a ini a-ga'a
 behalf-PrP(3s) nephew PsP-PrS(3d)
 Those two returned the valuables to Diake on behalf of
 their nephew.

The last two constructions illustrate uses of prepositional verbs that usually indicate relationships in space in conventional metaphoric senses of 'on behalf of', 'in place of', 'for the benefit of'.

We encounter further complexities of predicate structure when we find, in this slot normally introduced by a prepositional verb, the prepositional form

fa-na

which has just been seen introducing oblique object NP's and in locative phrases.

fa-na taunga'i-nga 'for work'
fa-ni 'Aoke 'to Auki'

Compare

195 *ngal e leka i Honiara 'oo-fi-a*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go LOC Honiara search for-TrS-PrO(3s) work-NOM

taunga'i-nga
 work-NOM
 He went to Honiara in search of work.

196 *ngal e leka naa faka fa-na taunga'i-nga*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go LOC ship for-PrS(3s) work-NOM
 He went abroad to get work.
 (*naa faka* is lit., "on a boat").

4.1.4 Prepositional object phrases

We can now return to the slot coordinate with the direct object NP into which "prepositional object" NP's fit. These are NP's, peripheral arguments of the predicate, introduced by prepositional verbs which either:

(a) render an intransitive verb root (semantically) transitive; or

(b) create a special transitive meaning whereby a verb is qualified to indicate a direction of motion (literally or metaphorically). English, having parallel constructions, will serve to illustrate:

pick up + NP
 look over + NP
 see through + NP
 look through + NP
 throw away + NP
 look after + NP
 know about + NP

In Kwaio, such prepositional semantic transitivity usually employs one of the prepositional verbs comprising the root-plus-PrObj, particularly *'ani-a*:

<i>masa</i>	'play'
<i>masa 'ani-a</i>	'play around with'
<i>suga-a</i>	'buy (it)' (acquire it by exchanging)
<i>suga 'ani-a</i>	'sell (it)' (dispose of it by getting something in exchange)
<i>danga-ni-a</i>	'abandon (it)'
<i>danga 'ani-a</i>	'give (it) up, drop (it)'

But other prepositional verbs fit into this slot:

<i>su'a</i>	'name something, call or know the name of something'
<i>su'a i suri-a</i>	'know about (it)'
<i>kwai-abu-i</i>	'impose a prohibition'
<i>kwai-abu-i 'usi-a</i>	'prohibit (it)'
<i>'akwa</i>	'run away'
<i>'akwa fa'a-si-a</i>	'run away from'
<i>'akwa fe'e-ni-a</i>	'run away with'

<i>takwe</i>	'dig'
<i>takwe-a</i>	'dig (it) up'
<i>takwe 'oo-ŋi-a</i>	'dig for (it)'
<i>kwa-ŋri</i>	'report'
<i>kwa-ŋri dari-a</i>	'notify'
<i>kwa-ŋri suri-a</i>	'report about'

A locative phrase describing the locus of the action which is carried over to an object by a preposition follows the prepositional object phrase.

197 *ngal e takwe 'oo-ŋi-a i mai i su'e*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) dig search for-TrS-PrO(3s) shellfish LOC shore
 She dug for shellfish along the shoreline.

Although morphologically these prepositional object phrases are identical to other prepositional phrases introduced by prepositional verbs, their syntactic function is quite different. In some circumstances, a prepositional object phrase can be used with an oblique object NP; and in such a case the former (connecting a verb to its semantic direct object) precedes the latter:

199 *la Diake ka 'akwa no'o fe'e-ŋi-a ni Mere*
 ART Diake SRP(3s) run away PRF with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Mere
te'a-la Ba'efaka
 to-ART Ba'efaka
 Diake ran away with Mere to (the protection of) Ba'efaka.

Here the postverbal aspect marker *no'o* demarcates the end of the verb phrase; the prepositional object phrase precedes the oblique object phrase.

Prepositional object phrases may, with a few verbs of reporting or knowing, be introduced not with a prepositional verb, but with the locative particle *a-/naa*:

<i>su'a a-i</i>	'know it'
<i>su'a naa X</i>	'know about X'
<i>fata a-i</i>	'talk about it'
<i>fata naa X</i>	'talk about X'
<i>kwa-ŋri a-i</i>	'report about it'
<i>kwa-ŋri naa X</i>	'report about X'

In these contexts *a-/naa* is an alternative to the prepositional verbs *suri-a* and *dari-a*:

fata naa 'oo no'ona 'talk about that thing'
fata suri-a 'oo no'ona 'talk about that thing'

With these morphologically intransitive verbs of reporting, carried over to a semantic direct object through a prepositional phrase, an oblique object phrase can follow (as with 'akwa fe'eni-a...te'a-la B in #199):

- 200 *ngal e kwa-iri a-l te'a-gu*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) RECIP-say LOC-PrS(Ind) to-PrS(1s)
 He reported it to me.
- 201 *ngal e kwa-iri suri-a slu-nga te'a-na*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) RECIP-say about-Pro(3s) wash-NOM to-PrS(3s)
ta'a ba'ita
 people big
 She reported the pollution violation to the elders.
- Some further sentences will serve to clarify the contrasts, syntactic and semantic, between prepositional verbal phrases and prepositional object phrases. In each of the following pairs, the first contains a prepositional verbal phrase, the second a prepositional object phrase:
- 202 *nau ta-ku leka i 'Aoke fe'e-ni-a o'a-gu*
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) go LOC Auki with-TrS-Pro(3s) eB-PrS(1s)
 I'll go to Auki with my older brother.
- 203 *ngal e 'akwa no'o fe'e-ni-a o'a-gu*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away PRF with-TrS-Pro(3s) el. br.-PrS(1s)
fa-ni 'Aoke
 to-LOC Auki
 He ran away with my older brother to Auki.
- 204 *gala rlu no'o suri-a lle l 'Ola'o*
 SRP(3d) pass PRF along-Pro(3s) ridge LOC 'Ola'o
 The two of them went by along the 'Ola'o ridge.
- 205 *gala kwai-ri no'o suri-a nga 'ola e lau*
 SRP(3d) RECIP-say PRF about-Pro(3s) ART thing SRP(3s) happen
i ba'e
 LOC shrine
 The two of them reported what happened in the shrine.
- 206 *nau ku kwari-a boo l ba'e 'ani-a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) carve-Pro(3s) pig LOC shrine with-Pro(3s) knife
naefl a-mu
 knife PsP-PrS(2s)
 I carved the pig in the shrine using your knife.

207 *nau ta-ku suga 'ani-a naefi a-gu i*
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) exchange with-PrO(3s) knife PsP-PrS(1s) LOC

Taunau'a
 Taunau'a
 I'll sell my knife at Taunau'a.

Both slots can be filled in a single sentence:

208 *nau ku 'akwa no'o fe'e-ni-a fa'a-si-a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) run away PRF with-TrS-PrO(3s) away-TrS-PrO(3s)

fanua a-na
 place PsP-PrS(3s)
 I ran away with her, away from her place.

A further point of distinction, as illustrated in sentence #206 above, is that a prepositional verbal phrase can (where semantically appropriate) follow a transitive verb with pronoun object attached with direct object NP implicit or explicit, as in sentence #206 above). A prepositional object phrase substitutes for a direct object NP, and the verb it follows is used in intransitive form (e.g., *kwalri* instead of *iri-a*, *suga* instead of *suga-a*).

4.1.5 Topicalization of NP's

4.1.5.1 Left-dislocation of predicate NP's

Any one of the NP's in the predicate -- direct object, prepositional object, oblique object, object of prepositional verb, or head of locative phrase -- can be topicalized by left-dislocation (fronting). This is particularly common when relative clauses are embedded, as will be seen in 5.3.2.1. However, such topicalization can occur in a simple verbal sentence, as long as the head noun is sufficiently clearly identified or individuated (by a deictic, a locative phrase, an adjective, or as a personal name) that its referent is unambiguous.

Direct object NP

209 *aliola a-la Dione la ngada-a nainola*
 canoe PsP-ART Dione SRP(3p) destroy-PrO(3s) day-before-yest.
 They wrecked Dione's canoe the day before yesterday.

Note here that the clitic suffixed to the transitive verb references the relocated direct object NP.

Prepositional object NP

- 210 *tafangafa'arua la orisi 'oo-fi-a no'o*
 shell valuable SRP(3p) search for-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF
 They have inquired after a tafangafa'arua.

Here the clitic pronoun suffixed to the prepositional verb references the relocated NP.

Prepositional verb NP

- 211 *bonga i Naakogi la fane no'o i suri-a*
 streambed LOC Naakogi SRP(3p) ascend PRF LOC along-PrO(3s)
 It was the Naakogi streambed they climbed up.

Here again the clitic suffixed to the prepositional verb references the topicalized NP.

Locative phrase NP

- 212 *'amoe, 'Aoke la sifo mola a-i*
 NEG Auki SRP(3p) go down PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
 No, it was in Auki that they disembarked.

Note how, where the noun object of a locative phrase is topicalized, the prepositional particle *a-i* 'there' substitutes for it in final position:

- 213 *gila leka no'o i ba'e i Furi'ilai*
 SRP(3p) go PRF LOC shrine LOC Furi'ilai
 They have gone to Furi'ilai shrine.

- 213A *ba'e i Furi'ilai gila leka no'o a-i*
 shrine LOC Furi'ilai SRP(3p) go PRF LOC-PrS(Ind)
 It's Furi'ilai shrine they have gone to.

A topicalized NP shifted from predicate position receives added intonational stress, creating a disjunction between the fronted NP and the subject NP. Where, as in the above examples, the subject NP is implicit from context, and is referenced with the subject-referencing pronoun, the semantic disjunction between the latter and the fronted NP further reduces a potential ambiguity. But this disambiguation is less clear when a subject NP implicit in a context of discourse is referenced with the third person singular subject-referencing pronoun. Thus

- 214 *allola a-la Dione ka ngada-a nainola*
 canoe PsP-ART Dione SRP(3s) destroy-PrO(3s) day-before-yest.

could, in the absence of intonational disambiguation, be interpreted as

'Dione's canoe wrecked it the day before yesterday.'
 as well as

'It was Dione's canoe he wrecked the day before yesterday.'

These could be further disambiguated by using the 3p.s. focal pronoun following the topicalized object NP:

214A *allola a-la Dione ngala ka ngada-a*
canoe PsP-ART Dione FPr(3s) SRP(3s) destroy-PrO(3s)

nainola

day-before-yesterday

It was Dione's canoe he destroyed the day before yesterday.

Where topicalized object NP and subject NP are both explicit, there can be no ambiguity

215 *te'e la Sibeamae ta'a i fataala la 'ame kwa'l-a*
only ART Sibeamae people LOC bush SRP(3p) NEG hit-PrO(3s)
Only Sibeamae was spared by the bush people.

4.1.5.2 Topicalization of subject NP

Topicalization of a subject NP (which, being canonically in sentence-initial position, cannot be fronted) is achieved, where the subject NP selects the 3p.s. subject-referencing pronoun (i.e., is singular or inanimate), by use of the topicalizing *ne-'e* introducing the following VP. Morphologically *ne-'e* is *no'o* (the topicalizing deictic particle as well as perfect aspect marker) contracted with the third person singular subject-referencing pronoun.

216 *rua 'ifi lo-fo'u ne-'e nula*
two house DEI TOP-SRP(3s) burn
The two houses down there burned up.

The topicalizer *ne-'e* is also very commonly used following the 3p.s. focal pronoun:

217 *ngal ne-'e aga-si-a*
FPr(3s) TOP-SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
He saw it./It was he who saw it.

The alternative deictic *le-* may be used to form *le-'e*: *ma'a a-gu le-'e to'oru...* 'my father lived...'

Where a third person plural pronoun substitutes for a subject NP, the focal pronoun *gila* can be topicalized with *no'o*:

217A *gila no'o la aga-si-a*
FPr(3p) TOP SRP(3p) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
It was they who saw it.

Topicalization of other pronouns is achieved by prefixing the topicalizing personal article (*'i-*) and its allomorphs; see 2.2.2) to the focal pronoun:

217B 'e-meeru meru aga-si-a
 TOP-FPr(1te) SRP(1te) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 It was we who saw it.

218 rua wane i 'Ai'eda 'a-ga'a gala 'ame beri-a
 two man LOC 'Ai'eda TOP-FPr(3d) SRP(3d) NEG steal-PrO(3s)

boo no'o-na
 pig DEI
 It wasn't the two 'Ai'eda men who stole that pig.

4.2 STATIVE VERBAL SENTENCES

A stative verbal sentence by definition is one that cannot contain an object NP in the predicate.

219 'ifi no'o-na e ba'ita
 house DEI SRP(3s) be big
 That house is big.

220 tarusi e 'ame 'ago'ago 'ua
 water SRP(3s) NEG be hot PstVbP
 The water isn't hot yet.

Stative verbal sentences may incorporate a compound verb, where it is a second stative that adverbially intensifies the degree of the state.

219A 'ifi no'o-na e ba'ita iki
 house DEI SRP(3s) be big be large
 That house is very large.

However, in comparative constructions the transitive second verb *riu-fi-a* 'surpass' (from *riu* 'pass') is used as the second verb in a compound, following a stative verb. These constructions, containing as direct object NP the entity with which comparison is made, are therefore active rather than stative sentences, although their underlying constituents comprise a stative sentence and an active verbal sentence:

221 la 'Ubuni e tegela riu-fi-a la Dione
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) be strong pass-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Dione
 'Ubuni is stronger than Dione.

222 aiiola a-gu e ba'ita riu-fi-a ai
 canoe PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) be big pass-TrS-PrO(3s) one

a-mu
 PsP-PrS(2s)
 My canoe is bigger than yours.

The direct object NP referenced by the clitic pronoun object suffixed to *riu-fi-a* may, in a context of discourse, be unspecified:

- 223 *ai a-gu e ba'ita riu-fl-a*
 canoe PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) be big pass-TrS-PrO(3s)
 Mine is bigger than it is.

4.3 VERBLESS DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

Before examining interrogative constructions, it will be useful to examine verbless declarative sentences. As will be seen in 4.4, a number of interrogative constructions are verbless.

4.3.1 Verbless locative sentences

Verbless sentences most often comprise a subject NP plus a locative phrase as predicate:

- 224 *ta'a i 'Ai'eda gila i asi*
 people LOC 'Ai'eda FPr(3p) LOC seacoast
 The 'Ai'eda people are at the coast.

Here the pronoun is the focal pronoun, not the subject-referencing pronoun. Thus

- 225 *wane i 'Are'are ngai i asi*
 man LOC 'Are'are FPr(3s) LOC seacoast
 The 'Are'are man is at the coast.

- 226 *boo ba'ita ngai i 'ubu-la-i*
 pig big FPr(3s) LOC inside-PrS(Ind)
 The big pig is inside.

Occasionally, a prepositional phrase introduced by a prepositional verb may serve as predicate of a verbless sentence. Thus, from a text:

- nau fe'e-ni-a gano, gano a-gu...*
 FPr(1s) with-TrS-PrO(3s) bow bow PsP-PrS(1s)
 I was with a bow, my bow...

4.3.2 Equational verbless sentences

Sentences asserting the equivalence or identity of two nouns are rendered verblessly, with focal pronoun recapitulating the first (subject) noun:

- 227 *bata lo-'oo ngai tafangafa'arua*
 money DEI FPr(3s) shell valuable
 This valuable is a tafangafa'arua

- 228 *boo no'o-na ngai lego*
 pig DEI FPr(3s) feral pig
 That pig is a feral one.

Verbless sentences and clauses of this kind are relatively common. Their occurrence in interrogative constructions will be examined below.

4.3.3 Negation of verbless sentences

Since verbal sentences are negated by modal particles within the VP, making a negative statement of location or equation poses obvious constructional problems. Where a negative statement is made, it usually is in the context of a corrective positive statement, often in answer to a question.

229 *ngai i Atoifi?*
FPr(3s) LOC Atoifi
Is he at Atoifi?

can receive the answers:

230 *'amoe, ngai i 'Aoke*
NEG FPr(3s) LOC Auki
No, he's in Auki.

230A *ngai i 'Aoke, Atoifi 'amoe*
FPr(3s) LOC Auki Atoifi NEG
He's in Auki, not at Atoifi.

or

230B *ngai 'amoe i Atoifi*
FPr(3s) NEG LOC Atoifi
He's not at Atoifi.

Here *'amoe* is either 'not so' or 'be not so'. However, the negative modal *'ame*, normally slotted into a verb phrase, is occasionally used to negate a verbless locative sentence. Thus from a text:

nau 'ame naa mae
FPr(1s) NEG LOC fight
I wasn't in the fight.

For an equational sentence, the same strategies apply.

231 *ngai ia Basilamo?*
FPr(3s) ART
Is he Basilamo?

can receive the answers:

232 *'amoe, ngai ia Ba'efaka*
NEG FPr(3s) ART Ba'efaka
No, he's Ba'efaka.

232A *ngal la Ba'efaka, la Basilamo 'amoe*
 FPr(3s) ART ART Basilamo NEG
 He's Ba'efaka, not Basilamo.

or, more rarely, using the modal 'ame:

232B *ngala 'ame la Basilamo*
 FPr(3s) NEG ART Basilamo
 He's not Basilamo.

Here use of the full focal pronoun *ngala* emphasizes the verbless nature of the sentence.

An erroneous equational statement

233 *la 'Ubuni ngal wane naa ba'e*
 ART 'Ubuni FPr(3s) man LOC shrine
 'Ubuni is a priest.

can be corrected with

234 *wane naa ba'e 'amoe, ngal tani-a kwalo ni geni*
 man LOC shrine NEG FPr(3s) hold-PrO(3s) vine for female
 He's not a priest, he sacrifices for women.

An erroneous equational statement

235 *waa no'o-na ngal la 'Ubuni*
 man DEI FPr(3s) ART 'Ubuni
 That man is 'Ubuni.

can be corrected as

236 *ngal la Kwa'ilamo, 'Ubuni 'amoe*
 FPr(3s) ART Kwa'ilamo 'Ubuni NEG
 He's Kwa'ilamo, not 'Ubuni.
 (See also #296.)

4.4 INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

There is no morphological marking when a statement is converted into a question: the interrogative is expressed by intonation contours.

237 *ini a-mu te-'e leka i Uru*
 nephew PsP-PrS(2s) FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC Uru
 Your nephew will go to Uru.

237A *ini a-mu te-'e leka i Uru?*
 nephew PsP-PrS(2s) FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC Uru
 Will your nephew go to Uru?

In the question, #237A, a rising intonation that peaks on the fourth and third vowels from the end marks the sentence as interrogative. Deviations from this general pattern serve to mark topicalization in questions. To ask 'Is it *Uru* his uncle will go to?', the rising intonation will peak at the stressed first syllable of "Uru".

In Kwaio, one can stress that a question is being asked by prefacing the clause with *'e fee'ua*, which in other interrogative constructions (4.4.4) is 'why?'

237B *'e-fee'ua, Inl a-mu te-'e leka i Uru?*
 INT(why?) nephew PsP-PrS(2s) FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC Uru
 Tell me, will your nephew go to Uru?

In addition to converting statements directly into questions with a shift of intonation, Kwaio has a series of interrogative morphemes that create "wh" questions.

4.4.1 Who?

To ask a "who?" question that elicits a personal name, Kwaio uses the interrogative *dai* 'who?', preceded by a form of the personal article, *ni*, unmarked for gender. A question prefaced by *ni dai* asks, 'The person by what name?'. The personal article *ni*, as with the gender-marker forms *la* 'Mr' and *ni* 'Ms', is directly suffixed to prepositions in place of the pronoun suffix *-na*:

fa-ni dai 'for whom?'
a-ni dai 'belonging to whom?'
te'a-ni dai 'to whom?'

The "who?" may refer to the subject NP, direct object NP, oblique object NP, or head noun of a prepositional phrase. The following sentences illustrate *ni dai* in these positions:

Subject NP

238 *ni dai ne-'e age-a*
 ART INT(who?) TOP-PrP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 Who did it?

Direct object NP

239 *ngala ka kwa'l-a ni dai*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) ART INT(who?)
 Who did he hit?

Oblique object NP

- 240 'oo to-'o kwate-a fa-ni dai
 FPr(2s) FUT-SRP(2s) give-PrO(3s) for-ART INT(who?)
 To whom will you give it?

Prepositional phrase head noun

- 241 to-'o leka fe'e-ni-a ni dai
 FUT-SRP(2s) go with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART INT(who?)
 Who will you go with? (often shortened in speech
 to fe'e-ni dai)

In Kwaio an interrogative "who?" can be topicalized by fronting:

- 242 ni dai to-'o kwate-a fa-na?
 ART INT(who?) FUT-SRP(2s) give-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3s)
 To whom will you give it?

More commonly, Kwaio speakers topicalize the interrogative by using a noun referring to a category of person as direct object, followed by the interrogative:

- 243 wane ni dai ngaia ka kwa'l-a?
 man ART INT(who?) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit-TrS
 Who was the man he killed?

The same means can be used to topicalize an oblique object followed by the interrogative:

- 244 noni ni dai to-'o kwate-a fa-na?
 woman ART INT(who?) FUT-SRP(2s) give-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3s)
 Which woman will you give it to?

The underlying structure here would appear to be an embedded verbless clause:

noni (ngai ni dai)...

The interrogative pronoun (*ni dai*) is used in such verbless clauses and sentences as:

- 245 wane naa ba'e ngai ni dai?
 man LOC shrine FPr(3s) INT art(who?)
 Who is the priest?
 (wane naa ba'e is literally "man of the shrine")

Kwaio expresses interrogatives in possessive constructions where English would use "whose?" with *a-ni dai?* 'belonging to whom?'

246 'ifi a-ni dai no'o-na?
house PsP-ART INT(who?) DEI
Whose house is that?

or, alternatively,

246A 'ifi no'o-na ngai a-ni dai?
house DEI FPr(3s) PsP-ART INT(who?)
Whose house is that?

Idiomatically, a Kwaio questioner elicits a list of names (members of a group, participants in an event, names of descendants) with "who and who and who?"

247 ta'a e aula la ogu no'o lo-to'u i
people SRP(3s) be plentiful SRP(3p) PRF DEI LOC

Gelebasi

Gelebasi

A lot of people have gathered down there at Gelebasi.

248 ni dai ma ni dai ma ni dai
ART INT(who?) CON ART INT(who?) CON ART INT(who?)
Who, and who, and who?

4.4.2 What?/Which?

The interrogative *taa* 'what/which?' selects inanimate nouns. As with *ni dai*, the NP to which *taa* refers is not marked to indicate the syntactic/semantic role of the NP to which it refers; this is indicated by word order or a preceding "dummy" noun (usually *'ola* 'thing'). In Kwaio *'ola taa* 'which thing?' is used whenever the interrogative is in initial position, whether as subject or object NP.

Subject NP:

249 'ola taa ngai e meku?
thing INT(what?) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be red
What's that red thing?

Direct object NP:

250 'oo aga-si-a taa?
FPr(2s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) INT(what?)
What do you see?

Oblique object NP:

- 251 *la leka fa-na taa?*
 SRP(3p) go for-PrS(3s) INT(what?)
 What are they going for?

or with a prepositional verb

- 252 *gala ru'u 'oo-fi-a taa?*
 SRP(3d) hunt search for-TrS-PrO(3s) INT(what?)
 What are they hunting for?

Again, *'ola taa* constructions can topicalize interrogatives from predicate position by fronting:

Direct object NP:

- 253 *'ola taa 'oo ani-si-a?*
 thing INT(what?) FPr(2s) cry-TrS-PrO(3s)
 What are you crying for?

Oblique object NP:

- 254 *'ola taa la leka fa-i?*
 thing INT(what?) SRP(3p) go for-PrS(Ind)
 What have they gone for?

Prepositional object NP:

- 255 *'ola taa gala fata i suri-a?*
 thing INT(what?) SRP(3d) speak LOC about-PrS(3s)
 What are the two of them talking about?

Kwaio commonly uses "for what?" constructions where English would use "why?":

- 256 *gala 'akwa fa-na taa?*
 SRP(3d) run away for-PrS(3s) INT(what?)
 Why did the two of them run away?

As will shortly be seen, Kwaio characteristically uses

du'a-na taa 'in exchange for what?' and
tofu-na taa 'because of what?'

in sentence-final position to ask the reason for something, as an alternative to "why?" in sentence-initial position. Kwaio often uses the "what?" interrogative in verbless sentences:

- 257 *'ola taa lo-'oo?*
 thing INT(what?) DEI
 What is this here?

or

257A 'oo lo-'oo ngai taa?
 thing DEI FPr(3s) INT(what?)
 What's this thing here?

Kwaio often uses *ngai taa*, as embedded verbless clause, following a noun where English would use "which?"

258 'ifi ngai taa ta-golo eno a-i?
 house FPr(3s) INT(what?) FUT-SRP(1di) sleep LOC-PrS(Ind)
 Which house are we going to sleep in?

259 omea ngai taa 'oo to'o dari-a
 mortuary feast FPr(3s) INT(what?) FPr(2s) meet find-PrO(3s)
 a-i
 LOC-PrS(Ind)
 At which mortuary feast did you meet her?

Alternatively, one could ask 'whose?' here, using a parallel construction:

259A omea a-ni dai 'oo to'o dari-a
 mortuary feast PsP-INT INT(who?) FPr(2s) meet find-PrO(3s)
 a-i
 LOC-PrS(Ind)
 At whose mortuary feast did you meet her?

Kwaio uses this *ngai taa?* construction to ask "what kind?"

260 late'e sutlaeti ngai taa to-'o suga-a?
 kind of torch FPr(3s) INT(what?) FUT-SRP(2s) buy-PrO(3s)
 What kind of torch will you buy?
 where *late'e* is 'kind of ---'.

4.4.3 When?

Kwaio uses *naanita* (or alternatively *angita* and other phonological variants) in sentence-final position in constructions that select temporals:

261 'oo to-'o fane naanita?
 FPr(2s) FUT-SRP(2s) ascend INT(when?)
 When will you go up the hill?

262 ta-gala ori mai naanita?
 FUT-SRP(3d) return DEI INT(when?)
 When will the two of them get back?

Kwaio sometimes uses a parallel construction using (*naa*) *alata taa* 'at what time?'

261A naa alata taa to-'o fane a-i?
 LOC time INT(what?) FUT-SRP(2s) ascend LOC-PrS(Ind)
 At what time will you go up there?

262A *naa alata taa ta-gala ori mai?*
 LOC time INT(what?) FUT-SRP(3d) return
 At what time will those two get back?

4.4.4 Why?

As noted, Kwaio can use "for what?" and "because of what?" constructions in sentence-final position where English would use "why?"

263 'oo *beri-a boo a-na du'a-na*
 FPr(2s) steal-PrO(3s) pig PsP-PrS(3s) because-PrS(3s)
taa?
 INT(what?)
 Why did you steal his pig?

264 'oo *ma'a-sini leka fe'e-ni-a tofu-na*
 FPr(2s) not-want go with-TrS-PrO(3s) because-PrS(3s)
taa?
 INT(what?)
 Why don't you want to go with him?

Kwaio also has a "why?" interrogative, *'e-fee'ua*, fitting into sentence-/clause-initial position.

264A *'e-fee'ua 'oo ma'a-sini leka fe'e-ni-a?*
 INT(why?) FPr(2s) not-want go with-TrS-PrO(3s)
 Why don't you want to go with him?

A common greeting in Kwaio, meaning something like "how's it going?", is *'e-fee'ua?* Kwaio speakers also use *fee'ua?* to ask for clarification if they have not heard or understood something, as English speakers may use "How's that?" or "What's that?". Kwaio speakers use a rhetorical "why not?", usually meaning "of course!" with

ma taamoe?
 or
ma taamone?

where *ma* is 'and' *taa* is 'what?', contracted with the negative particles (*'a-*)*moe* or (*'a-*)*mone*. We have encountered *mone* as the second element in the negative mode-marking *s/a* + verb + *mone* 'can't ----. *'amoe* and *'amone* are used to answer "no" to questions or requests.

4.4.5 Where?

To ask "where?" Kwaio uses *ni fai* or *i fai* which elicits a locative phrase. The *ni* here is an interrogative form of the locative particle *i*.

265 'ol leka ni fai?
SRP(2s) go LOC INT(where?)
Where are you going?

266 ngaia ka aru-a ni fai?
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) LOC INT(where?)
Where did he put it?

For 'from where?' Kwaio uses / fai -- that is, the locative particle in its unmarked form.

267 ta'a i fai ta-la a'ari-a mai go'u?
people LOC INT(where?) FUT-SRP(3p) carry-PrO(3s) DEI taro
Which people are going to bring the taro?
(lit. "people from where").

4.4.6 How?

In 2.3.4, the use of 'uutaa as stative verb 'be in what state?', was examined:

268 wee no'o-na ngal e 'uutaa?
child DEI FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be how?
How is that child?

269 laesi ngal e 'uutaa?
rice FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be how??
How is the rice? (i.e., is it cooked?)

In 3.2.4.3, the use of 'uutaa as the second, stative element in compound verb constructions was examined:

270 ngaia ka age 'uutaa a-i?
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do be how LOC-PrS(Ind)
How did he do it?

