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Robin Hooper

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All correspondence concerning *LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD/Materials* should be addressed to:

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3: first, second and third person pronouns; APH: anaphoric particle, used for *ai* and *ei*; CAUS: causative prefix; C/F: counterfactual; CIA: verbal suffixes of the form *-a*, *-agia*, or *-Cia*; COMP: complementizer; CONJ: conjunction; CPR: comparative morpheme; DEF: definite; DEM: demonstrative; DET: determiner; DIR: directional particle; DL: dual; ERG: ergative preposition; EXCL: exclusive; EXIST: existential; HUM: human numeral prefix; IJ: interjection; INCL: inclusive; INDEF: indefinite; INT: intensifier; LOC: locative; MAN: manner particle; MOD: modal particle; NEG: negative particle; NEG.IMP: negative imperative particle; NOM: nominalising suffix; NP: nominal phrase; PL: plural; POL: politeness particle; POSS: possessive; QN: question particle; REDUP: reduplication; REL: relational particle; SEQ: sequential conjunction; SG: singular; T/A: tense-aspect particle; TO: directional preposition; VOC: vocative; VP: verbal phrase.

Note: Where two or more English words or grammatical symbols are needed to gloss a single Tokelauan word, the use of hyphens indicates corresponding morpheme divisions in the Tokelauan word; the use of full stops indicates that there is no corresponding linear morpheme division in the Tokelauan word.

0. Introduction

0.1. The Tokelauan language

Tokelau comprises three atolls, Atafu, Nukunono and Fakaofu, situated 750 miles north-west of Samoa. It is a dependency of New Zealand, which is being given increasing control over its own affairs. The Tokelauan language belongs to the Austronesian language family, and is placed by current sub-grouping theories in the Samoic-Outlier branch of the Polynesian languages. Tokelauan was a spoken language until about twenty years ago, when the schools started to introduce instruction in writing and reading Tokelauan, and short texts in the language were produced. Since the introduction of Christianity until about fifteen years ago, Samoan was the language of the church, and in most contexts the only written language, and adults were bilingual in Samoan and Tokelauan. In consequence, there has been a notable influence of Samoan on the Tokelauan lexicon. It is possible that Samoan has also influenced Tokelauan syntax to a limited extent, but with the absence of written records this is difficult to document. Minor dialectal differences between the three islands in lexicon and intonation have been noted.

Tokelauan is spoken by approximately 5000 people. About 1600 live in the atolls and about 3000 in New Zealand. In addition there are some Tokelauan people living in Australia, Hawaii and the West Coast of the USA. The history of Tokelauan language use has been described in A. Hooper & J. Huntsman 1992, and Hovdhaugen 1992. The main previous studies of the language are as follows. In the mid-eighties there were two semi-technical studies, Hooper (1986) and Hovdhaugen et al. (1989). A number of academic papers have also been produced (Hovdhaugen (1989, 1992), Vonen (1988, 1989) and Hooper (1988, 1989, and in press)), and two PhD theses: Vonen (1993) is a comparison of parts of speech and conversion in Russian and Tokelauan; Hooper (1993) gives an overview of Tokelauan syntax and more intensive studies of certain aspects; all the topics touched on in this study are treated there in more detail. The *Tokelau Dictionary* (1986) was a result of collaboration between a Tokelauan lexicographer and linguists in the Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland. It contains approximately 8,000 entries.

0.2. Corpus

Most of the examples cited in this study are taken from a corpus of over 200,000 words of transcribed tape-recorded speech in a number of genres and registers, recorded in the Tokelau Islands or New Zealand between 1970 and 1986¹. A few examples come from a much smaller body of written Tokelauan, including entries in the *Tokelau Dictionary*. There is a bias towards more formal registers and middle aged male speakers².

1. Phonology and orthography

1.1. Phonology and phonotactics

The five vowel system follows the usual Polynesian pattern: /i, e, a, o, u/. Vowels can be either long or short. In this study, long vowels are indicated by a macron over the letter symbol, as in *pā*, *pakū* or *mālō*, although at the phonemic level long vowels are analysed as geminate clusters. In

¹ The folk tales in this corpus have been published as Huntsman (1977, 1980).

² I wish to express my gratitude to the Tokelauan speakers whose recorded words form this corpus - some of them no longer alive. I also owe a great debt to my main linguistic consultant, Ropati Simona, who has enthusiastically discussed the Tokelauan language with me for over fifteen years.

addition to vowels which are always long, as in the words noted above, some normally short vowels in grammatical morphemes are lengthened in some environments. Vowel lengthening can also occur for expressive reasons.

There are ten consonant phonemes in Tokelauan, distributed as follows:

	bilabial	labio-dental	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p		t	k	
voiceless fricatives	f		[s]		h
voiced fricative		v			
nasals	m		n	ŋ	
[voiced approximant]			[r]		
voiced lateral			l		

/s/ sometimes occurs in Samoan loan words, although it is more usual for speakers to substitute /h/ in this position. In addition, /r/ occurs in some personal names which are English loan words, for example *Ropati*.

There is partial overlap between the phonemes /h/ and /f/. /f/, reflecting Proto Polynesian (PPN) *f, is a labio-glottal fricative. Lip-rounding and friction at the labial point of articulation are strongest before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, weaker before the back vowels /u/ and /o/, and barely present before the low central vowel /a/, resulting in the occurrence of an allophone [h] in this environment. The phoneme /h/ is a reflex of PPN *s. It is phonetically [h] before the front vowels /i/ and /e/, but is strongly palatalised before the back vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/, resulting in a sound which can be represented as [hʲ]. The allophones of /f/ and /h/ which resemble one another thus do not occur in the same phonetic environment.

Syllable structure is (C)V. Sequences of two vowels, including geminate vowels, are analysed as two syllables. All lexical morphemes contain at least two syllables, but many grammatical morphemes are monosyllabic. All possible sequences of two vowels occur. In fast speech, geminate consonants may occur when unstressed vowels between identical consonants are elided. The majority of Tokelauan words consist of one, two or three syllables. Most words of more than three syllables are morphologically complex.

1.2. Word stress

Word stress has not been systematically studied as yet, and phrase and sentence stress not at all. There is some evidence for the occurrence of the definitive accent on some noun phrases (see Hovdhaugen 1989:23). The following rules will give the correct stress assignment for most Tokelauan words.

- (i) If there is a long vowel, it receives the main stress: 'pā, pa'kū, 'māhina, fānau.
- (ii) Otherwise, the syllable containing the penultimate vowel is stressed: 'manu, ma'natu, ti'ute, ti'oa, hu'iga, fo'fou, te'kau, fe'kei, fi'fio.
- (iii) In compound words and cases of full reduplication (see 3.4) both parts of the compound keep their normal stress. The causative prefix *faka-* behaves like a compounding element in

- this respect: *ki'ato+ 'tama, ki'ato+ma'tua; 'peka+ 'peka; 'faka+ma'natu; 'tai+ka'kahi.*
- (iv) Grammatical morphemes of one syllable are unstressed.

1.3. Orthography

The Tokelauan alphabet is given below in the order in which it is written:

a e i o u f g k l m n p h t v

The alphabet is phonemic with the exception that long vowels are not distinguished orthographically by most Tokelauan writers. There is some resistance to the use of the macron. The notion of writing geminate vowels has not been considered and would almost certainly meet with even stronger resistance. In this study, the macron is used to indicate phonemic vowel length. The letter 'g' represents the velar nasal /ŋ/. The phonetic similarity of /h/ and /f/ described above results in some variation in orthographic practice on the part of Tokelauans themselves, so that spellings such as *toha* for *tōfā* 'good-bye' are often encountered. There is also some variation in word division, with some grammatical morphemes tending to be written together as one orthographic word.

2. Morphology

2.1. Word classes

Four major classes of lexemes can be distinguished according to their ability to combine with certain grammatical morphemes to form phrases, as follows:

- (i) A lexeme which occurs directly after a determiner or possessive pronoun to form a noun phrase is a noun. Some lexemes can function only as nouns: *he loi* 'an ant', *tona vaka* 'his canoe'. Personal names are a subset of nouns which do not combine with the determiners.
- (ii) A lexeme which occurs directly after a verbal particle expressing tense or aspect, such as *ka* 'future' or *koi* 'present continuous', is a verb: *ka fano* 'will go', *koi ola* 'is still alive'. A few lexemes are rarely used any way except verbally, for example *galo* 'be lost, disappear'.
- (iii) A lexeme which occurs directly following the prepositions *i*, *ki* or *mai*, without an intervening determiner, is a locative. These indicate position in relation to some other thing: *luga* 'above', *lalo* 'beneath', *loto* 'inside'; or geographical position: *uta* 'islets on far side of lagoon', *haute* 'south'. Place names and names of months have some but not all the characteristics of locatives. (Some place names contain a determiner as part of the name)
- (iv) Finally, there is a small class of temporal lexemes which are not preceded by any of the particles mentioned above: *ananafi* 'yesterday', *āpō* 'tonight', *ātaeo* 'tomorrow morning'.

Among a few residual problems are forms like *kamea* and *namea* 'almost, nearly' and *ailoga* 'doubtful'. Morphologically these forms suggest a verbal origin, and they almost always occur clause initially. However they are never preceded by a tense-aspect particle, and might be synchronically assigned to a class of adverbs.

Many lexemes can occur in both positions (i) and (ii); that is, they can function both as nouns and verbs. The term 'universals' was suggested for this class in Biggs (1969) and has been adopted in some other descriptions of Polynesian languages, although the usefulness of this category has been questioned (e.g. Vonen 1993). The so-called universals form the most numerous group of lexemes. The class is too large to have any interesting syntactic correlates beyond the broad distributional facts it was set up to describe, and the phenomenon might be best accounted for in terms of very

The nucleus is preceded and/or followed by one or more grammatical morphemes³. The following description of the grammatical morphemes of Tokelauan is given in the context of an account of the structure of nominal phrases (NP) (section 2.4) and verbal phrases (VP) (section 2.6). In this description, prepositions are treated as part of the nominal phrase.

2.4. The nominal phrase

The constituents of nominal phrases with a common noun as head have the following typical order of occurrence (optional items are enclosed in brackets): (preposition)-determiner-(possessive pronoun)-(premodifier)-**nucleus**-(postmodifier)-(demonstrative). The nucleus consists of a single lexeme, such as *fale* 'house', or of a head lexeme and one or more lexemes used as qualifiers: *fale kukula* 'red house', *fale fono* 'meeting house'. The other constituents will be discussed in the order given above, with the exception of the possessive pronouns, which are discussed in 2.5. If the nucleus is a proper noun, only a preposition or certain of the postmodifiers (2.4.4) can occur with it. Locative noun phrases also differ in structure and are discussed in 2.4.6.

2.4.1. Prepositions

Prepositions indicate the relationship of the noun phrase to the predicate of the clause or to the head of another noun phrase of which it is a constituent. (I will sometimes refer to a noun phrase beginning with a preposition as a prepositional phrase.)

The agentive/ergative preposition *e* marks the optionally expressed agent of an agentive verb (see below, 3.2 Transitivity):

- (7) ... ma fufulu lava e ia ana ipu.
 CONJ wash INT ERG 3SG 3SG.POSS.PL dish
 '...and he washed his dishes himself.'

The locative preposition *i* has a number of senses, including physical location, instrument, cause, and source. Some verbs of cognition or mental attitude take arguments marked with *i*, as in (10).

- (8) E i ei lā tētahi ulugālī e nonofo i te vao.
 T/A LOC there INT DET couple T/A live.PL LOC DET bush
 'There was a certain couple living in the bush.'
- (9) Kua puapuagātia lele i amioga a Tonē.
 T/A be-afflicted INT LOC behave-NOM of T.
 '[They] were suffering greatly because of Tonē's behaviour.'
- (10) E mālamalama te tamāloa i te gagana kilipati.
 T/A understand the man LOC the language Gilbertese
 'The fellow understood Gilbertese.'

A clause may have more than one *i*-phrase, fulfilling different semantic functions:

³ Some closed set modifiers, for example *fātoā* in (6) can occur within the lexeme sequence of a phrase nucleus.

- (11) E hēai he mea e hao i te tagata tēnā i te
 T/A be-not DET thing T/A safe LOC DET man DEM LOC DET
 hauā ma te fekai.
 cruelty and DET anger

'There is nothing that is safe from that man in his cruelty and ferocity.'

Objects of comparison are introduced by *i* or *i lō*:

- (12) E televave te mālamalama i (lō) te leo
 T/A be-swift DET light LOC CPR DET sound
 'Light travels faster than sound.'

The directional preposition *ki* indicates direction towards a goal, including physical movement, but extending to recipients and the goal arguments of perception, communication and cognition verbs.

- (13) Taunuku atu ki mātou ki Upolu.
 arrive DIR 1PL.EXCL TO U.
 'We arrived at Upolu.'
- (14) Fehili atu au ki te tamaiti ...
 ask DIR 1sg TO DET child
 'I asked the child ...'

The verb *igoa* 'be named' usually has its complement introduced by *ki*:

- (15) E i ei tētahi hāuai e igoa kia Nautoa.
 T/A LOC there DET ogre T/A named TO N.
 'There was an ogre who was called Nautoa.'

The preposition *mai* indicates source, although *i* can also be used with this meaning:

- (16) ...kae na hopo mai / i Falefā.
 CONJ T/A travel from / LOC F.
 '...but [we] had travelled from Falafā.'

The 'possessive' prepositions *o* and *a* indicate a relationship between two noun phrases. In addition, they form part of the morphological structure of possessive pronouns (see section 2.5).

