Lote Grammar Sketch

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**with
René van den Berg**

Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

René van den Berg, Series Editor

Table of Contents

List of maps and tables

Abbreviations

Pronouns and deictic words are referred to by the following abbreviations or combinations of abbreviations:

1   first person (for deictics: near speaker)
2   second person (for deictics: near addressee)
3   third person (for deictics: away from speaker and addressee)
s   singular
p   plural
e   exclusive
i   inclusive

Other abbreviations:

AC	adverbial conjunction (*ke*)
AFF	affirmation (*laka*)
ALL	allative (*la-*)
CAUS	causative (*hé-*)
COMP	completive (*lo*)
DESC	descriptive (*-ngana*)
EC	epenthetic consonant (*<ch>*)
INCOMP	incompletive (*kura*)
irr	irregular
IRR	irrealis (*lape*)
LOC	locative preposition (*nga, nge*)
NEG	negative (*ero*)
NOM	nominaliser (*-nga*)
OBL	oblique preposition (*ia*)
PC	possessive classifier (*le-*)
PCF	possessive classifier for food items (*a-*)
PLUR	plural marker (*mur*)
PN	personal noun
Q	interrogative deictic
REC	reciprocal (*-hél*)
RED	reduplication
TR	transitiviser (*-ia, -é*)

1. Introduction

1.1 Location and speakers

The Lote language (pronounced /lɔte/) is spoken by approximately 6,000 people on the southern coast of East New Britain Province in Papua New Guinea (see map 1.1). The geographical area that Lote covers is approximately 25 km along the southern coast, with Cape Dampier in the middle, and 12 km inland including some low mountains. Major villages are Kapu (the location of the Catholic Mission), the village complex Meletong-Uvol-Inahele, as well as Pilematana, Maso, Mukus, Lausus and the Ruach village complex, also called Ruachana (see map 1.2). The language area is somewhat isolated with no commercial airlines presently flying into Uvol airstrip. The area is accessible by sea from Rabaul (the provincial capital); ships dock at Uvol wharf. There is a road on the west end of the language area that connects the north and south side of East and West New Britain, but the town of Kimbe on the north side of the island is only accessible through a combination of hiking, motor boat and truck.

1.2 Language name

In some writings, the Lote language is referred to as Uvol. Uvol is actually the name of one of the main rivers that run through the language area and also the name that was given to the airstrip, which was built before World War II. When asked what their language name is, the people prefer the name Lote (or Lohote), which literally means 'to hang out to dry', suggesting 'to be created'. The ISO 639-3 language code for Lote is uvl.

2

MAP 1.1. THE LOTE AREA WITHIN PNG

MAP 1.1. THE LOTE AREA WITHIN PNG
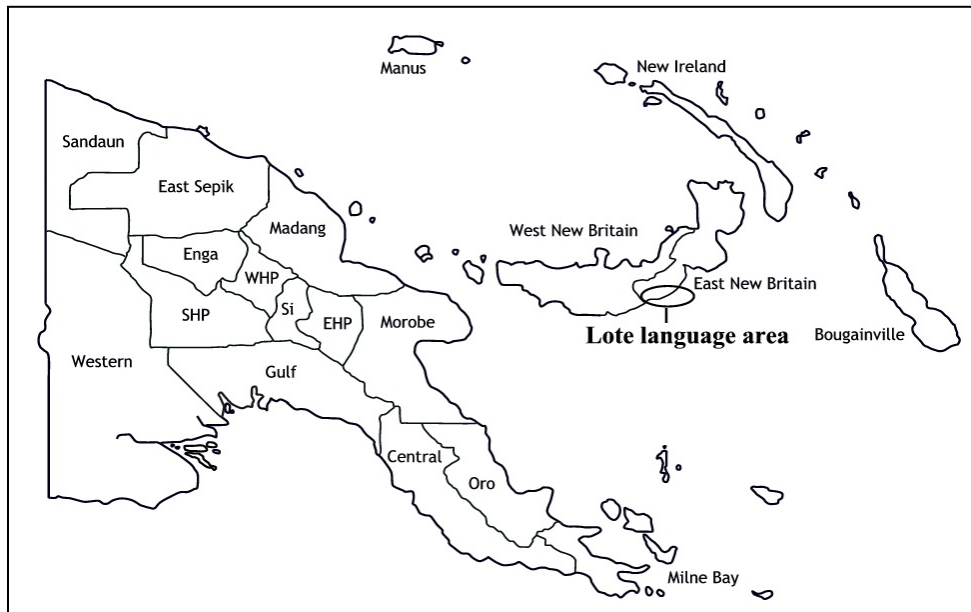
1.3 Linguistic classification and dialects

Lote is an Oceanic Austronesian language, classified by Chowning (1976) as belonging to the Mengen family, a small subgroup of Oceanic spoken on New Britain. Ross (1988) classifies Lote (Uvol) as Western Oceanic, North New Guinea, Ngero-Vitiaz, Mengen. Other languages of the Mengen family listed in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002) are Mamusi, Kakuna, Poeng (Mengen) and Maeng (Orford). Very little information is available on any of these languages.

There are three dialects of Lote. The most prevalent dialect we refer to as the beach dialect, which is spoken in major villages of Lote speakers who live along the coast. A second dialect is found inland amongst people living in the mountains, and a third along the mountains and a few beach villages on the eastern-most end of the Lote language area. The differences are mostly in the area of intonation and a number of vocabulary items. The inland dialect also often shows additional consonants in certain words, particularly the phonemes /x/ and /h/. For instance, the beach dialect for 'sun' is /xaia/, whereas the speakers of the inland dialect say /xaixa/. Similarly, /aka/ means both 'ascend' and 'canoe' in the beach dialect, but in the inland dialect 'canoe' is /aka/, while 'ascend' is /haka/. Similar variation is found in the pair /ot/ and /hot/ 'go out'.

MAP 1.2. THE LOTE AREA
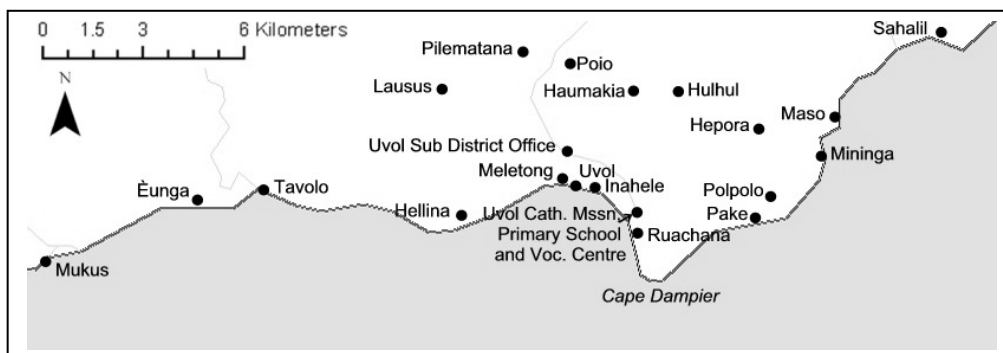
1.4 Earlier studies

Earlier studies which mention the Lote language include general language surveys and classifications, such as Chowning (1976), and the comparative-historical study by Ross (1988). In addition, several unpublished research papers were written by the first author and his wife under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics about Lote phonology, grammar and anthropology. This grammar is therefore the first published account of the language.

1.5 Language vitality and education

Lote speakers are bilingual in Lote and Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin). Most children speak Lote as their first language, unless one parent is not a Lote speaker. Those who have married into the community are encouraged to learn the language (and sometimes mocked if they do not know it after a couple of years). English is known, but spoken less readily in the villages, mainly by those who have gone on to secondary and tertiary education. Pidgin is the prefered language for community meetings, but speakers often switch to Lote when important issues emerge. Pidgin is normally used in the church, but a native speaker who preaches a sermon or makes an announcement will again sometimes switch between Pidgin and Lote to emphasise an issue.

There are four primary schools in the Lote language area. The most central and largest is located at Kapu (the Catholic Mission location). This school has been upgraded in recent years to include grades 1-8. The other primary schools are located at Pilematana, Maso, and Mukus. English is the primary language of education at the primary schools. In the late '80s and early '90s, vernacular language preparatory schools were started in some six to eight villages, with mixed success. Several of

those continue successfully, while a few others have been incorporated into the community schools mentioned earlier. Many students go on to grade 9 and 10 in Pamalmal (Jaquinot Bay), and then on to trade schools in Rabaul. A small number choose to receive training under the Catholic system to become brothers, sisters, and priests. The current Bishop at Kimbe is a Lote man who received further education in Rome. There is also a Women's Vocational School located at the Catholic Mission on the same property as the community school. They teach crafts and cooking, while a small library is available with books in English and Melanesian Pidgin.

Overall, the education level in the Lote area is fairly high, with ample exposure to town life and newspapers. However, those who don't succeed in school early on drop out. Economic struggles also affect whether a child can receive education beyond grade 8, as many families struggle to pay school fees. Sometimes one child will be chosen to attend higher education, while another one is chosen to stay home and maintain the subsistence lifestyle.

1.6 Lote culture

Clans. The Lote culture is matrilineal, with moieties and several clans, each divided into several sub-clans. The moiety system, whereby marriages within the moiety are prohibited, remains strong. Clans, especially maternal uncles, play a strong part in the society, overseeing education, traditional spiritual instruction, life events such as circumcision, marriage negotiations, and funeral arrangements for their sister's children. They also have input into land use. Intermarriage with nearby language groups is common and Lote people have been influenced by the close ties with the Mangseng, Mamusi, and Mengen people.

Religion. The Catholic church plays a major role in the lives of the Lote people, virtually all of whom are members of this church. The church has been present in the Lote area since the 1940s, with expatriate parish priests leading until the 1980s when national men started to take on church positions. There is a church in every major village, lead by a catechist, as the priest generally stays at the mission location. At the main mission station (see map 1.2) there is a huge church building seating approximately 1,200 people, as well as a joinery and a clinic. Church life is important, especially around major church events such as Christmas, Easter, Vocational Day (a day when the church presents occupational alternatives as life goals), and special services when a Lote member becomes a brother or a priest. Such days can attract gatherings of over 1,000 people, and a lot of effort is put into these celebrations with elaborate decorations, speeches, traditional costumes and dances.

Traditional cultural beliefs, however, remain strong among the Lote people. There are strong traditions surrounding garden magic, healing, divinations and hunting magic. Appeasing clan spirits also remains an important aspect of daily life. The Lote people continue to celebrate harvests, weddings, circumcision ceremonies, as well as the so-called *hilimo* festivals. These clan spirit festivals entail several months of secret preparations by the men in a secret meeting place in the forest. The entire process is surrounded by strong taboos, particulary for women. They must be careful to obey the taboos or face accidents and sickness. When the time is right, women 'call out' the *hilimo* by singing, while the men dress in exotic, beautiful leaf costumes covering them from head to ankles, with ornate headpieces painted red, yellow, black, and white mounted on their heads. Some headpieces are as high as three feet and some need support assistance from other men. These *hilimo* dancers represent clan spirits. They beat drums and parade through the villages. This is the most striking and perhaps the only major public display of art and dance for the Lote people.

Economy. Most people live a subsistence lifestyle, eating fish and garden produce, with tapioca, sweet potato, taro, yams, plantain, greens, and various fruits as staples. Fruits include banana, Malay apple, papaya, mango, pineapple, guava, lychee, and occasionally pomelo. Sugarcane is used as the main snack of the day that children expect when parents return from the garden. Pigs are an important part of celebrations. They are often earmarked as soon as they are born for events which will happen years away. Other food sources are birds, nuts, wild sugar cane (Tok Pisin *pitpit*), breadfruit, cuscus (opossum), grub worms, wild pigs, bandicoot, large lizards, and miscellaneous sea creatures when available. Purchased goods include rice, tinned fish, meat, and noodles, as commonly found in local trade stores. Each Wednesday and Saturday there is a community market at the major intersection in the village of Meletong where people can buy fish, greens from inland villages, lobster, bananas, betel nut, bread, watermelons in season, and a variety of other items. In addition, people from distant villages arrange a private trade of goods where a beach resident might trade fish for taro, greens and yams from an inland villager.

A variety of **cash crops** have been attempted over the years, the primary one being copra. However, because transport to towns is difficult and expensive (and sometimes simply unavailable), this has tended to make it unprofitable throughout the years. Other crops planted (but not necessarily harvested and cashed) are vanilla and balsa. From time to time sea cucumbers have been collected and dried. Generally people depend on relatives who have jobs in cities or schools to help pay for school fees.

The general **standard of living** has improved somewhat over the last 20 years. Most families have at least one house with corrugated iron roofing, which was rare previously. Most houses are still made from hand-hewn wood planks, but cut timber is becoming more common, with some houses having cement foundations, louvre windows, and occasionally generators for light. People still cook primarily over fire and with heated stones. Dugout out-rigger canoes are still the basic form of transportation to and from the gardens. There are a few motorised dinghies in the area, but use is limited to the few who can afford the petrol.

1.7 Main typological features

The structure of Lote is not particularly complex. Its morphosyntax shows many of the typical Oceanic features, including direct and indirect possession on nouns, two possessive classifiers and extensive verb serialisation. Verbal morphology is limited to subject prefixing, transitive, causative and reciprocal morphemes, as well as reduplication. There is also a complex deictic system, including a set of interrogative deictics.

Unusual for Oceanic languages is the lack of duals in the pronouns, the absence of articles and numeral classifiers, the presence of two types of nominalisation (involving the same morpheme *-nga*), and the use of *ia* as an oblique preposition. Of potential theoretical interest is the presence of infixing reduplication.

Lexically, the language is highly innovative, with relatively few reflexes of Proto-Oceanic etyma. This is clearly seen in the numerals, where of the basic numerals (1-5 and 10) only *limé* '5' directly reflects Proto-Oceanic *lima*.

Acknowledgements

The analysis presented here is based on interaction with the Lote people for a period of over 20 years, during which time Greg and Mary Pearson lived in Tavolo (from 1986-1997) and in Meletong (from 1997 to the present). Both villages belong to the beach dialect. Most of the example sentences in this grammar sketch are drawn from a collection of texts gathered over those years.

This sketch is a revision and expansion of the unpublished 35-page manuscript *Lote Grammar Essentials*, written by Greg Pearson in 1992. René van den Berg provided consultant input during the revision process, assisting with the analysis and the write-up. Among other things he is responsible for chapter 6 on deixis and the section on the preposition *ia*.

2. *Phonology*

This chapter, a revised version of Pearson and Pearson (1997), presents an outline of the phonology of Lote, including phonemes, allophones, prosodic features, syllable structure, morphophonemic processes and reduplication.

2.1   Phonemes and allophonic variation

There are seventeen phonemes in Lote; eleven consonants and six vowels, as outlined in table 2.1 and table 2.2.

TABLE 2.1. LOTE CONSONANT PHONEMES

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	p	t	k	
voiceless fricative		s	x	h
nasal	m	n	ŋ	
lateral		l		
trill		r		

TABLE 2.2. LOTE VOWEL PHONEMES (PHONETIC ARRANGEMENT)

	front	central	back
high	i		u
high-mid	e		
mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

An alternative arrangement of the vowels, one which does more justice to the system, is presented in table 2.3:

TABLE 2.3. LOTE VOWEL PHONEMES (PHONEMIC ARRANGEMENT)

	front	back
high	i	u
mid	e	ɔ
low	ɛ	a

The vowel /ɛ/ fluctuates between [ɛ] and [æ]. Some minimal pairs contrasting /e/ and /ɛ/ are as follows:

/es/ ~ /hes/	'dance'	/ɛs/	'see'
/ex/	'k.o. plant'	/ɛx/	'water'
/kihe/	'emaciated'	/kiɛ/	'pig'

The most important allophonic variations are as follows:

1. The voiceless plosives /p/ and /k/ have voiced allophones [b] and [g] when they follow homorganic nasals:

/sampal/	[sambal]	'pimple'
/kumpika/	[kumbika]	'mid-aged coconut'
/saŋkar/	[saŋgar]	'comb'
/paŋkal/	[paŋgal]	'dead coconut branch'

2. However, in the case of /t/ there is a different pattern. The phoneme /t/ becomes [d] only when the preceding homorganic nasal follows the low vowel /a/. In other words, only sequences of /ant/ are realised as [and], as in the following example:

| /xantom/ | [xandom] | 'darkness' |

But:

| /punti/ | [punti] | 'taboo door' |

/tuatuntun/	[tuatuntun]	'spotted'
/ɔntei/	[ɔntei]	'ask'
/mantaɔntɔ/	[mandaɔntɔ]	'k.o. beach tree'

The fact that [b] and [d] never occur by themselves is clearly shown by the pronunciation of the following Tok Pisin loan words:

[rambaᵘl]	'Rabaul' (provincial capital)
[andam]	'Adam' (proper noun)
[ririman]	'agricultural officer' (TP *didiman*)

3. The voiced trill /r/ has a voiceless allophone [r̥] in word final position.

/saŋkar/	[saŋgar̥]	'comb'
/hur/	[hur̥]	'banana'
/rir/	[rir̥]	'vein of coconut branch'
/samɔr/	[samɔr̥]	'k.o. tree'

4. A non-phonemic [d] is inserted when /n/ is immediately followed by /r/ (which only happens across a syllable boundary). At present there are only two examples of this phenomenon:

| /xɛnrɔ/ | [xɛn.drɔ] | 'deaf' |
| /anrumɔŋ/ | [an.dru.mɔŋ] | 'Anrumong' (proper noun) |

5. As pointed out in §1.3 there is variation between Lote dialects in the use of /h/. This phoneme appears to be somewhat unstable in Lote, and speakers vary in their usage. Since the example sentences are taken from various speakers in different locations, there is no complete consistency in the use of /h/ in this grammar. Examples include *héuhéu ~ héuéu* 'today', *aka ~ haka* 'ascend', *éron ~ héron* 'to wear' and *éto ~ héto* 'to call'.

2.2   Orthography

In the remainder of this sketch the following conventions will be used:

ch   will be written for /x/,

ng	for /ŋ/,	
e	for /e/,	
é	for /ɛ/,	
o	for /ɔ/.	

2.3 Syllable structure and vowel sequences

Unambivalent syllable patterns include V, VC, CV and CVC. In the following examples a syllable boundary is indicated by a dot:

V	*i̱.la*	'stone axe'
	ru.o̱	'fish'
VC	*u̱m*	'stone'
	é̱ch.si	'sneeze'
CV	*ri.ka̱*	'cave'
	a.ka̱	'canoe'
CVC	*ku.lu̱m*	'lime powder'
	ka̱n.ka̱n	'termite'

There are no restrictions on the distribution of consonants. All consonants can occur in coda and onset position. There are no unisyllabic consonant sequences in Lote; adjacent consonants (often the result of affixation or reduplication) are always separated by a syllable boundary, again indicated by a dot:

loch.loch	'all'
pak.pa.ka	'spear'
sip.sip	'leak'

Ambivalent syllable patterns include various vowel sequences. The following cases can be distinguished.

1. Vowel sequences beginning with a mid vowel followed by a high vowel syllabify as one syllable. They are phonemically represented by two vowels and hence constitute VV, VVC, CVV syllable types.

VV	*é̱unga*	[ɛᵘ.ŋa]	'weed'
VVC	*é̱ul*	[ɛᵘl]	'scoop liquid'

CVV	_koikoi_	[kɔⁱ.kɔⁱ]	'yellow'
	koukou	[kɔᵘ.kɔᵘ]	'young coconut'
	peipei	[peⁱ.peⁱ]	'sand'
	u_lei_	[u.leⁱ]	'afternoon'

2. Vowel sequences involving the sequences _ée_ and _ai_ are syllabified as two syllables, at least in slow speech.

méena	[mɛ.e.na]	'heavy'
paita	[pa.i.ta]	'mature coconut'

3. Vowel sequences beginning with a high vowel followed by a lower vowel usually syllabify as two syllables.

ruo	[ru.ɔ]	'fish'
lua	[lu.a]	'hit'
kue	[ku.e]	'road'
kié	[ki.ɛ]	'pig'
iék	[i.ɛk]	'my brother-in-law'
_io_	[i.ɔ]	'spear'
_ia_	[i.a]	'how many'
_oe_	[ɔ.e]	'yes'

Some exceptions occur with high vowels word-initially:

ueiuei	[ᵘeⁱ.ᵘeⁱ]	'hurry!'
iok	[ⁱɔk]	'okay'

Word-initially there is therefore occasionally contrast, as shown in the following pairs:

iok	[ⁱɔk]	'okay'
_io_	[i.ɔ]	'spear'

| *ia* | [ⁱa] | 'so' |
| *ia* | [i.a] | 'how many' |

Since there are very few of such minimal pairs, we have decided to treat such sequences as exceptions. Alternatively, *iok* 'okay' and *ia* 'so' could be analysed with an initial consonant /y/ which only occurs in these few words.

4. Vowel sequences of equal height either syllabify as one or as two syllables. The sequences *oe* and *eo* always syllabify as two syllables. For the sequence *iu* there are no clear observable patterns. Though the syllabification suggested here is admittedly somewhat impressionistic, it follows native speaker intuition.

e + o	two syllables	*pareo*	[pa.re.ɔ]	'chicken'
o + e	two syllables	*hoena*	[hɔ.e.na]	'its rear'
		sohe	[sɔ.he]	'break stem'
i + u	one syllable	*liu*	[lⁱu]	'water in canoe'
		liuliu	[lⁱu.lⁱu]	'dizzy'
		piunga	[pⁱu.ŋa]	'window, door'
	two syllables	*liuk*	[li.uk]	'my brother/sister'
u + i	(no examples)			

5. Semivowels (glides) are limited in distribution, occurring only word-initially (as shown above under 3) or as transitions between vowels. Writers of the Lote language consistently avoid the use of *y* or *w* in spelling, preferring the use of separate vowels to symbolise all sequences and ignore transitional vowels. Examples:

iok	[ⁱɔk]	'okay'
iék	[iyɛk]	'my brother-in-law'
ua	[uwa]	'flee'

6. The vowel *u* in between two other vowels is desyllabified and pronounced as a weak voiced fricative or approximant [β]:

| *naué* | [naβɛ] | 'see (it)' |
| *taua* | [taβa] | 'get (it)' |

teua   [teβa]   '(make) it go out'

2.4   Prosodic features

Stress is penultimate on isolated words and noun phrases and is phonetically realised by loudness and pitch.

The rhythm of spoken Lote is based on syllable-timed intonation. Questions end on a high + low falling tone contour. Statements and commands end on a low tone.

There is no contrastive length. However, lengthened consonants are phonetically heard in multi-syllabic words when two identical consonants meet at a syllable boundary.

pit.te   ['pit:e]   'rain' (dialectal variant *pilte*)

chan.na.nga   [xa'n:aŋa]   'fooling'

When two identical vowels occur together (separated by a morpheme boundary), a phonetically long vowel occurs.

oote   [ɔ:te]   'you paddle'   (*o-* + *ote*)

ees   [e:s]   'I dance'   (*e-* + *es*)

Non-phonemic nasalisation occurs on vowels following the phoneme /ŋ/ and ending at the next non-nasal consonant. Minimal nasalisation can also be heard following the phonemes /m/ and /n/.

2.5   Morphophonemics

2.5.1 Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony occurs in two places in the language: with possessive suffixes and with the nominalising suffix -*nga*.

a. Table 2.4 displays the affixation of possessive suffixes with inalienable nouns. On the first three words ('stomach', 'child' and 'lip') the affixation is completely regular; on the last two nouns ('name' and 'father') there is a morphophemic change (shown in bold).

TABLE 2.4. POSSESSIVE AFFIXES WITH INALIENABLE NOUNS

		sa-	*tu-*	*uli-*	*é-*	*témé-*
		'stomach'	'child'	'lip'	'name'	'father'
1s	*-k*	*sak*	*tuk*	*ulik*	*ék*	*témék*
2s	*-m*	*sam*	*tum*	*ulim*	*ém*	*témém*
3s	*-na*	*sana*	*tuna*	*ulina*	***éné***	***téméné***
1p ex	*-mém*	*samém*	*tumém*	*ulimém*	*émém*	*témémém*
1p in	*-ra*	*sara*	*tura*	*ulira*	***éré***	***téméré***
2p	*-mo*	*samo*	*tumo*	*ulimo*	*émo*	*témémo*
3p	*-ria*	*saria*	*turia*	*uliria*	*éria*	*téméria*

When the root contains the low front vowel *é*, the suffix vowel *a* takes on the same vowel shape as the *é* of the root. This vowel harmony appears in the 3rd person singular suffix *-né* and the 1st person plural inclusive suffix *-ré*. Notice that the vowel in the 3rd person plural suffix *-ria* is not affected, presumably because of the intervening *i*.

Other inalienable nouns which undergo this vowel harmony are *ué-* 'in-law', *lémé-* 'desire' and *héngé-* 'temple (body part)'. The corresponding 3s and 1p inclusive forms of these roots are *uéné* and *uéré, léméné* and *léméré, héngéné* and *héngéré.*

b. The following list illustrates the nominalising suffix *-nga* and its allomorph *-ngé*. The examples under (a) illustrate the unmarked suffix, while vowel harmony occurs when the last vowel of the root is *é*, as in the two examples under (b). Notice that the occurrence of *é* as the first vowel in *péu* 'sing' does not trigger vowel harmony.

(a)	*are*	'sit'	*arenga*	'chair'
	ote	'paddle'	*otenga*	'oar'
	péu	'sing'	*péunga*	'song'
(b)	*lémé*	'fish by night'	*léméngé*	'light used for night fishing'
	kémé	'steal'	*kéméngé*	'thief'

2.5.2 Epenthesis

Epenthesis occurs in two places in the language, with the nominalising suffix *-nga* and with inalienable nouns. Epenthesis with inalienable nouns will be discussed in §2.5.3.

The list in §2.5.1 above illustrates the basic form of the nominalizing suffix as *-nga*, appearing on verb roots ending in a vowel. Epenthesis occurs when a root ending in a consonant takes on the suffix *-nga*. The vowel *i* is inserted between the final consonant of the root and the initial consonant of the suffix, as shown in the following examples:

as	'carve'	*as-inga*	'pencil, carving utensil'
es	'dance'	*es-inga*	'dance'
éul	'scoop liquid'	*éul-inga*	'scooper, cup'
sasal	'grate'	*sasal-inga*	'grater, scraper'
tang	'cry'	*tang-inga*	'cry'
tung	'give'	*tung-inga*	'gift'

In some words free variation occurs with either *i* or *a* inserted between the verb root and the nominalizing suffix. This could be due to the fact that the transitive form of these verbs ends in *a*.

kon	'fish' (intr)	*kon-inga ~ kona-nga*[1]	'fish hook'
kona	'fish' (tr)		
tun	'cook' (intr)	*tun-inga ~ tuna-nga*	'cooking pan'
tuna	'cook' (tr)		

2.5.3 Liquid-final inalienable nouns: epenthesis and consonant assimilation

Inalienable nouns which end in a liquid (the lateral *l* or the trill *r*) undergo two morphophonemic processes.

In the first place there is *i*-epenthesis. This occurs when these nouns are suffixed by the possessive suffixes *-k* 'my', *-m* 'your', *-mém* 'our (exclusive)' or *-mo* 'your (plural)'. Secondly, when followed by the possessive suffixes *-na* 'his, her, its', *-ra* 'our (inclusive) or *-ria* 'their', the root-final consonant undergoes complete

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[1] A third variant of the word for 'fish hook' is the irregular formation *konaingka*.

assimilation to the following coronal consonant (nasal or trill). The forms undergoing assimilation are bolded in table 2.5. So far, only one inalienable noun root in -*r* has been found. For unclear reasons, the *l* in *mul-* 'space' is doubled when it does not assimilate.