Note that 'uutaa is morphologically complex; the second element is *taa* 'what?'. Where English "how?" is ambiguous in that it asks either about the manner of an action or, more rarely, about the instrument or means by which it was performed (cf. "How did he cut down the tree?"), Kwaio distinguishes the latter with the instrumental prepositional verb 'ani-a plus the particle *taa*:

271 ngala ka feda-a 'ai 'ani-a taa?
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) fell-PrO(3s) tree with-PrO(3s) INT(what?)
What did he use to fell the tree?

4.4.7 How many?

Kwaio uses the interrogative *fita* in initial position:

- 272 *fita boo ngal a-mu?*
 INT(how many?) pig FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(2s)
 How many pigs have you got?

4.5 IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Kwaio syntactic devices for framing speech acts as imperative -- i.e., making requests or demands -- are relatively simple.

A direct request or order to someone is usually marked as such by omitting the second person pronoun that would occur in a statement:

- 273 *leka mai!*
 go DEI
 Come here!
- 274 *'ego mai fa-gu!*
 pepper leaf DEI for-PrS(1s)
 Give me some pepper leaf!
 (lit. "betel pepper hither for me")
- 275 *aru-a se'eke-na!*
 put-PrO(3s) DEI
 Put it over there!

The second person pronoun (subject-referencing or focal) may, for emphasis or semantic clarity, be specified; if so, a rising intonation on the pronoun makes the imperative speech act clear.

- 276 *molo ori mai 'aferu!*
 SRP(2d) return DEI quickly
 You two come back quickly!
- 277 *'oi age-a lo'o bu'!!*
 SRP(2s) do-PrO(3s) right now
 You do it straight away!

The verb *wa'a-ni-a* 'desist from', and less commonly *ruga-si-a* 'give up', may be used in imperative constructions:

- 278 *wa'a-ni-a ani-nga!*
 not do-TrS-PrO(3s) cry-NOM
 Don't cry!

4.6 "IS TO" CONSTRUCTIONS

Kwaio employs an interesting construction which needs to be examined in relation to single-clause sentences, but acquires greater interest and complexity in multiple-clause sentences where switch-reference occurs.

The construction entails, morphologically, the subject-referencing pronoun with 'a- prefixed and -/ optionally suffixed. The best gloss is something like 'is for --- to (+ verb)'. That is, the following verb is rendered infinitival (although as in English "to hit the target, to go to war", the verb can have a direct object or prepositional phrase within the predicate). The meanings that can be conveyed with such a construction are relatively diverse, indicating either volition (on the part of the speaker) or enjoinder/demand (vis-a-vis another person about whom the statement is made). The slightly irregular third person singular form, 'a-ni is also used as a straight infinitive marker.

279 'a-ku-l leka i tala-gu
INF-SRP(1s)-i go LOC track-PrS(1s)
I want to go by myself.

280 'a-goru-l age-a 'aferu
INF-SRP(1ti)-i do-PrO(3s)
Let's do it quickly.

The -/ particle following the subject-referencing pronoun is often omitted: 'a-ku leka 'I want to go/I'm going to go'.

When a statement is made in reference to another individual or group, the focal pronoun is usually incorporated as well:

281 ngal 'a-ni leka fe'e-ni-a asi-na
FPr(3s) INF-SRP(3s) go with-TrS-PrO(3s) yr. br.-PrS(3s)
He's supposed to go with his younger brother.
(i.e., he is supposed to do it)

The form *'a-'oi-i 'is for you to go' is not used. 'a-ni as infinitive marker is used instead, with the preceding focal pronoun ('oo or 'oi) making the reference clear:

282 'oo 'a-ni age-a 'aferu
FPr(2s) INF-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
You are to do it quickly.

We will see, in looking at complex sentences, that 'a-ni can act as an infinitive marker in an embedded clause (5.3.2). Sometimes 'a-ni 'oi is used for 'you are to'; I suggest in 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.2 that the 'a- prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun in such constructions is a shortened form of 'a-ni as infinitive marker. The following sentence illustrates this pattern, and further illustrates a rare pattern of left dislocation where the 3p.s. focal pronoun is used to topicalize an unspecified noun direct object implicit in a context of discourse.

283 *ngaia 'a-ni 'oi fee-a mal,*
 FPr(3s) INF SRP(2s) take-PrO(3s) DEI

sui ma to-'o me'e bi'i
 CON CON FUT-SRP(2s) TAM PsP-PrS(2s)

suga-a nga takisi a-mu i gani
 pay-PrO(3s) ART tax PsP-PrS(2s) LOC tomorrow
 You are to bring it here, then you are to pay your tax tomorrow.

4.7 FOREGROUNDED MODALS

The preverbal modals *furi* 'really' and *bala* (=bole, bale, bala'a) 'maybe' incorporated within the VP have been examined in 3.2.3.1. These two modals, and one other indicating possibility, may fit into a slot preceding the subject NP. It seems best to interpret this as a foregrounding of the modality through fronting of the modal.

284 *la 'Ubuni bala te-'e ori mai gani*
 ART 'Ubuni MOD FUT-SRP(3s) return DEI tomorrow
 Maybe 'Ubuni will get back tomorrow.

284A *bala la 'Ubuni te-'e ori mai gani*
 MOD ART 'Ubuni FUT-SRP(3s) return DEI tomorrow
 Maybe 'Ubuni will get back tomorrow.

285 *lefu no'o-na furi e to'o*
 point DEI MOD SRP(3s) be true
 That point is really true.

285A *furi lefu no'o-na e to'o*
 MOD point DEI SRP(3s) be true
 That point is really true.

The form *taa 'ua* 'maybe, maybe so' is often used in answer to an assertion or a question:

286 *'oo to-'o leka naa faka buri-na omea?*
 FPr(2s) FUT-SRP(2s) go LOC ship behind-PrS(3s) mortuary feast
 Will you go abroad after the mortuary feast?

287 *taa 'ua*
 maybe
 Maybe so.

288 *la 'Ubuni te-'e fu'e-a tafangafa'arua*
 ART 'Ubuni FUT-SRP(3s) hang up-PrO(3s) shell valuable
 'Ubuni will hang up a tafangafa'arua.

289 *taa 'ua*
 maybe
 Maybe so.

The same form is sometimes used as a clause-level modal, foregrounded in the slot preceding the subject NP:

289A *taa 'ua la 'Ubuni te-'e fu'e-a*
 maybe ART 'Ubuni FUT-SRP(3s) hang up-PrO(3s)
 Maybe 'Ubuni will hang it up.

289B *kiu, te-'e fu'e-a taa 'ua*
 yes FUT-SRP(3s) hang up-PrO(3s) maybe
 Yes, maybe he'll hang it up.

Where a predicate NP is fronted for topicalization, this relocation of the modal out of the VP and preceding the subject NP is still possible. In such a case the fronted object NP precedes the fronted modal, since the left dislocation of the modal emphasizes the modality of the VP rather than the topic.

CHAPTER 5: SYNTAX: COMPLEX SENTENCES AND DISCOURSE STRUCTURES

In the sections to follow, patterns of sentence-level and discourse-level syntax whereby clauses are conjoined, connected, and embedded are examined. Some connectives used in discourse can usefully be examined first.

5.1 DISCOURSE CONNECTIVES

A number of connectives join sentences in discourse, indicating the relationship of the sentence they introduce to the one they follow (these sentences may be simple or complex).

5.1.1 Causal connection

To indicate that a state of affairs described in a following sentence is the result of the state of affairs or course of events described in the preceding one, Kwaio can use the quasi-locative noun *du'a-i*, in this context 'Because of it...' or 'That's why'. Recall that *du'a-na X* is 'because of X' (lit., in reciprocation for X); see 3.3.3. Thus

290 *du'a-i* *la* *'ame suga-a* *boo i* *Kwalakwala*
because-PrS(Ind) SRP(3p) NEG buy-PrO(3s) pig LOC Kwalakwala
That's why they didn't buy a pig at Kwalakwala.

It is rather more common to place the phrase with *du'a-i* in sentence-final position in the second clause of a sentence:

ma la *'ame suga-a* *boo*
CON SRP(3p) NEG buy-PrO(3s) pig

i *Kwalakwala (i)* *du'a-i*
LOC Kwalakwala (LOC) because-PrS(Ind)
... and they didn't buy a pig at Kwalakwala for that reason.

5.1.2 Passage of time

To indicate the passage of time between events described in a discourse narrative, the verb *leka* 'go' is used, reduplicated and repeated.

291 *ngai* *e* *'akwa* *no'o i* *kalonga*
FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away PRF LOC forest

leleka leleka leleka ma la *age no'o i* *mae-na*
then then CON SRP(3p) do PRF LOC death-PrS(3s)
He ran away into the forest and after a long while they gave
the feast for his death.

Seriality in time is (as noted in 3.2.1.2) often expressed by *kee sui* 'and then' -- either appended to the preceding sentence (*la ageage-a kee sui* 'they did it and then...') or more rarely, introducing the following sentence (*kee sui, la ori no'o i fanua a-ga*: 'and then they went back to their place'). As noted, in narrative, aspect markers (*kee* and *me'e*) also serve to indicate seriality in time and relatedness between events. Often, in narrative discourse, the verb phrase of the preceding sentence is repeated (usually without the subject-referencing pronoun) to connect the events in the narrative:

..la sifo no'o i asi. sifo no'o i asi ma...
 ..they went down to the coast. Went down to the coast and...'

Sometimes seriality in time is indicated by introducing a sentence with *na'i buri-na* 'afterwards...' (lit. 'stay behind...'). Another common discourse connective indicating seriality and connectedness is to use as the first clause of a following sentence the deictic *no'o-na* followed by *e sui* 'it was finished', with the following clause introduced by *ma* 'and':

no'o-na e sui, ma
 'That happened, and then...' (see 5.2.2 for *sui ma...*).

5.1.3 'And so'

A sentence in discourse is often introduced with *na'a nga* 'and so', 'and then'. It indicates both passage in time and some connection (sequential, though not explicitly causal) between the events described. Thus, from a text:

292 *rua wane no'o-na gala 'akwa no'o fa-ni lafea*
 two man DEI SRP(3d) run away PRF to-LOC interior
 Those two men ran away into the interior.

na'a nga ta'a i asi la lofe-ga ma
 CON ART people LOC seacoast SRP(3p) hunt-Pro(3p) CON

ka 'ato
 SRP(3s) be difficult
 And then the coastal people hunted them, but to no avail.

The particle *na* or *naa* (apparently *na'a* in shortened form) is sometimes used preceding the subject-referencing pronoun, usually following the initial subject NP, to indicate passage of time and the connectedness of serial events:

293 *te'e ta'a geni na miru eno no'o i 'ifi*
 only people female CON SRP(1te) sleep PRF LOC house
 So only we (and the) women slept in the house.

5.1.4 'It's as though'

A sentence in discourse may be introduced by one of several forms that can often best be glossed 'it's as though...', but are often virtually intranslatable. In Kwaio these forms are

fida'ana *'ilaka*
irifana *iria*

Although these forms, as used, are unanalyzable morphologically, their derivation bears comment. *iri-a* is the transitive verb 'tell (it)'; **iri fa-na* would be 'speak for (it)', although **iri* can only be used intransitively with the reciprocal prefix *kwa/-*. If these latter two forms were originally analyzed as something like "so to speak" or "that is to say" in English, then it seems likely that *fida'ana* represents a metathetic phonological play on *iri fana* (*iri fana* --> *firi'ana* --> *fida'ana*).

294 *irifana ngai e maamasa mola*
 as though FPr(3s) SRP(3s) play(REDUP) PstVbP
 It's as though he were only playing around.

Both *'ilaka* and *fida'ana* can be used as stative verbs, meaning 'be as though'. Thus, in a description of an earthquake:

295 *ma nga 'ai ka 'asu, ma ka 'ilaka*
 CON ART tree SRP(3s) shake CON SRP(3s) be as though

'ai no'o-na e fida'ana e
 tree DEI SRP(3s) be as though SRP(3s)

abuabulo no'o
 turn(REDUP) PRF

And the trees shook, and it was as though the trees were turning round and round.

Note here the impersonal 'it' as experiencer of the two statives.

5.1.5 'It's not that'/'It's true that'

Two parallel constructions, technically multi-clausal, fit into this set of discourse connectives in making comment on the preceding utterance. They follow an utterance that summarizes or recapitulates what a previous speaker has said:

me-e 'amoe 'it's not that' (sometimes simply *e 'amoe*)
me-e to'o 'it's true that' (sometimes simply *e to'o*).

Morphologically these consist of

ma 'and, but'
e subject-referencing pronoun
'amoe 'be not so, not true' (stative verb)
to'o 'be true' (stative verb)

Thus

296 *gala ageage-a tala-ga'a me-e to'o*
 SRP(3d) do(REDUP)-PrO(3s) track-PrS(3d) CON-SRP(3s) be true
 It's true that the two of them did it by themselves ...

Where *me-e 'amoe* is used, the utterance is usually, though not obligatorily, introduced by either

ir/la
 or
is/la 'as though, as if'

297 *is/la ngai 'a-n/ age-a i tala-na*
 as if FPr(3s) INF-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s) LOC track-PrS(3s)
me-e 'amoe
 CON-SRP(3s) NEG
 It's not as if he is to do it by himself.

This device, interestingly, can be used to negate an equational verbless sentence (4.3.2):

298 *ngai la Basilamo me-e 'amoe*
 FPr(3s) ART Basilamo CON-SRP(3s) NEG
 He's not Basilamo.
 (see #236)

The underlying syntax of such constructions will be examined more closely in 5.2.1.

5.2 CONJOINED CLAUSES

Kwaio conjoins clauses in a number of ways, which can be briefly introduced at the outset:

- (a) Coordinate: S1 and S2 (and S3)
 S1 but S2
- (b) Chained S1: S1 and then S2
- (c) Resultant S2: S1 because S2
- (d) Disjunctive S2: either S1 or S2
- (e) Precautionary S2: S1 lest S2
- (f) Conditional S2: if S1 then S2
- (g) Concessive S2: S1 even if S2

5.2.1 Coordinate S2

Kwaio links coordinate clauses with the conjunctive particle *ma* where English uses 'and' and also where English uses 'but'. Where the subject NP and predicate of the conjoined clauses are different, both clauses retain their full shape:

299 *la 'Ubuni ka leka fa-ni 'Aoke ma la Dione ka*
ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) go to-LOC Auki CON ART Dione SRP(3s)

ori mola mai
return PstVbP DEI

'Ubuni went to Auki and Dione just came back here.

Where the subject NP's of S1 and S2 are co-referential or the predicates of S1 and S2 are the same, various kinds of condensation through deletion are possible. One has been glimpsed in 3.1.5:

la 'Ubuni ka leka fani 'Aoke
+
la Dione ka leka fani 'Aoke -->

300 *la 'Ubuni ma la Dione gala leka fa-ni 'Aoke*
ART 'Ubuni CON ART Dione SRP(3d) go to-LOC Auki
'Ubuni and Dione went to Auki.

In #300, where the predicates of the two component clauses are equivalent, the two subject NP's are conjoined and, with appropriate subject-referencing pronoun, tied to their common predicate in what at the level of surface syntax is a single clause.

Where the subject NP's of S1 and S2 are co-referential, a different pattern of condensation through deletion is possible.

301 *la Dione ka feda-a 'ea*
ART Dione SRP(3s) fell-PrO(3s) cyathea
Dione felled a cyathea (tree fern).

302 *la Dione ka aru-a 'ea i lalabata*
ART Dione SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) cyathea LOC clearing
Dione put the cyathea in the clearing.

303 *la Dione ka feda-a 'ea ma ka aru-a*
ART Dione SRP(3s) fell-PrO(3s) cyathea CON SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s)

i lalabata
LOC clearing

Dione felled a cyathea and put it in the clearing.

The subject NP's of #301 and #302 are co-referential; and so are the direct object NP's. They are conjoined in #303 by deleting the subject NP of S2 (and referencing it to the second verb with the subject-referencing pronoun) and deleting the direct object NP of S2 (and referencing it with the clitic pronoun object suffixed to the second verb). The same pattern occurs in

- 304 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART
dale'e boo a-na
 young pig PsP-PrS(3s)
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet.
- 305 *la 'Ubuni ka aga-si-a dale'e boo a-na*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) young pig PsP-PrS(3s)
'ubu-na kiru
 inside-PrS(3s) hole
 'Ubuni saw his piglet in a hole.
- 306 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga dale'e boo*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART young pig
a-na ma ka aga-si-a 'ubu-na kiru
 PsP-PrS(3s) CON SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) inside-PrS(3s) hole
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet and saw it in a hole.

Where the predicates of the serial clauses have a different logical relationship, so that, e.g., it is the predicate of S1 that is the implied subject of S2, Kwaio uses other patterns:

- 307 *la Kwa'ilamo ka age to'o-na*
 ART Kwa'ilamo SRP(3s) do try-PrS(3s)
 Kwa'ilamo tried to do it.
- 308 *age-la-l ka 'ato*
 do-GER-PrO(Ind) SRP(3s) be difficult
 Doing it was impossible.
- 309 *la Kwa'ilamo ka age to'o-na ma ka 'ato*
 ART Kwa'ilamo SRP(3s) do try-PrS(3s) CON SRP(3s) be difficult
 Kwa'ilamo tried to do it, but couldn't.

As noted in 2.2.2, the conjunctive particle *ma* is contracted with the subject-referencing pronoun of S2 in the forms

ma + e > me-e
ma + ka > ma-ka
ma + ko > mo-ko
ma + 'oo > mo-o.

The constructions introduced in 5.1.5, and illustrated in #294, #295, and #296, follow this pattern, except that whereas in #309 it is the predicate of S1 that is the logical subject of S2, in #294, #295, and #296 it is the entire clause that is the subject of S2. Thus

- 310 *gala ageage-a tala-ga'a me-e to'o*
 SRP(3d) do(REDUP)-PrO(3s) track-PrS(3d) CON-SRP(3s) be true
 It's true that the two of them did it by themselves.

310A *gala ageage-a tala-ga'a*
 SRP(3d) do(REDUP)-PrO(3s) track-PrS(3d)
 The two of them did it by themselves.

310B *Si e to'o*
 S1 SRP(3s) be true
 S1 is true.

In #309, it was the 'doing of it' that proved impossible, not Kwa'ilamo's trying it. In #305 'Ubuni looked for his pig and found it. If 'Ubuni looked for his pig and didn't find it, a construction superficially similar to #295 can be used:

311 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga dale'e boo*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART young pig

a-na me-e 'amoe no'o
 PsP-PrS(3s) CON-SRP(3s) NEG PRF
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet, but it was nowhere to be seen.

Here the underlying structures of S1 and S2 are

303 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga dale'e*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART young

boo a-na
 pig PsP-PrS(3s)
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet.

and

311A *dale'e boo a-la 'Ubuni ka 'amoe no'o*
 young pig PsP-ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) NEG PRF
 'Ubuni's piglet wasn't there.

Here 'amoe as stative is 'be not existent' (as well as 'be not true'). Note that it is the direct object NP of S1 (*dale'e boo a-la 'Ubuni*) that is the subject of S2.

A pattern of contraction of S1 and S2 may also be used where the subject NP's of S1 and S2 are co-referential and the verbs are the same, but the direct objects or prepositional objects are different:

312 *la Maeasuaa ka kwa'i-a faka ba'ita*
 ART Maeasuaa SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) ship big
 Maeasuaa attacked a big ship.

313 *la Maeasuaa ka kwa'i-a faka sika'a*
 ART Maeasuaa SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) ship small
 Maeasuaa attacked a small ship.

314 *la Maeasuaa ka kwa'i-a faka ba'ita ma faka sika'a*
 ART Maeasuaa SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) ship big CON ship small
 Maeasuaa attacked a big ship and a small ship.

or alternatively

314A *la Maeasuaa ka kwa'i-a faka ba'ita ma ai sika'a*
 ART Maeasuaa SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) ship big CON one small
 Maeasuaa attacked a big ship and a small one.

Here *ai* 'one, thing', like English "one" in such constructions, avoids duplication of the noun. Compare also.

314B *la Maeasuaa ka kwa'i-a rua faka, ai ba'ita ma*
 ART Maeasuaa SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) two ship one big CON
ai sika'a
 one small
 Maeasuaa attacked two ships, a big one and a small one.

Where the prepositional objects of two otherwise equivalent clauses differ, a similar pattern of contraction can be used.

315 *ni Mere ka 'akwa fa'a-si-a fungo-na*
 ART Mere SRP(3s) run away away-TrS-PrO(3s) fa-in-law-PrS(3s)
 Mere ran away from her father-in-law.

316 *ni Mere ka 'akwa fa'a-si-a gila*
 ART Mere SRP(3s) run away away-TrS-PrO(3s) PLU
ifa-na
 br-in-law-PrS(3s)
 Mere ran away from her brothers-in-law.
 (for *gila* see 3.1.1.1.1)

317 *ni Mere ka 'akwa fa'a-si-a*
 ART Mere SRP(3s) run away away-TrS-PrO(3s)
fungo-na ma gila ifa-na
 fa-in-law-PrS(3s) CON PLU br-in-law-PsP(3s)
 Mere ran away from her father-in-law and her brothers-in-law.

5.2.2 Chained S2

A seriality in time between the act of S1 and the act of S2, where the subject NP's are co-referential, is marked by prefacing S2 with *sui* 'be finished' and *ma* 'and' to form

sui ma 'and then'

Thus

303 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga dale'e*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART young
boo a-na
 pig PsP-PrS(3s)
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet.

318 *la 'Ubuni ka ori no'o i 'ifi*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) return PRF LOC house
 'Ubuni came back to the house.

can be conjoined to indicate seriality in time as

319 *la 'Ubuni ka aga 'oo-fi-a nga dale'e*
 ART 'Ubuni SRP(3s) look search for-TrS-PrO(3s) ART young
boo a-na
 pig PsP-PrS(3s)

sui ma ka ori no'o i 'ifi
 CON CON SRP(3s) return PRF LOC house
 'Ubuni looked for his piglet and then he came back to the house.

As an alternative to this construction, Kwaio speakers can separate the chained clauses into separate sentences using *kee sui* ('and then it was finished'), as noted in 5.1.2 and, earlier, in 3.2.1.2.

5.2.3 Resultant S2

In conjoining clauses logically related by causality or motive, Kwaio uses the prepositional verb *suri-a* 'because' to connect the clauses, to show that S1 results from S2.

320 *la ma'a-sini to'oru i fataia suri-a*
 SRP(3p) NOT-want stay LOC bush because-PrO(3s)
ta'a a-ga la ila furifuri
 people PsP-PrS(3p) SRP(3p) quarrel all the time
 They don't want to stay in the bush because their relatives quarrel all the time.

Cf.

321 *la ma'a-sini to'oru i fataia tofu-na ila-nga*
 SRP(3p) NOT-want stay LOC bush because-PrS(3s) quarrel-NOM
 They don't want to live in the bush because of quarreling.

Since *suri-a* is a transitive verb morphologically, with S2 as its surface direct object, these constructions parallel those of complement clauses set out in 5.3.1. An alternative construction would in effect leave the clauses as simple sentences, but preface S2 with *du'a-i* (5.1.1):

- 322 *la ma'a-sini to'oru i fataia du'a-i ta'a*
 SRP(3p) NOT-want stay LOC bush because-PrS(Ind) people
a-ga gila ila furifuri
 PsP-PrS(3p) SRP(3p) quarrel all the time
 They don't want to live in the bush, because their relatives
 quarrel all the time.

Rarely, *du'a-na* 'because' is used in the same way as *suri-a* to introduce S2, with the centre S2 clause referenced by the pronominal suffix *-na*.

5.2.4 Disjunctive S2

Where alternatives are presented, connected logically such that S1 or S2 (but not both) may be true, actualized, etc., Kwaio expresses "or" with *'amoe* (which we have encountered already as 'be not so' and 'be non-existent'):

- 323 *la Kwa'ilamo te-'e leka naa faka*
 ART Kwa'ilamo FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC ship
 Kwa'ilamo will go abroad.
- 324 *la 'Ubuni te-'e leka naa faka*
 ART 'Ubuni FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC ship
 'Ubuni will go abroad.
- 325 *la Kwa'ilamo 'amoe la 'Ubuni te-'e leka naa faka*
 ART Kwa'ilamo NEG ART 'Ubuni FUT-SRP(3s) go LOC ship
 Either Kwa'ilamo or 'Ubuni will go abroad.
- 326 *la Dione te-'e leka fa-ni Honiara*
 ART Dione FUT-SRP(3s) go to-LOC Honiara
 Dione will go to Honiara.
- 327 *la Dione te-'e ori i fanua a-na*
 ART Dione FUT-SRP(3s) return LOC place PsP-PrS(3s)
 Dione will come back to his place.
- 328 *la Dione te-'e leka fa-ni Honiara 'amoe te-'e*
 ART Dione FUT-SRP(3s) go to-LOC Honiara NEG FUT-SRP(3s)
ori i fanua a-na
 return LOC place PsP-PrS(3s)
 Dione will go to Honiara, or will go back to his place.
- 329 *Dione te-'e to'oru i Na'onaatala*
 Dione FUT-SRP(3s) stay LOC Na'onaatala
 Dione will stay at Na'onaatala.

- 330 *Dione te-'e to'oru i Ilonunu*
 Dione FUT-SRP(3s) stay LOC Ilonunu
 Dione will stay at Ilonunu.
- 331 *Dione te-'e to'oru i Na'onaatala 'amoe i Ilonunu*
 Dione FUT-SRP(3s) stay LOC Na'onaatala NEG LOC Ilonunu
 Dione will either stay at Na'onaatala or at Ilonunu.
- 332 *la Ba'efaka ka oga-ria fa-na wela a-na*
 ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) be angry for-PrS(3s) child PsP-PrS(3s)
 Ba'efaka is angry with his son.
- 333 *la Ba'efaka ka oga-ria fa-na asi-na*
 ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) be angry for-PrS(3s) yr. br.-PrS(3s)
 Ba'efaka is angry with his younger brother.
- 334 *la Ba'efaka ka oga-ria fa-na wela a-na*
 ART Ba'efaka SRP(3s) be angry for-PrS(3s) child PsP-PrS(3s)
 'amoe asi-na
 NEG YB-PrS(3s)
 Ba'efaka is angry either with his son or his younger brother.
- 335 *ni Oloi'a te-'e fee-a mai i'a*
 ART Oloi'a FUT-SRP(3s) carry-Pro(3s) DEI fish
 Oloi'a will bring fish.
- 336 *ni Oloi'a te-'e fee-a mal imai*
 ART Oloi'a FUT-SRP(3s) carry-Pro(3s) DEI shellfish
 Oloi'a will bring shellfish.
- 337 *ni Oloi'a te-'e fee-a mai i'a 'amoe imai*
 ART Oloi'a FUT-SRP(3s) carry-Pro(3s) DEI fish NEG shellfish
 Oloi'a will either bring fish or shellfish.

5.2.5 Precautionary S1

Kwaio uses the prepositional verb *fa'a-si-a* 'away from' to connect clauses conveying meanings 'S1 lest S2' or 'S1 to avoid S2':

- 338 *nau ku aru-a 'ubu-na nga kesi*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) put-Pro(3s) inside-PrS(3s) ART case
fa'a-si-a wane ta beri-a
 away-TrS-Pro(3s) man DUB steal-Pro(3s)
 I put it in the case lest someone steal it.

from:

- 338B *wane ta beri-a*
 man DUB steal-Pro(3s)
 A man might steal it.

338A *nau ku aru-a 'ubu-na nga kesi*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) put-PrO(3s) inside-PrS(3s) ART case
 I put it inside the case.

Since morphologically *fa'a-si-a* is a transitive verb, this construction parallels those of complement clauses set out in 5.3.1.

In constructions expressing a warning, S1 is usually in imperative form:

339 *ruga-si-a masa-ri-la-i fa'a-si-a*
 let go-TrS-PrO(3s) play-TrS-GER-PrS(Ind) away-TrS-PrO(3s)
ta kee-'o
 DUB bite-PrS(2s)
 Stop playing with it or it might bite you.

340 *wa'a-ni ani-nga fa'a-si-a adalo kwasi ta longo-a*
 not do-TrS cry-NOM away-TrS-PrO(3s) ghost wild DUB hear-PrO(3s)
 Stop crying lest a wild spirit hear it.

341 *'oo sia aru-a mone a-i fa'a-si-a*
 FPr(2s) NEG put-PrO(3s) NEG LOC-PrS(Ind) away-TrS-PrO(3s)
ta'a ta beri-a
 people DUB steal-PrO(3s)
 Don't put it there, or people might steal it.

5.2.6 Conditional S2

In conditional constructions, S1 is introduced by *lauta* or its shortened form *lau*. In S2 the verb is marked either by future tense marker, by the dubitive modal *ta-*, or simply uses the subject-referencing pronoun without marking the irrealis nature of S2.

342 *lauta la Masaka ka kwate-a tafangafa'arua fa-gu*
 if ART Masaka SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s) shell valuable for-PrS(1s)
ta-ku 'oi-a banli'au a-gu
 FUT-SRP(1s) break-PrO(3s) valuable PsP-PrS(1s)
 If Masaka gives me a tf. then I'll break up my baani'au.

343 *lau ku so'o dari-a ta-ku*
 if SRP(1s) pick up find-PrO(3s) FUT-SRP(1s)
ori-te-'e-ni-a
 return-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s)
 If I find it I'll return it.