- (17) te āoga a te faifeau
 DET school of DET pastor
 'the pastor's school'
- (18) te pogai o te mea tēnā
 DET cause of DET thing DEM
 'the cause of that thing'

Polynesian languages are well known for the distinction they make between relationships signified by the preposition *a* and those signified by the preposition *o*, which I will refer to as a-class and o-class possession respectively. The choice of *a* or *o* depends upon the precise relationship between the 'possessor' and the possessed entity. The terms *dominant* and *alienable* have often been used to

define a-class possession. In general, it is used when the possessor has control over the possessed entity or when the relationship is initiated by the possessor or is of such a kind that it can be terminated. The terms *subordinate* and *inalienable* have been applied to o-class possession, which is used when the possessor has no control over the initiation or the continuance of the relationship, as with inherited land, house or canoe; grandparents, parents, and brothers and sisters, parts of the body and other parts of wholes, qualities of mind and character, and physical qualities. Some cases are not easy to account for. Usually, the children of a woman take a-class possession: *te tama a te fafine* 'the woman's son', whereas those of a man take o-class: *te ataliki o te faifeau* 'the pastor's son'. Two words which mean 'spouse' take different possessive forms: *tana āvaga* (the more formal term), but *tona tokalua*. Many nouns can enter into both a-class and o-class constructions: it is the nature of the particular relationship which is important, as the following examples show: *toku kofutino* 'my shirt (which I own)', *taku kofutino* 'my shirt (which I made for someone)'; *toku pehe* 'my song (which so.o. composed about me)', *taku pehe* 'my song (which I wrote)'; *oku lākau* 'my trees (on my land)', *aku lākau* 'my pieces of timber'; *tona fānau* 'his birth', *tana fānau* 'his children'⁴.

Similar semantic considerations dictate the choice between the benefactive prepositions *mō* and *mā*.

- (19) Kave te ika mā koe.
carry DET fish BEN 2SG
'Take the fish for yourself.'

The preposition *ma* 'as', and its homophone discussed in the next paragraph, are both very restricted in distribution. *Ma* 'as' introduces a predicative noun phrase with generic meaning, which indicates prospective career, role or function. Note that the noun lacks a determiner:

- (20) Na kavea toku ataliki ma fōmai.
T/A become 1SG.POSS son as doctor
'My son became a doctor.'

The other preposition *ma* is used in association with a small set of verbs which refer to distance or separation, primarily *mamao* 'be distant', *fano kehe* 'go away', *hola* 'run away', and *aunoa* 'be lacking, be without', and on this basis is often glossed 'from'. However *ma* is also used in a number of other contexts which suggest a variety of different types of relationship between one entity and another, including a comitative one. The relationship of this preposition to the homophonous conjunction *ma* 'and' is unclear. For want of a more accurate term to generalise across the different uses, I gloss it 'relational marker' (REL).

- (21) Fano kehe ma te fale
go different REL DET house
'Go right away from the house'
- (22) te vā o tona fale ma te tai
DET space of 3SG.POSS house REL DET sea
'the distance between his house and the sea'
- (23) Kua māhani ki tātou ma te ika tēnei ko te ō.
T/A accustomed 1PL.INCL REL DET fish DEM PR DET ō
'We are familiar with that fish known as the ō.'

⁴ For comprehensive discussion of the semantics of possession in Oceanic languages, see Lichtenberk 1983 and 1985, Pawley & Sayaba 1990.

- (24) e tuha ma te mea e kō mafaia
T/A equal REL DET thing T/A 1SG be-able-CIA
'in accordance with the nature of my abilities'

Other prepositions are *talū* which has the same semantic range as the English word *since*: either 'since [a certain time]', or 'because of [a certain factor]', and *auā* 'because of', which is primarily a conjunction introducing reason clauses (see 4.4.2), but is occasionally followed directly by a noun phrase:

- (25) Ko te Alofi e lepu, auā te Laki.
PR DET A. T/A muddy because-of DET L.
'The Alofi [a reef area] is muddy, because of the west wind.'

The presentative preposition⁵ *ko* has two very important functions which will be discussed elsewhere. One is to mark the predicate of a nominal sentence (see 3.1). The other is to mark a noun phrase which occurs clause-initially (see 3.5). *Ko* also occurs in the following environments: (i) It introduces a noun, usually a proper name, which is in apposition to another noun and which more precisely specifies it:

- (26) Kave te hua ki te lōmatua ko Mele Sione
take DET drinking-nut TO DET woman PR M. S.
'Take the fish to the old lady, Mele Sione'

(ii) It introduces a specific/definite noun phrase which follows *pe* 'or' or *ka* 'but':

- (27) Kave te ulu pe ko te talo.
take DET breadfruit or PR DET taro
'Take the breadfruit or the taro.'

(iii) Verbs of naming occasionally take complements with *ko* instead of *ki*.

(iv) In a number of Polynesian languages, *ko* can appear before otherwise unmarked postverbal arguments. This use of *ko* occasionally occurs in proverbs or chants, contexts which suggest archaism, or possibly borrowing from Samoan.

2.4.2. Determiners

The **common determiners** are contrasted for number and type of reference. Both the specific/non-specific and the definite/indefinite contrasts are at play, and the type of referentiality conferred by *te* appears to be different for NPs in different syntactic contexts. The determiners are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Specific:	<i>te</i>	Definite: <i>nā, Ø</i>
Non-specific:	<i>he</i>	Indefinite: <i>ni</i>

The singular specific determiner is normally used when a particular individual or object is referred to⁶. It is not necessary that the person addressed should be able to identify the referent. The singular

⁵ I adopt the gloss 'presentative' (PR) for the diverse uses of *ko* in order to conform with the usage in Hovdhaugen et al. 1989, Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992, and Vonen 1993.

⁶ Vonen 1993:90) notes the use of the non-specific singular article to refer to the speaker or some entity associated with

non-specific determiner has the meaning 'any such item', and occurs most frequently in questions, commands, negative statements and hypothetical clauses:

- (28) Kua hau te tino
T/A come DET man
'A man [SP.INDEF] or The man [SP.DEF] has arrived'
- (29) Vili ake oi kaumai he toki
run DIR CONJ bring DET axe
'Do run and bring me an axe'
- (30) E heai he mōlī i te fale
T/A be-not DET lamp LOC DET house
'There isn't a lamp in the house'

In the plural, the contrast between the determiners appears to be one of definiteness; *ni* occurs freely in noun phrases with specific but indefinite reference (32), as well as with genuine non-specific referents, as in (33).

- (31) Mulimuli ake, kua kitea atu ni fale ...
after DIR T/A see DIR DET house
'Soon after, [we] saw some huts ... (Matagi Tokelau, p.52)
- (32) E i ei ni tuhi?
T/A LOC there DET book
'Are there any books?'

Generic statements typically use the singular specific article with the noun that refers to the class, and the non-specific article in the classifying predicate if it is a nominal (see 3.1 for further comment):

- (33) Ko te pala he ika e tākina.
PR DET wahoo DET fish T/A attracted-away
'The wahoo is a fish that is easily frightened'
- (34) E hē mafai ke tāmāte te kimoa mai luga o te motu
T/A NEG possible COMP kill DET rat from above of DET isle
'The rat cannot be eradicated from the island.'

Absence of a determiner characterises several classes of noun: locatives, personal names and independent personal pronouns. In addition, specific plural nouns are sometimes distinguished by the absence of any determiner. This is obligatory with premodifying possessive pronouns (see 2.5), and common when a collectivity or class of entities is being referred to:

- (35) Ko atu ka tau tukufano.
PR Ø skipjack T/A almost be-over
'The skipjack are about to disappear [out to sea].'

The zero article is also common in temporal phrases such as 'every day' or 'every year':

- (36) E hau te vaka i tauhaga uma.
T/A come DET ship LOC Ø year all
'The ship comes every year.'

the speaker, in polite self-deprecation.

A second set of determiners is composed of the morpheme *tahi*⁷ in combination with the forms described above, which are however subject to some unpredictable modifications, mainly of vowel length. Note that in the form *iētahi*, *tahi* combines with the demonstrative *iē* 'these', not with the plural article *nā*.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>iētahi</i>	'the other, a certain'	<i>iētahi</i>	'the others, certain others'
<i>hetahi</i>	'another, any other'	<i>niētahi</i>	'some (others), any others'

- (37) Ko iētahi tino e fiafia lele ki nā hiva
PR DET person T/A like INT TO DET dance
'Some people love dances.'
- (38) Kaumai hetahi nofoa
bring-DIR DET chair
'Bring me another chair.'

In many cases the gloss 'other' is appropriate, as the noun phrase in question plays a contrastive role. However there are also examples, with *iētahi* in particular, but also with *iētahi* and *niētahi*, in which these forms have the discourse function of introducing a new referent which is specific but indefinite. In this case a gloss of '(a) certain', or even simply 'a/some', is more appropriate:

- (39) Kae kikila atu au, kua tāofi te tāvale e tētahi tagata.
CONJ look DIR 1SG T/A stop DET vehicle ERG DET person
'But I observed that a man stopped the bus.'

Finally in this section, the particle *ia*, which is not clearly classifiable synchronically as a determiner. It derives from the PPN particle *a, reflected in a number of Polynesian languages as a personal article preceding absolutive or nominative personal names and pronouns, and pronouns after the prepositions *i, *ki and *mai⁸. In Tokelauan, the distribution of *ia* is complicated. It resembles an absolutive marker (hence the gloss ABS), occurring before certain classes of nominal which do not cooccur with the common determiners, including personal names, pronouns, locatives and some collective plurals, when these are not preceded by one of the prepositions *e*, *o* or *ko*. However it also occurs before proper names after the preposition *mai* (see 43). It is thus in complementary distribution with the determiners and in not quite perfect complementary distribution with the prepositions. In addition, *ia* has fused with the prepositions *i* and *ki* to give the modified forms *ia*, *iate*, *kia*, *kiate*, which occur with the same classes of nominal. A more detailed discussion of the problems associated with the analysis and classification of these forms can be found in Hooper (1993:34-9), Hovdhaugen (1989: 50-51), Vonen (1988: 38-9). Some examples are given below.

- (40) Ka nonofo i te fale ia kitāua.
T/A dwell.PL LOC DET house ABS 1DL.INCL
'We two will stay at home.'
- (41) Kua tō ia ua
T/A pour ABS rain
'It is pouring with rain.'

⁷ The form *tahi* also occurs as a verb meaning 'be one', a qualifier meaning 'single' or 'momentarily', and as part of the numerals *fokotahi* 'one' and *tokotahi* 'one (of people only)'.
⁸ Clark 1976:58-61 explores the issues involved in the synchronic analysis of reflexes of *a in a number of languages.

- (42) E tolu ia ika na maua.
T/A three ABS fish T/A obtain
'We caught three fish.'
- (43) Na maua te tuhi mai ia Hela.
T/A obtain DET letter from ia H.
'The letter arrived from Sara.'
- (44) Kave te puha kia Hela / Kiate ki lātou.
carry DET box TO-ia H. TO-ia-te 3PL
'Take the box to Sara / to them.'

2.4.3. Premodifiers

Lexemes which modify the head noun of a noun phrase follow that noun and are considered part of the nucleus of the phrase. However, there are three common modifying words which can occur before the noun in a noun phrase. These are *mātuā* 'very big, huge', *tamā* (variants *tamakī* and *tamakīkī*) 'very small, tiny', and *toe* 'final, last, leftover':

- (45) he matuā ika lele (46) te toe kaiga
DET huge fish INT DET last eat-NOM
'an absolutely huge fish' 'leftover food'

2.4.4. Postmodifiers

A number of postmodifying particles occur in both nominal and verbal phrases. They are *lele* 'very', *foki* 'also', *noa* and *tauanoa* 'just, mere', *lava* and *lā*, intensifiers. For *lele*, see example (45) above. Some of these particles have interesting discourse pragmatic functions, described in Hooper (1993:40-2) and Vonen (1988:73-6).

- (47) he mea tauanoa (48) te kofu kukula lava
DET thing mere DET shirt red INT
'a trivial matter' 'the red shirt'

2.4.5. Demonstratives

Two demonstrative particles, *tē* 'this, that' (transparently related to the singular specific determiner) and *iē* 'these, those', are frequently combined with the following deictic particles, which indicate position in relation to the participants in a conversation: *-nei* (near speaker), *-nā* (near addressee), and *-ia* (away from both speaker and addressee)⁹. *Tē* and *iē* are used without the position particles in gestural deixis. In addition, *nei* occurs on its own with the same meaning as *tēnei* and *iēnei*, and *ia* also occurs on its own, usually with an anaphoric function. Usually, the demonstratives are the last item to occur in a noun phrase, except for relative clauses. The demonstratives can also function as the head of an NP; in fact *ia* only occurs as the subject of a nominal predicate. The full paradigm is given below:

⁹ These forms also occur suffixed to the verb *vē* 'be like' to form the deictic verbs *vēnei* 'be like this', *vēnā* 'be like that' and *vēia* 'be like that'.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
near speaker	<i>tēnei, nei</i>	<i>iēnei, nei</i>
near addressee	<i>tēnā</i>	<i>iēnā</i>
away from both, 'yonder'	<i>tēia, ia</i>	<i>iēia</i>

The type of deixis expressed by the demonstratives may be locational, temporal, or intra-textual (52).

- (49) Ko ai te tino tē(ia)?
TOP who DET person DEM
'Who is that man?'
- (50) nā puha nei/iēnei
DET box DEM
'these boxes'
- (51) Ko te fafine ia na lea atu ai au.
TOP DET woman DEM T/A say DIR APH 1SG
'That's the woman I mentioned.'
- (52) Nonofo, nonofo te ulugālī, fai ta lā tama, he tama
live.PL DET couple make 3DL.POSS child DET child
teine. Ko te tama ulumatua tēnā o to lā nonofoga.
girl PR DET child firstborn that of 3DL.POSS live.PL-NOM

'Living-and living together the couple produced their child, a female child. That was the eldest child of their union.'

