Frantisek Lichtenberk

A Grammar of Toqabaqita

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A Grammar of Toqabaqita

Volume 1

by

Frantisek Lichtenberk

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Abbreviations and conventions

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1.   The language and the people

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2.   Previous studies of the language

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

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

Austronesian
Formosan   Malayo-Polynesian (MP)
Western MP   Central/Eastern MP
Central MP   Eastern MP
South Halmahera/   Oceanic
Irian Jaya
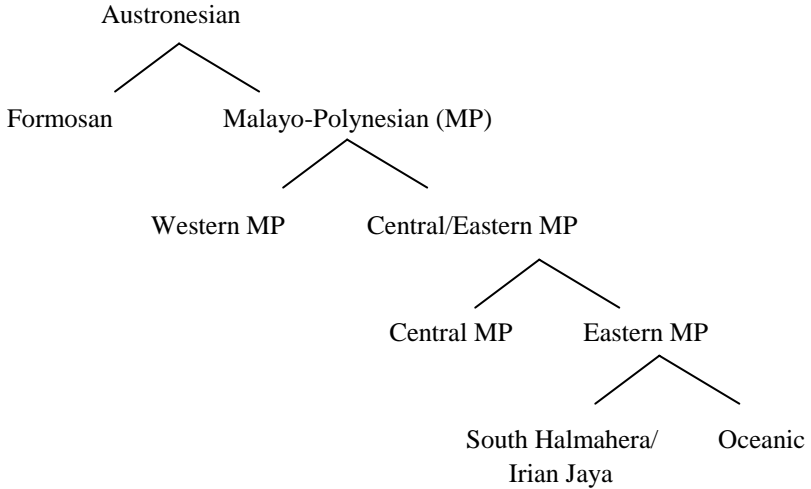
Notes: All the nodes below Austronesian identify subgroups.
"Formosan" represents more than one primary subgroup of Austronesian.

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

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

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

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

1.3.   The present grammar

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

Oceanic

Central-Eastern Oceanic

Southeast Solomonic

Longgu/Malaita/Makira

Malaita/Makira

Central and Northern Malaita

Northern Malaita
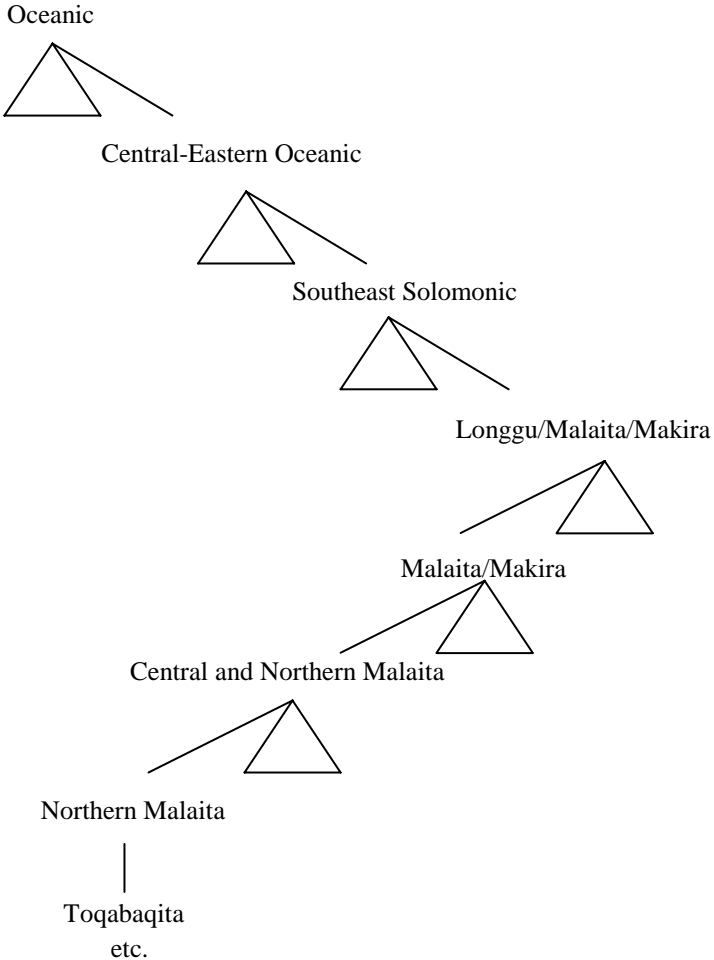
Toqabaqita
etc.

Notes: Except for "Toqabaqita", all the nodes identify subgroups.
The triangles represent one or more other subgroups.
The Longgu/Malaita/Makira subgroup is also known as Cristobal-Malaitan, and the Malaita/Makira subgroup as Malaitan. The "Longgu/Malaita/Makira" and the "Malaita/Makira" labels are from Lynch *et al.* (2002).

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

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

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

grammatical and lexicographical work on the language. The two kinds of study of the language have been mutually beneficial. Detailed grammatical analysis enabled a more accurate treatment of the grammatical elements in the dictionary than would have been the case otherwise. And the lexicographical work has been of great importance to the grammatical analysis. In any language, grammatical rules, patterns, regularities are of highly different degrees of generality. Few, if any, hold across the board. Many grammatical patterns are lexically sensitive; they hold for some but not all members of a certain word class.
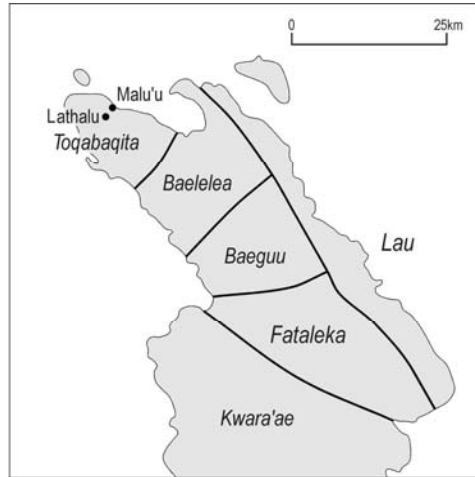
Map 1.3   The languages of North Malaita

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

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

Chapter 2
Phonology

2.1.   The phoneme inventory

2.1.1.   The consonants

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

Table 2.1.   Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	inter-dental	dental	labial-velar	velar	glottal
plosives						
voiced	b		d	g͡b	g	
voiceless			t	k͡p	k	ʔ
nasals, voiced	m		n		ŋ	
trill, voiced			r			
fricatives, voiceless	ɸ	θ	s			
approximants, voiced						
lateral			l			
glide				w		

/g͡b/ and /k͡p/ are doubly articulated, labial-velar plosives.

The voiced plosives and the glide are or can be prenasalized: [ᵐb], [ⁿd], [ᵑg], [ᵑg͡b], and [ᵑw]. With respect to prenasalization, /w/ behaves as a velar sound. Prenasalization is discussed in more detail in section 2.1.2.

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

(2-1)   a.   /ɸɪrʊɸɪrʊ/   [ɸɪrʊβɪrʊ]   'move jerkingly'
          b.   /θaθɔ/ (intr. v.)   [θaðɔ]   'play games'
          c.   /θaaɸɪla/   [θaa:βɪlə]   'centipede'

d. /ɸɔθɔ-na/   [ɸɔðɔna]   'his penis'
    penis-3SG.PERS

e. /k͡pa   ɸʊla/   [k͡pəβʊlə]   '(and) I arrived'
    1SG.SEQ arrive

f. /tɛʔɛ ɸa   θatɔ/   [tɛʔɛβa ðatɔ]   'one day'
    one   CLF day

2.1.2.   Prenasalization

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

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

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

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

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

(2-3)   /ma=sa ʔɔ   ʔadɔmɪ naʊ ….]
          or=IRR 2SG.NFUT help   1SG
          'If you help me, ….'

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

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

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

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

(For the [nt] cluster in [manta] see section 2.2.1.)
     Even though, with the qualifications just mentioned, prenasalization is an automatic feature of certain sounds, it is, in a sense, detachable from them, as just described. Moreover, prenasalization seems to be relatively salient. Toqabaqita has no consonant clusters underlyingly; see section 2.2.1. As discussed in section 40.2, when Solomon Islands Pijin or English words contain a sequence of a nasal followed by a voiceless stop and such words are accommodated to the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita, the nasal-voiceless stop sequence is usually realized as a prenasalized voiced stop of the same place of articulation as that of the consonants in the original cluster. For example, the word for 'cement, concrete', which is /sɪmɛnt/ in Solomon Islands Pijin, becomes [sɪmɛ^{n}dɛ], not [sɪmɛtɛ] or anything else, and the word for 'monkey' becomes [mə^{ŋ}gɪ], not [məkɪ] or anything else.[3]
     Sequences of identical consonants may arise through the deletion of the intervening vowel, and they are realized phonetically as long consonants (section 2.2.1).

2.1.3.   The vowels

The vowel phonemes are given in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2.   Vowel phonemes

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

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

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

(2-6)	a.	/ɪmɔlɛ/	[ɪ:mɔlɛ]	'person'
	b.	/ɛta/	[ɛ:ta]	'one'
	c.	/ɔnɛ/	[ɔ:nɛ]	'sand'

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

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

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

(2-8)	/lɪɪ-lɪʊ/ (v.)	[lɪ̀ɪ:líʊ]	'stroll'
	RDP-walk		

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

(2-9)	/ɔɔmɛa/	[ɔ̀:ɔmɛ́a]	'enemy', 'fight, war'

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

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

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

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

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

(2-11)   a.   /raʔʊ/   [ráʔʊ], [ráʔʊ̥]   'hold (onto)'
         b.   /ʔɪsɪkamɛ/   [ʔɪ̀sɪkə́mɛ], [ʔɪ̀sɪ̥kə́mɛ] 'monitor lizard'

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

(2-12)   a.   /ɪana/   [ɪ:əna]   'be pregnant'
         b.   /aɪ/   [ə:ɪ],[ə̟:ɪ]   'woman'
         c.   /fasɪ/   [fəsɪ], [fə̟sɪ]   precedentive marker

In /sɪnalɪ/ 'moon' the /a/ is surrounded by dental consonants and by /ɪ/s, and fronting is very likely to occur and its degree to be relatively great: [sɪnə̟lɪ].

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

(2-13)   a.   /baʔʊ/   [bəʔʊ]   'banana'
         b.   /sʊa/ (n.)   [sʊə]   'spear'

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

2.2.   Phonotactics

2.2.1.   Syllable structure

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

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

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

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

(2-15)   [nɪə   ɸʊʔ]
          3SG   down.there
          'It's down there.'

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

(2-16)   a.   /maka   kamɪlɪʔa/   [mak:əmɪlɪʔə]
                father   1PL(EXCL)
                'our father(s)'

          b.   /tɔʔa   ʔɛ-kɪ/   [tɔʔ:ɛkɪ/
                people   that-PL
                'those people'

c. /ma nɪ   nau/   [manːəʊ]
    and PROFORE 1SG
    'and I'

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

(2-17) a. /manata/   [mánta]
            'think', 'mind, thought'

        b. /wane taa/   [wàntáa:]
            person what?
            'what person?'

2.2.2. Morpheme structure

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

(2-18) a. /ɸɔtɛ/   'paddle'
        b. /sʊa/ (n.)   'spear'
        c. /aɪ/   'woman'
        d. /tʊʊ/   'heron'
        e. /ɔɔ/   'be sour'
        f. /ɸʊʔarɔ/ (v.)   'whisper'
        g. /waela/ (v.)   'laugh'

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

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

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

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

2.2.3.   Occurrence of segments

Some of the consonants occur or tend to occur only in certain environments. The labial-velars /k͡p/ and /g͡b/ occur only before the non-back vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /a/:

(2-20)   a.   /k͡pasɪ/   'be wild'   b.   /ag͡ba/   'hide'
         c.   /tak͡pɛ/   'stand'   d.   /g͡bɛɔ/   'mushroom'
         e.   /k͡pɪsɪ/   'bird sp.'   f.   /g͡bɪna/   'be wet'

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

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

   There are a few words with an internal /w/ that are historically most likely reduplications but that do not have unreduplicated counterparts in the present-day language; for example, /wawazɪʔɪ/ 'of illness: ease a little'.
   And there is a little children's word for 'sibling', /waʊwaʔa/, which does not appear to be analyzable.
   /θ/ ([ð] intervocalically) occurs primarily word-initially and stem-initially before /a/, although it does occur in a few words in other environments. (For the history of this phoneme in Toqabaqita see Blust 1990, and Lichtenberk 1988a, 1994a.)

(2-22)   a.   /θatɔ/   'sun'   b.   /θaθamɪ/   'want'

         c.   /k͡paɪ-θaθaɪ/
              LIP-be.ready.to.do.st.
              'be ready'

      d.   /bɔθɔ/   'pig'   e.   /θʊʊθʊʊ/   'be soft'

Sequences of two or more non-identical vowels occur within morphemes, each vowel forming a syllable of its own.

(2-23)   a.   /aɪ/   'woman'   b.   /bɔɛ/   'puff up'
             c.   /sʊa/ (n.) 'spear'   d.   /ŋɛɔ/   'collapse'
             e.   /maʊa/   'fish sp.'   f.   /lalaɪa/ 'ginger'

Across morpheme boundaries, sequences of more than two vowels that are not all identical are common:

(2-24)   a.   /k͡paɪ-abɪŋɪ/   'behave badly to others'
                  LIP-behave.badly.to.sb.
             b.   /ʔʊɪ-a/   'pelt him/her/it'
                  pelt-3SG.OBJ
             c.   /kwaɪ-ɔɔrɔ-ɪ/
                  LIP-take.advantage.of.sb-LIP   'take advantage of others'

On the other hand, at most two identical vowels can occur next to each other within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries.

(2-25)   a.   /bɪɪŋa/   'sleep'   b.   /ʊʊsɪ/   'sell'
              c.   /mamaa/   'fish sp.'   d.   /mɛɛ-lɪ/   'lick'
                                                  tongue-TR
             e.   /ɔɔ-a/   'hush him/her'
                  hush-3SG.OBJ

             f.   /k͡paɪ-ɪla-ma-taʔɪ/
                  LIP-be.unfriendly-EXT-TR
                  'be unfriendly to each other'

             g.   /raʔa-a/
                  climb-3SG.OBJ
                  'climb it'

Sequences of two identical vowels are characteristic of one kind of reduplication (section 2.4):

(2-26)   /rɔɔ-rɔɸɛ/
           RDP-search
           'keep on searching'

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

(2-27)　　a.　　/ɸaʔa-ʔak͡paa-a/　　　　[ɸa̠ʔ:ák͡pa:a]
　　　　　　　　CAUS-be.cured-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　　　　'cure him/her/it'

　　　　　b.　　/ɸaʔa-raa-a/　　　　　　[ɸa̠ʔaráa]
　　　　　　　　CAUS-work-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　　　　'instruct him/her how to work'

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

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

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

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

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

(2-30)   a.   /ɔɔ/   [ɔːɔ]   'be sour'
         b.   /ɪɪ/   [ɪːɪ]   'be located (at a place)'

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

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

(2-31)   a.   /θʊʊ/ (intr. v.)   /θʊʊ-ɸɪ-a/
              'cover os.'   cover-TR-3SG.OBJ
                                   'cover him/her/it/

         b.   /ɸɪɪ/ (intr. v.)   /ɸɪɪ-laa/
              'hurt'   hurt-NMLZ
                                   'pain'

         c.   /baa/   /na=baa/
              'that'   PRF=that
                                   situational demonstrative adverb: PAST.THEN

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

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

(2-32)   a.   /θʊʊ-ɸɪ-a/   [θʊ̀ʊːβɪ́ə], not: *[θʊ́ːβɪə]
              cover.os.-TR-3SG.OBJ
              'cover him/her/it'

         b.   /ɸɪɪ-laa/   [ɸɪ̀ɪːláa], not *[ɸɪ́ːlaː]
              hurt-NMLZ
              'pain'

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

(2-33)   normal Toqabaqita   Pig-Latin

          /nɪʊ/ 'coconut'   /nɪmɪʊmʊ/
          /wɛla/ 'child'   /wɛmɛlama/
          /bɔθɔ/ 'pig'   /bɔmɔθɔmɔ/
          /laɛ   maɪ/ 'come here'   /lamaɛmɛ mamaɪmɪ/
          go   VENT

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

(2-34)   normal Toqabaqita   Pig-Latin

          a.   /waa/ 'worm'   /wamaama/
          b.   /tʊʊ/ 'heron'   /tʊmʊʊmʊ/
          c.   /bɪɪ/ 'stone oven'   /bɪmɪɪmɪ/
          d.   /ɔɔ/ 'be sour'   /ɔmɔɔmɔ/

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

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

All of the evidence for geminate vowels in words of the shape $(C)V_iV_i$ also applies to words of more than two syllables. In word-initial V_iV_i sequences, the first vowel is long and the second one short: [ɔ̀:ɔmɛ́a] 'enemy', 'fight, war'. In words of more than two syllables there would be no reason to lenghthen a vowel to achieve bimoraicity; and the geminate vowels are retained if the morpheme forms part of a larger word: [ʊ̀:ʊsɪ́ə] 'market', which consists of /ʊʊsɪ/ 'buy' and the suffix /-a/, which derives deverbal nouns. V_iV_i sequences count as two syllables for stress-assignment purposes: [ɔ̀:ɔmɛ́a] 'enemy', 'fight, war', not *[ɔ́:mɛa]; [ʊ̀:ʊsɪ́ə] 'market', not *[ʊ́:sɪə]. And V_iV_i sequences are, or can be, treated as two syllables in Pig-Latin: /maa-mʊ/ 'your (sg) eye' (/maa/ 'eye', /-mʊ/ 2sg personal suffix) becomes /mamaamamʊmʊ/.

2.3.   Stress

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Primary stress is indicated with "´", and secondary stress with "`". Here are some examples:

(2-35)   a.   /kɛɸʊ/   [kɛ́βʊ]   'fall over'
          b.   /aɪ/   [ə́:ɪ]   'woman'
          c.   /ɸʊarɔ/   [ɸʊ́arɔ]   'crocodile'
          d.   /θaɪa/   [θə́ɪə]   'tree sp.: *Parinari glaber-
                                                       rima*'
          e.   /kɛɛkɛnɛ/   [kɛ̀ɛ:kɛ́nɛ]   'breadfruit'
          f.   /waa-waɛla/   [ⁿwàa: ⁿwáɛla]   'keep on laughing'
                RDP-laugh
          g.   /fʊta-maɛ/   [fʊ̀tamáɛ]   'epilepsy'
                be.born-die
          h.   /ɸaʔa-ʊlaɸʊ-a/   [ɸàʔaʊ̀ləβʊ́ə]
                CAUS-work.hard-3SG.OBJ   'make him/her work hard'

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

(2-36)   /ʔɛ   laɛ/   [ʔɛláɛ]
          3SG.NFUT   go
          'he/she/it went'

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

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

More detail on clititization is given in section 2.5.

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

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

Sequences of stressed syllables arise only when the vowel of the first of two syllables is deleted, whether word-internally or across word boundaries when two words become one phonetic word (section 2.2.1):

(2-39)   a.   /ɸaʔa-ʔak͡paa-a/   [ɸàʔ:ák͡pa:a]
                CAUS-be.cured-3SG.OBJ
                'cure him/her/it'

        b.   /wanɛ   daraa/   [wàndára:a]
                man   be.young.and.single
                'young, single man'

The presence of a monosyllabic suffix may result in the addition of stress to the base. This happens when the base has two final unstressed syllables as an independent word, and the addition of the suffix would result in three un-stressed syllables next to each other. For example:

(2-40)   a.   /ʊʊsɪ/ [ʊ́:ʊsɪ]   and   /ʊʊsɪ-a/   [ʊ̀:ʊsɪ́ə]
                'buy'   buy-DVN
                                            'market'

        b.   /maʔasɪ/ [máʔəsɪ]   and   /maʔasɪ naʊ/ [máʔəsɪ nə́ʊ]
                'wait for'   wait.for 1SG
                                            'wait for me'

                no stress added, but:

                                        /maʔasɪ-a/   [màʔəsɪ́ə]
                                        wait.for-3SG.OBJ
                                        'wait for him/her/it'

        c.   /ŋata/   [ŋáta]   and   /ŋata-ɸɪ   nɪa/   /ŋátaβɪ nɪ́ə/
                'speak'   speak-TR   3SG
                                          'scold him/her'

                no stress added, but:
                                        /ŋata-ɸɪ-a/   [ŋàtaβɪ́ə]
                                        scold-TR-3SG.OBJ
                                        'scold him/her'

The addition or a word-final monosyllabic suffix to a disyllabic base does not affect the stress:

(2-41)   a.   /laɛ/ [láɛ]   and   /laɛ-a/   [láɛa]
                'go'   go-DVN
                                               'group of people going somewhere'

          b.   /rɪkɪ/ [rɪ́kɪ]   and   /rɪkɪ-da/   [rɪ́kɪⁿdə]
                                               see-3PL.OBJ
                                               'see them'

The addition of a disyllabic suffix never results in a change in the stress pattern of the base, because the first vowel of the suffix receives stress. However, the base will have secondary, rather than primary, stress. For example, the nominalizing suffix /-laa/ is disyllabic, and it does not effect changes in the stress patterns of the stems to which it is added:

(2-42)   /laɛ/ [láɛ]   and   /laɛ-laa/   [làɛláa:]
          'go'   go-NMLZ
                                          'going'

Compare the suffix /-laa/, which derives (action) nominalizations, and the suffix /-a/, which derives deverbal nouns, in (2-43). The former does not result in an additional stress in the base, while the latter does:

(2-43)   /ʊʊsɪ/ [ʊ́:ʊsɪ]   and   /ʊʊsɪ-laa/   [ʊ̀:ʊsɪlə́a:]
          'buy'   buy-NMLZ
                                          'buying'

                             and   /ʊʊsɪ-a/   [ʊ̀:ʊsɪ́ə]
                                          buy-DVN
                                          'market'

The suffix that derives nominalizations has the form /-laa/ when word-final. It has the monosyllabic form /-la/ when it is followed by an inflectional personal suffix. In the latter case, the nominalizing suffix is stressed because of the presence of the personal suffix:

(2-44)   /ʊʊsɪ-la-na   sʊka/   [ʊ̀:ʊsɪlə́na sʊ́kə]
          buy-NMLZ-3.PERS   sugar
          'buying (of) sugar'

Compare /ʊʊsɪ-laa/ [ʊ̀:ʊsɪlə́a:] 'buying' in (2-43) further above.

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

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

(2-45)

    a.   /tak͡pɛ/ [ták͡pɛ] and   /tak͡pɛ-la-ŋanɪ-a/   [tàk͡pɛlaŋə́nɪə]
        'stand'   stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ
                            'stand him/her/it up'

    b.   /tak͡pɛ-lɪ-a/   [tàk͡pɛlíə]
        'stand-TR-3SG.OBJ
        'of many people: stand all over it [a place]'

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

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

(2-46)   /ŋalɪ/ [ŋə́lɪ]   and   /ŋalɪ-da-rɔʔa/   [ŋə̀lɪⁿdərɔ́ʔa]
        'take'   take-3PL.OBJ-"DU"
                        'take them (two)'

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

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

(2-47)   /ɸaaɸɪ/ /ɸáa:βɪ/   and   /ɸaaɸɪ-da-rɔʔa/   [ɸàa:βɪⁿdərɔ́ʔa]
        confective preposition   CONF-3PL.OBJ-"DU"

(Although historically /-da-rɔʔa/ and a few other such forms are polymor-phemic, they are treated in this grammar as unanalyzed wholes; thus, /-darɔʔa/ third person dual object, third person dual personal; etc.)

With two types of exception, the few prefixes of Toqabaqita are all disylla-bic, and those occasion no change in the stress pattern of the stem. The first syllable of the derived word receives stress:

(2-48) a. /tɔda/ (tr. v.) [tɔ́da] and /k͡paɪ-tɔda-ɪ/ [k͡pə̀ɪtɔ́ⁿdəɪ]
           'meet'   LIP-meet-LIP
                                        'meet each other'

        b. /marʊkɪ/ [mə́rʊkɪ] and /ɸaʔa-marʊkɪ/ [ɸà ʔamə́rʊkɪ]
           'be alive'   CAUS-be.alive
                                      'save sb.'s life' (person as direct
                                      object)

The causative prefix has two forms: /ɸaʔa-/ and /ɸa-/. The monosyllabic allomorph is used, optionally, only in combination with the low-inividuation-of-participants (LIP) prefix /k͡paɪ/ (see (2-48a above) in a small number of verbs: /k͡paɪ-ɸa-/. For the purposes of stress assignment /k͡paɪ-ɸa-/ forms one trisyl-labic foot with the stress on the first syllable and there is no effect on the stress pattern of the base. On the other hand, when the disyllabic form of the causa-tive prefix is used after the LIP prefix, it receives stress on its first syllable, and again there is no effect on the stress pattern of the base.