Sometimes a double conditional construction using *lauta* followed by *gwa'a* 'even if' is used:

lauta gwa'a wane ma lauta ka
if even if man CON if SRP(3s)

'esi-a kau me-e mae no'o
fall-PrO(3s) DEI CON-SRP(3s) die PRF
Even a man who fell down there would be killed.

Occasionally *leeleka*, the reduplicated form of 'go' which usually indicates the passage of time, is used in a conditional construction:

ala'i kwao, leeleka e fili...
European white, if SRP(3s) be sick...
If a European got sick...

When talking about things that might have happened in the past but did not, various indirect devices could be used to indicate the counterfactuality of S2. One is the particle *isa* 'if' glimpsed in 5.1.5 (#283), and the negative *me-e 'amoe*.

344 *lauta ta'a i Marika la 'ame leka mai i Solomone,*
if people LOC America SRP(3p) NEG go DEI LOC Guadalcanal

isa 'i-dauru-i age-a taunga'i-nga naa
then INF-SRP(1ti)-i do-PrO(3s) work-NOM LOC

Maasina Ruru me-e 'amoe
Maasina Rule CON-SRP(3s) NEG
If the Americans hadn't come to Guadalcanal, then we would never have done the work of Maasina Rule.
(lit. "as though for us to do the work of Maasina Rule be non-existent".)

Another is the "is to" construction alone, negated with *me-e 'amoe*:

345 *lauta bata ka tala no'o fa-gu,*
if money SRP(3s) accrue PRF for-PrS(1s)

'a-ku-i beri-a bata no'o-na me-e 'amoe
INF-SRP(1s)-i steal-PrO(3s) money DEI CON-SRP(3s) NEG
If I had acquired any money, I'd never have stolen that money.
(Lit. "If money had accrued to me, for me to steal that money be non-existent".)

5.2.7 Concessive S2

Where two clauses are conjoined so that S1 even if S2, two sequences are possible (as in English):

S1 even if S2
even if S2, S1

In Kwaio, both use *gwae* 'even if' (or *gwa'a*):

- 346 *gwae gala 'akwa ta-goru to'o dari-'aga'a*
 even if SRP(3d) run away FUT-SRP(1t) meet find-PrO(3d)
 Even if those two run away, we'll find them.
- 346A *gala 'akwa*
 SRP(3d) run away
 The two of them run away.
- 346B *ta-goru to'o dari-'aga'a*
 FUT-SRP(1t) meet find-PrO(3d)
 We'll find the two of them. cf.
- 346C *ta-goru to'o dari-'aga'a gwae gala 'akwa*
 FUT-SRP(1t) meet find-PrO(3d) even if SRP(3d) run away
 We'll find those two even if they run away.

There is some contrast in semantic shading; in #346C clause S1 is, in effect, topicalized. In Kwaio the order "even if S2, S1" is preferred unless such topicalization is appropriate.

5.3 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

5.3.1 Complement clauses: S2 as direct object

A subordinate clause may serve as direct object of the verb S1. Two constructions, one fairly straightforward and the other complex, are common.

5.3.1.1 S2 as surface direct object of *iri-a*

S2, the subordinate clause, may be the surface direct object of the verb *iri-a* 'say, think'. This can occur when *iri-a* is the verb of S1:

- 347 *ngal e iri-a la sia fane mone i fataia*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) SRP(3p) NEG ascend NEG LOC bush
 He says they can't go up into the bush.

But *iri-a* may also serve as a connective, in effect as a prepositional verb 'that' serving to embed the subordinate clause:

- 348 *ga'i-a ka fa'a-basu-ga no'o iri-a*
 mother-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) CAUS-be warned-PrO(3p) PRF say-PrO(3s)

berl-la-na no'o no'o-na e abu iki
 steal-GER-PrS(3s) taro DEI PvP(3s) be taboo be large
 Her mother warned them that stealing that taro would be very taboo.

It would also be possible to emphasize the irrealis "would be" in the second clause by using the future tense marker *ta-* prefixed to the subject-referencing pronoun: *te-'e abu iki*.

Note that while S2 is the direct object of *iri-a* at a level of surface morphology in #347, in #348 *iri-a* is in fact connecting S1 and S2 and is not the verb of S1.

348A *ga'i-a ka fa'a-basu-ga no'o*
 mother-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) CAUS-be warned-PrO(3p) PRF
 Her mother warned them.

348B *beri-la-na go'u no'o-na e abu iki*
 steal-GER-PrS(3s) taro DEI SRP(3s) be taboo be large
 Stealing that taro would be very taboo.

We might compare this with English "saying" as a connective between clauses:

"Her mother warned them, saying it's dangerous to accept rides from strangers."

but syntactically it is more like English "that" in

"...warned them that it's dangerous...".

The *iri-a* can refer to what is thought, as well as said:

349 *ngaia ka maamanata iri-a bala te-e*
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) think(REDUP) say-PrO(3s) MOD FUT-SRP(3s)
'ato fa-na wela sika'u
 be difficult for-PrS(3s) child small
 He reflected that it might be too difficult for a small child.

Note here the use of the modal of possibility plus future tense marker for an imagined possible future state.

5.3.1.2 S2 as surface direct object of *siri-a*

Much more complex, because of the possibilities of switch-reference, are constructions where S2 is the surface direct object of the transitive verb *siri-a* 'want it'. Here S2 entails, in effect, an infinitive construction. Note English:

- (1) I want to go.
- (2) I want him to go.
- (3) They want to do it.
- (4) They want us to do it.

In (1) and (3), the subjects of the underlying clauses are co-referential:

S1 I want (S2)
 S2 I go.

S1 They want (S2)
S2 They do it.

In (2) and (4) the subjects are not co-referential, and the change of reference must be established by the pronominals.

The constructions used in Kwaio prefix 'a- to the subject-referencing pronoun, with -i optionally suffixed to it, as in constructions explicated in 4.6. Thus

'a-ku(-i) 'for me to'
'a-gala(-i) 'for the two of them'
'o-molo(-i) 'for the two of you'
('o- is an
allomorph of 'a-)
'a-le-i } 'for them
'a-gila(-i) } to'

There is some evidence, notably the occasional use of sequences such as 'a-ni gila-i age-a 'for them to do it', that the prefix 'a- is an abbreviated form of 'a-ni in its infinitive marking sense. Because there is no abbreviated second person singular form (*'a-'oo-i, etc.), the form 'a-ni 'oi is usually used to express '(I want) you to...':

350 nau ku siri-a 'a-ni 'oi age-a
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-TrS INF SRP(2s) do-PrO(3s)
I want you to do it.

The 'for you to' construction will be examined further shortly. Potential ambiguities are heightened because in conversation, where the subjects of S1 and S2 are co-referential, some speakers use a shortened form where 'a-ni is used in a neutral infinitive sense ("to do" rather than "for him to do"). Those who use such a construction use an intransitive *siri* rather than a transitive *siri-a*. Thus

351 nau ku siri 'a-ni age-a
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want INF do-PrO(3s)
I want to do it.

which is accepted as conversational coin but rejected by many speakers as ungrammatical when presented out of context, in favour of

351A nau ku siri-a 'a-ku-i age-a
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(1s)-i do-PrO(3s)
I want to do it.

The uses of 'a-ni as a straight infinitive marker and as a 'for him to' form, a contraction of 'a-ni + SRP(3s) would seem to be reflected in relatively common sequences such as

'a-ni ngal 'a-ni age-a
 INF FPr(3s) INF-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 ..for him to do it.

Where the subjects of the underlying S1 and S2 are co-referential, the (fully acceptable) constructions repeat the subject-referencing pronoun in the surface direct object clause, marked with 'a- and -i:

352 gala siri-a 'a-gala-i age-a
 SRP(3d) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3d)-i do-PrO(3s)
 Those two want to do it.

353 molo siri 'o-molo-i age-a
 P(2d) want INF-SRP(2d)-i do-PrO(3s)
 You two want to do it.

A potential ambiguity occurs with the marginally grammatical

354 'oo siri 'a-ni age-a
 FPr(2s) want INF do-PrO(3s)
 You want to do it.

which ostensibly could be 'You want to do it.' or 'You want him to do it.'

This introduces the problem of switched reference. The same constructional pattern is used, with a switch of pronominals marking the change of reference -- in most cases, clearly enough:

355 ngal e siri-a 'a-gala-i
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3d)-i

aga 'oo-fl-a
 look search for-TrS-PrO(3s)
 He wants the two of them to look for it.

356 nau ku siri-a 'o-molo-i aru-a i
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(2d)-i put-PrO(3s) LOC

langi
 up above
 I want the two of you to put it up above.

357 'e-me'e mele siri-a 'a-le-i nana'i
 FPr(1de) SRP(1de) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3p)-i stay

mama-ni-'ame'e
 wait-TrS-PrO(1de)
 We two want them to stay and wait for us.

This pattern is problematic, as noted, for second and third person singular, where redundancies are characteristically introduced to disambiguate the reference. Thus

358 *nau ku siri-'o 'a-ni leka i Uru*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(2s) INF-SRP(3s) go LOC Uru
 I want you to go to Uru.

This could be further rendered unambiguous with

358A *nau ku siri-'o 'a-ni 'oi leka i Uru*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(2s) INF SRP(2s) go LOC Uru
 I want you to go to Uru.

A third person singular subject in S2 is problematic because

351B *nau ku siri-a 'a-ni age-a*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 I want him to do it.

would differ from the marginally grammatical #351, by only a single syllable, the clitic pronoun. In conversation, speakers tend to use grammatical redundancies to mark the switch of reference, as in

351C *nau ku siri-a 'a-ni ngal 'a-ni*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3s) FPr(3s) INF-SRP(3s)
age-a
 do-PrO(3s)
 I want him to do it.
 or
 I want him to be the one who does it.

In fact, further redundancies are often employed to make reference, and especially change of reference, clear. Thus I have recorded in texts

359 *nau ku 'ame siri-a 'oo wane a-gu*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG want-PrO(3s) FPr(2s) man PsP-PrS(1s)

'a-ni 'oi kwa'i-a la'u wane
 INF-SRP(3s) SRP(2s) kill-PrS(3s) PstVbP man
 I don't want you, my husband, to kill a man ever again.

and

360 *gila lo'oo gila siri-a 'a-le-i gila*
 FP(3p) DEI SRP(3p) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3p)-i SRP(3p)

to'oto'oru mola 'ubu-na fataia
 live (REDUP) PstVbP inside-PrS(3s) bush
 They want to live in the bush.

Where S2 has a noun as subject, it does not act as direct object of *siri-a* (since the whole of S2 is the grammatical direct object), but rather becomes oblique object of *siri-a*. Thus from a text

- 361 *e siri-a fa-na waa lo-fo'u 'a-le-l*
 SRP(3s) want-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3s) man DEI INF-SRP(3p)-i
fata le'ale'a
 speak be good(REDUP)
 He wanted those people to speak properly.
 (Here the deictic *lo-fo'u* 'down there'
 is used in narrative to describe
 protagonists in an imaginary scenario.)

Note the complexities of reference in the following sentence, where "they1" refers to a group of Kwaio bush people and "they2" refers to the government officers.

- 362 *gila siri-a nga naba*
 SRP(3p) want-PrO(3s) ART number

'a-ni gila-i kwate-a fa-ga
 INF SRP(3p)-i give-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3p)

'a-ni gwa'a nga solodia e aga-si-ga
 INF even if ART police SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3p)

mee sia 'ui-ga mone
 TAM NEG shoot-PrO(3p) neg
 They wanted them to give them a number so that even if a
 policeman saw them he wouldn't shoot them.

Note here what is a rare construction in Kwaio, where the infinitive-marker *'a-ni* serves to introduce a clause with 'so that...'. This and another infinitival construction, closely related to the 'want to' constructions just examined, require brief examination.

5.3.2 Other infinitive clauses

Kwaio sometimes employs subordinate clauses, in some ways similar to the 'want to go' constructions described in 5.3.1.2, using both *'a-ni* and *fa-na* as infinitive markers, to express relationships between clauses where

S1 in order to S2
 and
 S1 so that S2.

The infinitive marker *'a-ni* can serve, as in #361, to mark a 'so that S2' relationship. Another example will clarify the pattern:

- 363 *nau ku fee-a ru'uru'ua lo'oo,*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) take-PrO(3s) family DEI

'a-ni meru leka meru ma'u no'o...
 INF SRP(1te) go SRP(1te) be afraid PRF
 I'm taking this family so as to go and take refuge...

An infinitival construction is sometimes created by using the preposition *fa-na* 'for' (cf. #361 above). The infinitival structure of the following clause may be marked by prefixing the subject-referencing pronoun with 'a- (apparently as a shortened 'a-ni)..

- 364 *nau ku tooto'oru mola*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) stay(REDUP) PstVbP
- fa-na 'a-ku aga suri-a*
 for-PrS(3s) INF-SRP(1s) look at-PrO(3s)
- nga aumu-'i boo a-gu,*
 ART bunch-of pig PsP-PrS(1s)
- 'a-ku aga mai suri-a 'lfi*
 INF-SRP(1s) look DEI at-PrO(3s) house
 I'm just staying to check up on my pig herd (and) to keep
 watch on the house.

The parallels between this construction and the 'want to --' constructions just explicated are fairly clear.

- 365 *nau la'akau ku suru noo 'usi-'o*
 FPr(1s) DEI SRP(1s) curse PRF against-PrO(2s)
- fana 'a-ni 'oi kwa'l-a la'u be'u...*
 for-PrS(3s) INF SRP(2s) kill-PrO(3s) PstVbP victim
 I put an injunction against your killing anyone.

Elsewhere, as with 'a-ni as infinitive marker, *fa-na* can directly precede the verb:

- 366 *gila me-'e tooto'oru la'u mola gala-ni*
 SRP(3p) TAM stay(REDUP) PstVbP PstVbP close
- fa-na longo i suri-a*
 for-PrS(3s) hear LOC around-PrO(3s)
 They just stayed near by so as to hear (what happened).

The two markers, 'a-ni and *fa-na* can operate together, as #365 illustrates. Compare also

- 367 *e 'ato fa-dauru 'a-goru-i age-a*
 SRP(3s) be difficult for-PrS(1ti) INF-SRP(1ti)-i do-PrO(3s)
 It's hard for us to do it.

An embedded infinitive clause introduced with 'a-ni may, in its entirety, be the surface direct object of the verb *lri-a* 'say it' -- which in this context then is given a reading of "in order to" or "thinking to", as in 5.3.1.1:

368 *gila fada no'o fa-i iri-a*
 SRP(3p) meet PRF for-PrO(3nd) say-PrO(3s)
 'ani olo-fi-'ameru
 INF attack-TrS-PrO(1te)
 They met about it, thinking to attack us.

Or, with 'a- plus subject-referencing pronoun

369 *ma nau ku leka iri-a*
 CON PFr(1s) SRP(1s) go say-PrO(3s)
 'a-ku rio fa-na
 INF-SRP(1s) look for-PrS(3s)
 And I went to look for him.

5.3.3 Relative clauses

The head noun of an NP may be modified by an embedded relative clause. A relative clause may be embedded in any NP, whether subject, direct object, or object of a prepositional phrase. As will be seen in 5.3.3, a similar constructional pattern embeds clauses in temporal phrases.

5.3.3.1 The embedding of relative clauses in NP's

This pattern of embedding relative clauses that modify the head nouns of NP's has been glimpsed at two points in Part 3. First, it was seen in 3.1.1.2 that a stative clause can be embedded in an NP as modifier:

370 *'ifi ngai e ba'ita*
 house FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 The house (which) is big(.)

I have hypothesized in 3.1.1.2.1 that this structure of embedded stative clauses underlies surface adjectival constructions. In 3.1.4.2, the embedding of locative clauses in "possessive" pronominal constructions was glimpsed:

371 *'ifi ngai a-gu*
 house FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(1s)
 the house which is mine/I have a house.

Such embedded locative clauses are of course verbless. Note also the embedded verbless clauses reiterating a deictic very common in Kwaio narrative and rhetoric:

alata lo-'oo ngai lo-'oo...
 time DEI FPr(3s) DEI
 At this (very) time...

The other form of verbless clause, an equational clause (4.3.2),

could also be embedded as modifier of the head noun:

370 *wane ngai fataabu*
 man FPr(3s) priest
 The man (who) is a priest(.)

The common northern Malaita term for 'priest', *fataabu*, is relatively uncommon in Kwaio; an alternative and more common way of conveying the same meaning will serve to introduce the embedding of a clause with active verb:

371 *wane ngai e tani-a ba'e*
 man FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hold-PrO(3s) shrine
 The man (who) holds a priesthood ...
 (lit. "the man who holds
 the shrine...")

Such relative clauses are very common in Kwaio syntax.

372 *ta'a la tau-nga'i i Wesiteni*
 people SRP(3p) work LOC Western Sols.
 People (who) work in the Western Solomons ...

373 *ta'a geni la a'ari*
 people female SRP(3p) carry
 The women (who) carry(.)

A noun modified by such a relative clause can fit into any NP slot in a sentence. Thus, in subject NP

374 *ta'a geni la a'ari la 'ame nigi 'ua*
 people female SRP(3p) carry SRP(3p) NEG arrive PstVbP
 The women who are doing the carrying haven't arrived yet.

In direct object NP's:

375 *la 'ame kwae-a ta'a geni la a'ari*
 SRP(3p) NEG pay-PrO(3s) people female SRP(3p) carry
 They didn't pay the women who did the carrying.

In oblique object NP's:

376 *la kwate-a 'ota fa-na ta'a geni*
 SRP(3p) give-PrO(3s) areca for-PrS(3s) people female
la a'ari
 SRP(3p) carry
 They gave areca nuts to the women who did the carrying.

Modifying head noun of locative phrase:

377 *sul ma la ori i fanua naa ta'a geni la a'ari*
 CON CON SRP(3p) return LOC place LOC people female SRP(3p) carry
 Then they went back to the village of the women who did
 the carrying.

Modifying head noun of prepositional phrase:

- 378 *nau ku eno no'o fe'e-ni-a ta'a geni*
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) sleep PRF with-TrS-PrO(3s) people female
la a'ari
 SRP(3p) carry
 I spent the night with the women who did the carrying.

5.3.3.2 Fronting and relativization

An interesting pattern in the embedding of clauses draws on the modes of topicalization examined in 4.1.5.1. The head noun modified by the relative clause may be subject of the embedded clause, with the embedded clause consisting (as *la a'ari* does in #367 to #371) of the predicate introduced by a subject-referencing pronoun referencing subject NP. Such an embedded predicate clause could itself contain one or more object NP's:

- 379 *ta'a geni la a'ari-a go'u fa-gu*
 people female SRP(3p) carry-PrO(3s) taro for-PrS(1s)
 The women (who) carry taro for me(.)

And these predicate NP's in the embedded clauses could (at least for syntacticians who like Chinese boxes, if not most everyday Kwaio speakers) themselves have embedded relative clauses

- 380 *ta'a geni la a'ari-a go'u fa-na*
 people female SRP(3p) carry-PrO(3s) taro for-PrS(3s)

ta'a la ori mai naaboni
 people SRP(3p) return DEI yesterday
 The women carried taro for the people who went back yesterday.

What is more interesting is a pattern where the head noun modified by the embedded relative clause is a topicalized predicate object of S2, fronted within that clause so as to precede the (specified or implicit) subject NP of S2. This pattern requires illustration.

Head noun as direct object of S2:

- 381 *wane ta'a geni la aga-si-a i tarusi*
 man people female SRP(3p) see-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC water
 The man the women saw at the stream ...

Head noun as oblique object of S2:

- 382 *wane ta'a geni la a'ari fa-na*
 man people female SRP(3p) carry for-PrS(3s)
 The man the women did the carrying for ...

Head noun as object of prepositional phrase in S2:

- 383 *wane ta'a geni la a'ari-a go'u fe'e-ni-a*
 man people female SRP(3p) carry-PrO(3s) taro with-TrS-PrO(3s)
 The man the women carried the taro with ...

In each case, the noun which serves as topicalized predicate NP in S2 has, by virtue of being fronted, moved into a position where it can then serve as subject of a following clause. Thus:

- 384 *wane ta'a geni la a'ari fa-na ka taa*
 man people female SRP(3p) carry for-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) curse
fono-si-a kwae-nga 'ani-a bata to'ofunga'a
 against-TrS-PrO(3s) pay-NOM with-PrO(3s) money real
 The man the women did the carrying for invoked a curse against
 (making) payment with shell valuables.

- 385 *wane ta'a geni la aga-si-a i tarusi bala*
 man people female SRP(3p) see-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC water MOD
e beri-a boo no'o-na
 SRP(3s) steal-PrO(3s) pig DEI
 Maybe the man the women saw at the stream stole that pig.

The head noun modified by an embedded S2, which is a topicalized noun object within S2, may itself be in a predicate object position in S1

- 386 *la sufa-a wane ta'a geni la*
 SRP(3p) accuse-PrO(3s) man people female SRP(3p)
aga-si-a i tarusi
 see-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC water
 They accused the man the women saw at the stream.

which consists of

- 386A *la sufa-a wane*
 SRP(3p) accuse-PrO(3s) man
 They accused a man.

- 386B *ta'a geni la aga-si-a wane i tarusi*
 people female SRP(3p) see-TrS-PrO(3s) man LOC water
 The women saw a man at the stream.

where *wane1* and *wane2* are co-referential.

5.3.4 Temporal clauses

As seen in 3.4, the nouns *alata* and, less commonly, *fa'l*, serve to introduce temporal phrases, where these nouns are modified so as to designate particular points in time:

- alata no'o-na* 'at that time'
fa'l buri 'the last time'

The temporal phrases formed can occur in clause-initial or clause-final position, as illustrated in #174, #174A, #177, and #177A.

As shown in #176, the element modifying the noun *alata* or *fa'i* and identifying it as a point or period in time may be an embedded clause. The pattern is morphologically parallel to that whereby relative clauses are embedded -- i.e., the embedded clause modifies a head noun

387 *alata la fane i 'Oibasi la to'o darl-a*
time SRP(3p) ascend LOC 'Oibasi SRP(3p) meet find-PrO(3s)

koko'o la 'Ainibaru a-i
old person ART 'Ainibaru LOC-PrS(Ind)
When they went up to 'Oibasi they met old man 'Ainibaru there.

Such a clause embedded as modifier of a temporal noun can also occur in final position in S1, as #176 illustrates. Or, again:

388 *ta-goru ori mal naa alata faka ka nigi i Atoifi*
FUT-SRP(1t) return DEI LOC time ship SRP(3s) arrive LOC Atoifi
We'll come back when the ship reaches Atoifi.

Sometimes the reduplicated form of *leka* 'go' is used in place of *alata* in clause-initial position, usually when the act or event to which temporal reference is made is hypothetical. In such constructions *leleka* can often be translated either as 'when' or 'if' (see 5.2.6): *leleka la ru'u i kalonga...* 'When they go hunting in the forest...' (or 'If they go hunting in the forest...').

The complexities of Kwaio syntax, of which this represents only a surface sketch, can be further explored in the texts that follow.

APPENDIX I

This text, provided to illustrate and exemplify the materials presented in *Kwaio grammar*, constitutes a fragment of an autobiographical account by Jonathan Fifi'i, distinguished Kwaio leader who has been my collaborator in Kwaio linguistic and anthropological research (and who is co-author of the forthcoming new edition of *Kwaio dictionary*). Fifi'i is an eloquent speaker of Kwaio; his account here requires explication on several linguistic points. First, since he is here using formal and deliberate speech, he uses the article *nga* preceding nouns much more commonly than would be the case in everyday conversation. Second, because this is a sustained narrative, it employs some stylistic devices not common in everyday conversation. One is the very extensive use of discourse connectives (such as *kee sul*, 'and then') indicating seriality in time and connectedness of unfolding events. Another is the pattern, common in narrative, of repeating the VP of the preceding sentence, usually without its subject-referencing pronoun: "Then John went up the mountain. Went up the mountain and he saw ...". Otherwise, the sentences, transcribed quite closely as spoken (but with some "unpacking" of particles elided in speech), provide an excellent sample of Kwaio syntax. The punctuation requires brief explication. I have used a period, question mark, and exclamation mark to indicate three modes of sentence-final intonation; and occasionally, use a semicolon to mark a somewhat closer juncture between clauses. Commas indicate pauses, usually marking clause juncture, and hyphens (---) indicate longer pauses either for emphasis or as non-grammatical breaks in the stream of speech.

nau ku siri-a 'a-ku alafuu suli-a
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(1s) speak about-PrO(3s)
 I want to talk about

alata i-nau ku futa a-i
 time FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 the days when I was young,

ma 'ola ku aga-si-a
 CON thing SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 and what I saw

ma 'ola ku longo-a 'ubu-na alata
 CON thing SRP(1s) hear-PrO(3s) inside-PrS(3s) time
 and what I heard, in the days

na ku futa a-i
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 when I was young.

ono akwale-'e farisi ma te'e farisi
 six ten year CON only year
 Sixty one years

nau ku futa a-i nigi tala'ina lo-'oo .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind) arrive today DEI
 have passed since I was born.

nau wane ku futa gula i buri ---
 FPr(1s) man SRP(1s) be born side LOC behind
 I'm a person who was born a pagan ---

naa ta'a nga gula i buri .
 LOC people ART side LOC behind
 of pagan people.

'i-mani mi 'ame giri-a nga alata na
 FPr(1pe) SRP(1pe) NEG write-PrO(3s) ART time CON
 We don't keep track of the time when

fa-na nga wane e futa a-i .
 for-PrS(3s) ART man SRP(3s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 a person is born.

'i-mani mi futa mi to'oru mola .
 FPr(1pe) SRP(1pe) be born SRP(1pe) stay PstVbP
 We are born and just live our lives.

'ola nau ku su'a i suri-a a-i .
 thing FPr(1s) SRP(1s) know LOC about-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 I happen to know that

na ku futa naa nga 1921 .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC ART 1921
 I was born in 1921.

nau ku futa a-i .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 That's when I was born.