2.4.6. Locative noun phrases

Locative noun phrases differ in structure from other nominal phrases. When a locative noun is preceded by a preposition, it does not take an article. If it is the unmarked (absolutive) noun of a clause, it is preceded by the particle *ia* (see 2.4.2). Other grammatical words which may occur in a locative noun phrase are a premodifying possessive pronoun minus its determiner component (2.5), postmodifiers like *lele* and *lava*, and post-modifying locative noun phrases or o-class possessive noun phrases. Most notably the directional particles (see 2.6.8 below), which are otherwise limited to occurrence in a VP or nominalisation, can postmodify true locatives, as in (55).

- (53) Fano ki gāuta lele.
go TO inland INT
'Go right inland' or 'Go right up to shore.'
- (54) Nofo i ona tua.
sit LOC 3SG.POSS space-behind
'Sit behind him.'
- (55) i lalo ifo o te laulau.
LOC beneath DIR of DET table
'under the table.'

2.4.7. Vocative phrases

A personal name, or other noun phrase denoting some entity which is addressed, can stand alone in a vocative phrase, usually followed by the vocative particle *e*.

- (56) Tokalalaga e, tuku mai te vaka.
T. VOC put DIR DET canoe
'Hey, Tokalalaga, stop the canoe.'

2.5. Pronouns

In its pronoun system, Tokelauan distinguishes singular, dual and plural number, and four persons: 1st person inclusive, 1st person exclusive, 2nd person and 3rd person. The **independent personal pronouns** are set out in Table 1. The first person singular form *kita* and its associated possessive forms *tota*, *tata* (Table 4) have self-deprecating overtones. They are common in the spoken language, and are used to evoke empathy with the speaker. When independent pronouns occur after the preposition *mai* they are preceded by *iate*, or sometimes *te* in casual speech. When they occur after the prepositions *i* or *ki*, the prepositions take the expanded forms *iate* and *kiate*.

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
<u>1st person incl.</u>		<i>ki tāua, ki tā</i>	<i>ki tātou</i>
<u>1st person excl.</u>	<i>au, kita</i>	<i>ki māua, ki mā</i>	<i>ki mātou</i>
<u>2nd person</u>	<i>koe</i>	<i>koulua</i>	<i>koutou</i>
<u>3rd person</u>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ki lāua, ki lā</i>	<i>ki lātou</i>

An additional set of preverbal clitic pronouns, shown in Table 2, may be used with agentive verbs immediately after the tense-aspect marker. In this case, a suffix of the form *-a* or *-agia* is attached to the verb (for details of this construction, see 2.6.6.1.) They also occur in some negative imperatives and requests (3.3). In some but not all cases these preverbal pronouns differ formally from the independent pronoun forms.

Table 2: Preverbal Clitic Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
<u>1st person incl.</u>		<i>ki tā</i>	<i>ki tātou</i>
<u>1st person excl.</u>	<i>kō, kita</i>	<i>ki mā</i>	<i>ki mātou</i>
<u>2nd person</u>	<i>kē</i>	<i>koulua</i>	<i>koutou</i>
<u>3rd person</u>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ki lā</i>	<i>ki lātou</i>

Possessive pronouns can occur as modifiers in a noun phrase or as the nucleus of a possessive predicate (see 3.1). There are two different sets of possessive pronouns.

The pronouns of the first set, which I call predicative possessive pronouns, are shown in Table 3. Note that in the singular, there are distinct o-class and a-class forms. These pronouns occur after the possessive prepositions *o* and *a* and the benefactive *mō* and *mā* in two different environments:

(i) In the nucleus of a possessive predicate:

- (57) E a aku nā meakai
T/A POSS.1SG DET food
'The food is mine'

(ii) Following the possessed noun in a possessive noun phrase:

- (58) nā meakai a aku
'my food'

Table 3: Predicative possessive pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
<u>1st person incl.</u>		<i>tāua, tā</i>	<i>tātou</i>
<u>1st person excl.</u>	<i>oku, aku, kita</i>	<i>māua, mā</i>	<i>mātou</i>
<u>2nd person</u>	<i>ou, au, koe</i>	<i>koulua</i>	<i>koutou</i>
<u>3rd person</u>	<i>ona, ana</i>	<i>lāua, lā</i>	<i>lātou</i>

The short and long forms of the dual pronouns are used interchangeably. With the short forms, the vowel of the preposition is sometimes lengthened: *ō tā*. With the singular pronouns, there is a strong tendency for the possessive preposition to be articulated together with the initial vowel of the pronoun, giving a single long vowel: *he fale ōku*. In slow or citation speech the two vowels are distinct.

The possessive pronouns of the second set occur as premodifiers in the noun phrase. They are a combination of a determiner (including the zero form of the specific determiner), a possessive preposition (*o* or *a*), and a pronoun (in some cases a shortened form of the pronoun), for example:

t- *o* *-ku* = *toku* 'my'
article preposition 1 sg. pronoun

The premodifying possessive pronouns thus combine the following types of information: (i) The determiner component indicates number and specificity. It is omitted when the pronoun premodifies a locative noun. (ii) The preposition component indicates whether the type of possession is o-class or a-class or neutral (the first and third person dual and plural pronouns, in which the possessive preposition is assimilated to the article to give *to*, *ta*, *ho*, and *ha*, sometimes occur in a neutralised form with the article alone: *te tāua*, *he mātou*.) (iii) The pronoun component indicates the number

and person of the possessor. Note that the plural definite article *nā* is not used in these compound forms. When the thing possessed is definite and plural, this is indicated by the zero form of the article.

Table 4: Premodifying possessive pronouns

Possessor	Singular reference	Plural reference
	Specific / Definite	
1 singular	<i>toku, taku, tota, tata</i>	<i>oku, aku, ota, ata</i>
2 singular	<i>tō, tau</i>	<i>ō, au</i>
3 singular	<i>tona, tana</i>	<i>ona, ana</i>
1 dual incl.	<i>to tā, to tāua</i>	<i>o tā, o tāua</i>
	<i>ta tā, ta tāua</i>	<i>a tā, a tāua</i>
1 dual excl.	<i>to mā, to māua</i>	<i>o mā, o māua</i>
	<i>ta mā, ta māua</i>	<i>a mā, a māua</i>
2 dual	<i>toulua, taulua</i>	<i>oulua, aulua</i>
3 dual	<i>to lā, to lāua</i>	<i>o lā, o lāua</i>
	<i>ta lā, ta lāua</i>	<i>a lā, a lāua</i>
1 plural incl.	<i>to tātou, ta tātou</i>	<i>o tātou, a tātou</i>
1 plural excl.	<i>to mātou, ta mātou</i>	<i>o mātou, a mātou</i>
2 plural	<i>toutou, tautau</i>	<i>outou, autou</i>
3 plural	<i>to lātou, ta lātou</i>	<i>o lātou, a lātou</i>
	Non-specific/Indefinite	
1 singular	<i>hoku, hota</i>	<i>ni oku, ni ota</i>
	<i>haku, hata</i>	<i>niaku, niata</i>
2 singular	<i>hō, hau</i>	<i>ni ō, ni au</i>
3 singular	<i>hona, hana</i>	<i>ni ona, ni ana</i>
1 dual incl.	<i>ho tā, ho tāua</i>	<i>ni o tā, ni o tāua</i>
	<i>ha tā, ha tāua</i>	<i>ni a tā, ni a tāua</i>

etc., on same pattern as for Definite forms.

2.6. The verbal phrase

The grammatical morphemes which can occur in the VP are discussed in this section. They are treated in the order in which they typically occur, which is given below:

(tense-aspect or modal particle) - (negative particle) - (clitic pronoun) - (pre-nuclear particle) - (derivational prefix) - **nucleus** - (derivational suffix) - (*-a(gia)*) - (postmodifier) - (directional particle) - (*ai*) - (manner particle) - (intensifier)

The nucleus of a VP or verbal predicate has a verbal lexeme as head and may also contain one or more qualifying lexemes or a generic object (3.2.2). Locative, possessive and nominal predicates

may also contain some of the grammatical morphemes listed above. (For a description of predicate types see 3.1).

2.6.1. Tense-aspect particles

Although the tense-aspect (T/A) particle is the first element of the VP, it may be preceded in the clause by a conjunction, an adverbial, or a fronted NP. For the most part, the Tokelauan T/A particles encode both temporal and aspectual information. The meaning and use of each particle is described below. (For a fuller treatment of aspectual contrasts, see Hooper 1989 and 1993, Chapter 2.)

The particle *e* expresses either absolute or relative present tense. Verbs marked with *e* are interpreted as concurrent with the reference time established by the discourse context. In addition, *e* can have future time reference in appropriate contexts, as in the last italicized verb group in the example below. *E* is aspectually neutral; it places no restrictions on the Aktionsart of the verbs it occurs with and indicates simply that a certain situation holds at a given reference time.

- (59) Kua lea mai, "Ko te tupu e vēia e hē malie. E ita
 T/A say DIR PR DET king T/A like T/A NEG pleased T/A angry
 auā koutou kua kaumai..." Oi kua lea mai, "Ko au
 because 2PL T/A bring-here CONJ T/A say DIR TOP 1SG
 e toe hau tāeao".
 T/A again come tomorrow

'He said to us, "The king appears to be displeased. He is angry because you have been brought here...." Then he said to us, "I will come again tomorrow".

The particle *ka* expresses absolute or relative future tense, or may indicate a hypothetical situation with strong predictive overtones; it is used for future time reference where the use of *e* might cause ambiguity, or where there is an emphasis on the inevitability of the occurrence.

- (60) Oi kua lea mai te tupu, "Ka fai a tātou hiva".
 CONJ T/A say DIR DET king T/A do 1PL.INCL.POSS dance
 'Then the king said to us, "We will do a dance".

The particle *koi* encodes a 'still' tense, indicating a situation that started at some point prior to the speech time or reference time, is still continuing at that time, and is expected to come to an end in due course. *Koi* is compatible with durative situations that have dynamic or stative Aktionsart, but states must not be intrinsic/permanent states, for *koi* implies a logical or expected endpoint which has not yet been reached.

- (61) Koi ola o matua?
 T/A live 2SG.POSS.PL parent
 'Are your parents still alive?'

Past or relative past tense and perfective aspect are expressed by *na*. A *na*-marked verb represents a situation without regard to its internal structure; *na* is compatible with punctual events, completed telic situations, or activities/ processes of some duration provided they are terminated before the reference time.

- (62) *Na fehili au ki te tino na fakaali mai te mea tēnā.*
 T/A ask 1SG TO DET man T/A CAUS.reveal DIR DET thing DEM
 'I enquired [absolute past] of the man who had shown
 [relative past] me that thing.'

The imperfective counterpart to *na* is *nae*. It has the same tense specifications, but is compatible only with durative situations which can have endpoints; *nae* never occurs as a marker of permanent states. Durativity does not require the use of *nae*. It is used when the speaker wishes to stress that a situation was temporary but durative, or when some punctual event is located within the frame provided by the *nae*-marked verb.

- (63) *Na kē maua mai ia Iohia? Ko te vāitaimi tēnā*
 T/A 2SG meet DIR ABS I. PR DET time DEM
nae faipule ai ia Iohia i kinei.
 T/A magistrate APH ABS I. LOC here

'Did you meet Iohia? At that time he was *faipule* here.'

The particle *kua* is not a tense marker. It marks inchoative viewpoint aspect, making reference to the starting point of a situation and to the resulting state of affairs, interpreted in accordance with the nature of the verb and its arguments; *kua* is compatible with any kind of Aktionsart provided the situation has a starting point.

- (64) *E tutū loa ki mātou ki luga kua hihiva, gāholo mai loa.*
 T/A stand MAN 1PL.EXCL TO above T/A dance.PL rush DIR MAN
 'When we stood up and began to dance, they rushed towards us.'

In some contexts *kua* resembles a perfect, a circumstance which has led some linguists to use this label for its cognates in other Polynesian languages. For example, *kua* may be used when the state of affairs resulting from a prior event is assumed to hold at the reference time - which may or may not be the speech time. One such usage is the so-called 'experiential perfect'. In questions the experiential perfect is also expressed with the composite form *na kua*.

- (65) *Ko Mativa kua pā ki Nukunonu ma Fakaofo. Na fano lā*
 PR M. T/A arrive TO N. and F. T/A go INT
koi tamaiti lele.
 T/A be.a.child INT

'Mativa has been to N. and F., but he went when he was still very young.'

Systematic **zero-marking** of verbs (as opposed to ellipsis of the T/A particle in informal speech) occurs primarily in two contexts. Firstly, bald imperatives with second-person addressees consist of the unmarked verb stem (see 3.3 below). Secondly, zero-marking of verbs, either in narrative or as a brief segment of some other type of text, indicates sequencing of events. It can thus be described secondarily as a marker of perfective aspect.

- (66) *Fanatu loa lava te tamaloa oi tatala te taga.*
 go-DIR MAN INT DET young.man SEQ undo DET sack
Hau loa lava ia Tone ki fafo kae ulu te tamaloa
 come MAN INT ABS T. TO outside CONJ enter DET young-man

- ki loto i te taga. Tago atu loa ia Tone*
 TO inside LOC DET sack take DIR MAN ABS T.
oi toe nonoa te gutu o te taga.
 SEQ again tie-up DET mouth of DET sack

'The man went straight over and opened the sack. Tone came out immediately and the man went into the sack. Tone took hold of the mouth of the sack and tied it up again.'