(2-49) /maʔʊ/ [mə́ʔʊ] and /k͡paɪ-ɸa-maʔʊ-ɪ/   [k͡pə̀ɪβəmə́ʔʊɪ]
        'be afraid'   LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
                            'be frightening'

                    also /k͡paɪ-ɸaʔa-maʔʊ-ɪ/   [k͡pə̀ɪβə̀ʔamə́ʔʊɪ]
                          LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
                          'be frightening'

Monosyllabic prefixation is also found in a number of words that involve reduplication. Reduplication by prefixation normally involves disyllabic redu-plicants. The first syllable of the word is stressed, and so is the first syllable of the base.

(2-50) a. /ɸaa-ɸaʔa-ʊlaɸʊ/   [ɸ̀aa:βà ʔəʊ́ləβʊ]
           RDP-CAUS-work.hard
           'keep on making sb. work hard'

b. /maʔa-maʔarʊ/   [màʔamáʔərʊ]
   RDP-blink
   'blink repeatedly'

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

(2-51) a. /tɔ-tɔlɪ/   [tɔ́tɔlɪ]
           RDP-descend
           'landslip, landslide'

        b. /g͡ba-g͡barɪ/   [ᵑg͡báᵑg͡bərɪ]
           RDP-(object)be.cold
           'of a person: feel cold'

        c. /am-amasɪ-a/   [à:maməsɪ́-ə]
           RDP-call.sb.for.help-3SG.OBJ
           'keep calling him/her for help'

        d. /ʊl-ʊlaɸʊ/   [ʊ̀:lʊlə́ɸʊ]
           RDP-work.hard
           'keep on working hard'

Compare [ᵑg͡báᵑg͡bərɪ] 'of a person: feel cold' in (2-51b), with a monosyllabic reduplicant and no stress on the initial syllable of the base [ᵑg͡bərɪ], and [ᵑg͡bàa:ᵑg͡bərɪʔə] 'of a place: be pleasantly cool, shaded', with a disyllabic reduplicant and stress on the initial syllable of the same base, [ᵑg͡bərɪ]. (/-ʔa/ is a proprietive suffix that derives stative intransitive verbs.) And compare also [ʊ̀:lʊlə́ɸʊ] 'keep on working hard' in (2-51d), with a monosyllabic reduplicant and stress on the second rather than the first syllable of the base, and [ɸaa:βàʔəʊ́ləɸʊ] 'keep on making sb. work hard' in (2-50a) further above, with two disyllabic prefixes and stress on the first syllable of the same base, [ʊ́ləɸʊ],

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

(2-52) a. /alɔ-maɛ/   [àlɔmáɛ]
           taro-die
           'blight that affects taro plants'

b.   /kʊkʊʊ-ʔɔrɔ/   [kʊ̀ʊːkʊ̀ʊːʔɔ́rɔ/
      finger/toe-be.many
      'centipede'

c.   /lak͡paθɔ-nɪnɪ-ʔaʊ/   [làk͡paðɔ̀nɪ̀nɪʔɔ́ʊ/
      flying.fox-knife-piece.of.bamboo
      'sp. of flying fox'

d.   /akalɔ-maʊrɪ/   [àkalɔmə́ʊrɪ]
      ancestral.spirit-be.active
      'ancestral spirit that is still active'

      /maʊrɪ/ does not exist as a word on its own, but there is also
      /rʊka-maʊrɪ/, phonetically [rʊ̀kəmə́ʊrɪ], 'water spring that
      never dries out' (/rʊka/ 'water spring')

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

(2-53)   a.   /mɛɛ-ʔʊlaʊ/   [mɛ̀ɛːʔʊ́ləʊ]
                tongue-frog.sp
                'young coconut with very soft flesh'

          b.   /ʊʊsʊ-ʔaɪ/   [ʊ̀ːʊsʊʔə́ɪ]
                follow-tree
                'bird sp.: Common Kingfisher'

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

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

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

(2-54)   /maɸɔ-ɪ-kɪlʊ/   [màβɔɪkɪ́lʊ]
          heal-LOC-hole
          'chronic ulcer, sore' (it only heals in the hole, that is,
          in the person's grave)

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

(2-55)   /mɔʔɔsʊ-ɪ-lʊma/   [mɔ̀ʔɔsʊ̀ɪlʊ́mə]   cf. [mɔ́ʔɔsʊ]
          sleep-LOC-family.house   'sleep'
          'of a married couple: sleep together (and
          have sex) in the family house (not normally
          done in traditional times)'

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

(2-56)
          a.   /akalɔ-ɪ-θalɔ/   [à:kalɔ̀ɪðálɔ]   cf. [ákalɔ]
                ancestral.spirit-LOC-sky   'ancestral spirit'
                'ancestral spirit that resides
                high up in the air'

          b.   /ʔʊʊʔʊbʊlʊ-ɪ-malaʊ/   [ʔʊ̀ʊ:ʔʊ̀ᵐbʊlʊ̀ɪmə́ləʊ/
                mutter-LOC-hole.in.ground
                'sp. of snake: Typhlina sp.'
                ("mutters in the hole")

                cf.   /ʔʊʊʔʊbʊlʊ/   [ʔʊ̀ʊ:ʔʊ̀ᵐbʊlʊ]
                       'mutter'

                and   /ʔʊbʊlʊ-tanɪ-a/   [ʔʊ̀ᵐbʊlʊtə́nɪə]
                       mutter-TR-3SG.OBJ
                       'mutter about him/her/it'

2.4.   Reduplication

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

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

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

(2-57)   a.   /lɔlɛ/ (intr. v.)   /lɔɔ-lɔlɛ/   [lɔ̀ɔ:lɔ́lɛ]
                'tell a lie'   'keep on lying'
          b.   /ɸaŋa/ (intr. v.)   /ɸaa-ɸaŋa/
                'eat'   'keep on eating'
          c.   /ʔʊsʊŋadɪ/   /ʔʊʊ-ʔʊsʊŋadɪ/
                'tomorrow'   'morning'
                      more commonly   /ʔʊʊ-ʔʊsʊŋadɪa/
                                          'morning'
          d.   /tɛrʊ-ɸɪ/ (tr. v.)   /tɛɛ-tɛrʊ/ (n.)
                fan-TR   'fan' (used in fanning)'
                'fan sb., st.'
          e.   /nɪʊ/   /nɪɪ-nɪʊ/
                'coconut'   'grease (in food)'
          f.   /ɸaʔa-ʊlaɸʊ/   /ɸaa-ɸaʔa-ʊlaɸʊ/
                CAUS-work.hard   'keep on making sb. work hard'
                'make sb. work hard'

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

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

      c.   /maʔarʊ/   /maʔa-maʔarʊ/
          'blink'   'blink repeatedly'

There are at least two bases that have the form CaʔU where the reduplicant lacks the glottal stop:

(2-59)   a.   /g͡baʔʊ/   /g͡baʊ-g͡baʔʊ/   [ᵑg͡bə̀ʊᵑg͡bə́ʔʊ]
           'be empty'   'of something that is normally round,
                               convex: be flat, deflated'
      b.   /raʔʊ/ (tr. v.)   /raʊ-raʔʊ-ʔaba/
           'hold'   'of two people: hold hands when
                               walking and/or conversing with each
                               other' (/ʔaba/ 'hand, arm')

    With bases of the form CV_iV_i, reduplication can be interpreted as involving only the first syllable of the base with the vowel doubled, or as involving both syllables of the base:

(2-60)   a.   /mʊʊ/ (intr. v.)   /mʊʊ-mʊʊ/   [mʊ̀ʊ:mʊ́ʊ:]
           'break, tear'   'be broken, torn
                               into pieces'
      b.   /waa/   /waa-waa/
           'worm'   'collectivity of worms in
                                 one place'
      c.   /tɔɔ/   /tɔɔ-tɔɔ/
           'stay'   optionally used to express the
                               frequentative aspect; also as a
                               sequencer : 'later'

    Since those cases where the direction of reduplication is clear, as in the commonest pattern discussed further above and in (2-58c), involve prefixation rather than suffixation, it can be assumed that the other cases also involve prefixation, as in (2-58a), (2-58b), and in (2-60).

    In the third type of reduplication of consonant-initial bases only the first syllable is reduplicated and the reduplicant is prefixed, without doubling of the vowel in the reduplicant. This kind of reduplication is not common.

(2-61)   a.   /tɔlɪ/ (intr. v.)   /tɔ-tɔlɪ/   [tɔ́tɔlɪ]
           'move down, descend' 'landslip, landslide'
      b.   /taʔɛ/   /ta-taʔɛ/
           'move up, ascend'   'stand up, sit up'

c.   /labata/   also   /la-labata/
'clear, open area   'clear, open area
in a village'   in a village'

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

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

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

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

(2-63)   a.   /aŋɪ-sɪ-a/   /aŋɪ-ŋɪ-sɪ-a/   [à:ŋɪŋɪsɪ́ə]
cry-TR-3SG.OBJ   'keep crying for him/her/it'
'cry for him/her/it'

b.   /ɪlɪ-ɸanɪ-a/   /ɪlɪ-lɪ-ɸanɪ-a/   /ì:lɪlɪβə́nɪə/
do-TR-3SG.OBJ   'keep imitating him/her-it'
'imitate him/her/it'

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

(2-64)   a.   /aŋɔ/   /aŋɔ-aŋɔ/   [à:ŋɔáŋɔ]
              'crouch, creep'   general term for
                                        small, stinging ants'

                         cf.   /aŋɔ-ɸɪ/
                               crouch/creep-TR
                               'crouch, creep for',
                               'of ants: crawl on'

         b.   /ʊrʊ/ (v.)   /ʊrʊ-ʊrʊ/
              'place sole   'grope with one's feet'
              of foot down'

         c.   /ɛsɔ/   /ɛsɔ-ɛsɔ/
              'be boisterous'   'keep on being boisterous'

(2-65)   a.   /ɛta/   /ɛtɛ-ɛta/ (n.)   [ɛ̀:tɛɛ́ta]
              'one'   'very large number
                                       of st., beyond counting'

         b.   /ɪŋɔ/ (tr. v.)   /ɪŋɪ-ɪŋɔ/ also   /ɪŋɔ-ɪŋɔ/
              'scoop out'   'of liquid, such as water: be
                                       agitated rather than still'

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

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

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

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

(2-66)   a.   /kɛʔɔ/   /kɛɛ-kɛʔɔ/ also /kɛʔɔ-kɛʔɔ/

                'be bent, not   'be crooked', 'move in a zigzag

                straight'   way'

        b.   /bʊa/ (arch.)   /bʊʊ-bʊa/ also /bʊa-bʊa/

                'areca nut',   'sp. of vine'

                'areca-nut tree'

        c.   /taʔɛ/   /taa-taʔɛ/

                'move up, ascend''   'keep moving up, ascending'

                                       /ta-taʔɛ/

                                     'stand up, sit up'

        d.   /g͡barɪ/   /g͡ba-g͡barɪ/

                'of an object or a   'of a person: feel cold'

                substance: be cold'

                                 /g͡baa-g͡barɪ-ʔa/

                                               -PROP

                                 'of a place: be pleasantly cool,

                                 shaded'

        e.   /kɛɸʊ/   /kɛɛ-kɛɸʊ/ (intr. v.)

                'fall over, topple'   'wiggle a dibble stick in the

                                 ground'

                                 /kɛɸʊ-kɛɸʊ/

                               'lean to a side', 'tilt repeatedly

                                 from side to side'

There is a profusion of variant forms all of which have the meaning 'moss, lichen': /lʊmʊ/, /lʊʊ-lʊmʊ/, /lʊmʊ-lʊmʊ/, and also /rʊmʊ/, /rʊʊ-rʊmʊ/, /rʊmʊ-rʊmʊ/. And there are corresponding variant intransitive verbs derived by means of the proprietive suffix /-ʔa/, all of which mean 'be mossy; be covered with moss or lichen': /lʊmʊ-ʔa/, /lʊʊ-lʊmʊ-ʔa/, /lʊmʊ-lʊmʊ-ʔa/, /rʊmʊ-ʔa/, /rʊʊ-rʊmʊ-ʔa , and /rʊmʊ-rʊmʊ-ʔa/

It is possible for multiple copies of the reduplicant to be added to a base. Such multiple reduplication serves, iconically, to emphasize the temporal extent of the state of affairs. If the reduplicant is of the form CVᵢVᵢ-, the second of the two identical vowels is often lengthened beyond the usual degree of lengthening:

(2-67)   /taa-taa-taa-taʔɛ/   [tàa::tàa::tàa::táʔɛ]

         RDP-RDP-RDP-ascend

         'go up and up and up'

See section 15.2.3 for examples.

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

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

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

2.5.   Cliticization and fusion

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

(2-69)   /naʊ   kʊ   θaɔɸa/   [nə́ʊkʊ θáɔβa]
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry
           'I am hungry.'

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

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

(2-71)   /bɔθɔ   baʔɪta   kɪ/   [ᵐbɔ́ðɔ ᵐbə̀ʔɪtákɪ]
           pig   be.big   PL
           'big pigs'

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

(2-72)   /bɔθɔ   baʔɪta/   [ᵐbɔ́ðɔ ᵐbə́ʔɪtə]
         pig   be.big
         'big pig'

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

(2-73)   /ʔɛ   laɛ   ɪ   masʊʔʊ/   /ʔɛláɛɪ mə́sʊʔʊ/
         3SG.NFUT go   LOC bush
         'She went into the bush.' (Euphemistically for 'She went to the toilet.')

(2-74)   /θa   ʊlʊɸaalʊ   ʔɛ   ɸʊla   naʔa/
         PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT arrive PRF
         'Ulufaalu has arrived.'

         [θaʊ̀:lʊβáa:lʊ ʔɛβʊ́lə náʔa]

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

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

See also (2-78) further below, and sections 17.3 and 17.4 for further discussion.)
     The other type of exception concerns the general locative preposition /-ʔɪ/. This preposition cliticizes to the following word when that word is grammatical, unless it fuses with the preceding element (see further below for fusion), and it is the preposition that carries word-initial stress:

(2-76)   /ɸalɛ-a   ʔɪ   ɸa-na/   [ɸálɛa ʔɪ́βəna]
         give-3SG.OBJ LOC REC-3SG.PERS
         'Give it to him.'

(2-77)   /…   kɛkɔ   ʔarʊ-a   ɸaʊ   ʔɪ   ɛɪ …./
             3DU.SEQ   drop-3.OBJ   stone   LOC   LOCPRO
             '[… they lit a fire (and)] they dropped stones in it ….'

       […kɛ́kɔ ʔə́rʊə ɸə́ʊ íɛɪ ….]

For the absence of the glottal stop in the locative preposition /ʔɪ/ in the pho-
netic form in (2-77) see further below.
       Neighbouring monosyllabic elements cliticize to each other:

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

       [nə́ʊ ʔɛ́əʔɪ tá́βa ʔɔ́ta]

Cliticization is not indicated when examples are presented in the orthogra-
phy in the rest of the grammar; but see further below for the combination of the
third person singular subject marker /ʔɛ/ and the negative verb /aʔɪ/.
       Cliticization as discussed above must be distinguished from what is here
referred to as "fusion" of two or sometimes even three words. In fusion, the two
or three lexical and/or grammatical words form one phonological word, and the
non-final component or components that make up a fused word lose some of
their phonological material at their ends, a segment, a syllable or even two syl-
lables. With one type of exception, the final component occurs in its full form.
The exception is grammatical elements that begin with a glottal stop: they lose
the glottal stop when fused to the preceding element. Words that have fused
together behave as single phonological words for the purposes of stress assign-
ment.
       Fusion is signalled in the grammar by means of an equal sign: =, including
when examples are presentend in the orthography.
       Fusion may involve grammatical words or lexical words. In some cases,
fusion is obligatory. Obligatory fusion involves certain combinations of gram-
matical words: when two or three such words occur next to each other, fusion
must take place. The reduced forms in which morphemes that obligatorily un-
dergo fusion occur are referred to in the grammar as the "combining" forms of
those morphemes. (A few morphemes must occur in their combining forms
when a bound morpheme is suffixed to them.)
       Fusion is obligatory when certain postverbal particles occur next to each
other. A few examples are given in (2-79). (For further discussion and exam-
ples see section 5.2.)

(2-79) a. /bɔʔɔ/   and /naʔa/   fuse as /bɔ=naʔa/
             ASRT/INTS   PRF/INTS   [bɔ́naʔa]

        b. /bɔʔɔ/   and /kaʊ/   /bɔ=kaʊ/
             ASRT/INTS   AND   [bɔ́kəʊ]

        c. /naʔa/   and /maɪ/   /na=maɪ/
             PRF   VENT   [náməɪ]

        d. /bɔʔɔ/   and /naʔa/ and /maɪ/   /bɔ=na=maɪ/
             ASRT/INTS   PRF/INTS   VENT   [bɔ̀namə́ɪ]

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

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

(2-80) a. /ʔana/ /ɸa/ /θatɔ/   /baa/   /ʔa=ɸa θatɔ baa/
             GENP   CLF   day   that
             'on that day'

        b. /ʔana/ /ta/   /balɪ/   /ʔa=ta balɪ/
             GENP   some   side
             'on one side (as opposed to the other side)'

        c. /ʔana/ /ta/   /sɪ/   /ɸaŋa/   /ʔan=tasɪ ɸaŋa/
             GENP   some   PRTT   food
             'with some of the food'

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

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

Optional fusion is common in fast speech, and it may take place across major syntactic boundaries. In (2-82) the preposition /ʔɪ/ fuses with the andative directional, which is part of the verb phrase, instead of cliticizing to the following element, which is what often happens elsewhere (see the discussion of this preposition further above in this section):

(2-82)   /laɛ kaʊ ʔɪ   sa-na/   /laɛ ka=ɪ sa-na/
          go   AND LOC   ADJC-3SG.PERS
          'Go to him.'

The subject markers that begin with a glottal stop fuse with the preceding word, and the glottal stop is deleted. These subject markers often fuse with the relative-clause marker, the focus marker, and the complementizer /na/:

(2-83)   a.   /na/   /ʔɔ/   /n=ɔ/
                          2SG.NFUT
          b.   /na/   /ʔɔkɪ/   /n=ɔkɪ/
                          2SG.FUT
          c.   /na/   /ʔɔsɪ/   /n=ɔsɪ/
                          2SG.NEG
          d.   /na/   /ʔɛ/   /n=ɛ/
                          3SG.NFUT

For example:

(2-84)   /nɪ   tɛɪ   n=ɔ   rɪkɪ-a/
          PERSMKR   who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ
          'Who did you see?'

Among the subject markers that begin with a glottal stop, it is the third person singular nonfuture tense one that most frequently, and commonly, fuses with the preceding element. In the next two examples it fuses, respectively, with a nominalization in the subject position and with a demonstrative as the last element of the subject phrase:

(2-85)   /ŋata-la-na   ʔɛ   maʊlɪ-ʔa/
          speak-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.on.left.side-PROP
          'He spoke in a clumsy, non-fluent, non-idiomatic way.'

          with fusion: /ŋata-la-n=ɛ maʊlɪ-ʔa/

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

(2-86)   /dɔɔ   ʔɔrɔ   baa   ʔɛ   mak͡pa/
            thing   be.many   that   3SG.NFUT   smell
            'Those many things smelled.'

            with fusion: /dɔɔ ʔɔrɔ b=ɛ mak͡pa/

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

(2-87)   /mada   ʔɛ   mataʔɪ/   /mad=ɛ mataʔɪ/
            or   3SG.NFUT   be.sick
            'He might be sick.' 'Is he perhaps sick?'

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

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

(2-88)   /maka   kamɪlɪʔa/
            father   1PL(EXCL)
            'our father(s)'

            with fusion: /mak=kamɪlɪʔa/   [mák:ə̀mɪlɪ́ʔə]
                    father=1PL(EXCL)

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

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

(2-89)　　/mɔrɔ　　　alʊ-a　　　　ʔɪ　　ɸɛɪ/
　　　　　　2DU.NFUT　put-3SG.OBJ　　LOC　where?
　　　　　　'Where did you put it?'

　　　　　　with fusion: /mɔrɔ　　　alʊ=ɪ　　　　　　　ɸɛɪ/
　　　　　　　　　　　　2DU.NFUT　put:3SG.OBJ=LOC　　where?

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

(2-90)　　/θaɪna-na　　　　nɪ　　　　ɸaŋarɪʔɪ/
　　　　　　mother-3.PERS　PERSMKR　Fangariqi
　　　　　　'Fangariqi's mother'

　　　　　　with fusion: /θaɪna=nɪ　　　　　　　　ɸaŋarɪʔɪ/
　　　　　　　　　　　　mother:3.PERS=PERSMKR　Fangariqi

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

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

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

2.6.　Orthographic conventions

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

Table 2.3.   Orthographic symbols for phonemes

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2.4.   Additional othrographic symbols and their sound values

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

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

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

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

Chapter 3
Grammatical profile

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

3.1.   Morphosyntactic patterns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Compare (3-8) further above.
The other subclass takes object suffixes also used with one class of transitive verbs to index the direct objects:

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

Compare (3-5) further above.
Some of the forms that function as prepositions and take object suffixes can also take clauses as their objects and may index them with the same suffix *-a*:

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

Compare (3-10) further above.
Those heads of phrases that index their dependents can have only lexical noun phrase modifiers (or clause modifiers), not pronominal modifiers. The possessive noun phrase in (3-12) is ungrammatical because of the presence of the pronoun in the possessor position:

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

Compare (3-8) further above with a lexical possessor noun phrase.
    And (3-13) is ungrammatical because of the pronoun in the direct object
position:

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

Compare (3-5) further above with a lexical direct object. For the difference
in the glossing of the suffix -*a*, 3.OBJ in (3-5) and 3SG.OBJ in (3-13), see below.
    Those types of heads that index their adjuncts or complements can occur
without an adjunct or a complement, as (3-12) and (3-13) above show. Under
such circumstances the object and the personal suffixes specify the person and
the number of the participant. This is shown in (3-14) and (3-15) for the third
person singular and plural object suffixes, respectively, and in (3-16) and (3-17)
for the third person singular and dual personal suffixes, respectively:

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

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

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

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

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

(3-18)   *Nau   ku   rongo-a   kini   qeri.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   woman   that
          'I heard the woman.'

(3-19)   *Nau   ku   rongo-a   kini   qe=ki.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   woman   that=PL
          'I heard the women.'

(3-20)   *nuu-na   teqe   wane*
          picture-3.PERS   one   man
          'picture of a/one man'

(3-21)   *nuu-na   roo   wane*
          picture-3.PERS   two   man
          'picture of two men'

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

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

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

          thau-ngani-a
          make-TR-3SG.OBJ
          'the *subi* club that Fiuoomea made'

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

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

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

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

(3-25)   a.   *nia*
                  3SG
                  'he/she/it'

           b.   *keeroqa*
                  3DU
                  'they (two)'

           c.   *kera*
                  3PL
                  'they (more than two)'

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

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

(3-26)   a.   *thaina-kuluqa*
                  mother-PL(INCL).PERS
                  'our mother'

           b.   *thaina-miliqa*
                  mother-1PL(EXCL).PERS
                  'our mother'

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

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

(3-28) *biqu   kera*
       house   3PL
       'their house'

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

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

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

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

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

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

<blockquote>
qa=si   manga   qeri.
GENP-PRTT time   this
'I am going to speak with you at this time.'
</blockquote>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

         qalangi-a   qana   "basi".
         name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   *basi*
         'This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who (was) Liliqa), his leg was af-
         flicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws] (lit.: a sore
         afflicted his leg that they name "*basi*").'

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

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

         qana   gwauliqi   ai ....
         GENP   married.person   woman
         'You don't say, "Come here now." to a married woman ....'. (It is
         impolite to speak like that.)

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.   Word classes

The following are the word classes in Toqabaqita:

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

CLOSED LEXICAL CLASSES:
Adjective. The class consists of one member, whose meaning is 'small, little.' The adjective has three different forms, whose use is determined partly by grammatical number, partly by the animacy status of the noun phrase, and partly by the count vs. mass status of the noun phrase.
Adverbs. The number of adverbs is small, and they do not share any morphological property.
Cardinal numerals. The numeral system is decimal. There is also a set of forms with an ordinal-numeral function. Those are morphologically based on the cardinal numerals, but they are a subtype of nouns.

GRAMMATICAL CLASSES:
Prepositions. Some may take both non-clausal and clausal complements.
Independent personal pronouns. The categories that are distinguished are: first, second, and third person; inclusive; singular, dual, and plural number.
Pro-sentence forms.
Locative pro-form.
Subject markers. They make the same person, number, and clusivity distinctions that the independent pronouns make, and simultaneously mark tense or aspect (nonfuture tense, future tense/imperfective aspect), sequentiality, negation, or dehortation.
Demonstratives.
Quantifiers.