'ola ku su'a i suri-a a-i .
 thing SRP(1s) know LOC beside-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 The reason I know about that

na ku aga-si-a la --- ono farisi e sui .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) ART six year SRP(3s) be finished
 (is that) I saw Mr -- six years later,

ma i-na ku aga-si-a wane kwaakwao-'a
 CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) man white
 I saw a white man

ku su'a tarifu-nge'e-ni-a , Mista Bel .
 SRP(1s) know distinguish-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) Mr Bell
 I could pick out, Mr Bell.

ngai e nigi i fanua a-mani naa 1926 .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) arrive LOC place PsP-PrS(3pe) LOC
 He came to our area in 1926

nau ku su'a i suri-a Mista Bel
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) know LOC about-PrO(3s) Mr Bell
 and I knew about Mr Bell

na ku aga-si-a , ma eta ku su'a a-na .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) CON begin SRP(1s) know LOC-PrS(3s)
 I saw him and from then on I recognized him.

futa-nga ku futa gula naa ga'i-nau .
 be born-NOM SRP(1s) be born side LOC mother-PrO(1s)
 As for my relatives, I was born among my mother's people,

naa fanua i Ane'ema -- ngai i 'Oloburi .
 LOC place LOC Ane'ema FPr(3s) LOC 'Oloburi
 at Ane'ema -- that's at 'Oloburi.

na ku futa a-i .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 That's where I was born.

alata na ku futa a-i .
 time FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind)
 In the days when I was born,

ful'oo lo'o-ri e 'ame odo .
 fashion DEI SRP(3s) NEG be straight
 that wasn't the proper way,

fa-na na ku futa naa gula naa ga'i-nau .
 for-PrS(3s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC side PsP mother-PrO(1s)
 for me to have been born among my mother's people.

gula a-mani naa kastomu .
 side PsP-PrS(3pe) LOC custom
 For us, according to custom,

wela --- ru'uru'ua -- 'a-ni futa naa
 child family INF-SRP(3s) be born LOC
 a child -- a family -- should be born

gula naa ma'a a-na .
 side PsP father PsP-PrS(3s)
 among the father's people.

e 'ame le'a 'a-ni futa gula naa ga'i-a
 SRP(3s) NEG be good INF be born side PsP mother-PrO(3s)
 It wasn't proper to be born among one's mother's kin.

tee 'ola moomola
 one thing PstVbP
 But there had been something.

e lau naa alata ma'a a-gu e 'alakwa
 SRP(3s) happen LOC time father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) unmarried
 It had happened back in the days when my father was a bachelor.

ngala ka kwa'i-a noni
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) woman
 He killed a woman,

lata-na ni Fou'aniai'a
 name-PrS(3s) ART Fou'aniai'a
 whose name was Fou'aniai'a.

noni lo-'oo mola 'ubu-na futa-nga a-mani
 woman DEI PstVbP inside-PrS(3s) be born-NOM PsP-PrS(3pe)
 This woman was in our own kin group.

no'o-na , alata e kwa'i-a e sui
 DEI time SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be finished
 Then, after he had killed her,

ngai e bl'i fua geni
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM married woman
 he took a woman in marriage.

ne-'e fua geni me-e nigi i fanua a-mani
 CON-SRP(3s) married woman CON-SRP(3s) arrive LOC place PsP-PrS(3pe)
 So he married and (they) came to our place;

ka to'o labe-na noni a-na , ga'i-nau
 SRP(3s) hit body-PrS(3s) wife PsP-PrS(3s) mother-PrO(1s)
 He consummated the marriage with his wife, my mother,

lata-na ni Dafua
 name-PrS(3s) ART Dafua
 whose name was Dafua.

ma'a a-gu , lata-na la Buumae
 father PsP-PrS(1s) name-PrS(3s) ART Buumae
 My father's name was Buumae.

ma'a a-gu , wane ngaia e 'ame le'a
 father PsP-PrS(1s) man FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG be good
 He was a bad man.

wane fana beri-nga .
 man for-PrS(3s) steal-NOM
 A thief.

ngala , wane ka to'oru no'o lalo a-na
 FPr(3s) man SRP(3s) stay PRF middle LOC-PrS(3s)
 He was a man who mixed with

ta'a ba'ita fa-na kwa'i-nga .
 people be big for-PrS(3s) hit-NOM
 important people in order to kill.

e fee-a mai ga'i-nau e sui ,
 SRP(3s) carry-PrO(3s) DEI mother-PrO(1s) SRP(3s) be finished
 He brought my mother in marriage, and then

ma ta'a gila sufa-a no'o .
 CON people SRP(3p) accuse-PrO(3s) PRF
 people accused him.

la su'a no'o i surl-a , ngala ne-'e
 SRP(3p) know PRF LOC about-PrO(3s) FPr(3s) TOP-SRP(3s)
 They knew that he was the one who

kwa'i-a noni no'o-na .
 hit-PrO(3s) woman DEI
 had killed that woman.

sui ma gila sufa-a .
 CON CON SRP(3p) accuse-PrO(3s)
 Then they accused him.

alata la sufa-a a-i , ngala ka
 time SRP(3p) accuse-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind) FPr(3s) SRP(3s)
 When they accused him, he just

to'oto'oru ma ngaia ka taa .
 stay(REDUP) CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) swear
 stayed and took an oath (of denial).

e taa-fi-a to'oto'o-ni umu a-na ,
 SRP(3s) swear-TrS-PrO(3s) QLF-PLU ovenstones PsP-PrS(3s)
 He swore by all his sacred ovenstones,

e taafi-a to'oto'o-ni adalo .
 SRP(3s) swear-TrS-PrO(3s) QLF-PLU ghost
 he swore by all the ancestral ghosts.

ma taa-nga lo-'oo e 'ame to'o .
 CON swear-NOM DEI SRP(3s) NEG be true
 But this oath was false.

ngal e taa faa-fi mola faa-fi-a nga
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) swear on top-TrS PstVbP on top-TrS-PrO(3s) ART
 He swore falsely to conceal the

kwa'i-nga no'o-na ne-'e age-a
 hit-NOM DEI REL-SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s)
 homicide he had committed.

e taa mola faa-fi-a
 SRP(3s) swear PstVbP on top-TrS-PrO(3s)
 He swore to conceal it.

kee sui to'oto'o-ni ta'a gila mae
 TAM be finished QLF-PLU people SRP(3p) die
 Then everyone died.

la mae-ri-a taa-nga no'o-na ma'a a-gu e
 SRP(3p) die-TrS-PrO(3s) swear-NOM DEI father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s)
 They died from that oath my father

age-a
 do-PrO(3s)
 had taken.

te'e singari oleole , ono akwala e 'afu
 one month only six ten SRP(3s) be complete
 In only one month, fully sixty

gila la mae a-i , 'ubu-la-i
 FPr(3p) SRP(3p) die LOC-PrS(Ind) inside-PrS(Ind)
 had died from it (in that time).

leeleka ma ka nigl naa alata kooko'o a-gu
 then CON SRP(3s) arrive LOC time grandfather PsP-PrS(1s)
 And then came the time when my grandfather

'a-ni maemae no'o ,
 INF-SRP(3s) die(REDUP) PRF
 was going to die,

me-'e bi'l iri-a te' a-na ma'a a-gu
 CON-SRP(3s) TAM say-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 and he said to my father ...

e iri-a te'a-na ma'a a-gu no'o-na
 SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s) DEI
 He said to my father,

'i-laba'a : " 'oo 'a-ni 'akwa'akwa no'o .
 QUOT FPr(2s) INF run away(REDUP) PRF
 "You've got to run away now.

nau 'a-ku kwa-iri la'a-kau no'o fa-na mae
 FPr(1s) INF-SRP(1s) REC-say DEI PRF about-PrS(3s) killing
 I'm going to reveal that that killing

la'a-kau e lau
 DEI SRP(3s) happen
 did happen.

mae la'a-kau , 'oo lo-ko taa , 'oo lo
 killing DEI FPr(2s) CON-SRP(2s) curse FPr(2s) TAM
 That killing, which you swore you didn't commit, was a thing you

taa faa-fi mola la'a-kau
 swear on top-TrS PstVbP DEI
 just concealed with that oath.

to'oto'o-ni ta'a lo-'oo gila mae , gila
 QLF-PLU people DEI SRP(3p) die SRP(3p)
 All the people who have died

mae-ri-a no'o nga taa-nga 'oo age-a
 die-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF ART swear-NOM FPr(2s) do-PrO(3s)
 have died from the (false) oath you took.

na 'oo 'akwa , mo-o sia 'akwa la'a 'ani-a
 CON FPr(2s) run away CON-SRP(2s) NEG run away PstVbP to-PrO(3s)
 So you run away -- but you can't run away to

te'efu-ta lefu 'ubu-na futa-nga a-mu
 any-QLF place inside-PrS(3s) be born-NOM PsP-PrS(2s)
 any place you are related to.

te'efu-ta lefu 'ubu-na futa-nga a-dauru
 any place inside-PrS(3s) be born-NOM PsP-PrS(1ti)
 Any place we are related to.

'oo 'akwa , molo 'akwa no'o fa-na
 FPr(2s) run away SRP(2d) run away PRF to-PrS(3s)
 You run away, you two run away to

fanua naa noni a-mu
 place PsP wife PsP-PrS(2s)
 your wife's place.

fanua naa 'afe a-mu , tee 'oo 'akwa no'o a-l
 place PsP wife PsP-PrS(2s) FUT FPr(2s) run away PRF LOC-PrS(Ind)
 Run to your wife's place straight away.

fungo-mu ma gila ifa-mu na ta-la 'abelo
 fa-in-law-PrS(2s) CON PLU br-in-law-PrS(2s) CON FUT-SRP(3p) watch
 Your father-in-law and brothers-in-law will watch

noo 'ani-'o "
 PRF over-PrO(2s)
 over you.

kooko'o a-gu fata 'i-lo'oo .
 grandfather PsP-PrS(1s) speak like this
 That's what my grandfather said.

lata-na la Alatala .
 name-PrS(3s) ART Alatala
 His name was Alatala.

e iri-a no'o ma'a a-gu no'o-na e
 SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) PRF father PsP-PrS(1s) DEI SRP(3s)
 He said that to my father and

sui ma ma'a a-gu ka 'akwa .
 be finished CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) run away
 then my father ran away.

e 'akwa mola kau , ma ngaia ka mae no'o .
 SRP(3s) run away PstVbP DEI CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) die PRF
 He (my father) ran away, and he (GF) died.

suri-a ngai e iri-a a-na 'i-laba'a :
 because FPr(3s) SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(3s) QUOT
 Because he (GF) had told him (F):

" 'oo 'akwa'akwa no'o .
 FPr(2s) run away(REDUP) PRF
 "You run away right now.

nau ta-ku mae no'o la'u lo-'oo .
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) die PRF PstVbP DEI
 Now I too am going to die.

nau ta-ku mae la'u .
 FPr(1s) FUT-SRP(1s) die PstVbP
 I too am going to die.

ma i-'oo 'a-ni leka , 'a-ni 'akwa 'a-ni
 CON FPr(2s) INF go INF run away INF
 But you're to go, to run away, to

to'oru lalau e sui ,
 stay far away SRP(3s) be finished
 live far away, and then

ma ta'a gila lafu-a aumu-'i boo 'a-ni
 CON FUT SRP(3p) lift-PrO(3s) set of pig INF-SRP(3s)
 they will give a series of pigs (in sacrifice) in order that

gila *i* --- 'a-moru-i moori
 SRP(3p) LOC INF-SRP(2t) be alive
 you all may live.

na ai nau ku leka no'o a-ni , *ku kwa-iri*
 CON thing FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go PRF LOC-PrS(PL-Ind) SRP(1s) REC-say
 So my message is -- I'm telling

dari-'o 'a-ni 'oi 'a-ni 'akwa no'o "
 find-PrO(2s) INF SRP(2s) INF run away PRF
 you, you must run away right now."

ma'a a-gu ngaia ka 'akwa no'o .
 father PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away PRF
 My father ran away.

noni a-na gala 'akwa no'o te'efou .
 wife PsP-PrS(3s) SRP(3d) run away PRF together
 He and his wife fled together.

alata la 'akwa , na ku 'ame futa 'ua .
 time SRP(3p) run away FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be born PstVbP
 At the time they ran away, I wasn't born yet.

nau ku 'ame futa 'ua naa alata no'o-na .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be born PstVbP LOC time DEI
 I wasn't yet born at that time.

sui , ma'a a-gu e 'akwa , ka leka , ka
 then father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) run away SRP(3s) go SRP(3s)
 So my father ran away, went

to'oru fe'e-ni-a gila fungo-na ,
 stay with-TrS-PrO(3s) PLU fa-in-law
 and stayed with his fathers-in-law,

ma ka to'oru fe'e-ni-a gila lfa-na .
 CON SRP(3s) stay with-TrS-PrO(3s) PLU br-in-law-PrS(3s)
 and with his brothers-in-law.

gila 'abelo 'ani-a , gila rio i suri-a ,
 SRP(3p) watch over-PrO(3s) SRP(3p) look LOC around-PrO(3s)
 They protected him, watched over him,

gila faa-te'e-ni-a lefu e leka a-i ---
 SRP(3p) show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) place SRP(3s) go LOC-PrS(Ind)
 guarded him when he travelled ---

ma gila faa-te'e-ni-a .
 CON SRP(3p) show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s)
 they escorted him.

alata ngai e to'oru a-i -- ga'i-nau e
 time FPr(3s) SRP(3s) stay LOC-PrS(Ind) mother-PrO(1s) SRP(3s)
 When he was living there -- so my mother

kwa-iri dari-nau ---
 REC-say find-PrO(1s)
 told me ---

ngai e beri-a la'u mola boo
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) steal-PrO(3s) PstVbP PstVbP pig
 he stole pigs again,

fa-na gila ifa-na .
 for-PrS(3s) PLU br-in-law-PrS(3s)
 for his brothers-in-law.

ma ka beri-a la'u mola nga boo fa-na ta'a
 CON SRP(3s) steal-PrO(3s) PstVbP PstVbP ART pig for-PrS(3s) people
 And he stole pigs for his

ni fungo-na ; gila 'ani-a .
 PLU fa-in-law SRP(3p) eat-PrO(3s)
 fathers-in-law; and they ate them.

leeleka ma na ku bi'i futa .
 then CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) TAM be born
 And after that, I was born.

alata i-na ku futa no'o na ku to'o-a .
 time FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born PRF FPr(1s) SRP(1s) mark-PrO(3x)
 I know the point at which I was born,

na ku futa naa 1921 --- na ku futa
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born
 it was in 1921 -- I was born

a-i .
 LOC-PrS(Ind)
 then.

alata lee na ku futa a-i no'o-na , meru
 time DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC-PrS(Ind) DEI SRP(1te)
 When I was born there, we

to'oto'oru , na ku 'ame manata-'a .
 stay(REDUP) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be sensible
 lived there quite a while, but I don't remember.

na ku kaku mola 'ua .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) not-sentient PstVbP PstVbP
 I was too young to know what was happening.

leeleka , ngaa noni futa fe'e-ni-a ma'a a-gu ,
 then ART woman born with-TrS-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 My father's sister,

lata-na ni 'Onofi -- ngala e 'ame 'akwa
 name-PrS(3s) ART Onofi FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG run away
 whose name was 'Onofi, hadn't run away

fe'e-ni-a ma'a a-gu
 with-TrS-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 with my father...

ngai e 'akwa naa gula naa ini a-na
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away LOC side PsP uncle PsP-PrS(3s)
 She had run away to her maternal uncle's people.

fa-na i 'Oloburi la'u mola
 for-PrS(3s) LOC 'Oloburi PstVbP PstVbP
 That was at 'Oloburi, too.

ngai e 'akwa no'o-na , e to'oru a-i
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) run away DEI SRP(3s) stay LOC-PrS(Ind)
 She ran away there, and had stayed for

e a-buru
 SRP(3s) long time
 a long time.

leeleka ma 'afu-ta-na ta'a , ta'a naa
 then CON all-Qlf-PrS(3s) people people LOC
 Then all the people , the relatives of

gula naa wela geni la'a-kau
 side PsP child female DEI
 that girl (who had been killed)

la Ai'aa , ma la Gwaloi'a ---
 ART Ai'aa CON ART Gwaloi'a
 Ai'aa and Gwaloi'a

la Maiamae , gila aru-a sikwa
 ART Maiamae SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) bounty
 and Maiamae put up a blood bounty.

la aru-a sikwa suri-a ma'a a-gu
 SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) bounty after father PsP-PrS(1s)
 They put up blood money for the death of my father

gila Iri-a 'ani-a wane 'a-ni kee kwa'i-a
 SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) for-PrO(3s) man INF-SRP(3s) TAM hit-PrO(3s)
 They specified that someone was to kill

mola ma'a a-gu
PstVbP father PsP-PrS(1s)
my father.

sui ma te-'e sule-a sikwa no'o-na .
CON CON FUT-SRP(3s) claim-PrO(3s) bounty DEI
Then he would claim that blood money.

ma'a a-gu e to'oru fe'e-ni-a ta'a ni
father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) stay with-TrS-PrO(3s) people PsP
My father lived with his

fungo-na , ma'a a-gu
fa-in-law father PsP-PrS(1s)
fathers-in-law, my father

e to'oru fe'e-ni-a ta'a ni ifa-na .
SRP(3s) stay with-TrS-PrO(3s) people PLU br-in-law-PrS(3s)
lived with his brothers-in-law.

gila la 'abelo 'ani-a e iki
FPr(3p) SRP(3p) watch for-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be large
They protected him very strongly.

leeleka to'o-ni ta'a gila leka mai , la
when all-PLU people SRP(3p) go DEI SRP(3p)
When everyone came they

ria-si-a boo ba'ita ,
see-TrS-PrO(3s) pig big
saw the big pigs,

gila ria-si-a nga me'e bata ka aula
SRP(3p) see-TrS-PrO(3s) ART NUCL money SRP(3s) be plentiful
they saw there were lots of valuables,

la Ai'aa e aru-a, ma la Gwaloi'a gala
ART Ai'aa SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) CON ART Gwaloi'a SRP(3d)
which Ai'aa and Gwaloi'a and

aru-a, la Malamae la aru-a
put-PrO(3s) ART Maiamae SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s)
Maiamae were keeping.

to'oto'o-ni wane la ru'u-fl-a ma'a a-gu
QLF-PLU man SRP(3p) hunt-TrS-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
Everyone hunted after my father.

la leka mai ri'i-ta-na , gula naa ga'l-nau
SRP(3p) go DEI environs of-PrS(3s) side PsP mother-PrO(1s)
They hung around, in my mother's district

alata la ru'u-fl-a , gila siri-a 'a-le-i
 time SRP(3p) hunt-TrS-PrO(3s) SRP(3p) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3p)-i
 When they hunted him, they wanted to

kwa'i-a , 'a-le-i kee sula-sikwa .
 hit-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3p)-i TAM collect-bounty
 kill him in order to collect the blood bounty.

sikwa no'o-na la aru-a l Naufee , ma i A'esuala .
 bounty DEI SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) LOC Naufee CON LOC A'esuala
 That bounty was being kept at Naufee and at A'esuala.

ma'a a-gu e ma'u ngasi no'o , gula naa
 father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) be afraid strongly PRF side PsP
 My father was in safe refuge, at the place of

fungo-na , ma ka ma'u ngasi no'o
 fa-in-law CON SRP(3s) be afraid strongly PRF
 his fathers-in-law, and he was stoutly protected

gula naa noni a-na
 side PsP wife PsP-PrS(3s)
 in his wife's place.

gila to'oto'oru a-l kee sui , ma ni 'Onofi --
 SRP(3p) stay(REDUP) LOC-PrS(Ind) TAM be finished CON ART 'Onofi --
 They went on staying there, and then 'Onofi

noni futa fe'e-ni-a ma'a a-gu --- ngal
 woman be born with-TrS-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(3s)
 my father's sister -- was

e to'oru fe'e-ni-a la ini a-na
 SRP(3s) stay with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART uncle PsP-PrS(3s)
 staying with her maternal uncles.

la Tolofe'ema'e ma la Taafibata , naa fanua l Naa'ufi .
 ART Tolofe'ema'e CON ART Taafibata LOC place LOC Naa'ufi .
 Tolofe'ema'e and Taafibata, at Naa'ufi.

alata ngal e to'oru fe'e-ni-ga no'o-na e
 time FPr(3s) SRP(3s) stay with-TrS-PrO(3p) DEI SRP(3s)
 When she was staying with them there,

sul , te'e wane lata-na
 be finished one man name-PrS(3s)
 one man, whose name was

la 'Ariki 'Agwaka , ma rua-na wane la
 ART 'Ariki 'Agwaka CON two-ORD man ART
 'Ariki 'Agwaka, and a second man, named

Subamae , ma la Ri'imae --- oru wane gauru
 Subamae, CON ART Ri'imae three man SRP(3t)
 Subamae and Ri'imae -- these three men

longo-a sikwa lo-fo'u ma gauru-a siri-a
 hear-PrO(3s) bounty DEI CON SRP(3t)-TAM want-PrO(3s)
 heard about that bounty and wanted to get it.

gauru siri-a 'a-gauru-l 'ani-a boo, ma
 SRP(3t) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3t)-i eat-PrO(3s) pig CON
 They wanted to eat the pigs, and

gauru siri-a 'a-gauru-l dari-a me'e bata
 SRP(3t) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3t)-i get-PrO(3s) NUCL money
 they wanted to get the valuables.

'a-le-l sule-a sikwa ba'ita , naa gila
 INF-SRP(3p)-i collect-PrO(3s) bounty big CON SRP(3p)
 To collect the big blood bounty, which had been

aru-a mai suri-a ma'a a-gu
 put-PrO(3s) DEI against-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 put up against my father.

leeleka , Maiamae ngala ka ru'u , e
 then Maiamae FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hunt SRP(3s)
 Then Maiamae went hunting,

ru'uru'u-fi-a ma'a a-gu
 hunt(REDUP)-TrS-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 hunted my father,

ma ka 'ato no'o .
 CON SRP(3s) be impossible PRF
 but it was impossible.

sul ma ka leka , kee kwai-ori-si , fa-ta
 CON CON SRP(3s) go TAM RECIP-ask-TrS for-QNT
 and then he want and asked, asked for

te'efu-ta wane .
 any man
 anyone (to volunteer).

la fata fe'e-ni-a la 'Ariki --- 'Agwaka ---
 SRP(3p) speak with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART 'Ariki 'Agwaka
 They talked with 'Ariki -- 'Agwaka ---

ma la Subamae .
 CON ART Subamae,
 and Subamae .

ka 'i-laba'a : " na ku ru'u to'o-na la
 SRP(3s) QUOT FPr(1s) SRP(1s) hunt try-PrS(3s) ART
 He said, "I've been trying to get

Buumae ngai e ma'u gula naa fungo-na ma gula
 Buumae FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be afraid side PsP fa-in-law CON side
 Buumae, who has been in sanctuary with his fathers-in-law and

naa ifa-na , gula naa noni a-na
 PsP br-in-law-PrS(3s) side PsP wife PsP-PrS(3s)
 his brothers-in-law, in his wife's place.

e 'ato ! noni geni lo-'oo e futa
 SRP(3s) be impossible woman female DEI SRP(3s) be born
 It's impossible! This woman who is

fe'e-ni-a , ni 'Onofi --- 'ee-fee'ua ?
 with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Onofi INT(be how?)
 his sister, 'Onofi -- what about her?

na ku siri-a 'o-moru kwa'i-a mal fa-na
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(2t) hit-PrO(3s) DEI for-PrS(3s)
 I want you guys to kill her for

sikwa lo-fo'u , 'o-moru mee sule-a
 bounty DEI INF-SRP(2t) TAM pursue-PrO(3s)
 the blood bounty you're after.

no'o-na , ma sikwa lo-fo'u ku aru-a , boo
 DEI CON bounty DEI SRP(1s) put-PrO(3s) pig
 In that blood money I'm keeping, there are pigs

e aula , ma bata ka aula
 SRP(3s) be plentiful CON money SRP(3s) be plentiful
 and valuables aplenty.

ku-a to'oru ka a-buru no'o lo-'oo "
 SRP(1s)-TAM stay SRP(3s) be a long time PRF DEI
 I've been waiting a long time."

e fata 'i-no'o-na te'a-la 'Ariki 'Agwaka ma la
 SRP(3s) speak thusly to-ART 'Ariki 'Agwaka CON ART
 That's what he told 'Ariki 'Agwaka and

Subamae , kee sui ma gila gila lae-ni-a :
 Subamae TAM be finished CON FPr(3p) SRP(3p) like-TrS-PrO(3s)
 Subamae, and they were taken with the idea:

" le'a , ta-meru kwa'i-a noni no'o-ni "
 good FUT-SRP(1te) hit-PrO(3s) woman DEI
 "OK, we'll kill that woman."

naana'i e sui , ma ni 'Onofi , ngaia ka
 stay SRP(3s) be finished CON ART Onofi FPr(3s) SRP(3s)
 And then 'Onofi

leka .
 go
 went.

e leka e tau-nga'i naa langa'a a-na
 SRP(3s) go SRP(3s) go SRP(3s) work-TrI LOC garden PsP-PrS(3s)
 She went, went and worked in her garden.

leka e tau-nga'i lo-'oo , fe'e-ni-a noni
 go SRP(3s) work-TrI DEI with-TrS-PrO(3s) woman
 She went and worked there, with a woman

ngaai , noni garu futa , ni Ri'oka .
 PstNmQlf woman SRP(3t) be related ART Ri'oka
 who was her relative, named Ri'oka.

alata gila leka mola , gila kee a'ari-a 'inol
 time SRP(3p) go PstVbP SRP(3p) TAM carry-PrO(3s) shoots
 When they went, they carried planting shoots of

naa go'u kee sui , ma la 'Ariki 'Agwaka
 PsP taro TAM be finished CON ART 'Ariki 'Agwaka
 taro, and all the while 'Ariki 'Agwaka

ngaia ka nagwa no'o mama-ni-a
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hide PRF wait-TrS-PrO(3s)
 was in hiding waiting for her.

nagwa mama-ni-a no'o l --- suri-a tala .
 hide wait-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF LOC beside-PrO(3s) path
 Hiding waiting for her beside the path.

ngaia me'e riu , sui ma ka 'ui-a , 'ui-a
 FPr(3s) TAM pass CON CON SRP(3s) shoot-PrO(3s) shoot-PrO(3s)
 She came past, and he shot her, shot

ni 'Onofi .
 ART Onofi
 'Onofi.

'ui-a no'o-na e sui , na ma gila 'akwa
 shoot-PrO(3s) DEI SRP(3s) be finished CON CON SRP(3p) run away
 Shot her there, and then they ran away

no'o .
 PRF

la 'akwa no'o-na e sul , me'e bi'i ---
 SRP(3p) run away DEI SRP(3s) be finished TAM TAM
 They ran away from there, and then ---

Subamae ma la 'Ariki 'Agwaka , gala bi'i leka mai
 Subamae CON ART 'Ariki 'Agwaka SRP(3d) TAM go DEI
 Subamae and 'Ariki 'Agwaka came,

gala bi'i buu naa sikwa --- sikwa no'o-na i
 SRP(3d) TAM stamp LOC bounty --- bounty DEI LOC
 and the two of them claimed that bounty -- the bounty there at

Naufee ma i A'esuala .
 Naufee CON LOC A'esuala
 Naufee and A'esuala.

kwa-iri te'a-la Ai'aa , kwa-iri te'a-la Gwaloi'a ,
 REC-say to-ART Ai'aa REC-say to-ART Gwaloi'a
 (They) said to Ai'aa, said to Gwaloi'a,

kwa-iri te'a-la Maiamae , ma ni ta'a la'u :
 REC-say to-ART Maiamae CON PLU people PstNQLf
 said to Maiamae, and the rest of them:

" 'e-me'e mele kwa'i-a no'o mai ni 'Onofi , noni
 FPr(1de) SRP(1de) hit-PrO(3s) PRF DEI ART 'Onofi woman
 "The two of us killed 'Onofi, the sister

futa te'e-ni-a la Buumae , fa-na mae-na ni
 born with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Buumae for-PrS(3s) death-PrS(3s) ART
 of Buumae, for the death of

Fou'aniai'a .
 Fou'aniai'a
 Fou'aniai'a.

sikwa la'a-kau moru lrlrlr-a , 'ee-fee'ua ?
 bounty DEI SRP(2t) say(REDUP)-PrO(3s) INT(be how?)
 How about that blood money you talked about?

ta-muru tafo-a no'o ? "
 FUT-SRP(2t) pay-PrO(3s) PRF
 Are you going to pay it now?"

la Ai'aa ma la Gwaloi'a ma la Maiamae ,
 ART Ai'aa CON ART Gwaloi'a CON ART Maiamae
 Ai'aa and Gwaloi'a and Maiamae

glla la bi'i :
 FPr(3p) SRP(3p) TAM
 just (said):

" *le'a , ta-miru tafo-a* " .
 good FUT-SRP(1te) pay-PrO(3s)
 "OK, we'll pay it."