2.6.2. Modal particles

Three particles with modal meaning occur in the same position as the tense-aspect particles. The most common is *ke* which has a desiderative force and is heterosemous in that it also functions as a complementiser (see 4.2), and as a subordinating conjunction introducing purpose clauses and 'until' clauses (4.4.2). In independent clauses it may be used in inclusive and third person imperatives, in polite second person imperatives, and in clauses expressing intention or purpose:

- (67) *Koulua ke alolofa mai kiate au.*
 2DL MOD have.empathy.PL DIR TO 1SG
 'You two, be considerate towards me.'
- (68) *Ke toe tautala atu ai au i te faiva tēnei.*
 MOD again speak DIR APH 1SG LOC DET fishing DEM
 'Let me speak to you again about this type of fishing.'

Two less common particles express the speaker's attitude to the proposition they introduce. *Keinā* expresses a mild wish or preference and *einā* expresses weak epistemic modality with overtones of anxiety:

- (69) *Keinā olo mua koutou, auā kua pō.*
 MOD go.PL POL 2PL because T/A night
 'You had better go, because it is late.'
- (70) *Fakaeteete, einā fuli te vaka!*
 be-careful MOD overturn DET canoe
 'Be careful, the canoe might tip over!'

2.6.3. Negative particles

The preverbal negative particles *hē* and *hēki* are distinguished aspectually. *Hē* is an imperfective negative, used to negate clauses which encode states of affairs, whereas *hēki* is perfective, and negates clauses which encode events. The semantics of these particles is discussed in more detail in Hooper (1993:55-6,156).

- (71) *E hē lelei te aho.*
 T/A NEG good DET day
 'The weather isn't good.'
- (72) *Nae hē i te fale au ananafi.*
 T/A NEG LOC DET house 1SG yesterday
 'I wasn't at home yesterday.'

(73) E hē fano te vaka.
T/A NEG go DET boat
'The boat won't leave', 'The boat isn't going', 'It is not the case that the boat is leaving.'

(74) a E hēki fano te vaka. b Ko hēki fano te vaka.
T/A NEG go DET canoe T/A NEG go DET canoe
'The boat didn't go.' 'The boat hasn't gone yet.'

A common implicature of both *e hēki* and *ko hēki* is 'not yet'. This *ko* may be a variant of the T/A particle *koi* 'still'. The particles do not cooccur with *na*. When *hē* is used after *kua*, the meaning is 'no longer, not any more':

(75) Kua hē mafai te toeaia oi havalii.
T/A NEG possible DET elder COMP walk
'The old man can no longer walk.'

2.6.4. Prenuclear particles

A number of words which can occur before the nucleus in a verb phrase have aspectual, phasal or commentative meaning. As already noted, *matuā*, *tamā* and *toe* can also occur in the noun phrase in pre-nuclear position. Some other examples are: *fakatagā* 'pretend to', *fatoā* 'just, only just now' (of time only), *fia* 'wish to, want to', *hāga* 'keep on, persist', *hōna* 'carelessly, recklessly', *tau* 'beginning to', *toe* 'again, still', *vave* 'quickly, soon'. More than one of these particles can be used in a single VP; the order in which they are used depends on the semantic scope of each item:

(76) E fia toe fano au.
T/A want again go 1SG
'I want to go again.'

2.6.5. Derivational prefixes

The causative prefix *faka-* exhibits the functions which are widely attested by its cognates throughout Polynesia. It can be attached to most intransitive verbs and to many nouns. Among numerous shades of meaning, four main uses can be distinguished. As the examples demonstrate, the derivations can be semantically idiosyncratic.

- (i) When it is prefixed to numerals it derives words meaning 'a certain number of times': *lua* 'two', *fakalua* 'twice', *fai fakalua* 'do [it] twice'.
- (ii) When prefixed to a noun, it forms an intransitive verb meaning to act in a way, or have the qualities, associated with the noun: *tamaiti* 'child', *fakataamaiti* 'childish'.
- (iii) When prefixed to some intransitive verbs, it forms intransitive verbs which exhibit a variety of semantic relationships to the stem verb: *kefukefu* 'grey', *fakakefukefu* 'greyish'; *nimonimo* 'move in a circular fashion', *fakanimonimo* 'be confusing'.
- (iv) In its most common and productive use, *faka-* is prefixed to intransitive verbs to form causative agentive verbs: *lelei* 'good', *fakalelei* 'make [something] good, do well'; *afe* 'call at a place', *fakaafe* 'invite [someone] to call in'.

The prefix *fe-* is lexically selected by a few intransitive verbs to form plurals: *kake* (sg.), *fekakei*

(pl.) 'climb'; *inu* (sg.), *feinu* (pl.) 'drink'. In a more productive use, *fe-* combines with the suffix *-aki* to form reciprocal plurals (see below 2.6.6.2).

Some agentive verbs take a prefix *ta-*, often called a 'plural' but better described as an Aktionsart category indicating iterativity. The notion of plurality attaches to the patient participant, i.e. the unmarked noun phrase, and to the act itself, not to the agent: *kati* 'bite', *takati* 'bite each one separately'; *kokoma* 'squeeze something between the hands', *takoma* 'squeeze several things'; *ihi* 'split', *taihi uma nā lākau* 'split all the logs'. Hovdhaugen (1989:106) points out that there is considerable variability in the use of these plurals; reduplicated or *fe-* plurals are often substituted.

There are two prefixes of the form *ma-*. One derives verbs with the meaning 'be able to do V': *tuki* 'pound, hammer', *matuki* (of nails) 'be able to be hammered in'; *nofo* 'sit', *manofa* 'be able to sit still' (usually used negatively). The notion of ability in the derived predicate is associated with S and O, i.e. the absolutive NP of both intransitive (*nofo*) and agentive (*tuki*) predicates. Considerably more productive is the *ma-* prefix (variant *mā-*) denoting events or processes which come about spontaneously or by accident, without a purposeful agent: *ligi* 'pour', *maligi* 'spill over, be spilt'; *numi* 'wind up', *manumi* 'be or become tangled'; *lue* 'shake [something]', *māuelue* 'be unsteady or unstable'. These verbs are discussed in Hooper (1984:59-63).

Possibly related to the pre-nuclear particle *tau* (6.4) is the unproductive prefix *tau-* which confers persistent meaning in some cases, and conative meaning in others: *kave* 'carry, take', *taukave* 'carry about, take with'; *mafai* 'be possible, be able', *taumafai* 'try'.

2.6.6. Suffixes

2.6.6.1. The -Cia suffixes

Tokelauan has several morphological elements which can be related to the PPN suffix referred to as *-Cia (Clark 1976, Chung 1978). One of these forms, which I will refer to as *-a(gia)*, is syntactically determined. There is also a derivational suffix *-Cia* which has a number of lexically selected allomorphs. In between these unproblematic areas there are some ambiguous forms which are not fully understood as yet. (See Hooper 1993:64-8.)

The syntactically determined form of the suffix has three forms: *-a*, *-gia* and *-agia*¹⁰, of which the short form *-a* is the most common. This suffix is used only with agentive verbs. It occurs in two kinds of clause.

- (i) When an agentive verb has a pronoun agent, two constructions are possible. An independent pronoun, introduced by *e*, can occur after the verb (not necessarily in immediate post-verbal position), or a clitic pronoun can occur before the verb, without the case-marker. In this case, the *-a(gia)* suffix must be added to the verb:

(77) Na ia velo-a te ika / Na velo e ia te ika.
T/A 3SG spear-CIA DET fish / T/A spear ERG 3SG DET fish
'He speared the fish.'

¹⁰ In the discussion I refer to it as the *-a(gia)* suffix. In the morpheme glosses under examples, I will use the same gloss '-CIA' for this as well as all other reflexes of *-Cia.

(78) Na kē fau-agia te fale?
T/A 2SG build-CIA DET house
'Did you build the house?'

(ii) When an agentive verb is negative, the suffix must be used:

(79) Nahe fai-a te mea tēnā.
NEG.IMP do-CIA DET thing DEM
'Don't do that.'

(80) Ko te pū tēnā e hē hōna tagi-a.
PR DET conch-shell DEM T/A NEG carelessly sound-CIA
'That conch is not blown for nothing.'

It is not uncommon for *-a(gia)* to follow a directional particle instead of being attached directly to the nucleus of the verb phrase:

(81) Ko te ika nahe poapoa mai-a ki te tafāvaka.
PR DET fish NEG.IMP feed-bait DIR-CIA TO DET beside-canoe
'Don't lure the fish up to the side of the canoe.'

A fossilised derivational suffix *-a*, presumably a version of the *-Cia* suffix, is found in a number of very common verbs which are syntactically agentive but semantically not of the prototypical transitive type, notably *iloa* 'know' (cf. *ilo* 'sort out, examine'), *kitea* 'see' (cf. *kite* 'look at'), and *manatua* 'remember' (cf. *manatu* 'think'). These verbs are among those most commonly used with clitic pronouns, often with the long version of the *-(a)gia* suffix.

The derivational suffix of the form *-Cia* has the variants *-a*, *-fia*, *-gia*, *-kia*, *-lia*, *-mia*, *-hia* and *-tia*. The form *-a* is added to verbs ending in *-i*; otherwise the suffix appears to be lexically selected. It is non-productive, and idiosyncratic meaning shifts occur. Examples are: *kati* 'bite', *katia* 'be damaged by insects'; *ita* 'be angry', *itagia* 'be hated'; *malu* 'be shady, cloudy', *maluhia* 'be overshadowed', *malutia* 'be sheltered'. A feature of verbs with this suffix is that, although many of them can be used with agent phrases or clitic pronouns, they cannot be used in the imperative. The glosses given above are taken from the *Tokelau Dictionary*, and indicate the passive quality of the derived verbs. The valency of *-Cia* derivatives involves a strong orientation toward the unmarked noun phrase, the participant in O function, and they are only marginal members of the agentive class.

2.6.6.2. Other suffixes

The suffix *-aki* is used in combination with the prefix *fe-* to indicate reciprocal action, or occasionally repeated action: *fakaali* 'tell, show', *fefakaaliaki* 'tell one another'; *finau* 'argue', *fefinauaki* 'quarrel with one another'; *mao* 'make a mistake', *femaomaoaki* 'fail to meet one another because of misunderstanding'; *hui* 'change', *fehuihuiaki* 'change repeatedly, fluctuate'. Some lexically determined allomorphs begin with a consonant: *logo* 'tell, inform', *felogonaki* 'inform one another'.

The very productive suffix *-a* is added to nouns to form verbs which mean 'having an abundant supply of N': *namu* 'mosquito', *namua* 'full of mosquitoes'; *ika* 'fish', *ikā* 'abounding in fish'.

2.6.7. Post-modifiers

Several kinds of modifying particles can follow the verb. The directional particles and manner particles are sufficiently distinct to warrant separate category labels. The remainder have various pragmatic or intensifying functions. Their role in the noun phrase has been described (2.4.4). Two of these, *lele* 'very, exceedingly, absolutely' and *tauanoa* or *noa* 'just, only', come directly after the verb and any lexical words used as qualifiers (i.e. after the nucleus). The others typically follow the directional particles, *ai*, and the manner particles, and are described below in 2.6.10.

(82) E fitā lele te fafine
T/A tired very DET woman
'The woman is very tired.'

(83) nofo tauānoa
sit just
'sit idly', 'just sit there'

2.6.8. Directional particles

The four particles *mai*, *atu*, *ake* and *ifo* indicate the direction in which the action of the verb is performed in relation to the speaker or some other deictic centre or locus of empathy. As personal deictics, they are often used without any accompanying personal pronoun: *lea mai* 'tell me'.

The pair *mai* and *atu* contrast in terms of movement towards or away from the speaker, on a more or less horizontal axis. *Mai* expresses movement towards the speaker in space or time; words, emotions or behaviour directed towards the speaker; processes in which the speaker has an interest or by which she or he may be affected: *lafo mai* 'send me', *alofa mai* 'love me', *fakatali mai* 'wait for me', *uhu mai he pehe* 'sing us a song'. *Atu* expresses motion away from the speaker; words, emotions or behaviour directed towards others; the greater element in a comparison; the passage of time, envisaged as receding from the present; any outward-looking experience: *vili atu ki kō* 'run over there', *na lea atu au* 'I said', *na fakatali atu au* 'I waited for you', *lahi atu* 'bigger'.

The pair *ake* and *ifo* contrast on a vertical axis: *ake* 'upwards, in inland direction', *ifo* 'downwards, shorewards'. There is a metaphorical extension to social status or demeanour:

(84) E hē mafai e koe ke tukutuku ifo tō loto.
T/A NEG possible ERG 2SG COMP lower DIR 2SG.POSS spirit
'You are incapable of acting with humility.'

Together with the locative nouns *gāuta* 'towards land, inland', *gātai* 'towards sea, further from land', *tua* 'ocean side of atoll' and *namō* 'lagoon side of atoll', *ake* and *ifo* form a complex system of spatial deixis based on local topography and in some contexts on wind directions. Another deictic use of *ake* is to indicate movement in some direction with the speaker, or to where the speaker will be at some future point. *Ake* is also used in direct address as a politeness particle, to soften commands or requests. With all the particles, the basic idea of direction is extended metaphorically and metonymically in a number of ways, including grammaticalisation as aspectualisers in the case of *mai* and *atu* (Hooper 1994).

The directional particles are suffixed to the verbs *fāno* 'go (sg.)', *olo* 'go (pl.)' and *kave* 'carry', with

phonological modification in some cases, to give the following complex forms: *omai* 'come (pl.)' (suppletive plural of *hau* 'come (sg.)'); *fanatu* (sg.), *oatu* (pl.) 'go away'; *fanaifo* (sg.), *oifo* (pl.) 'come down or towards sea'; *fanake* (sg.), *oake* (pl.) 'come up, or inland, come away with speaker or to speaker's house'; *kaumai* 'bring', *kavatu* 'take', *kaveifo* 'bring down', *kavake* 'bring up'.