TABLE 2.5. POSSESSIVE AFFIXES WITH LIQUID-FINAL INALIENABLE NOUNS

		hal-	*kal-*	*makal-*	*mul-*	*pér-*
		'mouth'	'neck'	'liver'	'space'	'hand, arm'
1s	*-k*	*halik*	*kalik*	*makalik*	*mullik*	*périk*
2s	*-m*	*halim*	*kalim*	*makalim*	*mullim*	*périm*
3s	*-na*	**hanna**	**kanna**	**makanna**	**munna**	**pénna**
1p ex	*-mém*	*halimém*	*kalimém*	*makalimém*	*mullimém*	*périmém*
1p in	*-ra*	**harra**	**karra**	**makarra**	**murra**	*pérra*
2p	*-mo*	*halimo*	*kalimo*	*makalimo*	*mullimo*	*périmo*
3p	*-ria*	**harria**	**karria**	**makarria**	**murria**	*pérria*

Notice that in the case of *pérra* and *pérria*, the assimilation rule does not need to apply, since the consonants are already identical.

The consonant assimilation can be represented as follows:

		morphemic representation		**phonemic representation**
hal-	'mouth'	*hal* + *-na*	→	*hanna*
		hal + *-ra*	→	*harra*
		hal + *-ria*	→	*harria*
pér-	'arm'	*pér* + *-na*	→	*pénna*

Notice that the vowel assimilation rule formulated in §2.5.1 does not apply in the case of *pénna* 'his/her arm.' The expected form **pénné* is not found. Apparently the assimilation rule is blocked from applying by the geminate nasal consonant.

In the inland dialect of Lote, this consonant assimilation does not occur and the surface forms are as expected (*halna*, *halra* etc.) *I*-epenthesis does occur, however.

TABLE 2.6. POSSESSIVE AFFIXES WITH LIQUID-FINAL INALIENABLE NOUNS
(INLAND DIALECT)

		hal-	*kal-*	*makal-*	*mul-*	*pér-*
		'mouth'	'neck'	'liver'	'space'	'hand, arm'
1s	*-k*	*halik*	*kalik*	*makalik*	*mullik*	*périk*
2s	*-m*	*halim*	*kalim*	*makalim*	*mullim*	*périm*
3s	*-na*	*halna*	*kalna*	*makalna*	*mullna*	*pérna*
1p ex	*-mém*	*halimém*	*kalimém*	*makalimém*	*mullimém*	*périmém*
1p in	*-ra*	*halra*	*kalra*	*makalra*	*mulra*	*pérra*
2p	*-mo*	*halimo*	*kalimo*	*makalimo*	*mullimo*	*périmo*
3p	*-ria*	*halria*	*kalria*	*makalria*	*mulria*	*pérria*

The two epenthesis rules in §2.5.2 and in this section are not identical. In the case of verb roots and the suffix *-nga*, any root ending in a consonant inserts *i* between root and suffix. However, in the case of inalienable nouns, only roots ending with a liquid insert *i*.

2.5.4 Subject prefixes: desyllabification and vowel merger

When subject prefixes are attached to verbs with an initial low vowel, two morphophonemic processes occur: desyllabification and vowel merger. In order to see this process clearly, we will present the regular cases first. Table 2.7 shows regular affixation of the subject prefixes on a sample of consonant-initial verbal roots.

TABLE 2.7. SUBJECT PREFIXES WITH CONSONANT-INITIAL ROOTS

		chach 'break'	*kona* 'fish'	*lele* 'roast'	*pasu* 'swim'	*ralué* 'carve'
1s	e-	echach	ekona	elele	epasu	eralué
2s	o-	ochach	okona	olele	opasu	oralué
3s	Ø	chach	kona	lele	pasu	ralué
1p ex	mo-	mochach	mokona	molele	mopasu	moralué
1p in	ta-	tachach	takona	talele	tapasu	taralué
2p	a-	achach	akona	alele	apasu	aralué
3p	te-	techach	tekona	telele	tepasu	teralué

Table 2.8 shows regular affixation of subject prefixes on a sample of vowel-initial roots of which the initial vowel is non-low (that is, either *i, e, o* or *u*). Note that a sequence of like vowels such as *ees* 'I dance' is phonetically realised as a long vowel (see §2.4).

TABLE 2.8. SUBJECT PREFIXES WITH NON-LOW VOWEL-INITIAL ROOTS

		in 'drink'	*es* 'dance'	*ote* 'paddle'	*ut* 'sing'
1s	e-	ein	ees	eote	eut
2s	o-	oin	oes	oote	out
3s	Ø	in	es	ote	ut
1p ex	mo-	moin	moes	moote	mout
1p in	ta-	tain	taes	taote	taut
2p	a-	ain	aes	aote	aut
3p	te-	tein	tees	teote	teut

Table 2.9 shows the two morphophonemic processes which occur when the subject prefixes are attached to verbs with initial low vowels *a-* and *é-* (phonetically /ɛ/). When prefixed to such roots, the prefix vowels *e-* and *o-* are raised to *i-* and *u-*

and desyllabified (as indicated by the raised *i* or *u*). This process, however, seems to be limited to fast speech. In careful speech this does not occur. Notice that raising and desyllabification do not occur in the case of the prefixes *mo-* and *te-*.

When the second person plural prefix *a-* and first person plural inclusive prefix *ta-* forms are attached to verbal roots which start with *é*, they are deleted in fast speech.

TABLE 2.9. SUBJECT PREFIXES WITH LOW VOWEL-INITIAL ROOTS (FAST SPEECH)

		aka	*are*	*amne*	*éron*	*és*	*éto*
		'climb'	'sit'	'feel'	'wear'	'see'	'call'
1s	*e-*	ˡ*aka*	ˡ*are*	ˡ*amne*	ˡ*éron*	ˡ*és*	ˡ*éto*
2s	*o-*	ˮ*aka*	ˮ*are*	ˮ*amne*	ˮ*éron*	ˮ*és*	ˮ*éto*
3s	Ø	*aka*	*are*	*amne*	*éron*	*és*	*éto*
1p ex	*mo-*	*moaka*	*moare*	*moamne*	*moéron*	*moés*	*moéto*
1p in	*ta-*	*taaka*	*taare*	*taamne*	***téron***	***tés***	***této***
2p	*a-*	*aaka*	*aare*	*aamne*	***éron***	***és***	***éto***
3p	*te-*	*teaka*	*teare*	*teamne*	*teéron*	*teés*	*teéto*

In the standard Lote orthography these words are simply written according to their consituent morphemes: *eaka* 'I climb', *oaka* 'you climb', *taéron* 'we wear' and *aéto* 'you (pl) call'.

2.6   Reduplication

There are three types of reduplication in Lote, with several subtypes. All reduplication applies to roots. In the examples in this section, hyphens mark off the reduplicated part (as well as possessive suffixes).

It should be borne in mind, however, that many Lote words are reduplicated monosyllables, of which the root does not exist independently. Such words, of which a few examples are given here, will not be further considered in this section.

chalchal	'new coconut leaf'
churchur	'coral'
peipei	'sand, beach'

popo		'butterfly'
sipsip		'leak'

1. **Type 1** is prefixing reduplication and has three subtypes. On nouns (including adjectives; see §3.5) it indicates plurality. On verbs it marks continuative aspect (indicated in translation by the English progressive).

Type 1a is CV-reduplication on consonant-initial bases:

choro	*cho-choro*	'short' (pl)
liu-k	*li-liu-k*	'my cross-siblings'
ngoch	*ngo-ngoch*	'snoring'
palau-ngana	*pa-palau-ngana*	'big' (pl)
rurum	*ru-rurum*	'hunting'
sase	*sa-sase*	'tall' (pl)
sio	*si-sio*	'descending'
ta-na	*ta-ta-na*	'his mothers'
témé-ré	*té-témé-ré*	'our fathers'
ti-k	*ti-ti-k*	'my same-sex siblings'
tu-k	*tu-tu-k*	'my children'

Type 1b is VC-reduplication on vowel-initial bases:

are	*ar-are*	'sitting'
at	*at-at*	'coming'
es	*es-es*	'dancing'
ote	*ot-ote*	'paddling'
umé	*um-umé*	'working'
ut	*ut-ut*	'chanting a special song'

Type 1c is CVC-reduplication. This pattern is less common, but the conditioning factor between this type and type 1a is not yet clear.

kino	*kin-kino*	'tiny' (pl)
mule	*mul-mule*	'again and again'
pasu	*pas-pasu*	'swimming'
siné	*sin-siné*	'scorching'

tamu	*tam-tamu*	'jumping'
tango	*tang-tango*	'searching for'

We have one example of CVV-reduplication:

ngau	*ngau-ngau*	'eating'

2. **Type 2** is suffixing reduplication, and appears to be only found on consonant-final roots. It reduplicates the last syllable of the root. It applies to nouns and verbs and the meaning is basically the same as type 1.

Type 2a suffixes CV:

maul	*maul-ul*	'living'

Type 2b suffixes CVC:

és-halang	*és-halang-lang*	'playing'
kukan-na	*kukan-kan-na*	'toes, fingers'
milang	*milang-lang*	'hot' (pl)
mokon-na	*mokon-kon-na*	'(tree) tops'
rémén	*rémén-mén*	'rub'

There are a few exceptional cases of VC-reduplication:

song	*song-ong*	'running'
hun	*hun-un*	'killing'

3. **Type 3** reduplication, which can be called 'infixing and epenthetic', is a unique feature of the Lote language. It reduplicates the first CV of the last (or only) syllable of the root, prefixes this on apparent monosyllabic roots, but infixes it with disyllabic roots. It is highly unusual in that in addition to the reduplicated CV, a fixed consonant *ch* is inserted as the coda of that syllable. Notice that when the root vowel is *e*, the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is *é*, as with *neu* 'see', *are* 'sit' (but not with *ulei* 'afternoon'). The meaning of this type is repetitive or habitual, as shown in the following examples, where syllable boundaries are indicated for clarification. The examples under (a) illustrate (apparent) monosyllabic roots, those under (b) disyllabic roots. This process does not appear to be productive, though it is found on at least one loan word from Tok Pisin.

(a)	*mau*	'that way'	*mach.mau*	'habitually that way'
	mol	'three'	*moch.mol*	'threes; three by three'

	nai	'two'	*nach.nai*	'twos; two by two'
	neu-é	'see it'	*néch.neué*	'seeing it'
(b)	*are*	'sit'	*a.réch.re*	'sitting habitually'
	éllé	'one'	*él.léch.lé*	'ones; one by one'
	ero	'no, not'	*e.roch.ro*	'never, totally none'
	halang	'many'	*ha.lach.lang*	'hoards, counting many'
	hénél	'four'	*hé.néch.nél*	'fours; four by four'
	méré	'how'	*mé.réch.ré*	'how (it is usually done)'
	pilai	'play' (TP loan)	*pi.lach.lai*	'playing habitually'
	polo-na	'(its) hole'	*po.loch.lo.na*	'having many holes'
	ulei	'afternoon'	*u.lech.lei*	'almost afternoon'
	uach	'morning'	*u.ach.uach*	'dawn'
	urana	'good'	*u.rach.ra.na*	'always good, every one good'

Exceptional patterns of type 3 reduplication are shown in the following four words:

ia	'how many'	*ich.ia*	'how many regularly'
limé	'five'	*lich.li.mé*	'fives; five by five'
miliko	'evening'	*milik.li.ko*	'late afternoon'
muna	'black'	*much.mu.na*	'all are black'

Notice that *ia* 'how many' follows the pattern of monosyllables, even though it is disyllabic (§2.3). With *limé* 'five' and *muna* 'black' the expected forms are **liméchmé* and **mumuchna*. Instead, the first syllable is reduplicated and prefixed with *ch* to the root. The expected form of *miliko* is **miliklicho*; instead we find *milikliko*, possibly due to consonant harmony.

3. *Nouns and noun phrases*

This chapter describes the structure of nouns and noun phrases, including pronouns, numerals and possession. Although they are part of the noun phrase, demonstratives are treated in chapter 6, in combination with the other deictic words. Relative clauses, formally also part of the noun phrase, are discussed in the chapter on complex sentences (§8.4).

3.1 Pronouns

Lote pronouns differentiate between first, second, and third person. There is no gender distinction, but first person plural pronouns distinguish between inclusive and exclusive reference. Only singular and plural are distinguished in regards to number; there is no dual. In addition to independent pronouns, the language also has pronominal affixes. The full set of pronouns is shown in table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1. PRONOMINAL SETS

		Independent	Subject prefix	Possessive suffix
sg	1	*iau*	*e-*	*-k*
	2	*iong*	*o-*	*-m*
	3	*i*	Ø	*-na*
pl	1 ex	*imém*	*mo-*	*-mém*
	1 in	*ita*	*ta-*	*-ra*
	2	*imo*	*a-*	*-mo*
	3	*iri*	*te-*	*-ria*

The independent pronouns may function as subjects, objects and objects of prepositions. The subject prefix is required on all verbs. The set of possessive suffixes are found on inalienably possessed nouns, and possessive classifiers (see §3.7). They are also suffixed to the modifying nouns of descriptive noun phrases (see §3.6).

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Personal, common, alienable and inalienable nouns

Lote uses two systems to classify nouns. Firstly, personal nouns are distinguished from common nouns through the prepositional system. Secondly, inalienable nouns are distinguished from alienable nouns through direct and indirect possession respectively.

In the case of personal versus common nouns, the preposition *nge* is used to relate states or events to personal nouns. The preposition *nga*, on the other hand, is used to relate states or events to common nouns. Personal nouns include names of people and places, pronouns, kinship terms, and other human referents (e.g. words such as *non* 'man', *héi* 'woman', *tu* 'child' and *itei* 'who'). Everybody who is Catholic has a borrowed Christian name (e.g. Leo, Titus, Teresia) as well as a traditional Lote name, which is often used as a surname (e.g. Lang, Kairir). Additionally, many people have descriptive nicknames, e.g. *Rengreng* (reduplication of the verb *reng* 'to be silent') 'the man who speaks little'. Some place names also have meanings, e.g. *Miopalau*, the name of a large island (literally 'island-big'), and *Pilematana*, the name of a village (literally 'the eye of the fern', that is, a place that is full of ferns).

Common nouns include words referring to inanimate objects, animals, body parts, as well as generic locative words such as village, ground, garden, island and beach. The following three pairs show the contrast between personal and common nouns:

(1) a. *Te-ote   la nge   Miopalau.*
 3p-paddle   go LOC:PN M.

  'They paddled to Miopalau.'

  b. *Te-ote   la nga mimio.*
 3p-paddle   go LOC island.

  'They paddled to the island.'

(2) a. *E-are nge   Pius.*
 1s-sit LOC:PN P.

  'I was sitting with Pius.'

  b. *E-are nga peipei.*
 1s-sit LOC beach

  'I was sitting on the beach.'

(3) a. *O-hele   nge   ta-m.*
        2s-speak   LOC:PN   mother-2s

        'You speak to your mother.'

    b. O-hele   nga   radio.
        2s-speak   LOC   radio

        'You talk on the radio.'

Other examples:

(4) *Te-longo nge   non   nem.*
    3p-listen   LOC:PN   man   that2

    'They listened to that man.'

(5) *Kusuk-ia   nga sa-na.*
    spit.ginger-TR   LOC   stomach-3s

    'He spit ginger on her stomach.'

(6) *Poi-a nge   héi   nem.*
    do-TR   LOC:PN   woman   that2

    'He did it to that woman.'

In the case of inalienable versus alienable nouns, Lote distinguishes the two types by how they are possessed. Inalienable nouns are directly possessed, whereas alienable nouns are indirectly possessed (see §3.7 for the description of these structures and examples). Some nouns are not possessable and thus are not included in either of these categories. These nouns include the words *ruach* 'ocean', *chaia* 'sun', *téio* 'moon' and *itoch* 'star' as well as all personal names and place names.

Table 3.2 shows the intersection of these two systems of noun classification.

TABLE 3.2. CLASSIFICATION OF LOTE NOUNS

	common nouns (take the preposition *nga*)	**personal nouns** (take the preposition *nge*)
alienable nouns (indirectly possessed)	inanimate objects animals some body parts general locative words	human referents 6 of 14 kinship terms
inalienable nouns (directly possessed)	most body parts a few other nouns	8 of 14 kinship terms
unpossessable nouns	ocean, sun, star, moon	place names personal names

3.2.2 Derived nouns

Nouns may be derived from intransitive and transitive verbs by the addition of the nominalising suffix *-nga*. The meaning of the resulting noun is often a concrete object (e.g. an instrument), but it can also be an action noun or an abstract noun.

are	'sit'	*are-nga*	'chair'
haliu	'speak out strongly'	*haliu-nga*	'strong speech'
lei	'wed'	*lei-nga*	'marriage'
nana	'tell'	*nana-nga*	'story'
nono	'roast'	*nono-nga*	'roasted food'
ontei	'ask'	*ontei-nga*	'question'
ote	'paddle'	*ote-nga*	'oar'
péu	'sing'	*péu-nga*	'song'
piu	'close'	*piu-nga*	'door, window'
sachalo	'sweep'	*sachalo-nga*	'broom'
silo	'reflect'	*silo-nga*	'reflection, mirror'

Notice the morphophonemic processes of epenthesis, under (a), and vowel harmony, under (b) in the following examples. See §2.5.2 and §2.5.1 for these rules.

(a)	*héron*	'wear'	*héron-inga*	'shirt, clothes'
	ich	'scoop solid'	*ich-inga*	'scooper, shovel'
	iéch	'happy'	*iéch-inga*	'happiness'
	lak	'shave'	*lak-inga*	'shaver, razor'
	pal	'hit'	*pal-inga*	'hammer'
	par	'slice'	*par-inga*	'slicer'
	rémén	'rub'	*rémén-inga*	'sandpaper, rubbing utensil'
(b)	*lémé*	'fish by night'	*lémé-ngé*	'light used for night fishing'
	kémé	'steal'	*kémé-ngé*	'thief'

Reciprocal verbs may also be nominalised, in which case the reciprocal marker -*hél* (see §4.2.3) follows the nominaliser:

(7) *pal-inga-hél*
     hit-NOM-REC

     'a fight; a war'

There is another nominalising morpheme -*nga*, but since a discussion of its properties makes crucial reference to possession, we discuss it later in this chapter (§3.7).

3.3   Topic marker

Lote has a topic marker *ana* which occurs before nouns. It often identifies a generic noun such as 'man' or 'woman' as the main topic of a piece of discourse, but it also is used to refer to a previously mentioned participant. The topic marker is found with both subjects, as in (8) and objects, as in (9) and (10). It does not seem to co-occur with demonstratives. *Ana* also occurs in the expression for 'twenty' (see §3.4.1).

(8) <u>*Ana*</u> *héi*   *hele.*
     TOP   woman   speak

     'The woman spoke.'

(9) *Pe ana ngau-nga neu, te-poi-a*
and TOP eat-NOM that3 3p-do-TR

hilimo   nge   sio.
ancestral.spirit.festival LOC:PN descend

'And that was the food that they used to organise the ancestral spirit festivals down below.'

(10) *Maka-ria inin tau-a ana non.*
insides-3p pain get-TR TOP man

'They were very angry at the man.'

A variant of *ana* is *ngana*, which occurs following the head noun:

(11) *Pe non ngana iuch hot   sapele.*
and man TOP   jump go.out directly

'And the man immediately jumped out.'

This variant *ngana* occurs much less frequently in our corpus. More study needs to be done on the use of this interesting word.

3.4 Numerals and quantifiers

Numerals and quantifiers function similarly in that they both follow the head noun and precede the demonstrative.

3.4.1 Numerals

The Lote traditional numeral system is a base five system (quinary). It has separate words for 1-5 and 10. All other numerals are based on these. The numbers for 1-20 are as follows, with the column on the right giving an approximate literal translation.

1	*éllé*	'one'
2	*nai*	'two'
3	*mol*	'three'
4	*hénél*	'four'
5	*limé*	'five'
6	*limé pe ratele éllé*	'five and hold one'
7	*limé pe ratele nai*	'five and hold two'
8	*limé pe ratele mol*	'five and hold three'

9	*limé pe ratele hénél*	'five and hold four'
10	*analoch*	'one whole'
11	*analoch pe éllé*	'one whole and one'
12	*analoch pe nai*	'one whole and two'
13	*analoch pe mol*	'one whole and three'
14	*analoch pe hénél*	'one whole and four'
15	*analoch pe limé*	'one whole and five'
16	*analoch pe limé pe ratele éllé*	'one whole and five and hold one'
17	*analoch pe limé pe ratele nai*	'one whole and five and hold two'
18	*analoch pe limé pe ratele mol*	'one whole and five and hold three'
19	*analoch pe limé pe ratele hénél*	'one whole and five and hold four'
20	*ana non kina éllé*	'the bones of one man'

The numerals 6-9 are built on the numeral 5. This is done by conjoining the numeral *limé* with the phrase *pe ratele X* 'and hold X' The word *ratele* is most likely a shortened form of *ra-hit-hél-é* 'hold-block-REC-TR', meaning 'hold close, grasp (together with)'. Often these numbers are abbreviated by simply saying *ratele éllé* 'six'; *ratele nai* 'seven' etc. The numerals 11-19 are formed by conjoining the word for 10 with the numerals 1-9. The numeral 20 is literally 'the bones of one man':

(12)   *ana   non   ki-na   éllé*
        TOP   man   bone-3s   one

        'twenty'

Multiples of 20 (40, 60, 80, 100 etc.) are formed by multiplying the expression for twenty, while the intervening numerals are formed by conjoining the numerals 1-19 to these multiples of 20.

21	*ana non kina éllé pe éllé*	'the bones of one man and one'
22	*ana non kina éllé pe nai*	'the bones of two men and two'
23	*ana non kina éllé pe mol*	'the bones of two men and three'
30	*ana non kina éllé pe analoch*	'the bones of one man and one whole'

31	*ana non kina éllé pe analoch pe éllé*	'the bones of one man and one whole and one'
40	*ana non kina nai*	'the bones of two men'
50	*ana non kina nai pe analoch*	'the bones of two men and one whole'
60	*ana non kina mol*	'the bones of three men'
70	*ana non kina mol pe analoch*	'the bones of three men and one whole'
80	*ana non kina hénél*	'the bones of four men'
90	*ana non kina hénél pe analoch*	'the bones of four men and one whole'
100	*ana non kina limé*	'the bones of five men'
200	*ana non kina analoch*	'the bones of ten (whole) men'

The numerals 1-10 are still well used by Lote speakers. For numerals higher than 10, speakers usually revert to English or Pidgin.

Numerals follow the head noun as in the following examples.

(13) *hana   mol*
men   three
'three men'

(14) *héi   limé*
woman   five
'five women'

(15) *téio   hénél*
moon   four
'four months'

(16) *ruo analoch*
fish ten
'ten fish'

Numerals may also occur with pronouns and inalienable nouns such as body parts and kinship terms:

(17) *imém nai*
1pe   two
'the two of us'

(18) *ape-k   nai*
    leg-1s   two

    'my two legs'

(19) *tu-ria   limé pe   ratel-e   nai*
    child-3p five and hold-TR   two

    'their seven children'

Ordinal numbers are formed from numerals by adding the descriptive marker *-ngana.* (see §3.5) They may occur with a head noun or they may stand alone as a head noun.

(20) *héi   mol-ngana*
    woman   three-DESC

    'the third woman'

(21) *hénél-ngana*
    four-DESC

    'the fourth one'

The numerals 1-5 may undergo a special type of reduplication with epenthesis of *ch*. This changes the meaning of the numeral from a singular reference to a repetitive or habitual reference (see §2.6 for more discussion).

éllé	'one'	*élléchlé*	'ones; one by one'
nai	'two'	*nachnai*	'twos; two by two'
mol	'three'	*mochmol*	'threes; three by three'
hénél	'four'	*hénéchnél*	'fours; four by four'
limé	'five'	*lichlimé*	'fives; five by five'

3.4.2 Quantifiers

The following quantifiers have been found.

é	'a, one, a single one; one of those'
halang	'many'
hél	'some'
lochloch	'all, every'
pélé	'just any one, a certain'
toro	'alone, only' (used with animate referents)

unné   'a little'

Quantifiers follow the head noun, as illustrated in the following phrases:

éch unné   'a little water'
héi hél   'some women'
melé hél   'some men'
melé é   'someone'
iau toro   'only me'
kileng lochloch   'every place'
non pélé   'a certain man; just any man'
péle é   'one/a house'
ure halang   'many things'

The quantifier *é* 'a, one' also has the pragmatic function of introducing new participants, as well as switches in locations and time.

étué é   'one day'
kileng é   'a certain place'

The restrictive adverb *mana* 'only, just' is used with numerals and some quantifiers. In combination with *halang* 'many' it can have the meaning 'very'.

(22) *non   éllé   mana*
      man   one   only
      'only one man'

(23) *hana   halang   mana*
      men   many   only
      'very many men'

(24) *iri   toro   mana*
      3p   alone   only
      'just they by themselves'

3.4.3 The plural marker *mur*

A special quantifier is the plural marker *mur*. Since nouns in Lote are not marked as singular or plural, *mur* may follow the noun to highlight its plurality. The plural marker never occurs with numerals. In combination with the medial demonstrative *nem* 'that', the two words fuse to *nemur* 'those'.

(25) *ure   mur*
      thing PLUR
      'things'

(26) *ngau-nga mur*
      eat-NOM   PLUR
      'foods' (more than one kind)

(27) *ruo mur*
      fish PLUR
      'fish' (more than one)

(28) *aina   nemur*
      child   that2:PLUR
      'those children'

The plural marker may also give the meaning 'the group of', or following a name, 'the group associated with':

komiti mur	'the group of committee members'
katiket mur	'the group of catechists'
Jon mur	'Jon's family'
Steven mur	'the group of boys that play with Steven'

The plural marker is also used to show respect when referring to taboo relationships:

(29) *ué-k   mur*
      mother.in.law-1s PLUR
      'my mother-in-law'

3.5   Descriptive nominal modifiers

Lote does not have adjectives. Instead it employs a descriptive noun which is juxtaposed to the head noun. This descriptive noun describes the characteristics of the head noun in regards to its colour, shape, quality etc. This noun is made up of a stative verb, a time word or an adverb suffixed with the descriptive marker *-ngana*.

(30) *non   husu-ngana*
      man   white-DESC
      'the white man'

This descriptive marker is actually made up of the nominaliser *-nga* plus the third person possessive suffix *-na*. Thus the phrase in the above example has the literal sense of 'the man, his whiteness' or 'the whiteness of the man'. Such possessive-like attributive constructions in Oceanic languages are discussed in detail in Ross (1998).

The examples below show descriptive words that are made from stative verbs. This is how the majority of descriptive words are formed.

(31) *ae   lapusa-ngana*
tree   rotten-DESC

'the rotten wood'

(32) *kileng   milingling-ngana*
place   flat-DESC

'the flat place'

(33) *péle   palau-ngana*
house   big-DESC

'the big house'

(34) *paita   sase-ngana*
coconut   long-DESC

'the long coconut tree'

(35) *paita   rorol-ngana*
coconut   whole-DESC

'the whole coconut'

(36) *pé-ria   puna-ngana*
arm-3p   knobby-DESC

'their arm joints'

(37) *ngau-nga   urana-ngana*
eat-NOM   good-DESC

'the good food'

(38) *ngau-nga   itach-ngana*
eat-NOM   raw-DESC

'raw/uncooked food'

(39) *hele-nga   muka-ngana*
speak-NOM   precede-DESC

'the original talk'

Descriptive words may also be formed on the basis of time words such as *héuéu* 'today' and *nike* 'beforehand':

(40) *lei-nga   héuéu-ngana*
      marry-NOM   today-DESC

      'the newly married couple'

(41) *singi-na   nike-ngana*
      skin-3s   beforehand-DESC

      'his old skin'

Descriptive words may also be formed from the adverb *toto* 'very, real' and the quantifier *lochloch* 'all':

(39) *é-né   toto-ngana*
      name-3s   very/real-DESC

      'his real name'

(40) *malongo   lochloch-ngana*
      taro   all-DESC

      'all of the taro'

A stative verb and an adverb may combine to form a descriptive word

(41) *hele-nga   hét-ala-ngana   mur*
      speak-NOM   done-surrounding-DESC   PLUR

      'the concluding words'

Some descriptive words may be reduplicated, in which case they express plurality:

(42) *ae   sa-sase-ngana*
      tree   RED-long-DESC

      'the tall trees'

(43) *ngau-nga   porek-reke-ngana*
      eat-NOM   bad-RED-DESC

      'the bad foods'

In its reduplicated form, the descriptive word *pa-palau-ngana* is usually reduced to *pa-palau-na*

(44) *héi   pa-palau-na*
      women   RED-big-DESCR

      'important women'

The following pairs illustrate the difference between descriptive nominal modifiers in a noun phrase, and the corresponding stative clauses.