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

Person markers. They make a masculine – feminine distinction.

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

Subordinators.

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

Ligature.

Interjections.

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

Chapter 4
The verb phrase

4.1.   The basic structure of the verb phrase

The Toqabaqita verb phrase minimally consists of a verb. In addition to a verb, there may be a variety of other constituents in a verb phrase. The basic structure of the verb phrase is given in (4-1). The significance of the raised numerals is explained further below.

(4-1)   VP →   (irrealis)^X (subject   (preverbal   VERB
                                    marker)^{II} particles)^I

                (pronominal   (postverbal   (lexical
                direct   particles)^{IV} direct
                object^a)^{III} object^a)^V

                (*quna* NP^b)^{VI} (oblique-object
                                            complement^c)^{VII}

                (adverb phrase)^{VIII} (paratactic
                                            clausal complement^c)^{IX}

Notes: a. A pronominal and a lexical direct object cannot cooccur; only one or the other may be present in a given clause. The category of lexical direct objects includes clausal objects.
          b. Noun phrase headed by *quna* 'manner, way'.
          c. With syntactically-extended intransitive verbs and syntactically-extended transitive verbs.

   Although in (4-1) the arrangement of the constituents is given in a simple linear form, there is layered structure. Other than the verb, all the other constituents are grammatically optional. A verb alone can constitute a verb phrase:

(4-2)   *Sifo!*
         descend
         'Come down!' 'Go down.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.   Types of verbs

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

4.2.1.   Stative vs. nonstative verbs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-11)   *Kwai   qani-a   qa-kuqa   keekene*
        1SG.FUT/IPFV   eat-3.OBJ   SBEN-1SG.PERS   breadfruit

        neri.
        NPAST.HERE
        a. 'I am going to eat breadfruit now.'
        b. 'I am eating breadfruit now.'

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

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

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

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

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

(4-14) *Basi na   maka nau kai   baa-basi   futa*
        bow   REL   father 1SG 3SG.IPFV RDP-shoot possum

        qani-a   manga   na=i   dini   neq.
        INS-3SG.OBJ time   REL=LOC relatively.distant.past here
        'Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old
        days.'

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

(4-15) *Wane naqi {qe   /   *kai}   feda   qa=si*
        man   this 3SG.NFUT   /   3SG.IPFV be.tired GENP=PRTT

        manga   ki sui   bana.
        time   PL EXHST LIM
        'This man is always tired.' 'This man is tired every time/at all
        times.'

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

(4-16) *wela   faqekwa*
        child be.little
        'little child'

(4-17) *si   lio   taqaa*
        PRTT thought be.bad
        'bad/evil thought'

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

4.2.2.   Intransitive verbs

4.2.2.1. Basic properties

Unlike transitive verbs, intransitive verbs do not carry any inflectional mor-
phology.

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

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

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

(4-20)   intransitive   transitive

         qifi   *qifi-ni-a   maa*
         'open; be open'   open-TR-3.OBJ   door
                                     'open a door'

(4-21)   intransitive   transitive

         kuqu   *kuqu-fi-a   kafo*
         'drink'   drink-TR-3.OBJ water
                                     'drink water'

For more detail see section 4.2.3.2.4.
    There are a few syntactically-extended intransitive verbs (cf. Dixon 1994),[6]
that is intransitive verbs that take complements, either an oblique object, or a
complement clause, or both; see *lalakwa* 'not like' in (4-22), *kwai-thathai* 'be
ready' in (4-23), and *alangaqi* 'promise' in (4-24), respectively.

(4-22)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa qana   taumanga.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.like   GENP   k.o.pudding
        'I don't like taumanga pudding.'

(4-23)   *Nau   ku   kwai-thathai   kwai   lae   naqa.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-ready   1SG.FUT   go   PRF
        'I am ready to go now.'

(4-24)   *Wane   e   alangaqi qi   sa-ku*
        man   3SG.NFUT   promise LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS

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

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

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

4.2.2.2. Intransitive verbs formed by reduplication

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

(4-25)   intransitive   transitive

    a.   *koo-kori*   *kori*
       'grate coconut'   'grate, scrape'

    b.   *qee-qeta*   *qeta*
       'be different',   'keep st. (e.g. food)
       'be separate'   for os., not sharing it'

    c.   *sii-siu*   *siu-fi*
       'bathe (os.)'   'bathe (sb.)'

d.   *dee-dema*   *deme-si*
     '(e.g. of ground) be level'   'make level (e.g. ground)'

e.   *ono-ono*   *ono-mi*
     'eat food whole,   'eat (impolite)'
     without biting,
     chewing it'

f.   *kaa-karu*   *karu-mani*
     'beckon'   'beckon sb.'

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

4.2.2.3.   *Proprietive verbs*

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

(4-26)   a.   *garata-qa*
              tinea-PROP
              'be afflicted with tinea'

         b.   *fau-la*
              stone/rock-PROP
              'of ground: be stony, rocky'

The distribution of the two allomorphs is determined primarily lexically, but
there is some phonological conditioning as well which involves dissimilation.
The suffix *-qa* is not used with bases whose last syllable contains *q* (glottal
stop); and, with a few exceptions, *-la* is not used with bases whose last syllable
contains a liquid (*l* or *r*). This phonological conditioning apart, the two allo-
morphs are in free variation with some bases, but with most only one is possi-
ble. There is at least one case where one and the same base can take either al-
lomorph with a minor difference in meaning; see (4-36) further below.
    All the bases that contain a liquid in the final syllable and exceptionally
permit the *-la* variant of the suffix also allow the *-qa* variant of the suffix. For
example:

(4-27) a. *karu-la*   also   *karu-qa*
            scar-PROP   scar-PROP
            'bear (many) scars'   'bear (many) scars'

        b. *qamali-la*   also   *qamali-qa*
            sea/sea.water/salt-PROP   sea/sea.water/salt-PROP
            'contain sea water or   'contain sea water or
            salt', 'be salty'   salt', 'be salty'

There is another word for 'sea', 'sea water', 'salt', *asi*. There is a corre-
sponding proprietive verb *asi-la*, synonymous with *qamali-la* and *qamali-qa*,
but no **asi-qa*.

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

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

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

Some further examples are:

(4-30) a. *feefeqa-la*
            eye.mucus-PROP
            'of eye(s): contain mucus'

        b. *lumu-qa*
            moss/lichen-PROP
            'be mossy', 'be covered with moss/lichen'

        c. *maamako-qa*   also   *maamako-la*
            mud-PROP   mud-PROP
            'be muddy'   'be muddy'

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

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

(4-31)   *uuka-qa*
          vine.sp.-PROP
          'taste very bitter' (*uuka* designates a species of Derris vine that is pounded and used to stun fish in the sea)

(4-32)   *foo-fote-la*
          RDP-paddle-PROP
          'of a person or animal: be thin, skinny'

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

(4-33) a.   *qabu-qabu-qa*
              RDP-blood-PROP
              'be of a shade of red, the colour of blood'

        b.   *qabu-la*
              blood-PROP
              'be bloody, covered with blood'

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

(4-34) a.   (*lio*) *fau-fau-la*
              look   RDP-stone/rock-PROP
              'be serious, stern', 'be/look stone-faced'

        b.   *fau-la*
              stone/rock-PROP
              'of ground: be stony, rocky'

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

(4-35) a.   *kukeqe-la*
              mature/old.woman-PROP
              'of a woman, woman's body: show the symptoms of old age; have grown old'

        b.   *wela-wela-qa*
              RDP-child-PROP
              'of children and young banana trees (before fruiting): have grown well; have a good, strong, well-developed body'

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

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

(4-36) a.   *kale-qa*
              egg-PROP
              'of a bird: lay eggs'

        b.   *kale-la*
              egg-PROP
              'lay a large number of eggs'; normally used only about turtles

Unlike birds, turtles lay a large number of eggs.

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

(4-37)   *gwauliqi-wane-qa*
              married.person-man-PROP
              'of a man: be somewhat (but not very) old'

(4-38)   *uli-qai-la*
              branch-tree-PROP
              'of a traditional priest: wear an *uliqai* headdress'

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

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

(4-39) a.   *en-eno-qa*
             be.quiet/calm-RDP-PROP
             'of a place or a person: be peaceful'

        b.   *bii-biinga-la*
             RDP-sleep-PROP
             'be sleepy' ('eye' as subject') (*biinga* 'sleep' takes as its subject
             a noun phrase referring to the person, etc. sleeping)

        c.   *maa-mataqi-la*
             RDP-be.sick-PROP
             'feel a little sick; feel as if sick, as if getting sick' ('body' as sub-
             ject) (*mataqi* 'be sick' takes as its subject a noun phrase referring
             to the person, etc. that is sick)

        d.   *katu-katu-la*
             RDP-be.hindered.from.movement-PROP
             'stutter, stammer' ('mouth' or 'speaking' as subject)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-42) a.   *qabu-qabu-qa*
             RDP-blood-PROP
             'be of a shade of red, the colour of blood'

        b.   *buu-bulu-qa*
             RDP-black.pig-PROP
             'be black; be dark-coloured: dark grey, dark blue, dark purple'

        c.   *kaakaa-qa*
             '(white)cockatoo-PROP
             'be white, esp. pure white'

        d.   *maa-marakwa-qa*
             RDP-be.green-PROP
             'be green'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

          thaqegano.
          soil
          'It is water that makes soil fertile.'

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

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

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

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

          wane   qeri.
          man   that
          'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I have mind-forgotten the man's name.')

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

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

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

4.2.2.5.   *Syntactically intransitive verbs that contain transitive suffixes*

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

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

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

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

4.2.3.   Transitive verbs

4.2.3.1   Introduction

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

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

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

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

          kuqu-fi-a   meresina.
          drink-TR-3.OBJ   medicine
          'The doctor told the woman to drink medicine.' (Lit.: 'The doctor told the woman, she will drink medicine.')

4.2.3.2.   Class 1 transitive verbs

4.2.3.2.1. The object suffixes and the object positions

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

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

3SG	*-a*
3DU	*-daroqa*
3PL	*-da*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-59) a.   *Qo   riki-a?*
              2SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ
              'Did you see him/her/it?'

        b.   *Qo   riki   nia?*
              2SG.NFUT   see   3SG
              'Did you see him/her?'

(4-60) a.   *Qo   riki-da?*
              2SG.NFUT   see-3PL.OBJ
              'Did you see them?

        b.   *Qo   riki   kera?*
              2SG.NFUT   see   3PL
              'Did you see them?'

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

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

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

(4-62)   *Nau   ku   rongo-a   kini   qeri.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   woman   that
          'I heard the woman.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(See also [4-63] and [4-64] further above.)
However, when a plural lexical object is fronted, for example in topicalization, and the object has a human or other higher-animate referent (section 4.9), it is the plural object suffix that occurs on the verb. (Objects with non-higher animate referents are normally indexed by the singular suffix.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.3.2.2.   *The structures of Class 1 transitive verbs*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-71) a. *raqo*
              'be stuck; adhere'

      b. *raqo-a*   *stampa*
           be.stuck-3.OBJ stamp
           'stick a (postage) stamp on (e.g. an envelope)'

(4-72) a. *luqu*
              'answer, respond; give an answer'

      b. *luqu-a*   *foqa-laa*   *kamiliqa*
           answer-3.OBJ   pray-NMLZ 1PL(EXCL)
           'answer our prayer(s)'

(4-73) a. *rina*
              'sp. of grass', 'k.o. ear ornament made from *rina* grass'

      b. *rina-a*   *teqe* *fa*   *rina*
           make.*rina*.ornament-3.OBJ one   CLF   ear.ornament
           'make a *rina* ear ornament'

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

(4-74) a. *kuki* (intr. v., n.)
              'cook', 'pot, saucepan'

      b. *kuki-a*   *fanga*
           cook-3.OBJ food
           'cook food (in a pot, saucepan)'

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

(4.75) a.   *kuqu*
               'drink'

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

(4-76) a.   *kaba*
               'crawl'

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

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

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

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

(4-78) a.   *tala*
               'path, track, road'

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

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

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

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

(4.79)   a.   *qabero*
        'be busy, occupied with sb., st.'

      b.   *qabero-tani-a*   *kwai-na*
        be.busy-TR-3.OBJ   spouse-3SG.PERS
        'be busy taking care of one's spouse'

      c.   *qabero-taqi nia*
        be.busy-TR   3SG
        'be busy taking care of him/her'

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

(4-80)   a.   *fuqaro*
        'whisper'

      b.   *fuqaro-tani-a*   *bili-a*
        whisper-TR-3.OBJ   steal-DVN
        'whisper about the theft'

      c.   *fuqaro-taqi-la-na*   *wane*
        whisper-TR-NMLZ-3SG.PERS man
        'whispering about the man'

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

(4-81)   a.   *ala* (intr.)
        'approve, agree'

      b.   *ala-ngani-a*   *lokap*
        promise/threaten-TR-3.OBJ   jail
        'promise jail (to sb.), threaten (sb. with) jail'

      c.   *ala-ngaqi-a*
        promise/threaten-TR-DVN
        'a promise, a threat'

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

(4-82) a.   *teo*
                    'lie (down)'

        b.   *teo-fani-a   wela*
                    lie-TR-3.OBJ child
                    'lay a/the child down (e.g. to sleep)'

        c.   *teo-faqi   wela*
                    lay-TR   child
                    'lay a child/children down (e.g. to sleep)'

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

(4-83) a.   *teqe*
                    'one'

        b.   *teqe-mani-a   alo   qena*
                    one-TR-3.OBJ   taro   that(2)
                    'count those taros'

        c.   *teqe-maqi   leqa   qana alo   qena*
                    one-TR   be.good GENP taro   that(2)
                    'count those taros well'

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

(4-84) a.   *ili* (intr.)
                    'do'

        b.   *ili-fani-a   ngata-la-na   akalo*
                    imitate-TR-3.OBJ   speak-NMLZ-3.PERS   ancestral.spirit
                    'imitate a/the ancestral spirit's speaking'

        c.   *kwai-ili-faqi*
                    LIP-imitate-TR
                    'imitate each other'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-87) a. *ila*
            'be unfriendly, hostile'

        b. *ila-ma-tani-a   wane*
            be.unfriendly/hostile-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   man
            'be unfriendly, hostile to the man'

        c. *ila-ma-taqi   nau*
            be.unfriendly/hostile -EXT-TR   1SG
            'be unfriendly, hostile to me'

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

(4-88) a. *busu* (intr.)
      'burst, explode'

    b. *busu-ra-ngani-a*   *qamali*
      burst-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   sea
      'of a whale: produce a spout of water'

(4-89) a. *sifo*
      'descend'

    b. *sifo-la-ngaqi-la-na*   *kako*
      descend-EXT-TR-3.PERS   cargo
      'offloading of cargo (e.g. from a truck)'

(4-90) a. *dora* (intr.)
      'not know'

    b. *dora-nga-tani-a*   *naifa*
      not.know-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   knife
      'stealthily do something bad to another person's knife', 'do something bad to another person's knife without that person's knowledge'

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

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

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

(4-91) a. *feqa*
      'defecate'

  b.   *feqe-si-a   nabi*
        defecate-TR-3.OBJ nappy
        'of a baby: defecate in the nappy'

  c.   *feqe-tani-a   qabu*   also *feqa-tani-a   qabu*
        defecate-TR-3.OBJ blood   defecate-TR-3.OBJ blood
        'defecate blood; pass blood in faeces'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-96) a. *tabali*
             'move aside, away'

        b. *tabalu-ngani-a*   *biru*
             move.aside-TR-3.OBJ   garden.partition
             'move a garden partition to a side, in a given direction'

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

4.2.3.2.3.   The thematic consonants

4.2.3.2.3.1.   The range of the thematic consonants

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

(4-97) a. *lae-**f**i-a*
             go-TR-3SG.OBJ
             'go for, go to get st.'

     cf. b. *lae*
             'go'

(4-98) a. *oli-**t**ani-a*
             return-TR-3SG.OBJ
             'return st., take, put st. back'

     cf. b. *oli*
             'return, go/come back'

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

(4-99) a.   *manata-i-a*
              think-TR-3SG.OBJ
              'think about', 'think that'

   cf. b.   *manata*
              'think'

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

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

Table 4.3. Thematic consonants

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

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

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

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

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

(4-100)   a.   *moa-si-a*
vomit-TR-3SG.OBJ
'vomit on'

b.   *moa-tani-a*
vomit-TR-3SG.OBJ
'vomit out'

cf.   c.   *moa* (intr.)
'vomit'

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

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

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

(4-101)   short TR   long TR   base

a.   *teo-fi*   *teo-fani*   *teo*
'lie (down) on,   'lay sb., st. down'   'lie (down)'
in st.'

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

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

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

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

c.	*dola-li* 'mix, stir (st.) into st.'	*dola-ngani* 'lose'	*dola* 'be lost, disappear'

In (4-103) there is more than one short transitive or more than one long transitive form that are synonymous:

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

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

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

b.   *busu-ri*   *busu-ra-ngani*   *busu*
      'in healing: splutter   'of a whale: produce   'burst,
      the patient with   a spout of water'   explode'
      chewed up healing   ('sea' as direct object)
      substance'

      busu-li
      'cause to burst'

c.   *liu-fi*   *liu-fani*   *liu*
      'walk all over,   'of bad behaviour: 'walk',
      around (a place)'   bring about the   'pass by'
                              perpetrator's death,
                              visit death on the
                              perpetrator'

                             liu-ngani
                              'steal (plants) from
                              sb. else's garden; walk
                              away with plants from
                              sb. else's garden, having
                              stolen them' ('garden' as
                              direct object); 'ask sb.
                              to accompany one'

                             liu-tani
                              'harvest (garden)', 'take a
                              large quantity of harvested
                              crop to another place'
                              ('crop' as direct object)

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

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

4.2.3.2.3.3.   *The morphological status of the thematic consonants*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-105) a. *kwala-ngi*   cf.   *kwala* (intr.)
            'swear at'   'swear'

        b. *kwala-fi*   cf.   *kwala* (intr.)
            'of humans and animals   'of animals: have,
            (female and male):   young, offspring'
            'beget', 'bear (a child,
            young)'

(4-106) a. *abu-tani*   cf.   *abu* (intr.)
            'behave in prescribed,   'be taboo,
            respectful ways   not allowed,
            concerning sb., st.'   forbidden'

        b. *labu-ngani*   cf.   *labu* (short tr.)
            'stick, drive st. into   'stab, pierce, spear',
            the ground so that it   'drive, stick st. (into
            stands upright'   st.)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-107)   a.   *futa-la-ngani*
               'beget', 'bear (a child)'

          b.   *futa-ngani*
               'beget', 'bear (a child)'

(4-108)   a.   *kuru-ma-tani*
               'press, plunge, submerge st., sb. in, into water'

          b.   *kuru-mani*
               'press, plunge, submerge st., sb. in, into water'

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

(4-109)   a.   *toqo-la-ngani*
                 'teach, instruct, inform (sb.) about st.' (content as direct object), 'explain'

           b.   *toqo-ma-tani*
                 'divide st. into groups according to a certain criterion (e.g. size)', 'explain'

cf.   c.   *toqo* (intr.)
                 'be learning st., practice (doing) st.'

and   d.   *toqo* (bare tr.)
                 'teach, instruct, inform (sb.) about st.' (content as direct object) (same as the first sense of *toqo-la-ngani*), 'learn st., in the sense of having learned it, knowing it'

4.2.3.2.3.4.   *Associations between thematic consonants and meanings*

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

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

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

           b.   *qingo-fi* (respectful word)
                'drink'

(4-111)   a.   *ngata-li*
                'discuss'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

           c.   *moa-si*   *moa-tani*
                'vomit on'   'vomit out'

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

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

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

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

(4-115)   a.   *lae-fi*
                 'go for, go to get st.'

           b.   *ango-fi*
                 'creep for, crouch for st. (e.g. in order to catch it)'

           c.   *raqa-fi*
                 'climb (e.g. tree)'

           d   *kotho-fi*
                 'go inside, enter'

           e.   *liu-fi*
                 'walk all over, around (a place)'

           f   *qidu-fi*
                 'of a person, esp. a baby: shuffle on his/her bottom on (e.g. the ground)'

           g.   *teo-fi*
                 'lie (down) on, in st.', 'of many entities: lie all over on, in st.'

           h.   *qono-fi*
                 'sit on'

           i.   *kaba-li*
                 'crawl on' (e.g about people, or about ants crawling on a plate)'

           j.   *fita-li*
                 '(esp. of children) run around in rain for amusement' ('rain' as direct object)

           k.   *takwe-li*
                 'of many people: stand in various parts of (a place)'

l.   *taqe-li*
        'climb (to the top of)', 'board (a means of transportation)'

m.   *sifo-li*
        'descend onto (a place)'

But:

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

4.2.3.2.4.   Applicative and causative verbs

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

(4-117)   a.   *kuqu-fi-a   kafo*
                drink-TR-3.OBJ water
                'drink water'

cf.   b.   *kuqu* (intr.)
                'drink'

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

(4-118)   a.   *muu-si-a   si   qoko*
                break-TR-3.OBJ   PRTT rope
                'break a (piece of) rope'

cf.   b.   *muu* (intr.)
                'break (asunder)'

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

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

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

(4-119)   a.   *qili-a   thaqegano*
                 dig-3.OBJ   ground
                 'dig (out) ground'

           b.   *raqo-a   stampa*
                 be.stuck-3.OBJ   stamp
                 'stick a (postage) stamp on (e.g. an envelope)'

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

(4-120)   a.   *angi-si-a   fanga*
                 cry-TR-3.OBJ   food
                 'cry for food'

           b.   *muu-si-a   si   qoko*
                 break-TR-3.OBJ   PRTT   rope
                 'break a (piece of) rope'

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

(4-121)   a.   *fuqaro-ngani-a   bili-a*
whisper-TR-3.OBJ   steal-DVN
'whisper about the theft'

b.   *futa-ngani-a   wela*
be.born-TR-3.OBJ   child
'beget a child', 'bear a child; give birth to a child'

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

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

b.   *thuthu-ma-tani-a   baru*
sink-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   canoe
'sink a canoe'

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

(4-123)   intransitive   applicative transitive

a.   *nao* 'bail out (water)'   *nao-fi* 'bail out (water)', 'bail out water from'

b.   *ili* 'do'   *ili-fani* 'imitate'

c.   *ngata* 'speak'   *ngata-li* 'discuss'
                                     ngata-fi 'scold, berate'

d.   *feqa* 'defecate'   *feqe-si* 'defecate on'
                                     feqe-tani 'defecate out; pass in,
                                     with faeces'

e.   *lole* 'tell a lie'   *lole* 'lie to'
                                     lole-tani 'lead, entice sb. to a place,
                                      away under a pretext', 'trick sb. or
                                      an animal into going somewhere'

f.   *kee-keda* 'draw,'   *keda* 'draw st., 'engrave st.',
      'engrave', 'write'   'write st.'

g.   *bubu* 'look, observe'   *bubu-ngi* 'gaze, stare at'

h.   *manata* 'think'   *manata-i* 'think about', think
                                     that'

i.   *rongo* 'hear', 'listen'   *rongo* 'hear', 'listen to', 'hear from'

(4-124)   intransitive   causative transitive

a.   *ifu* 'topple, fall over'   *ifu* 'cause to topple, to fall over'

b.   *baba* 'be flat-shaped'   *baba* 'make flat'

c.   *fono* 'be closed'   *fono-si* 'close'

d.   *luga* 'boil'   *luga-fi* 'boil'

e   *thuthu* 'sink'   *thuthu-mani* also
                                     thuthu-ma-tani 'press, plunge, sub-
                                     merge st., sb. in, into water', 'of
                                     water: swamp st. and cause it to
                                     sink'

f.   *akele* 'turn (around,   *akele-tani* 'turn st., sb. (around,
      over)'   over)'

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

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

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

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

c. *teo*   *teo-fi*   *teo-fani*
    'lie (down)'   'lie (down) on,'   'lay sb., st. down'
                     in st.'

d. *takwe*   *takwe-li*   *takwe-la-ngani*
    'stand (up)   'of many people: 'stand sb., st. up'
                     stand in various
                     parts of (a place)'

e. *sifo*   *sifo-li*   *sifo-la-ngani*
    descend'   'descend onto   'lower st., sb.',
                     (a place)'   'of means of
                                            transportation:
                                            unload cargo,
                                            discharge passengers'

f. *qaru*   *qaru-ngi*   *qaru*
    'fall (down)'   'of rain: fall on',   'drop'
                     'of dolphin hunt-
                     ers: jump from a
                     canoe into the sea
                     to catch a dolphin/
                     dolphins' ('dolphin'
                     as direct object),
                     'of a k.o. skin
                     condition, rash:
                     afflict sb.'