2.6.9. The anaphoric particles *ai* and *ei*

Zero anaphora of absolutive and agentive NPs is as common in Tokelauan as it is elsewhere in Polynesia. When replacement of animate NPs in these syntactic functions does occur, it takes the form of a personal pronoun. Oblique NPs are replaced by one of the particles *ai* or *ei*.

The most common use of *ai* is to replace or represent a nominal phrase introduced by the prepositions *i* or *mai* in cases where that nominal phrase occurs before the verb of which it is an argument. Most frequently this involves *ko*-fronting (see 3.5) or relativisation (see 4.1).

- (85) Ko te fale tēnā nae nofo ai toku mātua.
PR DET house DEM T/A live APH 1sg.POSS parent
'That is the house in which my mother lived.'

Note that *ai* has a fixed position in the VP. It follows the directional particle if one is present, otherwise it comes directly after the nucleus.

A morpho-phonemic variant of *ai* is *ei* which has two uses. It occurs in existential and locative predicates in the phrase *i ei*, which is used after the T/A particles to mean 'exist' or 'be in a place' (see 3.1). In the phrase *ki ei* it is the anaphor for an NP introduced by the preposition *ki* if that nominal is *ko*-fronted or relativized. Unlike *ai*, the phrase *ki ei* does not become part of the VP, but takes the same position in the clause as the noun phrase it replaces.

- (86) E i tua au i te mea na hola au ki ei.
T/A LOC inland 1SG LOC DET thing T/A run-away 1SG TO APH
'I was inland at the place to which I had run away.'

A common discourse-anaphoric use of *ai* can be distinguished in which there is no specific NP antecedent, but rather reference to some situation or topic of prior discourse which is shared knowledge of speaker and addressee - in the following example, the fact that there is a marital union:

- (87) Ko Tinilau ma Hina te ulugālī.
PR T. and H. DET couple.
Fai ai tā lā fānau e tokafā.
make APH 3DL.POSS offspring T/A HUM-four

'The couple were Tinilau and Hina. They had then their offspring, four of them.'

2.6.10. Manner particles and intensifiers

The manner particles convey predominantly Aktionsart information. They are *pea* 'nevertheless, still, continuously', *hō* 'often, frequently', *loa* 'at once, then', *nei* 'now'. For obvious reasons their cooccurrence possibilities are limited, but *loa* and *nei* do occur together. *Loa* is often postposed to

verbs that are part of a narrative sequence, with very little semantic force other than to indicate that the events follow one another without any major time interval elapsing - see example (66) in 2.6.1.

The second group could perhaps more aptly be called pragmatic particles as they indicate the speaker's attitude to the message or to the addressee, or suggest some relationship of the clause to the preceding discourse, such as contrast or lack of it. The particles are as follows: *mua* is a politeness particle which occurs in requests and commands; *foki* 'also, too, as well' marks non-contrastive new information; *lava* is an emphatic contrastive particle; *lā* conveys emphasis, contrast, or polite request, occurring mainly in direct address, and *kō*, which is highly emphatic, occurs only in direct address. All the particles except *mua* can occur in the NP (2.4.4).

2.6.11. The order of post-verbal particles

As a general rule, the classes of particles occur in the order Direction—Manner—Emphatic. Naturally, some combinations never occur because of semantic restrictions, whereas others are very idiomatic and occur frequently. It is rare to find more than three post-verbal particles in any one verb phrase. Note that *ake* can follow one of the other directional particles when it expresses politeness, as in the third example below; *nei* can occur in the same verb phrase as *loa*, in which case the order is *loa nei*; *mua* tends to occur directly before *nei* but after the other manner particles; *lava* and *foki* are often used together, and the orders *lava foki* and *foki lava* are both quite common; *kō* and *lā* always come last in the verb phrase. If they co-occur, the preferred order is *kō lā*.

- (88) Kaumai mua nei te toki.
bring-DIR POL MAN DET axe
'Please bring me the axe at once.'
- (89) Pepelo kō lā!
lie INT INT
'[She] is lying I tell you!'
- (90) Kaumai ake lā te uka.
carry-DIR DIR INT DET fishing line
'Please bring me the fishing line.'

3. Clause types

Sentences and clauses in Tokelauan can vary in structure in a number of ways which although theoretically distinct are conveniently considered together. All clauses contain a predicate (this term is used as in Clark 1976, and in contrast to the traditional notion of predicate as opposed to subject, does not include any NP arguments). Predicates are of different types: verbal, locative, existential, possessive, or nominal. Tokelauan has basic predicate-initial word order, but the fronting of a noun phrase is a common word-order permutation. This has several discourse functions and can affect all types of predicate and all clause types (although it is rare in non-negated imperatives). In this section I discuss first types of predicate (3.1), followed by transitivity and verb classes (3.2), imperative clauses (3.3), interrogative clauses (3.4), clauses with fronted NPs (3.5), and nominalisations (3.6).

3.1. Types of predicate

Verbal predicates consist of a verbal phrase. The simplest verbal clauses contain a predicate alone. Most commonly this is due to ellipsis of the primary argument. More interesting is the very restricted set of predicates which have zero valency. The majority of these denote weather phenomena or time of day. Evaluative predicates frequently occur without an argument, although in this case it is possible to argue that some semantically vague argument such as 'the situation' has been elided.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (91) Kua fano.
T/A go
'[S/he] has gone.' | (92) E ua.
T/A rain
'It's raining.' |
| (93) Kua afiafi foki
T/A late-afternoon INT
'It was now late afternoon.' | (94) E kino.
T/A bad
'That's bad.' |

Otherwise, verbal clauses contain one unmarked nominal phrase and may contain one or more prepositional phrases:

- (95) Na fano te tamana ki te motu i te vaka fuaefa.
T/A go DET father TO DET isle LOC DET canoe big
(predicate) (unmarked NP) (prep. NP) (prep. NP)
'The father went to the islet in the big canoe.'

A **locative predicate** consists of a T/A particle followed by a nucleus consisting of the preposition *i* and a noun phrase or pronominal form indicating location:

- (96) E i te falehā te faifeau
T/A LOC DET church DET pastor
'The pastor is in the church.'
- (97) Nae i kinei ia Lakena?
T/A LOC here ABS L.
'Was Lakena here?'
- (98) E hēki i ei nā tino
T/A NEG LOC there DET person
'The people are not there yet.'

Existential predicates resemble locative predicates in that they consist of the preposition *i* followed by the anaphoric form *ei*. In order to distinguish this existential predicate from a locative predicate of the same form, the gloss EXIST (= existential) will be used. It is common for folk tales to begin with an existential clause in a presentational function:

- (99) E i ei tētahi tamāloa e igoa kia Tonē.
T/A EXIST DET man T/A name TO T.
'There was a man whose name was Tone.'

The following example contains both an existential predicate and a locative phrase of the form *i ei*:

- (100) Fanaifo au ki Hamoa, e i ei te Auntie o oku i ei.
go-DIR 1SG TO Samoa T/A EXIST DET aunt 1SG.POSS LOC there
'I arrived in Samoa, there was an Auntie of mine there.'

Locative and existential predicates can be distinguished by their different negative forms. Locative predicates are negated with *hēki*, as in (98) above, or *hē*:

- (101) E hē i ei te tino. / E hē i ei he tino
T/A NEG LOC there DET person T/A NEG LOC there DET person
'The man isn't there.' 'No-one is there.'

Negative existential propositions are expressed with the form *hēai*, a verb meaning 'to not exist'. Often the distinction is subtle, and glosses such as 'to not be present' will sometimes seem appropriate. *Hēai* is typically followed by a non-specific noun phrase, whereas *hē i ei* may be followed by specific or non-specific NPs, as indicated above. *Hēai* can also be used independently in answer to a question.

- (102) Kua hēai he huka.
T/A be-not DET sugar
'There isn't any more sugar.'

Possessive predicates are similar in structure to locative predicates, except that the predicate nucleus consists of a possessive or benefactive phrase:

- (103) E a te leoleo te tāvale tēnā.
T/A of DET policeman DET car DEM
'That car belongs to the policeman.'

Nominal clauses differ from all other kinds of independent clause in that they do not contain a tense-aspect particle. They can consist of a **nominal predicate** alone, which has a presentative or identifying function. Otherwise they contain two noun phrases, the predicate and the unmarked absolutive NP, which is most conveniently referred to as the subject (see 3.2). The predicate is a noun phrase introduced by the particle *ko*. It may identify the referent of the absolutive noun phrase, or it may assign it to a class. When a nominal predicate is indefinite, as in the second example below, it always signifies membership in a class. Indefinite nominal predicates do not have to be preceded by *ko*:

- (104) Ko tana gāluega tēnā.
PR 3SG.POSS work DEM
(predicate) (subject)
'That is his work.'
- (105) (Ko) he ika tāua te atu.
PR DET fish valuable DET skipjack
(predicate) (subject)
'The bonito is a prized fish.'

Nominal sentences are negated with *e hē*:

- (106) E hē ko tana gāluaega tēnā.
 T/A NEG PR 3SG work DEM
 'That is not his work.'

Indefinite nominal phrases which appear to be appositional are in fact the nominal predicates of elliptical equational clauses:

- (107) Kae maua loa e au te fale ...he tamā fale.
 CONJ obtain MAN ERG 1SG DET house DET small house
 'But then I noticed a house [SP.INDEF] ... a little house.'

3.2. Transitivity

3.2.1. Intransitive and agentive verbs

Every Tokelauan clause except for those which consist of a predicate alone, contains a primary or obligatory¹¹ noun phrase which is unmarked. Like the other languages of its subgroup, Tokelauan has retained the ergative case-marking morphology widely assumed to have characterised PPN (Clark 1976, 1980; Hooper 1984:64-65). A first subcategorisation of verbs distinguishes two broad classes: one consisting of verbs which occur with a single primary NP, the other consisting of verbs which occur with two core participants, the primary unmarked, absolutive one and the other marked with the agentive or ergative preposition *e*. The terminology used here to refer to these verb classes and NPs follows that employed in Dixon (1979). Verbs of the first class are *intransitive*. The single primary participant of an intransitive clause is given the label S. The second class consists of prototypical transitive verbs which I will refer to as *agentive*. The noun phrase denoting the primary unmarked participant of an agentive clause, which in prototypical cases is the undergoer, is called the O, and the noun phrase denoting the agent participant, which is marked with the preposition *e*, will be called A. Because of the well-known difficulties attendant upon the notion of subject in ergative languages, the term will be avoided when talking about verbal clauses. However, it is sometimes convenient to use the term 'subject' to refer to the unmarked noun phrase which accompanies a non-verbal predicate.

Some grammatical processes in Tokelauan are sensitive to A and S roles, a grouping corresponding in many respects to the notion of 'subject' (Dixon 1979). However there are also many processes which privilege the unmarked NP - the grouping of S and O. A number of verbs are able to function both as agentive and as intransitive verbs. The agentive pattern is associated with prototypical agency and a complete rather than partial or tentative carrying out of an action. Lower animates and even weather phenomena can be agents if they are acting in accordance with expected behaviour patterns and carrying out acts similar to those effected by agents. The overt expression of the agent is optional, and post-verbal agent NPs are quite uncommon in Tokelauan discourse; the use of an NP introduced by *e* tends to stress the notion of intentional agency or the identity of the agent. When these considerations are not salient, a preferred strategy for the encoding of agents is as the possessor of the noun in O function:

¹¹ Obligatory in the sense of forming a necessary part of the conceptual structure of the clause, but not in the sense of requiring an overt manifestation in the clause.

- (108) Fakatau taku moli tākele i te aho muamua,
 buy 1SG.POSS soap bathe LOC DET day first
 fakatau taku apa ika i te lua o aho
 buy 1SG.POSS can fish LOC DET two of day

'I bought a cake of soap on the first day, and I bought a can of fish on the second day.'

3.2.2. Incorporation of generic objects

In this valency-changing construction, the noun phrase in O function associated with an agentive verb becomes part of the VP. The resulting structure is intransitive and the incorporated O denotes a generic patient. This notional patient cannot have any articles or modifiers attached to it:

- (109) Na kave e ai te tāvale? Ko ai te na kave tāvale?
 T/A carry ERG who DET car PR who DET T/A carry car
 'Who drove the car?' 'Who drove?'

Other examples: *fau fale* 'house building', *tau ulu* 'breadfruit picking', *talai vaka* 'canoe building'.

3.2.3. Reflexivity

There are no special reflexive constructions in Tokelauan. Many situations which in English are encoded as reflexives are expressed with intransitive verbs (see Mosel (1991:175-194) for comparable material in Samoan). When reflexive agency is stressed, for example because it is desired or unexpected, the intensifier *lava* is used after the verb or the appropriate agentive pronoun - not, it should be noted, after the NP denoting the patient, as is the case with English *-self*:

- (110) ...ke mafai e Samoa oi fai lava ia e ia (lava).
 MOD possible ERG S. COMP do INT 3SG ERG 3SG INT
 '...so that Samoa may be able to govern herself.'

3.3. Imperative clauses

In bald imperatives with second person addressees there is no T/A particle and no NP representing the notional S or A participant. It is usual however for one or more post-verbal particles expressing politeness to be used to soften the effect of imperatives. If a command is addressed to a group of people which includes the speaker, the first person inclusive pronouns can be used in preverbal position. See also 2.6.2 for the use of *ke* in inclusive and third person imperatives.

- (111) Tātou olo oi ahi te tauale.
 1pl.INCL go.PL SEQ visit DET sick-person
 'Let's all go and visit the patient.'

Negative imperatives employ the particles *nahe* and *nā*. Agentive and intransitive imperatives are different in form, and in both cases, two word order patterns are possible.