(45) a. *ne-na poi-nga poreke-ngana*
          PC-3s do-NOM bad-DESC

          'his bad deeds'

      b. *ne-na poi-nga poreke*
          PC-3s do-NOM bad

          'his deeds are bad'

(46) a. *téio   hét-ngana*
          moon   done-DESC

          'the end of the month' (lit. 'the finished moon')

      b. *téio   hét   lo*
          moon done COMP

          'the month has ended.'

3.6 Possession

There are two main types of possession in Lote: direct and indirect. Direct possession is used for inalienable nouns, while indirect possession is used for alienable nouns. In direct possession the possessed noun takes the possessive suffixes directly. In indirect possession one of two possessive classifiers is required.

3.6.1 Direct Possession

Direct possession occurs on inalienable nouns (see §3.2.1). Most of the body parts of humans and animals are classified as inalienable nouns, but only eight of the fourteen kinship terms are. Table 3.3 shows the possessive suffixes with a sample of body parts and kinship terms, to which the suffix is directly attached. This suffix agrees in number and person with the possessor, but the possessed noun may occur by itself without a full nominal possessor.

TABLE 3.3. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES WITH SELECTED INALIENABLE NOUNS

		sa-	*ki-*	*alo-*	*tu-*	*ti-*
		'stomach'	'bone'	'seed'	'child'	'same-sex sibling'
1s	*-k*	*sak*	*kik*	*alok*	*tuk*	*tik*
2s	*-m*	*sam*	*kim*	*alom*	*tum*	*tim*
3s	*-na*	*sana*	*kina*	*alona*	*tuna*	*tina*
1p ex	*-mém*	*samém*	*kimém*	*alomém*	*tumém*	*timém*
1p in	*-ra*	*sara*	*kira*	*alora*	*tura*	*tira*
2p	*-mo*	*samo*	*kimo*	*alomo*	*tumo*	*timo*
3p	*-ria*	*saria*	*kiria*	*aloria*	*turia*	*tiria*

The following eight kinship terms are treated as inalienable nouns:

ié-	'brother-in-law'
liu-	'sibling of the opposite sex'
sipu-	'uncle of same clan (husband's father's brother)'
ta-	'mother'
témé-	'father; father's brother'
ti-	'sibling of the same sex'
tu-	'child'
ué-	'parent-in-law'

The six alienable kinship terms are listed in §3.6.2.

Some further examples of body parts:

ape-	'leg'	*mira-*	'flesh'
éi-	'blood'	*ngingi-*	'tooth'
éinga-	'breath'	*pala-*	'knee'
hal-	'mouth'	*pér-*	'hand, arm'
héngé-	'temple'	*rama-*	'head; front'
i-	'nose'	*singi-*	'skin, body'

kal-	'neck'	*talnga-*	'ear'
ki-	'bone'	*tée-*	'excrement'
makal-	'liver'	*uli-*	'lip'
mata-	'eye'		

A few other words are also classified as inalienable nouns, including some locative nouns:

é-	1. 'name' 2. 'bottom'
ili-	'side'
lémé-	'desire'
lete-	'inside'
muli-	'shadow'
mute-	'love'
naku-	'appearance; ability'
nga-	'real self, reality'
o-	'top'
opé-	'spirit (of a person), reflection'
uru-	'wages'

Liquid-final roots such as *hal-* 'mouth' and *pér-* 'hand, arm' undergo morphophonemic changes. The same is true for roots which end in the vowel *é*. See §2.5 for details.

Often the possessive suffix by itself is enough to indicate the possessor:

(47)　*tu-k*
　　　child-1s
　　　'my child'

(48)　*muli-na*
　　　shadow-3s
　　　'his/her shadow'

(49)　*singi-ria*
　　　skin-3p
　　　'their skin'

A full possessor phrase can be present, in which case it precedes the possessed item:

(50) *John   tu-na*
J.   child-3s
'John's child'

(51) *Teru pe   Jeremy   ta-ria*
T.   and J.   mother-3p
'Teru and Jeremy's mother'

(52) *Patrick   liu-na*
P.   opposite.sex.sibling-3s
'Patrick's sister'

(53) *Pius pén-na   (<pér-na)*
P.   arm-3s
'Pius's arm'

(54) *kaone   tu-tu-na*
dog   RED-child-3s
'small dogs; puppies' (lit. 'children of dog')

Pronouns agreeing with the suffix may occur in the possessor position to show emphasis:

(55) *iau   ti-k*
1s   same.sex.sibling-1s
'MY brother' (or 'MY sister' for a female ego)

(56) *ita   témé-ra*
1pi   father-1pi
'OUR father'

(57) *imo   ta-mo*
2p   mother-2p
'YOUR mother'

Plant parts are also directly possessed. Some of the terms used to describe human and animal body parts are the same terms use to describe plant parts. Others are specific to plants.

(58) *ae   i-na*
tree   nose-3s

'the leaf of a tree'

(59) *ae   pén-na*
tree   arm-3s

'tree branch'

(60) *ae   hu-na*
tree   base-3s

'tree trunk'

(61) *ae   ula-ria*
tree   root-3p

'tree roots'

Direct possession is also used to indicate part-whole relationships for inanimate objects. Inalienable nouns used in this way include *lete-* 'inside', *ili-* 'side', *é-* 'under', *moko-* 'top' and *rume-* 'back':

(62) *péle   lete-na*
house   inside-3s

'the inside of the house'

(63) *it   ili-na*
mountain   side-3s

'the side of the mountain'

(64) *hété   sa-na   é-né*
bed   stomach-3s   under-3s

'the underside of the bed'

(65) *tuélé   rume-na*
men's.house   back-3s

'the back of the men's house'

A number of inalienable nouns such as *mata-* 'eye', *ta-* 'mother' and *ki-* 'bone' are commonly used idiomatically and in fixed phrases. The following is a sample of this.

(66) *kue   mata-na*
road   eye-3s

'road junction'

(67) *péle   mata-na*
house   eye-3s

'the entrance to/door of a house'

(68) *kakop   mata-na*
knife   eye-3s

'the edge of the knife'

(69) *ae   ta-na*
tree   mother-3s

'tree trunk'

(70) *kue   ta-na*
road   mother-3s

'the main road'

(71) *éch   ape-na*
water   leg-3s

'a subsidiary of a river'

(72) *éch   ki-na*
water   bone-3s

'water container, bottle, water tank'

(73) *péle   ki-na*
house   bone-3s

'house post'

(74) *ae   ngingi-na*
tree   teeth-3s

'flame (of a fire)' (lit. 'teeth of tree/wood')

(75) *ruach   sa-na*
ocean   stomach-3s

'the surface of the ocean'

Reduplication of these structures denotes plurality:

(76) *ae   pén-pén-na*   (dialectal   variant: *pér-pér-na)*
tree   RED-hand-3s

'tree branches'

3.6.2 Indirect possession

Possession of alienable nouns is expressed by indirect possession. Here the possessive suffix is attached to one of two possessive classifiers instead of the possessed noun itself. The possessive classifiers reflect the class of the possessed noun: edible (classifier *a-*) or inedible (classifier *le-*). The edible category, however, involves a broader semantic domain as it also includes items with the specific purpose of obtaining or eating food, as well as a few personal items.

TABLE 3.4. POSSESSIVE CLASSIFIERS

	a- 'edible'	*le-* 'inedible'
1s	*ak*	*lek*
2s	*am*	*lem*
3s	*ana*	**nena (na, né)**
1p ex	**émém**	**lémém**
1p in	*ara*	**rera (ra)**
2p	*amo*	*lemo*
3p	*aria*	**reria (ria)**

Table 3.4 shows the two possessive classifiers as they appear with the possessive suffixes. Note how the basic forms of *a-* (for edible) and *le-* (for inedible) undergo certain morphophonemic changes due to vowel harmony and consonant assimilation; these forms are shown in bold (see also §2.5). Variants which are common in spoken language are shown in brackets.

The lists below show the categories of nouns that occur with the edible possessive classifier *a-*:

1. Food items

hur	'banana'
kié	'pork'
loi	'taro'
momo	'yam'
ngaunga	'food'

paita	'coconut'
pareo	'chicken'
pau	'k.o. greens' (TP *aibika*)
pilém	'fern tips'
ruo	'fish'
tou	'sugar cane'

2. Drink items

ae ngan ngana	'medicine' (lit. 'tree seeds')
éch	'water'
koukou	'juice from a young coconut'
siuna éina	'breast milk' (lit. 'sap/juice of the breast')

3. Items used to prepare, consume or obtain food

ichinga	'spoon'
héngétau	'tongue'
éulinga	'cup'
io	'spear'
kalingo	'spear'
konaingka	'fishing hook'
lakinga	'shaver'
pan	'cooking pot'
sik	'stick, pole (for carrying pigs)'
singo	'trap'
umé	'garden'

Even though the vast majority of body parts are directly possessed, *héngétau* 'tongue' is indirectly possessed and uses the edible possessive classifier. No doubt this is because it is seen as an item used to consume food.

4. Miscellaneous

ae ponna	'trousers'
hario	'drum'
hétoronga	'teacher'

étué	'time'
horél	'cap, hat'
polo	'burial hole'

By taking *a-* instead of *le-*, these items above are perceived to have a more intimate or permanent relationship with the possessor

Examples of the edible classifier in phrases (glossed as PCF 'possessive classifier for food'):

(77) *a-k   héngétau*
PCF-1s   tongue

'my tongue'

(78) *Cleopas a-na   ruo*
C.   PCF-3s   fish

'Cleopas' fish' (for eating)

(79) *kié a-ria   paita*
pig PCF-3p   coconut

'the pigs' coconuts'

(80) *Soang a-na   konaingka*
S.   PCF-3s   fish.hook

'Soang's fishing hook'

(81) *a-mo   étué*
PCF-2p time

'your time; the time for you to do something'

All other nouns take the inedible classifier *le-*. This includes the words for objects not related to food production and consumption, as well as abstract nouns. The following six kinship terms and two body parts also take this classifier.

achung	'uncle of same clan (mother's brother)'
héi	'wife'
mélei	'sister-in-law'
paen	'cousin'
sépé	'fin (of dolphin or shark)'
tété ~ té	'grandparent; grandchild'
uol	'uncle of opposite clan (wife's mother's brother)'

> *ut*   'testicles'

(82)   *le-mo kileng*
      PC-2p place
      'your place'

(83)   *le-k   té*
      PC-1s grandparent/grandchild
      'my grandfather'

(84)   *Stephen ne-na aka*
      S.   PC-3s canoe
      'Stephen's canoe'

(85)   *re-ria   poi-nga*
      PC-3p   do-NOM
      'their custom'

(86)   *imém lé-mém kaone*
      1pe   PC-1pe dog
      'our dog'

Some nouns may take either possessive classifier depending on the manner in which they are possessed. In such cases *le-* signals a normal possessive relationship; the use of *a-* on the other hand indicates edible possession, or what could be called 'passive possession'.

(87)   a. *lé-mém   pareo*
          PC-1pe chicken
          'our chicken' (that we look after)

      b. *é-mém   pareo*
          PCF-1pe chicken
          'our chicken' (that we eat)

(88)   a. *ne-na io*
          PC-3s spear
          'the spear that belongs to him/her' (normal possession)

      b. *a-na   io*
          PCF-3s spear
          'the spear that will kill him/her/it'

(89) a. *le-k   iu-nga*
          PC-1s   call-NOM

          'my call' (the call I made)

      b. *a-k   iu-nga*
          PCF-1s   call-NOM

          'my call' (the call for me)

(90) a. *le-k   poponing*
          PC-1s   story

          'my story' (the story that I tell)

      b. *a-k   poponing*
          PCF-1s   story

          'my story' (the story about me)

If the possessor and the possessed are already known, the possessive classifier may stand by itself as a minimal possessive noun phrase and function as a nominal head in a clause:

(91) *O-mén-é   ne-na.*
      2s-get-TR   PC-3S

      'You get his (e.g. his boat)'

3.6.3 Benefactive possession

In some cases the use of the indirect possessor does not signal an existing possessive relationship, but rather the future possession that is going to be beneficial for the possessor. This is especially common with verbs such as getting, catching and buying. The following examples illustrate benefactive possession.

(92) *O-la   tau-a   le-k   popo.*
      2s-go   get-TR   PC-1s   butterfly

      'Go get a butterfly for me.'

(93) *O-lau   a-k   ruo!*
      2s-catch   PCF-1s   fish

      'Catch some fish for me!'

(94) *Toinge le-k   umtutuna halang, e-ol-ia   le-k   radio.*
      if.only PC-1s   money   many   1s-buy-TR PC-1s   radio

      'If I had lots of money, I would buy myself a radio.'

3.7   Nominalisation

In §3.2.2 the nominalising suffix *-nga* (and its allomorph *-inga* after consonant-final roots) was discussed. These nouns are treated as alienable nouns which take the general classifier *le-*.

TABLE 3.5. COMPARISON OF *-NGA₁* AND *-NGA₂*

-nga₁	*-nga₂*
takes classifier *le-*	takes direct possession
allomorph *-inga* after final C	no allomorph *-inga*
no subject prefixes	retains subject prefixes
means concrete object, abstract noun or action noun	means abstract or action noun, but also 'place of doing' and 'way of doing'.

There appears to be another nominaliser *-nga*, the meaning of which is somewhat different from the first *-nga*. Additionally there are other important differences between these two morphemes *-nga₁* and *-nga₂*, as summarised in table 3.5.

The following pairs illustrate the differences:

(95)   a.   *le-k   are-nga₁*
             PC-1s   sit-NOM

             'my chair'

       b.   *e-are-nga₂-k*   (**are-nga₂-k*)
             1s-sit-NOM-1s

             'the place where I sit; my way of sitting'

(96)   a.   *le-k   iéch-inga₁*
             PC-1s   happy-NOM

             'my happiness'

       b.   *e-iéch-nga₂-k*   (**iéch-inga-k*,   **e-iéch-inga-k*)
             1s-happy-NOM-1s

             'my happiness'

Below follow some other examples of *-nga₂*, including on a derived verb with the reciprocal suffix, as well as on serial verb constructions (§5.5) and a verb complex (§5.2). Notice that in each case the subject prefix and the possessive suffix have to agree.

(97) *tua-nga₂-na*
      shine-NOM-3s

      'its way of shining'

(98) *e-i-nga₂-k*
      1s-walk-NOM-1s

      'my way of walking'

(99) *méte-nga₂-na*
      die-NOM-3s

      'his death; the place where he died; the way he died'

(100) *te-matau-hél-nga₂-ria*
      3p-afraid-REC-NOM-3p

      'their fear of each other'

(101) *te-pal   chach-nga₂-ria*
      3p-hit   break-NOM-3p

      'their way of breaking open (coconuts)'

(102) *o-hele   urume-nga₂-m*
      2s-speak   clear-NOM-2s

      'your explanation'

The exact status of *-nga₂* is not yet completely clear. It appears that *-nga₁* is a real nominalising suffix, while *-nga₂* is possibly a nominalising clitic. Since clitics often have a looser degree of binding with the root, this difference in status would account for the absence of the allomorph *-inga* with *-nga₂*, and maybe the retention of the subject prefixes as well. Its looser bond with the root is corroborated by the fact that *-nga₂* tends to be written separately by native speakers (e.g. *eare ngak* 'the place where I sit').

3.8   NP structure

The following formula displays the structure of the noun phrase:

(NP[poss]) **N** (Desc N) (Dem) (Num/Quant)

The topic marker *ana*, the plural marker *mur* and adverbs have not been incorporated in this formula.

Lote noun phrases tend to be short, usually between one and three words. However, longer ones do occur and the following have been taken from texts:

(103) *a-k   paita   koukou   éllé*
PCF-1s   coconut   young.coconut   one

'my one young coconut'

(104) *paita   moko-na isis-ngana toto*
coconut   top-3s   tip-DESC   very

'the highest point of the coconut tree'

(105) *kileng   chantom-ngana   mur   lochloch*
place   dark-DESC   PLUR   all

'all the dark places'

(106) *ae   pana   ta-na   palau-ngana   é*
tree   ironwood   mother-3s   big-DESC   one

'one large ironwood tree trunk'

3.9   Apposition and coordination

Apposition is relatively uncommon in Lote and in our data always involves names. These are preceded by either a possessed kinship term, or one of a few generic human nouns: *kol* 'boy, unmarried young man', *e* 'girl, unmarried woman, miss', *ne* 'married man, mr.', *hé* 'married woman, mrs.'. These are illustrated in the following examples:

(107) *ti-na   Charo*
same.sex.sibling-3s   C.

'his brother Charo'

(108) *tu-k   Matius*
child-1s   M.

'my son Matius'

(109) *kol   Chompis*
boy   C.

'the boy Chompis; young Chompis'

(110) *ne   Greg*
mr   G.

'Mr Greg'

(111) *hé   Maria*
mrs   M.

'Mrs Maria'

Coordinate noun phrases are joined by the conjunction *pe* 'and':

(112)   *E-nau   nga   kié   pe   kaone.*
   1s-see   LOC   pig   and   dog

   'I saw the pigs and dogs.'

(113)   *Mo-ngau-ngau-a   loi   pe   ruo.*
   1pe-eat-RED-TR   taro   and   fish

   'We are eating taro and fish.'

(114)   *a-ria   singo   a-na   rur   pe   ki-na   mur*
   PCF-3p   trap   PCF-3s   rope   and   bone-3s   PLUR

   'their trap ropes and supports'

Alternation of nouns is signalled by *ma* 'or':

(115)   *O-in   ti   ma   kopi?*
   2s-drink   tea   or   coffee

   'Will you drink tea or coffee?'

(116)   *Le-k   té,   nga-m   ma   opé-m?*
   PC-1s   grandparent   reality-2s   or   spirit-2s

   'Grandpa, is that really you or your spirit?'

4. Verbs

The verb in Lote functions as the head of the clause and may occur by itself as a minimal clause. Its main distinguishing feature is the subject prefix which indexes the verb to the subject, agreeing in person and number. For a list of the subject prefixes, see §3.1.

After a discussion of non-derived verbs (§4.1), this chapter deals with three kinds of derived verbs: transitive (§4.2.1), causative (§4.2.2) and reciprocal (§4.2.3). Verbal reduplication is dealt with in §4.3.

4.1 Non-derived verbs

Lote has two main types of verbs: derived and non-derived. Non-derived verbs include stative, intransitive and semi-transitive verbs. They are defined by the absence of any derivational affixes, while they provide the basis for all three of the derived verbs.

4.1.1 Stative verbs

Stative verbs describe a state or characteristic of an entity. Since they can take the subject prefix, they are classified as verbs rather than adjectives. The difference with intransitive verbs (apart from their semantics), is that stative verbs can also occur as the head constituent in a descriptive noun phrase construction, marked by *-ngana* (see §3.5 for examples).

Examples of stative verbs:

chananga	'false'	*muta*	'full'
kalum	'cooked'	*péngpéng*	'straight'
kerkereng	'strong, hard'	*pilpile*	'sticky'
kokolong	'loose'	*poreke*	'bad'
lum	'obese'	*sase*	'long'
makuk	'weak, soft, tired'	*soso*	'empty (of liquid)'

52

milang	'hot'	*sosolos*	'tough'
muka	'precede'	*urana*	'good'

Examples of inflected stative verbs in clauses:

(1) *Ta-urana.*
   1pi-good
   'We are good.'

(2) *Ta-poreke   ol!*
   1pi-bad   now
   'Now we are in trouble!'

(3) *Kaukau   pe   loi   te-kalum   lo.*
   sweet.potato   and taro 3p-cooked   COMP
   'The sweet potatoes and taros are cooked.'

(4) *Mo-makuk   toto.*
   1pe-weak   very
   'We are very tired.'

(5) *Are-nga   nem   mur   te-makuk   toto.*
   sit-NOM   that2 PLUR 3p-soft   very
   'Those chairs are very soft.'

Notice that inanimate subjects are also inflected for number, as in (3) and (5).

4.1.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs refer to actions or processes in which no semantic patient is present. These verbs fill the head of an intransitive clause.

are	'sit'	*mes*	'stand'
at	'come'	*mule*	'come back'
ha	'be born'	*nun*	'bathe'
haka	'ascend'	*pasu*	'swim'
hele	'speak, talk'	*reng*	'not talk'
hét	'stop, finish'	*sech*	'quiver'
hétalau	'pray'	*sio*	'descend'
hoho	'give birth'	*siu*	'drink from breast'

hot	'go out'	*song*	'run'
i	'walk'	*tang*	'cry'
la	'go'	*teu*	'go in'
ma	'lie'	*tu*	'live'
matau	'be afraid'	*umé*	'work'

Examples of intransitive verbs in clauses:

(6) *Te-nun.*
3p-bathe

'They bathed.'

(7) *O-song.*
2s-run

'You are running.'

(8) *Mo-éshalang*
1pe-play

'We played.'

(9) *Te-ha   nge   Vunapope.*
3p-be.born   LOC:PN   V.

'They were born in Vunapope.'

4.1.3 Semi-transitive verbs

Semi-transitive verbs are verbs that are semantically transitive since there is always an implicit patient. They can occur with a following patient, but contrary to real transitive verbs, these semi-transitive verbs are not formally marked as transitive, since they lack the transitivising suffix. The patients that occur with semi-transitive verbs are indefinite and generic.

amnei	'feel'	*peta*	'bless'
chach	'break'	*péu*	'sing songs'
és	'observe'	*pip*	'compress'
halau	'help'	*poi*	'do, make'
hékulo	'send a message'	*pulok*	'roll cigarettes'
hénonou	'select, choose'	*rau*	'touch'
héto	'name'	*rech*	'split'

hiu	'shell coconut'	*rira*	'chew (betelnut)'
in	'drink'	*saol*	'meet, come upon'
iu	1. 'blow'	*sau*	'dispose'
	2. 'call, beckon'	*takis*	'carry on shoulder '
kolkol	'not see'	*tal*	'put'
kulala	'wait for'	*tamal*	'throw'
kum	'chase'	*tau*	1. 'cook on stones'
lau	'embrace'		2. 'escort'
lomo	'wash'	*tongo*	'light a fire'
longo	'listen'	*toto*	'cut'
nanas	'follow'	*tua*	1. 'plant'
ngau	'eat'		2. 'spear'
ol	'buy'	*tuna*	'cook with water'
ole	'make fun of an animal'	*tung*	'give'
pal	'hit'	*utou*	'cut'

Examples of semi-transitive verbs in short clauses:

(10) *Te-pal.*
      3p-hit
      'They fought.'

(11) *Mo-rech   ae.*
      1pe-cut   tree
      'We went wood-cutting.'

(12) *E-kolkol.*
      1s-not.see
      'I did not see (it).'

(13) *O-nanas.*
      2s-follow
      'You follow.'

(14) *A-longo!*
      2p-listen
      'You listen!'

(15) *Te-halau.*
      3p-help
      'They helped.'

(16) *Ta-péu.*
      1pi-sing
      'Let's sing.'

(17) *O-ngau.*
      2s-eat
      'You eat.'

4.2 Derived verbs

4.2.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are formed by adding a transitivising suffix to either an intransitive or a semi-transitive verb. There are three allomorphs for the transitiviser, the distribution of which appears to be phonologically conditioned (with quite a few exceptions):

- *-ia* occurs after consonants;
- *-é* replaces root final *o* or *a* (and probably *e* as well, though there are very few examples);
- *-a* occurs after root final *u* or *i*.

1. **Suffix -*ia***. The list below illustrates transitive verbs that are formed by the addition of the transitiviser *-ia,* usually on consonant-final roots. Verbs where *-ia* is found after vowels are marked as irregular.

a. On intransitive verbs:

at	'come'	*at-ia*	'bring'
are	'sit'	*are-ia* (irr)	'sit in/on, occupy'
hele	'speak, talk'	*hele-ia* (irr)	'discuss'
la	'go'	*la-ia* (irr)	'take'
ma	'lie'	*ma-ia* (irr)	'lie on, lie in'
pasu	'swim'	*pasu-ia* (irr)	'take by swimming'
song	'run'	*song-ia*	'drive'

tang	'cry'	*tang-ia*	'mourn'
tu	'live'	*tu-ia* (irr)	'live in, inhabit'

b. On semi-transitive verbs:

chach	*chach-ia*	'break'
és	*és-ia*	'see'
in	*in-ia*	'drink'
kolkol	*kolkol-ia*	'not see something'
kum	*kum-ia*	'chase'
nanas	*nanas-ia*	'follow'
ol	*ol-ia*	'buy'
pal	*pal-ia*	'hit'
pip	*pip-ia*	'mould something'
pulok	*pulok-ia*	'roll a cigarette'
rech	*rech-ia*	'split'
saol	*saol-ia*	'meet, come upon s.o.'
takis	*takis-ia*	'carry on shoulder'
tamal	*tamal-ia*	'throw'

2. **Suffix -é**. The list below illustrates transitive verbs formed by the addition of the transitiviser -*é*, in which case the root-final *o*, *a* or *e* is deleted. With this transitiviser, vowel harmony occasionally occurs, as in the cases of *kulélé* (from *kulala*).

hékulo	*hékulé*	'send'
héto	*hétué* (irr)	'name'
hoho	*hohé*	'give birth'
kulala	*kulélé*	'wait for'
lomo	*lomé*	'wash'
longo	*longé*	'hear'
ole	*olé*	'make fun of an animal'
peta	*peté*	'bless'
rira	*riré*	'chew betelnut'
tal	*talué* (irr)	'put'
tongo	*tongé*	'light on fire'

toto	*toté*	'cut'
tua	*tué*	1. 'plant'
		2. 'spear'
tuna	*tuné*	'cook with water'
tung	*tungé* (irr)	'give'

3. **Suffix -*a***. The list below illustrates transitive verbs formed by the addition of the transitiviser -*a* on verbs which end in *i* or *u*.

amnei	*amnei-a*	'feel, sense'
halau	*halau-a*	'help'
hénonou	*hénonou-a*	'point to/select'
hiu	*hiu-a*	'shell coconut'
iu	*iu-a*	1. 'blow'
		2. 'call, beckon'
lau	*lau-a*	'grab, embrace'
matau	*matau-a*	'fear'
ngau	*ngau-a*	'eat'
péu	*péu-a*	'sing songs'
poi	*poi-a*	'do, make'
rau	*rau-a*	'touch'
sau	*sau-a*	'throw away'
siu	*siu-a*	'drink from breast'
tau	*tau-a*	1. 'cook on hot stones'
		2. 'escort'
utou	*utou-a*	'cut'

Without overt patients, these transitivising suffixes are interpreted as having a third person singular referent, as in (18). If the patient is 1st or 2nd person, the transitiviser is still used, as in (19) - (21).

(18)   *Te-pal-ia.*
     3p-hit-TR
     'They hit him/her/it.'

(19) *Te-pal-ia   imém.*
3p-hit-TR   1pe

'They hit us.'

(20) *O-kolkol-ia   iau.*
2s-not.see-TR   1s

'You did not see me.'

(21) *E-halau-a   iong.*
1s-help-TR   2s

'I help you.'

4.2.2 Causative verbs

The causative prefix *hé-* follows the subject prefix and immediately precedes the verb root. It is commonly found on stative and intransitive verbs, so that the valency of the verb is increased to two, allowing for an object as well as a subject. Causative verbs are a sub-type of transitive verbs and hence clauses with causative verbs are classified as transitive clauses.