'Ariki 'Agwaka *ma la Subamae ma ni ta'a a-ga gila*
 'Ariki 'Agwaka CON ART Subamae, CON PLU people PsP-PrS(3p) SRP(3p)
 'Ariki 'Agwaka and Subamae and their people

leka mai , gila me'e tafo-a nga sikwa fa-ga
 go DEI SRP(3p) TAM pay-PrO(3s) ART bounty for-PrS(3p)
 came, and they paid them the blood bounty.

gila me'e sule-a no'o nga sikwa la aru-a
 SRP(3p) TAM claim-PrO(3s) PRF ART bounty SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s)
 They claimed the blood bounty they had put up

suri-a ma'a a-gu
 against-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
 against my father.

sul --- ma ka to'oto'oru kau , no'o-na ,
 CON CON SRP(3s) stay(REDUP) DEI DEI
 Then time passed

ma gula-ni sikwa ngaal , la'u , gila --- Tolofe'ema
 CON some-PLU bounty PstNmQlf PstVbP SRP(3p) Tolofe'ema
 some other blood bounties --- they --- Tolofe'ema

ma la Taafibata , 'aga'a gala aru-a la'u sikwa
 CON ART Taafibata FPr(3d) SRP(3d) put-PrO(3s) PstVbP bounty
 and Taafibata themselves put up a blood bounty

fa-na wane 'a-ni kwa'l-a la'u mai nga noni ngaal
 for-PrS(3s) man-SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) PstVbP DEI ART woman PstNmQlf
 for someone to kill another woman

fa-na mae-na ni 'Onofi .
 for-PrS(3s) death-PrS(3s) ART 'Onofi
 to avenge the death of 'Onofi.

no'o-na e sul , gila kwa'l-a la'a-kau
 DEI SRP(3s) be finished SRP(3p) hit-PrO(3s) DEI
 So then they killed

noni ngaal
 woman PstNmQlf
 another woman.

la kwa'l-a kau noni ngaal , noni ngal i
 SRP(3p) hit-PrO(3s) DEI woman PstNmQlf woman FPr(3s) LOC
 They killed another woman, a woman who was from

'Ola'o --- ni Maegula .
 'Ola'o ART Maegula
 'Ola'o, named Maegula.

la kwa'i-a e sui , ma gila sule-a
 SRP(3p) hit-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be finished CON SRP(3p) claim-PrO(3s)
 They killed her and then claimed

na sikwa a-i , fa-na mae-na ni 'Onofi .
 PRF bounty LOC-PrS(Ind) for-PrS(3s) death-PrS(3s) ART 'Onofi
 the blood bounty there, for the death of 'Onofi.

wane-na geni ma'a a-gu .
 sibling-PrS(3s) female father PsP-PrS(1s)
 My father's sister.

sui , sikwa ka gwelo-olo-nga'i .
 CON bounty SRP(3s) break off-TrI
 Then the chain of blood bounties was ended.

sikwa ka sifo na --- 'amoe no'o .
 bounty SRP(3s) go down PRF NEG PRF
 The chain of blood vengeance was broken, and was no more.

gila 'amoe no'o .
 SRP(3p) be non existent PRF
 No one pursued it further.

sui , naana'i --- ma'a a-gu --- na ku futa --
 CON then father PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born
 Then --- my father --- I was born

na'a ma ma'a a-gu/ mele bi'i ori mal .
 CON CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(1de) TAM return DEI
 and then my father and I came back.

ga'i-nau ma ma'a a-gu , meru bi'i ori mal .
 mother-PrO(1s) CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(1te) TAM return DEI
 My mother and father and I came back.

te'e i-nau mola , na ku futa --- mai i gula naa
 only FPr(1s) just FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born DEI LOC side PsP
 I was the only one to have been born

ga'i-nau .
 mother-PrO(1s)
 among my mother's people.

meru ori mal , ma meru 'ame ori no'o fa-na
 SRP(1te) return DEI CON SRP(1te) NEG return PRF to-PrS(3s)
 We came back, but we didn't return to the

fanua ngai no'o-na ma'a a-gu
 place FPr(3s) DEI father PsP-PrS(1s)
 territory of my father.

meru ori mai ma meru-a to'oru fe'e-ni-a la
 SRP(1te) return DEI CON SRP(1te)-TAM stay with-TrS-Pro(3s) ART
 We came back and we lived with

Kolosu ma ru'uru'ua a-na naa fanua i Ngarinaaogo .
 Kolosu CON family PsP-PrS(3s) LOC place LOC Ngarinaaogo
 Kolosu and his family, at Ngarinaaogo.

gwa'a meru ori mai lo-'oo , ma ma'a a-gu ngai
 although SRP(1te) return DEI DEI CON father PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(3s)
 Even though we had come back here, my father was

e ma'uma'u mola .
 SRP(3s) be afraid(REDUP) PstVbP
 still afraid.

ngai e 'ame leka naa furi'i fanua to'o a-na
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG go LOC site-of place belong PsP-PrS(3s)
 He didn't go to a place he was related to,

ngai e ma'u ma ka naana'i la'u mola .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be afraid CON SRP(3s) stay PstVbP PstVbP
 he was afraid and still stayed away.

ne-'e ori mai , meru me'e to'oto'oru , 'ame
 CON-SRP(3s) return DEI SRP(1te) TAM stay(REDUP) NEG
 He came back and we hadn't been living there very

a-buru ma gafamanu ka nigi .
 be a long time CON government SRP(3s) arrive
 long when the government first came.

gafamanu e nigi --- Mista Bel .
 government SRP(3s) arrive Mr Bell
 The government came, in the person of Mr Bell.

ngaia ka nigi ka ngari-a no'o nga -- ka
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) arrive SRP(3s) bring-Pro(3s) PRF ART SRP(3s)
 He arrived, and brought --- he

soe-a takisi naa 'afu-ta-na wane .
 ask-Pro(3s) tax LOC all-Qlf-PrS(3s) man
 claimed tax from each and every man.

soe-a takisi naa 'afu-ta-na wane , sui ma nga lefu la
 ask-Pro(3s) tax LOC all-Qlf-PrS(3s) man CON CON ART point ART
 He demanded tax from each man, but there was a rule

Mista Bel e aru-a , leeleka wane fal wela e futa
 Mr Bell SRP(3s) put-PrO(3s) if man four child SRP(3s) be born
 Mr Bell had established, if a man had fathered four children

a-na ngala sia suga-a mone takisi .
 LOC-PrS(3s) FPr(3s) NEG buy-PrO(3s) NEG tax
 he was exempt from the tax.

ma sia fori-a mone takisi .
 CON NEG pay-PrO(3s) NEG tax
 He didn't have to pay the tax.

tee 'ola moomola , waa no'o-na to'o fee-a nga
 one thing PstNmPrt man DEI FUT-SRP(2s) carry-PrO(3s) ART
 But one thing --- if you were in that position you were to bring

fai-na wela , futa eteeta .
 four-ORD child be born first
 the fourth child, the oldest one,

'a-ni Mista Bel 'a-ni aga-si-a e sui
 INF Mr Bell INF-SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be finished
 so Mr Bell would see it, and would

ma ka fa'a-to'o-a e sui
 CON SRP(3s) CAUS-be true-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be finished
 confirm it, and then

ma gila kwate-a no'o nga eksepsen pepa no'o
 CON SRP(3p) give-PrO(3s) PRF ART exception paper PRF
 they would issue an exemption paper

fa-na waa no'o-na .
 to-PrS(3s) man DEI
 to that man.

na'a ma'a a-gu ne-'e me'e to'oto'oru , ma l-nau
 CON father PsP-PrS(1s) TOP-SRP(3s) TAM stay(REDUP) CON FPr(1s)
 My father had been living (there) and (after) me

nga oru wela bi'i me'e futa gula naa ma'a a-gu .
 ART three child TAM TAM be born side LOC father PsP-PrS(1s)
 three (more) children had been born in my father's area.

no'o-na e sui , Mista Bel e nigl no'o-na ,
 DEI SRP(3s) be finished Mr Bell SRP(3s) arrive DEI
 Then Mr Bell came,

naa nga 1925 --- Mista Bel e bi'i nigl i
 LOC ART 1925 Mr Bell SRP(3s) TAM arrive LOC
 in 1925 -- Mr Bell arrived at

gula a-meeru
side PsP-PrS(1te)
our area.

nigi i gula a-meeru no'o-na e sui , 1926
arrive LOC side PsP-PrS(1te) DEI SRP(3s) be finished 1926
He came to our area, and then in 1926

ma'a a-gu ka fee-nau mai
father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) take-Pro(1s) DEI
my father brought me

'a-ni faa-te'e-ni-nau a-la Mista Bel .
INF-SRP(3s) show-TrI-TrS-Pro(1s) LOC-ART Mr Bell
to show me to Mr Bell.

alata ngai e faa-te'e-ni-nau a-la Mista Bel
time FPr(3s) SRP(3s) show-TrI-TrS-Pro(1s) LOC-ART Mr Bell
When he showed me to Mr Bell

kee sui ma la Mista Bel ka aga-si-nau
TAM be finished CON ART Mr Bell SRP(3s) see-TrS-Pro(1s)
and Mr Bell had seen me

ka fa'a-to'o-a
SRP(3s) CAUS-be true-Pro(3s)
he confirmed that

ma'a a-gu e lafi-a nga fai wela
father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) bear-Pro(3s) ART four child
my father had fathered four children,

fai-na i-nau .
four-ORD FPr(1s)
of whom I was the fourth.

fai-na no'o-na i-nau , ne'e aga-si-nau .
four-ORD DEI FPr(1s) CON-SRP(3s) see-TrS-Pro(1s)
I was the fourth, and he saw me.

sui , ka kwate-a nga eksepsen papa fa-na
CON SRP(3s) give-Pro(3s) ART exception paper to-PrS(3s)
Then he gave an exemption paper to

ma'a a-gu
father PsP-PrS(1s)
my father,

'a-ni ngala 'a-ni to'o a-l , ngala
INF FPr(3s) INF-SRP(3s) have LOC-PrS(Ind) FPr(3s)
so he would have it and

'ame fori-a no'o nga takisi .
 NEG pay-PrO(3s) PRF ART tax
 wouldn't have to pay the tax.

alata no'o-na , ma'a a-gu e fee-nau , ku
 time DEI father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) take-PrO(1s) SRP(1s)
 When my father took me, I

leka 'oofa-na takisi .
 go during-PrS(3s) tax
 went at the time of the tax collection.

na ku bi'i aga-si-a ta'a .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s) people
 I saw (all) the people (there).

ku bi'i aga-si-a to'oto'o-ni ta'a , na la
 SRP(1s) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s) QLF-PLU people CON SRP(3p)
 I saw all the people who

ogu no'o .
 gather PRF
 had gathered.

sui , ma nga ma'a a-gu e bi'i faa-te'e-ni-nau
 CON CON ART father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) TAM show-TrI-TrS-PrO(1s)
 Then my father showed me

te'a-na la Mista Bel .
 to-PrS(3s) ART Mr Bell
 to Mr Bell.

rua wane , rua wane la futa fe'e-ni-a ma'a
 two man two man SRP(3p) be born with-TrS-PrO(3s) father
 Two men who were my father's brothers

a-gu , naa gila Hedman naa alata no'o-na .
 PsP(PrS(1s)) CON FPr(3p) Headman LOC time DEI
 were Headmen in those days.

la Sirifa ma la Baraun .
 ART Sirifa CON ART Baraun
 Sirifa and Baraun.

alata no'o-na na ku aga-si-a
 time DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s)
 At that time, I saw that

la Mista Bel ngala wane
 ART Mr Bell FPr(3s) man
 Mr Bell was a man

kwai-maa-'a fa-na wela sika'u
 kindly to-PrS(3s) child be small
 who was kind to little children.

ngala ka masa fe'e-ni-nau
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) play with-TrS-PrO(1s)
 He played with me.

alata ka masa fe'e-ni-nau , ma ka kwate-a
 time SRP(3s) play with-TrS-PrO(1s) CON SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s)
 When he was playing with me, he gave (me)

nga me'e tabeka , bi'i masisi , ma fe'e iba
 ART NUCL tobacco NUCL matches CON NUCL pipe
 a stick of tobacco, a box of matches, and a pipe.

e kwate-a fa-gu
 SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s) to-PrS(1s)
 He gave that to me.

ma ka masa fe'e-ni-nau , ka lafu-nau i langi
 CON SRP(3s) play with-TrS-PrO(1s) SRP(3s) lift-PrO(1s) LOC above
 And he played with me, lifted me up in the air,

ma ka lae-ni-nau
 CON SRP(3s) like-TrS-PrO(1s)
 and was friendly to me

ma kotokoto-fi-nau iri-a 'a-ni
 CON trick-TrS-PrO(1s) say-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3s)
 and tricked me, pretending he was going to

to'oto'o-si-nau
 throw-TrS-PrO(1s)
 throw me.

no'o-na e sui ma na ku bi'i su'a a-i
 DEI SRP(3s) be finished CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) TAM know LOC-PrS(Ind)
 After that, I knew what it was about.

alata nau ku aga-si-a wane kwaakwao'a ma alata
 time FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) man white CON time
 That time when I saw the white man was the time

na ku-a eta ku manata-'a a-i no'o-na
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s)-TAM begin SRP(1s) be sensible LOC-PrS(Ind) DEI
 I begin to remember things.

meru to'oru i Ngarinaaogo e a-buru
 SRP(1te) stay LOC Ngarinaaogo SRP(3s) be a long time
 We stayed at Ngarinaaogo a long time,

fe'e-ni-a la Kolosu ma ni wela a-na
with-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Kolosu CON PLU child PsP-PrS(3s)
with Kolosu and his children.

miru to'oto'oru , ma ma'a a-gu ka leeleka
SRP(1te) stay(REDUP) CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) go(REDUP)
We stayed (there) and my father went

nagwanagwa mai naa fanua a-na
be secret DEI LOC place PsP-PrS(3s)
secretly back to his place.

'oo su'a i suri-a nga sikwa la'a-kau ka
FPr(2s) know LOC about-PrO(3s) ART bounty DEI SRP(3s)
You know that that blood bounty

gwelo-olo-nga'i , ma ka sul no'o .
break off-TrI CON SRP(3s) be finished PRF
was broken off, and had finished.

ta'a la 'ame oga-ria ba'ita no'o , fa-na
people SRP(3p) NEG be angry be big PRF for-PrS(3s)
People were no longer very angry at

ma'a a-gu
father PsP-PrS(1s)
my father.

ma'a a-gu ka iri-a te'a-na ga'i-nau
father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) mother-PrO(1s)
My father had spoken to my mother

ka 'i-laba'a :
SRP(3s) QUOT
like this:

" 'a-goru-i oriori no'o .
INF-SRP(1ti)-i go back(REDUP) PRF
"Let's go back now.

goru-i ori , goru sla kee nigl mola naa fanua .
SRP(1ti)-i return SRP(1ti) NEG TAM arrive PstVbP LOC place
Let's go back, but let's not go all the way to

fanua a-gu
place PsP-PrS(1s)
my place.

ta'a goru leka , goru to'oru la'u mola la'a-kau
FUT SRP(1ti) go SRP(1ti) stay PstVbP PstVbP DEI
We'll go, and we'll stay

naa fanua e lalau " .
 LOC place SRP(3s) be distant
 in a place a good way away."

ga'i-nau ka 'ilaba'a : " le'a " .
 mother-Pro(1s) SRP(3s) QUOT be good
 My mother said, "OK."

no'o-na e sul , ma ga'i-nau ma ma'a
 DEI SRP(3s) be finished CON mother-Pro(1s) CON father
 So then my mother and father

a-gu gila leka , gila tofu-a noo 'ifi .
 PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3p) go SRP(3p) cut-Pro(3s) PRF house
 went, and they built a house.

la tofu-a 'ifi i Ngarikookoka , fe'e-ni-a
 SRP(3p) cut-Pro(3s) house LOC Ngarikookoka with-TrS-Pro(3s)
 They built a house at Ngarikookoka, (to live) with

wane la futa la'u -- Giita , Firilana , Tafi'ooa ,
 man SRP(3p) related PstVbP Giita Fifiilana Tafi'ooa
 some other relatives -- Giita, Firilana, Tafi'ooa ,

ma la Mamanikwala --- gila kee to'oru no'o .
 CON ART Mamanikwala SRP(3p) TAM stay PRF
 and Mamanikwala --- they went and lived there.

'amoe 'ua naa fanua a-na lo-'oo .
 NEG PstVbP LOC place PsP-PrS(3s) DEI
 This was not yet at his own place.

ngai e to'oru lalau la'u mola kau .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) stay far away PstVbP PstVbP DEI
 He still stayed well away.

alata miru to'oto'oru , 'ubu-na alata
 time SRP(1te) stay(REDUP) inside-PrS(3s) time
 The period we were living there

miru to'oru a-i , miru to'oru a-i
 SRP(1te) stay LOC-PrS(Ind) SRP(1te) stay LOC-PrS(Ind)
 covered

fa-na oru farisi .
 for-PrS(3s) three year
 three years.

meru to'oto'oru a-i no'o-na , ma ma'a a-gu
 SRP(1te) stay(REDUP) LOC-PrS(Ind) DEI CON father PsP-PrS(1s)
 We were living there, my father

ma la Tafi'ooa , 'a-ga'a gala fada , fa-na
 CON ART Tafi'ooa FPr(3d) SRP(3d) meet for-PrS(3s)
 and Tafi'ooa talked together about

kwa'l-la-na ni 'Airi .
 hit-GER-PrO(3s) ART 'Airi
 killing 'Airi.

rua-na lata a-na ni Sugafiri .
 two-ORD name PsP-PrS(3s) ART Sugafiri
 Her other name was Sugafiri.

gila siri-a 'a-le-i kwa'i-a la'u fa-na
 SRP(3p) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(3p)-i hit-PrO(3s) PstVbP for-PrS(3s)
 They wanted to kill her for a

sikwa .
 bounty
 bounty.

alata no'o-na , ga'i-nau ka longo-a .
 time DEI mother-PrO(1s) SRP(3s) hear-PrO(3s)
 At that time, my mother heard about it.

ga'i-nau ne-'e longo-a , ma ka 'l-laba'a :
 mother-PrO(1s) TOP-SRP(3s) hear-PrO(3s) CON SRP(3s) QUOT
 My mother heard about it, and she said:

" 'ou , 'oo nga wane a-gu , 'oo siri-a
 Oh FPr(2s) ART husband PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(2s) want-PrO(3s)
 "Oh, you my husband, you want

mola 'a-ni kwa'ikwa'l la'u .
 PstVbP INF hit(REDUP) PstVbP
 to go on killing.

naa alata lo-'oo , ni wela sika'a futa no'o
 LOC time DEI PLU child small be born PRF
 Now, we have young children.

a-daa'a
 PsP-PrS(1di)

ma gafamanu na ka kwa-iri no'o a-i
 CON government CON SRP(3s) RECIP-say PRF LOC-PrS(Ind)
 And the government has given notification about it,

ma ka angemu-a no'o ta'a ngaai , ka ri'o-a
 CON SRP(3s) hang-PrO(3s) PRF people PstNmQlf SRP(3s) hang-PrO(3s)
 and has hanged other people, has hanged

no'o ta'a ngaai
PRF people PstNmQlf
others.

nau ku 'ame siri-a 'oo wane a-gu 'a-ni

FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG want-PrO(3s) FPr(2s) husband PsP-PrS(1s) INF
I don't want you, my husband, to

'oi kwa'i-a la'u wane .
SRP(2s) hit-PrO(3s) PstVbP man
kill a man ever again.

e ta age-a ma gafamanu ka rlo-'o .
SRP(3s) DUB do-PrO(3s) CON government SRP(3s) hang-PrO(1s)
If it were done the government would hang you.

du'a-i , ni wela le-'e futa no'o a-daa'a .
because-PrS(Ind) PLU child DEI-SRP(3s) be born PRF PsP-PrS(1di)
Because the two of us now have children.

te'e i-na ku ta sioslofa'a fe'e-ni-'i , ma
only FPr(1s) SRP(1s) DUB destitute with-TrS-PrO(Ind) CON
With only me, I would be left destitute with them, and

gila ta kwal-'i la'u .
SRP(3p) DUB hit-PrO(Ind) PstVbP
they might kill them too.

na ku 'ame siri-a 'oo nga wane a-gu
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG want-PrO(3s) FPr(2s) ART husband PsP-PrS(1s)
I don't want you, my husband,

'a-ni kwa'ikwa'i la'u .
INF hit(REDUP) PstVbP
to go on killing any more.

kwa'i-la-mu e sui no'o naa alata lo-'oo " .
hit-GER-PrS(2s) SRP(3s) be finished PRF LOC time DEI
Your killing is over and done with from now on."

fata 'i-lo-'oo , ma ga'i-nau ngala ka suru
speak like this CON mother-PrO(1s) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) curse
Having spoken like this, my mother put a ritual injunction

'ani-a gila ifa-na geni no'o fono-si-a .
with-PrO(3s) PLU br-in-law-PrS(3s) female PRF against-TrS-PrO(3s)
(by swearing) in the name of her sisters-in-law against it.

ma'a a-gu sia kwa'i la'u , ma sia age-a la'u
father PsP-PrS(1s) NEG hit PstVbP CON NEG do-PrO(3s) PstVbP
So my father couldn't kill any more, and couldn't engage in any

mae
combat
more fighting.

no'o-na miru tooto'oru no'o-na e sul,
DEI SRP(1te) stay(REDUP) DEI SRP(3s) be finished
We stayed on there and then

ma'a a-gu ka maamanata la'u
father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) think(REDUP) PstVbP
my father reflected again

ma ka iri-a la'u te'a-na nga ga'l-nau
CON SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) PstVbP to-PrS(3s) ART mother-PrO(1s)
and said to my mother:

"*'i-da'a golo fane no'o*
FPr(1di) SRP(1di) ascend PRF
"Let's go up the hill now.

'a-goru-l --- nau ku ori no'o i fanua a-gu
INF-SRP(1ti)-i FPr(1s) SRP(1s) return PRF LOC place PsP-PrS(1s)
"Let's -- I want to go back now to my place.

gwa'a la Ai'aa , Maiamae , Gwaloi'a , gila la
although ART Ai'aa Maiamae Gwaloi'a FPr(3p) SRP(3p)
But even though Ai'aa and Maiamae and Gwaloi'a

kwa'i-a no'o
hit-PrO(3s) PRF
have now killed

nga noni mele futa , na'a ma gila tafo-a no'o
ART woman SRP(1de) be related CON CON SRP(3p) pay-PrO(3s) PRF
my sister, and they have paid

nga sikwa 'ani-ga
ART bounty to-PrO(3p)
the blood money to the ones who did it,

gwa'a ku ori , gila la 'ame kwai-maa fa-gu
although SRP(1s) return FPr(3p) SRP(3p) NEG be kind to-PrS(1s)
if I go back, they won't be kind to me,

gila la sia kwai-maa mola fa-gu
FPr(3p) SRP(3p) NEG be kind PstVbP to-PrS(1s)
they still won't be friendly towards me.

ma na ku ori , 'a-ku to'oru la'u mola naa
so FPr(1s) SRP(1s) return INF-SRP(1s) stay PstVbP PstVbP LOC
So even though I'm going back, I want to live in a

fanua ngaai i tala-gu " .
place PstNmQlf LOC track-PrS(1s)
place by myself."

no'o-na , ma'a a-gu ngala ka --- noni a-na
CON father PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) wife PsP-PrS(3s)
So then my father --- his wife

ka 'uri --- 'a-gala ori no'o mai te'efou .
SRP(3s) be willing INF-SRP(3d) return PRF DEI together
was willing for them to come back together.

gila 'a-le-i ori no'o te'efou .
FPr(3p) INF-SRP(3p)-i return PRF together
They decided to go back together.

sui , ma'a a-gu ka leka ka tofu-a
CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) go SRP(3s) cut-PrO(3s)
Then my father went and built

'ifi no'o i Melebala ---
house PRF LOC Melebala ---
a house at Melebala ---

fanua ngala ka tofu-a noo 'ifi a-i lo-'oo .
place FPr(3s) SRP(3s) cut-PrO(3s) PRF house LOC-PrS(Ind) DEI
the place where my father built a house

ngai i Melebala .
FPr(3s) LOC Melebala
was at Melebala.

leka mai , ma i-na ku to'oru e le'a no'o .
go DEI CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) stay SRP(3s) be good PRF
We came, and my living was fine.

nau ku to'oru ku-a tegela-'a no'o .
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) stay SRP(1s)-TAM be strong PRF
I lived there and grew strong.

na ku leeleka no'o .
FPr(1s) SRP(1s) walk(REDUP) PRF
I started walking.

ma i-na ku maamasa no'o .
CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) play(REDUP) PRF
And I played.

ku-a 'ai-a ma'a a-gu , ka lale-a
SRP(1s)-TAM insist-PrO(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) make-PrO(3s)
I persuaded my father to make

basi siliika fa-gu 'a-ku laalala lko noo 'ani-a
 bow small for-PrS(1s) INF-SRP(1s) shoot lizard PRF with-PrO(3s)
 a small bow for me to shoot lizards with.

nanai 'i-no'o-na e sul , ma ma'a a-gu
 stay thusly SRP(3s) be finished CON father Pst-PrS(1s)
 We stayed there and then my father

la'a-kau ma ga'i-nau
 DEI CON mother-PrO(1s)
 and my mother

la'a-kau , meeru meru ori no'o mai , te'efou
 DEI FPr(1te) SRP(1te) return PRF DEI together
 -- we came back together.

meru ori no'o mai fa-na i Melebala meru to'oru
 SRP(1te) return PRF DEI to-PrS(3s) LOC Melebala SRP(1te) stay
 We came back to Melebala and we stayed

no'o a-i
 PRF LOC-PrS(Ind)
 there.

miru tooto'oru a-i e sul , ma
 SRP(1te) live(REDUP) LOC-PrS(Ind) SRP(3s) be finished CON
 We stayed there and then

miru-a leka la'u fa-na rua-na fanua i Ngarikwete
 SRP(1te)-TAM go PstVbP to-PrS(3s) two-ORD place LOC Ngarikwete.
 moved again to a second place, at Ngarikwete.

meru tooto'oru la'u a-i , sul , la'u ma mae
 SRP(1te) live(REDUP) PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind) CON again CON killing
 We stayed there and then another killing

ngaal e lau no'o
 PstNmQlf SRP(3s) happen PRF
 took place.

mae --- la kwa'l-a no'o la Mista Bel
 killing SRP(3p) hit-PrO(3s) PRF ART Mr Bell
 The killing --- they killed Mr Bell.

alata le-'e i-nau ku siri-a 'a-ku fata la'u
 time DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(1s) speak PstVbP
 So now I want to talk further,

i suri-a nga 'ola e lau --- a-la Mista Bel
 LOC about-PrO(3s) ART thing SRP(3s) happen LOC-ART Mr Bell
 about what happened to Mr Bell.

Mista Bel ngala wane kwaakwao'a .
 Mr Bell FPr(3s) man white
 Mr Bell was (, remember,) a white man.

ma alata ngal e leka mai fa-na takisi , 'a-ni
 CON time FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go DEI for-PrS(3s) tax INF
 And when he came to collect the tax, to

soe-a
 ask-PrO(3s)
 demand

takisi naa ta'a --- leeleka ngal e sifo mal i
 tax LOC people when FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go down DEI LOC
 taxes from the people --- when he got down

langi ma ta'a --- e iri-a no'o i tale-'e
 up above CON people SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) PRF LOC set-of
 from up above (i.e., the ship), people --- he called out to the

Hedman , 'a-gilla-i ngari-a
 Headman INF-SRP(3p)-i bring-PrO(3s)
 Headmen to carry him.

leka mai naa baote , figi , naa faka lo-fo'u la me'e
 go DEI LOC boat dinghy LOC ship DEI SRP(3p) TAM
 Coming in the dinghy from the ship, they

nigi lo-fo'u e sui , ma tale-'e bosukuruu gila
 arrive DEI SRP(3s) be finished CON set-of crew SRP(3p)
 arrived down there (at the landing), and the crew

ngari-a
 bring-PrO(3s)
 carried him.

la ngari-a ta-la kee aru-a no'o naa lefu
 SRP(3p) bring-PrO(3s) FUT-SRP(3p) TAM put-PrO(3s) PRF LOC point
 They would carry him and put him in a place

ngal e langa .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) be dry
 that was dry.

du'a-l , 'aa'ae-na ta wa-siu .
 because-PrS(Ind) leg-PrS(3s) DUB be wet
 Because his feet might have got wet.

ma ngala ta age-a ma ta leka kau i asi , ma
 CON FPr(3s) DUB do-PrO(3s) CON DUB walk DEI LOC sea CON
 If he had done it (himself) he might have stepped in the sea, and

butu a-na ma kaleko a-na ka wa-siu .
 shoe PsP-PrS(3s) CON clothes PsP-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) be wet
 his shoes and clothes would have got wet.

ngai ne-'e iri-a na wane Hedman ma tale-'e
 FPr(3s) TOP-SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) LOC man Headman CON set-of
 He called out to the Headmen and the

bosukuruu , 'ani-a rua wane naa ta-la ngari-a
 crew for-PrO(3s) two man CON FUT-SRP(3p) bring-PrO(3s)
 crew for two men to carry him.

sui ma la bi'i me'e aru-a i su'e , ma
 CON CON SRP(3p) TAM TAM put-PrO(3s) LOC shore CON
 Then they just put him down on dry land and

ngai e bi'i leka .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM go
 he just walked (from there).

alata leeleka ngai ne-'e nigi , no'o lo-'oo i
 time when FPr(3s) TOP-SRP(3s) arrive PRF DEI LOC
 When he got there, to the

su'e , na'a ma
 shore CON CON
 shore, then

'afu'afu-ta-na wane , to'oto'o-ni ta'a , naa
 all-QLF-PrS(3s) man QLF-PLU people CON
 all the men, all the people,

gila nigi 'a-ni 'a-gila-i logu .
 SRP(3p) arrive INF INF-SRP(3p)-i assemble
 all the people came in order to assemble.

alata no'o-na , ta'a lo-fo'u la ula te'ete'efou
 time DEI people DEI SRP(3p) stand together
 In those days, people stood together

--- la tata'e no'o i langi .
 SRP(3p) SP-rise PRF LOC up above
 --- they stood at attention.

ma wane sia 'asu la'u .
 CON man NEG shake PstVbP
 And nobody could move, either.

wane sia riu kwai-riu la'u .
 man NEG pass back and forth(RECIP-pass) PstVbP
 And no one could move around.

la ta-ta'e i langi te'ete'efou , ma gila lafu-a
 SRP(3p) SP-rise LOC up above together CON SRP(3p) lift-PrO(3s)
 They stood together at attention, and they took

no'o iba fa'a-si-a foka-ga , naa la ibaiba .
 PRF pipe away-TrS-PrO(3s) mouth-PrS(3p) CON SRP(3p) smoke(REDUP)
 the pipes they were smoking from their mouths.

ngaia ka riu mai .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) pass DEI
 He came over.

e riu mai no'o-na , kee sui , ma ka leka no'o
 SRP(3s) pass DEI DEI TAM be finished CON SRP(3s) go PRF
 He came past, and then went over

fa-na i lefu , fa-na fori-la-na nga takisi .
 to-PrS(3s) LOC place for-PrS(3s) pay-GER-PrS(3s) ART tax
 to the place for paying the tax.

ngaia ka iri-a naa Hedman iri-a naa ta'a
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) LOC Headman say-PrO(3s) LOC people
 He told the Headmen to tell their people

a-mu 'a-ni 'a-gila-i fori-a takisi .
 PsP-PrS(2s) INF INF-SRP(3p)-i pay-PrO(3s) tax
 to pay their tax.

sui ma ka leka naa 'ifi , tee 'ifi sika'u ngai
 CON CON SRP(3s) go LOC house only house small FPr(3s)
 Then he went to the house, the small house

a-na , fa-na fori-la-na takisi .
 PsP-PrS(3s) for-PrS(3s) pay-GER-PrS(3s) tax
 he had for collecting the tax.

ma 'ifi ba'ita , fa-na tale-'e polisi a-na 'a-ni
 CON house big for-PrS(3s) set-of police PsP-PrS(3s) INF
 And (there was) a big house for his police to

gila-i tooto'oru a-i
 (INF)-SRP(3p)-i stay(REDUP) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 stay in.

alata no'o-na na gila la --- ngai e sifo ma
 time DEI CON FPr(3p) SRP(3p) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go down CON
 At that point they --- he came out and

ka nigl , ma Hedman gila la saasari-a ta-ni
 SRP(3s) arrive CON Headman FPr(3p) SRP(3p) prepare-PrO(3s) QLF-PLU
 the Headmen prepared things for some

kouta
court cases
court cases.

la saasari no'o ta-ni kouta mama-ni-a
SRP(3p) prepare(REDUP) PRF QLF-PLU cases wait-TrS-PrO(3s)
They got some litigants (or prisoners) ready.

la leka no'o , fa-na --- ngai e 'i-laba'a :
SRP(3p) go PRF for-PrS(3s) FPr(3s) SRP(3s) QUOT
They went to --- he announced:

" *Hedman , ngari-a no'o mai na'a tale-'e kouta*
Headman bring-PrO(3s) PRF DEI Prt(?) set-of case
"Headman, bring me a set of litigants (i.e., a case)

la'a-kau , fee-a mai tale-'e kouta la'a-kau te'a-gu .
DEI convey-PrO(3s) DEI set-of case DEI to-PrS(1s)
bring me a set of litigants.