Intransitive	'Don't go'			
Pattern I:	Singular	<i>nahe kē fano</i>	Plural	<i>nahe koutou olo</i>
Pattern II:	Singular	<i>koe nahe / nā fano</i>	Plural	<i>koutou nahe / nā olo</i>
Agentive	'Don't eat the fish'			
Pattern I:	Singular	<i>nahe (kē) kaia te ika.</i>		
	Plural	<i>nahe (koutou) kaia te ika.</i>		
Pattern II:	Singular	<i>(koe) nahe kaia te ika.</i>		
	Plural	<i>(koutou) nahe kaia te ika.</i>		

Note that negative imperatives have overt addressees, and that Pattern I contains the clitic form of the 2nd person singular pronoun, whereas Pattern II contains the independent pronoun form. With agentive verbs, as the brackets indicate, the pronouns are often omitted. The *-a(gia)* suffix is attached to the verb, as it is in all negative agentive verb phrases (see 2.6.6.1).

3.4. Interrogative clauses

Yes-No questions have no special syntactic form in Tokelauan. They are spoken with rising intonation:

- (112) E fiainu tī koe?
T/A want-drink tea 2SG
'Would you like a cup of tea?'

'Either-or' questions use the particle *pe*¹²:

- (113) E hau koe pe hēai?
T/A come 2SG QN not
'Are you coming or not?'

WH-Questions make use of a number of question words. The most common are *ai*, independent personal pronoun 'who, whom' (114), and *ā*, proform for common nouns (115), verbs (116) or qualifiers, 'what', 'what sort of'.

- (114) Kō ai kō toku tamana?
PR who INT 1SG.POSS father
'Who then is my father?'

- (115) He ā tēnā?
DET what DEM
'What is that?'

- (116) E ā mai koe?
T/A what DIR 2SG
'How are you?'

Other interrogative proforms are *hei*, clitic agent pronoun 'who'; *he ā. . . ai, aiheā. . . ai* 'why'; *fea*, locative noun, 'where', and noun qualifier, 'which'; *fia*, numeral, 'how many'; *āfea* 'when' with

¹² See 4.2 for the use of *pe* as a complementiser introducing indirect questions.

future time reference and *anafea* 'when' with past time reference¹³.

- (117) Nae fia ia fale nae i ei?
T/A how.many ABS house T/A EXIST.
'How many houses were there?'
- (118) Na hau anafea te vaka?
T/A come when.PAST DET boat
'When did the boat come?'

The interrogative determiners *tefea*, pl. *iefea*, correspond to the demonstratives *tēnei* 'this', *iēnei* 'these' (see 2.4.5) and are glossed 'which one/ones', or 'where (of things or people)':

- (119) Tēfea taku mea?
which 1SG.POSS thing
'Which/where is my bit?'

The verb or verbal qualifier *vēhea* 'in what manner', 'how', also functions as an interrogative utterance verb:

- (120) E vēhea mai te tauale?
T/A how DIR DET sick
'How is the patient?' or 'What did the patient say?'

3.5. Clauses in which a *ko*-phrase precedes the predicate

The characterisation of Tokelauan (and most other Polynesian languages) as having predicate-initial basic word order can be justified on grounds of simplicity and economy of description. However, clauses in which one of the noun phrases occurs initially, usually preceded by *ko*, are extremely common, and in some genres, such as procedural expository discourse, may outnumber verb-initial clauses¹⁴. The term '*ko*-fronted' and other expressions implying a process will be used for convenience, but there is no suggestion that the verb-initial structure is psychologically primary in any way.

- (121) Ko au e tautala atu i te Iunivehite i Aukilani.
PR 1SG T/A speak DIR LOC DET University LOC Auckland
'I am talking at the University of Auckland.'

In this example it is the unmarked noun phrase which is fronted and marked with *ko*. A simple deletion strategy has applied and there are no other changes to the clause. If a noun in a prepositional phrase is fronted, an anaphoric element appears in the clause. Fronted agent NPs are represented by a clitic pronoun, as in (122). A fronted possessor is represented by a possessive pronoun, as in (123). The use of *ai* and *ki ei* as anaphors for oblique NPs is described above in 2.6.9.

¹³ The combining forms *ā-* and *ana-* occur in combination with a number of temporal expressions to form temporal adverbs with future and past time reference respectively. Cf. *ātaeao* 'tomorrow morning', *anapō* 'last night'.

¹⁴ In certain environments, notably after the conjunctions *kāfai* 'if', *auā* 'because' and *nā* 'lest', a fronted NP may be introduced by *ia* rather than *ko*.

- (122) Ko te tautai lava e ia tofiagia.
 PR DET master-fisherman INT T/A 3SG choose-CIA
 'It is the master-fisherman himself who chooses [them].'
- (123) Kafai ko he tautai, e i ei hona fāoa ...
 HYP PR DET master-fisherman T/A EXIST 3SG.POSS crew
 'Take a master-fisherman, there is his crew ...'

The fronted possessor in this example is extracted from the absolutive NP in an existential clause. Locative, possessive and nominal clauses can also have *ko*-fronted noun phrases.

- (124) Ko ki mātou e i luga o te vaka
 PR 1PL.EXCL. T/A LOC above of DET canoe
 'We were on board the canoe.'
- (125) Ko te tāvale tēnā e a te leoleo.
 PR DET car DEM T/A of DET policeman
 'That car belongs to the policeman.'
- (126) Ko te atu [ko] he ika tāua.
 PR DET skipjack DET fish valuable
 'The bonito is a prized fish'

A nominal sentence with a definite predicate and a *ko*-fronted subject contains two NPs preceded by *ko*. In such cases, the first phrase is the subject, and the second one the predicate:

- (127) a Ko nā tino iēnā ko ona lava hoāvaka
 PR DET person DEM PR 3SG.POSS.PL INT crew-member
 [subject] [predicate]
 'Those men are his very own crew members.'
- b Ko ona lava hoāvaka nā tino iēnā
 PR 3SG.POSS.PL INT crew-member DET person DEM
 [predicate] [subject]

In all the examples given above, the syntactic function of the moved NP within its clause is quite clear, and the construction is a form of left-dislocation. This can be distinguished from another very common type of *ko*-marked NP, a *free topic* which bears no syntactic relation to the clause which follows it. In this case there is a marked intonation break after the *ko*-marked NP:

- (128) Ko te nonofo lā o Tokelau anamua, nae nonofo
 PR DET dwell.PL INT of T. long.ago T/A dwell.PL
 fakapuikāiga.
 CAUS-extended. family
 'As for the living arrangements in Tokelau in olden times,
 [people] lived in extended family groupings.'

The distinction is quite clear when a clause is preceded by two *ko*-marked NPs, one a free topic and one a left-dislocation:

- (129) Ko nā aho iēnā, ko Hela e failele.
 PR DET day DEM PR H. T/A pregnant
 'At that very time, Hela was pregnant.'

Ko-fronted noun phrases have several discourse functions, which can be loosely grouped under the two headings of topicalisation and focussing. An NP which is focussed by *ko*-fronting is often followed by the intensifier *lava*, as in (122) above and the following example:

- (130) Ko koe lava te tautai e kē faia.
 PR 2SG INT DET master-fisherman T/A 2SG do-CIA
 'It is you, the master-fisherman, who does this.'

For examples of topicalisation, see Text 2 and notes, section 5 below. These matters are discussed more fully in Hooper (1988 and 1993:Chapter 3).

3.6. Nominalisations

Lexical nominalisations can be distinguished from productive clausal nominalisations. In the former, a verbal stem, with or without a nominalising suffix, functions in all respects like a noun, including the ability to occur as a plural if semantically appropriate. Lexical nominalisations are characterised by varying degrees of productivity and by unpredictable semantic relations between verb and derived noun. In productive clausal nominalisations, any verbal lexeme can function as a noun, with a predictable meaning relation between the verbal and nominal forms¹⁵.

Three formal types of **lexical nominalisation** can be distinguished. Vowel lengthening affects some examples of all types and is a sufficient indicator of lexicalisation.

1. In unsuffixed lexical nominalisations the noun and the verb are identical in form (see comments on 'universals' and zero-derivation above 2.1). I include under this heading lexemes with primarily situation- or action-denoting meaning which acquire concrete, idiosyncratic or not fully predictable meanings in their nominal form: *piha* 'noise, argument, quarrel' < 'be noisy, argue'; *miha* 'quarrel, brawl' < 'to fight, to quarrel'; *pehe* 'song' < 'to sing'; *malaga* 'journey; group of travellers' < 'to travel'; *kavetāvale* 'driver' < 'to drive a car'; *havalī* 'march, parade', *hāvalī* 'messenger' < *havalī* 'walk'; *fakamalu* 'umbrella' < 'shelter (something), take shelter'.

2. The suffix *-(C)aga*: A relatively small number of nominalisations employ the suffix *-(C)aga*. Many of these appear to be Samoan borrowings. The derived nouns often denote some socio-culturally recognized type of event: *ālofaga* 'skipjack fishing expedition' < *ālo* 'to go fishing for skipjack'; *alaalafaga* 'night gathering' < *alaala* 'to sit up and talk at night'; *fakaolataga* 'salvation' < *fakaola* 'to save'; *tāmīlohaga* 'orbit; round (in sport); circulation (of blood); circumnavigation' < *tāmīlo* 'to go around'. Other *-(C)aga* derivatives are concrete nouns denoting places, although they may have metaphorical extensions: *nofoaga* 'dwelling, settlement' < *nofo* 'to live, dwell, sit'; *taulaga* 'anchorage, harbour' < *tau* 'to anchor'; *tūlaga* 'site, position, situation, status' < *tū* 'stand'.

3. The suffix *-ga*: Far more numerous are lexical nominalisations with the suffix *-ga*, which also

¹⁵ Tokelauan nominalisations are the subject of two recent studies, Hooper (In press) and Vonen (1993: Chapters 4 & 5), to which the reader is referred for a fuller analysis.

occurs in productive clausal nominalisations. Its derivational use is frequently accompanied by lengthening of the first vowel of the verb stem. A number of different semantic types occur, including concrete objects: *kāvega* 'load' < *kave* 'to carry'; *moega* 'bed' < *moe* 'to sleep'; *tēuga* 'decorations' < *teu* 'to decorate, beautify'; *tāfaoga* 'toy' < *tāfao* 'to play'; types of event: *inuga* 'drinking party' < *inu* 'to drink'; *tīpiga* 'surgical operation' < *tīpi* 'to cut'; *tāfaoga* 'game, match' < *ūfao* 'to play'; linguistic or conceptual entities: *fakamatalaga* 'story, account, explanation' < *fakamatala* 'to explain'; *maliega* 'will, wish', *māliliega* 'agreement' < *malie*, pl. *mālilie* 'agree'; dimensions: *loaloaga* 'length', 'longest part' < *loaloo* 'long'; *lahiga* 'majority, greater part' < *lahi* 'big'. By a further process of zero-derivation, *-ga* nominalisations may develop a verbal use: *fakahētōnu* 'to be doubtful, confused' > *fakahētōnuga* 'thoughtlessness, recklessness' > 'to be thoughtless or reckless'.

Incorporated object constructions participate in suffixed nominalisations, which denote occasions or styles of the activity in question. These are shown to be lexicalisations by the vowel lengthening on the suffix and the possibility of semantic idiosyncrasy:

- (131) E fai ta mātou hōli -gā -ula i te pō nei.
T/A do 1PL.POSS trample-NOM-crayfish LOC DET night DEM
'We are having a *crayfishing-expedition* tonight.'
- (132) E kehe mai foki tēia valigāfale.
T/A different DIR INT DEM paint-NOM-house
'That's an odd way of *painting* a house.'

In **productive clausal nominalisation**, a verbal phrase, locative predicate, or whole clause can be converted into a nominal structure by replacing the tense-aspect particle with the singular determiner *te*. The nominalisation may contain prefixes, suffixes, directional particles or other modifiers such as prepositional phrases. The absolutive noun or pronoun becomes a possessive noun phrase; an O takes the preposition *o*, an S may take *o* or *a*, depending mainly on the semantic type of nominalisation. In some circumstances the suffix *-ga* is also used. In the following example note how the italicised nominalisation is directly related to the immediately preceding clause:

- (133) Kae pā au ki Apia, puke au e leoleo.
CONJ arrive 1SG TO A. grab 1SG ERG police
Toku puke-ga tēnā e leoleo, e hēki feiloaki
1SG.POSS grab-NOM DEM ERG police T/A NEG meet
ki māua ma toku uho tēia i Apia.
1d1.EXCL and 1sg.POSS sibling DEM LOC A.

'When I arrived in Apia, I was arrested by the police.
[Because of] *my being arrested by the police*, I didn't get together with that brother of mine in Apia.'

In this nominalisation, the O participant of the agentive verb *puke* 'grab, seize' is encoded as a possessive pronoun, *toku*, in which *t-* represents the specific determiner. The A noun phrase retains its ergative case-marking. In some types of nominalisation an O participant may retain absolutive case marking. Occasionally a pronominal A can be encoded as an a-class possessive pronoun which precedes the nominalised verb:

- (134) tana kave-ga o nā ika
3SG.POSS take-NOM of DET fish
'his taking the fish'

The nominalisation in (133) is a free topic, but usually clausal nominalisations are arguments of the verb like any other NP. In (135) the nominalisation is the head of a nominal predicate; in (136) the first nominalisation is an absolutive S-complement of the phasal verb *kāmata*, and the second is introduced by the preposition *i*:

- (135) Ko te galo atuga lava tēnā o Lata.
PR DET disappear DIR-NOM INT DEM of L.
'That was *the complete disappearance* of Lata.'
- (136) Kāmata loa toku havalivali mai ki te kakai...
begin MAN 1SG.POSS walk.REDUP DIR TO DET village
Na maua lā taku popo i toku havalivaliga.
T/A obtain INT 1SG.POSS coconut LOC 1SG.POSS walk.REDUP-NOM

'My [*habit of*] *walking to the village* began then... However, I had obtained a coconut *while I was walking*.'