Except for *hé-mété* 'cause to die, kill', all causative verbs are suffixed with the transitiviser, but there are a surprisingly large number of exceptions to the phonological rules formulated above.

a.	**Stative verb**		**Causative verb**	
	kerkereng	'strong, hard'	*hé-kerkereng-ia*	'strengthen, encourage'
	makuk	'soft, tired'	*hé-makuk-é* (irr)	'soften, make tired'
	milang	'hot'	*hé-milang-ia*	'heat up'
	muta	'full'	*hé-muta-ia* (irr)	'fill up'
	péngpéng	'straight'	*hé-péngpéng-ia*	'straighten, clean'
	poreke	'bad'	*hé-poreke-ia* (irr)	'ruin'
	ulo	'finished'	*hé-ulé*	'cause to be finished'
	urana	'good'	*hé-urana-ia* (irr)	'cause to be good'

b.	**Intransitive verb**		**Causative verb**	
	mes	'stand'	*hé-mes-ia*	'cause to stand'
	méte	'die'	*hé-mété* (irr)	'cause to die, kill'
	nun	'bathe'	*hé-nun-é* (irr)	'bathe someone'

siu	'drink from breast'	*hé-siu-a*	'nurse (a baby)'
song	'run'	*hé-song-ia*	'operate, drive'
sio	'descend'	*hé-sué* (irr)	'lower down'

c. | **Semi-transitive verb** | | **Causative verb** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ngau* | 'eat' | *hé-ngau-a* | 'feed' |
| *rira* | 'chew betelnut' | *hé-riré* | 'cause to chew betelnut' |

Examples of causative verbs in simple clauses:

(22)　*O-hé-siu-a.*
　　　2s-CAUS-drink.from.breast-TR
　　　'You breastfeed him/her.'

(23)　*E-hé-nun-é.*
　　　1s-CAUS-bathe-TR
　　　'I bathed him/her.'

(24)　*Te-hé-mes-ia.*
　　　3p-CAUS-stand-TR
　　　'They stood them up.'

(25)　*Te-hé-kerkereng-ia　imém.*
　　　3p-CAUS-strong-TR　1pe
　　　'They encouraged us.' (Lit. 'They made us strong'.)

(26)　*O-hé-poreke-ia　ita!*
　　　2s-CAUS-bad-TR　1pi
　　　'You ruined us.' (Lit. 'You made us bad.')

(27)　*E-hé-péngpéng-ia　péle.*
　　　1s-CAUS-straight-TR　house
　　　'I cleaned the house.' (Lit. 'I made the house straight.')

Finally, a causative verb complex can also be derived from an inalienably possessed clause (see §5.3.1 for details). Example (28) is such an inalienably possessed clause. Its causative counterpart is (29).

(28) *Lete-k   mata-na.*
inside-1s   eye-3s

'I remember. / I am thinking.' (Lit. 'My inside [has] its eye[s].')

(29) *E-hé-lete   mété-né.*
1s-CAUS-inside   eye-3s:TR

'I reminded (someone).' (Lit. 'I caused [his/her] inside [to have] its eye[s].')

Notice that the transitivising suffix *-é* is added to the noun *mata-na*, resulting (with vowel harmony) in *mété-né*.

4.2.3 Reciprocal verbs

Reciprocal verbs are made by means of the reciprocal suffix *-hél*. This suffix immediately follows the verb root, or a second verb in a serial verb construction. It never co-occurs with the transitiviser. Since the meaning of the marker involves two entities reciprocating towards each other, it only occurs with plural subjects. It occurs with intransitive and semi-transitive verb roots. In the latter case, the semi-transitive verb is detransitivised, so it has only one core argument. Thus, reciprocal verbs are a sub-type of intransitive verbs.

Basic verb		Reciprocal verb	
hottau	'find'	*hottau-hél*	'find each other'
kulos	'send'	*kulos-hél*	'send to each other'
matau	'be afraid'	*matau-hél*	'be afraid of each other'
ontei	'ask'	*ontei-hél*	'ask each other'
pal	'hit'	*pal-hél*	'fight'
pur	'struggle'	*pur-hél*	'struggle with each other'
saol	'meet'	*saol-hél*	'meet each other'

Examples of reciprocal verbs in simple clauses:

(30) *Te-pal-hél.*
3p-hit-REC

'They fought each other.'

(31) *Ita   ta-matau-hél.*
1pi   1pi-afraid-REC

'We are afraid of each other.'

4.3 Verbal reduplication

Reduplication of verbs expresses continuous, habitual or repetitive action. See §2.6 for the formal side of reduplication. The following list presents some examples:

at	'come'	*at-at*
loiloi	'shake'	*loiloi-loi*
ngau-a	'eat'	*ngau-ngau-a*
ote	'paddle'	*ot-ote*
siné	'scorch by the sun'	*sin-siné*
sio	'descend'	*si-sio*
song	'run'	*song-ong*
tango	'search for'	*tang-tango*

Examples in clauses:

(32) *E-ngau-ngau-a   ol.*
  1s-eat-RED-TR   now
  'I am eating now.'

(33) *Ta-és-és-ia   téio.*
  1pi-see-RED-TR   moon
  'We (continue to) see the moon.'

(34) *…   are   ke   lak-lak.*
    sit   AC   RED-shave
  '…he sat and shaved (for a while).'

(35) *Iau   e-la-la   nge   Uvol.*
  1s   1s-go-RED   LOC:PN   U.
  'I'm going to Uvol.' Or: 'I often go to Uvol.'

For the combination of reduplication with the adverb *lo*, see §5.4.4.

5. Clause structure

There are two main clause types in Lote: verbal and non-verbal. The verbal clause is characterised by the required presence of a verb in the clause core, which is either simple or complex. The non-verbal clause on the other hand contains no explicit verb, but expresses the predication by other means.

This chapter on Lote clause structure starts by describing the basic structures of the two main clause types. Various clausal peripheries such as prepositional phrases and adverbs are treated in §5.4. The chapter ends with a section on serial verb constructions (§5.5).

5.1   Verbal clauses

There are four verbal clause types in Lote: stative, intransitive, semi-transitive and transitive. The verb is the only required element in the verbal clause. In the following sections we will mostly deal with simple verbs.

5.1.1 Stative clauses

The stative clause consists of a stative verb preceded by an optional subject. The subject, if present, consists of a pronoun, a simple noun or a noun phrase. The following examples illustrate simple nominal subjects:

(1)   *Chaia   milang.*
 sun   hot

 'It is hot.' (Lit. 'The sun is hot.')

(2)   *Kakop   sase.*
 knife   long

 'The knife is long.'

(3)   *Kileng   soso.*
 place   dried.up

 'It is low tide.'

(4) *Kaukau te-kalum lo.*
sweet.potato 3p-cooked COMP

'The sweet potatoes are cooked.'

(5) *Singi-na kerkereng.*
skin-3s strong

'His/her/its skin is tough.'

(6) *Éinga-k choro.*
breath-1s short

'I am out of breath.'

An example of a stative clause without a subject:

(7) *Mo-lum toto ol.*
1pe-obese very now.

'We are very fat now.'

Stative clauses may also have a pronoun as a subject. This pronoun agrees with the subject prefix that is required on the verb; the addition of this pronominal subject seems to indicate emphasis.

(8) *Iri te-soke lo!*
3p 3p-big COMP

'They are already big!'

Examples of noun phrases filling the subject slot of a stative clause:

(9) *Chasang nai te-muta.*
basket two 3p-full

'Two baskets are full.'

(10) *Le-k kileng poreke.*
PC-1s place bad

'My place is bad.'

(11) *Le-k chanchan léisis.*
PC-1s sore painful

'My sore hurts.'

(12) *Tu-tu-k   mur   te-soke   lo.*
child-RED-1s   PLUR   3s-big   COMP

'My children are already grown up.'

(13) *Kaone   nem   mur   ape-ria   muna.*
dog   that2   PLUR   leg-3p   black

'Those dogs' legs are dirty/black.'

The stative verb *poma* 'be like' is usually joined to the preposition *nga*, thus allowing it to take nominal complements (see also §5.4.1 for prepositions). The combination of the stative verb and the preposition seems to operate as a single word. This agrees with the tendency of native speakers, who prefer to write it as one word.

(14) *Naku-na   poma-nga   neko.*
appearance-3s   be.like-LOC   wallaby

'His appearance is like a wallaby.'

(15) *Le-m   kileng   poma-nga   le-k.*
PC-2s   place   be.like-LOC   PC-1s

'Your place is like mine.'

(16) *Ruben   ne-na   péle   poma-nga   Jon   ne-na.*
R.   PC-3s   house   be.like-LOC   J.   PC-3s

'Ruben's house is like Jon's.

(17) *Loi   poma-nga   momo   ero.*
taro   be.like-LOC   yam   NEG

'Taro is not like yam'

Often the word *pomanga* is shortened to *manga*:

(18) *Rama-m   ma-nga   baket!*
head-2s   be.like-LOC   bucket

'Your head is like a bucket!'

For the deictic manner adverbs *pomai*, *pomam* and *pomau*, see §6.8.

An interesting type of stative clause involves the body parts *lete-* 'inside' and *makal-* 'liver' (with vowel epenthesis), which are used to express emotional or cognitive processes:

(19) *Makal-ik   inin.*
liver-1s   hurt

'I am angry.'

(20) *Lete-na   poreke.*
inside-3s   bad

'She is sad.'

(21) *Lete-ria   lilil.*
inside-3p   confused

'They forgot.'

(22) *Lete-mo   manmanna.*
inside-2p   true

'You believe.'

5.1.2 Intransitive clauses

The intransitive clause consists of an intransitive verb, optionally preceded by a subject, and optionally followed by a location phrase. Many verbs of movement often appear with a locative phrase, though this is not obligatory. For a full description of location phrases, see §5.4.1.

(23) *Kié   nem   méte.*
pig   that2   die

'The pig died.'

(24) *Jon   la   nge   Rabaul.*
Jon   go   LOC:PN   R.

'Jon went to Rabaul.'

(25) *Imém   mo-at   nge   America.*
1pe   1pe-come   LOC:PN   A.

'We came from America.'

(26) *Héi   mur   te-i   nge   Uvol.*
woman   PLUR   3p-walk   LOC:PN   U.

'The women walked at Uvol.'

(27) *Ilimo   nai   te-teu   nga   péle.*
snake   two   3p-go.in   LOC   house

'Two snakes went into the house.'

(28) *E-haka   nga péle   o-na.*
1s-ascend LOC house top-3s

'I climbed to the top of the house.'

The inalienably possessed noun *alnga-* 'call' often occurs as the subject of the intransitive verb *la* 'go':

(29) *Al-nga-na   la nge   iri.*
call-NOM-3s   go LOC:PN 3p

'He called out to them.' (Lit. 'His call goes to them.')

It always occurs with the third person singular form of the verb (which is unmarked), regardless of the number of the possessor on the subject noun:

(30) *Al-nga-mo   la nge   iri.*
call-NOM-2p   go LOC:PN 3p

'You call out to them.' (Lit. 'Your (pl) call goes to them.')

Since reciprocal verbs belong to the class of intransitive verbs, they may fill the verb slot of an intransitive clause.

(31) *Mo-hottau-hél.*
1pe-find-REC

'We found each other.'

(32) *Markus   pe   Titus   te-pal-hél.*
M.   and T.   3p-hit-REC

'Markus and Titus are fighting.'

(33) *Aina   nemur   te-ristoto-hél.*
children   that2.PLUR   3p-race-REC

'Those children are racing each other.'

(34) *Hana mur   te-halau-hél nga ngau-nga.*
man   PLUR   3p-help-REC LOC eat-NOM

'The men were helping each other with food.'

(35) *Te-matau-hél   ero ol.*
3p-afraid-REC   NEG now

'They are not afraid of each other any more.'

(36) *Mo-hele   inin-hél.*
      1pe-speak   painful-REC

      'We argued.' (Lit. 'We spoke painfully at each other)'

The last example shows the reciprocal marker on the stative verb *inin* 'painful', which in combination with *hele* 'speak, talk' forms a verb complex.

5.1.3 Semi-transitive clauses

The semi-transitive clause consists of a semi-transitive verb (see §4.1.3), optionally preceded by a subject and optionally followed by an object. Notice that the verb is not marked with a transitivising suffix. In a semi-transitive clause the focus is on the action of the verb and the object is generic or indefinite.

(37) *Ta-tongo   pos.*
      1pi-light.on.fire   cigarette

      'Let's light cigarettes.'

(38) *Te-tal   singo.*
      3p-put   trap

      'They set traps.'

Note how the addition of the transitiviser in example (39) below causes the object to be interpreted as definite:

(39) a. *Mo-rech   ae.*
          1pe-cut   tree

          'We cut (some) wood.'

      b. *Mo-rech-ia   ae.*
          1pe-cut-TR   tree

          'We cut the wood.

Compare also (40) and (41):

(40) *O-hénonou   pér-im   ero.*
      2s-point   hand-2s   NEG

      'Do not judge.' (Lit. 'Do not point your hand.')

If a transitiviser is added to the above example it becomes a full transitive clause and the role of the object changes:

(41) *O-hénonou-a   pér-im   ero.*
     2s-point-TR   hand-2s NEG

     'Do not point to your hand.'

5.1.4 Transitive clauses

The transitive clause consists of a transitive verb (see §4.2.1), preceded by an optional subject and followed by an optional object. The basic word order in a transitive clause is SVO.

(42) *Iri   te-ngau-a   hur.*
     they 3p-eat-TR   banana

     'They ate the bananas.'

(43) *Kaone   te-saol-ia   paita.*
     dog   3p-meet-TR   coconut

     'The dogs came upon the coconut.'

(44) *E-tamal-ia.*
     1s-throw-TR

     'I threw it. / I threw (something) at it.' (The object can be the item that is thrown or the target of the throwing.)

(45) *O-la-ia   ae.*
     2s-go-TR   tree

     'You take the wood.'

(46) *O-tang-ia   utar?*
     2s-cry-TR   what

     'What are you crying about?'

(47) *Mute-na   tau-a   i.*
     love-3s   overtake-TR   3s

     'He really loves her.' (Lit. 'His love [for her] overtakes him.')

(48) *Jon piu-a   péle   mata-na lo.*
     J.   close-TR house eye-3s   COMP

     'Jon closed the door of the house.'

(49) *Jon pe Maria te-tu-ia   péle   nem.*
     J.   and M.   3p-stay-TR house that2

     'Jon and Maria are staying in that house.'

(50) *Athanasius   song-ia   kar   la   nge   Uvol.*
A.   run-TR   car   go   LOC:PN   U.

'Athanasius drove the car to Uvol.'

Since causative verbs are a subtype of transitive verbs, they can fill the verb slot of a transitive clause:

(51) *Te-hé-poreke-ia   ita.*
3s-CAUS-bad-TR   1pi

'They ruined/destroyed us.'

(52) *O-hé-milang-ia   éch.*
2s-CAUS-hot-TR   water

'You heat up the water.'

(53) *Pitte hé-muta-ia   éch   ki-na.*
rain   CAUS-full-TR   water   bone-3s

'The rain filled up the water tank.'

(54) *Marasin   hé-urana-ia   i.*
medicine   CAUS-good-TR   3s

'The medicine cured him.'

(55) *Hana   mur   te-hé-mes-ia   péle.*
men   PLUR   3p-CAUS-stand-TR   house

'The men built a house.'

(56) *Hé-maul-ia   non   nem.*
CAUS-live-TR   man   that2

'He raised the man to life.' (Lit. 'He made the man be alive.')

It is common for serial verbs to fill the verb slot of transitive clauses. The transitiviser is then suffixed to the last verb of the series (see also §5.4):

(57) *Te-pasu hot   tau-a   ruo.*
3p-swim go.out   get-TR   fish

'They swam out getting the fish.'

(58) *E-pal chach-ia   paita.*
1s-hit break-TR   coconut

'I split the coconut.'

5.2 The verb complex

So far the core of the verbal clause has been illustrated with simple or derived verbs. However, one of the special features of Lote is the presence of a large number of adverbs which form part of the clause core. These include manner and degree adverbs, some of which can combine with the transitivising suffix. These combinations of verb and adverb(s) function as a unit within the clause and for descriptive purposes will be called a **verb complex**. Evidence for the status of the verb complex as a linguistic unit comes from several sides. In the first place these adverbs always follow the verb immediately, while other adverbs (such as temporal or aspectual adverbs) tend to follow prepositional phrases. Some temporal adverbs may also occur clause-initially. Secondly, the transitivising suffix follows a number of these adverbs, showing them to be closely bound to the verb. Thirdly, the nominalising morpheme *-nga* takes both the verb and the adverb in its scope, as illustrated in §3.7. Alternative analyses are to view the verb complex as a case of verbal compounding, or as an instance of verb serialisation. We have not investigated these alternatives in detail, though we do recognise that Lote has verb serialisation (§5.5). For descriptive purposes, however, the analysis proposed here seems to be adequate.

5.2.1 Manner adverbs

The following manner adverbs can follow the verb in a verb complex. It is possible that these adverbs were originally full verbs, which became fixed as second-position verbs. As adverbs, they cannot take subject prefixes.

hulu	'destructively'
kome	'secretly, hidden'
kun	'at night'
leké	'off target'
lolo	'in sequence'
luluch	'together with'
poreke	'badly' (also stative verb 'bad')
rara	'randomly'
toroi	'attempt'
ué	'favorably'
urumé	'clearly, knowingly'

(59) *O-hele* <u>*urumé*</u> *nge*   *iri.*
2s-speak clearly LOC:PN 3p

'You explain to them.'

(60) *E-tu* <u>*luluch*</u> *nge*   *iri.*
1s-live together LOC:PN 3p

'I live with them.'

(61) *E-haka* <u>*toroi*</u>   *nga paita*   *ta-na.*
1s-climb attempt LOC coconut mother-3s

'I tried to climb the coconut tree.'

(62) *Héi*   *é*   *i*   <u>*lolo*</u>   <u>*rara*</u>   *nga miliko.*
woman one walk in.sequence random LOC night

'A woman walked around from place to place at night.

(63) *Mo-i*   <u>*kun*</u>   *mana.*
1pe-walk in.darkness only

'We just walked in the darkness.'

(64) *E-ngau* <u>*poreke*</u> *nanas.*
1s-eat   bad   pineapple

'I dislike pineapples.'

(65) *Melé* *é*   *mes* <u>*kome*</u> *nga péle*   *rume-na.*
person one stand hide LOC house back-3s

'Someone is standing and hiding at the back of the house.'

5.2.2 Degree adverbs

The following degree adverbs occur in verb complexes. In combination with verbs, degree adverbs often have idiosyncratic meanings, e.g. *nau toto* 'check' (lit. 'look very') and *hele toto* 'announce, report' (lit. 'speak very').

lochloch	'wholly'	*pule*	'also'
mana	'only'	*sakilil*	'excessive'
par	'partially'	*sapele*	'completely' (also a temporal adverb 'directly, immediately')
pol	'slightly'	*toto*	'very'

(66) *Pitte mol <u>sakilil</u>.*
     rain   fall   excessive

     'It rained excessively.'

(67) *Imot la <u>sapele</u>   nge   Madang.*
     ship go completely LOC:PN M.

     'The ship went all the way to Madang.'

(68) *E-nau   <u>toto</u> nga péle.*
     1s-look very LOC house

     'I checked on the house.'

(69) *Te-at   ero <u>mana</u> nike.*
     3p-come NEG only   beforehand

     'They never came in the first place.'

5.2.3 Adverbs with transitiviser

In this section we discuss the occurrence of the transitivising suffix on adverbs. When one or more adverbs occur between the verb and the object in transitive clauses, the transitivising suffix *-é* is suffixed to the (last) adverb. In this way the transitiviser always immediately precedes the object, if present. The following is a list of adverbs that may take the transitiviser *-é*. Root-final vowels are deleted when *-é* is suffixed.

adverb		with suffix -é
hit	'block, guard'	*hité*
hulu	'destructively'	*hulé*
kome	'secretly, hidden'	*komé*
lochloch	'all, wholly'	*lochloché*
luluch	'together with'	*luluché*
mule	'again'	*mulé*
ole	'go on to the next one'	*olé*
sapele	'immediately'	*sapelé*
tele	'across'	*telé*
toto	'very'	*toté*
ue	'favourably'	*ué*
urume	'knowingly'	*urumé*

The three adverbs below (all of which have have a double occurrence of the vowel *a*) undergo vowel deletion and vowel harmony when they take the transitiviser *-é*:

adverb		with suffix -é
ala	'protecting'	*élé*
mana	'only'	*méné*
rara	'around, randomly'	*réré*

The following examples, in which the verb complex is enclosed in brackets in the first few cases, illustrate these suffixed adverbs. Because the root and the suffix have merged to some degree in cases such as *mulé*, these are presented without hyphens and glossed as 'root:TR'.

(70) [*E-ngau* *mulé*]   *hur.*
     1s-eat   again:TR   banana
     'I'm eating banana again.'

(71) [*O-méné*   *lochloch-é.*]
     2s-get   all-TR
     'You get all of them.'

(72) *Adam* [*ngau* *ué*]   *mioka.*
     Adam   eat   favourably:TR   tapioca
     'Adam likes tapioca.'

(73) [*Te-longo*   *rara*   *sapelé*]   *i.*
     3p-listen   around   immediately:TR   3s
     'They immediately listened around for him.'

(74) *E-élé*   *telé*   *aka*   *nge*   *hot.*
     1s-drag   across:TR   canoe   LOC:PN   go.out
     'I dragged the canoe across (the reef) to the deep.'

(75) *Marasin*   *hé-urana*   *mulé*   *i.*
     medicine   CAUS-good   again:TR   3s
     'The medicine made him well again.'

(76) *Terisia*   *are*   *hit-é*   *stoa.*
     T.   sit   block-TR   store
     'Terisia is sitting and guarding the store.'

Reduplication of adverbs (see also §2.6 and §4.3) expresses repetition, habitual action or intensification. The following list presents some examples of adverbial reduplication:

man-mana	*mana*	'only'
mér-é\<ch\>re	*mére*	'how'(with epenthetic *ch*, see §2.6)
mul-mule	*mule*	'again'
sapel-pele	*sapele*	'completely'

(77) *Te-nanas   mul-mule.*
3p-follow   RED-again

'They kept following him repeatedly.'

(78) *Te-at   ero   man-mana.*
3p-come   NEG   RED-only

'They never come at all.'

(79) *Song   man-mana!*
run   RED-only

'Just keep running!'

(80) *Te-la   sapel-pele.*
3p-go   completely-RED

'They went all the way'

(81) *O-umé   péle   ke   mér-é\<ch\>re?*
2s-make   house   AC   how-EC-RED

'How are you making your house?' Or 'How do you make houses?'

5.3   Non-verbal clauses

Lote non-verbal clauses consist of two main constituents, the subject and the predicate. It is the juxtaposition of these two parts that expresses the proposition. There are two main types of non-verbal clauses, possessive and equative, which will be discussed in turn.

5.3.1 Possessive clauses

The possessive clause consists of a subject (the possessor), followed by a predicate (the possessed item). This clause makes a statement about the possessive relationship between the possessor constituent and the possessed constituent.

There are two types of possessive clauses: possessive clauses with alienable possession and possessive clauses with inalienable possession.

a. Alienably possessed clauses

The core elements of the alienably possessed clause are the possessor, followed by a possessive classifier (PC), followed by the possessed item.

The possessor slot, which functions as the subject of the clause, may be filled by an animate noun, a noun phrase, or a pronoun. The possessed item slot may be filled by a simple common noun or noun phrase. The possessive classifier along with the optional possessed item(s) make up the predicate. Other peripheral elements such as adverbials, negative, deictics may also occur as part of the predicate.

There are two sets of possessive classifiers. The choice is governed by the class of the possessed item, edible or inedible, as explained in §3.6. The possessive suffix on the classifier must agree in person and number with the possessor. In the following examples the subject and predicate are marked off by brackets. Note that even though the English translations in the examples below include forms of the verb 'have', there actually is no corresponding verb in Lote.

(82) [*Jon*]^S [*ne-na   kakop*].^{P}
J.   PC-3s   knife

'Jon has a knife.' (Lit. 'Jon [has] his knife.')

(83) [*Pius   pe   Peter*]^S [*a-ria   loi*].^{P}
P.   and P.   PCF-3p taro

'Pius and Peter have taro (to eat).' (Lit. 'Pius and Peter [have] their taro.')

(84) [*Jon*]^S [*ne-na   kakop   palau-ngana*].^{P}
Jon   PC-3s   knife   big-DESC

'Jon has a big knife.' (Lit. 'Jon [has] his big knife.')

Possessive clauses are identical in structure to possessive phrases (see §3.6). This means that example (82) may also mean 'Jon's knife'. Whether such structures are interpreted as clauses or as phrases depends on context and intonation.

When it is understood from the context, the possessed item may be left out of a possessive clause:

(85) *A-na   lo.*
    PCF-3s   COMP

'He already has his (to eat)'. (That is, he has already received some food).

(86) *Re-ria   ero   kura.*
    PC-3p   NEG   INCOMP

'They don't have theirs yet.'

b. Inalienably possessed clauses

The core elements of an inalienably possessed clause are the subject (the possessor) followed by the predicate (the possessed). The optional possessor slot may be filled by a noun or noun phrase. The possessed slot is filled by an inalienably possessed noun or noun phrase, in which the possessive suffixes are directly attached to the noun.

(87) *Hana   nem   mur   kiki-ria.*
    men   that2   PLUR   muscle-3p

'Those men are strong.' (Lit. 'Those men [have] their muscle.')

(88) *Pusi   nei   rama-na.*
    cat   this   head-3s

'This cat is smart.' (Lit. 'This cat [has] its head.')

(89) *Imo   talnga-mo?*
    2p   ear-2p

'Are you listening?' (Lit. 'You [have] your ear[s]?')

(90) *Héi   nem   sa-na.*
    woman   that2   stomach-3s

'That woman is pregnant.' (lit. That woman [has] her stomach.)

(91) *Lete-k   mata-na.*
    inside-1s   eye-3s

'I am thinking.' (Lit. 'My inside [has] its eye[s].')

(92) *Kakop   nem   mata-na.*
    knife   that2   eye-3s

'That knife is sharp.' (Lit. 'That knife [has] its eye/edge.')

The inalienably possessed noun *naku-* 'appearance' also means 'ability'. It is followed by the preposition *nge*, resulting in the following inalienably possessed clauses:

(93) *Alois naku-na   nge   poi-a.*
      A.   ability-3s LOC:PN do-TR

      'Alois is able to do it.'

(94) *Naku-ria ero nge   haka   paita.*
      ability-3p NEG LOC:PN ascend coconut

      'They are not able to climb the coconut tree.'

Other inalienably possessed nouns referring to mental processes may also fill the subject slot:

(95) *Mute-k   iong.*
      love-1s 2s

      'I love you.' (Lit. 'My love [is] you.')

(96) *Lémé-k   hur.*
      desire-1s banana

      'I want a banana.' (Lit. 'My desire [is a] banana.')

An interesting exception occurs with the word *lémé-* 'desire' when it is used in the third person singular. Instead of occurring as the subject of an equative clause, it takes on the transitive suffix *-é* to become part of a transitive clause:

(97) *Jon lémé-né   tou.*
      Jon desire-3s:TR sugar.cane

      'Jon wants sugar cane.'

5.3.2 Equative clauses

This type of clause equates one noun or noun phrase with another noun or noun phrase by juxtaposing them together with no intervening verb. The given or known element is the subject and the other element (to which it is being equated) is the predicate. There are two types of equative clauses: equative clauses where the subject precedes the predicate, and equative clauses where the subject follows the predicate.

a. Equative clause with subject preceding the predicate

With this type of clause the first element (the subject) is identified as being the second element (the predicate). The subject consists of a topicalised subject followed

by a resumptive pronoun which is then followed by the predicate. The resumptive pronoun agrees in number and person with the topicalised subject. It is unclear at this point whether the pronoun belongs to the subject, to the predicate or to neither.

A minimal equative clause may consist of just the subject pronoun and the predicate:

(98) *I   atuong.*
3s orphan
'He is an orphan.'

(99) *Iri kémé-ngé   mur.*
3p steal-NOM   PLUR
'They are thieves.'