Mista Bel leeleka ngai e age-a kouta , rua
Mr Bell when FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s) court two
When Mr Bell held court, two

Hedman gila fe'e-ni-a
Headman FPr(3p) with-TrS-PrO(3s)
Headmen were with him.

nga rua wane lo-fo'u 'a-le-l leka mai , ma rua
ART two man DEI INF-SRP(3p)-i go DEI CON two
The two men were to come, and the two

polisi , rua solodia naa ta'a gila leka mai te'ete'efou .
police two police CON FUT SRP(3p) go DEI together
policemen were to come, all in a group.

la me'e aga-si-a lo-fo'u e sui , Hedman
SRP(3p) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s) DEI SRP(3s) be finished Headman
They saw him and then --- the Headmen

e faa-te'e-ni-a a-ga
SRP(3s) show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC-PrS(3p)
led him (the prisoner) to them,

faa-te'e-ni-a naa rua solodia no'o-na .
show-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC two police DEI
led him to the two policemen.

ma rua solodia no'o-na , gala me'e ula i suri-a
CON two police DEI SRP(3d) TAM stand LOC beside-PrO(3s)
And the two policemen flanked him,

, wane no'o-na fa-na kouta .
 man DEI for-PrS(3s) court
 that man being taken to court.

ma gala ngari-a kwanga a-gaa'a i langi ---
 CON SRP(3d) bring-PrO(3s) rifle PsP-PrS(3d) LOC up above
 And the two of them held their rifles high ---

beneti ngai i
 bayonet FPr(3s) LOC
 with bayonets

gou naa kwanga --- kee sui ma la bi'i ula
 head PsP rifle TAM be finished CON SRP(3p) TAM stand
 atop the rifles --- and then they stood

te'ete'efou , ma la bi'i leka --- leka te'a-la Mista Bel .
 together CON SRP(3p) TAM go go to-ART Mr Bell
 together and went to Mr Bell.

alata la leka lo-lo'o te'a-la Mista Bel , gila
 time SRP(3p) go DEI to-ART Mr Bell SRP(3p)
 When they went in front of Mr Bell, they

kee ula no'o-na
 TAM stand DEI
 stood there

e sul , rua polisi lo-fo'u gila aru-a nga rua
 SRP(3s) be finished two police DEI SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) ART two
 and then the two policemen put the two

wane lo-fo'u
 man DEI
 men (the litigants)

ngai i lalo a-ga --- rua wane gila to'oru
 FPr(3s) LOC middle LOC-PrS(3p) two man SRP(3p) stay
 between them --- the two men

fa-na kouta ,
 to-PrS(3s) court
 who were being taken to court,

no'o i lofo-na lefu la Mista Bel 'a-ni to'oru a-l
 DEI LOC front-PrS(3s) place ART Mr Bell INF sit LOC-PrS(Ind)
 in front of the place where Mr Bell was to sit.

'i-no'o-na e sul , ma rua waa no'o-na gala bi'i
 like that SRP(3s) be finished CON two man DEI SRP(3d) TAM
 Then those two men

lafu-a rua kwanga a-gaa'a , gala 'oda-amu
 lift-PrO(3s) two rifle PsP-PrS(ed) SRP(3d) order-arms
 raised their rifles, ordered arms,

sui gila stand 'isi , sui no'o ma la bi'i ula
 CON SRP(3p) stand easy finished PRF CON SRP(3p) TAM stand
 they stood easy, and then stood there.

ma waa lo-fo'u , ngai e bi'i fata , suri-a 'ola
 CON man DEI FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM speak about-PrO(3s) thing
 And that man just talked about whatever

'uutaa ne-'e fata i suri-'i
 be how CON-SRP(3s) speak LOC about-PrO(Ind)
 it was he had to say.

ma leeleka e fata , 'a-ni fata 'a-ni ba'lita ---
 CON when SRP(3s) speak INF speak INF be big
 And when he spoke, he had to speak loudly

ma ka fata ka tegela
 CON SRP(3s) speak SRP(3s) be strong
 and strongly.

lauta e fata e 'ame ba'lita , ma lauta ka fata
 if SRP(3s) speak SRP(3s) NEG be big CON if SRP(3s) speak
 If he didn't speak loudly, and didn't speak

ka 'ame tegela
 SRP(3s) NEG be strong
 strongly,

ma la Mista Bel ngai e iri-ga no'o : "iu
 CON ART Mr Bell FPr(3s) SRP(3s) tell-PrO(3p) PRF you
 then Mr Bell would shout at them: "You

bladl basta , iu mas tok ! "
 bloody bastard you must talk
 bloody bastard, you have to talk!"

Mista Bel e fata no'o 'i-lo'o-ri
 Mr Bell SRP(3s) speak PRF like this
 Mr Bell would talk like that.

naa furifuri , 'i-no'o-na
 LOC all the time be like that
 It was always that way.

e siri-a fa-na waa lo-fo'u 'a-ni fata le'ale'a
 SRP(3s) want-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3s) man DEI INF speak well
 He wanted that man to speak properly,

waa lo-fo'u ka fata tegela
 man DEI SRP(3s) speak be strong
 wanted that man to speak strongly.

alata ngai e age 'i-no'o-na , ne-'e to'o
 time FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do be like that CON-SRP(3s) hit
 When he'd speak that way, he'd strike out

ngeengee-'a mola
 angrily PstVbP
 angrily.

ma ni ta'a naa 'a-gila-i fata , gila
 CON PLU people CON INF-SRP(3p)-i speak SRP(3p)
 And the people who were to speak

ma'u-nge'e-ni-a mola gila 'ame fata mola
 afraid-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) PstVbP SRP(3p) NEG speak PstVbP
 were afraid of him and could't say anything.

gila la fata ma la 'ame fata le'ale'a no'o .
 FPr(3p) SRP(3p) speak CON SRP(3p) NEG speak well PRF
 Or they'd speak but not speak properly.

du'a-na rua-na solodia , gila fiks-beneti gila
 because-PrS(3s) two-ORD police SRP(3p) fix-bayonet SRP(3p)
 Because the two soldiers had fixed bayonets and

ula mola 'afu-i-ga , kee sul
 stand PstVbP around-TrS-PrO(3p) TAM be finished
 stood flanking them, then

Mista Bel ngala ka fata fa-ga ka iki , ma
 Mr Bell FPr(3s) SRP(3s) speak to-PrS(3p) SRP(3s) be large CON
 Mr Bell spoke loudly at them, and

ka iri-manl a-ga
 SRP(3s) say-badly LOC-PrS(3p)
 he abused them.

no'o-na e sul , na'a ma gila la ---
 DEI SRP(3s) be finished CON CON FPr(3p) SRP(3p)
 So then they'd ---

fata-la-ga sia le'a la'u
 talk-GER-PrS(3p) NEG be good PstVbP
 their speech couldn't come out properly.

ma Mista Bel e fida-ri-a fofona tebolo
 CON Mr Bell SRP(3s) slap-TrS-PrO(3s) top-PrS(3s) table
 And Mr Bell would slap the tabletop

lo-to'u , fida-ri-a e iki
 DEI slap-TrS-PrO(3s) SRP(3s) be large
 there, bang it hard.

sul ma la --- ta'a gila lrlrl-a ---
 CON CON SRP(3p) people SRP(3p) say(REDUP)-PrO(3s)
 So then they --- people were saying,

" ou , nga ala'i kwao no'o-ni
 oh ART white man white DEI
 "Oh, that white man

ngala , furi e rio mani no'o a-dauru
 FPr(3s) MOD SRP(3s) look badly PRF LOC-PrS(1ti)
 truly despises us.

ngal e rio mani no'o a-dauru , lrlrl-a
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) look badly PRF PsP-PrS(1ti) say(REDUP)-PrO(3s)
 He really despises us, saying

mola 'i-dauru nga basta
 PstVbP FPr(1ti) ART bastard
 we're bastards.

ma gla wane 'ola ki fata suri-a nga 'ola
 CON FPr(1pi) man thing SRP(1pi) speak about-PrO(3s) ART thing
 And we people talk about the things

ne-'e lau a-da ma ngala
 CON-SRP(3s) happen LOC-PrS(1pi) CON FPr(3s)
 that happened to us, and he

e fata ngeengee-'a mola fa-da , ma ka
 SRP(3s) speak angrily PstVbP to-PrS(1pi) CON SRP(3s)
 speaks to us angrily and

banga-ri-gia mola 'ani-a fata-la-na
 silence-TrS-PrO(1pi) PstVbP with-PrO(3s) speak-GER-PrS(3s)
 overwhelms us with his talking.

'ola e ria
 thing SRP(3s) be bad
 That's no good.

to'oto'o-ni alata kouta e nigi --- fata-la-na
 QLF-PLU time court SRP(3s) arrive speak-GER-PrS(3s)
 Everytime they hold court --- his talk

e 'i-no'o-na
 SRP(3s) be like that
 is like that.

fata-la-na *isla 'a-ni sika'u la'u e 'amoe*
 speak-GER-PrS(3s) if INF be small PstVbP SRP(3s) be not so
 He can't talk softly.

fata-la-na *e ba'ita*
 speak-GER-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) be big
 His talk is (always) loud.

ma ka *ila fa-na ta'a ma ka*
 CON SRP(3s) quarrel with-PrS(3s) people CON SRP(3s)
 And he quarrels with people,

taa-fi-a *ta'a furifuri* "
 swear-TrS-PrO(3s) people all the time
 curses people all the time."

no'o-na kee sui , *'afu-ta-na wane gila tee*
 DEI TAM be finished all-Qlf-PrS(3s) man SRP(3p) TAM
 Then all the men

ngu'u-fi-a *iri-la-i*
 whisper-TrS-PrO(3s) say-GER-PrS(Ind)
 whispered among themselves about it.

gila tee faafata *i suri-a* --- *gula naa wane*
 SRP(3p) TAM speak(REDUP) LOC about-PrO(3s) some LOC man
 They began to talk about it -- some of the men

gila 'i-laba'a :
 SRP(3p) QUOT
 said:

" *wane ngai no'o-ni* , *ngai 'a-ni nigi* --- *ngai*
 man FPr(3s) DEI FPr(3s) INF arrive FPr(3s)
 "That man --- when he comes,

mai i asi ---
 DEI LOC seacoast
 comes to shore ---

ma la ngari-a la'u fa-na i langi
 CON SRP(3p) bring-PrO(3s) PstVbP to-PrS(3s) LOC up above
 they carry him to land.

leeleka ngai e nigi , *ma gla ki ula*
 when FPr(3s) SRP(3s) arrive CON FPr(1pi) SRP(1pi) stand
 When he arrives we (have to) stand

la'u i langi
 PstVbP LOC up above
 at attention,

ki lafu-a la'u lba fa'a-si-a foka-da
 SRP(1pi) lift-PrO(3s) PstVbP pipe away-TrS-PrO(3s) mouth-PrS(1pi)
 and we (have to) take our pipes from our mouths.

wane no furi ngai e ria-si-'adauru-a ta'a
 man DEI MOD FPr(3s) SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(1ti)-a people
 That man really looks at us people

lo-'oo , 'i-dauru lrifana guru ria
 DEI FPr(1ti) as though SRP(1ti) be bad
 as if we were rubbish.

'i-no'o-na guru siofa'a , goru 'ame le'a "
 as though SRP(1ti) be poor SRP(1ti) NEG be good
 As if we were worthless, as if we were no good."

gila faafata 'i-no'o-na kee sul , ma
 SRP(3p) speak(REDUP) be like that TAM be finished CON
 They talked like this, and then

la Basiana , ngaia wane lamo , ngaia wane kwa'ikwa'i
 ART Basiana FPr(3s) man killer FPr(3s) man hit(REDUP)
 Basiana --- he was an assassin, a man who killed ...

ma 'ola eteeta , Mista Bel e aga-si-a la
 CON thing first Mr Bell SRP(3s) see-TrS-PrO(3s) ART
 First of all, (when) Mr Bell saw

Basiana , ngaia ka lri-a
 Basiana FPr(3s) SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s)
 Basiana, he decided

wane gala kwalkwalmāa : "na ku siri-a
 man SRP(3d) be friends(REDUP) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s)
 that the two of them should be friends: "I want

'a-ku kwalmāa fe'e-ni-'o la Basiana
 INF-SRP(1s) be friends with-TrS-PrO(2s) ART Basiana
 to be friends with you, Basiana.

ma i-na ku siri-a 'a-ku kwalmāa la'u
 CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(1s) be friends PstVbP
 And I want to be friends with

mola fe'e-ni-'o la Maenafo'oa "
 PstVbP with-TrS-PrO(2s) ART Maenafo'oa
 you Maenafo'oa, as well."

rua wane ngai i 'ubu-na fataia lo-'oo
 two man FPr(3s) LOC inside-PrS(3s) bush DEI
 Those were two men from the interior.

la Basiana ngala ka : " e le'a , golo kwai'maa "
 ART Basiana FPr(3s) SRP(3s) SRP(3s) be good SRP(1di) be friends
 Basiana said, "Fine, let's be friends."

ma tee 'ola moomola ngal i manata-la-na
 CON one thing PstVbPrt FPr(3s) LOC thought-GER-PrS(3s)
 But there was one thing on the mind

la Basiana ,
 ART Basiana
 of Basiana.

iri-a gala kwaikwai'maa , ma ngala la Basiana
 CON SRP(3d) be friends(REDUP) CON FPr(3s) ART Basiana
 They were to be friends, and Basiana

ka tooto'oru
 SRP(3s) live(REDUP)
 carried on.

kee sul , ma manata-la-na to'oto'o-ni ta'a
 TAM be finished CON thought-GER-PrS(3s) QLF-PLU people
 But then people's minds

gila iriliri-a
 SRP(3p) say(REDUP)-PrO(3s)
 dwelled on it.

ma Basiana su'a la'u a-l i suri-a
 CON Basiana know PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind) LOC about-PrO(3s)
 And Basiana knew it, too.

Basiana , te'e fal fe'e seleni ngal a-na
 Basiana only four NUCL shilling FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(3s)
 Basiana had only four shillings.

fal fe'e seleni lo-'oo ngal a-na me-e
 four NUCL shilling DEI FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(3s) CON-SRP(3s)
 He gave his four shillings

kwate-a te'a-na la Mista Bel ,
 give-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) ART Mr Bell
 to Mr Bell,

ma la Mista Bel ka 'i-laba'a : " ou , 'amone ,
 CON ART Mr Bell SRP(3s) QUOT oh be not so
 but Mr Bell said, "Oh, not like that,

nima fe'e seleni , naa loa .
 five NUCL shilling LOC law
 the law says it must be five shillings.

loa e iri-a nima fe'e seleni , to-'o suga-a
 law SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) five NUCL shilling FUT-SRP(2s) buy-PrO(3s)
 The law says it's five shillings you have to pay (tax)

'ani-a .
 with-PrO(3s)
 with."

Basiana ka 'i-laba'a : " ou , nau nima-na fe'e -
 Basiana SRP(3s) QUOT oh FPr(1s) five-ORD NUCL
 Basiana replied, "Oh, the fifth

seleni e 'ato no'o .
 shilling SRP(3s) be impossible PRF
 shilling is impossible for me.

du'a-na i-nau wane i 'ubu-na fataala .
 because-PrS(3s) FPr(1s) man LOC inside-PrS(3s) bush
 Because I'm a man from the interior.

ma i-na ku 'ame leeleka naa faka , 'a-ku
 CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG go(REDUP) LOC ship INF-SRP(1s)
 and I haven't been to a plantation, where I could

dari-a nima-na fe'e seleni .
 find-PrO(3s) five-ORD NUCL shilling
 earn a fifth shilling.

ma fai fe'e seleni lo-'oo , na ku du'a-a
 CON four NUCL shilling DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) exchange-PrO(3s)
 And these four shillings I got in exchange

'ani-a bata ngai a-gu e iki .
 with-PrO(3s) money FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) be important
 for my important valuables."

'i-no'o-na e sui , ma la Mista Bel ka
 be like that SRP(3s) be finished CON ART Mr Bell SRP(3s)
 Then Mr Bell

'i-laba'a : " to-'o ori no'o .
 QUOT FUT-SRP(2s) return PRF
 said: "You have to go back now.

ori lo-'oo no'o laulafi lo-'oo mo ko
 return DEI PRF evening DEI CON SRP(2s)
 Go back this evening and you

kwallo-fi-a no'o mai fe'e seleni ngaai .
 search-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF DEI NUCL shilling PstNmQlf
 search for another shilling.

kwailo-fi-a no'o mai fe'e seleni ngaai
 search-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF DEI NUCL shilling PstNmQlf
 Search for another shilling.

ngaia 'a-ni 'oi fee-a mal , sui ma to-'o
 FPr(3s) INF SRP(2s) carry-PrO(3s) DEI CON CON FUT-SRP(2s)
 You are to bring it here, and then you

me'e bi'i suga-a nga takisi a-mu i gani
 TAM TAM buy-PrO(3s) ART tax PsP-PrS(2s) LOC tomorrow
 pay your tax tomorrow."

'i-lo'o-ri e sul , Basiana mamanata ma ka fane
 like this SRP(3s) be finished Basiana think(RED) CON SRP(3s) ascend
 Then Basiana thought (about it) and went up the hill.

fane noo 'ubu-na fataia no'o fa-na i fanua a-na
 ascend PRF inside-PrS(3s) bush PRF to-PrS(3s) LOC place PsP-PrS(3s)
 He went back up the hill into the interior, to his place.

kee nigl lo-lo'o ; ma nga dafi --- dafi lo'o
 TAM arrive DEI CON ART pendant pendant DEI
 He arrived; and then (there was that) chest pendant, that one

a-na , dafi naa
 PsP-PrS(3s) pendant PsP
 of his, that pendant (consecrated to)

adalo a-na , dafi naa walafu-na --- ngala
 ancestor PsP-PrS(3s) pendant PsP forebear-PrS(3s) FPr(3s)
 his ancestor, his forebear's pendant; he

manata-la-na e 'i-laba'a no'o :
 thought-GER-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) QUOT PRF
 thought to himself

" ou , ta-ku bi'i to'o dari-a fe'e manli i fal ?
 oh FUT-SRP(1s) TAM receive find-PrO(3s) NUCL money LOC INT(where?)
 "Oh, where am I going to get that shilling?

ma ngaa --- nau , dai te-'e bi'i kwate-a ngaa
 CON ART FPr(1s) INT(who?) FUT-SRP(3s) TAM give-PrO(3s) ART
 Who is going to give

fe'e manli fa-gu ?
 NUCL money to-PrS(1s)
 me a shilling?

ta-ku bi'i dari-a i fal ? "
 FUT-SRP(1s) TAM find-PrO(3s) LOC INT(where?)
 Where am I going to get it?"

Basiana e galo fa-na nga dafi lo-fo'u , te'a-na
 Basiana SRP(3s) reach for-PrS(3s) ART pendant DEI to-PrS(3s)
 Basiana went and got his pendant, (consecrated) to

walafu-na , sul ma ka bi'i bota-ri-a no'o .
 forebear-PrS(3s) CON CON SRP(3s) TAM smash-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF
 his ancestor, and smashed it in pieces.

e bota-ri-a kee sul ma ka ngari-a
 SRP(3s) smash-TrS-PrO(3s) TAM be finished CON SRP(3s) bring-PrO(3s)
 He smashed it into pieces and took it to

nga fefede-'e lefu ngaal , ka 'ute-a
 ART shell-working place PstNmQlf SRP(3s) grind-PrO(3s)
 a shell-working grindstone and ground it down.

eta naa logo , giligil , ma ka 'ute-a fa-na
 begin LOC dark evening CON SRP(3s) grind-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s)
 He began in the evening, and ground it until

me'e gani no'o-na .
 NUCL day DEI
 the next day.

'ute'ute-a ma ka 'ute'ute-a --- 'a-ni
 grind(REDUP)-PrO(3s) CON SRP(3s) grind(REDUP)-PrO(3s) INF
 He ground it and ground it ---

toto'o fe'e-ni-a fe'e seleni .
 equal with-TrS-PrO(3s) NUCL shilling
 to be the same size as a shilling.

'ute'ute-a leeleka kee gani ma naa gulagule-'e
 grind(REDUP)-PrO(3s) then TAM daylight CON ART piece-of
 He ground it until dawn, and then the piece of

dafi no'o-na ka toto'o fe'e-ni-a fe'e seleni .
 pendant DEI SRP(3s) equal with-TrS-PrO(3s) NUCL shilling
 pendant was the size of a shilling.

fai fe'e seleni , ma nima-na nga gule-'e dafi .
 four NUCL shilling CON five-ORD ART piece-of pendant
 (He had) four shillings, and the fifth was a piece of goldlip.

e toto'o fe'e-ni-a kee sul , ma finifinigalo
 SRP(3s) equal with-TrS-PrO(3s) TAM be finished CON at dawn
 When dawn came, and they matched,

ngaia ka saka mai te'a-la Mista Bel .
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) descend DEI to-ART Mr Bell
 he want down to Mr Bell.

me-e nigi te'a-la Mista Bel ma ngala ka suga-a
 CON-SRP(3s) arrive to-ART Mr Bell CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) pay-PrO(3s)
 He got to Mr Bell and he paid

takisi a-na
 tax PsP-PrS(3s)
 his tax.

suga-a takisi lo-'oo , e fata 'i-laba'a te'a-la
 buy-PrO(3s) tax DEI SRP(3s) speak QUOT to-ART
 When he paid his tax he said to

Mista Bel :
 Mr Bell
 Mr Bell:

" Mista Bel , fe'e seleni e 'ato no'o a-gu
 Mr Bell NUCL shilling SRP(3s) be impossible PRF LOC-PrS(1s)
 "Mr Bell, that shilling was impossible for me (to get),

'ato 'a-ni nau
 be impossible INF FPr(1s)
 it was impossible for me

'a-ku-l dari-a no'o fe'e seleni
 INF-SRP(1s)-i find-PrO(3s) PRF NUCL shilling
 to find that shilling.

ma fe'e seleni ngai a-gu nau ku kee
 CON NUCL shilling FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) TAM
 But I've ground this shilling of my own

'ute-a no'o mai lo-'oo .
 grind-PrO(3s) PRF DEI DEI
 here.

i-'oo 'oo lo siri-a ngaa bata --- bata gou-na
 FPr(2s) FPr(2s) TAM want-PrO(3s) ART money money head-PrS(3s)
 You want money --- money with the head of

kingi a-mu ngai a-l
 king PsP-PrS(2s) FPr(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 your king on it.

ma i-nau , dafi lo-'oo nau ku bota-ri-a
 CON FPr(1s) pendant DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) smash-TrS-PrO(3s)
 But this pendant I've smashed

lo-'oo , lefu a-l lo-ko'u
 DEI place LOC-PrS(Ind) DEI
 --- this piece there

ku 'ute-a no'o mai lo-'o-ri --- ngaa dafi
 SRP(1s) grind-PrO(3s) PRF DEI DEI ART pendant
 is the one I ground down --- this pendant

lo-'oo , dafi naa
 DEI pendant PsP
 is one (consecrated to)

walafu-gu lo-'oo , walafu-gu e eta-a
 forebear-PrS(1s) DEI forebear-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) originate-PrO(3s)
 my forebear, from whom I'm

no'o mai .
 PRF DEI
 descended.

naa i-nau na ku 'ute'ute-a le kee gani
 CON FPr(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) grind(REDUP)-PrO(3s) DEI TAM daylight
 And I ground and ground it through until dawn,

ku 'ute-a fa-na logo la'ula'u , kee sul ,
 SRP(1s) grind-PrO(3s) for-PrS(3s) night entire TAM be finished
 for the whole night, until

ma ngai lo-ko e bi'i sul
 CON FPr(3s) DEI SRP(3s) TAM be finished
 it was finished.

nau ku kwate-a no'o fa-mu , Mista Bel , furi
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) give-PrO(3s) PRF to-PrS(2s) Mr Bell MOD
 I'm giving it to you, Mr Bell, you'd better

'a-ni 'oi lae-ni-a no'o .
 INF SRP(2s) like-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF
 appreciate it.

'oi Isia 'a-ni ma'a-sini la'u a-i e 'amoe no'o .
 SRP(2s) if INF NOT-want PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind) SRP(3s) be not PRF
 You'd better not refuse it!

na'a ma na ku siri-a 'a-ni 'oi siri-a
 CON CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) want-PrO(3s) INF SRP(2s) want-PrO(3s)
 I want you to appreciate it, and

no'o mo ko age-a
 PRF CON SRP(2s) do-PrO(3s)
 accept it

'ani-a nima-na fe'e seleni 'a-ni lau no'o " .
 as-PrO(3s) five-ORD NUCL shilling INF happen PRF
 as the fifth shilling."

Mista Bel ka fata 'i-laba'a : " ou , iu basta ,
 Mr Bell SRP(3s) speak QUOT oh you bastard
 Mr Bell retorted, "Oh, you bastard,

iu mas no duem nekistaem .
 you must NEG do-it next time
 don't you do that again!

mi laekem faef seleni , no eni pls sisel olsemu " .
 I want five shilling NEG any piece shell like-that
 I want five shillings, not a piece of shell like that."

ma la Basiana e iri-'i 'i-laba'a :
 CON ART Basiana SRP(3s) say-PRO(3sInd) QUOT
 And Basiana retorted:

" e to'o , ma nga imai lo-'oo , gwa'a na ku
 SRP(3s) be true CON ART shell DEI although FPr(1s) SRP(1s)
 "That's true, but even though this is just a shell,

'ute-a mal , ma imai lo-'ori , e 'ame imai
 grind-PRO(3s) DEI CON shellfish DEI SRP(3s) NEG shellfish
 this particular shell isn't

ataata lo-'oo .
 worthless DEI
 just an ordinary one.

imai te'efu 'amoe , e tooto'o fe'e-ni-a la'u
 shellfish worthless NEG SRP(3s) equal with-TrS-PRO(3s) PstVbP
 Not a worthless one, but equivalent to

mola nga seleni no'o-na 'oo siri-a , gou-na
 PstVbP ART shilling DEI FPr(2s) want-PRO(3s) head-PrS(3s)
 the kind of shilling you want, with the head

kingi a-mu ngai a-i
 king PsP-PrS(2s) FPr(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 of your king on it.

ma nga imai le nau ku 'ute-a mal lo-'oo ,
 CON ART shell DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) grind-PRO(3s) DEI DEI
 And this shell I ground is one

imai nga walafu-gu e dari-a no'o mal lo-'oo .
 shell ART forebear-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) find-PRO(3s) PRF DEI DEI
 my ancestor found, passed down (to me).

na ku 'ute-a mal lo-'oo , 'a-ku age-a
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) grind-PRO(3s) DEI DEI INF-SRP(1s) do-PRO(3s)
 I ground it down to make

fa-na nima-na fe'e seleni .
for-PrS(3s) five-ORD NUCL shilling
the fifth shilling.

ngai lo-'oo 'a-ku iri-a te'a-mu lo-'oo " .
FPr(3s) DEI INF-SRP(1s) say-PrO(3s) to-PrS(2s) DEI
That's what I have to say to you!"

Mista Bel ka 'i-laba'a : " 'ola 'i-no'o-na ,
Mr Bell SRP(3s) QUOT thing like that
Mr Bell retorted, "What you've done

'oo sla age-a la'u naa fa'i-buri .
SRP(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s) PstVbP LOC time-next
you're not to do again next time.

leeleka 'oo age-a ma naa fa'i-buri , na ku
if FPr(2s) do-PrO(3s) DEI LOC time-next FPr(1s) SRP(1s)
If you do it next time, I'll

ngari-'o no'o i diele " .
take-PrO(2s) PRF LOC gaol
put you in prison."

la Basiana bao-na ka ria no'o .
SRP(3p) Basiana belly-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) be bad PRF
Basiana was angry.