The occurrence or non-occurrence of the nominalising suffix appears to depend on both syntactic and semantic factors, and to be related to the semantic distinction between instance and type¹⁶. For example, temporal clauses which refer to events with past time reference take the form of suffixed nominalisations which can be modified by the demonstrative adjective *tēnā*.

4. Complex sentences

I distinguish complex constructions which involve embedding from those which involve clause combination (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988). In cases of embedding, a clause functions as a constituent of a larger unit. Embeddings comprise relative clauses, which are parts of noun phrases, and complement clauses, which function as the S or O arguments of predicates. Clause combinations can involve either co-ordination or subordinate adverbial clauses. I describe co-ordination in 4.1, clause combinations involving subordination in 4.2, relative clauses in 4.3, and complement clauses in 4.4.

4.1. Co-ordinated clauses

The three conjunctions discussed in this section express the following relations between clauses: *ma* expresses a simple non-temporal 'and' relation, *kae* expresses semantic contrast and/or temporal overlap, and *oi* expresses temporal sequence. (*Oi* also occurs as a complementizer; see 4.2.)

Symmetrical conjunction is expressed by means of *ma*. This morpheme conjoins NPs, modifiers, VPs and clauses, and also functions as a comitative preposition, a typologically common association. Verb agreement patterns suggest the conjunction function in (137a) below, and comitative function in (137b).

- (137) a Ko Tavita ma Ioane kua olo.
PR T. CONJ I. T/A go.PL
'David and John have gone.'

¹⁶ These matters are discussed in more detail in Hooper (In press).

- b Na hau au ma te ika.
T/A come.SG 1SG COM DET fish
'I came with the fish.'

Ma also participates in a strategy for NP conjunction in which a dual or plural pronoun indicating the number and person of the combined referents is followed by *ma* and a noun phrase specifying the second conjunct:

- (138) E nonofo ki mā ma te tamaiti.
T/A sit.PL 1DL.EXCL CONJ DET child
'The child and I were sitting there.'

The following examples show the kind of ellipsis that is possible with clausal conjunction. In (139) the understood S argument of *tāmilo* is *te lalolagi*, and in (140) the understood O argument of *fakaaogā* is coreferential with the antecedent of *ki ei*:

- (139) E tāvili te lalolagi ma tāmilo i te lā.
T/A rotate DET earth CONJ circle-round LOC DET sun
'The earth rotates [on its axis] and circles round the sun.'
- (140) E talitonu au ki ei ma ko fakaaogā.
T/A believe 1SG TO APH CONJ 1SG CAUS-use
'I believe in it and I make use [of it].'

In (141), the verb *iloa* is gapped in the second conjunct:

- (141) Nae iloa ai e nā tuagane o lātou tuafafine
T/A know APH T/A DET brother 3PL.POSS.PL sister
ma nā tuafafine o lātou tuagane.
CONJ DET sister 3PL.POSS.PL brother
'By this, brothers would recognize their sisters, and sisters their brothers.'

Contrastive conjunction is expressed by means of *kae* (which has a variant *ka* occurring before *ko* or *kua*). Translations of 'and', 'but', or 'while' are variously appropriate.

- (142) Olo ai kae nofo ia Hina.
go.PL APH CONJ stay ABS H.
'[They] went then, and Hina stayed behind.'

The semantic range of *kae* extends from a mild opposition between conjuncts, as in (142), to more emphatic forms of contrast. There is a common structure in which a clause introduced by *kae* represents a punctual event, seen as occurring during the time span of a durative situation presented in a clause which carries appropriate tense-aspect marking, usually *e* or *nae*:

- (143) E nofo ia Hina i luga o te vaka,
T/A sit ABS H. LOC above of the canoe
kae fano ia Tokalalaga ki lalo oi laga ake te faga.
CONJ go ABS T. TO under SEQ lift DIR DET trap
'While Hina sat on the canoe, Tokalalaga dived down below and brought up the fish trap.'

Kae also functions as a sentence introducer, signalling that what follows is in semantic contrast with the preceding material.

Assymetrical conjunction of the 'and then' variety is expressed either by a simple sequence of clauses, as in most narrative sequences, or by *oi*:

- (144) Kave loa ki māua oi loka i kinā.
carry MAN 1DL.EXCL SEQ lock-up LOC there
'Then we were carried off and locked up in there.'

Like *kae*, *oi* can function as a sentence introducer, always indicating sequence or result. It is usually followed directly by the verb but sometimes cooccurs with *kua*, as in the following example:

- (145) Oi kua malie foki ki ei ia Hina
SEQ T/A agree also TO APH ABS H.
'And Hina agreed to that.'

In the following passages note the sequential meaning of *oi* as distinct from the contemporaneous time reference of *kae*, accompanied by semantic contrast in the case of (147):

- (146) Omai ai ki māua oi tutū ma nā holoholo,
come.PL APH 1DL.EXCL SEQ stand.PL COM DET handkerchief
kae tālo ki gāuta kae faitatagi.
CONJ wave TO shore CONJ weep.PL

'So we came and stood with the handkerchiefs, and waved towards the shore, and cried.'

- (147) Na hau lava te tamaloa oi tatala uma lele nā fāmalama
T/A come INT DET young-man SEQ open all INT DET window
kae nā ko te faitotoka e fokotahi te loka.
CONJ just DET door T/A one DET lock

'The young man came and opened all the windows, and/but just the one door was [i.e. remained] locked.'

However, it should be noted that *kae* can also conjoin clauses that denote sequential events, provided some notion of the unexpected is present.

4.2. Subordinate adverbial clauses

4.2.1. Conditional clauses

This section concentrates on conditional constructions, which are the most semantically complex kind of clause combination. In section 4.4.2 I give examples of other types of subordinate clause.

Tokelauan makes a distinction between open conditionals, in which it is possible at the time of utterance that the condition may be fulfilled, and counterfactual conditionals, in which fulfillment of the condition is ruled out. Open conditionals of all types are introduced by *kāfai*, and counterfactual

conditionals are introduced by *kana* or *moi*. I will discuss these particles in turn¹⁷.

Clauses introduced by *kāfai* correspond to two different types of English clause: 'when' clauses with future time reference or habitual/generic meaning, and open conditional clauses. Because of this semantic range, I gloss *kāfai* 'hypothetical (HYP)'; in many instances, either an 'if' or 'when' interpretation is appropriate; however, if the situation referred to in the *kāfai* clause is one that tends to occur in due course, 'when' is the only possible translation equivalent, as in the following example:

- (148) *Kāfai e pā mai ki gāuta, oi faitau nā atu.*
 HYP T/A arrive DIR TO inland SEQ count DET skipjack
 'When they got back to shore, they counted the skipjack.'

As a related point, it should be noted that the equivalents of English temporal *when* clauses are not a unified class in Tokelauan. Whereas *when* clauses with future or generic time reference are introduced by *kāfai*, those with past time reference are encoded as nominalisations introduced by the preposition *i*.

The semantic relationship between a *kāfai* clause and its head clause is not a uniform one. Some diverse examples are given below. There do not seem to be any syntactic restrictions on the choice of tense-aspect marking.

- (149) *Kāfai lā e i ei he faguvai, liligi... ke afa.*
 HYP INT T/A EXIST DET water-bottle pour.out MOD half
 'But if there is a water bottle there, pour out the water till the bottle is half full.'

- (150) *Kāfai na kē maua muamua i te Tua Hakea, ia,*
 HYP T/A.PAST 2SG catch first LOC DET T.H. IJ
hōvē ka kē maua i tua o Akegamutu.
 perhaps T/A.FUT 2SG catch LOC back of A.

'If you caught [some grouper] before at Tua Hakea, well then, perhaps you will subsequently catch [them] on the seaward side of Akegamutu.'

- (151) *Kae kāfai foki e hē lava tau meakai,*
 CONJ HYP INT T/A NEG sufficient 2SG.POSS food
ka lahi lele nā mea ka tutupu mai kiate koe.
 T/A.FUT many INT DET thing T/A.FUT happen DIR TO 2SG

'But if your food is insufficient, there will be many things that will happen to you.'

- (152) *Kāfai e moni, e talitonu au ki ei ma kō fakaaogā.*
 HYP T/A true T/A believe 1SG TO APH CONJ 1SG use
 'If [the advice] is genuine, I trust it and I use it.'

- (153) *Kāfai lava e hehē... ko te fakalavelave tēnā.*
 HYP INT T/A be.wrong PR DET crisis DEM
 'If [you] make a mistake... that is a complete disaster.'

¹⁷ For a more detailed analysis of the syntax and semantics of conditionals, see Hooper 1994a.

In all the examples considered so far, the *kāfai* clause precedes the head clause. Both conditional and temporal *kāfai* clauses sometimes follow the head clause. In this case there may be some deletion, repetition, or anaphoric element in the head clause which forms a strong cohesive link to the immediately preceding discourse. The preposing of the head clause places rhetorical emphasis on the repeated element. In the following example the cohesive/anaphoric element is italicised:

- (154) *Ko te gāuega tēnā a te tautai e fai,*
 PR DET work DEM of DET master-fisherman T/A do
kāfai e fano nā vaka ki te akau.
 HYP T/A go DET canoe TO DET reef

'That is the work that the captain does when the canoes proceed to the reef.'

Most counterfactual conditionals are introduced by *kana*, which is never followed by a T/A marker and appears to have once been morphologically complex, composed of the T/A markers *na* 'past perfective' and *ka* 'future/predictive'. Counterfactual clause combinations with past time reference take *na* or *nae* in the head clause, those with present time take *e*.

- (155) *Kana hau koe, na fakauma te gāuega.*
 C/F come 2SG T/A CAUS.finish DET work
 'If you had come, the work would have been finished.'

- (156) *Kana i kinei te faiaoga, e fehili au ki ei.*
 C/F LOC here DET teacher T/A ask 1SG TO APH
 'If the teacher were here, I would ask him.'

The particle *moi* introduces counterfactual conditionals with past time reference, or open conditionals with future reference and desiderative meaning. Thus it overlaps the categories set up in the discussion of *kāfai* and *kana*. It occurs far less frequently than the other two particles. For the second use, the *Tokelau Dictionary* gives the glosses 'How about ...', 'what if...'

- (157) *Moi hēai toku tamana, na fano au ki te taua.*
 what.if be.not 1SG.POSS father T/A go 1SG TO DET war
 'If it had not been for my father, I would have gone to the war.'

4.2.2. Other kinds of adverbial subordinate clause.

In this section I present without comment some examples containing clauses of purpose and temporal 'until' clauses introduced by the modal particle *ke*, and clauses of reason introduced by *auā* or *ona* 'because'. Note that *ona* may be followed either by a verbal clause or a nominal predicate. It is usual for the head clause to precede the dependent clause.

- (158) *E nonoa ai lava ke pā atu foki ki hetahi tai ika.*
 T/A fasten APH INT MOD arrive DIR also TO DET season fish
 '[The tail] remains fastened there until the time arrives of another skipjack season.'

- (159) Ko ia na uga mai e te Tamana ke fakaola te lalolagi.
PR 3SG T/A send DIR ERG DET Father MOD CAUS-live DET world
'He was sent by the Father so that the world would be saved.'
- (160) E hēki hau au auā / ona kua fano koe ki Tai.
T/A NEG come 1SG because T/A go 2SG TO T.
'I did not come because you had gone to Tai.'
- (161) Ko au kā hē fano, ona ko te matagi.
PR 1SG T/A NEG go because PR DET wind
'I shan't go, because of the wind.'

4.3. Relative clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses do not appear to occur in Tokelauan. Consultants asked for translation equivalents of English non-restrictive clauses produce appositional NPs or sequences of clauses. I have encountered only one non-restrictive relative in a text, which, significantly, is a translation from English. The following discussion concerns only restrictive clauses.

Relative clauses are similar in structure to sentences with fronted noun phrases, and the same conventions apply to the use of anaphoric personal pronouns and of the anaphors *ai* and *ki ei* in them (see 3.5 above). The relative clause directly follows its head and there is no relative pronoun or other subordinating morpheme. A common noun in almost any syntactic function can be relativised with the appropriate conventions, and NPs in quite deeply embedded clauses can be relativised.

Tokelauan is notable for the variety of forms of anaphora used to mark the function of the relativised NP in the relative clause. In the following examples, the head noun and the anaphoric element (if present) are italicised. I have indicated the syntactic status of the relativised NPs in brackets.