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

(4-126)   intransitive   applicative

a. *mae*   *mae-li*
    'be dead, die'   'die of st., because of st.,
                                    for st.'

b. *qudu*   *qudu-ngi*
    'of liquid: drip   'of liquid: 'drip in long
    in long intervals'   intervals on st., sb., into st.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-132)   a.   *faqa-qakwaa*   also   *faa-qakwaa*
     CAUS-be.cured   CAUS-be.cured
     'cure sb.'   'cure sb.'

    b.   *faqa-qinoto*   also   *faa-qinoto*
     CAUS-be.wealthy   CAUS-be.wealthy
     'make wealthy'   'make wealthy'

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

(4-133)   a.   *faq-qakwa*   [ɸàʔ:ák͡pa]
     CAUS-be.cured
     'cure sb.'

    b.   *faq-qinoto*   [ɸə̀ʔ:ínɔtɔ]
     CAUS-be.wealthy
     'make wealthy'

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

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

(4-134)   intransitive   causative

    a.   *biliqa*   *faqa-biliqa*
     'be dirty'   'make dirty'

    b.   *feda*   *faqa-feda*
     'be tired'   'make tired'

    c.   *qamali-la*   *faqa-qamali-la*
     salt-PROP   'make salty, saltier''
     'be salty'

(4-135)   intransitive   causative

    a.   *ulafu*   *faqa-ulafu*
        'work hard'   'make sb. work hard'

    b.   *fanga*   *faqa-fanga*
        'eat'   'feed'

    c.   *sifo*   *faqa-sifo*
        'descend'   'lower st., sb.',
                                'of means of transportation:
                                unload cargo, discharge, passen-
                                gers)' (also extended long transitive
                                sifo-la-ngani with the same meaning;
                                see [4-125e])

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

(4-136)   intransitive   causative

    a.   *funu*   *faqa-funu-qi*
        'be completely   'cause to be completely'
        destroyed, ruined'   destroyed, ruined'

    b.   *qono*   *faqa-qono-fani*
        'sit (down)'   'sit sb., st. down'

    c.   *nguunguru*   *faqa-nguunguru*,
        'be short'   also   *faqa-nguunguru-si*
                               'shorten'

    d.   *faalu*   *faqa-faalu*,
        'be clean'   also   *faqa-faalu-ngani*
                                 'make clean; cleanse'

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

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

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

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

(4-137)   a.   *maqu* 'be afraid'

          b.   *faqa-maqu* (tr.) 'frighten'

          c.   *faqa-maqu* (intr.) 'be great in quantity, degree', also used as an intensifier after other verbs

d.   *kwai-faqa-maqu-i*, also *kwai-fa-maqu-i* (intr.) 'be frightening' (depatientive verb; see section 21.4)

e.   *faqa-kwai-faqa-maqu-i*, also *faqa-kwai-fa-maqu-i* 'be frightening', synonymous with *kwai-faqa-maqu-i/kwai-fa-maqu-i*

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

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

(4-138)   a.   *karangi* (intr.) 'be close, near'

b.   *karangi* (tr.) 'be, move near to; approach'

c.   *kwai-karangi* (intr.) 'become near(er), close(r), 'approach'

d.   *faqa-kwai-karangi* (tr.), also *faqa-karangi* (tr.) 'move an event closer in time; move the time of an event closer'

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

faa-fanga-a   naqi.
RDP-eat-DVN   this
'Let's just bring the (time of the) feast closer.'

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

(4-140)   a.   *maruki* (intr.) 'live, be alive'

b.   *faqa-maruki* (tr.) 'save sb.'s life' (person as direct object)

c.   *kwai-faqa-maruki* (intr.) 'save lives'

(4-141)   *Doketa   wane   ni   kwai-faqa-maruki.*
doctor   person   LIG   LIP-CAUS-be.alive
'A doctor is a person who saves lives.' 'A doctor is a person who makes (people) live.' (Lit.: 'A doctor [is] a person of causing to be alive.')

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

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

(4-142)   a.   *faqa-gwina* 'make wet; moisten'; cf. *gwina* 'be wet'

b.   *faqa-iana* 'make pregnant; impregnate'; cf. *iana* 'be pregnant'

c.   *faqa-baqita* 'think highly of; show respect to'; cf. *baqita* 'be big, large', 'be important, respected'

d.   *faqa-kokoto* 'straighten, make straight', 'fix, resolve (a problem)'; cf. *kokoto* 'be straight', 'be correct, proper'

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

(4-143)   a.   *faqa-oli-fani* 'send sb. back'; cf. *oli* 'return'

b.   *faqa-bona* 'make sb. quiet; hush sb.'; cf. *bona* 'be quiet, silent; not speak'

c.   *faqa-toqowane* 'give one's daughter away in a marriage ceremony'; cf. *toqowane* 'of a woman: be, get married'

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

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

(4-144) a.   *faqa-fale* 'teach sb. (esp. a child) to give (things to others), to be generous'; cf. *fale* (intr.) 'give', also *fale* (tr.) 'give' (theme as direct object)

b.   *faqa-raa* 'teach sb. how to work, instruct sb. in work'; cf. *raa* (intr.) 'work'

c.   *faqa-foqa* 'teach sb. how to pray', 'make sb. into a (traditional) priest'; cf. *foqa* 'pray'

d.   *faqa-ngata* 'encourage sb. to speak (e.g. by asking them questions)'; cf. *ngata* 'speak'

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

(4-145) a.   *faqa-taqe* 'prepare seedlings, seeds for growing, e.g., by planting, sowing them'; cf. *taqe* 'of plants: grow'

b.   *faqa-liiliu* 'cause sb. to be homeless by means of magic' (such a person moves constantly from place to place, has no place to call his/her own); cf. *lii-liu* 'stroll, take a walk, roam' and *liu* 'walk', 'pass by'.

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

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

4.2.3.3.   Class 2 transitive verbs

4.2.3.3.1.   The object suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-151)   *Qo   thaitoqoma-daroqa?*
           2SG.NFUT   know-3DU.OBJ
           'Do you know them (two)?'

(4-152)   *Qo   thaitoqoma-da?*
           2SG.NFUT   know-3PL.OBJ
           'Do you know them?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2.3.3.2. *The structures of Class 2 transitive verbs*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4-159)   *Teo-toqo-na   fasi   thamataqi-a   neqe.*
           lie-TEST-3.OBJ PREC prepare.bed-DVN this
           'Try this bed first by lying on it.' (E.g., to find out whether it is
           comfortable enough.)

(4-160)   *Kwai   lae-toqo-na   fasi   tala   naqi.*
           1SG.FUT go-TEST-3.OBJ PREC path   this
           'I'm going to try (walking on) this path.' (E.g., to find out whether it
           leads to the place one wants to reach.)

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

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

In the next two examples the verbs with the TEST suffix are based on transi-
tive verbs:

(4-162)   *Keko   qani-toqo-na   qofa   qeri, ….*
           3DU.SEQ eat-TEST-3.OBJ betel.pepper   that
           'They tasted (by chewing) the betel pepper (to find out what it tasted
           like), ….'

(4-163)   *Qigi-toqo-na   fasi   fa   niu   qena.   Laalae*
           shake-TEST-3.OBJ PREC   CLF coconut that(2)   if

           suul-a   qe   nii   qi
           coconut.water-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.located   LOC

           ei,   qoko   ngali-a.
           LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
           'Check the coconut first by shaking it. If there is water in it, take it.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But *ili-toqo* can also take a direct object that refers to a person, and there the meaning is 'try to get sb. to do st., tempt sb. into doing something':

(4-168)   *Teqe   wane   e   ili-toqo-ku   qana*
          one   man   3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ   GENP

          kwala-laa,   qe   thathami-a sa   kwai
          swear-NMLZ   3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT

> *kwala,   ma   ka   aqi kwasi   kwala.*
> swear   and   3SG.SEQ   NEGV 1SG.NEG   swear
> 'A man tried to get me to swear; he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.'

There is an intransitive verb *qaru* 'fall down':

(4-169)   *Karangi-a   sa   kwai   qaru qana keekene*
           be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT fall GENP breadfruit

           qi   roqo.
           LOC   yesterday
           'I nearly fell out of the breadfruit (tree) yesterday.'

There is also a Class 1 bare transitive verb *qaru* with the meanings 'drop, make fall', 'collect (e.g. money or food)', and 'spend (money)':

(4-170)   *qaru-a   fau*
           drop-3.OBJ   stone
           'drop (a) stone(s)'

(4-171)   *qaru-a   seleni*
           collect/spend-3.OBJ   money
           a. 'collect money'
           b. 'spend money'

However, the meaning of the verb *qaru-toqo* is 'use st., sb. (as an instrument, means)':

(4-172)   *Qaru-toqo-na   gete.*
           fall-TEST-3.OBJ   gate
           'Use the gate (to go in).'

(4-173)   *Saetana e   qaru-toqo-ku.*
           Satan   3SG.NFUT   fall-TEST-1SG.OBJ
           'Satan used me (for his purposes).' 'Satan made me do it.' (Explaining a lapse in one's own behaviour.)

There are a few intransitive verbs that contain the suffix *-toqo*, but these are most likely conversions from the corresponding transitive verbs. For example, beside transitive *qolo-toqo* 'measure st., sb.', there is also intransitive *qolo-toqo* 'measure (st., sb.)'; see (4-174) and (4-175), respectively:

(4-174)   *Doketa   qe   qolo-toqo-maliqa.*
          doctor   3SG.NFUT   arrange-TEST-1PL(EXCL).OBJ
          'The doctor measured us (our heights).'

(4-175)   *doo   ni   qolo-toqo*
          thing   LIG   arrange-TEST
          'anything used to measure, e.g. a ruler'

4.2.3.3.2.3.   Other Class 2 transitive verbs

There are a few Class 2 transitive verbs that are neither verb-noun compounds nor do they, with one possible exception, contain the suffix *-toqo*. One such verb is *faara* 'fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.', 'match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.', 'be able, capable', 'be possible'. Only the first set of senses is illustrated here. The use of the verb with the modality senses 'be able, capable', 'be possible' is discussed in section 29.4.2.

(4-176)   *Sote   neqe   qe   aqi   si   faara-ku.*
          shirt   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-1SG.OBJ
          'This shirt does not fit me.' (The size is wrong.)

    The verb *faara* is historically related to the noun *fara/faara* 'space, area underneath, below' (section 10.8.6).
    There is a verb *talaqa*, which is synonymous with *faara*, and also is Class 2 transitive:

(4-177)   *Toqoni   naqi   e   talaqa-ku   ba-na.*
          shirt   this   3SG.NFUT   fit-1SG.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS
          'This shirt fits me just fine.'

    The verb *laaqai* 'go into the bush and look for timber to build st.' (the entity to be built expressed as the direct object) contains *qai* 'wood'. The *laa* part is probably historically related to the inessive preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3).

(4-178)   *laaqai-na   baa   botho*
          look.for.timber.for-3.OBJ   animal.pen   pig
          'look for timber for a pig pen'

    The verb *thaitoqoma* 'know sb., st.; know about sb., st.', 'know that', 'know how', 'understand' most likely contains, historically, the suffix *-toqo*, but if so, the suffix is no longer analyzable. There is no verb *thai* in present-day Toqa-

baqita,[13] and the history of the syllable *ma* is not clear, but it may be related to the ventive directional *mai*, which has a combining variant *ma-* (section 5.2.14.1).

(4-179)   *Nau   kwasi   thaitoqoma-na qo   mataqi.*
           1SG   1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ   2SG.NFUT   be.sick
           'I didn't know you were sick.'

See also, for example, (4-150) – (4-154) in section 4.2.3.3.1 above.

There is one verb that, idiosyncratically, optionally functions as a Class 2 or a Class 1 transitive verb, but only with third person objects. The verb is mono-morphemic: *sua* 'touch sb., st. with one's hand(s)', 'hold sb., st. in one's hand(s)'. Objects other than third person can be realized only by means of in-dependent personal pronouns, which is the case with Class 1 verbs. Thus (4-180a) with a pronoun in object position is grammatical, but (4-180b) with an object suffix on the verb is not:

(4-180) a.   *Qe   aqi   sua   nau.*
               3SG.NFUT   NEGV   touch 1SG
               'Don't touch me.'

         b.   **Qe*   aqi   sua-ku.*
               3SG.NFUT   NEGV   touch-1SG.OBJ
               ('Don't touch me.')

However, when the object suffix is third person, singular or unspecified for number, either the form *-a*, used with Class 1 transitive verbs, or the form *-na*, used with Class 2 transitive verbs, is possible. (The third person dual and plural object suffixes are identical for the two classes of verbs.)

(4-181)   *Nau   ku   {sua-a   /   sua-na}   kuki*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   touch-3.OBJ /   touch-3.OBJ}   saucepan

           e   qaaqako
           3SG.NFUT   be.hot
           'I touched the saucepan; it was hot.'

4.3.   Valency rearrangement

4.3.1. Introduction

Following Comrie (1985), by "valency rearrangement" are here meant cases
where one and the same verb or derivationally related verbs take(s) core argu-
ments with different thematic roles. The arguments involved are either direct
objects or, much less commonly, subjects. In the case of direct objects, two
basic types of cases can be distinguished. One type involves different types of
Class 1 transitive verb — short or long — which select arguments of different
thematic roles. This type of valency rearrangement, coupled with formal differ-
ences, is quite common. What is interesting about it is that there is a general
pattern in some of the alternations. The other type of valency rearrangement
involves one and the same verb. What is interesting about that type is that it
involves no morphological differences. As far as valency rearrangement that
concerns subjects is concerned, only two cases have come to light.

4.3.2. Valency rearrangement between different types of Class 1 transitive
verbs involving direct objects

There is a strong tendency for short transitive verbs of "emanation", transla-
tional motion, posture and location to select goals or locations as their direct
objects and for long transitive verbs of these semantic types to select themes as
their direct objects.[14] Verbs of emanation are verbs whose subjects refer to enti-
ties that produce, exude, emit substances. In some cases, the long transitive
verb is applicative, in others it is causative. The short transitive verbs are al-
ways applicative. Some examples are given in (4-120):

(4-182)		short transitive	long transitive
	a.	*ngisu-fi*	*ngisu-tani*
		'spit at'	'spit out'
		cf. *ngisu* 'spit'	
	b.	*kwara-si*	*kwara-tani*
		'urinate on'	'urinate out; pass in, with urine'
		cf. *kwara* 'urine', bladder; *kwarara* 'urinate'	

c.   *feqe-si*   *feqe-tani*
     'defecate on'   'defecate out; pass in, with faeces'

     cf. *feqa* 'defecate'

d.   *moa-si*   *moa-tani*
     'vomit on'   'vomit out'

     cf. *moa* 'vomit'

e.   *lae-fi*   *lae-tani*
     'go for, go to get   'pass bloody faeces' (blood
     st.'   as direct object)

     cf. *lae* 'go'

f.   *oli-si*   *oli-tani*
     'reply to, answer'   'return st., take, put st. back'

     cf. *oli* 'return, go/come back'

g.   *sifo-li*   *sifo-la-ngani*
     'descend onto   'lower st., sb.', 'of means of
     (a place)'   transportation: unload cargo,
                               discharge passengers'

     cf. *sifo* 'descend'

h.   *teo-fi*   *teo-fani*
     'lie (down) on,   'lay sb., st. down'
     in st.', 'of many
     entities: lie all
     over on, in st.'

     cf. *teo* 'lie (down)'

i.   *takwe-li*   *takwe-la-ngani*
     'of many people: 'stand sb., st. up'
     stand in various
     parts of (a place)'

cf. *takwe* 'stand (up)'

j. *too-fi*   *too-fani*
    'of a group of people: 'make preparations
    inhabit (a place)', 'of   for an event (so that
    many people: occupy,   it can take place)'
    fill (a place)'   (event as direct object)

    cf. *too* (intr.) 'live at a place', 'stay, remain at a place', 'of a
    person: be still around, alive'

k. *raqa-fi*[†]   *raqa-fani*
    'climb (e.g.   'hoist'
    a tree)', 'climb
    a tree for (e.g.
    its fruit)'

    cf. *raqa* 'climb (up)'

† Besides the short transitive *raqa-fi* there is also a bare transitive
raqa 'climb (esp. a tree)'

In fact, the associations of goals and locations with the objects of short transitive verbs and of themes with the objects of long transitive verbs are also found in cases where only a short or only a long transitive verb exists. See (4-183) and (4-184), respectively:

(4-183)   short transitives only

a. *kwala-ngi*   cf. *kwala* 'swear'
    'swear at'

b. *qai-li*   cf. *qai* 'shout, call out'
    'shout out to sb.',
    'call sb.'

c. *taqe-li*   cf. *taqe* 'move, go up; ascend'
    'climb (to the top of)',
    'board (a means of
    transportation)', 'of vegetation:
    grow all over a place, area'

      d.   *sina-fi*   cf. *sina* 'of a source of light:
             'of source of light: 'shine, glow, give out light'
              shine on'

      e.   *makwa-fi*   cf. *makwa* 'smell; give out
              'for the smell of st.,   smell'
              sb.: reach sb.'

(4-184)   long transitives only

      a.   *fuqu-tani*   cf. *fuqu* (n.) 'cough', 'phlegm'
              'cough out'

      b.   *fuqaro-tani*   cf. *fuqaro* (intr.) 'whisper'
              'whisper about'

      c.   *uqunu-tani*   cf. *uqunu* 'tell a story',
              'speak about st. one   'converse'
              has seen or heard',
              'report on st. seen
              or heard'

An exception to this pattern is the short transitive verb *ngata-li* 'discuss', which takes a theme rather than a goal as its direct object; cf. *ngata* 'speak'. But there is also *ngata-fi* 'berate, scold', which does take a goal as its direct object.

4.3.3.   Valency rearrangement with single transitive verbs involving direct objects

Here, one and the same transitive verb permits direct objects of different thematic roles, without any morphological adjustment. In some cases, there is theme – instrument alternation. One and the same noun phrase can be either a theme direct object or an instrument oblique object. Some examples are given in (4-185) – (4-188). Note that in (4-185) – (4-187) the preposition *qana* is glossed as a 'general preposition' in the (a) examples , but as an instrumental preposition in the (b) examples. As discussed in section 10.7, the instrument-marking fuction of the preposition needs to be distinguished from its other functions because it is only in the former function that the preposition occurs in a certain syntactic pattern (instrument inversion).

(4-185) a. *kano-a*   *maamako*   *qana seqe-na*
             smear-3.OBJ   mud   GENP body-3SG.PERS
             'smear mud on his/her body'

         b. *kano-a*   *seqe-na*   *qana maamako*
             smear-3.OBJ   body-3SG.PERS INS   mud
             'smear his/her body with mud'

(4-186) a. *kwilingi-a*   *kafo*   *qana era*
             splash-3.OBJ   water   GENP fire
             'splash water at/into fire'

         b. *kwilingi-a*   *era*   *qana kafo*
             splash-3.OBJ   fire   INS   water
             'splash fire with water'

(4-187) a. *dede-a*   *raisi qana baeka*
             fill-3.OBJ   rice   GENP bag
             'put rice into a bag so that the bag is full'

         b. *dede-a waqi*   *qana ngali*
             fill-3.OBJ basket   INS   canarium.nut
             'fill a basket with canarium nuts'

(4-188) a. *takabala-a*   *lolo*   *i*   *laa*   *luma*
             scatter-3.OBJ   rubbish LOC   IN   house
             'scatter rubbish inside the house'

         b. *takabala-a*   *laa*   *luma*   *qana lolo*
             scatter-3.OBJ   IN   house   INS   rubbish
             'scatter (the inside of) the house with rubbish'

(For the use of *laa* with direct objects [and subjects] see section 10.2.3 .)
    There are also cases of valency rearrangement that involve alternations other
than between themes and instruments. Often, one of the alternative direct ob-
jects designates a location, sometimes as a goal location.

(4-189) a. *kao-fi-a*   *lolo*
             sweep-TR-3.OBJ   rubbish
             'sweep rubbish'

b.   *kao-fi-a   laa   faelangi*
sweep-TR-3.OBJ   IN   floor
'sweep the floor'

(4-190) a.   *suu-fi-a   karango*
dive-TR-3.OBJ   shellfish
'dive for shellfish'

b.   *suu-fi-a   kafo*
dive-TR-3.OBj   water
'dive into water'

And there are other kinds of alternation. For example:

(4-191) a.   *thathai-a   malefo   qana wela nau*
make.ready-3.OBJ   money   GENP child 1SG
'ready money, make money ready for my child'

b.   *thathai-a   wela nau   qana malefo*
make.ready-3.OBJ   child 1SG   INS   money
'provide my child with money (having made the money ready
for him/her)' (lit.: 'ready my child with money')

(4-192) a.   *legu-a   re-qe   elo*
roll.up.leaf-3.OBJ   leaf-ASSOC   plant.sp
'roll up an *elo* leaf (to make a drinking cup)'

b.   *legu-a   teqe legu-qi   kafo*
roll.up.cup-3.OBJ   one   drinking.cup-ASSOC   water
'roll up a drinking cup (using a leaf)'

(4-193) a.   *gani-a   wane*
ask-3.OBJ   man
'ask a man (for st., to do st.)'

b.   *gani-a   redio*
ask.for-3.OBJ   radio
'ask (sb.) for a radio'

(4-194) a.   *nalu-fi-a   kafo*
bail-TR-3.OBJ   water
'bail out water (e.g. out of a canoe)'

b.   *nalu-fi-a*   *baru*
        bail-TR-3.OBJ   canoe
        'bail a canoe'

    Nalu-fi also has the meaning 'splash' and with that meaning it participates in a theme-instrument alternation:

(4-195)   a.   *nalu-fi-a*   *kafo*   *qana*   *wela*
            splash-TR-3.OBJ   water   GENP child
            'splash water on the child'

         b.   *nalu-fi-a*   *wela qana kafo*
            splash-TR-3.OBJ   child INS   child
            'splash the child with water'

4.3.4.   Valency rearrangement involving subjects

There are at least two verbs that permit alternation in their subjects. Both verbs are intransitive.

(4-196)   a.   *Kafo qe*   *kiki fasi-a*   *kuki.*
            water 3SG.NFUT   spill ABL-3.OBJ   saucepan
            'Water spilled out of the saucepan.'

         b.   *Baketa*   *e*   *kiki.*
            bucket   3SG.NFUT   spill
            '(The water in) the bucket spilled (out).'

(4-197)   a.   *Kafo*   *e*   *luqu sula tala.*
            water   3SG.NFUT   flow PROL path
            'Water flowed on, along the path.' 'There was water flowing on, along the path.'

         b.   *Tereni*   *fuu*   *e*   *luqu.*
            drain   downward   3SG.NFUT   flow
            'There is water flowing in the drain down there.'('The drain down there is flowing with water.')

Luqu signifies that water is flowing, running in a strong current, for example after a heavy rain.

4.4. Cognate direct objects and cognate subjects

There are a few Class 1 transitive verbs that (may) take cognate direct objects and a few verbs, intransitive and Class 1 transitive that take cognate subjects. The examples in (4-198) – (4-200) illustrate cognate objects:

(4-198) *naili-a*   *naili*
         make.*naili*.climbing.rope-3.OBJ   k.o.climbing.rope
         'make a *naili* climbing rope [rope used to climb trees]'

(4-199) *rina-a*   *teqe*   *fa*   *rina*
         make.*rina*.ornament-3.OBJ   one   CLF   k.o.ear.ornament
         'make a *rina* ornament'

(4-200) *legu-a*   *teqe*   *legu-qi*   *kafo*
         roll.up.cup-3.OBJ   one   drinking.cup-ASSOC   water
         'roll up a drinking cup (using a leaf)'

The next three examples contain cognate subjects. In (4-201) and (4-202) intransitive *thato* 'of sun: shine' and transitive *thato-fi* 'of sun: shine on', respectively, occur with the noun *thato* 'sun' in the subject position:

(4-201) *Thato*   *e*   *thato*   *ka*   *qako*
         sun   3SG.NFUT   (sun)shine   3SG.SEQ   be.hot

         fii-fii   *qasia* *naqa*
         RDP-be.painful   INTS   INTS
         'The sun is burning hot.' (Lit.: 'The sun is shining (and) is painfully hot.')

(*Fii-fii*, a reduplication of the verb *fii* 'hurt, be painful', is used to express the fact that the situation designated by the preceding verb is unpleasantly intense.)

(4-202) *Thato*   *e*   *thato-fi-a*   *fanua.*
         sun   3SG.NFUT   (sun)shine-TR-3.OBJ   land
         'The sun is shining on the land.'