"ou , wane ngaa no'o-ni ngai siri-a no'o te'e seleni ."
oh man FPr(3s) DEI FPr(3s) want-PrO(3s) PRF one shilling
Oh, that man wanted to get only a single shilling."

ma ngaa dafi na walafu-gu e eta-a
CON ART pendant DEI forebear-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) originate-PrO(3s)
And that goldlip pendant passed down from my ancestor

mai , na ku ngada-a no'o fa-na ,
DEI FPr(1s) SRP(1s) destroy-PrO(3s) PRF for-PrS(3s)
that I smashed for him,

ma ngai e 'ame iri ba'ita mola a-i " .
CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) NEG think be big PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
he doesn't recognize as worth anything."

naana'i kau , rua-na lefu la'u , 'afu-ta-na
stay DEI two-ORD point PstVbP all-Qlf-PrS(3s)
And then there was something else all the

ta'a gila iri-a .
people SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s)
people were talking about.

gila iri-ri-a 'i-laba'a : " ta'a ngai lo-lo'o i
 SRP(3p) say(REDUP)-PrO(3s) QUOT people FPr(3s) DEI LOC
 They kept saying, "The people from up there in

busi gila 'ame leeleka mola mai fa-na ngaa
 bush SRP(3p) NEG go(REDUP) PstVbP DEI for-PrS(3s) ART
 the bush don't come here for

tau-nga'i-nga 'afu-i-a takisihaos lo-'oo "
 work-TrI-NOM around-TrS-PrO(3s) tax-house DEI
 clearing the area around this tax house."

ta'a ngaai gila kee kwa-iri la'u a-i
 people PstNmQlf SRP(3p) TAM RECIP-say PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
 Other people talked about it as well.

gila la iri-a busi , gula naa wane iri-a
 FPr(3p) SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) bush some LOC man say-PrO(3s)
 They said "bush" --- some of the people said

busi .
 bush
 "bush".

ma ta'a ngaai la kee kwa-iri la'u a-i
 CON people PstNmQlf SRP(3p) TAM RECIP-say PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
 But some other people who talked about it

gila 'i-laba'a iri-a ngaa ta'a la 'i-laba'a : " ta'a
 SRP(3p) QUOT that ART people SRP(3p) QUOT people
 said, people said: "the people

lo-lo'o i bisi "
 DEI LOC menstrual-hut
 up there in the menstrual hut."

suri-a nga bisi 'oo lo-'oo 'ola e
 because-PrO(3s) ART menstrual-hut thing DEI thing SRP(3s)
 Because "bisi" is something

abu , 'ola --- taa-nga
 be taboo thing curse-NOM
 taboo, something --- that's a curse.

na'a gila iri-a --- ta'a naa fofoe-asl ---
 CON SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) people LOC coastal slopes
 So they said --- the people from the coastal slopes ---

gila la iri-a , " gila ta'a i bisi "
 FPr(3p) SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) FPr(3p) people LOC menstrual-hut
 said "They are menstrual-hut people."

ma 'amoe .
 CON NEG
 But that's not right.

'ola lefu la iri-a mal iri-a " ta'a lo-lo'o l
 thing point SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) DEI say-PrO(3s) people DEI LOC
 The thing they were saying should be "people up there

busi " .
 bush
 in the bush."

riri-la-l la riri-a mola fa-na lefu
 twist-GER-PrS(Ind) SRP(3p) twist-PrO(3s) PstVbP to-PrS(3s) point
 They twisted it into something

ngaai lo-'oo .
 PstNmQlf DEI
 else.

gila bi'i iri-a mola .
 SRP(3p) TAM say-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 They just said that (the other way).

naanai 'i-no'o-na ma gila bi'i kwa'i-a la Mista Bel .
 stay thusly CON SRP(3p) TAM hit-PrO(3s) ART Mr Bell
 That went on and they killed Mr Bell.

oga-ria-nga ngai l du'a-l
 belly-bad-NOM FPr(3s) LOC because-PrS(Ind)
 The anger came from that.

kee sul la'u , 'ola ku-a longo-a la'u .
 TAM be finished PstVbP thing SRP(1s)-TAM hear-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 And something else, something else I heard about, which

gila kwa-iri a-l dari-nau la'u --- sikwa
 RECIP-say LOC-PrS(Ind) find-PrO(1s) PstVbP bounty SRP(3p)
 told me about --- it was a blood bounty

la aru-a .
 SRP(3p) keep-PrO(3s)
 they were keeping.

ngai mae-la Tome Kwa'italaunga'i , ngai e ange
 FPr(3s) death-ART Tome Kwa'italaunga'i FPr(3s) SRP(3s) hang
 It was (to avenge) the death of Tome Kwa'italaunga'i, who was hanged

l Tulake .
 LOC Tulagi
 at Tulagi.

te'e sikwa lo-'oo .
 one bounty DEI
 That was one blood bounty.

rua-na sikwa gila kwa-iri a-l dari-nau , nga
 two-ORD bounty SRP(3p) RECIP-say LOC-PrS(Ind) to-PrO(1s) ART
 A second bounty they reported to me

wane nga baot
 man ART boat
 was for (the death of) a man a boat

e to'o a-na , i Maanaaba , i West Kwaio .
 SRP(3s) hit LOC-PrS(3s) LOC Maanaaba LOC West Kwaio
 struck, at Maanaaba, in West Kwaio.

gila me'e waka naa nga kabani , Fairymead Sugar
 SRP(3p) TAM work LOC ART company Fairymead Sugar
 They were working for a company, Fairymead Sugar

Kabani i Baunani , na'a ma blo ka to'o , sui ma nga
 Co. LOC Baunani CON CON wave SRP(3s) hit CON CON ART
 Company at Baunani, when a wave struck and

--- alata no'o-na waa no'o-na ka ula fe'e-ni-a baot
 time DEI man DEI SRP(3s) stand with-TrS-PrO(3s) boat
 --- at that time that man was standing next to that boat

no'o-na la fa'a-lata-a 'ani-a Banita --- 'ola
 DEI SRP(3p) CAUS-name-PrO(3s) with-PrO(3s) Banita thing
 they called the Banita , one

gila feefee-a nga ---
 SRP(3p) carry(RED)-PrO(3s) ART
 they carried the ---

gila rudaruda-ni-a nga kafora a-l , te'a-na
 SRP(3p) load(RED)-TrS-PrO(3s) ART copra LOC-PrS(Ind) to-PrS(3s)
 they loaded copra on, (to take it) to

nga faka .
 ART ship
 the ship.

na'a ma nga blo ka kwa'i-a waa lo-'oo , ka
 CON CON ART wave SRP(3s) hit-PrO(3s) man DEI SRP(3s)
 Then a wave struck this man, and he

'esi-a fa-na
 fall-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s)
 fell

olofa-na baot no'o , sui ma baot no'o-na ka
 under-PrS(3s) boat PRF CON CON boat DEI SRP(3s)
 under the boat, and that boat

dau-a no'o waa no'o-na , la Dangomae .
 destroy-PrO(3s) PRF man DEI ART Dangomae
 killed that man, Dangomae.

sikwa la aru-a la'a a-i
 bounty SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) PstVbP LOC-PrS(Ind)
 They put up a blood bounty for that as well.

oru-na sikwa gila aru-a la'u , te'e wane ngai
 three-ORD bounty SRP(3p) put-PrO(3s) PstVbP one man FPr(3s)
 A third blood bounty they put up was for a man

'ubu-na fataia e waawaka naa lifa
 inside-PrS(3s) bush SRP(3s) work(RED) LOC Lever's
 from the interior who was working at Lever's.

taatau-nga'i naa lifa , sul ma ka mae i gafutu .
 work(RED)-Tri LOC Lever's CON CON SRP(3s) die LOC Gavutu
 He was working for Lever's, and died at Gavutu.

dokita , lata-na la Dokita Benisin , ngai e
 doctor name-PrS(3s) ART Dr Benson FPr(3s) SRP(3s)
 A doctor named Dr Benson

ngari-a soa ma ka soa folo-si-a nga gou-na
 bring-PrO(3s) saw CON SRP(3s) saw across-TrS-PrO(3s) ART skull-PrS(3s)
 took a saw and sawed open his skull.

soa folo-si-a gou-na no'o-na e sul ---
 saw across-TrS-PrO(3s) skull-PrS(3s) DEI SRP(3s) be finished
 He sawed through his skull and then ---

'a-ni aga-si-a --- iri-a nga sikinisi taa
 INF see-TrS-PrO(3s) CON ART sickness INTER(what?)
 to see --- what sickness

ne-'e dau-a waa no'o-na .
 TOP-SRP(3s) destroy-PrO(3s) man DEI
 killed that man.

ni 'oo lo'o-ri gila ogu-te'e-ni-a ma gila
 PLU thing DEI SRP(3p) gather-Tri-TrS-PrO(3s) CON SRP(3p)
 They put all these things together and

aru-a sikwa a-i
 put-PrO(3s) bounty LOC-PrS(Ind)
 put up blood bounties for them.

e sul , la Basiana ngala ka aru-fi-a
 SRP(3s) be finished ART Basiana FPr(3s) SRP(3s) keep-TrS-PrO(3s)
 Then Basiana kept

i manata-la-na , siri-a 'a-ni
 LOC thought-GER-PrS(3s) want-PrO(3s) INF
 thinking about it, wanting to

sule-a tale-'e sikwa la'a-kau , ma ka oga-ria
 pursue-PrO(3s) set-of bounty DEI CON SRP(3s) be angry
 go after those bounties; and he was angry

la'u du'a-na dafi la'a-kau
 PstVbP because-PrS(3s) pendant DEI
 as well because of that pendant

la Mista Bel e 'al-a ma ngala ka kee
 ART Mr Bell SRP(3s) insist-PrO(3s) CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) TAM
 Mr Bell had goaded him into

bota-ri-a dafi no'o-na .
 smash-TrS-PrO(3s) pendant DEI
 smashing.

ma la Mista Belo ka iri-a " basta " la'u mola
 CON ART Mr Bell SRP(3s) say-PrO(3s) bastard PstVbP PstVbP
 And Mr Bell had also called him "bastard".

a-na
 LOC-PrS(3s)

ma gila iri-a la'u mola " gila ta'a lo-lo'o i
 CON SRP(3p) say-PrO(3s) PstVbP PstVbP SRP(3p) people DEI LOC
 And people had also said "Those people up there in

bisi gila 'ame leka mai 'a-ni taatau-nga'i "
 menstrual-hut SRP(3p) NEG go DEI INF work(RED)-Tri
 the menstrual hut didn't come here to work."

mo 'oo lo-'ori la Basiana e ogu-te'e-ni-a , sui
 CON thing DEI ART Basiana SRP(3s) gather-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) CON
 These things Basiana added together (in his mind) and then

ma ka soe-a 'afu-ta-na ta'a i 'ubu-na
 CON SRP(3s) ask-PrO(3s) all-QLF-PrS(3s) people LOC inside-PrS(3s)
 he called on all the people from the

fataia .
 bush
 interior.

tale-'e tau no'o ngal e soe-ga , tau i
 set-of kin group PRF FPr(3s) SRP(3s) ask-PrO(3p) kin group LOC
 The kin groups he called on were from

Ngudu , tau i 'Oibasi , ma ngala wane ngal i
 Ngudu kin group LOC 'Oibasi CON FPr(3s) man FPr(3s) LOC
 Ngudu and 'Oibasi, and he was a man from

'Ai'eda , ma tau i Gwagwa'emanu .
 'Ai'eda CON kin group LOC Gwagwa'emanu
 'Ai'eda, and the people from Gwagwa'emanu.

gila ogu te'ete'efou ma gila ala-fuu fa-l
 SRP(3p) gather together CON SRP(3p) confer for-PrS(Ind)
 They gathered and discussed it.

ma gila lae-ta'a-a
 CON SRP(3p) be sympathetic-PrO(3s)
 And they were in agreement.

gila 'i-laba'a : " nga ala'l kwao lo-fo'u e nigi
 SRP(3p) QUOT ART white man white DEI SRP(3s) arrive
 They said "That white man has come

ma ngal tooto'o-ni lefu ngala ka age-a fa-dauru
 CON FPr(3s) all-PLU point FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do-PrO(3s) to-PrS(lti)
 and he has done all sorts of things to us

ma ka 'ame kwai-maa no'o fa-dauru
 CON SRP(3s) NEG be kind PRF to-PrS(lti)
 and has not been friendly to us.

nga 'oo no'o-na , gwa'a goru leka kau , na'a
 ART thing DEI although SRP(lti) go DEI CON
 And if we go there,

nga --- fa-ta kouta ---
 ART for-QNT court cases.
 for some court case,

ma ngal e iri mani mola a-dauru , ma ka
 CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) think badly PstVbP LOC-PrS(lti) CON SRP(3s)
 he despises us and

fata mani mola a-dauru
 speak badly PstVbP LOC-PrS(lti)
 speaks abusively to us.

'a-goru-i kwa'l-a , 'a-goru-i kwa'l-a 'a-ni mae " .
 INF-SRP(lti)-i hit-PrO(3s) INF-SRP(lti)-i hit-PrO(3s) INF be dead
 Let's bash him, bash him to death.

du'a-na ngala leeleka goru kwa'l-a ma tale-'e
 because-PrS(3s) FPr(3s) if SRP(lti) hit-PrO(3s) CON set-of
 Because if we kill him then there are all

sikwa laka la'u
bounty DEI PstVbP
those blood bounties as well

guru kwa'l-a la'u mola fa-l , 'a-ni ngal
SRP(1ti) hit-PrO(3s) PstVbP PstVbP for-PrS(Ind) INF FPr(3s)
we'll be killing him for as well, once

'a-ni mae " .
INF be dead
he's dead."

tale-'e sikwa lo-'oo , du'a-na ni 'ola e lau
set-of bounty DEI because-PrS(3s) PLU thing SRP(3s) happen
All these blood bounties were for things that had happened

naa gula naa fa'a kwao lo-'oo .
LOC side PsP people white DEI
on account of the whites.

na'a gila la siri-a , gila oga-ria , 'a-le-l
CON FPr(3p) SRP(3p) want-PrO(3s) SRP(3p) be angry INF-SRP(3p)-i
And they wanted (to do) it --- were angry, wanted

kwa'l-a no'o la
hit-PrO(3s) PRF ART
to kill

Mista Bel suri-a gila oga-ria la'u fa-la
Mr Bell because-PrO(3s) SRP(3p) be angry PstVbP to-ART
Mr Bell because they were angry as well

Mista Bel tofu-na
Mr Bell because-PrS(3s)
at him for

tau-nga'i-nga a-na e 'ame le'a
work-TrI-NOM PsP-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) NEG be good
not doing his work properly.

nima 'oo no'o-na lo-'oo ngal lo-'oo .
five thing DEI DEI FPr(3s) DEI
All these things

ogu-te'e-ni-la-na e lau ,
gather-TrI-TrS-GER-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) happen
were added together,

oga-ria-nga ka lau fa-l ,
angry-NOM SRP(3s) happen for-PrS(Ind)
and built up resentment,

sul no'o ma gila ala-fuu fa-na kwa'i-la-la
 be finished PRF CON SRP(3p) confer for-PrS(3s) hit-GER-ART
 until they talked about killing

Mista Bel
 Mr Bell
 Mr Bell.

Mista Bel , ngaia wane e le'a , ma te'e
 Mr Bell FPr(3s) man SRP(3s) be good CON only
 Mr Bell was a good man, but it was only

fui-'ola a-na , 'ame lae-ni-a ta'a
 fashion PsP-PrS(3s) NEG like-TrS-PrO(3s) people
 his manner of not treating people properly.

to'oto'o-ni lefu ngai e age-'i
 QLF-PLU point FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do-PrO(Ind)
 There were all those things he had done:

leeleka ngai e ta-ta'e lo-'oo i langi
 when FPr(3s) SRP(3s) SP-rise DEI LOC up above
 when he stood up,

'afu-ta-na ta'a la ula i langi
 all-QLF-PrS(3s) people SRP(3p) stand LOC up above
 everyone else had to stand.

ngai e leka e ori naa faka , kee fane , la
 FPr(3s) SRP(3s) go SRP(3s) return LOC ship TAM ascend SRP(3p)
 When he went back to the ship and got on board, they

ngari-a fa-na 'ubu-na
 bring-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) inside-PrS(3s)
 took him back to be on

baot sul , ma 'afu-ta-na ta'a ta'a gila bi'i
 boat CON CON all-QLF-PrS(3s) people FUT SRP(3p) TAM
 the ship, then everyone would just

to'oru i wado , 'afu-ta-na ta'a
 sit LOC ground all-QLF-PrS(3s) people
 sit down, everyone

ta-gila bi'i iba
 FUT-SRP(3p) TAM pipe
 would smoke their pipes.

ni lefu ngai e ageage-'i lo-'oo
 PLU point FPr(3s) SRP(3s) do(RED)-PrO(Ind) DEI
 Those were all the things he did.

ma i-na ku riarla-si-a 'i-no'o-na naa alata
 CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) see(RED)-TrS-Pro(3s) be like that LOC time
 That's the way I saw things when

ku sika'u
 SRP(1s) be small
 I was little.

mo 'oo no'o-na tofu-na la Mista Bel leeeka ma
 CON thing DEI because-PrS(3s) ART Mr Bell then CON
 And those are the things about Mr Bell that led up to

gila kwa'l-a , naa farisi 1927 .
 SRP(3p) hit-Pro(3s) LOC year 1927
 their killing him, in the year 1927.

APPENDIX II

This briefer text comes from an account by Tome Kwalafane'ia, a man in his early sixties, about his experiences prior to and during the second world war. Kwalafane'ia's narrative uses a discourse style fairly similar to Jonathan Fifi'i's. His Kwaio differs from the latter's primarily in its greater use of Pijin loan words. Note how Pijin forms are neatly slotted in Kwaio sentences. In Fifi'i's account the Pijin *ang-em* as transitive verb+transitive suffix ('hang him') is "Kwaio-ized" by addition of the pronoun suffix as clitic pronoun: *angemu-a*. A few of the Pijin loan words used by Kwalafane'ia, and their Kwaio equivalents, are listed below:

<i>waawaka</i>	<i>taatau-nga'i</i>	'work(RED)'
<i>taemu</i>	<i>alata</i>	'time, times'
<i>wan</i>	<i>te'e</i>	'one'
<i>tu</i>	<i>rua</i>	'two'
<i>tirili</i>	<i>oru</i>	'three'
<i>naen</i>	<i>mule</i>	'nine'
<i>la</i>	<i>farisi</i>	'year'
<i>manisi</i>	<i>singari</i>	'month'
<i>buasa</i>	<i>busu</i>	'burst'
<i>daone</i>	<i>sifo</i>	'descend'
<i>'aoto</i>	<i>eta</i>	'start, leave'

Note also how Pijin loan words --- *'enemli*, *'erofeleni*, *wasmani* ("watchman") are slotted into Kwaio to label phenomena newly encountered in the world of Europeans. This process goes back to the Labour Trade, when words like *akisi* and *naefi* were quickly incorporated into the Kwaio lexicon.

eteeta-la-gu na ku leka naa faka .
 begin(RED)-GER-PrS(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go LOC plantation
 My beginning is when I went to a plantation.

eta-la-gu ku leka , la fori-nau 'ani-a
 begin-GER-PrS(1s) SRP(1s) go SRP(3p) pay-PrO(1s) with-PrO(3s)
 I started off --- they paid me

nga tirili baone .
 ART three pounds
 three pounds.

alata na ku leka late-gu e 'ame buru 'ua .
 time FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go chin-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) NEG overgrown PstVbP
 When I went I didn't yet have facial hair.

tu ia na ku leka a-i i na'o ma ku
 two years FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go LOC-PrS(IND) LOC front CON SRP(1s)
 I went for two years at first, and

ori mai ku me'e nigi i fanua , ma rua-na fe'e ori-nga
 return DEI SRP(1s) TAM arrive LOC place CON two-ORD NUCL return-NOM
 came back; I got back home and a trip back

ku ori la'u ku nana'i , naen manisi e sui
 SRP(1s) return PstVbP SRP(1s) stay nine month SRP(3s) be finished
 --- I came back again , stayed nine months and then

a-gu ma rua-na fe'e ori-nga na ku ori la'u .
 PsP-PrS(1s) CON two-ORD NUCL return-NOM FPr(1s) SRP(1s) return PstVbP
 came back a second time.

ori la'u fa-na tu ia la'u .
 return PstVbP for-PrS(3s) two year PstVbP
 Came back again for two more years.

tu ia na ku ori fa-i , na ku leka
 two year FPr(1s) SRP(1s) return for-PrS(Ind) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go
 I came back for two years, went

ku waka no'o i Diakamba .
 SRP(1s) work PRF LOC Diakamba
 and worked at Diakamba.

Diakamba fanua naa Rifa la'u mola , i Korubangala .
 Diakamba place PsP Lever's PstVbP PstVbP LOC Kolombangara
 Diakamba is a Lever's plantation too, at Kolombangara.

fanua lo-ko'u , alata lo'oo la bi'i liri-a
 place DEI time DEI SRP(3p) TAM say(REDUP)-PrO(3s)
 That area is now called

Wesiteni lo-ko'u , ma alata i na'o gila fa'a-lata-a
 Western DEI CON time LOC front SRP(3p) CAUS-name-PrO(3s)
 "Western", but in the old days they called it

Lobiana .
 Roviana
 Roviana.

na ku ngari-a tu ia a-i , leeleka ---
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) bring-PrO(3s) two year LOC-PrS(Ind) then
 I was to spend two years there, then ---

farisi la'ula'u , ma flu singari ,
 year entire CON seven month
 a year and seven months

ku fa'a-sui-a , ma na ku-a
 SRP(1s) CAUS-be finished-PrO(3s) CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s)-TAM
 were gone when I

kwa'i-a masita a-meeru
 hit-PrO(3s) master PSP-PrS(1te)
 hit our boss.

du'a-na nga keto-nga , ka kwate-a keto-nga
 because-PrS(3s) ART eat-NOM SRP(3s) give-PrO(3s) eat-NOM
 Because of the food, he fed

fa-meeru e 'ame le'a
 for-PrS(1te) SRP(3s) NEG be good
 us badly.

mele faafata i du'a-i ma na ku kwa'i-a
 SRP(1de) quarrel LOC because-PrS(Ind) CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) hit-PrO(3s)
 He and I quarreled about it and I hit him.

sui ma i-na ku leka ku kalabusi i Giso ---
 CON CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) go SRP(1s) be gaoled LOC Gizo ---
 Then I was put in prison in Gizo ---

ono singari
 six month
 six months.

ono singari la ngari-nau ku belesini i Giso
 six month SRP(3p) take-PrO(1s) SRP(1s) imprisoned LOC Gizo
 They took me to prison for six months, in Gizo.

oru wane --- wane e futa i buri-la Maakona , la
 three man man SRP(3s) be born LOC behind-ART Maakona ART
 There were three men --- Maakona's brother,

Baba'aniaboo , ma la Larikeni , wela i 'Ale'ale
 Baba'aniaboo CON ART Larikeni child LOC 'Are'are
 Baba'aniaboo, and Larikeni, a boy from 'Are'are.

meeru oru wane la fee-'emeeru fa-na i Giso
 FPr(3te) three man SRP(3p) take-PrO(1te) to-PrS(3s) LOC Gizo
 They took the three of us to Gizo.

meru nana'i naa ono singari , sui , ma la bi'i
 SRP(3te) stay LOC six month CON CON SRP(3p) TAM
 We stayed for six months, then they

fa'a-sui-'ameeru mal
 CAUS-be finished-PrO(3te) DEI
 discharged us.

meru ori mai , meru --- alata i na'o , lauta
 SRP(1te) return DEI SRP(1te) time LOC front if
 We came back here, and we --- in the old days, if

wane 'oo waawaka sui ma
 man FPr(2s) work(RED) CON CON
 you were a man working

'o ko leka i belesini , 'oo ori mo-o
 FPr(2s) SRP(2s) go LOC prison FPr(2s) return CON-SRP(2s)
 and then you were sent to prison, you came back and you

bi'i eta la'ula'u
 TAM begin entire
 had to start all over again

lo fa-na taemu a-mu 'a-ni Rifa 'a-ni
 DEI for-PrS(3s) time PsP-PrS(2s) INF Lever's INF
 on your allotted time, so Lever's

fa'a-sui-'o no'o-na .
 CAUS-be finished-PrO(2s) DEI
 would discharge you.

alata ngaa lo-'oo , lauta wane e leka i belesini ,
 time FPr(3s) DEI if man SRP(3s) go LOC prison
 Nowadays, if a man goes to gaol

e ori mai , me-e sul , e
 SRP(3s) return DEI CON-SRP(3s) be finished SRP(3s)
 he comes back and then he

leeleka no'o i fanua .
 go(RED) PRF LOC place
 goes home.

ma alata i na'o , 'amoe .
 CON time LOC front NEG
 But not in the old days.

leeleka 'oo waka fa-na ngaa --- wan la e
 if FPr(2s) work for-PrS(3s) ART one year SRP(3s)
 If you had worked

sul a-mu
 be finished LOC-Pr
 for one year

'o ko leka i belesini , 'oo ori mai mo
 FPr(2s) SRP(2s) go LOC prison FPr(2s) return DEI SRP(2s)
 and you went to prison, you'd come back and

bi'i eta la'ula'u bu'i fa-na wan la no'o a-mu ,
 TAM begin entire now for-PrS(3s) one year PRF PsP-PrS(2s)
 just start again for your year,

fa'a-sul-a .
 CAUS-be finished-PrO(3s)
 and have to finish it out.

na'a na ku ori mal , meeru meru waka fa-na
 CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) return DEI FPr(1te) SRP(1te) work for-PrS(3s)
 So I came back and we worked for

fiu singari e sui ,
 seven month SRP(3s) be finished
 seven months

ma ta-miru bi'i ori , bi'i fa'a-sul-a
 CON FUT-SRP(1te) TAM return TAM CAUS-be finished-PrO(3s)
 and then we were ready to go back, had just finished

taemu , ma mae naa Diafane e nigi no'o ,
 time CON fight PsP Japan SRP(3s) arrive PRF
 our time, when the war with Japan began,

nigi no'o faa-fi-'ameeru .
 arrive PRF on top of-TrS-PrO(3te)
 descended on us.

nigi no'o faa-fi-'ameeru , alata 'a-meeru i
 arrive PRF on top of-TrS-PrO(3te) time FPr(3te) LOC
 Descended on us at the time where we were at

Stanumoa .
 Stanmore
 Stanmore.

ma ta'a miru tofutofu-a 'ifi no'o .
 CON people SRP(1te) fell(RED)-PrO(3s) house PRF
 Then we people built houses.

ma Diafane e saasari no'o mal , fa-na i
 CON Japan SRP(3s) prepare(REDUP) PRF DEI to-PrS(3s) LOC
 And Japan prepared (to invade) the

Solomon Aelan .
 Solomon island
 Solomon Islands.

meru waka naa 'ifi , meru waawaka naa 'ifi .
 SRP(1te) work LOC house SRP(1te) work(RED) LOC house
 We built houses, built houses

naa faka no'o-na i Stanumoa , la 'ubu-na kalonga
 LOC plantation DEI LOC Stanmore DEI inside-PrS(3s) forest
 at the plantation there at Stanmore, in the forest.

miru kwa'i-a o'oba 'ubu-na ano naa mae naa
 SRP(1te) cut-PrO(3s) lean-to inside-PrS(3s) forest CON war LOC
 We built lean-to's in the forest in preparation for the war

Diafane te'e nigi no'o .
 Japan FUT arrive PRF
 with Japan reaching us.

mi kwa'i-a o'oba fa-na 'akwa-nga , miru
 SRP(1pe) cut-PrO(3s) lean-to for-PrS(3s) run away-NOM SRP(1te)
 We built lean-to's for refuge, for us

'akwa a-i , 'akwa 'ubu-na ano .
 run away LOC-PrS(IND) run away inside-PrS(3s) forest
 to hide in, for taking refuge in the forest.

fa'a-si-a Diafane no'o , gwa'a me'e nigi , ma
 away-TrS-PrO(3s) Japan PRF although TAM arrive CON
 So that even if the Japanese came,

fa'a 'e-meeru 'ubu-na ano .
 people FPr(3te) inside-PrS(3s) forest
 we people --- we'd be in the forest.

ngaa tofu-o'oba-nga no'o miru age-a 'ubu-na ano
 ART housebuilding DEI SRP(1te) do-PrO(3s) inside-PrS(3s) forest
 In our house construction in the forest

gwa'a foo-'i kwalo mo sia tofutofu-a la'u
 even NUCL vine SRP(2s) NEG fell(RED)-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 even vines couldn't be cut,

gwa'a fee 'al , mo sia tofu-a la'u .
 even NUCL tree SRP(2s) NEG cut-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 even trees couldn't be cut.

gwo o kilkirini-te-'e karisi lofo'u ma foo-'i
 even FPr(2s) bunches-of leaf DEI CON NUCL
 Even bundles of leaf and

kwalo 'oo ngari-a kau
 vine FPr(2s) bring-PrO(3s) DEI
 vine ropes had to be brought

'oo gau-'i bata-'al , lauta 'oo tofu-a ma
 FPr(2s) tie-PrO(Ind) in between if FPr(2s) cut-PrO(3s) CON
 for lashing, because if you cut them

ka malonga ma gila
 SRP(3s) be withered CON SRP(3p)
 the leaves would be withered, and they

aga-si-a mai lari, ka gu'a
 see-TrS-PrO(3s) DEI root SRP(3s) be dead
 would see the roots were dead.