(100) *Iri Lote.*
3p L.
'They are Lote people.'

(101) *Imém dokta   mur.*
1pe   doctor   PLUR
'We are doctors.'

Examples of equative clauses with nominal subject and resumptive pronouns:

(102) *Tupo i   kaone.*
T.   3s dog
'Tupo is a dog.'

(103) *Matthew pe   Anton iri tisa.*
M.   and A.   3p teacher
'Matthew and Anton are teachers.'

(104) *Greg pe   Maria iri Lote.*
G.   and M.   3p L.
'Greg and Maria are Lote people.'

(105) *Iong pe   iau ita hana.*
2s   and 1s   1pi men
'You and I are men.'

(106) *Iong pe Maria imo héi pa-palau-na.*
2s and M. 2p woman RED-big-DESC

'You and Maria are important women.'

(107) *Iau pe Leo imém translator mur.*
1s and L. 1pe translator PLUR

'Leo and I are translators.'

A number or quantifiers may fill the predicate slot to state the quantity of the subject. For plural subjects, a resumptive pronoun is required, as in (108) - (112). Singular subjects, however, do not take any pronoun, as in (113). Notice that these equative clauses are often translatable as existential clauses.

(108) *Hé-héi iri limé.*
RED-woman 3p five

'There are five women.'

(109) *Kakop iri mol.*
knife 3p three

'There are three knives.'

(110) *A-m loi iri nai.*
PCF-2s taro 3p two

'You have two taro (to eat).'

(111) *Um tu-tu-na iri analoch.*
stone RED-child-3s 3p ten

'There are ten small stones.'

(112) *Itoch mur iri halang toto.*
star PLUR 3p many very

'There are very many stars.'

(113) *Héi éllé.*
woman one

'There is one woman.'

The negator *ero* may fill the predicate slot to indicate that something does not exist:

(114) *Ae   ero.*
    tree   NEG

    'There is no wood.'

(115) *Aina nemur iri ero.*
    child that2:PLUR 3p NEG

    'Those children are not there.'

In equative clauses, the word *laka* seems to act as an adverb to affirm the identification of the predicate with the subject. Its exact meaning and usage needs to be investigated in more detail.

(116) *Pe   a-na   sik   laka ae   pumpu.*
    and PCF-3s stick AFF   tree k.o.tree

    'And his stick (for carrying a pig) was *pumpu* wood.'

(117) *É-né   laka Teru.*
    name-3s AFF   T.

    'His name is Teru.'

(118) *Pe   a-na   rur   laka rur   tochto.*
    and PCF-3s vine AFF   vine k.o.vine

    'And his vine was a *tochto* vine.'

b. Equative clauses with subject following the predicate

With this type of clause the first element (the predicate) is equated with the second element (the subject). This is a departure from the normal clause constituent order in which the subject precedes the predicate. It possibly represents some kind of a marked equative clause construction, as the subject is often a demonstrative or a deictic word. However, the reason for it being marked as such is not clear.

(119) [*Friday*]P [*héuéu.*]S
    Friday   today

    'Today is Friday.'

(120) [*Jon ne-na kakop*]P [*koi.*]S
    Jon PC-3s knife   here

    'This is Jon's knife.'

(121) [*Le-m   kaone*]^P [*kai?*]^S
PC-2s   dog   here.Q

'Is this your dog?'

Equative clauses are also used to express kinship relationships. The kinship noun phrase expressed in the predicate is the same as the person or pronoun expressed in the subject.

(122) [*Maichel   tu-na*]^P   [*Max.*]^S
M.   child-3s   M.

'Max is Maichel's child.'

(123) [*Iong   ta-m*]^P   [*iau.*]^S
2s   mother-2s   1s

'I am your mother.'

(124) [*Iau ti-k*]^P   [*iong.*]^S
1s   same.sex.sibling-1s   2s

'You are my brother (for male ego).' Or: 'You are my sister (for female ego).'

(125) [*Adam   pe   Jeremy   témé-ria*]^P [*Greg.*]^S
A.   and   J.   father-3p   G.

'Greg is Adam and Jeremy's father.'

5.4   Clause periphery

This section discusses several elements that give additional information to the clause core. This includes prepositional phrases (§5.4.1), oblique arguments with *ia* (§5.4.2) and adverbs.

Adverbs are an open class of words that modify the verb in some way. They may modify the manner, degree, time, direction, location, intensity or aspect of the verb. Lote is very rich in adverbs and several subclasses can be distinguished. These include manner adverbs and degree adverbs, discussed as part of the verb complex (§5.2), temporal adverbs (§5.4.3) and aspectual adverbs (§5.4.4). Locative adverbs are dealt with in chapter 6. In addition, there are adverbial phrases (§5.4.5), as well as the irrealis marker *lape* (§5.4.6).

5.4.1 Prepositional phrases

The primary function of prepositional phrases is to indicate the location, goal or time of the predication. The preposition *nga* is used when the object of the prepositional phrase is a common noun. The preposition *nge* is used when the object of the prepositional phrase is a personal noun or pronoun (see also §3.2.1). The following examples illustrate locative prepositional phrases; these normally occur in clause-final position.

(126) *Tango   ae   nga péle.*
search tree LOC house

'He looked for wood in the house.'

(127) *Hana   nai   te-ma   nga Leo ne-na   péle.*
men   two 3p-sleep LOC L.   PC-3s house

'Two men are sleeping in Leo's house.'

(128) *Mo-la   nga umé.*
1pe-go LOC garden

'We are going to the garden.'

(129) *Tal su-é   iri nga kileng nem.*
put descend-TR 3p LOC place   that2

'He put them down at that place.'

(130) *Non é   ote   nga aka.*
man one paddle LOC canoe

'A man paddled in a canoe.'

(131) *Non é   méte nge   Uvol.*
man one die   LOC:PN U.

'A man died in Uvol.'

(132) *O-hele   nge   iri.*
2s-speak LOC:PN 3p

'Speak to them.'

(133) *Tisa   uru-ria   at   nga balus   lo.*
teacher wage-3p come LOC airplane COMP

'The teachers' wages have come on the airplane.'

(134) *Te-mén-é   ngau-nga   at   nge   ti-ti-ria   mur.*
      3p-get-TR eat-NOM   come LOC:PN RED-same.sex.sibling-3p PLUR

      'They brought the food to their brothers.'

(135) *Titus hékul-é alalaha la   nge   né   héi*
      T.   send-TR letter   go   LOC:PN 3s:PC woman

      'Titus sent the letter to his wife.'

Because *nga* is very unspecific as a locative preposition, locative nouns can be added to further specify the direction or location of the referent. These locative nouns are inalienably possessed (see §3.6.1), as shown in the following examples:

(136) a. *E-talu-é   nga   péle   lete-na.*
         1s-put-TR LOC house inside-3s

         'I put it inside the house.'

      b. *E-talu-é   nga   péle   ili-na.*
         1s-put-TR LOC house side-3s

         'I put it beside the house.'

      c. *E-talu-é   nga   péle   rama-na.*
         1s-put-TR LOC house head/front-3s

         'I put it in front of the house.'

      d. *E-talu-é   nga   péle   é-né.*
         1s-put-TR LOC house bottom-3s

         'I put it under the house.'

      e. *E-talu-é   nga   péle   o-na.*
         1s-put-TR LOC house top-3s

         'I put it on top of the house.'

The preposition *nge* is also used preceding the directional word *sio* 'down' (also a verb meaning 'descend') and the question word *ngae* 'where'. With *lut* 'up', however, the preposition is *nga*.

(137) *Te-la   nge   sio.*
      3p-go LOC:PN down

      'They went down below.'

(138) *Teru la nge ngae?*
     T.   go LOC:PN where

     'Where did Teru go?'

(139) *E-i nga lut, o-i nge sio.*
     1s-walk LOC up 2s-walk LOC:PN down

     'I walked on top, you walked down below.'

Prepositional phrases with *nga* are also used to indicate time. They may occur either before or after the main clause. Notice that (141) contains a double prepositional phrase, and that before *nike* 'beforehand' the form *nge* is used in (144) and (145).

(140) *Nga uach, témé-né tango réré i.*
     LOC morning father-3s look around:TR 3s

     'In the morning, his father looked around for him.'

(141) *Nga uach nga Tunde e-la nga mimio.*
     LOC morning LOC Tuesday 1s-go LOC island

     'I went to the island on Tuesday morning.'

(142) *Nga étué é hana nai te-song kaone.*
     LOC time one men two 3p-run dog

     'One day two men went hunting.'

(143) *Ana non héon kou nga uach nike.*
     TOP man hang there LOC morning beforehand

     'The man had been hanging there since morning.'

(144) *Nge nike toto, téio tu-tua ero-<ch>ro.*
     LOC:PN beforehand very moon RED-shine NEG-EC-RED

     'Long long ago, the moon never shone.'

(145) *Nge nike toto hana pa-palauna mur te-hele-leia.*
     LOC:PN beforehand very man RED-big PLUR 3p-speak-REDOBL

     'From long ago the big men talked about it.'

There are also a few examples of *nga* introducing an instrument phrase:

(146) …*ruo nge tu-é   <u>nga kalingo</u>.*
     fish COMP shoot-TR LOC spear

'… the fish that he had speared.' (Lit. 'The fish that he had shot with the spear.')

(147) *E-tel-é   ae   <u>nga sélémpo</u>.*
     1s-chop-TR tree LOC axe

'I chopped the tree with an axe.'

The use of *nga* introducing an instrument implies that the action was done intentionally. Unintentional actions involving instruments code it as the agent:

(148) *Kakop lik-ia iau.*
     knife cut-TR 1s

'I cut myself with a knife.' (Lit. 'A knife cut me.')

A final usage of *nga* is theme:

(149) *Poponing nei nga iu.*
     story   this LOC flute

'This is a story about a flute.'

(150) *E-iéch   nga a-k   ruo palau-ngana*
     1s-happy LOC PCF-1s fish big-DESC

'I was happy about my big fish.'

5.4.2 Oblique arguments with *ia*

An extra argument can be added to almost any clause type by means of the oblique preposition *ia*. This extra argument never functions as a subject or a direct object, but as an oblique object, covering a variety of semantic roles, including instrument, comitative, goal, reason and - in certain cases - location. It appears likely that this *ia* is historically related to the transitivising suffix *-ia*. Synchronically, however, it clearly functions as a preposition, since it often does not follow a verb, as in (151) - (153).

In the following transitive clauses *ia* introduces a third noun phrase which functions as an instrument:

(151) *Hé-nonou iong <u>ia</u> hele-nga   nem.*
     CAUS-show 2s   OBL speak-NOM that2

'He guides you with that speech.'

(152) *Hé-rir-é   nétté   héi   ia   kulum.*
CAUS-chew.betelnut-TR   grandparent   female   OBL   lime.powder

'He had grandmother chew the betelnut with lime powder.'

(153) *E-hé-ngau-a   tu-k   ia   loi.*
1s-CAUS-eat-TR   child-1s   OBL   taro

'I am feeding my child taro.'

In the following clause *ia* specifies the recipients of the 'asking'. Since the verb is reciprocal, this appears redundant, but the language allows for this extra oblique argument through the use of *ia*:

(154) *Te-ontei-hél   ia   iri.*
3p-ask-REC   OBL   3p

'They asked questions to each other.'

In the following inalienably possessed clauses (see §5.3.1) the predicate is introduced by *ia*. This appears to be especially common with the word *lete-* 'inside'. Without *ia* the clause is ungrammatical.

(155) a. *Lete-k   ia   iong.*
inside-1s   obl   2s

'I think of you; I feel sorry for you.'

       b. **Lete-k iong.*
inside-1s   2s

(156) *Lete-ria   ia   ta-ria.*
inside-3p   OBL   mother-3p

'They missed their mother.'

(157) *Non   Palau-ngana   lete-na   poreke   ia   ita.*
man   big-DESC   inside-3s   bad   OBL   1pi

'God felt sorry for us.' (Lit. 'The inside of the Big Man [was] bad towards us.')

A similar case is found in the following two examples, where *ia* introduces an extra argument following a possessive clause:

(158) *Martina   sa-na   ia   tu-na   nge   Rabaul.*
M.   stomach-3s   OBL   child-3s   LOC:PN   R.

'Martina conceived her child in Rabaul.'

(159) *Ta-na   sa-na   <u>ia</u> i nge   Uvol nike.*
mother-3s stomach-3s OBL 3s LOC:PN U.   beforehand

'The mother was already pregnant with him/her while still in Uvol.'

In the following two examples *ia* does not introduce an oblique object, but acts as a pronominal copy of a fronted or relativised oblique constituent. In (160) this is a fronted instrument, in (161) a fronted location, in (162) a relativised locative (see also §8.4). The last two examples are especially interesting in that locatives are normally introduced by *nga* or *nge*.

(160) *Ae   nem, a-poi-a   aka   <u>ia</u>.*
tree that2 2p-make-TR canoe OBL

'You make canoes with that tree.' (Lit. 'That wood/tree, you make canoes with it.')

(161) *Pe nga ae hu-na   ié-né   are <u>ia</u> lo.*
and LOC tree base-3s brother.in.law-3s sit OBL COMP

'And it was on that tree stump that his brother-in-law was already sitting.'

(162) *Te-la nga péle   nenge te-talu-é   kié <u>ia</u>.*
3p-go to   house REL   3p-put-TR pig OBL

'They went to the house that they put the pig in.'

In the following examples *ia* functions similarly, in that it must be interpreted as an oblique. In these cases we are dealing with complex sentences and *ia* refers back to a constituent in a previous clause. It is not followed by a noun phrase, but rather functions as an oblique pronoun. In such cases *ia* is translatable as 'with it', 'because of it', 'about it' etc., depending on its semantic role.

In (163), for example, *ia* has a comitative reading ('with them') as it refers back to the noun phrase *iri* 'them' (referring to some mushrooms), following the intransitive verb *aka* 'ascend'.

(163) *Pip-ia   iri ke hét pe aka   luluch   <u>ia</u>*
compress-TR 3p AC done and ascend together OBL

la nga ae   sase-ngana moko-na nga lut toto.
go LOC tree long-DESC top-3s   LOC up very

'After she compressed them, she climbed up with them up to the highest point of a tall tree.'

In (164) *ia* refers to a reason and is best translated 'because of it'. The reason itself is given in the whole preceding clause.

(164) *Te-are   nga   kileng nem   pe tuélé palau-ngana ia   ol.*
       3p-sit   LOC   place   that2 and village big-DESC   OBL now

       'They stayed in that place and it became a big village because of it.'

In (165) *ia* follows an intransitive verb and refers to the coconut, the object of the dogs' struggle:

(165) *Iok,   tokoninga at   sapele   longo rus-ia*
       alright owner   come   immediately hear   recognise-TR

       te-pur-él-él   ia.
       3p-struggle-REC-RED   OBL

       'Alright, the owner immediately came and heard the struggle they (= the dogs) were having with each other over it (= the coconut).'

In (166) and (167) *ia* refers back to the tree, which in both cases functions as the locative in the relative clause:

(166) *….ae ta-na   nenge i haka   ia   neu.*
       tree mother-3s   REL   3s ascend OBL that3

       '… the tree (trunk) that he had climbed.'

(167) *Te-lohot   mule nga ae hu-na   nenge iri nai*
       3p-come.out   back LOC tree trunk-3s   REL   3p two

       te-kananem   ia...
       3p-what's.that.called OBL

       'They returned to the tree trunk where the two of them had eh…'

Example (168) is complex. *Ia* refers to the various food items, but since *iau* 'I' functions as the object, it can only be interpreted in a comitative sense:

(168) *...kié pe   loi pe   hur   pe   tou   mur,*
        pig   and taro and banana and sugarcane PLUR

       nge   ti-ti-ra   mur te-tau   hot   iau ia.
       COMP RED-same.sex.sibling-1pi   PLUR 3p-bring go.out 1s   OBL

       '… the pigs, taro, bananas and sugarcane that our brothers brought out along with me.'

Finally, *ia* also introduces arguments in nominalisations with *-nga*$_2$ (see §3.7). In these cases, the following argument is not oblique but rather the semantic patient. The

following pairs show the contrast between a simple clause in (a), and the nominalisation with -*nga*₂ in (b).

(169) a. *E-tal   sué   sélémpo nga hété.*
      1s-put down:TR axe   LOC bed

      'I put the axe down on the bed.'

    b. *E-tal   sio-nga₂-k   <u>ia</u>   sélémpo nga hété.*
      1s-put down-NOM-1s   OBL axe   LOC bed

      'The place where I put the axe down is (on) the bed.'

(170) a. *O-hele   urumé   nge iri.*
      2s-speak clear:TR loc:PN 3p

      'You explained it to them.'

    b. *O-hele   urume-nga₂-m <u>ia</u>   urana.*
      2s-speak clear-NOM-2s   OBL good

      'The way you explained it is good.'

    c. *Tisa   hele   urume-nga₂-na <u>ia</u>   urana toto.*
      teacher speak clear-NOM-3s   OBL good   very

      'The way the teacher explained it was very good.'

(171) a. *E-ra   héké   a-k   kalingo.*
      1s-hold ascend:TR PCF-1s   spear

      'I picked up my spear.'

    b. *E-ra   haka-nga₂-k   <u>ia</u>   a-k   kalingo...*
      1s-hold ascend-NOM-1s OBL PCF-2s   spear

      'The place where I picked up my spear... ' / 'The way in which I picked up my spear...'

Notice that transitive morphology is removed from the nominalised verbs in the (b) examples. In (171a), for example, the transitivising suffix -*é* has merged with *haka* 'ascend' as *héké*. When the verb is nominalised with -*nga*₂, as in (171b), the transitiviser is absent and the patient is introduced by means of the preposition *ia*.

5.4.3 Temporal adverbs

The following list gives the most common temporal adverbs:

    héuéu   'today'

mala	'long time'
miliko	'at night'
mukam	'previous to, first'
ngelona	'yesterday'
ngerou	'tomorrow'
nike	'beforehand'
ol	'now'
pule	'also, again' (also puleu following directional mau)
sapele	'immediately' (also a degree adverb 'completely')
tala	'first'
tangai	'prematurely, before the proper time'
ulei	'in the afternoon'

Illustrated in simple clauses:

(172) *Mo-umé   miliko.*
1pe-work   night
'We worked in the night.'

(173) *Non nem   méte   tangai.*
man that2 die   prematurely
'That man died prematurely.'

(174) *A-ngau mukam.*
2p-eat   previous
'You eat first.'

(175) *E-sio   at   sapele.*
1s-descend   come   immediately
'I immediately came down.'

(176) *O-ngau   ol.*
2s-eat   now
'You eat now.'

(177) *Ulei   pe   la ke nun.*
afternoon   and go AC bathe
'In the afternoon he went to bathe.'

5.4.4 Aspectual adverbs

There are two aspectual adverbs which occur at the very end of the clause:

> *kura* 'still' (incompleted action)
>
> *lo* 'already' (completed action, resultant state)

(178) *Te-teu   la-la   <u>kura</u>.*
        3p-go.in go-RED INCOMP
        'They were still going inside.'

(179) *Te-at   ero <u>kura</u>.*
        3p-come NEG INCOMP
        'They still have not arrived.'

(180) *Mo-la   nge   Uvol <u>kura</u>.*
        1pe-go LOC:PN U.   INCOMP
        'We will go to Uvol (sometime).'

(181) *Te-la <u>lo</u>.*
        3p-go COMP
        'They have left'

(182) *Te-umé-ia   péle   <u>lo</u>.*
        3p-make-TR house COMP
        'They already made the house.'

(183) *Éch   ki-na   muta <u>lo</u>.*
        water bone-3s full COMP
        'The water tank is full.'

The combination of the completive adverb *lo* and verbal reduplication gives the sense that the process or action is imminent or about to start:

(184) a. *Miliko si-sio.*
            night   RED-descend
            'Night is falling. It is getting dark.'

       b. *Miliko sio   lo.*
            night   descend COMP
            'Night has fallen. It is dark.'

    c.   *Miliko si-sio   lo.*
          night   RED-descend COMP

          'Night is about to fall. It will soon get dark.'

(185) a.   *E-la-la.*
          1s-RED-go

          'I am going.'

    b.   *E-la   lo*
          1s-go   COMP

          'I have gone.'

    c.   *E-la-la   lo*
          1s-RED-go COMP

          'I am about to go.'

(186) a.   *E-la   mul-mule.*
          1s-go RED-back

          'I am going back.'

    b.   *E-la   mul-mule lo.*
          1s-go RED-back COMP

          'I am starting to go back.'

5.4.5 Adverbial phrases with *ke*

The adverbial conjunction *ke* (glossed as AC) is used to conjoin manner adverbs, temporal adverbs and stative verbs to the predicate. The resulting constructions appear to be adverbial phrases, though it can possibly be argued that they constitute a special type of coordinated clause (see §8.2). These adverbial phrases modify the predicate in two ways.

a. Stative verbs and manner adverbs are used to indicate manner:

(187) *Mo-mamani <u>ke nék   toto</u>.*
      1pe-sleep   AC well very

      'We slept very well.'

(188) *Moto   song <u>ke ueiuei</u>.*
      motor.boat run   AC quick

      'The motor boat goes fast.'

(189) *E-long-é   iong ke mallaha.*
1s-hear-TR   2s   AC   clearly
'I hear you clearly.'

(190) *E-song   ke   pomau.*
1s-run   AC   like.that3
'I ran like that.'

b. The stative verb *hét* 'done, finished' and temporal adverbs convey aspect and temporal extent:

(191) *Iri te-umé   ke   hét   lo.*
3p   3p-work   AC   done   COMP
'They have finished working.'

(192) *Te-tu   ke   mala   pol-pol.*
3p-live   AC   long.time   fairly-RED
'They stayed for a fairly long time.'

5.4.6 Irrealis *lape*

The irrealis word *lape* occurs pre-verbally, either before or after the subject in verbal clauses. Because of its unique position within the clause, this word is not analysed as an adverb. The addition of the irrealis word *lape* modifies the clause so that the event or state becomes either hypothetical or potential in mood.

(193) *Lape pitte mol nga ulei.*
IRR   rain   fall   LOC   afternoon
'Maybe it will rain in the afternoon.'

(194) *Lape Lukas mén-é é-ria   lo.*
IRR   L.   get-TR   name-3p   COMP
'Lukas should/must have already gotten their names.' (Speaker is not sure)

(195) *O-i   ke   nék, lape o-losio.*
2s-walk   AC   well   IRR   2s-fall
'Walk carefully, you might fall.'

In other contexts it indicates a suggestion made by the speaker:

(196) *Solong pe Simon lape iri nai lape te-la nga héngétoro nem.*
S.　　　and S.　　IRR　3p　two　IRR　3p-go　LOC　school　　that2

'I suggest Solong and Simon go to that course.'

(197) *Lape ita nai ta-i　　ta-i　　pau.*
IRR　　1pi　two　1pi-walk　1pi-walk　EXTENT3

'How about if the two of us walk all the way over there?'

Irrealis *lape* is often used to indicate simple future tense:

(198) *Peter lape la nge　　Kokopo ngerou.*
P.　　IRR　go　LOC:PN　K.　　　tomorrow

'Peter will go to Kokopo tomorrow.'

5.5　Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs are two or three verbs strung together in a series. Only the first verb carries the subject prefix while the other verb(s) serve to modify the initial verb in some way. Verb serialisation has three main functions: it expresses manner, specifies direction, or increases valency. There are five main types of serial verb constructions based on the kinds of verbs used in these sequences.

a. Intransitive + intransitive (direction)

This type of serial verb involves intransitive verbs only. Its main function is to specify direction. The second verb (and sometimes a third) gives the direction which the action of the first verb takes. There are three pairs of these directional verbs: *la* 'go' and *at* 'come; *haka* 'ascend' and *sio* 'descend', and *teu* 'go in, enter' and *hot* 'go out.' These directional verbs are found as main verbs in intransitive clauses (see §5.1.2), but here they function in serial verb constructions.

(199) *O-nun　　teu　　nga éch.*
2s-bathe　go.in　LOC　water

'You submerge into the water.'

(200) *Te-nau　　hot　　la　nga ruach.*
3p-look　go.out　go　LOC　ocean

'They looked out over the ocean.'

(201) *Chompis i　　hot　　la nga kue　mata-na.*
C.　　　walk　go.out　go　LOC　road　eye-3s

'Chompis walked out to the road junction.'

(202) *Ta-ote   sio   at.*
1pi-paddle   descend   come
'We paddled back down.'

(203) *Te-mana   haka   nga   ruach   sa-na.*
3p-float   ascend   LOC   ocean   stomach-3s
'They floated on the surface of the ocean.'

(204) *O-are   sio   nga   ich.*
2s-sit   descend   LOC   ground
'You sit down on the ground.'

(205) *O-tung-é   la   nge   iri!*
2s-give-TR   go   LOC:PN   3p
'Give it to them!'

b. Intransitive + transitive (manner, purpose)

With this type of construction an initial intransitive verb (often directional or positional) is followed by a transitive verb. The transitive verb can express the manner in which the subject is carrying out the action of the intransitive verb, but the second verb may also express the purpose of the first. This seems to be particularly common with the second verb *tau-a* 'get'.

(206) *Ta-la   tau-a   ta-mém.*
1pi-go   get-TR   mother-1pe
'Let us go to get our mother.'

(207) *O-la   tau-a   le-k   popo.*
2s-go   get-TR   PC-1s   butterfly.
'Go get a butterfly for me.'

(208) *O-pasu   hot   tau-a   ruo!*
2s-swim   go.out   get-TR   fish
'Swim out to get fish!'

(209) *O-mes   kulél-é   iau.*
2s-stand   wait-TR   1s
'You stand and wait for me.'

c. Semi-transitive + intransitive (direction)

With this type of serial verb a semi-transitive verb is followed by a directional intransitive verb, to which the transitivising suffix is added. The addition of the transitiviser affects the forms of these intransitive verbs. Some of the most common forms are as follows:

intransitive verb		with transitivising suffix
haka	'ascend'	*héké*
hot	'go out'	*hoté*
sio	'descend'	*sué*
teu	'go in'	*teua*

The directional verb indicates the direction of the object, as in (210) and (211), or a movement implicit in the first verb, as with pointing in (213) and speaking in (215).

(210) *Ra   héké   a-na   kalingo.*
hold   ascend:TR   PCF-3s   spear

'He picked up his spear.'

(211) *O-tal   teu-a   nga péle!*
2s-put   go.in-TR   LOC   house

'Put it inside the house!'

(212) *Non palau-ngana tamal hot-é   iri.*
man   big-DESC   throw   go.out-TR   3p

'The big man threw them out.'

(213) *Te-hénonou   hot-é   ita.*
3p-point   go.out-TR   1pi

'They pointed us out.'

(214) *Ruben tal sué   sélémpo nga hété.*
R.   put   descend:TR   axe   LOC   bed

'Ruben put the axe down on the bed.'

(215) *Hele   sué   la nge   tu-tu-na   mur lo.*
speak   descend:TR   go   LOC:PN   RED-child-3s   PLUR   COMP

'He had already told it to his children.'

d. Semi-transitive + transitive

The second verb further describes the initial verb, giving for instance the result or the circumstances of the action:

(216) *Pita pal hun-é   kié.*
P.   hit   kill-TR pig

'Pita killed the pig.'

(217) *Jon   tua   lek-é   ape-na.*
J.   stab   miss-TR   leg-3s

'Jon accidentally stabbed his leg (with a planting stick).'

(218) *Kaone   te-pur   tau-a   paita.*
dog   3p-struggle   get-TR   coconut

'The dogs won the struggle with the coconut.'

(219) *E-kolkol   tau-a   iong.*
1s-not.see   get-TR   2s

'I did not see you at all.'

(220) *O-pal   chach-ia   paita   nga   um.*
2s-hit   break-TR   coconut   LOC   rock

'Crack the coconut on the rock.'

(221) *Toto   chach   toté   ruo   makan-na.*
cut   break   very:TR   fish   innards-3s

'He completely punctured through the fish's innards.'

e. Stative

A serial verb construction that has a stative verb as one of its elements is used to further describe actions or states. The stative verb occurs as the initial verb of the construction.