And in (4-203) the transitive verb *thau-li* 'of wind: blow at, in' occurs with the noun *thauthau* 'wind' in the subject position:

(4-203) *Thauthau*   *qe*   *thau-li-a*   *kaleko,*
         wind   3SG.NFUT   (wind)blow-TR-3.OBJ   clothes

> *ka   thada.*
> 3SG.SEQ fall
> 'The wind blew the clothes off [the clothes line] to the ground.'
> (Lit.: 'The wind blew at the clothes and they fell down'.)

4.5.   Verbs that take empty subjects

There are a few verbs that can take semantically empty subjects. Most, but not all, such verbs can also occur with semantically full subjects. When a verb takes an empty subject, there is no subject noun phrase present; in fact, no subject phrase can be present. The only expression of the subject is by means of a third person singular subject marker, which is non-referential. For example, the intransitive verb *abu* 'be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed', also 'be sacred, holy (in the Christian sense)' occurs with a semantically full subject in (4-204):

(4-204)   *Fanga   qe   abu.*
           food   3SG.NFUT   be.taboo
           'The food is taboo.'

In (4-205) *abu* occurs without a subject noun phrase. That which is taboo, not allowed is expressed by means of a complement clause. No subject phrase can be present here.

(4-205)   *Qe   abu   laqu boqo na   qo*
           3SG.NFUT   be.forbidden   ADD   ASRT COMP   2SG.NFUT

           sore-qe   qoki   lae   ma=i   sa-na.
           say-DETR   2SG.FUT go   VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS
           'It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.' (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

For another example see section 29.4.2.

Another intransitive verb that can occur both with full subjects and with empty subjects is *fula* 'arrive', 'of state of affairs: reach a certain point', 'of state of affairs: happen, occur, take place'. In (4-206) it has a full subject.

(4-206)   *Nau ku   fula   ka=i   biqu kera, ...*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive   AND=LOC house 3PL
           'I arrived at their house, ...

With an empty subject, *fula* is used to signify that a certain time, the time of a given state of affairs, has arrived, has been reached:

(4-207) *Laalae   ka   fula   qa=si   manga   na*
         when   3SG.SEQ   arrive   GENP=PRTT time   REL

      Maasin   Ruul   qe   wiik   daon,   sui   feteqi
      Marching   Rule   3SG.NFUT weak   down   then   INTS

      keka   biqi   ala-ma-taqi   kera   keka   frii.
      3PL.SEQ   IMM   permit-EXT-TR   3PL   3PL.SEQ   be.free
      'After Marching Rule[15] had weakened (lit.: when it arrived at the time that Marching Rule weakened down), they [the Government] allowed them [the leaders of the Marching Rule movement] to go free [i.e., to be released from jail].'

The Class 2 transitive verb *faara* 'fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.', 'match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.', 'be able, capable', 'be possible' also can occur both with full subjects and with empty subjects. In (4-208) it has a semantically full subject:

(4-208) *Kali   wela   qe=aqi   si   faara-na*
         little.SG child 3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ

      kai   raqa-a   qai.
      3SG.FUT   climb-3.OBJ   tree
      'The little child cannot climb the tree.'

On the other hand, in the synonymous sentence in (4-209) *faara* has an empty subject:

(4-209) *Qe=aqi   si   faara-na   kali   wela*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ little.SG   child

      kai   raqa-a   qai.
      3SG.FUT   climb-3.OBJ   tree
      'It is not possible for the little child to climb the tree.'

For more detail on the verb *faara* and on synonymous *talaqa* see section 29.4.2.

The Class 1 transitive verb *talu* 'pass by', 'surpass' also can occur with semantically full and semantically empty subjects is; see (4-210) and (4-211), respectively:

(4-210)   *Faka e   talu-a   aququa.*
          ship   3SG.NFUT   pass.by-3.OBJ   island
          'The ship passed/went by the island.'

(4-211)   *Qe   talu-a   naqa si   manga*
          3SG.NFUT   pass.by-3.OBJ   PRF   PRTT   time

          kuki   lae.
          PL(INCL).FUT   go
          'It's too late for us to go.' The time for us to go has passed.' (Lit.: 'It
          has passed by the time we will go.')

One verb that only occurs with empty subjects is intransitive *faqa-seqe-laqa* 'be free, without obligations, without hindrance'. The person who is free, without obligations, without hindrance is expressed as a benefactive oblique object. Although the verb (historically) contains the causative prefix *faqa-* (section 4.2.3.2.5), it is intransitive. The base to which *faqa-* is added, *seqe-laqa*, is a subject-incorporating compound; see further below. Note that in (4-212) the first person singular pronoun *nau* is in the topic position. It is not the subject.

(4-212)   *Nau   qe   faqa-seqe-laqa*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

          na=ka=i   a-ku   neri.
          PRF=AND=LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
          'I am free now, from now on.' (E.g., all my work has been done).
          (Lit.: 'I, it is free for me now.')

The meaning expressed in (4-213) with *faqa-seqe-laqa* can also be expressed by means of the verb *laqa* 'be free, without obligations, without hindrance' with *seqe* 'body' in the subject position:

(4-213)   *Nau   seqe-ku   qe   laqa*
          1SG   body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.without.hindrance

          na=kau.
          PRF=AND
          'I am free now, from now on.' (Lit.: 'I, my body is without hindrance from now.')

Anoher verb that can only occur without a subject noun phrase is Class 1 transitive *thara-ngi* 'of fire: warm sb., st.'. Even though this verb is used spe-

cifically about a fire warming up somebody or something, it cannot have a subject noun phrase.

(4-214)   *Kai   thara-ngi   nau   fasi.*
          3SG.FUT (fire)warm.up-TR 1SG   PREC
          'I am going to warm myself at the fire first.' (Lit.: 'It is going to warm me up first.')

The same meaning can also be expressed by means of the related intransitive verb *thara* 'warm os. at a fire', which takes a semantically full subject. Compare the third person singular future-tense subject marker in (4-214) above and the first person singular future-tense subject marker in (4-215) below:

(4-215)   *Kwai   thara   fasi.*
          1SF.FUT warm.os PREC
          'I am going to warm myself at the fire first.'

The use of semantically empty subjects must be distinguished from cases of omission of subject phrases with certain verbs because the nature of the subject is predictable from the verb. (This is also to be distinguished from cases where subjects are ellipted because they are recoverable from context, either prior linguistic context or extralinguistic context.) This is the case with meteorological verbs, which may, but need not, occur with subject noun phrases. For example, *qaru* 'fall' takes nouns designating rain as its subject, most commonly the general term for rain *dani*. It normally does have a subject phrase, but may occur without one. Cf. (4-216a) and (4-216b):

(4-216)   a.   *Mada   sa   dani qe   qaru qi*
                or   IRR   rain 3SG.NFUT   fall   LOC

                qusungadi, ...
                tomorrow
                'If it rains tomorrow, …' (Lit.: 'If the rain falls tomorrow, ….')

          b.   *Mada   s=e   qaru qi   qusungadi, ...*
                or   IRR=3SG.NFUT fall   LOC   tomorrow
                'If it rains tomorrow, … ' (Lit.: 'If it falls tomorrow, ….')

And the pair of examples in (4-217) shows the optional presence of the (cognate) subject *thato* 'sun' with the verb *thato-fi* 'of sun: shine on':

(4-217) a.   *Thato*   *e*   *thato-fi-a*   *fanua.*
              sun   3SG.NFUT   (sun)shine-TR-3.OBJ   land
              'The sun is shining on the land.'

         b.   *Qe*   *thato-fi-a*   *fanua*   *ka*
              3SG.NFUT   (of.sun).shine-TR-3.OBJ   land   3SG.SEQ

              raarangeqa.
              be.dry
              'It [the sun] (has) dried (out) the land.' (Lit.: 'It shone on the
              land, it is dry.')

4.6.   The detransitivized variants of transitive verbs

A handful of Class 1 transitive verbs and one Class 2 transitive verbs can be
detransitivized by means of a suffix that has two allomorphs, *-qi* and *-qe*. The
form *-qi* is used, with one exception, with verbs whose final vowel is high (*i*,
u), and *-qe* is used with verbs whose final vowel is non-high (*e*, *o*, *a*). The de-
transitivizing suffix is historically related to the associative suffix used in noun
phrases (section 8.2). The latter suffix also has allomorphs *-qi* and *-qe*, whose
distribution is governed by the same phonological conditions as those that ap-
ply to the detransitivizing suffix (and there is also at least one exceptional case
where *-qi* is used with a noun that ends in a non-high vowel). In associative
noun phrases the suffix is added to the head noun and there is a non-referential
modifying noun phrase. The detransitivizing suffix is also added to the head of
the construction, in this case the verb, and with some such verbs nouns occur as
incorporated objects. Object-incorporation is discussed in detail in section 12.4,
and here only one representative example of a detransitivized verb with the
suffix *-qi* is given in (4-219) further below.
     The verbs that have detransitivized forms are *riki-qi* 'see', *rongo-qi* 'hear
(that)', *sore-qe* 'say', 'think (that)', *lole-qe* 'pretend, fake', *thaitoqome-qe*
'know'.[16] *Thaitoqoma* 'know' is a Class 2 transitive verb. All the others are
Class 1 transitive. In *thaitoqome-qe* the final vowel before the suffix is *e*, al-
though the transitive form has *a* in that position: *thaitoqoma*. Such replacement
of base-final *a* with *e* also takes place, optionally or obligatorily, with most
nouns that end in *a* in their basic form when they carry the associative suffix
-qe (section 8.2.1). The associative forms *-qi* and *-qe* and the detransitivizing
forms *-qi* and *-qe* are historically related, the associative function being the
earlier one (cf. note 28 for section 8.2.1). The detransitivized verb *rongo-qi*
'hear' is exceptional in that the form of the suffix is *-qi*, even though the final
vowel of the base is not high. And, also exceptionally, with the verb 'say' the

form of the detransitivizing suffix may be *-qa*, although this is rare: *sore-qa*, besides the usual form *sore-qe*.

In (4-218) the verb *riki* is transitive. It carries the object suffix *-a*, which indexes the direct object *fula-a baa* 'the (group of) arrivals':

(4-218)   *Qo   riki-a   fula-a   baa?*
          2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   arrive-DVN   that
          'Did you see the (group of) arrivals?'

In (4-219) the verb 'see' has been detransitivized. It carries the suffix *-qi*, and it and the following noun *fula-a* form a unit, a compound intransitive verb. Note that the postverbal self-benefactive marker *qa-kuqa* follows the verb-noun unit. (Postverbal particles precede lexical direct objects; see [4-1] in section 4.1.)

(4-219)   *Lae   kwai   riki-qi   fula-a   qa-kuqa.*
          go   1SG.FUT   see-DETR   arrive-DVN   SBEN-1SG.PERS
          'I'll go see a group of arrivals/groups of arrivals.'

Two other detransitivized verbs form compound intransitive verbs with following nouns: *lole-qe* 'pretend, fake', 'and *thaitoqome-qe* 'know'. For examples see section 12.4.1 on [verb noun] compounds.

The detransitivized verbs *sore-qe* 'say', 'think (that)' and *rongo-qi* 'hear (that)' take paratactic complement clauses.

(4-220)   *Ku   sore-qe   sa   moro   mae   naqa.*
          1SG.NFUT   think-DETR   IRR   2DU.NFUT   die   PRF
          'I thought you two had died.'

The next example shows the verb 'say' with the regular form of the detransitivizing suffix *-qe* and with the rare variant *-qa*, in free variation:

(4-221)   *Nia   e   {sore-qe   /   sore-qa}   kai   qadomi*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   say-DETR   /   say-DETR   3SG.FUT   help

          nau.
          me
          'He said he would help me.'

The next example contains *rongo-qi* 'hear (that)':

(4-222)   *Nau*   *ku*   *rongo-qi*   *teqe*   *wane*   *qe*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-DETR   one   man   3SG.NFUT

          thau   *wane.*
          kill   person
          'I heard that a man had killed someone.'

The verb *rongo-qi* can occur without a complement clause (and without an incorporated object) and so functions as an intransitive verb:

(4-223)   *Nau*   *ku*   *rongo-qi*   *sui*   *naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-DETR   COMPL   PRF
          'I have already heard (what had been said).'

Besides detransitivized/intransitive *rongo-qi* there is also intransitive *rongo* 'hear, listen', but *rongo-qi* has only the meaning 'hear (that)'.

There is also a compound *roo-rongo-qe-lua* 'sp. of vine that grows by the sea' (lit.: 'hears [the sound of] waves') (*lua* 'tide', 'big wave'), with the verb *rongo* reduplicated and with the expected *-qe* form of the detransitivizing suffix.

The use of *rongo-qi* 'hear (that)' and *sore-qe* 'say', 'think (that)' and their transitive counterparts with complement clauses is discussed in detail in sections 29.4.5 and 29.4.6 ('hear'), 29.4.7 ('say'), and 29.4.8 ('think').

The forms *-qi* and *-qe* are also found in some of the preverbal particles (section 5.1.1).

4.7.   Pseudo-verbs

The head of a verb phrase is a verb. However, in Toqabaqita there is a mechanism to treat phrasal units, specifically noun phrases, as if they were verbs: a syntactic unit, a noun phrase, is "re-ranked" to function as if it were a lexical unit, a verb. Such "pseudo-verbs" take the appropriate subject markers in the same way that verbs do.

There is one type of pseudo-verb that is particularly common. It consists of the noun *quna* 'manner, way' usually followed by the demonstrative *qeri* 'this', also 'that (mentioned before)', or, rarely, by another demonstrative. *Quna qeri* '(in) this manner; thus' is the commonest way to introduce direct speech, considerably more common than a verb of speaking, such as detransitivized *sore-qe* or transitive *sore-a* (with the object suffix *-a*) 'say' (section 37.4). Here only

the demonstrative *qeri* is possible. In (4-224) there are four instances of direct speech. The first one is introduced by means of *soe-toqo* 'ask', the last one by means of *sore-qe* 'say', and the two in between by means of *quna qeri*. The two clauses with *quna qeri* are in bold. The subject markers used with *quna qeri* are third person sequential.

(4-224)   *Ka   soe-toqo-na,   "Nee, koqo,   qo   lae*
          3SG.SEQ   ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ   hey! friend   2SG.NFUT   go

          *uri   fei?"   **Wela   qeri ka   quna   qeri**,   "Nau*
          ALL   where? child   that 3SG.SEQ manner   this   1SG

          ku   lae   buria-na   thaina-ku
          1SG.NFUT   go   behind-3.PERS mother-1SG.PERS

          *bia   maka   nau." **Wane   qeri ka   quna   qeri**,*
          and   father 1SG   man   that 3SG.SEQ manner   this

          "Thaina-mu   bia   maka   qoe   kera   lae
          mother-2SG.PERS and   father 2SG   3PL.NFUT   go

          fei?"   Wela   qeri ka   sore-qe,
          where? child   that 3SG.SEQ say-DETR

          "Thaina-ku   bia   maka   nau   kera   lae
          mother-1SG.PERS and   father 1SG   3PL.NFUT   go

          qana uusi-a.
          GENP buy-DVN
          'He asked him, "Hey, friend, where are you going?". The child said (lit.:thus-ed), "I am following my mother and father.". The man said, "Where did your mother and father go?". The child said, "My mother and father went to the market.".'

Noun phrases headed by *quna* can also be used as a pseudo-verb with the meanings 'be like this/that', 'behave, act in this/that manner', 'do something in this/that way'. In (225) *quna qeri* occurs in a negative imperative. Here the subject marker is second person singular negative.

(4-225)   *Qosi   quna   qeri.*
          2SG.NEG   manner this
          'Not like this.' 'Don't do (it) like this.' 'Don't' do (it) this/that way.'

The negative imperative in (4-225) concerns the manner in which the addressee is doing something. It is not a comment on his speaking.

In (4-226) the phrase headed by *quna* contains the addressee-sphere demonstrative *qena*:

(4-226) *Nau   ku   foqa qasia naqa uri   qoe, suli-a*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   pray INTS INTS PURP 2SG   REAS-3.OBJ

        life   qoe   qe   quna   qena.
        life   2SG   3SG.NFUT   manner   that(2)
        'I pray for you a lot, because your life is like that [as mentioned earlier].'

Besides their occurrence with subject markers, the verb-like nature of *quna* phrases can be seen from the following facts. First, they can occur with oblique objects:

(4-227) *... kera keka   quna   qeri uri   nau, "Qoo,*
           3PL   3PL.SEQ manner   this   ALL   1SG   oh

        ni   qoe   qo   winim   kamiliqa
        PROFORE   2SG   2SG.NFUT   win.over 1PL(EXCL)

        neri, ...".
        VIVID
        '... they said to me, "Oh, you've done better than us, ..."' (Lit.: '… "Oh, you have won over us, …."')

And second, just like verbs, *quna* phrases can be reduplicated to express the continuative/iterative aspect (section 15.2.3). It is *quna* that undergoes the reduplication. In (4-228) there are three instances of the pseudo-verb *quna qeri*, the first one of which contains reduplicated *quna*:

(4-228) ... *qe   **quu-quna**   **qeri** qana gwau-na,*
           3SG.NFUT   RDP-manner   this   GENP head-3SG.PERS

        ma   ifu-na   ka   katu
        and   hair-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   be. hindered.from.movement

        *na=mai   labaa,   ma   ka   **quna   qeri**, ma*
        PRF=VENT   there(3) and   3SG.SEQ manner   this   and

ka	katu		i	ku=naqi,
3SG.SEQ	be.hindered.from.movement		LOC	place=this

ma	ka	**quna**	**qeri**,	ma	ifu-na		ka
and	3SG.SEQ	manner	this	and	hair-3SG.PERS		3SG.SEQ

katu		i	ku=naqi.
be.hindered.from.movement		LOC	place=this

'[Two boys tied a sleeping ogre's hair to a tree so that they could kill him. Then they woke him up. The ogre tried to get up, but his hair was tied firmly down.] He kept doing like this with his head [the speaker jerks his head several times one way to demonstrate what the ogre was doing], but (lit.: and) his hair held fast there, and he did like this [the speaker jerking his head in a different way] but it held fast here, and he did like this [the speaker jerking his head in a different way again] but it held fast here.'

Quna phrases can cooccur with a verb. In some cases they act as pseudo-verbs and form [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds with the preceding verb. Such compounds are verbs. The compound status of such forms is evidenced by the fact that postverbal particles cannot intervene between the verb and the *quna* phrase and can only follow the [verb (pseudo-)verb] unit. In (4-229) the compound is followed by the additive and the intensifier postverbal particles:

(4-229) | *Raa* | *quna* | *baa* | *laqu* | *boqo.* |
          |--------|--------|-------|--------|---------|
          | work | manner | that | ADD | INTS |

'Work like that again [the way you worked before].'

And in (4-230) the compound is followed by the limiter *ba-*. The limiter carries the third person singular personal suffix, which indexes the subject (section 5.2.11).

(4-230) | *Ma* | *kai* | *ade* | *quna* | *qeri* | *ba-na* |
          |------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---------|
          | and | 3SG.IPFV | act | manner | that | LIM-3SG.PERS |

qana	*fa*	*thaqulafia*	*qeri.*
GENP	CLF	evening	that

'And he was just acting/behaving like that [in a manner mentioned previously] that evening.'

Combinations of a verb and a *quna* phrase of the type just discussed are [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds, not [verb noun] compounds with an incorpo-

rated object. Only nouns without modifiers, not noun phrases, can be incorporated in the latter type of compound (section 12.4.1).

Quna phrases can also function as verb-phrase level constituents, as modifiers of verbs in verb phrases, in which case they are (true) noun phrases, not pseudo-verbs. See (4-1) in section 4.1 for their position in verb phrases. Their status as phrase-level noun phrases rather than as pseudo-verbs is evidenced by the fact that they can be separated from the preceding verb by intervening material, which is not possible in [verb verb] compounds. In (4-231) the limiter particle intervenes:

(4-231)   *Kera*   *baa-baqe*   *ba-da*   *quna*   *qeri.*
          3PL.NFUT   RDP-speak   LIM-3PL.PERS   manner   that
          'They just kept talking like that.'

And in (4-232) a verb and *quna qeri* are separated by the former's direct object:

(4-232)   *Ma*   *qaburu*   *baa*   *qe*   *qii:-qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
          and   ogre   that   3SG.NFUT   RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ

          gwau-na   *quna*   *qeri*   *ma*   *ka*   *aqi*
          head-3SG.PERS   manner   that   and   3SG.SEQ not.be.so

          naqa,   *ifu-n=e*   *katu.*
          INTS   hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.hindered.from.movement
          'And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but
          (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.' (The ogre's hair was tied
          down.)

Noun phrases headed by *quna* 'manner, way' are the only type of noun phrase other than those in the direct-object position that can function as verb-phrase constituents. And they are also the only kind of noun phrase that can function as a noun modifier; see section 6.14.

Greetings and leave-taking formulae can be used as delocutive pseudo-verbs. In (4-233) the leaving-taking formula 'good night' is used on its own, not as a pseudo-verb:

(4-233)   *Rodo leqa.*
          night be.good
          'Good night.' (See section 27.3.2 for an extended use of this expression.)

In (4-234), on the other hand, *rodo leqa* has been re-ranked. It occurs in a parting formula with the second person singular sequential subject marker and is followed by the andative directional:

(4-234)   *Qoko   rodo leqa   kau.*
           2SG.SEQ   night be.good   AND
           'Good night to you.' (Lit.: 'You be good-night off.') (Said by the person leaving.)

Compare the leave-taking formula in (4-234) with a true verb and the andative directional:

(4-235)   *Qoko   too-too   kau.*
           2SG.SEQ   RDP-stay   AND
           (I am going). 'Good bye.' (Lit.: 'You stay off.') (Said by the person leaving.)

Other kinds of re-ranking into pseudo-verbs do occur, but they appear to be more on-the-spot creations. For example, in (4-236) re-ranking has taken place in the negative counterpart of a verbless ascriptive sentence (section 27.2.5). The re-ranked phrase is *teqe si lio* 'one mind'. The pseudo-verb has the plural inclusive negative subject marker and is followed by the postverbal anterior-continuing particle *quu*:

(4-236)   *Kulu   qe   aqi   kusi   teqe   si*
           PL(INCL) 3SG.NFUT   NEGV   PL(INCL).NEG   one   PRTT

           lio   quu.
           mind   ANTCONT
           'We are not (of) one mind yet.' 'We are not agreed yet.'

Compare the ascriptive sentence in (4-237), where re-ranking has not taken place: there is no negative subject marker with the noun phrase *toqa qi Toqabaqita* 'people at Toqabaqita'. That noun phrase functions as the subject of the negative verb *aqi* 'not be the case', but it has been extraposed to the right. (See section 27.2.5 for discussion of negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences.)

(4-237)   *Nau   ma   fulingana   maka   nau   ki,   kamiliqa*
           1SG   and   FILLER   father   1SG   PL   1PL(EXCL)

> qe   aqi   laqu toqa   qi   Toqabaqita.
> 3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case ADD people   LOC Toqabaqita
> 'I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers, we too are not Toqabaqita
> people.' (Lit.: '… we it is also not the case [are] people at Toqa-
> baqita.')

In (4-238) the Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrase *seven klok* 'seven o'clock' is treated in a Toqabaqita sentence as if it were a verb:

(4-238)   *Qe   seven   klok   naqa?*
          3SG.NFUT   seven   o'clock   PRF
          'Is it seven o'clock now/already?'

For another example of a Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrase re-ranked as a verb see (15-101) in section 15.3.

4.8.   The subject markers

There are five sets of subject markers, which simultaneously index the subject and mark nonfuture tense, future tense and imperfective aspect, sequentiality, negation, and dehortation, respectively. Here only their formal properties are considered. The semantic import of the various sets of the subject markers will be discussed in the relevant places. The five sets of the subject markers are given in table 4.5.

There are clear partial regularities in the forms of the subject markers, especially in the dual and the plural numbers. In the sequential, negative and dehortative sets, the third person singular forms consist solely of the markers of sequentiality, negation, and dehortation, *ka*, *si*, and *ta*, respectively. With one exception, the first person singular sequential form *kwa*, these elements also occur as part of all the other markers in the respective sets, sometimes with assimilation to the vowel in the preceding syllable in the sequential and the dehortative sets: *ka*, *ko*, *ku* in the former, and *ta* and *to* in the latter.

The future/imperfective set is based on the sequential set with the addition of the vowel *i* and deletion of the final vowel of the base in all cases except for the monosyllabic first and third person singular forms, where the final vowel is not deleted: *kwa* 1SG.SEQ and *kwai* 1SG.FUT/IPFV, and *ka* 3SG.SEQ and *kai* 3SG.FUT/IPFV; and, for example, *qoko* 2SG.SEQ and *qoki* 2SG.FUT/IPFV, and *keka* 3PL.SEQ and *keki* 3PL.FUT/IPFV.