'al mo sia tofu-a la'u
 tree SRP(2s) NEG cut-PrO(3s) PstVbP
 You couldn't cut trees either.

na'a miru waawaka 'i-no'o-na, sui ma i-nau ku
 CON SRP(1te) work(RED) thusly CON CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s)
 We worked like that, and then I

sui ni 'ubu-la-l, taemu a-gu
 be finished PRF inside-PrS(Ind) time PsP-PrS(1s)
 finished (my contract), my contracted time

e sui no'o 'ubu-na alata no'o-na
 SRP(3s) be finished PRF inside-PrS(3s) time DEI
 was finished at that point.

sui ma miru eta lo-ko'u, eta i Sitanumoa
 CON CON SRP(1te) begin DEI begin LOC Stanmore
 So then we started from there, from Stanmore,

miru ori no'o mal
 SRP(1te) return PRF DEI
 we came back,

meru ori 'ubu-a Kurumalau, faka la
 SRP(1te) return inside-PrO(3s) Kurumalau ship SRP(3p)
 came back in the Kurumalau, the ship they

fa'a-lata-a Kurumalau
 CAUS-name-PrO(3s) Kurumalau
 called the Kurumalau.

'a-me'e la Baba'aniaboo mele ori no'o mal
 FPr(1de) ART Baba'aniaboo SRP(1de) return PRF DEI
 Baba'aniaboo and I came back

'ubu-la-l
 inside-PrS(Ind)
 in it.

Larikenl, mele 'akwa-si-a no'o kau, ta alata
 Larikenl SRP(1de) leave-PrO(3s) PRF DEI QLF time
 We left Larikenl there, his time

ngaa a-na e 'ame sui 'ua .
 FPr(3s) PsP-PrS(3s) SRP(3s) NEG be finished PstVbP
 wasn't finished yet.

'e-me'e mele ori mai , mele nigi i Gafutu .
 FPr(1de) SRP(1de) return DEI SRP(1de) arrive LOC Gavutu
 We two came back, and arrived at Gavutu,

meru me'e nigi i Gafutu .
 SRP(1te) TAM arrive LOC Gavutu
 got to Gavutu.

mele maa'ala i Gafutu , 'e-meeru meru lee i
 SRP(1de) visit LOC Gavutu FPr(3te) SRP(1te) lay LOC
 We got to Gavutu and lay

wafu naa Kurumalau ,
 wharf LOC Kurumalau
 at the wharf, in the Kurumalau,

ma ta'a lo-ko'u i Gafutu 'i-laba'a no'o :
 CON people DEI LOC Gavutu QUOT PRF
 and the people there at Gavutu said:

" ou , Diafane e nigi lo-'oo tala'ina .
 oh Japanese SRP(3s) arrive DEI today
 "Oh, the Japanese came today.

na'a nga rua 'erofeleni lo-'oo ngai lo-fo'u i Taniboko
 CON CON two aeroplanes DEI FPr(3s) DEI LOC Taniboko
 And the two aeroplanes here from Taniboko

e bi'i belo-ga , e bi'i belo-ga bu'i . "
 SRP(3s) TAM expel-PrO(3p) SRP(3s) TAM expel-PrO(3p) now
 just chased them away, just now."

ma 'a-meeru miru nana'i , nana'i , nana'i .
 CON FPr(3te) SRP(1te) stay stay stay
 Then we just stayed there,

nana'i oru-na gani ,
 stay three-ORD tomorrow
 and on the third day,

ma 'a-meru-a ta'a meru-a 'akwa 'ubu-na ano ,
 CON FPr(1te)-a people SRP(1te)-TAM run away inside-PrS(3s) forest
 we people took refuge in the forest,

meru leka 'ubu-na ano .
 SRP(1te) go inside-PrS(3s) forest
 went into the forest.

fa'a i Gavutu 'i-laba'a : " nga Dlafane e nigi
 people LOC Gavutu QUOT ART Japanese SRP(3s) arrive
 The Gavutu people said: "The Japanese have arrived

noo 'i-lo'o-ri , sia mou la'u
 PRF DEI NEG be broken PstVbP
 for certain, there's no escaping it,

fa'a moru leeleka noo 'ubu-na ano "
 FUT SRP(2t) go(REDUP) PRF inside-PrS(3s) forest
 you have to take refuge in the forest."

fa'a i Gavutu me'e kwa'i-a o'oba la'u , tofu-a
 people LOC Gavutu TAM cut-PrO(3s) lean-to PstVbP cut-PrO(3s)
 The Gavutu people had built lean-to's as well, had built

o'oba la'u 'ubu-na ano lo-ko'u i Gela .
 lean-to PstVbP inside-PrS(3s) forest DEI LOC Gela
 lean-to's in the forest there on Gela.

'a-meeru miru leka , 'ubu-na ano i Gela, miru
 FPr(3te) SRP(1te) go inside-PrS(3s) forest LOC SRP(1te)
 We went into the forest on Gela, and we

kee aga-si-a la Niuboo .
 TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s) ART Niuboo
 met Niuboo.

Tomu Niuboo , ma i-nau , ma wane la fa'a-lata-a
 Tom Niuboo CON FPr(1s) CON man SRP(3p) CAUS-name-PrO(3s)
 Tom Niuboo and I and a man named

la 'Eribe'u na'a miru
 ART 'Eribe'u CON SRP(1te)
 'Eribe'u

leka , miru leka fa-na kwaikwailo-ngari .
 go SRP(1te) go for-PrS(3s) gather-canarium nuts
 went to gather canarium nuts.

kwaikwailo-ngari 'ubu-na nga ano lo-ko'u i Gela .
 gather-canarium nuts inside-PrS(3s) ART forest DEI LOC Gela
 Gather nuts in the forest there on Gela.

miru kwaikwailo-ngari sui ma miru so'oso'o-fi-a
 SRP(1te) gather-canarium nuts CON CON SRP(1te) pick up(RED)-TrS-PrO(3s)
 We hunted canarium nuts, picked up

ngari lo-'oo , miru-a age-a karisi fa-l
 canarium nuts DEI SRP(1te)-TAM make-PrO(3s) leaf for-PrS(Ind)
 the nuts, made a leaf container for them,

ka 'aoto .
SRP(3s) leave
takes off.

leeleka e laalaone 'ubu-na nga gani lo-'oo
if SRP(3s) go round(RED) inside-PrS(3s) ART day DEI
It flies around during the day

tala'ina , leeleka
today then
each day, then

sikis koloko ma ka me'e sifo , te-'e me'e
six o'clock CON SRP(3s) TAM go down FUT-SRP(3s) TAM
at six o'clock it comes down and

sifo .
go down
lands.

ma nga ai lo-fo'u e naana'i , e du'a-a no'o .
CON ART one DEI SRP(3s) stay SRP(3s) replace-Pro(3s) PRF
And then the other one that stays takes its place.

e eta naa sikis koloko laulafi lo-'oo , e leka
SRP(3s) begin LOC six o'clock evening DEI SRP(3s) go
It starts at six o'clock in the evening and goes

fa-na nga sikis koloko mone ,
to-PrS(3s) ART six o'clock morning
until six o'clock in the morning,

te-'e me'e sifo la'u , gala
FUT-SRP(3s) TAM go down PstVbP SRP(3d)
then it lands again --- the two of them

sensi 'i-no'o-na . "
change thusly
change places like that."

miru longo kau , ma " ou , 'erofeleni lo-lo'o no'o . "
SRP(1te) listen DEI CON oh aeroplane DEI PRF
We listened and said: "Oh, that aeroplane is up there now."

" ou , ngaia no'o , ngaia no'o " .
oh FPr(3s) PRF FPr(3s) PRF
"Oh, there it is, there it is."

eta lo-fo'u ma ngala ka 'i-laba'a : " ou , fu'u
begin DEI CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) QUOT oh bunch
At that point he said: "Oh, all of

wane a-dauru i Gavutu ,
 man PsP-PrS(1ti) LOC Gavutu
 our (Kwaio) comrades at Gavutu ,

waa lo-lo'o la O'uto'oana , la Kwailoboo , la
 man DEI ART O'uto'oana ART Kwailoboo ART
 O'uto'oana and Kwailoboo and

Ba'eka , la --- ni
 Ba'eka ART PLU
 Ba'eka, and ---

wane e aula , meeru mani aula , naa
 man SRP(3s) be plentiful FPr(1te) PstNmQ be plentiful LOC
 there are lots of us, and

meru-a --- ka 'i-laba'a : " ou ,
 SRP(1te)-TAM SRP(3s) QUOT oh
 we --- he said, "Oh,

rua wane molo ori-te'e-ni-a naa fu'u wane
 two man SRP(2d) return-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s) LOC bunch man
 you two take it back to

laka a-dauru molo fee-a
 DEI PsP-PrS(1ti) SRP(2d) carry-PrO(3s)
 our people, you two take

aliola fa-ga
 canoe for-PrS(3p)
 the canoe for them.

nga 'erofelaeni e nigi no'o te-'e bomu no'o "
 ART aeroplane SRP(3s) arrive PRF FUT-SRP(3s) bomb PRF
 The plane is here and it will start bombing."

ma 'a-me'e la 'Eribe'u mele sifo mai ma mele
 CON FPr(1de) ART 'Eribe'u SRP(1de) go down DEI CON SRP(1de)
 So 'Eribe'u and I went down and

usu-a aliola lo-fo'u
 puch-PrO(3s) canoe DEI
 pushed that canoe

ma mele ta'e , mele leka 'ubu-na asi ma
 CON SRP(1de) embark SRP(1de) go inside-PrS(3s) sea CON
 and got aboard and went out to sea and

'erofeleni lo-ko'u e ---
 aeroplane DEI SRP(3s)
 then that aeroplane

daone faa-fi-a Tulake lo-ko'u ma ka
 descend on top-TrS-PrO(3s) Tulagi DEI CON SRP(3s)
 dived over Tulagi and

a'o-a fe'e bomu a-i
 throw-PrO(3s) NUCL bomb LOC-PrS(Ind)
 dropped a bomb there.

fe'e bomu ka a'o-a no'o mai i Tulake
 NUCL bomb SRP(3s) throw-PrO(3s) PRF DEI LOC Tulagi
 It dropped a bomb on Tulagi.

sul ma ka eta lo-ko'u mai me'e nigl maa-na i
 CON CON SRP(3s) begin DEI DEI TAM arrive eye-PrS(3s) LOC
 Then it came back and reached the point at

Gafutu lo-fo'u ma ka a'o-a fe'e bomu a-i
 Gavutu DEI CON SRP(3s) throw-PrO(3s) NUCL bomb LOC-PrS(Ind)
 Gavutu and dropped a bomb there.

ma ta'a lo-fo'u e --- lo-ko'u i Gafutu lo-ko'u
 CON people DEI SRP(3s) DEI LOC Gavutu DEI
 And the people there --- there at Gavutu ---

la 'akwa mai naa
 SRP(3p) run away DEI LOC
 fled in

tale-'e baot ma --- fe'e bomu lo e me'e sifo
 set-of boat CON NUCL bomb DEI SRP(3s) TAM go down
 a bunch of boats and --- a bomb fell

i lalo a-ga ma
 LOC middle LOC-PrS(3p) CON
 in the middle of them and

soloata e buasa fa-na i langl ma kl 'ame
 sea SRP(3s) burst to-PrS(3s) LOC up above CON SRP(1pi) NEG
 the sea splashed upward and we couldn't

aga-si-a no'o 'ubu-na
 see-TrS-PrO(3s) PRF inside-PrS(3s)
 see into

nga fanua i Gafutu . 'amoe no'o
 ART place LOC Gavutu NEG PRF
 Gavutu itself. It had disappeared.

naa soloata le-'e busu 'i-lo'oo , e ori tori
 CON sea DEI-SRP(3s) burst like this SRP(3s) return fall down
 The saltwater splashed up, then came down

mai , ma ki bi'i aga-si-a kau lefu .
 DEI CON SRP(1pi) TAM see-TrS-PrO(3s) DEI point
 and we could see the place.

sui ma 'a-me'e la 'Eribe'u mele 'ame nigi no'o
 CON CON FPr(1de) ART 'Eribe'u SRP(1de) NEG arrive PRF
 Then 'Eribe'u and I didn't get there,

I Gafutu , naa alata no'o-na .
 LOC Gavutu LOC time DEI
 to Gavutu, at that time.

mele ori no'o mai , mele ori no'o , mele
 SRP(1de) return PRF DEI SRP(1de) return PRF SRP(1de)
 The two of us came back, and

'akwa no'o mai .
 run away PRF DEI
 took refuge back where we'd come from.

naa 'ola e lau fa-meeru naa mae naa Diafane
 CON thing SRP(3s) happen to-PrS(1te) LOC war LOC Japan
 That's what happened to us in the war, from the Japanese,

lo-'oo , alata miru ori mai .
 DEI time SRP(1te) return DEI
 when we came back.

meru nigi I Gafutu lo-fo'u naa mae naa Diafane
 SRP(1te) arrive LOC Gavutu DEI LOC war LOC Japan
 We got to Gavutu there in the midst of war, the Japanese

e bomu no'o faa-fi-'ameeru a-i .
 SRP(3s) bomb PRF on top of-TrS-PrO(3te) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 were dropping bombs on us there.

APPENDIX III

The third text is a small fragment of an autobiographical account, and description of women's lives and the rules that govern them, by Fa'afataa --- an articulate and gifted woman who was in her mid-forties when this was recorded. Like other women of the Kwaio mountains, Fa'afataa has never been away to plantations or towns or even neighbouring language groups. Although she and other women tend to use fewer Pijin loan words than their male contemporaries (and sometimes misuse Pijin words), in this account Fa'afataa uses aptly a number of Pijin loan words. Some, like *siton* for 'stone', are common linguistic coin of the community. Others, like *rukaatemu-a* 'look after', are Kwaio-ized as verbs with clitic pronoun, or like *gifiwasi* 'keep watch' are Kwaio-ized phonologically, but are not forms in common use in Kwaio. She uses them as a source of lexical variety and, as a woman, as a mark of her sophistication.

nau , na ku futa i na'o-na ni Unuabata ma
 FPr(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) be born LOC front-PrS(3s) ART Unuabata CON
 I was born ahead of Unuabata and

ni 'Aafeea , ma rua wela futa i na'o-gu ka mae
 ART 'Aafeea CON two child be born LOC front-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) die
 'Aafeea; the two children born before me had died.

na ku-a 'abelo 'ani-a nga rua ino ne-'e
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s)-TAM watch over-Pro(3s) ART two woman REL-SRP(3s)
 I looked after the two girls who were

futa fe'e-ni-nau
 be born with-TrS-Pro(1s)
 my siblings.

leeleka leeleka leeleka ma ga'i-nau ma ma'a
 then then then CON mother-Pro(1s) CON father
 And then when my mother and father

a-gu 'a-gaa'a
 PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(3d)

gala tautau-nga'i ma gala leeleka naa
 SRP(3d) work(RED)-TrI CON SRP(3d) go(REDUP) LOC
 worked in the garden and when they went to

fonu-nga ma gala
 mortuary feast CON SRP(3d)
 mortuary feasts and they

leeleka naa boni-na makete ma ogu-laa , ma na
 go(REDUP) LOC event-PrS(3s) market CON gather-NOM CON FPr(1s)
 went to the market or some gathering, then I

ku naanal 'ifi .
 SRP(1s) stay house
 took care of the house.

naanal 'ifi fe'e-ni-a ru'uru'ua no'o a-gu ,
 stay house with-TrS-PrO(3s) family PRF PsP-PrS(1s)
 I took care of the house, stayed with my siblings,

ku rukaatemu-ga
 SRP(1s) watch over-PrO(3p)
 looked after them,

fa'a-si-a nga 'ola --- gila ta kee riu naa
 lest-TrS-PrO(3s) ART thing SRP(3p) DUB TAM pass LOC
 lest something --- they might go into

lefu e abu ,
 place SRP(3s) be taboo
 a place forbidden for them,

ma gila gila riu a-i , i tau .
 CON FPr(3p) SRP(3p) pass LOC-PrS(Ind) LOC men's house
 they might go there, into the men's house,

nga 'ola ni wane gila 'ani-a ,
 ART thing of man SRP(3p) eat-PrO(3s)
 eat men's food,

nga 'ola e abu ngal i tau gila
 ART thing SRP(3s) be taboo FPr(3s) LOC men's house SRP(3p)
 and sacred things in the men's house

ngada-a 'ubu-a
 destroy-PrO(3s) inside-PrO(3s)
 might be desecrated in

lalabata , ai ngal tobi gila ta riu mai
 clearing thing FPr(3s) menstrual area SRP(3p) DUB pass DEI
 the clearing, and things from the menstrual area might get

fe'e-ni-a fa-na i 'ifi ,
 with-TrS-PrO(3s) to-PrS(3s) LOC house
 taken by them to the house,

ma ma'a a-gu ka mae-ri-a --- nau
 CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) die-TrS-PrO(3s) FPr(1s)
 and my father might die from that --- I

ku gifiwasi naa
 SRP(1s) keep-watch LOC
 kept watch over

nga ru'uru'ua no'o e futa i buri-gu , ku
 ART family TOP SRP(3s) be born LOC behind-PrS(1s) SRP(1s)
 my younger siblings, I

goni-ga fa'a-si-a
 gather-Pro(3p) away-TrS-Pro(3s)
 kept them away from

nga lefu lo-fo'u i tobi , 'ola i tobi ,
 ART place DEI LOC menstrual area thing LOC menstrual area
 the menstrual area below, lest things from there

ma naefi mai i kaakaba ,
 CON knife DEI LOC menstrual area
 like the knife used by menstruating women,

ma me'e wa'i a-i , ma ta me'e sitoni a-i ,
 CON NUCL bag LOC-PrS(Ind) CON QLF NUCL stone LOC-PrS(Ind)
 or a bag from there, or a stone from there,

ma ta kabe'e karisi ngai mai i kaakaba ,
 CON QLF frond-of leaf FPr(3s) DEI LOC menstrual area
 or leaf fronds from the menstrual area

ma goo-'i tafu , gila ta fee-a mai
 CON head-of rubbishpile SRP(3p) DUB carry-Pro(3s) DEI
 or the women's latrine might be taken

fa-ni lalabata
 to-LOC clearing
 to the clearing

ngai i 'ifi , ngai no'o na ku naanal 'ifi .
 FPr(3s) LOC house FPr(3s) TOP FPr(1s) SRP(1s) stay house
 proper --- that's what I was responsible for.

ma'a a-gu ma ga'i-nau 'i-laba'a : " 'oo
 father PsP-PrS(1s) CON mother-Pro(1s) QUOT FPr(2s)
 My father and mother said, "You

naanal 'ifi , maa-mu
 stay house eye-PrS(2s)
 stay and watch over the house, keep your eye

suri-a ru'uru'ua le-'e futa i buri-mu ,
 around-Pro(3s) family DEI-SRP(3s) be born LOC behind-PrS(2s)
 on your younger siblings, lest

la riu naa lefu .
SRP(3p) pass LOC place
they go some place,

e ta riu fe'e-ni-a nga 'ola i tobi .
SRP(3s) DUB pass with-TrS-Pro(3s) ART thing LOC menstrual area
take things from the menstrual area

mai fa-ni 'ifi .
DEI to-LOC house
up to the house.

ai lo-'oo ngai i 'ifi , gila ta dau a-i .
thing DEI FPr(3s) LOC house SRP(3p) DUB hold LOC-PrS(Ind)
They might take things from the house

ma naifi ngai mai i
knife FPr(3s) DEI LOC
a knife from

'ifi , ma fe'e kuma lo-'oo i 'ifi , ma me'e
house CON NUCL sweet potatoes DEI LOC house CON NUCL
the house, a piece of potato from the house, an

mode, te'ete'efu-ta
umbrella any at all-QLF
umbrella, any old

'oo lo-'oo ngai i 'ifi , gila fee-a fa-ni
thing DEI FPr(3s) LOC house SRP(3p) carry-Pro(3s) to-LOC
thing from the house, and take it to

kaakaba .
menstrual area
the menstrual area.

i-'oo maa-mu i suri-ga .
FPr(2s) eye-PrS(2s) LOC on-Pro(3p)
You keep your eye on them.

'a-ni naana'i fe'e-ni-ga lo-'oo i 'ifi .
INF stay with-TrS-Pro(3p) DEI LOC house
Staying with them in the house,

gila nana'i naa te'e lefu , mo ko rukaatemu-ga " .
SRP(3p) stay LOC one place CON SRP(2s) look after-Pro(3p)
having them stay in one place, looking out after them."

la age-a 'ola e abu , lauta 'a-ri
SRP(3p) do-Pro(3s) thing SRP(3s) be taboo if INF-SRP(3p)
If they did anything forbidden, if they

taa , la age-a late-e 'ola la taa-fi-a ,
do-PrO(3s) kind-of thing SRP(3p) swear-TrS-PrO(3s)
cursed, they did something and cursed (about) it,

ma i-na ku kwa'i-ga , buri-na ma'a a-gu ,
CON FPr(1s) SRP(1s) hit-PrO(3p) behind-PrS(3s) father PsP-PrS(1s)
then I slapped them, while my father was gone,

'i-laba'a :

QUOT
saying:

" 'ola e abu " .
thing SRP(3s) be taboo
"That's forbidden."

ma gai'-nau : " *'oo sia age-a mola* !
CON mother-PrO(1s) FPr(2s) NEG do-PrO(3s) PstVbP !
And (while) my mother (was away): "You can't do that!"

maama'a a-dauru ma gai-'adauru
father PsP-PrS(lti) CON mother-PrO(lti)
Father and mother

e fa'a-abu-a ! 'ola e abu !
SRP(3s) CAUS-taboo-PrO(3s) thing SRP(3s) be taboo
have prohibited it! That's forbidden!

ma'a a-dauru ma gai-'adauru
father PsP-PrS(lti) CON mother-PrO(lti)
Our father and mother

ta mae ! 'a-goru-i dau i suri-a ! "
DUB die INF-SRP(lti)-i hold LOC to-PrO(3s)
might die! We have to hold to (their instructions)!"

leka suri-a boo , fo'ota lo-'oo ngal 'lfi ,
go after-PrO(3s) pig consecrated pig DEI FPr(3s) house
If, with the pigs, consecrated pigs from the household herd,

glla la rllrll-nge'e-nl-a ,
FPr(3p) SRP(3p)consecrate-TrI-TrS-PrO(3s)
which they had dedicated,

wee no'o-na ta daudau naa
child DEI DUB hold(RED) LOC
one of those children was holding onto

me'e ma'a-alo , ma ka daudau naa ta me'e kuma ,
NUCL taro CON SRP(3s) hold(RED) LOC QLF NUCL sweet potato
a piece of taro, a piece of sweet potato,

ma ka daudau
 CON SRP(3s) hold(RED)
 or was holding onto

naa ta me'e --- 'oo ne-'e daudau a-l , ma
 LOC QLF TAM thing REL-SRP(3s) hold(RED) LOC-PrS(Ind) CON
 a piece of something --- and the thing she was holding onto,

boo ka olo-fi-a
 pig SRP(3s) attack-TrS-PrO(3s)
 would be snatched by a pig,

nima-na ma ke'e-a nima-na , ma ngala wee
 hand-PrS(3s) CON bite-PrO(3s) hand-PrS(3s) CON FPr(3s) child
 from her hand, and if it bit her hand, then she, that child,

no'o-na ka taa-fi-a .
 DEI SRP(3s) swear-TrS-PrO(3s)
 might swear at it.

lau e taa-fi-a nga boo , ma wee no'o-na
 if SRP(3s) swear-TrS-PrO(3s) ART pig CON child DEI
 If she swore at that pig, that child

te-'e mae no'o .
 FUT-SRP(3s) die PRF
 would die.

lauta ngai e taa , kwai-sula-fi-nga ,
 if FPr(3s) SRP(3s) curse REC-curse-TrS-NOM
 If she cursed, a kwaisulafinga curse,

naa ta fo'ota , wee no'o-na te-'e mae-ri-a .
 LOC QLF consecrated pig child DEI FUT-SRP(3s) die-TrS-PrO(3s)
 against some consecrated pig, that child could die from it.

na'a ga'l-nau ma ma'a a-gu e 'i-laba'a :
 CON mother-PrO(1s) CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) QUOT
 So my mother and father said:

" 'oo naana'i , rukaatemu-ga naa 'ola 'i-lo'oo .
 FPr(2s) stay look after-PrO(3p) LOC thing like this
 "You stay, protect them from this kind of thing.

wela geni lo-'oo e ta leka ma ka kee ru'u i
 child female DEI SRP(3s) DUB go CON SRP(3s) TAM enter LOC
 This girl might go and enter the

tau ma ngala ka mae , du'a-na tau
 men's house CON FPr(3s) SRP(3s) die because-PrS(3s) men's house
 mens' house, and she would die, because a men's house

no'o la 'ani'ani-a fo'ota a-i
 TOP SRP(3p) eat(RED)-PrO(3s) consecrated pigs LOC-PrS(Ind)
 is a place where they eat consecrated pigs,

ma 'ola e abu ngai a-i "
 CON thing SRP(3s) be taboo FPr(3s) LOC-PrS(Ind)
 and sacred things are (kept) there."

na ku 'ame ma'u .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be afraid
 I wasn't afraid.

ga'i-nau ma ma'a a-gu miru eta mai , na
 mother-PrO(1s) CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(1te) begin DEI FPr(1s)
 My mother and father and the rest of us started this way,

ku eta ku tee 'i-lo'oo
 SRP(1s) begin SRP(1s) TAM do like this
 I started to do things like this,

ma ga'i-nau ma ma'a a-gu ka 'akwa-si-nau .
 CON mother-PrO(1s) CON father PsP-PrS(1s) SRP(3s) leave-TrS-PrO(1s)
 and my mother and father (started) leaving me (in charge).

na ku 'ame ma'u .
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be afraid
 I wasn't afraid.

wane maa'ala 'i-laba'a : " gal-'o ma la ma'a
 man visit QUOT mother-PrO(2s) CON ART father
 A man arrived and said, "Your mother and father ---

a-mu gala leka ni fai ? "
 PsP-PrS(2s) SRP(3d) go INT INT(where?)
 where have they gone?"

nau ku 'i-lo'oo , " ngai tau-nga'i , ngai e
 FPr(1s) SRP(1s) QUOT FPr(3s) work-TrI FPr(3s) SRP(3s)
 "He's working, he's

waka , 'e-meeru meru nanai 'ifi , i buri-na "
 work FPr(3te) SRP(1te) stay house LOC behind-PrS(3s)
 at work, and we stayed home behind him."

naana'i mola 'ifi a-gu , na ku 'ame ma'u .
 stay PstVbP house PsP-PrS(1s) FPr(1s) SRP(1s) NEG be afraid
 Staying around the house, I wasn't afraid.

gwaa wane e riiriu , ma ku 'ame ma'u .
 although man SRP(3s) pass(REDUP) CON SRP(1s) NEG be afraid
 Even when some man came past, I wasn't afraid.

ku naana'i lala-to'o mola i 'ifi , ma'a a-gu
 SRP(1s) stay be steady PstVbP LOC house father PsP-PrS(1s)
 I stayed put in the settlement, my father

ma ga'i-nau
 CON mother-PrO(1s)
 and mother

'i-laba'a : " i-'oo , muru nana'i lo-'oo i 'ifi , maa-mu
 QUOT FPr(2s) SRP(2t) stay DEI LOC house eye-PrS(2s)
 had said, "You, all of you are to stay and keep your eye

suri-a gila asi-mu , gila ta ru'uru'u i
 on-PrO(3s) PLU yr. sib.-PrS(2s) SRP(3p) DUB enter(REDUP) LOC
 on your younger sisters, they might go into

maa-na tala ma waa ka ke'e-ga
 eye-PrS(3s) path CON snake SRP(3s) bite-PrO(3p)
 the undergrowth around the settlement and get bitten by a snake.

'oo rukaatemu-ga lo-'oo naa 'ifi , 'a-meeru
 SRP(2s) look after-PrO(3p) DEI LOC house FPr(3te)
 You look out for them here around the house, because when we

nigi meru nigi to'o-mooru
 arrive SRP(1te) arrive find-PrS(2t)
 get back we want to find you

lo-'oo no'o i lalabata , ma ru'u-nga e
 DEI PRF LOC clearing CON enter-NOM SRP(3s)
 here in the clearing --- going into the bush

'amoe , waa ta ke'e-a wela
 NEG snake DUB bite-PrO(3s) child
 is out, a snake might bite a child

ngaai , ma ka mae i buri-gu "
 PstNmQlf CON SRP(3s) die LOC behind-PrS(1s)
 and it might die in my absence."

APPENDIX IV
KEY TO MORPHEME CODING

ART	Article
CAUS	Causative prefix
CON	Conjunction
DEI	Deictic
DUB	Dubitive particle
FMA	Formative affix
FPr	Focal pronoun (marked for person and number)
FUT	Future-marking particle
GER	Gerund-marking infix
INF	Infinitive-marking prefix
INT	Interrogative
LOC	Locative particle
MOD	Modal
NEG	Negative marker
NOM	Nominalising suffix
NUCL	Numerical classifier
ORD	Ordinal suffix
PLU	Plural marker
PRF	Perfect marker
PrO	Pronoun object (marked for person and number)
PrS	Pronominal suffix (marked for person and number)
PRT	Particle (miscellaneous)
PsP	Possessive particle

PstNmQlf	Postnominal qualifier
PstVbP	Postverbal particle
QLF	Qualifier
RECIP	Reciprocal prefix
RED(UP)	Reduplication
SRP	Subject-referencing pronoun (marked for person and number)
TAM	Tense-aspect marker
TOP	Topicalisation marker
TrI	Transitive-intensifying infix
TrS	Transitive suffix

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