(222) *Kulum   makuk   leilei.*
lime.powder   soft   flow

'The lime powder is soft and powdery.'

(223) *Éch   soso   tau-a   imém   nge   Maso.*
gas   dry   get-TR   1pe   LOC:PN   M.

'We ran out of gas in Maso.' (Lit. 'Gas [was] dry getting us...')

(224) *Aka   poreke tau-a   iau nga kue.*
      car   bad   get-TR 1s   LOC road

      'The car broke down on us on the road.'

Some stative verbs can also follow other verbs, but in that case they are better analysed as manner adverbs (see §5.2.1):

(225) *Te-pal poreke tot-é   non nem.*
      3p-hit   bad   very-TR   man that2

      'They hit that man very badly.'

We end this section with two unusual examples of verb serialisation. One case has been found in which the adverb *toto* is inserted between the two verbs of a serial verb construction. It is suspected that other examples like this also occur:

(226) *Song toto haka   sapele   la nga ruach ili-na   nga peipei.*
      ran   very ascend immediately go LOC ocean edge-3s LOC sand

      'It (a fish) immediately ran all the way up to the edge of the ocean, and on the sand.'

Another serial verb construction has a reciprocal verb as its final verb. This does not seem to fit in any of the above categories.

(227) *Te-kum   nana-hél man-mana.*
      3p-chase   talk-REC RED-only

      'They just kept on discussing among themselves.'

6. *Spatial deixis*

6.1 Introduction

The topic of deixis is relatively complex in Lote, and the information presented in this chapter is a preliminary analysis. Some examples have been pulled from texts, but much of this chapter is the result of elicitation. Many of the finer details of the usage of the various forms have not been investigated in any depth.

Table 6.1 presents all the spatial deictic forms in the language, together with the manner adverbs (in column 8), since they are formally related.

TABLE 6.1 DEICTIC FORMS

	1 DEMON-STRATIVE	**2** DIREC-TIONAL	**3** INTER-ROGATIVE	**4** LOCA-TIVE	**5** EXTEN-SIONAL	**6** ALLA-TIVE	**7** ALLA-TIVE	**8** MANNER
root	*ne*	*ma*	**ka*	**ko*	*pa*	*la*	**lama*	**poma*
1	*nei*	*mai*	*kai*	*koi* *i*	*pai*	*lakoi* *lai*	*lamai*	*pomai*
2	*nem*	*mam*	*kau*	*kau*	*pam*	*la*	*lamam*	*pomam*
3	*neu*	*mau*	*kou* *kau*	*kou*	*pau*	*lakou* *lakau*	*lamau*	*pomau*

The basic organisation of the deictic words follows a person-oriented system. The words in the row marked 1 (*nei*, *mai*, *kai* etc.) refer to a location near the speaker. The row marked 2 refers to location near the addressee, while the row marked 3 refers to location away from speaker and addressee. Even though there are a number of exceptions to these statements, this seems to be the general organising principle.

In addition to their spatial usage, several of these deictic words also have temporal or pragmatic meanings. Labels such as 'directional' therefore do not always cover the total meaning these words can have.

Although the elements *-i*, *-m* and *-u* can easily be recognised in these forms, we have decided to treat the words as units for the purposes of glossing. We simply employ the convention 'that2' and 'there3' to mark the difference between second and third person deixis. Some of the roots can occur on their own, especially *pa* and *la*, but we have not researched this any further.

6.2   Demonstratives *nei, nem, neu*

The demonstratives *nei*, *nem* and *neu* function in three ways. Firstly, they indicate the general location of a referent in relation to the speaker and addressee. Secondly, they function as temporal adverbs; and thirdly as anaphoric markers in discourse.

1. When demonstratives point to a referent **locationally**, they indicate how the referent is physically located in relation to the speaker and addressee. Semantically, the system is parallel to first, second and third person pronouns.

(1)   a.   *le-k   pen   nei*
           PC-1s   pen   this

           'this pen of mine'

      b.   *le-m   pen   nem*
           PC-2s   pen   that2

           'that pen of yours'

      c.   *ne-na   pen   neu*
           PC-3s   pen   that3

           'that pen of his/hers'

The proximal demonstrative *nei* is used when the referent is in close proximity to the speaker, regardless of where the addressee is located. The speaker either touches or holds the object, or points to an object which is within an arm's length and not closer to the addressee than it is to himself or herself.

(2)   *kol   nei*
      boy   this

      'this boy' (that I am holding)

(3)   *per-ik   nei*
      arm-1s   this

      'this arm of mine'

The medial demonstrative *nem* is used when the referent is closer to the addressee than it is to the speaker.

(4) *kakop* <u>*nem*</u>
knife   that2

'that knife' (close to you)

(5) *ae*   <u>*nem*</u>
tree   that2

'that tree' (close to you)

(6) *héi*   *palau*   <u>*nem*</u>*!*
woman   big   that2

'you important woman there!'

The distal demonstrative *neu* is used when the referent is about equally distant from both the speaker and addressee. The actual distance is irrelevant, as *neu* can refer to an object only a few feet away from both speaker and addressee, or to an object miles away.

(7) *kaone* <u>*neu*</u>
house that3

'that dog' (lying in front of us)

(8) *imot* <u>*neu*</u>
ship   that3

'that ship' (out there in the ocean)

2. The demonstrative *nei* 'this' may also be used in a **temporal** sense. It occurs with time words to further pinpoint the temporal reference.

(9) *nga* *étué* <u>*nei*</u>
LOC time   this

'at this time'

(10) *héuéu*   *mana*   <u>*nei*</u>
today   only   this

'this very moment'

Upon elicitation we found that *nga étué neu* 'at that time' (with the distal demonstrative *neu*) is also acceptable. Another related expression is *étué ne é* 'once upon a time', which seems to contain the deictic root *ne*, followed by the quantifier *é* 'one, a' (see §3.4.2). We have no further examples of the root *ne*.

3. Demonstratives may also be used as **anaphoric markers** in discourse. When the speaker refers to something or someone he has just been talking about, he uses the

proximal demonstrative *nei*. When the speaker refers back to something or someone he has not immediately talked about, he uses either *neu* or *nem*.

(11) *haliu-nga*   *nei*
      speak.out.strongly-NOM   this

      'this strong speech' (the speech the speaker is presently giving)

(12) *Non neu hele...*
      man that3 speak...

      'The man said...' (referring back to a previously mentioned man)

The use of the medial demonstrative *nem* as an anaphoric marker is very common in text (see, for instance, text 2 in the appendix). It appears that the use of *nem* signals a closer connection between the referent and the addressee than *neu* would indicate, as in (13), where the dog is a known referent to the addressee. If the addressee had never seen or heard about the dog, *nem* would not be appropriate.

(13) *Dasti singi-na haleles. Lape kaone nem mét-méte lo.*
      D.   skin-3s sick   IRR dog   that2 RED-die COMP

      'Dusty is sick. I think the dog is about to die.'

(14) *Te-teu héké   i nem.*
      3p-go.in ascend:TR 3s that2

      'They (the spirits) took up residence in him'

In (14) the use of *nem* possibly creates an emotional connection with the audience as the story approaches its climax. In other cases, however, *nem* simply appears to be the unmarked demonstrative to refer back to a known referent, as in the following example (from text 2 in the appendix), although the use of *nem* may indicate the author's enthusiasm and personal involvement in telling the story.

(15) *Pe ruo palau-ngana nem amnei-a nge non nem*
      and fish big-DESC   that2 feel-TR   COMP man that2

      toto chach-ia haha-na.
      cut   break-TR innards-3s

      'And the big fish felt the man cutting open its innards.'

The exact distribution of anaphoric *nem* needs more investigation. The demonstratives also occur in combination with the locative adverbs. This is discussed in §6.5

6.3   The directionals *mai, mam, mau*

The directionals are first of all used to indicate direction. *Mai* indicates direction towards the speaker, *mau* direction away from the speaker. Simple examples of the directionals are seen in the following sentences:

(16)   *Tak <u>mau,</u>   tak   <u>mai.</u>*
       pull that3.way pull this.way

      'He pulled that way, he pulled this way.'

(17)   *Te-ua   mul-mule   <u>mau.</u>*
       3p-flee   RED-again   that3.way

      'They kept running away there.'

However, the directional *mai* is normally not juxtaposed to a verb; it is more commonly used in combination with the adverbial conjunction *ke*:

(18)   *Te-ua   at   ke   <u>mai.</u>*
       3p-flee   come   AC   this.way

      'They fled this way.'

The directional *mam* is fairly rare. An example is:

(19)   *O-mule   langae   <u>mam?</u>*
       2s-back   where   that2.way

      'Where have you returned from?'

Example (18) *mam* indicates the source of the direction following *langae* 'where'. The use of *mam* is only appropriate as a question to someone who is closely associated with the speaker; for instance, a family member or a member of the same group. The 3rd person equivalent *langae mau* is the preferred option when the addressee is simply passing by or relatively unknown to the speaker.

In the following example, *mam* has a temporal meaning, pointing to the future. The root *ma* also occurs, but its function here is unclear.

(20)   *Jon ma at-at   <u>mam.</u>*
       J.   ?   RED-come   that2.way

      'John will arrive.'

The most common use of *mai*, however, is as a modal particle indicating a degree of surprise or excitement on the part of the speaker, captured in the English translation by the use of interjections and exclamation marks (although it is still glossed as 'this way'):

(21) *Har-ra   husu   mana   <u>mai</u>.*
    mouth-1pi   white   only   this.way

    'Hey, our mouths are just white.' (They are not red from chewing
    betelnut.)

(22) *Te-at   mul-mule   <u>mai</u>.*
    3p-come   RED-back   this.way

    'Well, they are coming back!'

It is very common for this usage of *mai* to be combined with the demonstrative *nei*. According to our language helpers, *nei* marks the location (or the time), while *mai* signals the excitement on the part of the speaker.

(23) *Le-m kileng rochroi <u>nei</u> <u>mai</u>.*
    PC-2s place   close.by this   this.way

    'Hey, your place is just close by here!' (Said by someone just robbed)

(24) *Mo-at   héuéu   mana   <u>nei</u>   <u>mai</u>.*
    1pe-come   today   only   this   this.way

    'We just arrived here at this very minute!'

(25) *Haka   mana   nga ae   <u>nei</u>   <u>mai</u>.*
    ascend   only   LOC tree this this.way

    'He just went right up this tree here!'

Another usage of the directional *mau* is as a manner adverb 'like that, that way', referring to the way something is done or happens. This use of *mau* is synonymous with *pomau* (§6.8). In quite a few cases there only appears to be a loose connection with anything preceding. Sometimes the adverbial conjunction *ke* precedes *mau*.

(26) *Hele ke   <u>mau</u>.*
    speak AC   that3.way

    'He spoke like that.'

(27) *... pe tua   lémé   nga chantom   <u>mau</u>.*
    and shine bright LOC dark   that3.way

    '... and that way it will shine brightly in the darkness.'

(28) *... loaka pe   toto <u>mau</u>   puleu.*
    arise   and   cut   that3.way   again

    '... he got up and cut like that again.'

(29) *Te-péu ke hét, pe te-péu haka <u>mau</u> puleu.*
3p-sing AC done and 3p-sing ascend that3.way again

'They stopped singing, and then they sang like that again.'
(Lit. '... sang up like that again.')

A final usage of *mau* is as an emphatic adverbial following the distal demonstrative *neu*. It simply reinforces the distance, but does not necessarily indicate motion.

(30) *Imot kou, song-ong <u>neu</u> <u>mau</u>.*
ship there3 run-RED that3 that3.way

'There is a ship, running over there (away from us).'

For further examples of these combinations with locatives, see §6.5.

6.4 The interrogatives *kai, kau, kou*

The interrogative deictic adverbials are used in polar questions, mostly in equative clause types (see §5.3.2). It is remarkable that there does not seem to be a medial form *kam, while *kau* functions both as a second and third person interrogative.

(31) a. *A-m kap <u>kai</u>?*
PCF-2s cup here.Q

'Is this your cup?'

b. *Oe, a-k kap laka nem.*
yes PCF-1s cup AFF that2

'Yes, that (near you) is my cup.'

(32) a. *Éch <u>kai</u>?*
water here.Q

'Is this water?' (Speaker points to a container with liquid.)

b. *Ero. Éch koi.*
NEG water here

'No. THIS is water.' (Speaker points to another container.)

The three interrogatives are shown together in example (33). Notice that *kai* is only used interrogatively, while *kou* (and to a lesser extent *kau*) is used both as an interrogative and as an locative adverb (see §6.5).

(33) *Ne-na pen kai / kau / kou?*
PC-3s   pen   here.Q   there2.Q   there3.Q

'Is this / that (near you) / that (over there) his/her pen?'

(34) *Iri ero kau?*
3p   NEG   there2.Q

'Are they not there (near you)?'

(35) *Ié-k,   iong kau?*
brother.in.law-1s,   2s   there2.Q

'Brother-in-law, is that you?'

(36) *Nga-na kai?*
self-3s   here.Q

'Is this it?'

Somewhat surprisingly, *kai* can also be used in answers, as in the following pair:

(37) a. *A-m   oio   kau?*
PCF-2   betelnut   there2.Q

 'Do you have any betelnut?' (Lit. 'Is your betelnut there near you?')

   b. *Ero   kai.*
NEG   here.Q

   'I do not.' (Lit. '[Is it] not here?')

The use of the interrogative *kai* in such answers is probably an idiomatic rhetorical question which softens and affirms the negation. It appears to function as a combination of a negation and a tag question ('I do not, do I?'), thereby inviting the addressee to confirm the absence of the object ('Why do you doubt? Check for yourself.'). The fact that the answer is said with a rising intonation also points in this direction.

In one example *kau* is used in a question which does not really ask for a location:

(38) *Lape ta-pip-ia   kau   mélété ke achouchou...*
IRR   1pi-compress-TR   there2.Q   mud   AC   round

'Maybe we should compress mud into a ball...'

This example, taken from text 1 in the appendix, is from a short monologue in which an old woman wants to make a light for the darkness of the night. The use of *kau* here indicates that the speaker is mentally going past the different elements she could potentially use to make a ball of light, including for instance, sand, stone, leaves or mud. She settles for white clay. According to our language helpers, the

adverb *kau* here refers to the cognitive process of self-questioning, not to a specific location of the mud or the place where she would compress it.

Another example of self-questioning is (39) with *kai*:

(39)   *Le-k   té   lape tang-ia <u>kai</u>   singi-k nge*
        PC-1s grandchild IRR   cry-TR here.Q skin-1s REL

        héuéu-ngana   mai.
        new-DESC   this.way

        'Maybe my grandchild is crying about my new skin.'

The interrogatives can be expanded by the demonstratives and the directionals. Combinations such as *kau neu mau* are quite common, especially in conversations.

(40)   *Le-k   péle   <u>kau   neu   mau</u>?*
        PC-1s house that3.Q that3 that3.way

        'Is that my house over there?' (Question by a new teacher who arrives in the village where he will live.)

6.5   The locatives *i, koi, kau, kou*

The locative adverbs are unusual in that there are four members of this set. For first person, two adverbs are in use: *i* and *koi*, both meaning 'here'. The difference between these two is that *i* is closer to the speaker, either on his body or within touch. *Koi* is 'here' in a wider sense of 'around here', for example a room, a house or in a village, although *koi* can also be used for things close by. One could maybe say that *i* is a singular 'here', whereas *koi* is a collective 'here'.

(41)   a. *Le-k   té,   oio   <u>kau</u>?*
             PC-1s grandfather betelnut there2.Q

             'Grandfather, do you have betelnut?'

       b. *Ero   <u>i</u>!*
             NEG   here

             'I don't have any.' (Lit. 'Not here [on me].')

(42)   *É-mém   hario   <u>i</u>!*
        PCF-1pe drum   here

        'Here is our drum!'

(43)   *Pe ié-né   hele,   "Iau <u>i</u>."*
        and brother.in.law-3s speak 1s   here

        'And his brother-in-law said, "Here I am."'

(44) *Jon   ne-na   kakop   <u>koi</u>.*
J.   PC-3s   knife   here

'This is Jon's knife.'

(45) *Éch   <u>koi</u>.*
water   here

'Here is water. / There is water here.'

(46) *Ae   <u>kou</u>.*
tree   there3

'There is wood (over there).'

(47) *Imot   <u>kou</u>!*
ship   there3

'There is a ship!'

(48) *I   <u>kou</u>.*
3s   there3

'He is there.'

(49) *Ana   non   héon   <u>kou</u>   nga   uach   nike.*
TOP   man   hang   there3   LOC   morning   beforehand

'The man had been hanging there since morning.'

Kau is primarily used as an interrogative, but several cases have been found where it functions as a locative. In some instances, however, the exact function of *kau* is unclear, as in the following example:

(50) *Le-k   té,   sa-k   una   ol   <u>kau</u>.*
PC-1s   grandparent   stomach-1s   full   now   there2

'Grandpa, my stomach is full now (as it should be).'

The locatives are often emphasized by corresponding demonstratives, as in the following examples, where *koi nei* indicates contrastive emphasis:

(51) *Kopi   <u>koi   nei</u>,   ti   <u>koi   nei</u>,   éch   <u>koi   nei</u>.*
coffee   here   this   tea   here   this   water   here   this

'This is coffee, this is tea, this is water.' (speaker points to three different containers)

(52) *A-k   kap   <u>koi   nei</u>.*
PCF-1s   cup   here   this

'This is my cup / this cup is mine.'

Combinations of adverbs and demonstratives or directionals are very commonly found surrounding verbs, with the adverb preceding and the demonstrative or the directional following the verb. In each case the deictic words have to agree in person. That is, a third person adverb such as *kou* can only be followed by a third person demonstrative *neu*.

(53) *Melé é kou at-at neu.*
person one there3 RED-come that3
'There is someone coming from over there.'

(54) *Leo koi at-at mai.*
L. here RED-come this.way
'Leo is coming over here.'

(55) *Iau toro mana, nga-na koi e-are nei.*
1s alone only body-3s here 1s-sit this
'I'm all alone, just sitting here by myself.'

(56) *Iau i e-mes nei.*
1s here 1s-stand this.
'I'm standing here.'

In the following examples the deictic combination is found surrounding a noun and a prepositional phrase:

(57) *Ié-k, o-song ke o-la ke o-néu-é kou*
brother.in.law-1s, 2s-run AC 2-go AC 2s-see-TR there3

ae neu ke o-mes la-la.
tree that3 AC 2s-stand RED-wait
'Brother-in-law, you run and take a look at that tree over there, and you stand and wait.'

(58) *Uté pélé éi-na kau nga kue mata-na mau.*
what anything blood-3s there3 LOC road eye-3s that3.way
'There is the blood of somebody or something there on the junction.'

It is even possible to have stacks of three deictic elements: a locative, a demonstrative and a directional, as in the following equative clause. The precise function of such stacking is still unclear.

(59) *Tu-k kou neu mau.*
child-1s there3 that3 that3.way
'That is my child over there.'

The reduplicated form *kou-kou* is used when characters go the wrong way, as in the following example about a confused pig. The other locatives do not occur in reduplicated form.

(60)   *Pe   ua   <u>kou-kou</u>   lakou nga nenge palpan-na sase ne-na*
        and flee there-RED there to   REL   head-3s   long PC-3s

        ae   huna, nenge palpal sase haka   ia.
        tree base   REL   head   long ascend OBL

        'And it (= the pig) fled (in confusion) over there to the tree stump which belonged to the one with the long head, the tree stump which Long-head had climbed.'

6.6   The extensionals *pai, pam, pau*

The deictic words marking extent are based on the root *pa*. We do not have many examples of these words, but the following sentence, taken from text 3 in the appendix, contains no less than three tokens:

(61)   *Lape ita nai ta-i   ta-i   <u>pau</u>   ke la ta-sauhot*
        IRR   1pi two 1pi-walk 1pi-walk EXTENT3 AC go 1pi-arrive

        <u>pau</u>   kou   nga it   <u>pa</u>   neu mau.
        EXTENT3 there3 LOC mountain EXTENT that3 that3.way

        'I suggest the two of us walk all the way over there, until we arrive on the mountain over there.'

The word *pau* is the distant extensional, meaning 'as far as there'. In combination with *ke la* it has both a spatial and a temporal meaning 'all the way until'. The combination *pau kou* 'as far as there' is another example of the way the language reinforces the spatial meaning by stacking deictic words. When an extensional word precedes two other deictic words, its shape is *pa*, as in *pa neu mau* 'as far as way over there, that way' or *pa nei mai* 'as far as here, this way', as in the following example:

(62)   *At-at   <u>pa</u>   nei mai.*
        RED-come EXTENT this this.way

        'He is coming this way (from a long way away).'

The extensionals are often used to greet people who arrive on the scene:

(63)   *Iong <u>pau</u>   kau?*
        2s   EXTENT3 that3.Q

        'You're there now, eh?'

(64) *Teru, iong pai_____ kai?*
T.   2s   EXTENT1 here.Q

'Teru, you are here now, eh?'

Notice also the following polite way of saying one doesn't have something:

(65) *Ero   pai.*
NEG   EXTENT1

'I don't have any.' (Also possible: *ero i, ero koi*)

Interestingly, the medial form *pam* refers to an extent of time in the present, which, in combination with the completive adverb *lo*, can be translated as 'right now'. It refers to an action in process which is witnessed by the addressee.

(66) *Te-sio   pam   lo.*
3p-descend EXTENT2 COMP

'They are already going down right now (as you can see).'

(67) *Te-huné i   pam   lo.*
3p-kill   3s EXTENT2 COMP

'They are already killing him right now (as you can see).'

Another usage of the extensionals is for emphasis. In these cases they precede a locative or a demonstrative with the meaning 'right here' or 'right there'.

(68) *Te-néu-é pau_____ kou   mélo-na.*
3p-see-tr EXTENT3 there3   saliva-3s.

'They saw somebody's saliva right there.'

(69) *Éi-na   pai_____ koi, pararai sio   nga kue pa_____ nei.*
blood-3s EXTENT1 here spill   down LOC road EXTENT this.

'The blood is right here, spilled on the road right here!'

(70) *O uo, Sani Palau pai_____ koi hot   mule pam_____ lo.*
Oh dear S.   Big   EXTENT1 here go.out again EXTENT2 COMP

'Oh my, Big Sani is coming out again right here, right now!'

6.7   The allatives *lakoi, lamai* etc.

The deictic words in columns 6 and 7, taken together in this section, are poorly understood. We do not have many examples in texts, and our language helpers find it hard to distinguish them from the other deictic words. It is likely that the element *la* in these words is related to the verb *la* 'go'. Because at least some of them have a directional meaning, we use the term 'allative' (movement to a location). It also

seems likely that many of them have an additional future meaning element, as in (71) - (73), all of which are imperative clauses.

(71) *O-hé-mes-ia   le-k   péle   <u>lakou</u>!*
2s-CAUS-stand-TR PC-1s   house   ALL.there3

'Build my house over there!'

(72) *Iok,   o-i   at   <u>lakoi</u>.*
alright 2s-walk   come   ALL.here

'Okay, you walk over here.'

(73) *O-at   ke o-mes   <u>lakoi</u>,   pe   e-tung   sué   la*
2s-come   AC 2s-stand ALL.here   and 1s-give down.TR go

nge   iong.
LOC:PN   2s

'Come and stand here, and I will give it to you.'

Lakou cannot be used for a simple current location. Instead, *kou* is the appropriate adverb.

(74) *Le-k   péle   kou   / *<u>lakou</u>.*
PC-1s   house   there3   ALL.there3

'My house is over there.'

The expected medial form **lam* does not exist; instead the simple root *la* is used:

(75) *Nga-na   <u>la</u>.*
body-3s   ALL.there2

1. 'It is there (near you).'

2. 'This is for you.' (said while the speaker gives something)

Examples of *la* and *lai*:

(76) *Kaone   song   at   <u>lai</u>.*
dog   run   come   ALL.here

'The dog ran towards me.'

(77) *Kaone   song   <u>la</u>   tau-a   iong?*
dog   run   ALL.2   get-TR   2s

'Did the dog run toward you (to get you)?'

(78) *A-i   <u>lai</u>.*
2p-walk   ALL.here

'Walk this way.'

The allative forms *lamai*, *lamam* and *lamau* are even less commonly found in our texts, but they are not interchangeable with *mai*, *mam* and *mau*. One example is the following question-answer pair:

(79) a. *Nga-na   ngae?*
          body-3s   where

          'Where is he/she/it?'

      b. *Nga lamau.*
          LOC ALL.there3

          'Over there'

The element *la* also occurs in the question word *langae* 'where' (a variant of *ngae*), see §7.3.2

6.8   The manner adverbs *pomai, pomam, pomau*

The manner adverbs are related to the stative verb *poma* (variants *pomanga* and *manga*), discussed in §5.1.1. *Pomai* 'like this' and *pomau* 'like that, thus' refer to the way an action is performed. *Pomai* is typically accompanied by gestures, as in the first two examples below. It may be followed by the locative adverb *koi*, and it can also have a future reference, as in (82).

These adverbs are commonly used to form adverbial phrases with *ke* (see §5.4.5):

(80) *Puo   ke   pomai.*
       push AC   like.this

       'He pushed like this.'

(81) *Poi-a   ke   pomai   koi.*
       do-TR   AC   like.this   here

       'He did it like this.'

(82) *Poponing   la   ke   pomai   koi.*
       story   go AC   like.this   here

       'The story goes like this.'

(83) *E-song   ke   pomau.*
       1s-run   AC   like.that3

       'I ran like that.'

(84) *Ta-ngau   ke   pomau   ero.*
       1pi-eat   AC   like.that3   NEG

       'Let us not eat like that.'

With the addition of a subject prefix they act as verbs, producing a kind of manner clause:

(85) *Te-pomau.*
      3p-like.that3

      'They are like that.'

(86) *Re-ria poi-nga pomam nike.*
      PC-3p   do-NOM like.that2 beforehand

      'Their custom has always been like that.'

It appears that *pomam* only refers to the past.

As mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, this overview of deixis in Lote is far from complete. We have not dealt with another set of possible deictics (the forms *iau* and *iam*), simply because we don't have enough information. It is also highly likely that more meanings of several of the deictic forms will be discovered in the future.

7. Clausal modifications

This chapter discusses modifications to the basic clause in the area of negation and mode. Negation is discussed in §7.1, the imperative mode in §7.2 and the interrogative mode in §7.3.

7.1   Negation

7.1.1 Verbal negation

Negation in verbal clauses is marked by the negative adverb *ero*. In these clauses *ero* occurs clause-finally, following the verb and any object, but preceding the modal adverbs *ol* 'now' and *kura* 'incomplete':

(1)   *E-mamani ero.*
      1s-sleep   NEG

      'I did not sleep.'

(2)   *Poponing   nem   chananga   ero.*
      story   that2   false   NEG

      'That story is true.' (Lit. '… not false.')

(3)   *Te-tung-é   iau   ero.*
      3p-give-TR   1s   NEG

      'They did not give it to me.'

(4)   *E-és-ia   ure   nem   ero   ol.*
      1s-see-TR   thing   that2   NEG   now

      'I never saw that thing any more.'

The following pair illustrates that an adverb only falls under the scope of the negator if it precedes *ero*, as in (5b):

(5)   a. *Tang   ero   sapele.*
          cry   NEG   immediately

         'He immediately stopped crying.'

    b. *Tang* *sapele*   <u>*ero.*</u>
       cry   immediately NEG

      'He did not immediately cry. '

Ero can be intensified by the intensifier *toto* 'very' to mean 'not at all'. However, if *toto* precedes the negative, it modifies the verb instead of the negative, as in (7):

(6) *Mo-matau-a*   *chachasis*   <u>*ero*</u> *toto* *ol.*
     1pe-afraid-TR ceremonial.leaf.costume NEG very now

     'Now we are not afraid of the ceremonial leaf costumes at all.'

(7) *Ta-urana* *toto* <u>*ero*</u> *i.*
     1pi-good   very   NEG   here

     'We are not perfect.'