Table 4.5. Subject markers

	nonfuture	future/ imper- fective	sequential	negative	dehortative
1SG	ku	kwai	kwa	kwasi	kwata
2SG	qo, qoi	qoki	qoko	qosi	qoto
3SG	qe, e	kai	ka	si	ta
1DU(EXCL)	mere	meki	meka	mesi	meta
DU(INCL)	koro	koki	koka, koko	kosi	kota
2DU	moro, mori	moki	moka, moko	mosi	mota
3DU	kero	keki, kiki	keko, kiku	kesi, kisi	keto
1PL(EXCL)	mili	miki	mika	misi	mita
PL(INCL)	kulu	kuki	kuka	kusi	kuta
2PL	mulu	muki	muka, muku	musi	muta
3PL	kera, kere kilu	keki, kiki	keka, kiku	kesi, kisi	keta

In each of the five sets. the bisyllabic forms share their first syllables with at least two other sets in each person and number category; for example *kwa* for the first person singular and *mu* for the second person plural. In most cases, all five sets share the first syllables.

The dual sets are characterized by the mid vowels *e* and *o* in the first syllable, while the corresponding forms in the plural sets are characterized by the high vowels *i* and *u*, except that the commonest plural forms have *e* rather that *i*.

In the nonfuture set, all the dual forms contain *r* in the second syllable, and most of the plural forms contain *l* in the last syllable. Similar associations of *r* with the dual number and of *l* with the plural number exist in the independent personal pronouns (section 6.3.1) and in the suffixes that function as object suffixes with Class 2 transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.3.1) and personal suffixes (section 8.1.2). As pointed out in section 6.3.1, these associations are most likely due to historical links with the numerals *roo* and *rua* 'two', and *ulu* 'three', respectively, with the plural forms continuing earlier trial (or paucal) forms.

For the sake of simplicity, all the subject markers are treated as units in the examples, in spite of the compositionality, synchronic or diachronic, in many cases.

Some of the subject markers have alternate forms, for example *moka* and *moko* 2DU.SEQ. In such cases, the commonest variant is listed first in the table, with the exception of the third person singular nonfuture forms, for which see further below.

There are two forms for the second person singular nonfuture, *qo* and *qoi*. *Qo* is the main form. *Qoi* is used only in positive imperatives, and only rarely. Imperatives with singular addressees usually have no subject marker, but when they do, *qo* is more common than *qoi*.

There are two variant forms for the third person singular nonfuture, *qe* and *e*. Both are common, but *e* can be used only sentence internally, not sentence initially. (*E* is also the combining form of the marker: *=e*; see further below). There is no such restrictions on *qe*.

There are two variant forms for the second person dual nonfuture, *moro* and *mori*. *Moro* is the main form. *Mori* is used only in positive imperatives but only rarely, *moro* being the usual form there.

There are three variant forms for the third person plural nonfuture, *kera*, *kere*, and *kilu*. *Kilu* is archaic. *Kera* is more common than *kere*, but the latter is by no means unusual.

In the dual and the plural future/imperfective sets, the third person forms *kiki* are rare, *keki* being the norm.

In the sequential set, the third person dual and plural form *kiku* is archaic.

And in the negative set, the third person dual and plural form *kesi* is considerably more common than *kisi*.

With one exception, all the subject markers that begin with *q* have combining forms without the glottal stop: *qo* and *=o* 2SG.NFUT, *qe* and *=e* 3SG.NFUT, *qoki* and *=oki* 2SG.FUT/IPFV, *qoko* and *=oko* 2SG.SEQ, and *qosi* and *=osi* 2SG.NEG. The combining forms are used when the subject markers fuse with the preceding grammatical element (section 2.5). The only exception is *qoi* 2SG.NFUT, which does not occur in environments where it could cliticize (see further above). (The *e* form of the third person singular nonfuture subject is also used when the subject marker has not cliticized; see further above.)

As discussed in sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1, an object-indexing suffix and a pronominal direct object cannot cooccur inside a verb phrase. On the other hand, the subject position is not inside the verb phrase, and there is no prohibition against cooccurrence of subject markers and independent pronouns in subject position. In fact, they cooccur commonly.

Not infrequently, there is no subject noun phrase in a clause, and the subject marker is the only exponent of that argument.

Below are given a few representative examples of the subject markers. The first one illustrates, in both clauses, cooccurence of subject markers and independent pronouns in subject position:

(4-239)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a   koro   koki*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT

          fanga.
          eat
          'I want the two of us to eat.'

Example (4-240) contains two instances of the *qe* variant of the third person singular subject marker in sentence-initial position, there being no subject noun phrase:

(4-240)   A: *Ma   Qolofia?*
             and   Olofia

          B: *Qe   lae   qa-na.*
             3SG.NFUT   go   SBEN-3SG.PERS

          A: *Qe   lae   fei?*
             3SG.NFUT   go   where?
          A: 'And (where is) Olofia?'
          B: 'He's gone.'
          A: 'Gone where?'

In (4-241) one instance of the third person singular nonfuture marker has fused with the demonstrative *fuu* 'that' and another one with the conjunction *ma* 'and', and in (4-242) the second person singular future marker has fused with the focus marker *na*:

(4-241)   ... *oomea   fu=e   firu   ma,   keka*
              enemy   that=3SG.NFUT   fight and   3PL.SEQ

          uri-a   m=e   dora   qana
          tread.on-3SG.OBJ   and=3SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP

          thaka-laa.
          escape-NMLZ
          '… the enemy were fighting and they trod on him, and he did not know how to escape.'

(4-242)   *Taa   n=oki   ili-a   nena?*
              what?   FOC=2SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ   NPAST.THERE
              'What are you doing there?'

In (4-243) the third person singular nonfuture subject marker has fused with the demonstrative *baa* 'that', from which both *a*'s have been omitted: *b=e* (*ba=e* also occurs).

(4-243)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   rongo-a   doo*
              1SG   3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG hear-3.OBJ   thing

              b=e   sore-a.
              that=3SG.NFUT   say-3SG.OBJ
              'I didn't hear what (lit.: the thing) he said.'

The third person singular subject markers can have referents that are propositions. In (4-244) the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka* has the proposition 'we come tomorrow' as its referent::

(4-244)   *Mada   sa   mika   fula   qi   qusungadi,*
              or   IRR   1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive   LOC   tomorrow

              ka   leqa   ba-na?
              3SG.SEQ be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
              'If we come tomorrow, will that be all right? (lit.: will that only be good?)'

The third person plural forms can be used non-referentially, generically, typically with respect to people:

(4-245)   *... maala   qe   tharu-fi-a*
              sore   3SG.NFUT   (sore)afflict-TR-3.OBJ

              qae-na   na   keki   qalangi-a   qana "basi".
              leg-3SG.PERS   REL   3PL.IPFV name-3SG.OBJ   GENP *basi*
              '... his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws].' (Lit.:... a sore afflicted his leg that they name "*basi*".')

It is possible for a subject marker to be omitted. This happens normally, though not necessarily, in imperatives with singular addressees (section (20.2.1):

(4-246)   *Lae   si   mai.*
         go   PREC VENT
         'Come here now.'

Elsewhere, subject markers are occasionally omitted when there is a noun phrase in subject position, or when the referent is determinable from broader context. Such omission is possible only with the nonfuture, future/imperfective, and the sequential subject markers when the tense, aspect or sequentiality is deducible from context. The negative and the dehortative subject markers are not omitted. In (4-247) the first person plural exclusive subject marker is omitted: the relevant participant is encoded by means of a pronoun in the subject position:

(4-247)   *Kamiliqa   kori-a   fau   rafu, ….*
         1PL(EXCL)   scrape-3.OBJ   stone sea.cucumber.sp.
         'We scrape limestone (and mix it with water ….).'

Subject markers are typically omitted in a clause that repeats the verb of the preceding clause with the same subject, for example, to signal a repeated or an extended event:

(4-248)   *Daniel ka   tataqe, tataqe kokoto   bo=naqa.*
         Daniel 3SG.SEQ ascend   ascend   be.straight ASRT=INTS
         'Daniel [a pilot] went straight up and up [in his airplane].'

The third person singular nonfuture subject marker is frequently omitted in the commentative sentence '(That's) fine/OK', *Leqa ba-na*:

(4-249)   *Kera   rongo-a   mena   gavman   e*
         3PL.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   CONC   government   3SG.NFUT

         ala-ngani-a   lokap,   kera keka   sore-qe,
         threaten-TR-3.OBJ   jail   3PL   3PL.SEQ   say-DETR

         "Leqa   ba-na."
         be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
         'Even though they heard that the Government was threatening (them with) jail, they said, "Fine." (lit.: (It is) just good.).'

Absence of subject markers is characteristic of deranked subordinate clauses (chapter 36).

4.9. Number agreement and lack of number agreement in verb phrases

Inside a verb phrase, the grammatical person and number can be indexed by several types of element: the subject markers, the object suffixes, the personal suffixes on some of the postverbal particles, by object pronouns (with Class 1 transitive verbs) and with lexical objects (which can be marked for plurality). (The postverbal particles are discussed in detail in section 5.2., and pronominal and lexical noun phrases in chapter 6.) If there is a relevant noun phrase present in a clause, the corresponding subject marker, object suffix, or personal suffix may, but need not, fully agree with it in number. With one type of exception, lack of number agreement is restricted to the third person.

An important, although not the sole, factor in number agreement is the animacy status of the referent of the noun phrase. Here, there is a two-way distinction: noun phrases with human referents and other higher-animate referents on the one hand, and noun phrases with inanimate referents and non-higher-animate referents on the other. Besides humans, the category of higher animates includes ancestral spirits, ogres, pigs, dogs, cats, possums, large fish and sea mammals, and other relatively large animals, such as cattle and horses (neither of which are commonly encountered in the Toqabaqita area). With some qualifications, for higher-animate noun phrases with plural or dual reference the norm is to be marked for the plural or the dual number, where this is grammatically sanctioned (but see further below). As discussed in the sections on Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs, the 'singular" object suffixes must be used in the presence of a lexical direct object regardless of its grammatical number. For inanimate and non-higher-animate noun phrases with plural or dual reference the norm is not to be indexed for the plural or the dual number and it is the singular forms that are used (but see further below). The typical patterns of indexing or not indexing the plural (and the dual) numbers are illustrated below. The examples given all involve the plural, because of some further complexities with the dual number, to be discussed further below. The subject markers are discussed and exemplified first. The first two have higher-animate subjects:

(4-250) *Wela loo   ki kera   qui   kamiliqa   mai*
         child upward   PL 3PL.NFUT   pelt   1PL(EXCL)   VENT

         qana   fau.
         INS   stone
         'The children up there threw stones at us.' 'The children up there pelted us with stones.'

(4-251) *Botho baa   ki kera   oli   na=mai.*
         pig   that PL 3PL.NFUT   return   PRF=VENT
         'The pigs have come back.'

In the next set of examples, the first two have non-higher-animate subjects and the last one an inanimate subject, and the subject markers are singular:

(4-252) *Kuukuulango   qe   qala.*
         mosquito   3SG.NFUT bite
         'The mosquitoes are biting.' (Often said when there are a lot of mosquitoes around.)

In the situation expressed by (2-253) the number of flies is necessarily large:

(4-253) *Lango   e   tabusu   faafi-a   kusi   mae.*
         fly   3SG.NFUT swarm   SUPER-3.OBJ   cat   be.dead
         'There are flies swarming over the dead cat.'

Note also the absence of the plural marker *ki* in the subject noun phrases in (4-252) and (4-253), even though the intended reference is plural. (See section 6.9 for discussion.) In (4-254), on the other hand, the subject noun phrase is marked for plurality; nevertheless, the subject marker is singular:

(4-254) *Fau   neqe ki qe   kuluqa.*
         stone this   PL 3SG.NFUT   be.heavy
         'These stones are heavy.'

However, it is possible for an inanimate or a non-higher-animate subject to be indexed for plurality by the subject marker, if the speaker wishes to individuate the referents. Thus, instead of (4-254), the sentence in (4-255), with the plural subject marker, would be used to emphasize that each individual stone is heavy:

(4-255) *Fau   neqe ki kera   kuluqa.*
         stone this   PL 3PL.NFUT   be.heavy
         'These stones are heavy.'

On the other hand, the singular subject marker in (4-254), does not individuate the stones. The stones may be heavy collectively or individually.

A similar difference exists between (4-256) and (4-257). The sentence in (4-256) has a plural subject marker and individuates the fish. It could be used if,

for example, the (relatively small) fish were spread across a large area and each fish would be more likely to be perceived individually:

(4-256)   *Iqa   qoro   ki kera   nii   qi   ku=neqe.*
          fish   be.many PL 3PL.NFUT   exist LOC   place=this
          'There are many fish here.'

If, however, the speaker chooses not to individuate the fish, for example because they are together in one small place, he/she will use the singular subject marker:

(4-257)   *Iqa   qoro   ki qe   nii   qi   ku=neqe.*
          fish   be.many PL 3SG.NFUT   exist LOC   place=this
          'There are many fish here.'

In (4-258) the intended reference is more likely to be to both of the person's eyes rather than just to one. There is no need to emphasize that, and it is the singular subject marker that is used:

(4-258)   *Maa-na   qe   laqa.*
          eye-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.bright
          'His eyes are bright, shining.'
          Also possible: 'His eye is bright, shining.'

On the other hand, in (4-259) the plural subject marker makes it explicit that both of the speaker's legs hurt. Note that the plural subject marker is used even though the reference is dual; on this see further below.

(4-259)   *Qae-ku   kera   fii.*
          leg-1SG.PERS   3PL.NFUT   hurt
          'My legs hurt.'

A singular subject marker may be used even if, or perhaps because, the plurality is signalled elsewhere in a sentence. In (4-260) the numeral 'two' and the plural marker *ki* in the subject noun phrase make it explicit that both legs are being referred to; nevertheless, the subject marker is singular:

(4-260)   *Wela qeri, roo qaaqae nia   ki   qe   taqaa.*
          child that two leg   3SG   PL   3SG.NFUT   be.bad
          'The child, both of his legs are no good.'

(Both *qaaqae* and *qae* [in (4-259)] have the meaning 'leg, foot'.)

Higher animates, in particularly humans, are normally individuated, and it is the plural (or dual) subject markers that are used. However, the speaker may choose to treat a plurality of higher-animate referents as a collectivity, in which case he or she may use the singular subject marker. In (4-261) the policemen are individuated, and it is the plural subject marker that is used:

(4-261)   *Oo,   soldia   baa   ki   kera   oli   n=uri*
        oh   policeman   that   PL   3PL.NFUT   return   PRF=ALL

        Tulake.
        Tulagi
        'Oh, the policemen have gone back to Tulagi.'

On the other hand, in (4-262) the policemen are conceptualized as a unit, and it is the singular subject marker that is used. Furthermore, there is no plural marker in the subject noun phrase, while in (4-261) above the plural marker is present. It is the same policemen that are referred to in the two sentences.

(4-262)   *Soldia   e   oli   n=uri   Tulake.*
        policeman   3SG.NFUT   return   PRF=ALL Tulagi
        'The policemen have gone back to Tulagi.' 'The police unit has gone back to Tulagi.'

In (4-263) the possums referred to are treated as a unity: they are characterized as being in one place, and the noun *teqefau* signals that the statement applies to all of them, without exception (section 12.4.5):

(4-263)   ...   *thaqaro qe=ki   qi   kula qeri, thaqaro*
        possum   that=PL   LOC   place this   possum

        qe=ki   qe   qafetaqi,   qafetaqi   teqefau.
        that=PL   3SG.NFUT   be.difficult be.difficult every.one
        '… the possums at this place, the possums are difficult [to catch], difficult, all of them.'

Subsets of larger sets are normally indexed by means of singular subject markers, even when the referents are human or other higher-animate. In (4-264) the subject noun phrase refers to a subset out of four children:

(4-264)   *Ta   ulu   wela qe   ni=i*
        some three child 3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC

> *laal-a*   *gwa*   *kafo*   *qeri* ....
> inside-3.PERS   CLF   water   that
> 'Three of the [four] children were in the pool ….'

And in the situation encoded in (4-265), the men are divided into groups of two:

(4-265)   *Ku*   *uka-li-a*   *fanga*   *naqi, toqo*
        1SG.NFUT   divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ   food   this   DSTR

        roo   *wane*   *kai*   *fanga*   *ofu*   *qi*   *laa*
        two   person   3SG.FUT   eat   be.together   LOC   IN

        teqe   *beleta,*   *toqo*   *roo*   *wane*   *kai*   *fanga*
        one   plate   DSTR   two   person   3SG.FUT   eat

        ofu,   *toqo*   *roo*   *wane*   *kai*   *fanga*
        be.together   DSTR   two   person   3SG.FUT   eat

        ofu.
        be.together
        'I have divided the food (in such a way that) two people will eat from (lit.: in) one plate, (another) two people will eat together, (another) two people will eat together.'

Non-individuation of human (and other higher-animate) referents is possible only in the third person, not in the first or the second person. That is, individuals at least some of whom are involved in the speech situation are always individuated.

The issue of number agreement and absence of number agreement is more complex with the object suffixes. As discussed in sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1, the otherwise singular object suffixes *-a* and *-na*/*-a* are used with Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs, respectively, to index their lexical objects regardless of grammatical number, when the object is inside the verb phrase. For example, in (4-266) the lexical object is plural, but it is the "singular" suffix *-a* that must be used, not the plural suffix *-da*. There is agreement in person but not in number.

(4-266)   *Nau*   *ku*   *riki-a*   *toq=qe=ki*   *qana*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   people=that=PL   GENP

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

However, when the direct object is not inside the verb phrase, and the noun phrase is human or higher-animate, the plural object suffix is used:

(4-267)   *Toq=qe=ki,*   *nau*   *ku*   *riki-da*   *qana*
           people=that=PL   1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3PL.OBJ   GENP

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

Such full indexing, in person as well as number, also takes place in relativization on direct objects (section 30.6.2) and when a direct object is in focus (section 39.2). For example, in (4-268) the person is speaking about animals that he had seen in a zoo (which included higher animates such as camels, elephants, lions, crocodiles, kangaroos) and uses the plural object suffix on the verb *riki* 'see' in the relative clause:

(4-268)   *Tai*   *qanamola* *ki na*   *ni*   *nau*   *lio*
           some.PL   animal   PL REL   PROFORE   1SG   look

           kwa   *riki-da*   *qe*   *aqi*   *kwasi*
           1SG.SEQ   see-3PL.OBJ   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG

           rii-riki-a   *quu*   *seqe-da.*
           RDP-see-3.OBJ   ANTCONT   body-3PL.OBJ
           'Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality before.' (Lit.: 'Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen their bodies.')

When the relevant noun phrase is inanimate or non-higher-animate, the "singular" object suffix is normally used even when the noun phrase is outside the verb phrase. This is shown for topicalization and relativization in (4-269) and (4-270), respectively:

(4-269)   *Qasai*   *nau*   *lakoo*   *ki,*   *kere*   *bii-bili-a,*
           mango   1SG   that(3)   PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-steal-3SG.OBJ

      ta   qasai   si   aqi.
      some mango 3SG.NEG   not.exist
      'Those mangoes of mine (on a tree), they have been stealing them
      (and) there are no mangoes (left).'

(4-270) *Nii   fania   bateree baa ki na   ku*
      be.located   where?   battery   that   PL REL   1SG.NFUT

      ngali-a   ki mai?
      take-3SG.OBJ   PL VENT
      'Where are the batteries that I brought?'

However, as discussed in section 4.2.3.2.2, when the verb in a relative clause is a long transitive one and is followed by the plural marker *ki*, the *-Caqi* variant of the transitive suffix must be used with the plural object suffix, even if the referent is inanimate or non-higher-animate:

(4-271) *qai   qoro   ki na   kuburu e*
      tree   be.many PL REL   storm   3SG.NFUT

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

Number indexing in verb phrases is also found with some of the postverbal particles. There the personal suffixes are used, and, with one type of exception, the suffixes match the number and person of the subject marker in the same verb phrase. (When a subject marker is omitted, as occasionally happens, the personal suffix indexes the same number that the subject marker would, if it were present.) In (4-272) the relevant referents are human, and both the subject marker and the personal suffix are plural:

(4-272) *Kera   baa-baqe   ba-da   quna   qeri.*
      3PL.NFUT   RDP-talk   LIM-3PL.PERS   manner   that
      'They just kept talking like that.'

On the other hand, in (4-273) the subject noun phrase is plural but inanimate and the referents are not individuated, and so the subject marker and the personal suffix on the limiter are singular. The plural noun phrase 'your foods' signifies more than one kind of food.

(4-273)   *Fanga   qoe   baa   ki,   qe   nii*
          food   2SG   that   PL   3SG.NFUT   be.located

          ba=n=i   laal-a   naanado   na
          LIM=3SG.PERS=LOC   inside-3.PERS   k.o.basket   REL

          kai   tarutaru   loq.
          3SG.IPFV   hang   up.there
          'Your food (lit.: foods), it's in the *naanado* basket that is hanging up there.'

There is a different kind of mismatch in number features, where a plural subject marker, object suffix, or personal suffix is used instead of the corresponding dual one, even though the reference is to two entities. Such number mismatch is not at all unusual. It has no semantic/pragmatic significance and occurs randomly. However, it is restricted to third-person forms, and does not take place with the independent personal pronouns. In (4-274) there are two instances of the third person plural nonfuture subject marker *kera* instead of the dual form *kero*, even though the reference is to two people; note the dual independent pronoun in the subject position of the relative clause:

(4-274)   *Si   manga   na   ni   keeroqa   kera   tatha*
          PRTT   time   REL   PROFORE   3DU   3PL.NFUT   walk

          mai, kera   fula   maa-na   kilu baa.
          VENT 3PL.NFUT   arrive   opening-3.PERS   hole that
          'As/When the two of them were walking in that direction, they arrived (at) the mouth of the hole.'

In (4-275) the intended reference of the plural object suffix *-da* is dual. This is evident not only from the broader context in which these clauses are embedded, but also from the clause of direct speech, where the second person dual pronoun and the second person dual subject marker encode the addressees referred to in the first clause with the object suffix:

(4-275)   ... *keka   faqa-rongo-da,   "Kamaroqa   moki*
          3PL.SEQ   CAUS-hear-3PL.OBJ   2DU   2DU.FUT

          mae   naq=i   qusungadi."
          be.dead   PRF=LOC   tomorrow
          '... they told them, "You two will be dead tomorrow.".'

And in (4-276) both the subject marker and the personal suffix on the limiter are plural rather than dual:

(4-276) *Roo   wela baa   ki   kera   maqu   ba-da, ….*
two   child that   PL   3PL.NFUT   be.afraid   LIM-3PL.PERS
'The two children were plain scared ….'

Not infrequently, plural and dual subject, object or personal markers with the same referents cooccur within a sentence or even within a clause. In (4-277) the first clause has a dual sequential subject marker, and the second clause the plural one. The reference is to two men.

(4-277) *Keko   riki-a,   keka   thaitoqoma-na, ….*
3DU.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ   3PL.SEQ know-3SG.OBJ
'They saw it, (and) they knew (what it was) ….'

And in (4-278) the first clause contains a subject noun phrase with dual reference and a plural subject marker, and the second clause contains a plural subject marker and the dual personal suffix on the limiter:

(4-278) *Roo   wela baa   ki   kera   maqu,   keka*
two   child that   PL   3PL.NFUT   be.afraid   3PL.SEQ

kefu-a   ba-daroqa   bii   baa.
open.stone.oven-3.OBJ   LIM-3DU.PERS stone.oven   that
'The two children were afraid, and they just [i.e. obediently] opened the stone oven.'

In the type of number mismatch just discussed, plural forms are used when the intended reference is dual. There is different type of number mismatch which works in the opposite direction: a dual form is optionally used with plural reference. This type of mismatch is different in another respect in that it involves not third-person forms, but second-person forms. The second person dual subject markers are optionally used in imperatives when the intended reference is to more than two addressees (section 20.1). The next two examples contain the nonfuture dual marker:

(4-279) *Qoo, moro   tole-da   laqu bo=mai, ….;*
oh   2DU.NFUT lead-3PL.OBJ   REST ASRT=VENT
'Oh, bring (lit. lead) them [escaped prisoners] back; ….' (An officer addressing his policemen, who were more than two in number.)

(4-280)   *Mamula,   moro   sifo-li-a!*
          mamula   2DU.NFUT   descend-TR-3SG.OBJ
          'Mamula [the name of a soccer team], go down there (lit.: go down
          onto it)!' (Exhorting the members of a soccer team to go on the
          playing field and play.)

In (4-281) the second person dual sequential subject marker (in bold) is used
even though the sentence is addressed to anybody within hearing. *Roo-wane*,
lit. 'two men/people', is an interjection used to express amazement or exhorta-
tion, regardless of the number of addressees; see also (27-48) in section 27.3.2.