- (162) tana faiga e fai mai kiate ki mātou,
3SG.POSS do-NOM T/A do DIR TO 1PL.excl
ma nā mea iēnā na kō kitea ...
and DET thing DEM T/A 1SG see
'the way he behaved to us and those things which I saw' (O)
- (163) Nae i ei ni tino e eva i te kauāfua.
T/A EXIST DET person T/A walk-around LOC DET sandbank
'There were some people who were wandering around on the sandbank.' (S)
- (164) Ko he tagata tēnā kua ia tāmāteagia ia meaola uma lele
PR DET man DEM T/A 3SG kill-CIA ABS creature all INT
'That is a man who has [hunted and] killed absolutely all kinds of animals.' (A)
- (165) he fale e mahani e fafao ai nā puha fai.
DET house T/A be-customary T/A store APH DET box banana
'a house in which they used to keep the banana crates.' (LOC)

- (166) ko te afa tauhaga tēnā na gāluelue ai ki mātou ...
PR DET half year DEM T/A work.PL APH 1PL.EXCL
'that half year during which we were employed' (LOC time)
- (167) toe liliu mai nā mōlī ki te mea na fanatu ai.
again turn DIR DET lamp TO DET thing T/A go.DIR APH
'turned the headlights once more towards the direction from which it had come.' (SOURCE)
- (168) Kua lata mai foki te mea ka fano au ki ei.
T/A near DIR INT DET thing T/A go 1SG TO APH
'The place to which I am going is now quite close.' (DIR)

The NP constituents of locative and possessive predicates can be relativised, as in the following:

- (169) Kae kikila atu au ki te tulaga e i ei ki mātou.
CONJ look DIR 1SG TO DET situation T/A LOC APH 1PL.EXCL
'But I looked at the situation which we were in.'
- (170) ...ki te tautai e o ia tēnā hoāvaka
TO DET master-fisherman T/A of 3SG DEM crew-member
'...to the master-fisherman whose crew-member this is'

Tokelauan has two types of relative clause which are a distinctive feature of many Polynesian languages. One is the 'possessive-relative' pattern (Clark 1976:116-8): when the relativised NP is an O in its clause, the agent NP of the relative clause frequently becomes an a-class possessor of the head noun. In the following example, the head nominal with its possessive phrase is italicised and the relative clause is underlined:

- (171) Ko te mea a te fāoa e fai, kua matamata ki te mea a
PR DET thing of DET crew T/A do T/A watch TO DET thing of
te tautai kua fai.
DET master-fisherman T/A do
'The thing that the crew does, is to watch closely the thing which the fisherman does.' (lit. 'the thing of the crew which is done...')

The other type is the headless relative clause (Clark 1976:63). This construction often occurs in questions and focus constructions, and is normally proffered by Tokelauan consultants in response to translation requests for English cleft sentences. The head of the clause is represented only by the determiner *te*. This empty head is the notional subject of an equational sentence of which the predicate nominal is in focus. In the examples below, the symbol Ø represents the absent head. If the T/A particle of the relative clause is *e* 'relative present', as in (172), it is elided after *te*.

- (172) He ā te Ø tagi ai koe?
DET what DET [thing] [T/A] weep APH 2SG
|_ predicate _| |__ head __| |__ relative clause __|
|__ subject __|
'Why are you crying?' (lit. 'A what the [thing] that you are crying about?')

- (173) Nā ko nā tamaiti te Ø na olo.
 just PR DET child DET [thing] T/A go.PL
 'It was only the children that went.'

The similarity between the structure of relative clauses and of the residual content of a clause with a *ko*-fronted NP is quite apparent. As is well known, relative clauses and clefts are similar in many languages, and we have already seen that one of the functions of *ko*-fronting is to focus the fronted NP, resulting in a structure which has the pragmatic force of an English cleft sentence.

Ergative languages pose notorious problems for the theory of relative clause formation set out in Keenan & Comrie (1977), and maintained in Keenan (1985), and Tokelauan is no exception. It has been shown that the simplest strategy, involving deletion of the relativized NP, applies to absolutes: S and O. Two strategies are available to an ergative agent: replacement by a clitic pronoun as in example (164) or incorporation into a possessive phrase as in (171). Thus, accessibility to relative clause formation strategies patterns ergatively in that the same strategy applies to S and O, and others to A. In addition, the strategies for A are morphologically more complex. Different kinds of case-coding apply to other types of NP. Possessors are replaced by a cardinal pronoun after the possessive preposition (170), and oblique NPs require the use of the anaphors *ai* or *ki ei* in the relative clause. It will be noted that indirect object is not a syntactically significant function in Tokelauan, being subsumed under direction; noun phrases with the semantic role of recipient require the same strategy as any other *ki*-marked NP.

4.4. Complement clauses

Complementation is a prolific feature of Tokelauan syntax, and only the main types are mentioned here. A number of modal and phasal verbs take complement clauses in S function. These verbs include *mafai* 'be able, be permitted, be possible', *tatau* 'be necessary, must', *hā* 'be forbidden', *oko* 'come about that', *uma* 'be finished, cease'. The complements lack a T/A marker and are introduced by one of the complementizers *oi*, *ke*, or *ona*,¹⁸ the choice being to some extent semantically conditioned. Raising is common and is of typological interest in that absolute (both S and O), ergative (A) and even on occasion oblique NPs can be raised, and the raised NP can be marked as absolute, ergative, or oblique, the choice depending on its semantic relationship to the complement-taking verb. Besnier (1988) documents a similar situation in the related Tuvaluan language. The examples given below are accompanied by a note on the type of raising involved, if any.

- (174) Kua hē mafai ona tauhi ki tātou ki tēia tū.
 T/A NEG possible COMP keep 1PL.INCL TO DEM custom
 'We are no longer able to keep to that custom.' [no raising]
- (175) ...ke mafai e tamaiti oi atiake o lātou iloa.
 CONJ possible ERG children COMP build-up 3PL.POSS knowledge
 '...so that children can develop their skills.' [A > A]

¹⁸ Both *oi* and *ke* have other functions, *oi* as a conjunction indicating temporal sequence (4.3), and *ke* as a modal particle (2.6.2) which can introduce both main and subordinate clauses. For clarity, they are glossed COMP in the examples in this section.

- (176) E tatau te vaka ona tiaki e ki mātou.
 T/A necessary DET ship COMP abandon ERG 1PL.EXCL
 'It was imperative that we desert the ship.' [O > S]
- (177) E hē tatau iate au ke feagai ma nā toeaina.
 T/A NEG necessary LOC 1SG COMP face REL DET elder
 'It is not fitting for me to confront the elders.' [S > Obl]
- (178) Kae kē manatua lava, ko te moana na fai e te Atua.
 CONJ 2SG remember INT PR DET ocean T/A make ERG DET God
 'But just you remember that the ocean was created by God.'
- (179) E hē kō iloa pe he ā te taxi.
 T/A NEG 1SG know QN DET what DET taxi
 'I didn't know what a taxi was.'
- (180) Ko taku fakatatau lava pe na maua lava te vāiaho.
 PR 1SG.POSS guess INT QN T/A obtain INT DET week
 'My guess was that a full week had passed.'

5 Texts

Both texts are examples of spoken Tokelauan which is to some degree preplanned. **Text 1** is a section from an autobiographical narrative recorded in Tokelau in 1984. It shows typical narrative syntax, in which the clauses which mark the sequential and foregrounded events are encoded in verb initial clauses without T/A marking (see also example (66) and comment). Clauses which contain explanatory or evaluative material or backgrounded events contain T/A marking, or are nominal clauses, and often have *ko*-fronted NPs. To make this structure more apparent, the narrative clauses are indented. Embedded clauses are included in the same line as the matrix clause.

- a Te lua o aho, kāmata loa toku havalivali mai
 DET two of day begin MAN 1SG.POSS walk.RED DIR
 ki te kakai.
 TO DET village
 'On the second day, my walks to the village began.
- b Fakatau taku moli tākele i te aho muamua
 buy 1SG.POSS soap bathe LOC DET day first
 'I bought a cake of soap on the first day,
- c fakatau taku apa ika i te lua o aho
 buy 1SG.POSS can fish LOC DET two of day
 'and I bought a can of fish on the second day.

- d [E] hēai he mea e kiki ai.
T/A be-not DET thing T/A eat-with APH
'I had no starch food to accompany it.
- e Na maua lā taku popo i toku havalivaliga.
T/A obtain INT 1SG.POSS coconut LOC 1SG.POSS walk.REDUP-NOM
'However, I had obtained a coconut while I was walking.
- f Ia, ko te popo lā tēnā ma te apa ika na ola ai au.
IJ PR DET coconut INT DEM and DET can fish T/A live APH 1SG
'Yes, that coconut and the can of fish were what I survived on.
- g Fano au i tētahi vāitaimi,
go 1SG LOC DET time
'I went on another occasion,
- h fakatau mai taku hikaleti.
buy DIR 1SG.POSS cigarette
'and bought a cigarette.
- i Ko te taimi lā ia na iloa ai au.
PR DET time INT DEM T/A know APH 1SG
'It was on that occasion that I was found out.
- j Fehili mai ai te tamāloa -
ask DIR APH DET man
'The man asked me -
- k ko Eneleo te igoa o te fakatau koloa -
PR E. DET name of DET sell goods
'the shop-keeper's name was Eneleo -
- l fehili mai kiate au
ask DIR TO 1SG
'he asked me
- m pe ko au na hau i fea...
QN PR 1SG T/A come LOC where.
'where I had come from...
- n Fano loa taku fakakupu:
go MAN 1SG.POSS speech
'My word went out:
- o "Ko Lalomānu, ko au na hau i Lalomānu."
PR L. PR 1SG T/A come LOC L.
'"Lalomanu, I came from Lalomanu."
- p "I te kāiga o ai?" - ko te fehili ia a Eneleo.
LOC DET family of who PR DET question DEM of E.
'"From whose family?" - that was Eneleo's question.
- q Uma loa toku malamalama ma hoku fia tali
finish MAN 1SG.POSS knowledge CONJ 1SG.POSS wish reply
fakapepelo atu.
deceive DIR

'Both my knowledge and my wish to deceive came to a stop

- right then.
- r Fakahako loa e au
CAUS-straight MAN ERG 1SG
'I told him straight,
- s ko au na hau mai i te vaka ika e i Apia,
PR 1SG T/A come DIR LOC DET ship fish T/A LOC A.
'that I had come from the fishing vessel which was at Apia,
- t ko au na hola,
PR 1SG T/A run-away
'that I had deserted.'
- Text 2** is taken from a 15,000 word expository discourse on fishing techniques. It was spoken directly to the tape recorder by an experienced public speaker and preacher. This passage contains a high number of clauses with *ko*-fronted NPs, exemplifying various discourse functions which maintain cohesion, such as contrast, introduction of a new topic, reintroduction of a topic after several intervening clauses, or promoting to topic status a recently introduced referent. Notes on each line are provided at the end of the excerpt.
- a Tēnā lā e lea atu ai au.
DEM INT T/A say DIR APH 1SG
'This is what I am saying.
- b Iate au, i te mea kua māmalamalama ai au ma te mea
LOC 1SG LOC DET thing T/A enlightened APH 1SG CONJ DET thing
e kō mautinoa.
T/A 1SG certain

'According to me, in a matter about which I am knowledgeable
and of which I am certain.
- c Ko te matāmatagi tēnā, kua tau te muāvaka ki te matagi,
PR DET eye-wind DEM T/A align DET bow TO DET wind
'[When] the wind [is] from that quarter, the bow is turned into
the wind,
- d ka ko te mulivaka e liliu tonu lava ki te tī lā.
CONJ PR DET stern T/A turn straight INT TO DET glare sun
'but the stern is turned directly to the glare of the sun.
- e Kua pōuli lā te malae o te tautai.
T/A dark INT DET space of DET master-fisherman
'The captain's position has poor visibility.
- f Ko au lā e hē tataoa ki te itū ama.
PR 1SG INT T/A NEG lay.the.net-CIA TO DET side outrigger
'I, however, do not set the net on the outrigger side.
- g Kae ko te mea aku e fai,
CONJ PR DET thing 1SG.POSS T/A do
'But the thing that I do is this,

- h e hē toe taua te vaka ki te matagi,
T/A NEG again align-CIA DET canoe TO DET wind
'I no longer align the canoe into the wind,
- i ka kua tau fakapala.
CONJ T/A align across.wind
'but across the wind.
- j Ko tēnā te faiga.
PR DEM DET do-NOM
'That's the way to do it.
- k Kae ko iētahi hukehukega e iate koe ma nio
CONJ PR DET enquire-NOM T/A LOC 2SG CONJ 2SG.POSS.PL
māfaufauga.
think-NOM

'But as for other matters, they are up to you and your own thinking.
- l Ko te tamā mea tēnā e fia tali pukupuku atu ai au
PR DET small thing DEM T/A wish reply short DIR APH 1SG
ki te tautai tēia.
TO DET master-fisherman DEM

'It was just this small thing that I wanted to say briefly in reply to that tautai.'

Notes

This passage is preceded by about thirty clauses in which the speaker has criticised certain other master-fishermen (*tautai*) who advocate setting the net on the outrigger side of a canoe at certain phases of the moon.

a: *Tēnā lā* (a nominal predicate with *ko* omitted and modified by a relative clause) is a meta-topic that summarizes a section of previous text.

b: Locative phrases have the option, when fronted, of retaining the locative preposition instead of taking *ko*. Here both the first person pronoun and the meta-topic *mea* receive this treatment, the first a free topic, the second a left-dislocation, as indicated by the anaphor *ai*. The speaker's role as the source of the advice is emphasised by repetition of first person reference in *au..au.kō*.

c-d: *ko te matāmatagi tēnā* returns to a topic first introduced seven clauses previously. The phrase *muāvaka* provides the background for the rhetorical emphasis of (d), the contrastive foregrounding of *te mulivaka*, itself a topic retrieved after a gap of six clauses.

e: This clause foregrounds the verb.

f-g: Now the speaker introduces the piece of instruction towards which he has been leading his hearers, and the next two clauses have contrastive topics. In the first, *ko au* is given a contrastive force by means of the emphatic particle *lā*, and in the next line the meta-topic *ko te mea* 'the thing' (syntactically a nominal predicate modified by a relative clause), is strongly contrastive because of the conjunction *kae*.

h-j: The two VP-initial clauses (h-i) contain the actual advice, which is summarized in the predicate-initial nominal clause in (j). The rhetorical effect of this clause is very similar to that of (a) or (g).

k: Here the new topic in the *ko*-phrase, 'other matters', looks forward to subsequent text. This line

also makes a direct appeal to the addressee.

l: This summing-up recapitulates three contextual coordinates of the passage; it starts with another foregrounding of the meta-topic as a nominal predicate (with typical Tokelauan self-deprecation), and then mentions both the speaker and the 'other *tautai*', thus making reference to the text which immediately precedes this passage and providing cohesion over a sequence of about thirty sentences.

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