7.1.2 Non-verbal negation

Non-verbal clauses are negated in the same way; the negator *ero* is simply added to the predicate in clause-final position. In the examples below the positive form is shown first followed by its negative counterpart.

Negation of alienably possessed clauses:

(8) a. *Pius* *ne-na*   *kaone.*
       P.   PC-3s   dog

       'Pius has a dog.'

    b. *Pius* *ne-na*   *kaone* <u>*ero.*</u>
       P.   PC-3s   dog   NEG

       'Pius does not have a dog.'

(9) a. *A-ria*   *ae.*
       PCF-3p tree

       'They had wood.'

    b. *A-ria*   *ae*   <u>*ero.*</u>
       PCF-3p tree NEG

       'They had no wood.'

Negation of an inalienably possessed clause:

(10) a. *Sélémpo   mata-na.*
             axe   eye-3s

             'The axe is sharp.' (Lit. 'The axe [has] its eye/edge')

      b. *Sélémpo   mata-na   <u>ero</u>.*
             axe   eye-3s   NEG

             'The axe is not sharp.'

For most equative clauses where the subject preceeds the predicate, the negator occurs in clause-final position, as in the following examples, where (c) illustrates a bare predicate without nominal subject.

(11) a. *Non   nem   i   Tolai.*
             man   that2 3s   T.

             'That man is a Tolai.'

      b. *Non   nem   i   Tolai   <u>ero</u>.*
             man   that2 3s   T.   NEG

             'That man is not a Tolai.'

      c. *I   Tolai   <u>ero</u>.*
             3s   T.   NEG

             'He is not a Tolai.'

(12) a. *Péle   nem   i   melé   ne-na péle.*
             house that2 3s   person PC-3s house

             'That house is someone's house.'

      b. *Péle   nem   i   melé   ne-na   péle   <u>ero</u>.*
             house that2 3s   person   PC-3s   house NEG

             'That house is no-one's house.'

      c. *Melé   ne-na   péle   <u>ero</u>.*
             person PC -3s house   NEG

             'It is no-one's house.'

One exception to the rule of clause-final negation is the case where the subject is the inalienably possessed noun *lémé-* 'desire'. Here the negative preceeds the predicate (the disliked item):

(13) a. *Lémé-k   oio.*
     desire-1s   betelnut

     'I want betelnut.' (Lit. 'My desire [is] betelnut.')

    b. *Lémé-k   ero   oio.*
     desire-1s   NEG   betelnut

     'I don't want betelnut.'

Double negatives are rare in Lote. They only seem to occur in equative clauses in which the subject is the inalienably possessed noun *lémé-* 'desire':

(14) *Te-ontei-a   iong   pe   lémé-m   ero   ero.*
    3p-ask-TR   2s   and   desire-2s   NEG   NEG

    'When they ask you, do not refuse.' (Lit. '…do not [have] no desire.')

For equative clauses in which the subject follows the predicate (see §5.3.2) the negator is added to the predicate, and the locative adverb functioning as subject is often dropped.

(15) a. [*Éch*]^P [*koi.*]^S
     water   here

     'Here is water'

    b. [*Éch   ero.*]^P
     water   NEG

     'There is no water.'

(16) a. *Ae   kou.*
     tree   there3

     'There is wood.'

    b. *Ae   ero.*
     tree   NEG

     'There is no wood.'

(17) a. *I   kou.*
     3s   there3

     'He is there.'

    b. *I   ero.*
     3s   NEG

     'He is not here/there.'

It is possible, however, to have a negated predicate together with a locative adverb subject, as in the following examples:

(18) [*Éch ero*]^P [*koi.*]^S
      water NEG   here

      'There is no water here.'

(19) *Ero   i!*
      NEG   here

      'There is none/nothing here!'

The reduplicated form of *ero* is *erochro* (see §2.6) which conveys the meaning 'habitually or continually not, never':

(20) *Nge   nike   toto, téio   tu-tua   ero-<ch>ro.*
      LOC:PN beforehand very moon RED-shine NEG-EC-RED

      'Long long ago, the moon never shone.'

The negative may be used as a single word response to a question.

(21) a. *Singi-m haleles?*
          skin-2s   sick

          'Are you sick?'

      b. *Ero.*
          'No.'

Two adverbs frequently follow the negative resulting in a modified meaning. *Ero kura* means 'not yet' and *ero ol* means 'not anymore' or 'not now'.

(22) a. *O-ngau lo?*
          2s-eat   COMP

          'Did you already eat?' 'Have you eaten?'

      b. *Ero   kura.*
          NEG   INCOMP

          'Not yet.'

(23) a. *Lape   a-la   nge   Kimbe?*
          IRR   2p-go   LOC:PN K.

          'Will you go to Kimbe?

b. _Ero   ol._
   NEG   now

'Not any more.' / 'Not now.'

7.2   Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses have no special marking, other than the absence of subjects. The verbs are marked with either the 2nd singular or plural subject prefix. Apart from the intonation, there is no difference with a statement.

(24) _A-nun   nga éch!_
      2p-bathe   LOC water

'You bathe in the river!'

(25) _O-hé-ngau-a   tu-m!_
      2s-CAUS-eat-TR   child-2s

'Feed your child!'

Like regular negative clauses, negative imperatives also take the negator _ero_:

(26) _O-tang ero!_
      2s-cry   NEG

'Don't cry!'

(27) _A-are lamai ero!_
      2p-sit here   NEG

'Do not sit here!'

Adhortatives are simply formed by means of the inclusive subject prefix _ta-_:

(28) _Ta-la!_
      1pi-go

'Let's go!'

7.3   Interrogative clauses

7.3.1 Polar questions

Polar questions (questions that expect a yes or no response) are signaled by a falling intonation on the last syllable of the sentence. This is indicated by a question mark.

(29) a. *O-ngau lo?*
    2s-eat   COMP

    'Did you already eat?'

    b. *Oe, e-ngau lo.*
       yes, 1s-eat   COMP

       'Yes, I already ate.'

(30) a. *O-are ero?*
    2s-sit   NEG

    'Aren't you going to sit down?'

    b. *Iok,   e-are   pol   mana.*
       alright,   1s-sit   slighty only

       'Alright, I'll just sit down for a little while.'

As explained in §6.4, there are special interrogative deictic words used in yes-no questions: *kai, kau* and *kou*.

(31) a. *Le-k té,   oio   kau?*
    PC-1s grandparent betelnut there2.Q

    'Grandfather, do you have any betelnut?'

    b. *Ero   i!*
       NEG here

       'No, I don't.'

(32) a. *Ae pana   kai?*
    tree ironwood   here.Q

    'Is this an ironwood tree?'

    b. *Oe, ae   pana   koi.*
       yes tree ironwood here.

       'Yes, this is an ironwood tree.'

Alternative polar questions are formed with the alternating conjunction *ma* 'or' followed by the negator. In such questions there is rising intonation on the initial question, followed by falling intonation on the negative alternative.

(33) *Lémé-m   ma   ero?*
    desire-2s   or   NEG

    'Do you want to or not?'

(34) *Sa-m   una   lo,   <u>ma</u> ero   kura?*
      stomach-2s full   COMP   or   NEG   INCOMP
      'Are you full or not yet?'

7.3.2 Content questions

Content questions utilise the question words *itei* 'who', *utar* 'what', *ngae* 'where' and *ngingié* 'when'. The structure of interrogative sentences of this type is identical to that of their declarative counterparts which answer them. In the interrogative sentences however, the interrogative words occur in place of the words which supply the answers in the declarative responses.

a. *itei* 'who'

This question word may function as subject, object, indirect object or possessor.

(35) a. <u>*Itei*</u> *ralué*   *aka*   *nei?*
          who   carve:TR   canoe   this
          'Who carved this canoe?'

      b. *Clement* *ralué*   *aka*   *nei.*
          C.   carve:TR   canoe   this
          'Clement carved this canoe.'

(36) a. *Pita* *pal-ia* <u>*itei?*</u>
          P.   hit-TR   who
          'Who did Peter hit?'

      b. *Pita* *pal-ia* *Jon.*
          P.   hit-TR   J.
          'Peter hit John.'

(37) *O-tung-é*   *oio*   *la*   *nge*   <u>*itei?*</u>
      2s-give-TR   betelnut   go   LOC:PN who
      'Who did you give the betelnut to?'

(38) <u>*Itei*</u> *na*   *kaone* *mai?*
      who   PC:3s   dog   here
      'Whose dog is this?'

b. *utar* **'what'**

The question word *utar* may be uttered by itself (or with a transitivising suffix) as a single-word clause in response to someone trying to get your attention. As expected, *utar* can also function as a subject or an object.

(39) <u>*Utar*</u>*?*
what
'What do you want?'

(40) <u>*Utar-ia*</u>*?*
what-TR
'What is it?' 'What is the matter?'

(41) <u>*Utar*</u> *nei* *mai?*
what this here.Q
'What is this?'

(42) <u>*Utar*</u> *ma* *nga* *kole?*
what lie LOC basket
'What is in the basket?'

(43) *O-ol-ia* <u>*utar*</u> *nga stoa?*
2s-buy-TR what LOC store
'What did you buy at the store?'

c. *ngae* **'where'**

The question word *ngae* operates like a locative adverb. It may occur as a predicate of a non-verbal clause or as an object of a preposition.

(44) *Ta-m* <u>*ngae?*</u>
mother-2s where
'Where is your mother?'

(45) *Le-m* *kileng* <u>*ngae?*</u>
PC-2s place where
'Where is your home?'

(46) *A-la* *nge* <u>*ngae?*</u>
2p-go LOC:PN where
'Where are you going?'

A variant of *ngae* is *langae* 'where'. It immediately follows the verb (usually intransitive) without any preposition:

(47) *O-tu-tu   langae?*
2s-live-RED   where

'Where do you live?' / 'Where have you been (staying)?'

(48) *Balus   sio   langae?*
airplane   descend   where

'Where did the plane land?'

A location interrogative may also be formed by simply stating the item in question with rising intonation:

(49) *Ti-m?*
same.sex.sibling-2s

'Where is your brother?'

(50) *Le-k   kakop?*
PC-1s   knife

'Where is my knife?'

d. *ngingié* 'when'

The interrogative adverb *ngingié* asks for the time of an event, both past and future. Like other adverbs, it occurs clause-finally:

(51) *Imot   lohot   nge   Rabaul   ngingié?*
ship   come.out   LOC:PN   R.   when

'When did the ship leave Rabaul?'

(52) *Te-at   ngingié?*
3p-come   when

'When did they come?'

(53) *Lape   te-at   ngingié?*
IRR   3p-come   when

'When will they come?'

e. *potar* 'do what, why'

The interrogative word *potar* is a merger of the verb *poi* 'do' with the question word *utar* 'what'. It may take subject prefixes and thus function as a verb:

(54) *O-potar?*
2s-do.what

'What are you doing?'

The interrogative word *potar* may also follow the adverbial conjunction *ke* resulting in the meaning 'in order to do what' or 'why':

(55) *A-pal-ia   kaone   ke potar?*
2p-hit-TR   dog   AC do.what

'Why did you hit the dog?'

The adverbial conjunction by itself may also be used to form a 'why' question:

(56) *O-pal-ia   kaone   ke?*
2s-hit-TR   dog   AC

'Why did you hit the dog?'

f. *mére ~ pomére* 'how'

Interrogative 'how' questions are formed by means of adverbial phrases, in which the adverbial conjunction *ke* precedes *mére* (variant *mérei*) or *pomére*:

(57) *O-hele   ke mére la nge   i?*
2s-speak   AC how   go LOC:PN 3s

'How did you answer him?' / 'What did you say to him?'

(58) *Lape e-poi-a   ruo nei ke mére ke méte mai?*
IRR   1s-do-TR   fish this AC how   AC die   here.Q

'How will I kill this fish?' (Lit. 'How will I do to this fish and it dies here?')

(59) *Iau mai,   lape e-i   la ke pomére mai?*
1s   here.Q IRR   1s-walk go AC how   here.Q

 'Here I am, how will I proceed now?'

In these examples, *mére* and *pomére* are interchangeable. In addition, *pomére* may stand alone with the meaning 'how' or 'what', depending on the context:

(60) *Pomére ol?*
how   now

'How do we proceed now?'

g. *hia* 'how many'

(61) *Tu-tu-m   mur   hia?*
RED-child-2s   PLUR   how.many

'How many children do you have?' (Lit. 'Your children [are] how many?')

(62) *O-ol-ia   kakop   hia   nga   stoa?*
2s-buy-TR   knife   how.many   LOC   store

'How many knives did you buy at the store?'

An alternative to (62) is (63), in which *hia* seems to be used as a verb:

(63) *O-ol-ia   ke   kakop   hia   nga   stoa?*
2s-buy-TR   AC   knife   how.many   LOC   store

'How many knives did you buy at the store?' (Lit. 'You bought it and the knives [were] how many at the store?)

8. Complex sentences

Clauses (both verbal and non-verbal) are conjoined in Lote in one of three ways: juxtaposition, coordination or subordination. It is common for more than one of these strategies to be found within one complex sentence, so that one can come across two or more clause combinations nested within one large clause combination.

8.1   Juxtaposition

The first way in which complex sentences are formed is when two clauses are simply juxtaposed to each other without any conjunction or formal marking (indicated by /):

(1)   *Tu-é   ruo / pasu   hot   sapele.*
        spear-TR fish   swim go.out   directly

        'He speared the fish and immediately (he) swam out.'

(2)   *Méne héké   mata-na hot-ngana   é   / la   tu-é.*
        get   go.up:TR eye-3s   go.out-DESC one   go   plant-TR

        'He picked up a sprouting one (= a coconut) and planted it.'

Repetitive, continuous or durative aspect is often signalled by repeating the same verb several times:

(3)   *Iri nai te-song /   te-song   /   te-song /*
        3p   two 3p-run   3p-run   3p-run

        ke   la   te-hot   tau-hél mule.
        AC   go   3p-go.out   get-REC again

        'The two of them ran and ran and ran until they met each other again.'

8.2   Coordination

In coordination, two independent clauses of independent status are joined by an intervening conjunction. The coordinating conjunctions *pe* and *ke* occur very frequently in Lote and are used to encode a variety of semantic relations. The alternating conjunction *ma* 'or' is relatively infrequent.

8.2.1 The conjunction *pe*

The conjunction *pe* is the unmarked coordinating conjunction in Lote. It does not mark a particular logical or temporal relationship, and it is the most appropriate conjunction for the conjoining of states:

(4) *Matius   i   tisa   pe Leo i   kapenta.*
M.   3s   teacher and L.   3s   carpenter

'Matius is a teacher and Leo is a carpenter.'

(5) *Te-la   nga umé   pe   a-ria   ae   ero.*
3p-go   LOC garden   and PCF-3p   tree   NEG

'They went to the garden and they had no wood.'

(6) *Nga étuéné é   ana   héi   ar-are*
LOC day   one TOP   woman   RED-sit

pe   lete-na   tuanin rara...
and inside-3s   think   around

'One day the woman was sitting and thinking…'

Pe is also the unmarked conjunction for encoding temporal sequence, in which case it can be translated as 'and' or 'and then', although a natural English translation requires other conjunctions.

(7) *És-ia   iau pe   mes.*
see-TR   1s   and stand

'It saw me and stood still.'

(8) *E-lohot   nga umé   pe   pitte mol sapele.*
1s-come.out LOC garden   and   rain   fall directly

'It rained as soon as I arrived at the garden.' (Lit. 'I came out in the garden and rain fell immediately.)

(9) *Mo-i   nge   Mikatkat pe   utak   rur.*
1pe-walk LOC:PN M.   and earthquake shake

'We were walking at Mikatkat when (lit. and) there was an earthquake.'

In some cases *pe* marks a mild contrast:

(10) *To-toté,   to-toté   pe   i   ruo palau-ngana.*
RED-cut:TR   RED-cut:TR   and 3s fish big-DESC

'He cut and cut, but it was a big fish.

When *pe* is combined with the verb *la* 'go', this signals that the first event is still in full progress when the second event takes place.

(11) *Te-i   pe la kaone te-po-ia   kié.*
      3p-walk and go dog   3p-make-TR pig

      'As they were walking/After walking a while, the dogs chased up a pig.'

(12) *Ote   nga aka pe la néu-é ana non.*
      paddle LOC canoe and go see-TR TOP man

      'As he paddled (in) the canoe, he saw the man.'

8.2.2 The conjunction *ke*

The conjunction *ke* functions similarly to *pe* in that it combines clauses of equal syntactic status. However, there is a stronger semantic relationship between the predicates linked by *ke*. This often involves relationships of purpose, result, end point, as well as other less easily definable connections. Because *ke* also functions in adverbial phrases (see §5.4.5) it is called an 'adverbial conjunction' and glossed as AC).

The following pair illustrates the difference between *ke* and *pe*:

(13) a. *E-la   ke e-nun.*
          1s-go AC 1s-bathe

          'I went to bathe.' (Lit. 'I went and I bathed.')

      b. *E-la   pe e-nun.*
          1s-go and 1s-bathe

          'I went and I bathed.'

In (13a), it is clear from the use of *ke* that the going and the bathing are logically connected; the purpose of the going (for instance to the river) was to have a bath. In (13b), on the other hand, the two actions are described as only being sequentially ordered without any inherent connection. The agent went away on some unspecified business and along the way decided to take a bath. The implication is that he or she did not consciously set out to take a bath.

Similar examples of *ke* marking a purpose or result relationship:

(14) *Témé-k   kulos-ia iau ke e-mén-é   oio.*
      father-1s send-TR 1s AC 1s-get-TR betelnut

      'My father sent me to get betelnut.' (Lit. 'My father sent me and I got betelnut.')

(15) *O-sio   ke o-lau-a   kié.*
2s-descend AC 2s-hold-TR pig

'Come down and/to hold the pig.'

(16) *Lape ta-pip-ia   kau   mélété ke achouchou.*
IRR 1pi-compress-TR there2 mud   AC round

'Maybe we (can) compress mud into a ball.' (Lit. '… mud and it [will be] round.')

Sometimes *ke* signals the end point of a temporal sequence and is best translated as 'until'.

(17) *Mo-are ke   uach   sio.*
1pe-sit AC morning descend

'We sat until morning came.' (Lit. 'We sat and morning descended.')

(18) *E-ngau ke sa-k   una.*
1s-eat   AC stomach-1s full

'I ate until my stomach was full.'

(19) *Imém mo-song mana ke la nga kileng.*
1pe   1pe-run just AC go LOC place

'We just ran all the way home.'

In other cases the connection is difficult to adequately reproduce in an English translation. The following examples show how two states can be connected by *ke*:

(20) *Non nem lei   ke   hé-héi   nai.*
man that2 marry AC   RED-woman two

'That man has two wives.' (Lit. 'That man is married and [has] two women.')

(21) *Kileng tu   ke   chantom mana.*
place   stay AC dark   only

'The place is very dark.' (Lit. 'The place exists and [it is] just dark.')

(22) *É   ta-na   maul-ul   pe é   ta-na   méte ke i atuong.*
one mother-3s alive-RED and one mother-3s die   AC 3s orphan

'One of them, his mother was alive but the other one's mother was dead and (so) he was an orphan.'

(23) *Iri nai te-mes <u>ke</u> te-hele-le   pe Papaku*
      3p   two 3p-stand AC 3p-speak-RED and P.

      mes   kome <u>ke</u> long-é iri nai...
      stand hide AC hear-TR 3p   two

      'The two of them stood talking while Papaku secretly stood listening to both of them…'

Notice that there are four clauses in (23). The first two clauses share the same subject ('the two of them'), are linked with *ke* and present simultaneous events. The same is true for the third and fourth clause. The two pairs themselves, however, are linked by means of *pe,* even though the temporal relationship is simultaneous.

The intransitive verb *la* 'go' is often combined with *ke* and another clause to give a temporal extent. Strictly speaking then, such complex sentences are made up of three clauses. In (24) for instance, the first clause *moare* 'we sat' is connected by *ke* to the subjectless second clause *la* 'go' which is juxtaposed to the final non-verbal clause *uach* '(it was) morning'. In many of these cases there is also a logical relationship implied (in addition to the temporal extent), roughly translatable as 'to the extent that'.

(24) *Mo-are <u>ke   la</u> uach.*
      1pe-sit AC   go morning

      'We sat until (it was) morning.'

(25) *Te-toté   péle   <u>ke   la</u> roch sio.*
      3p-cut:TR house AC go break down

      'They chopped the house until it fell down.'

(26) *Te-pal-ia ana non <u>ke   la</u>   méte.*
      3p-hit-TR TOP man AC go die

      'They beat the man until he died.'

(27) *Te-are sakikil   <u>ke   la</u> ki-ria   inin.*
      3p-sit excessive AC go bone-3p hurt

      'They sat so long that their bones ached.'

In a similar way the intransitive verb *hét* 'done, finish' may follow *ke* to indicate that the action of the first clause has finished before the action of the next clause begins. The combination *ke hét* is best translated as 'after', and may itself be followed by *pe*, as in (29):

(28) *Te-lamué   ke hét   te-tele   sapelé.*
     3p-pull.weeds AC done   3p-chop   directly:TR

     'After they pull the weeds, they immediately chop them (= the trees).'

(29) *Pip-ia   iri ke hét   pe   aka.*
     compress-TR 3p   AC done and ascend

     'After she compressed them, she climbed up.'

Finally, we should also point out the use of *ke* in adverbial phrases; see §5.4.5 for examples.

8.2.3 The conjunction *ma*

The conjunction *ma* 'or' (see also §3.9) encodes alternation:

(30) *Iau lape e-la   nga umé   ma e-tu.*
     1s   IRR 1s-go LOC garden or 1s-stay

     'I will either go to the garden or stay.'

8.3   Subordination

A complex sentence with subordination is formed when an independent clause is followed or preceded by a dependent clause. The dependent clause is introduced by one of three subordinating conjunctions: *iange* 'because', *teke* 'if' and *toinge* 'if only'. Subordination is prosodically marked by rising intonation and a breath pause at the end of the first clause (orthographically signalled by a comma), and by falling intonation at the end of the main clause.

8.3.1 Reason clauses

A result-reason sentence utilises the subordinating conjunction *iange* 'because'. The independent result clause occurs first, followed by the dependent reason clause.

(31) *Kleopas ngau ero iange   singi-na aleles.*
     K.   eat   NEG because skin-3s   sick

     'Kleopas did not eat because he is sick.'

(32) *Kileng milang toto iange   tuttula ero.*
     place hot   very because wind   NEG

     'It is very hot because there is no wind.'

(33) *E-teke   e-ngau-a   a-k   ruo ol iange   lémé-k*
    1s-desire 1s-eat-TR PCF-1s fish now because like-1s

    ero   koukou.
    NEG young.coconut

    'I want to eat my fish now because I don't want young coconut.'

(34) *Ruo neu   erué   iange   teu   nge   Sani lo.*
    fish that3 disappear because go.in LOC:PN S.   COMP

    'The fish disappeared because it had gone into Sani.'

(35) *Kakop nei toté   ke ueiuei ero, iange   mata-na ero.*
    knife this cut-TR AC fast   NEG because eye-3s   NEG

    'This knife does not cut fast, because it is not sharp.' (Lit. '… because it does not [have] its eye/edge.')

8.3.2 Conditional clauses

A conditional sentence utilises the subordinating conjunction *teke* 'if' and precedes the main clause. The reality of the second clause is conditional on the first clause:

(36) *Teke ruach ma ke nék, ta-la   nga mimio.*
    if   ocean lie AC well 1pi-go LOC island

    'If the sea is smooth, we will go to the island.'

(37) *Teke losio, losio nga péle.*
    if   fall   fall   LOC house

    'If it falls, it will fall on the house.'

(38) *Teke kar song-ong kura,   mo-song la nge   Polaua.*
    if   car run-RED   INCOMP 1pe-run go LOC:PN P.

    'If the car is still running, we will go to Polaua.'

(39) *Teke e-saol-ia   Jon nga kue, e-hele   toto nge   i.*
    if   1s-meet-TR J.   LOC road 1s-speak very LOC:PN 3s

    'If I meet Jon on the road, I'll tell him the message.'

8.3.3 Contrafactual clauses

A contrafactual sentence uses the subordinating conjunction *toinge* 'if only'. This contrafactual conjunction signals that the first clause is not true (either with a present or a past reference), and therefore the predication of the second clause will not happen or could not have happened.

(40) *Toinge éch   halang, ta-la   sapele   nge   Malang.*
     if.only water   many   1pi-go directly LOC:PN M.

     'If we had lots of fuel, we would go all the way to Malang.'

(41) *Toinge le-k   umtutuna halang, e-ol-ia   le-k   radio.*
     if.only PC-1s money   many   1s-buy-TR PC-1s radio.

     'If I had lots of money, I would buy myself a radio.'

(42) *Toinge te-hun-é   ero, at-at   nge   ita kura.*
     if.only 3p-kill-TR NEG come-RED   LOC:PN 1pi INCOMP

     'If they had not killed her, she would still be visiting us.'

(43) *Toinge ruach urana, ta-la   nge   Miopalau.*
     if.only ocean good   1pi-go LOC:PN M.

     'If the ocean had been calm, we would have gone to Miopalau (= Big Island).'

8.3.4 Manner clauses

A final type of a subordinate clause is introduced by the conjunction *pomanga* 'like' (see also §6.8):

(44) *I   song poma-nga   neko   song.*
     3s run   be.like-LOC wallaby   run

     'He runs like a wallaby.'

8.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Lote follow the head noun. They may modify any noun, including nouns functioning as subject, object or object of a prepositional phrase. They may also modify the possessor noun or the possessed noun in a possessive phrase.

Relative clauses are always introduced by a relativiser, usually *nenge* or *nge* but occasionally *nenga*, glossed as REL. The reason for the variation between *nenge* and *nenga* is not yet clear. These words seem to be formed from the demonstrative root *ne* and the preposition *nge* or *nga*. There are no relative pronouns or special verb forms in relative clauses, but in a number of cases the medial demonstrative *nem* 'that' closes off the relative clause.

The relativiser *nge* is homophonous with the locative preposition *nge* which occurs before personal nouns, and seems to be limited to relative clauses in which it is

the subject that has been relativised. *Nge* also functions to introduce object complement clauses (§8.5).

The following examples show relative clauses in which the function of the relativised item in the relative clause is **subject**. In subject relative clauses *nenge* and *nge* are interchangeable. All relative clauses are underlined, while the head noun is bolded.

(45) **Ti-na**   *(ne)nge i   muka   umé   nge   Lae.*
same.sex.sibling-3s REL   3s precede work LOC:PN L.

'His older brother works in Lae.' (Lit. 'His same-sex sibling who precedes …')

(46) *I   hun-é   **kié** (ne)nge   ngau-ngau-a   a-ria   umé.*
3s kill-TR pig REL   RED-eat-TR   PCF-3p garden

'He killed the pig which was eating their garden.'

(47) *Te-lau-a   **ruo** nge   halang toto.*
3p-hold-TR fish COMP many   very

'They caught very many fish.' (Lit. 'They caught fish which were very many.')

(48) *Pe é-mém   ngau-nga a-na   **chasang**   nge   tuna   mana.*
and PCF-1pe eat-NOM   PCF-3s basket   COMP small only

'And we just had a small basket of food.' (Lit. 'And [there was] the basket of our food which [was] only small.')

(49) … **hana**   (ne)nge   te-hun-un   re-ria   péle.
men   REL   3p-kill-RED PC-3p   house

'…the house of the men who kill.'

Notice that in (49) the relative clause modifies the possessor noun *hana* 'men'. Within the relative clause, however, the relativised item ('the men') functions as the subject of the verb 'to kill'.

Headless relative clauses do occur but only in the case of subject relative clauses. In the following example the empty head is indicated by Ø:

(50) *Pe lis-ia   **Ø** (ne)nge   urana.*
and carve-TR   REL   good

'And he carved out those who were good.'

(51) *Te-pal   sapel-pelé*   **Ø** *nge   tamane.*
   3p-hit   immediately-RED:TR   REL male

   'They immediately hit the one who was male.'