(4-281)   *"Roo-wane!,   ta   imole   ka   too*
          two-man/person   some   person   3SG.SEQ   reside

          i   fe=i   laa   kada   taafoloa   neqe,
          LOC   where=LOC   IN   block   district   this

          nau,   tha   Liliqa,   na   ku   qai
          1SG   PERSMKR   Liliqa   FOC   1SG.NFUT shout

          *neri!   **Moka**   rongo   suli-a   maala*
          NPAST.HERE   2DU.SEQ   hear   PROL-3.OBJ   sore

          b=e   thau-ngi   nau!   Maala   b=e
          that=3SG.NFUT afflict-TR   1SG   sore   that=3SG.NFUT

          tharu-fi   nau   qe=aqi   naqa! ...."
          (sore)afflict-TR   1SG   3SG.NFUT=not.exist   PRF
          '[This is what he shouted,] "Hey, anybody, wherever you may live
          (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district,
          it's me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that af-
          flicted me)! The sore that I had is no more! ...".'

The second person dual nonfuture subject marker *moro* can also be used in
exhortations when the speaker includes himself/herself (section 20.2.1.5):

(4-282)   *Moro   oqotataqi, fanua   kai   rodo   naqa.*
          2DU.NFUT   hurry.up   place   3SG.FUT   be.dark PRF
          'Let's hurry up; it's getting dark.'

4.10. Integrative use of the inclusive forms

The inclusive subject markers (as well as other inclusive forms) can be used when the speaker wishes to integrate the addressee(s) into his or her own group, even though, objectively, the addressee(s) is/are not part of the speaker's group for the purposes at hand. This is done to express personal closeness between the speaker and the addressee. Even though the addressee is not part of the speaker's group, the speaker treats him/her, by using an inclusive form, as if they were. (See Lichtenberk 2005a for discussion of this in broader Austronesian context.)

The sentence in (4-283) is from an account of certain aspects of traditional behaviour, specifically how respect used to be shown to adult men and women. Those were the ways in which people used to behave when the speaker was younger. According to him, young people tend not to practice those kinds of behaviour these days. The sentence contains several instances of plural inclusive subject markers, sequential, imperfective and nonfuture (in bold). It also contains the inclusive plural independent pronoun *kulu* and the inclusive plural personal suffix -*kaluqa* (both also in bold). All of these forms are used integratively: the addressee (the author of this grammar) did/does not belong to Toqabaqita society, and even today it is highly unlikely he would be in charge of sharing out food at a feast or some other occasion:

(4-283)   *Gwauliqi*   *ai*   *na*   *araqi*   *nia*   *kai*
           married.person   woman   REL   husband 3SG   3SG.IPFV

       too   *ba-na,*   *mada*   *sa*   **kuka**
       be.at.home   LIM-3SG.PERS   or   IRR   PL(INCL).SEQ

       too   *qi*   *qaaqae-na*   *ta*   *faa-fanga-a,*   *mada*
       be.present LOC   venue-3.PERS   some   RDP-eat-DVN   or

       kuka   *too*   *kali-a*
       PL(INCL).SEQ be.present   be.positioned.around-3.OBJ

       ta   *moringa* *na*   *ni*   **kulu**   **kuki**
       some   share   REL   PROFORE   PL(INCL)   PL(INCL).IPFV

       kwaqi-a   *ma*   **kuki**   *uka-li-a,*
       cut-3SG.OBJ   and   PL(INCL).IPFV   divide-TR-3SG.OBJ

       ma   **kuka**   *uka-li-a*   *moringa*
       and   PL(INCL).SEQ   divide-TR-3.OBJ   share

*naqi, ma   **kuka**   tolingi   nia   qan=ta*
this   and   PL(INCL).SEQ   give.share.to   3SG   GENP=some

si   doo   qan=sii-na   ta   botho   mada
PRTT   thing GENP=portion-3.PERS   some   pork   or

ta   kata   mada   ta   iqa,   manga
some   k.o.pudding   or   some   fish   time

*na   **kulu**   fale-a   qana*
REL   PL(INCL).NFUT   give-3SG.OBJ   GENP

*gwauliqi   ai   qeri, **kuka***
married.person   woman   that   PL(INCL).SEQ

*sore-qe   ba-**kaluqa**,   "Kookoqo", mada*
say-DETR   LIM-PL(INCL).PERS   mother   or

"Thaina-ka",   "qoko   riki-a   si
mother-PL(INCL).PERS   2SG.SEQ look.at-3.OBJ   PRTT

fanga   qeri."
food   this

'A married woman whose husband has stayed at home, if we were at (the venue of) a feast, or [somewhere else] with (lit.: around) shares (of food) that we were cutting (carving) and dividing, and as we were dividing the shares, and as we were giving her something (such as) a portion of pork or some *kata* pudding, or some fish, when we were giving it to the married woman, we would just say, "Mother", or "Mother, this is your food (lit.: look at this food)".'

The expression 'look at this food' is a polite way of offering food to somebody.

The plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* in *thaina-ka* '(our) mother' is used in this address form for one's [classificatory] mother [section 8.1.2]. It does not function integratively. (*Kookoqo*, translated here as 'mother' can be used as a term of address to certain relatives, including one's classificatory mothers.)

For an example of the dual inclusive nonfuture subject marker *koro* used integratively in an exhortation see (20-17) in section 20.2.1.5.

4.11.   The adverb phrase

The class of adverbs is small and closed. Some of the adverbs are clause-level constituents, but they are included here for the sake of completeness. For the position of adverb phrases within verb phrases see (4-1) in section 4.1.

There are two interrogative adverbs, locative *fei* 'where?' and temporal *angita* 'when?'. Their use in interrogatives is discussed in sections 19.3.7 and 19.3.9, respectively. Adverb phrases that contain *fei* 'where?' can function as complements of the bare general locative preposition *qi* and the verb-like allative and ablative prepositions *uri* and *fasi*, respectively. In (4-284) the *fei* phrase is the complement of the general locative preposition:

(4-284)   *Qo   alu-a   naifa nau baa   qi   fei?*
           2SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   knife 1SG   that LOC   where?
           'Where did you put my knife?' 'Where did you put that knife of mine?'

When an adverb phrase with *fei* functions as the complement of the verb-like prepositions, it cannot, unlike noun-phrase complements, be indexed on the prepositions by the third person object suffix -*a* (see section 10.3.1). And unlike with noun-phrase complements, the allative and the ablative prepositions cannot occur in their reduced forms *ura* and *fasa*, respectively (section 10.3.1). Compare the grammatical interrogative in (4-285a) without indexing on the allative preposition *uri* and its ungrammatical counterparts in (4-285b) with indexing and in (4-285c) with the reduced form *ura*:

(4-285)   a.   *Qo   lae   uri   fei?*
                 2SG.NFUT   go   ALL   where?
                 'Where are you going?'

           b.   **Qo   lae   uri-a   fei?*
                 2SG.NFUT   go   ALL-3.OBJ   where?
                 ('Where are you going?')

           c.   **Qo   lae   ura   fei?*
                 2SG.NFUT   go   ALL   where?
                 ('Where are you going?')

In (4-286) the ablative prepositional phrase with *fei* 'where?' in its complement functions as a noun modifier (section 6.13.1):

(4-286)   *Wane   fasi   fei?*
           man   ABL   where?
           'A man from where?' (That is, where is the man under discussion
           from?)

The temporal interrogative *angita* 'when?' is used only infrequently. Adverb phrases that contain *angita* function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. In (4-287) the prepositional phrase is fronted and is in focus:

(4-287)   *Qi   angita   na   qoki   oli   mai?*
           LOC   when?   FOC   2SG.FUT   return   VENT
           'When will you come back?'

There are two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs, presentative and general. They are discussed in detail in section 13.6. Adverb phrases with the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs do not function as complements of prepositions. *Labaqa* 'there (neither in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere)' in (4-288) and *nena* 'there (in the addressee's sphere)' in (4-289) are among the presentative locative adverbs:

(4-288)   *Maka   nau   qe   nii   labaqa.*
           father   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.located   there(3)
           'My father is over there.'

(4-289)   *Kafa   qoe   kai   teo   ba-n=i*
           comb   2SG   3SG.IPFV   lie   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

           sa-mu   nena.
           ADJC-2SG.PERS   there(2)
           'Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.'

Among the general locative demonstrative adverbs, the elevational forms *loori* 'up there' and *fuuri* 'down there' form verb phrases that function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. The clause in (4-290) contains *loori* 'up there'. The general locative preposition has the form *i*, rather than *qi*.

(4-290)   *Kera   too   i   loori, ...*
           3PL.NFUT   stay   LOC   up.there
           'They stayed up there, ...'

Adverb phrases that contain any other general locative demonstrative adverb do not function as complements in prepositional phrases. *Lokoo* 'there (neither

in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere)' is a general locative demonstrative adverb:

(4-291)   B: *Too*   *ba-na*   *lokoo.*
           be.at.place   LIM-3SG.PERS   there(3)
           [A: 'Where is he?']
           B: 'He is over there (in that direction).'

There is also a set of situational demonstrative adverbs. These are clause-level constituents; see section 13.7 for discussion. The sentence in (4-292) contains the situational demonstrative *neri*, which has non-past relevance and serves to express states of affairs that are in the speaker's sphere:

(4-292)   *Nia*   *kai*   *too*   *ba-n=i*
          3SG   3SG.IPFV   be.at.place   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

          sa-ku   *neri.*
          ADJC-1SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
          'He is with me here now.'

Finally, there is an adverb *sulutala*, also *sulutale*, 'on the path/track/road'. The two forms come historically from the prolative preposition *suli/sula* (section 10.3.4) and the noun *tala* 'path, track, road'. Adverb phrases with this adverb do not function as complements of prepositions.

(4-293)   *Nau*   *ku*   *fula-toqo-da*   *sulutala.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive-TEST-3PL.OBJ   on.road
          'I met them on the road.'

(The senses of the verb *fula-toqo* include 'meet sb.', 'catch up with sb.' 'of a physical or mental state: descend on sb., reach sb'.)

Chapter 5
The particles in the verb complex

There are a number of particles that occur in the verb complex (section 4.1), some of them before the verb, and some of them after the verb.

5.1.   The preverbal particles

5.1.1.   Introduction

The preverbal particles occur between a subject marker and the verb; see (4-1) in the preceding chapter. Only one preverbal particle ever occurs in a clause. The particles are listed in table 5.1 in the order in which they will be discussed:

Table 5.1.   Preverbal particles

biqi, *mala*, *maka*, *makeqe*	immediate past, immediate future
makafa	'briefly'
suka, *thafa*, *thafeqe*	attenuative
marungeqe	ineffectuality
tala	self-containedness
ota	avertive
tona, *toneqe*, *tootona*,	restrictive
tootoneqe, *tofa*, *tofe*,	
tofeqe, *tootofa*, *tootofeqe*	
thafali-qi, *thafali*	inceptive
thathami-qi, *thathami*	desiderative
lalakwa	undesiderative

The inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements are different from the other preverbal particles in one respect: unlike the other particles, they have synonymous verbal counterparts. They are included among the preverbal particles, but discussion of these three elements is postponed until section 29.5, where their status as particles is considered in detail.

The inceptive and the desiderative markers optionally contain the detransitivizing suffix (section 4.6) in its form *-qi*. One of the immediate-

past/immediate-future markers, one of the attenuative markers and some of the restrictive markers end in *-qe*, which historically comes from the *-qe* variant of the detransitivizing suffix. It is possible that the ineffectuality marker *marungeqe* and the immediate-past/immediate-future marker *biqi* were also originally formed by means of the detransitivizing suffix, but there is no evidence of related suffixless forms. The inceptive markers *thafali-qi* and *thafali*, and the desiderative markers *thathami-qi* and *thathami* have related verbal counterparts in the present-day language, and the suffix is identified in glosses: *thafali-qi, thathami-qi*. None of the other forms that contain reflexes of the detransitivizing suffix have related verbal (or other) counterparts, and they are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. Some of the restrictive particles are reduplications, which would be consistent with verbal origins.

5.1.2. *Biqi*, etc. immediate past, immediate future

There are four markers that signal temporal immediacy: *biqi*, *mala*, *maka* and *makeqe*. All four can signal immediate past or, less commonly, immediate future. The notion of immediacy is, of course, relative, but for any of these markers to be used the temporal interval must be judged short. Of the four immediacy markers, *biqi* is the usual one; the other three are quite rare. In addition to one of these preverbal particles, the postverbal assertive/intensifying marker *boqo* (section 5.2.8) or the postverbal limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11) frequently occurs as well. When it is immediate past that is being expressed, the verb takes a nonfuture-tense subject marker.

(5-1) *Kera*   *biqi* *lae*   *bo=kau.*
        3PL.NFUT   IMM   go   ASRT=AND
        'They have just left.'

(5-2) *Thaina-na*   *wela* *naqi* *qe*   *biqi* *mae*
        mother-3SG.PERS   child this   3SG.NFUT   IMM   die

        ba-na.
        LIM-3SG.PERS
        'The child's mother has just died.' 'The child's mother died very recently.'

(5-3) *Nau*   *ku*   *{mala /*   *maka /*   *makeqe} fula*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   IMM   /   IMM   /   IMM   arrive

> ba-kuqa   si   manga   qeri.
> LIM-3SG.PERS   PRTT   time   this
> 'I have only just arrived.'

When it is immediate future that is being expressed, the verb takes a future-tense subject marker:

(5-4)   *Maqasi nau, nau   kwai   biqi fanga boqo neri.*
         wait.for 1SG   1SG   1SG.FUT IMM   eat   ASRT NPAST.HERE
         'Wait for me; I am just about to eat.'

Biqi etc. are not frequently used to express immediate future; there the postverbal perfect marker *naqa* (section 5.2.12) is used more commonly. In fact, an immediate-future marker and the perfect marker can co-occur:

(5-5)   *Nau   kwai   {mala/   maka /   makeqe} lae   naqa.*
         1SG   1SG.FUT IMM   /   IMM /   IMM   go   PRF
         'I am just about to go.'

Immediate future can also be signalled by means of the postverbal precedentive particles, in particular in imperatives (section 5.2.2).

Besides marking immediate past and immediate future, *biqi* is also used to express an immediate sequence of states of affairs: one state of affairs follows an earlier one more or less immediately. The two states of affairs can be located in the past, the future, or at an unspecified time. It is the clause that encodes the later state of affairs that contains *biqi*. The verb of that clause has a sequential subject marker, but if the sequence of states of affairs is a future one, a future subject marker is possible instead. The states of affairs expressed in (5-6) obtained in the past:

(5-6)   *Laalae   ka   fula   qa=si   manga   na*
         when   3SG.SEQ arrive   GENP=PRTT time   REL

         Maasin   Ruul qe   wiik daon,   sui   feteqi
         Marching   Rule 3SG.NFUT weak down   then INTS

         keka   biqi ala-ma-taqi   kera keka   frii.
         3PL.SEQ   IMM   permit-EXT-TR 3PL   3PL.SEQ be.free
         'After Marching Rule had weakened (lit.: when it arrived at the time that Marching Rule weakened down), they [the Government] allowed them [the leaders of the Marching Rule movement] to go free [i.e., to be released from jail].'

In the situations expressed in the next two examples the states of affairs are located in the future. In (5-7) the subject marker in the *biqi* clause is a sequential one and in (5-8) a future one:

(5-7) *Kulu   fanga   fasi.   Kulu   fanga*
       PL(INCL).NFUT eat   PREC PL(INCL).NFUT eat

      e   sui,   kuka   biqi raa.
      3SG.NFUT   be.finished PL(INCL).SEQ   IMM work
      'Let's eat first. After we have eaten, we'll work straightaway./As soon as we have eaten, we'll work.'

(5-8) *Laalae   qo   fula   naqa i   Kukumu,   nau*
       when   2SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF LOC Kukumu   1SG

      kwai   biqi uqunu   sa-mu   suli-a
      1SG.FUT   IMM narrate   GOAL-2SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ

      ta   si   doo   ki bana ....
      some PRTT thing PL LIM
      'When you have arrived in Kukumu, I'll tell you straightaway about some things ....' 'As soon as you have arrived in Kukumu, I'll tell you about some things ….'

The states of affairs described in (5-9) below are not restricted to any particular time; they obtain in general. When a man approaches a house where there is a woman inside, he should first make a sound to make his presence known; then:

(5-9) *... ai   naqi ka   rongo kau, nia ka*
       woman   this 3SG.SEQ hear   AND 3SG 3SG.SEQ

      tataqe   ka   qolo-si   nia, sui   feteqi
      stand.up   3SG.SEQ straighten-TR   3SG   then INTS

      ka   biqi kotho   ka=i   maa.
      3SG.SEQ IMM go.through AND=LOC   outside
      '... [when] the woman hears you [outside her house], she gets up, straightens her clothes (lit.: straightens herself) and only then does she go outside.' (That is, the woman will not go out straightaway; she must check first whether she looks presentable.)

5.1.3.   *Makafa* 'briefly'

The particle *makafa* is used to express the fact that a state of affairs holds only for a short period of time. It may be historically related to the immediacy marker *maka* (see the preceding section).

(5-10)   *Nau   ku   makafa   raa   ba-kuqa   qi*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   briefly   work   LIM-1SG.PERS   LOC

         roqo,   sui   kwa   oli   ba-kuqa.
         yesterday   then   1SG.SEQ   return   LIM-1SG.PERS
         'I only worked for a short time yesterday; then I went back.'

(5-11)   *Makafa   mamalo   fasi.*
         briefly   rest   PREC
         'Rest for a bit now.'

5.1.4.   *Suka*, etc. attenuative

There are three particles that function as attenuatives: *suka*, *thafa* and *thafeqe*. *Suka* signals a relatively low degree of a state or a relatively low intensity of an event:

(5-12)   *Nau   ku   suka   mataqi.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   ATTN   be.sick
         'I am a little sick.'

However, *suka* is quite rare. Much more commonly this kind of attenuation is expressed by means of the verb *sukani* 'be of little quantity, degree, extent', to which *suka* is obviously related. (*Suka* cannot function verbally.) *Sukani* functions as the first member of serializing [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5):

(5-13)   *Nau   ku   sukani   mataqi.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.of.little.degree   be.sick
         'I am a little sick.'

The range of meanings of *thafa* and *thafeqe* is broader than that of *suka*, *thafa* being more common than *thafeqe*. Like *suka*, they can express a low degree of a state or low intensity of an event:

(5-14)   *Iu,   nau   mena ku   thafa   mataqi*
          yes   1SG   FADD 1SG.NFUT   ATTN   be.sick

          ba-kuqa, ...
          LIM-1SG.PERS
          'Yes, I too was just a little sick, ...'

(5-15)   *Nia   kai   {thafa/   thafeqe} qono naqa.*
          3SG   3SG.IPFV   ATTN /   ATTN   sit   PRF
          'He/she is feeling better now.' (Lit.: 'He/she is sitting a little now.')
          (Said about a person recovering from an illness.)

Thafa and *thafeqe* can also signal that an event is (to be) performed or is taking place in a calm, slow, quiet, careful, measured manner:

(5-16)   *Qoko   thafa ngata.*
          2SG.SEQ   ATTN speak
          'Speak calmly/slowly/quietly.'

(5-17)   *... nau   kwa   thafa qono agwa qa-kuqa*
              1SG   1SG.SEQ   ATTN sit   hid SBEN-1SG.PERS

          qi   biqu   nau.
          LOC   house 1SG
          '[They came to see me, but I pretended not to be at home;] I just sat quietly, hiding in my house.'

(5-18)   *... keka   thafeqe kori-a   tai   si*
              3PL.SEQ   ATTN   scrape-3.OBJ   some.PL   PRTT

          kula n=e   fura   naqa ....
          place REL=3SG.NFUT   be.rotten   PRF
          '... they carefully scraped (clean) some of the places that had become rotten ....'

5.1.5.   *Marungeqe* ineffectuality

The function of *marungeqe* is to express the fact that a state of affairs does not lead to any other, expected or desired state of affairs. In spite of its phonological bulk, *marungeqe* functions only as a particle, not as an independent lexeme.

More often than not, *marungeqe* is used in conjunction with the postverbal limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11).

(5-19)   *Nau   ku   marungeqe raa   ba-kuqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   INEFF   work LIM-1SG.PERS
          'I worked, and nothing.' (For example, the speaker did work for somebody but got no reward in return, or only a very small reward; or he or she worked hard in the garden, but the result, in terms of the crops, was nil or negligible.)

(5-20)   *Qo   marungeqe too   ba-muqa.*
          2SG.NFUT   INEFF   stay LIM-2SG.PERS
          'You just stay (around).' Here: 'You just stay idle, not doing any work.'

5.1.6.   *Tala* self-containedness of situations

The function of the particle *tala* is to signal that the state of affairs encoded in the clause is self-generated or self-directed, or to emphasize the entity to which the state of affairs applies, normally in contrast to other entities. Expression of self-contained situations is discussed in detail in chapter 23, and here only one example of a self-generated situation is given:

(5-21)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   kuqu meresina   boqo,*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG drink medicine   ASRT

          ku   tala   qakwaa   ba-kuqa.
          1SG.NFUT   SELFC   be.cured   LIM-1SG.PERS
          'I didn't drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.'

The self-containedness marker *tala* is related to the complement-clause taking verb *talaqa*, which expresses ability, possibility, and permission (section 29.4.2), and to the noun *tala* 'path, track, road', 'way, means of doing st.'.

5.1.7.   *Ota* avertive

This particle signals that a given state of affairs nearly obtained but in the end did not. *Ota* is used in two kinds of structure. In one, the verb has a nonfuture subject marker. This construction conceptualizes the averted state of affairs from two temporal vantage points: the time when it looked as if it would take

place and a subsequent time when it turned out that it did not take place after all.

(5-22)   *Araqi   e   ota   mae*.
          mature.man 3SG.NFUT   AVRT die
          'The old man nearly died.'

That is, at the relevant time in the past it seemed that the man would die, but subsequently it turned out that he did not die.

In the other structure the verb has a future subject marker, preceded by the irrealis marker *sa* (sections 18.2 and 18.3). This construction conceptualizes the averted event only from a subsequent temporal vantage point: a state of affairs could/might have obtained but did not.

(5-23)   *Nau   sa   kwai   ota   qaru.*
          1SG   IRR   1SG.FUT AVRT fall
          'I nearly fell down.' 'I could/might have fallen down.'

This sentence is primarily a *post hoc* statement about what nearly happened. It backgrounds the time at which it appeared that the falling would happen.

Ota is used only rarely. Much more commonly it is the Class 1 transitive verb *karangi* 'be near to' that is used with an avertive function (section 15.1.2.3.3).

5.1.8.   *Tona*, *tofa*, etc. restrictive

There are a number of particles that signal that a situation is restricted only to the event or state expressed in the clause, when some additional or different states of affairs, performed by the same participant, are normally expected or required. The particles are *tona*, *toneqe*, *tootona*, *tootoneqe*, *tofa*, *tofe*, *tofeqe*, *tootofa, tootofeqe*. The reduplicated forms are used only in negative imperatives (although the other forms are possible there as well). Elsewhere, only *tona* and *tofa* are used commonly, *tona* being more common than *tofa*. As mentioned in section 20.3.1, in negative imperatives the verb is often reduplicated to express the meaning 'stop doing such and such'. The use of the reduplicated restricted-situation markers in negative imperatives suggests that all of these particles developed from erstwhile verbs. In addition to one of these preverbal particles, the postverbal limiter *ba-* is often present as well.

Tona and its variant *toneqe* also occur in noun phrases.

The situations that are expected or required in addition to the one encoded in a clause with a restricted-situation marker are usually not expressed, only im-

plied. In (5-24) what the speaker implies is that he travelled on the ship without paying:

(5-24)   *Nau ku   {tofa   /   tona}   lae   ba-kuqa*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   RESTR   /   RESTR   go   LIM-1SG.PERS

          i   laa   faka.
          LOC   IN   ship
          'I went on the ship for free, without paying.' (Lit. 'I just went on the ship.')

In (5-25) the implication is that the man came empty-handed, although one would have expected him to bring something:

(5-25)   *Wane   qe   tona   lae   bo=ma-na.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   RESTR   go   ASRT=VENT-3SG.PERS
          'Tne man came empty-handed.'

In (5-26) the implied message is that the addressee should do some work, instead of just sitting idly around:

(5-26)   *Qo   {tofa /   tofeqe   /   tona}   qono*
          2SG.NFUT   RESTR/   RESTR   /   RESTR   sit

          ba-mu   neri!
          LIM-2SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
          'You just sit here (doing nothing)!'

These particles can also signal that something is done for no obvious reason: it is "just" done, without there being another situation that would serve as a cause, purpose, rationale:

(5-27)   *Wane   e   tona   ila-ma-taqi   nau.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   RESTR   be.hostile.to-EXT-TR   1SG
          'The man is bad to me for no reason.'