The following examples show relative clauses in which the function of the head noun in the relative clause is **object**. Note the presence of the resumptive pronouns *iri* and *i* which refer back to the head nouns. These resumptive pronouns occur with animate objects, both singular and plural. In object relative clauses *nenge* is the only acceptable form of the relativiser.

(52) **Aina** *nemur*   *nenge o-hétor-é   iri te-at   mule   lo.*
   child   that2:PLUR REL   2s-teach-TR 3p 3p-come back   COMP

   'Those children whom you taught have already come back.'

(53) *E-étei-a*   **non** *nenge o-hele-le-a   i   nem.*
   1s-know-TR man REL   2s-speak-RED-TR 3s that2

   'I know that man that you are talking about.'

With plural inanimate objects, the resumptive pronoun is optional. In the case of a singular inanimate object however, this resumptive pronoun is not even allowed.

(54) *E-méne mulé*   **ure** *hél   nenge kémé-ia (iri).*
   1s-get   back:TR thing some REL   steal-TR 3p

   'I got back some of the things that he stole.'

(55) *E-la   mule nga* **buk** *nenge e-um-umé-a   nem.*
   1s-go   back LOC book REL   1s-RED-work-TR that2

   'I went back to the book that I had been working on.'

(56) *Te-oté*   **aka** *nenge Jon ralué.*
   3p-paddle canoe REL   J.   carve:TR

   'They paddled the canoe which Jon had carved.'

In the following three examples the relativised constituent is the **possessor** in the relative clause. The variant *nge* is unacceptable.

(57) *Pe* **i** *nenge palpan-na sase hele.*
   and 3s REL   head-3s   long speak

   'And the one whose head is long spoke.'

(58) *Hele la nge* **i** *nenge ne-na   charang.*
   speak go to   3s REL   PC-3s   baldness

   'He spoke to the one who was bald.' (Lit. '...to him whose baldness [was].')

(59) *Pe* **Ø** <u>*nenge ne-na charang*</u> *song ke és-ia kaone pe kié.*
and REL PC-3s baldness run AC see-TR dog and pig

'And the one who was bald ran to see the dog and the pig.'

The following is an example of a **temporal** relative clause, in which the head functions as a temporal constituent:

(60) *A-mo* **étué** <u>*nenge lape a-at mule nge PNG*</u>
PCF-2p time REL IRR 2p-come back to:PN PNG

rochroi lo.
near COMP

'The time for you to come back to PNG is already near.' (Lit. 'Your time that you will come back…')

With **locative** relative clauses the function of the head noun in the relative clause is location:

(61) *Te-la nga* **péle** <u>*nenge te-talu-é kié ia.*</u>
3p-go to house REL 3p-put-TR pig OBL

'They went to the house that they put the pig in.'

(62) *E-sis-ia le-m* **alalaha** <u>*nenge o-hele toté tu-mo nem.*</u>
1s-read-TR PC-2s letter REL 2s-speak very:TR child-2p that2

'I read your letter in which you told about your child.'

Notice that (61) has the resumptive oblique pronoun *ia*, but (62) does not. Why *ia* is absent is not quite clear, but presumably this reflects the fact that the relationship between 'letter' and 'tell' is less typically locative in nature than between 'put' and 'house'.

The example below illustrates a complex string of two relative clauses. The first is a headless possessive relative clause describing the owner of the tree stump ('the one whose head is long'). The second relative clause is an oblique relative clause which further clarifies the identity of the tree stump. The oblique pronominal *ia* in the second relative clause refers back to the tree. The two relative clauses together combine to specify the location to which the pig fled.

(63) *Pe ua kou-kou lakou nga* **Ø** *nenge palpan-na*
and flee RED-there3 ALL.there3 LOC REL head-3s

sase ne-na **ae huna**, *nenge palpal sase haka ia.*
long PC-3s tree base REL head long ascend OBL

'And it (= the pig) fled away (in confusion) to the tree stump which belonged to the one with the long head, the tree which Long-head had climbed.'

Example (64) contains a relative clause within another relative clause:

(64) *Pe sahol-ia* **Papaku** *nge hul-ia i ke la nge*
and meet-TR P. COMP turn-TR 3s AC go LOC:PN

ti-na Charo nge méte ke ma nga kue.
same.sex.sibling-3s C. REL die AC lie LOC road

'And he met Papaku who had changed himself into his brother Charo who had died and was lying on the road.'

The following example shows a coordinated relative clause modifying the head noun *ngaunga* 'food':

(65) *Urana toto nge iong nga* **ngau-nga** *nge lete-m*
good very LOC:PN 2s LOC eat-NOM COMP inside-2s

mété-né ke o-takis-ia.
eye-3s:TR AC 2s-carry-TR

'Thank you very much for the food that you remembered to bring.' (Lit. '[It was] very good of you about/for the food which your inside [had] eye[s] and you brought it.')

8.5   Object complementation

Verbs of perception, feeling and cognition may be followed by whole clauses which function as their objects. These object complement clauses are introduced by the complementiser *nge* (glossed as COMP) which either follows the verb or the object. In the latter case, however, it is difficult to distinguish object complementation from object relative clauses. Examples (67) - (69) for instance, where *nge* follows the object noun, can also be analysed as relative clauses.

(66) *Pe ruo palau-ngana nem   amnei-a <u>nge non nem</u>*
and fish big-DESC   that2 feel-TR   COMP man that2

<u>*toto chach-ia haha-na.*</u>
cut   break-TR innards-3s

'And the big fish felt the man cutting open its innards.'

(67) *Pe te-néu-é i <u>nge pal-chach-ia paita   ke ngau-ngau-a</u>.*
and 3p-see-TR 3s COMP hit-break-TR coconut AC eat-RED-TR

'And they saw him splitting the coconuts and eating them.'

(68) *Pomalam, ta-és-ia   téio <u>nge tu-tua   ke kokoes</u>*
be.like.that 1pi-see-TR moon COMP RED-shine AC habitually

<u>*nga miliko lochloch.*</u>
LOC night   all

'And so like that we continue to see the moon shining every night.'

(69) *Ke héuéu nei ta-nau-é   chaulum nai nem <u>nge te-kum</u>*
AC today   this 1pi-see-TR pigeon   two that2 COMP 3p-chase

<u>*nana-hél   man-mana.*</u>
talk-REC   RED-only

'And so to this day we see those two pigeons just discussing (it) among themselves.'

The verb *teke* 'desire, think' often precedes other verbs to signal volition or intention. At first glance this appears to be a serial verb construction (§5.5), but since both *teke* and the following verb take subject prefixes, this is better analysed as a case of object complementation.

(70) *Teru teke   tu.*
T.   desire stay

'Teru wants to stay.'

(71) *Te-teke   te-hun-é.*
3p-desire 3p-kill-TR

'They wanted to kill him.'

(72) *Kaone te-pur   tau-a, te-teke   te-al-anges-ia   paita   neu.*
dog   3p-struggle get-TR 3p-desire 3p-mouth-tear-TR coconut that3

'The dogs tried hard to get it; they wanted to tear open that coconut with their mouths.'

(73) *Te-teke   te-tango   ré-réré   matau.*
3p-desire 3p-look.for RED-around:TR obsidian

'They wanted to look for a cutting stone.'

Depending on the context, *teke* can also simply mean 'think', as in the following examples. The addition of *ma* (the exact meaning of which is unclear) shows that the assumption is false.

(74) *Jon teke   ae   nem   kerkereng.*
J.   think tree that2 strong

'John thought that the wood was strong.'

(75) *Iau e-teke   ma o-la   lo.*
1s   1s-think ?   2s-go COMP

'I thought (incorrectly) that you had left.'

Appendix: Three texts

Text 1. Téio ana poponing ('The story of the moon')

This text was written by Matius Hauenna from Inahele in 2004.

(1) *Nge nike toto, téio tu-tua ero-<ch>ro.*
LOC:PN beforehand very moon RED-shine NEG-EC-RED
'Long long ago, the moon never shone.'

(2) *Kileng tu ke chantom mana.*
place live AC dark only
'The world just stayed in darkness.'

(3) *Pe nga étuéné é, héi é i lolo rara*
and LOC day one woman one walk in.sequence around

nga sinanga ke nau rara nga kileng mur.
LOC day.time AC look around LOC place PLUR
'One day, a woman wandered around in the day time, looking around at the places.'

(4) *La ol pe kileng miliko sio,*
go now and place night descend

pe kileng chantom ala toto.
and place dark thoroughly very
'After a while night fell, and the world was completely dark.'

(5) *Ol pe ana héi lete-na tuanin rara,*
now and TOP woman inside-3s think around
'So then the woman was thinking,'

(6) *"Iau mai, lape e-i la ke pomére mai?*
1s this.way IRR 1s-walk go AC how this.way
'"Here I am, how will I proceed now?'

(7) *Kileng kai chantom ala toto mai."*
place here dark thoroughly very this.way
'This place here is completely dark."'

142

(8) *Ol   pe   nga   étuéné é   ana   héi   ar-are*
     now   and   LOC   day   one   TOP   woman RED-sit

     pe   lete-na   tuanin rara,
     and   inside-3s   think   around

     'So then one day the woman was sitting and thinking,'

(9) *pe   hele,   "Lape ta-poi-a   utar   ke   tua   lémé*
     and   speak   IRR   1pi-do-TR   what   AC   shine   bright

     nga   kileng   chantom-ngana   nga   miliko?
     LOC   place   dark-DESC   LOC   night

     'and she said, "What will we do so that it is light on the darkness at night?'

(10) *Lape   ta-pip-ia   kau   mélété   ke   achouchou*
     IRR   1pi-compress-TR   there3 mud   AC   round

     pe   ta-sau   héké   la   nga   lut
     and   1pi-throw   ascend:TR   go   LOC   high

     pe   tua   lémé   nga   chantom   mau?
     and   shine   bright LOC   dark   that3.way

     'Maybe we compress mud into a ball and throw it up high and that way it will shine on the darkness?'

(11) *Éh!   Ta-pip-ia   kau   maha mau?"*
     hmm!   1pi-compress-TR   there3 clay that3.way

     'Hmm! Do we compress that clay there?"'

(12) *Lete-na   tuanin la   la   ol   pe   lete-na   mété-né*
     inside-3s   think   go   go   now   and   inside-3s   eye-3s:TR

     ara   nenge   te-tu-tu   nga   ae   lapusa-ngana.
     glowing.mushroom   REL   3p-RED-live   LOC   tree rotten-DESC

      'She kept thinking and then she remembered the glowing mushroom which lives on rotten trees.'

(13) *Iok   la   ol   ana héi   loaka   pe   kik*
     alright go   now TOP woman arise   and jump.into.action

     sapele   ke   loloch-ia   ara   nemur
     immediately   AC   gather-TR   glowing.mushroom   that2:PLUR

pe pip luluch-é iri.
and compress together-TR 3p

'Alright, then the woman arose, immediately jumped into action and gathered those glowing mushrooms and compressed them together.'

(14) *Pip-ia iri ke hét pe aka luluch ia*
compress-TR 3p AC done and ascend together OBL

la nga ae sase-ngana moko-na nga lut toto.
go LOC tree long-DESC top-3s LOC high very

'After she compressed them she climbed up with them to the very highest point of a tall tree.'

(15) *Ke hét ol pe hele la nga ara nem.*
AC done now and speak go LOC glow.mushroom that2

'After that she spoke to the glowing mushroom.'

(16) *"Héuéu, o-nau pe e-sau héké iong pe mata-m*
 today 2s-look and 1s-throw ascend:TR 2s and eye-2s

inlém ke mallaha toto ke o-tua lémé nga kileng
glow AC clear very AC 2s-shine bright LOC place

chantom-ngana mur lochloch."
dark-DESC PLUR all

'"Today, when you see me throw you up, you (lit. your eye) glow very clearly and you shine bright onto all the dark places."'

(17) *Pomalam, héuéu nei ta-és-ia téio mata-na*
so today this 1pi-see-TR moon eye-3s

tua-nga-na mallaha ke poma-nga chaia mata-na ero.
shine-NOM-3s clear AC be.like-LOC sun eye-3s NEG

'And so it's like that, today (when) we see the light (lit. eye) of the moon, its way of shining is not as clear as the (eye of the) sun.'

(18) *Tua-nga-na mata-na hamelmelanga mana nga*
shine-NOM-3s eye-3s dim only LOC

kileng chantom-ngana.
place dark-DESC

'It only shines dimly on the dark world.' (Lit. 'The shining of its eye is only dim on the dark place.')

(19) *Ke pomalam ta-és-és-ia téio nge tu-tu-a*
AC so   1pi-see-RED-TR moon COMP RED-shine-TR

ke kokoes nga miliko lochloch.
AC habitually LOC night all

'And so like that we continue to see the moon shining every night.'

(20) *Pomalam ta-né<ch>-néu-é téio nge tu-tua*
so   1pi-RED-EC-look-TR moon COMP RED-shine

héuéu nei.
today this

'And so like that we continue to look at the moon as it is shining, to this day.'

Text 2. Ruo toné non é ('A fish swallows a man')

This text was written by Pilip Iteumana from Ruach in 1986. Many clauses in this text start with the conjunction *pe* 'and'; for the sake of naturalness most of these have not been translated literally.

(1) *Non neu la nga umé ke paolole.*
man that3 go LOC garden AC rake

'The man went to the garden to rake'

(2) *Paolole pe nga ulei i sio ke la nun.*
rake and LOC afternoon walk down AC go bathe

'He raked and in the afternoon he went down to bathe.'

(3) *Pe nun ero pe are ke lak tala.*
and bathe NEG and sit AC shave first

'But before he bathed, he first sat down to shave.'

(4) *Pe ana non mén-é a-na kalingo pule.*
and TOP man get-TR PCF-3s spear also

'The man had also taken his spear.'

(5) *Pe tal sué kalingo pe are ke lak-lak nga ruach*
and put down:TR spear and sit AC shave-RED LOC ocean

nge tu nga um ponna-ngana ke si-silo ia.
COMP live LOC stone hole-DESC AC RED-reflect OBL

'He put the spear down and sat and shaved in the reflection that came from a pool of ocean water that stayed in a hole in the rock.'

(6) *Pe néch-néu-é opé-né ke lak-lak.*
and RED-look-TR spirit/reflection-3s AC RED-shave

'He stared at his reflection and shaved.'

(7) *Pe teke nau hot la nga ruach pe nau-é ruo*
and desire look go.out go LOC ocean and look-TR fish

mur nge te-mana haka nga ruach sa-na.
PLUR COMP 3p-float ascend LOC ocean stomach-3s

'As he looked out on the ocean, he saw fish floating on the surface.'

(8) *Ol pe tal teu sapelé a-na laki-nga nga*
now and put go.in immediately:TR PCF-3s shave-NOM LOC

ne-na pulana.
PC-3s armband

'So he immediately tucked his shaver into his armband.'

(9) *Pe rahaka héké a-na kalingo pe i hot*
and grasp ascend:TR PCF-3s spear and walk go.out

sapele ke la tu-é ruo.
immediately AC go shoot-TR fish

'He picked up his spear and walked out to spear the fish.'

(10) *Pe pasu hot tau-a ruo nge tué nga*
and swim go.out get-TR fish COMP shoot:TR LOC

kalingo, pasu teu sapele nga ruo pangulu
spear swim go.in directly LOC fish k.o.fish

palau-ngana han-na.
big-DESC mouth-3s

'As he swam out to get the fish that he had speared (lit. shot with the spear), he swam directly into the mouth of a big *pangulu* fish.'

(11) *Pe ruo pangulu palau-ngana neu ton teu sapelé i.*
and fish k.o.fish big-DESC that3 swallow go.in directly:TR 3s

'That big *pangulu* fish swallowed him right up.'

(12) *Ma nga ruo palau-ngana nem lete-na,*
lie LOC fish big-DESC that2 inside-3s

pe lete-na lilil mana ol.
and inside-3s confuse only now

'He lay inside that big fish and was just confused.'

(13) *Pe lete-na tuanin pe hele,*
and inside-3s think and speak

"Lape e-poi-a ruo nei ke mérei ke méte mai?"
IRR 1s-do-TR fish this AC how AC die this.way

'He thought and said, "How can I kill this fish?"' (Lit. 'How will I do to this fish and it dies here?')

(14) *Lete-na mata-na sapelé   a-na   lak-inga,*
     inside-3s eye-3s   directly:TR PCF-3s shave-NOM

     matau   sachana nge in   teu-a   nga ne-na paspas.[1]
     obsidian flat.piece COMP tuck go.in-TR LOC PC-3s armband

     'He immediately thought of his shaver, the piece of obsidian that he had tucked into his armband.'

(15) *Mén-é pe ut sapel-pelé   ruo neu makan-na.*
     get-TR and cut directly-RED:TR fish that3 liver-3s

     'He took it and right away started cutting the innards of the fish. '

(16) *To-toté,   to-toté   pe i ruo palau-ngana*
     RED-cut:TR RED-cut:TR and 3s fish big-DESC

     ke   makan-na hatat sakilil.
     AC   innards-3s thick excessively

     'He cut and cut, but it was a big fish with very thick innards.'

(17) *Pe naku-na   pomanga téio mol pe ure,*
     and likeness-3s be.like   moon three and something

     iange   kakop laka ueiuei pe   mata-na   toto.
     because knife AFF quick and eye-3s   very

     'And it took something like three months or more, because (if he had had) a knife (it would have been) quick and sharp.'

(18) *Pe nenge ure   sachana mana pe soke ero.*
     and REL   something flat.piece only and big NEG

     'But this was just a flat piece of something and it was not big.'

(19) *Pe toto mén-méné   ruo neu haha-na.*
     and cut RED-only:TR fish that3 innards-3s

     'He just kept cutting the innards of that fish.'

(20) *Pe teke nau hot   nga ruo han-na   pe kileng méséhé.*
     and desire look go.out LOC fish mouth-3s and place clear

     'When he looked out of the mouth of the fish, the place was clear.'

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[1] *Paspas* 'armband' is a loan from Tok Pisin. The Lote word is *pulana*, as in line 8.

(21) *Pe pur-ia ruo nem haha-na toto-nga-na.*
and struggle-TR fish that2 innards-3s cut-NOM-3s

'So he worked hard at cutting that fish's innards.' (Lit. 'He struggled the cutting of the innards of the fish.')

(22) *Teke nau hot mule nga ruo nem han-na pe kileng*
desire look go.out again LOC fish that2 mouth-3s and place

au ala mana, iange lape ruo nem i sio la
dark all.over only because IRR fish that2 3s descend go

nga lémé chapopo-ngana, pe toté ero, pe are mana.
LOC deep dark-DESC and cut:TR NEG and sit only

'He looked out again from the mouth of the fish, but the place was all dark because the fish had probably gone down into the deep darkness; and (so) he did not cut, he just sat.'

(23) *La la la la ke mala toto.*
go go go go AC long.time very

'This went on for a very long time.'

(24) *Pe teke nau hot pe kileng méséhé,*
and desire look go.out and place clear

loaka pe toto mau puleu.
start and cut that3.way again

'But when he looked out and the place was clear, he started cutting again.'

(25) *Poi man-mana ke pomau, la la la la nau pe kileng*
do RED-only AC like.that go go go go look and place

méséhé, pe toté nenge toto chach toté ol.
clear and cut:TR COMP cut break very:TR now

'He just kept doing that, he looked and the place was clear, and he cut so (hard) that he punctured it.'

(26) *Pe ruo palau-ngana nem amnei-a nge non nem*
and fish big-DESC   that2 feel-TR COMP man that2

toto chach-ia haha-na, pe song toto haka sapele
cut break-TR innards-3s and run very ascend directly

la nga ruach ili-na nga peipei.
go LOC ocean edge-3s LOC beach

'When the big fish felt that the man had punctured through its innards, it swam directly up to the edge of the ocean and onto the beach.'

(27) *Pe non ngana iuch hot sapele nga ruo palau-ngana*
and man TOP jump go.out directly LOC fish big-DESC

nem han-na ke la tu-tu nga asa ol.
that2 mouth-3s AC go RED-live LOC beach now

'The man jumped right out of the mouth of the big fish and stayed on the beach.'

(28) *A-na ngau-nga ero, ke méte a-na toto.*
PCF-3s eat-NOM NEG AC die PCF-3s very

'He had no food and was very hungry.' (Lit. '… he very died for his [food].')

(29) *És-ia paita pe hiu-a.*
see-TR coconut and shell-TR

'He saw a coconut and shelled it.'

(30) *Pal chach-ia nga um ke ngau-ngau-a ol.*
hit break-TR LOC stone AC eat-RED-TR now

'He split it on a rock and was eating it.'

(31) *Pe nga kileng neu, hé-héi neu te-ton ro-rorol*
and LOC place that3 RED-woman that3 3p-swallow RED-whole

paita paena.
coconut shell

'At that place, the women would swallow whole coconut shells.'

(32) *Paita ngana-ngana lochloch.*
coconut RED-fruit all

'The whole piece, shell and all.'

(33) *Te-hiu-a   ero.*
      3p-shell-TR   NEG

      'They did not shell them.'

(34) *Pe hé-héi   te-la-la   nga peipei nga uach,*
      and RED-woman 3p-go-RED LOC beach LOC morning

      pe   te-néu-é   i   nge   pal chach-ia paita
      and 3p-see-TR 3s COMP hit break-TR coconut

      ke   ngau-ngau-a pe   te-hele,
      AC   eat-RED-TR   and 3p-speak

      'As the women were going to the beach in the morning, they saw him splitting coconuts and eating them and they said,'

(35) *"Éi! Non pélé koi   ngau-ngau-a tée-mém   nga asa."*
      hey man one here eat-RED-TR   excrement-1pe LOC beach

      "'Hey! Here's a man here eating our excrement on the beach.'"

(36) *"Nga-na   ngae?"*
      body-3s   where

      "'Where is he?'"

(37) *"Nga lamau."*
      LOC   ALL.there3

      "'Over there.'"

(38) *Hana te-ut-é   a-na   olounga   ke te-lau-a.*
      men   3p-cut-TR PCF-3s string.of.beads AC 3p-embrace-TR

      'The men cut some bead strings to capture him.'

(39) *Te-lau-a   pe   te-teke   te-hun-é,*
      3p-embrace-TR and 3p-desire 3p-kill-TR

      pe   non palau é   song at   pe   hele,
      and man big   one run   come and speak

      'They captured him and were about to kill him when an important man came running up and said,'

(40) *"Au! A-hun-é   ero!*
      hey 2p-kill-TR NEG

      "'Hey! Don't kill him!'"

(41) *A-at-ia   nge   iau.*
    2p-come-TR LOC:PN 1s
    'Bring him to me.'

(42) *Le-k   té   laka."*
    PC-1s grandchild AFF
    'He is my grandchild.'"

(43) *Non palau neu poi-a i   la ke tu*
    man big   that3 do-TR 3s go AC live

    nge   iri nai na héi   palau neu sapele.
    LOC:PN 3p two PC:3s woman big   that3 directly

    'That big man made him to stay with the two of them, he and his wife, that important woman, from then on.'

Text 3. Tik Papaku ('My brother the evil bush spirit')

This text was written by Otto Esmata from Inahele in 2004.

(1) *Nge   nike,   kol Chompis iri nai ti-na*
    LOC:PN beforehand boy C.   3p   two same.sex.sibling-3s

    Charo te-ta-tal   a-ria   singo.
    C.   3p-RED-put   PCF-3p   trap

    'Long ago young Chompis along with his brother Charo used to set out their traps.'

(2) *Nga uach,   Chompis hele   la   nge   ti-na*
    LOC morning C.   speak go   LOC:PN   same.sex.sibling-3s

    Charo,
    C.

    'One morning Chompis said to his brother Charo,'

(3) "*Lape ita nai ta-i   ta-i   pau   ke la*
    IRR   1pi two 1pi-walk 1pi-walk EXTENT3   AC go

    ta-sauhot pau   kou   nga it   pa   neu mau.
    1pi-arrive EXTENT3   there LOC mountain EXTENT   that3there3

    '"I suggest the two of us walk all the way over there, until we arrive on the mountain over there."'

(4) *Iri nai te-mes   ke te-hele-le   pe Papaku mes*
    3p   two 3p-stand   AC 3p-speak-RED   and P.   stand

    kome ke longé   iri nai ke hét   lo.
    hide AC hear:TR   3p   two AC done COMP

    'While the two of them stood talking, Papaku[1] was hiding there eavesdropping and heard everything they said.'

(5) *Te-loloch-ia a-ria   singo a-na   rur pe ki-na   mur*
    3p-collect-TR PCF-3p   trap PCF-3s   rope and bone-3s PLUR

    ke hét   pe te-talun-é   re-ria i-nga.
    AC done and 3p-start-TR   PC-3p   walk-NOM

    'They bundled up their trap ropes and supports until they were done and they started their trek.'

---

[1] Papaku is the name of an evil bush spirit.

(6) *Iok   Chompis hele   la   nge   Charo,*
alright C.   speak go   LOC:PN C.

'Alright, Chompis said to Charo,'

(7) "*Lape o-nanas-ia   kue pén-na nei pe   iau lape e-nanas-ia*
   IRR 2s-follow-TR road arm-3s this and 1s   IRR 1s-follow-TR

koi   nei."
here this

'"How about if you follow this branch of the road and I follow that one here?"'

(8) *Iri nai te-la.*
3p two 3p-go

'The two of them went'

(9) *Te-tal sué   a-ria   singo mur ke hét   pe*
3s-put descend:TR PCF-3p trap   PLUR AC done and

te-talun ke te-i   la mule nga kue   chach
3p-start AC 3p-walk go again LOC road break

ala-hél-ngana.
blocked-REC-DESC

'When they had put down their traps they started to walk back on the road which forked in several directions.' (Lit. '... on the road [which] break-blocked with each other.')

(10) *Chompis sauhot tala pe iu-a   Charo.*
C.   arrive first and call-TR C.

'Chompis arrived first and called out for Charo.'

(11) *Pur-ia   Charo a-na   iu-nga   la la pe Charo sauhot*
struggle-TR C.   PCF-3s call-NOM go go and C.   arrive

ero.
NEG

'He anxiously waited for Charo's reply, he waited and waited but Charo did not come.'

(12) *Chompis i   hot   la nga kue ta-na   pe la*
C.   walk go.out go LOC road mother-3s and go

pe sahol-ia   ne Papaku nge   hul-ia   i ke la
and meet-TR   mr. P.   REL   turn-TR 3s AC go

nge   ana   non   ti-na   Charo nge
LOC:PN TOP man same.sex.sibling-3s C.   REL

méte ke   ma   nga   kue.
die   AC   lie   LOC road

'Chompis walked out on the main road and found Papaku who had disguised himself as the main character's brother Charo (who appeared to be) lying dead on the road.'

(13)   *Chompis hele   sapele,   "O-nau   lo!*
       C.   speak   immediately   2s-look COMP.

      'Chompis reacted saying, "Look what has happened!'

(14)   *E-teke   o-i   at   ke ita nai ta-i   ke éllé."*
       1s-want 2s-walk come AC 1pi two 3s-walk AC one

      'I wanted you to come so that the two of us could walk together."'

(15)   *Chompis takis héké   ne Papaku ke la sauhot*
       C.   haul   ascend:TR mr. P.   AC go arrive

       nga re-ria kileng.
       LOC PC-3p   place

      'Chompis hauled Papaku (on his shoulders) until he got back to their village.'

(16)   *La ke ma   la pol   pe   te-nau   pe   kol*
       go   AC live go short.while and   3s-look   and   boy

       Charo sauhot nga kue mata-na.
       C.   meet   LOC road eye-3s

      'After a little while they looked and there was young Charo coming out onto the main road (into the village).'

(17)   *Chompis pe hana pe hé-héi   te-poi ke mérei ol?*
       C.   and men   and RED-woman 3s-do AC how   now

      'What are Chompis, the men, and the women to do now?'

(18)   *Ne Papaku ua-ia   re-ria ure   lochloch-ngana lo.*
       mr. P.   flee-TR PC-3p thing all-DESC   COMP

      'Papaku had already run away with all of their things.'

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