(5-28)   *Wane leqa   nau   qae, misi   fii   qoe*
          man   be.good 1SG   VOC   1PL(EXCL).NEG   expect   2SG

> *boqo qoki   tona   fale i   a-miliqa.*
> ASRT 2SG.FUT RESTR   give LOC   REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS
> 'My good man, we did not expect you at all to just give us (things)
> (without being asked, without expecting anything in return).'

Example (5-29) shows the reduplicated variants in a negative imperative:

(5-29)   *Qosi   {tootona /   tootoneqe   /   tootofa   /   tootofeqe}*
         2SG.NEG RESTR   /   RESTR   /   RESTR   /   RESTR

         takwe   ba-muqa!
         stand   LIM-2SG.PERS
         'Don't just stand (there/here) (do something)!'

5.2.   The postverbal particles

5.2.1.   Introduction

The postverbal particles occur before lexical direct objects, but after direct objects that are realized by independent personal pronouns; see (4-1) in section 4.1. The postverbal particles are listed in table 5.2 in the order in which they occur in a verb complex, which is also the order in which they are discussed. Those that occupy the same position in the verb complex and so are mutually exclusive are grouped together in the table under the same letter. More than one postverbal particle can occur simultaneously in a verb phrase.

Some of the particles have shorter, combining forms used when those particles fuse with a following particle. This kind of fusion between certain particles is obligatory. Some of the combining forms are also used when a particle carries a personal suffix. Only the full forms of the particles are listed in table 5.2. The combining forms are presented in the respective sections.

Most of the particles also occur in noun phrases, although not necessarily with the same meaning. Those particles that also occur in noun phrases are marked with an asterisk in the table.

The first two pairs of examples show the positioning of the postverbal particles before lexical direct objects and after pronominal direct objects, respectively. In the first pair the particle is the precedentive one, *fasi*:

(5-30)   *Kwai   qolo-si-a   fasi suli-ku.*
         1SG.FUT straighten-TR-3.OBJ   PREC back-1SG.PERS
         'I'll stretch (lit.: straighten) my back first.'

Table 5.2.   Postverbal particles

a.	*fasi*, *si*	precedentive
b.	*quu**	anterior; anterior-continuing
	*sui**, *danga*	completive; exhaustive
c.	*laqu**	additive, restitutive
d.	*qasia*	intensifier, only together with *boqo* or *naqa*
	toqo	obligation
e.	*boqo**	assertive; intensifier
f.	*mena*	concessive
g.	*qa-*	self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive
h.	*ba-*	limiter
i.	*naqa**	perfect; intensifier in combination with *qasia*
	*feteqi**	intensifier
j.	*mai**	ventive
	*kau**	andative

(5-31)   *Kwai   qolo-si   nau   fasi.*
         1SG.FUT straighten-TR   1SG   PREC
         'I'll stretch first.'

In the next pair there is a combination of the perfect particle (in its combining form) and the andative directional:

(5-32)   *Kera   tole-a   na=kau   wela baa.*
         3PL.NFUT   lead-3.OBJ   PRF=AND   child that
         'They have led the child away.'

(5-33)   *Kera   tole nia   na=kau.*
         3PL.NFUT   lead 3SG   PRF=AND
         'They have led her away.'

Below are given a few examples of cooccurrence of two or more postverbal particles.

(5-34)   *Lae kwai   biinga   si   qa-kuqa.*
         go   1SG.FUT sleep   PREC SBEN-1SG.PERS
         'I'm going to go and sleep now.'

(5-35)   *Tai   wane keka   ngali-a   bo=ma-da*
         some.PL man   3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ   ASRT=VENT-3PL.PERS

selen ....
money
'Some men bring money ….'

(5-36) | *Nia* | *ka* | *toqoni-a* | | *naqa.* | *Toqoni-a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | 3SG.SEQ | put.in-3SG.OBJ | | PRF | put.in-3SG.OBJ |

sui	*laqu*	*boqo,*	*keeroqa*	*keko*	*lae*	*laqu*
COMPL	ADD	ASRT	3DU	3DU.SEQ	go	ADD

bo=kau.
ASRT=AND
'He put it [an arrow] in [a basket]. After [he] had put it back in, the two of them went on again.'

5.2.2. *Fasi*, *si* precedentive

The precedentive particles signal that a given state of affairs will or should be the first significant, relevant one before any other. The form *fasi* is used when there is no other postverbal particle present in the verb complex. If there are one or more other postverbal particles present, *si* must be used. Although *si* is clearly a shortened form of *fasi*, it is different from the short, combining forms of some of the other postverbal particles. In the combining forms of the other particles, it is the last syllable that is deleted; for example *boqo* and *bo=* assertive. The two precedentive particles are illustrated in (5-40) and (5-41):

(5-37) | *Kwai* | *mamalo* | *faqekwa* | *fasi.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG.FUT | rest | be.little | PREC |

'I am going to rest a little first/now.'

(5-38) | *Mamalo* | *si* | *qa-muqa.* |
|---|---|---|
| rest | PREC | SBEN-2SG.PERS |

'Take a rest first/now.'

The precedentive particles signal that a given state of affairs will or should obtain next, before any other one. The other potential states of affairs are usually not mentioned.

(5-39)   *Kwai soe-toqo-na   kokoto   fasi   maka nau.*
        1SG   ask-TEST-3.OBJ be.correct   PREC father 1SG
        'I'll confirm it with my father first.' 'I'll ask my father first, to make
        sure it's correct.' (Lit.: 'I'll ask correctly my father first.')

(5-40)   *Nau ku   thathami-a kwai   baqe   si   kau*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT speak   PREC AND

        bii   kamaroqa   qa=si   kade-qe   manga   qeri.
        COM 2DU   GENP=PRTT block-ASSOC time   this
        'I want to speak to you first at this point in time.'

In commands and exhortations the precedentive particles signal that imme-
diate carrying out of the action is requested or suggested:

(5-41)   *Moro   qono ngado   fasi!*
        2DU.NFUT   sit   be.still   PREC
        'Sit still now, you two!'

(5-42)   *Kulu   foqa fasi.*
        PL(INCL).NFUT pray PREC
        'Let's pray now.'

In (5-43) there are two clauses, an imperative one and a declarative one,
both with precedentive *si*:

(5-43)   *Faa-tani-a   si   laqu nuu-na   kini*
        show-TR-3.OBJ PREC ADD   picture-3.PERS woman

        baa, kwa   riki-a   si   laqu.
        that   1SG.SEQ look.at-3SG.OBJ PREC ADD
        'Show (me) the picture of the woman again now; I'll take a look at it
        again.'

Si is used in conjunction with the perfect marker to express an imminent
state of affairs (section 15.3):

(5-44)   *Kamareqa mere   lae si   na-mareqa.*
        1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go   PREC PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS
        'We'll be going now.' 'We're going now.' (Said by one of two peo-
        ple on the point of departure.)

Sometimes the precedentive particles are used to express a sequence of two states of affairs, normally in conjunction with some other indication of sequentiality. A precedentive particle occurs in the first clause which encodes the first event. In (5-45) the first clause contains, in addition to *fasi*, the temporal noun *tootoqonaqo* 'earlier time', and the second clause contains the immediacy marker *biqi*, which expresses an immediate sequence of events (section 5.1.2):

(5-45)   *... keki   faqa-mae   qoe   fas=i   tootoqonaqo*
               3PL.FUT CAUS-be.dead 2SG PREC=LOC earlier.time

             nena,   keka   biqi kwaqi qoe.
             NPAST.THERE 3PL.SEQ IMM cut   2SG
             '[Don't be afraid,] they will put you to sleep [with an anaesthetic] (lit.: cause you to die) first and only then will they operate on you (lit.: cut you).'

And in (5-46) sequencing is signalled not only by means of precedentive *si* but also by the sequencer *sui* 'be then' (section 35.3.2.2.3):

(5-46)   *... qosi   talami-a,   ala-ma-tani-a*
               2SG.NEG interrupt-3SG.OBJ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ

             ka   ngata   si   qa-na,   sui   qoko
             3SG.SEQ speak   PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS then 2SG.SEQ

             baqe.
             speak
             '… don't interrupt her; allow her to speak first, then you speak.'

5.2.3. *Quu* anterior, anterior-continuing

The particle *quu* has two functions, which are referred to here as "(simple) anterior" and "anterior-continuing". The way the term "anterior" (simple or continuing) is used here is different from the perfect, even though there are some links between the two (see further below).[17] In its simple (not continuing) anterior function, *quu* serves to express the fact that the state of affairs encoded in the clause obtained (did not obtain) or will (will not) obtain before some other state of affairs or some other time. The latter state of affairs or time is normally only implied, not expressed. In (5-47) the state of the child's being blind existed already before his being born:

(5-47)   *Wela maa-n=e   boko   quu*
          child eye-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.blocked ANT

          bo=mai   qi   rake-na   thaina-na.
          ASRT=VENT LOC   belly-3.PERS   mother-3SG.PERS
          'The child was born blind.' (Lit.: 'The child, his eyes were blocked
          already in his mother's belly.')

In the situation expressed in (5-48) the taking of the kerosene will happen some time before the payment:

(5-48)   *Nau ku   thathami-a kwai   tona   ngali-a*
          1SG 1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT RESTR   take-3.OBJ

          quu ba-kuqa   ta   karasina.
          ANT LIM-1SG.PERS   some kerosene
          'I want to buy some kerosene on credit.' (Lit.: 'I want I will just take
          some kerosene beforehand.')

In (5-49) both sentences contain the anterior marker. The first sentence is negative, and in the second sentence the relevant clause is the protasis of a counterfactual conditional. In both, the implication is that the eating had not taken place before some other event in the morning, here going away to some other place. The anteriority is also signalled by reduplication of the verb (section 15.1.4).

(5-49)   *Ura taa   na   qosi   faa-fanga quu boqo*
          REAS what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   RDP-eat   ANT ASRT

          qi   quuqusungadia? Ma=sa qo   faa-fanga
          LOC   morning   or=IRR 2SG.NFUT   RDP-eat

          quu boqo, sa   qoko   thaofa   qe=aqi.
          ANT INTS IRR   2SG.SEQ be.hungry   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
          'Why hadn't you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would
          not have been hungry (later).'

Sometimes, the use of the anterior marker implies a relatively great temporal distance between the time of reference and the relevant state of affairs. In the situation expressed in (5-50) the person had left earlier in the day, but relatively early, before other events that took place in that time period:

(5-50)   *Qe   lae   quu   naqa   qi   baare.*
        3SG.NFUT   go   ANT   PRF   LOC   earlier.today
        'He left some time ago today.' 'He left earlier today.' (And he has
        not come back.)

In its anterior-continuing function, *quu* in positive clauses expresses the fact
that a state of affairs that began before the time of reference still holds, contin-
ues at the time of reference. In negative clauses it expresses the fact that by the
time of reference the relevant state of affairs has not yet eventuated but is still
expected to eventuate. In the anterior-continuing function, *quu* is not used in
positive clauses that express a single punctual event, but there is no such re-
striction on *quu* in negative clauses. On the whole, *quu* is used more commonly
with the anterior-continuting function than with the simple anterior function.
    The next set of examples illustrates the anterior-continuing function of *quu*.
In (5-51) and (5-52) it occurs in positive clauses:

(5-51)   *Wela kai   biinga   quu.*
        child 3SG.IPFV sleep   ANTCONT
        'The child is still sleeping.'

(5-52)   *Lae   mai   fula,   roo   wela qe=ki   keki*
        go   VENT arrive   two   child that=PL 3PL.IPFV

        too   quu   ba-da.
        be.present   ANTCONT   LIM-3PL.PERS
        '[When he] arrived, the two children were still there.'

In the next two examples the clauses that contain *quu* are negative:

(5-53)   *Kera kesi   lamataal-a   quu   raisi baa.*
        3PL   3PL.NEG replace-3.OBJ   ANTCONT   rice   that
        'They haven't returned the rice yet.' 'They haven't replaced the rice
        yet.' (That is, we gave them rice and they promised to give us the
        same quantity back, but they have not yet. There is still an expecta-
        tion that they will.)

(5-54)   *Qe=aqi   si   kwatho quu   boqo.*
        3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG be.ripe   ANTCONT   ASRT
        'They [mangoes] aren't ripe yet.' (The expectation is, of course, that
        eventually they will be ripe.)

In (5-55) *quu* occurs with a verb that functions as a noun modifier (section 6.10):

(5-55)   *wela faqekwa quu   bana*
          child be.little ANTCONT   LIM
          'child that is still only little'

There is some connection between the anterior (simple or continuing) and the perfect: with both, an earlier event may be related to a time of reference. However, the anterior highlights the anteriority of the first situation, possibly with its still continuing at the time of reference, while the Toqabaqita perfect primarily signals a new state of affairs at the time of reference (section 15.3). The anterior-continuing function and the perfect are incompatible in negative clauses. The anterior-continuing particle signals that a state of affairs has not eventuated by the time of reference, but is still an expectation that it will. On the other hand, the perfect signals that a state of affairs has not eventuated by reference time and is no longer expected to eventuate. Compare (5-56) and (5-57):

(5-56)   *Wane   baa   qe=aqi   si   fula   quu.*
          man   that   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive   ANTCONT
          'The man has not arrived yet.' (But he is still expected to arrive.)

(5-57)   *Wane   baa   qe=aqi   si   fula   naqa.*
          man   that   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive   PRF
          'The man has not arrived.' (And he is no longer expected to arrive.)

The anterior-continuing and the perfect markers can cooccur in positive clauses. In such cases the perfect emphasizes the fact that the state of affairs does indeed still obtain at the time of reference:

(5-58)   *Qe   raa   quu   na=mai.*
          3SG.NFUT   work   ANTCONT   PRF=VENT
          'It's still working.' 'It's been working until now.' (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

5.2.4. *Sui* completive, exhaustive; *danga* completive

The particle *sui* has two functions, completive and exhaustive, while *danga* has only the completive function and is rare compared to *sui*. In the completive function, *sui* and *danga* signal that a situation took or has taken place by the

time of reference. In this function, the two particles coocur with the perfect marker. The completed state of affairs may, but need not, be one that was extended over time. If it was extended over time, the completive markers signal that it has taken place in its entirety by the time of reference.

(5-59)   *Kera   test   sui   naqa.*
          3PL.NFUT   sit.test   COMPL   PRF
          'They have finished (sitting) their test.' (On seeing school children come out of the school.)

(5-60)   *Qe   qapiil   sui   naqa?*
          3SG.NFUT   appeal   COMPL   PRF
          'Has he appealed [a court decision]?' 'Has he lodged an appeal?'

(5-61)   *Redio   e   qifi   sui   naqa.*
          radio   3SG.NFUT   be.switched.on   COMPL   PRF
          'The radio has been switched on.' 'The radio is on.'

The given state of affairs may have reached completion immediately prior to the time of reference or at some more distant, earlier time. Thus, (5-62) is appropriate if the people have just finished eating or if they ate some time ago:

(5-62)   *Kamareqa mere   fanga   sui   naqa.*
          1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT   eat   COMPL   PRF
          a 'We have finished eating.' (And so the plates can be taken away.)
          b. 'We have already eaten.' (And so there is no need to give us food.)

In (5-63) the speaker is inquiring whether the addressee has already bathed, not whether she has finished bathing (the addressee was not in the bathing place at the time):

(5-63)   A: *Qo   siisiu   sui   naqa?*
                2SG.NFUT   bathe   COMPL   PRF

          B: *Qe=aqi   quu   boqo.*
                3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   ANTCONT   ASRT
          A: 'Have you bathed?'
          B: 'Not yet.'

The time of reference is often the time of speech, but that is not necessarily so. In (5-64) the time of reference is in future:

(5-64)   *Iu,   manga   na   ku   mae   sui   naqa,*
          OK   time   REL   1SG.NFUT   die   COMPL   PRF

          kamaroqa   moka   qolo-toqo   suli   nau ....
          2DU   2DU.SEQ   arrange-TEST   PROL   1SG
          [A dying man speaking.] 'OK, when I have died, you will measure
          me (lit.: measure along me) [so that addressees could dig a grave of
          the right size] ....'

There are some complexities when there is a direct object, pronominal or
lexical, present in the clause. The completive and the perfect markers can be
used with either type of object:

(5-65)   *Toqa   baa   kere   qadomi   nau   sui   naqa.*
          people   that   3PL.NFUT   help   1SG   COMPL   PRF
          'The people have already helped me.' 'The people have finished
          helping me.'

(5-66)   *Qo   gani-a   sui   naqa wane qeri*
          2SG.NFUT   ask.sb.for.st.-3.OBJ   COMPL   PRF   man   that

          uri-a   seleni?
          PURP-3.OBJ   money
          'Have you asked the man for money?'

However, when the clause that expresses a completed state of affairs is fol-
lowed by another, coordinate clause that expresses a subsequent state of affairs,
different constructions are preferred. Instead of using the combination of the
completive and the perfect particles in the first clause, bi-clausal structures may
used: the clause expressing the (completed) state of affairs is followed by a
"mini-clause" that contains the verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished'. In one of
those constructions the verb *sui* has a subject marker, which is always third
person singular. The mini-clause may also contain the perfect marker *naqa*. In
the other construction the verb *sui* in the mini-clause occurs without a subject
marker. The clause that expresses the subsequent event follows the *sui* mini-
clause. These constructions are discussed in section 35.3.2.2.3, and here only
one example of the former construction is given:

(5-67)   *Kera   thau-ngi-a   ulu   wela qe=ki   qe*
          3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   three child that=PL   3SG.NFUT

> sui,   keka   lae   na-da.
> be.finished 3PL.SEQ   go   PRF-3PL.PERS
> 'After they killed the three children, they went (away).'

There is another construction in which *sui* functions as a sequencer (section 35.3.2.2.3.)

For evidence that when the form *sui* occurs in the verb complex it is a particle rather than a verb see further below.

The next example illustrates the completive marker *danga*. *Danga* is equivalent to *sui* in its completive-marking function but is hardly ever used.

(5-68)   *Nau   ku   siisiu   {sui   /   danga}   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   bathe   COMPL   /   COMPL   PRF
          'I have finished bathing.' 'I have bathed already'

In its other, exhaustive-marking function, *sui* expresses the fact that the state of affairs has reached a point when it applies, has applied to all the potential participants. In that sense, the state of affairs has reached its end-point, completion. When *sui* (or *danga*) has the completive function, there may be just one relevant participant; see, for example (5-68) just above. On the other hand, when *sui* has the exhaustive function, there are multiple relevant participants. In the exhaustive function, *sui* normally cooccurs with the assertive marker *boqo*. What is highlighted, emphasized is the fact that the state of affairs has come to involve all the relevant participants.

(5-69)   *Nau   ku   thaitoqoma-na   sui   boqo toqa*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   EXHST   ASRT people

          naqi ki   qi   laa   toaa   naqi.
          this   PL   LOC IN   village   this
          'I know all the people in this village.' ('I know exhaustively the people in this village.')

(5-70)   *Wela naqi ki kera   thaofa   sui   boqo.*
          child this   PL 3PL.NFUT be.hungry   EXHST   ASRT
          'These children are all hungry.'

Much more commonly, however, to express exhaustiveness *sui boqo* is used in noun phrases (sections 6.8.10 and 7.4); cf. (5-70) above and (5-71) below:

(5-71)   *Wela naqi ki   sui   boqo kera   thaofa.*
               child this   PL   EXHST ASRT 3PL.NFUT   be.hungry
               'All of these children are hungry.'

There is, of course, a close link between the completive and the exhaustive functions of *sui* in the verb complex. An event with multiple relevant participants is completed when it has applied to all those participants. In the situation expressed in (5-72) the event would be completed if all the yams have been cleaned:

(5-72)   *Qo   kwalo-ano-na   sui   naqa kai qena   ki?*
               2SG.SEQ vine-ground-3.OBJ COMPL PRF yam that(2)   PL
               'Have you cleaned (all) the yams?'

(*Kwalo-ano* refers to the action of scraping soil off freshly dug yam tubers, using a taut piece of vine.)

The forms *sui* and *danga* can both function as particles in the verb complex and as intransitive verbs 'end, finish; be finished'. The discussion below deals with *sui*, but what is said about the status of *sui* as a particle applies equally to *danga*. In (5-73) *sui* functions as a verb:

(5-73)   *Firu-a   naqi ka   sui   naqa.*
               fight-DVN   this 3SG.SEQ finish   PRF
               'This fight should/must finish now.'

In (5-74) *sui* (together with the perfect marker) follows a Class 1 transitive verb that carries an object indexing suffix and precedes the direct object:

(5-74)   *Nia   qe   thau-ngani-a sui   naqa luma nia.*
               3SG   3SG.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ COMPL   PRF house 3SG
               'He has finished building his house.'

Toqabaqita has [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5). In (5-74) the verb *thau-ngani-a* and the form *sui* do occur next to each other; nevertheless, they do not form compound. In a verb-verb compound, a Class 1 verb that is the first member of such a compound cannot carry an object-indexing suffix. And if the second verb is intransitive, what would be the direct object of the Class 1 transitive verb outside the compound can only be realized as an oblique object of the compound. And since no object suffix is present on the first verb, long transitive verbs must have the -C*aqi* variant of the long transitive suffix, not the -C*ani* variant (section 4.2.3.2.2) In (5-74), however, there is a direct object (*luma nia* 'his house'), the long Class 1 transitive verb *thau-ngani* does carry an

object suffix and the -C*ani* variant of the transitive suffix. Consequently *thaungania* and *sui* do not form a verb-verb compound: *sui* is a particle there, not a verb. Historically, of course, the completive/exhaustive particle *sui* and the verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished' are one and the same etymon.

5.2.5.   *Laqu* additive, restitutive

The particle *laqu* has two basic functions, additive and restitutive.[18] In the additive function, *laqu* expresses the fact that a certain situation obtains, or, with negation, does not obtain, in addition to some other situation, and/or that a certain participant is involved in the same situation or the same type of situation that one or more other participants are involved in, in the same role. The exact meaning of *laqu* in the additive function varies in different contexts, and there are also some differences between positive and negative sentences. The additive function of *laqu* in positive sentences is discussed first.

   Frequently, although by no means always, the relevant situations are in temporal sequence. Thus, *laqu* may be used to express the fact that a certain type of situation occurs again, after a previous occurrence of the same kind of situation, with exactly the same participant(s). Here one can speak of the same type of situation being repeated.

(5-75)   *Nau   kwai   lae   mai   kwai   riki   qoe   laqu*
         1SG   1SG.FUT   go   VENT   1SG.FUT   see   2SG   ADD

         qa=fa   Sandee   loo.
         GENP=CLF   Sunday   upward
         'I will come and see you again on the Sunday after next.'

(5-76)   *Qinifitaa-a   si   laqu.*
         explain-3SG.OBJ   PREC   ADD
         'Explain it (to me) again, now.'

(5-77)   *... koka   riki   koro   laqu   ta   si*
         DU(INCL).SEQ   see   DU(INCL)   ADD   some   PRTT

         manga ....
         time
         '... we will see each other again sometime ....'

   Additive *laqu* can, however, be used to encode situations that depart in various ways from the repetition prototype, the same type of situation with the

same participants involved being repeated. A type of situation may count as being repeated even though not all of the relevant participants are identical. For example, (5-78) can be used to express the much more likely situation where the addressee married a woman different from the one he had been married to before. The noun *kini* 'woman' is an incorporated object.

(5-78)   *Uri-a   taa   qoko   foli   kini   laqu?*
          REAS-3.OBJ what?   2SG.SEQ buy   woman ADD
          'Why have you remarried?' 'Why have you got married again?'

In (5-79) the direct object is non-specific, but the entities that will fill the role will be different from those that filled the same role in an earlier occurrence of that type of event:

(5-79)   *Ngali-a   laqu mai tai   fau.*
          carry-3.OBJ ADD VENT some.PL stone
          'Bring some more stones.' ('Bring again some stones.')

In (5-80) and (5-81) the different participants that are involved in the same types of events are expressed as subjects:

(5-80)   *Teqe kuukua qe   mae laqu boqo.*
          one   chicken 3SG.NFUT die ADD ASRT
          'Another chicken (has) died.'

(5-81)   *Nau kwa   tataqe fasi-a   laa biqu   naqi*
          1SG 1SG.SEQ get.up ABL-3.OBJ IN   house   this

          qi   Fuusai, qoe mena   qoki   lae laqu boqo
          LOC Fuusai 2SG FADD   2SG.FUT go   ADD ASRT

          fasi-a   laa biqu   naqi.
          ABL-3.OBJ IN   house   this
          'I will get up (and go) away from this house at Fuusai, (and) you too will go away from this house.'

For the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* see section 28.6.

The additive marker can be used if the participants are identical but their roles are reversed in the second occurrence of that type of situation. In (5-82) first one bird dyes another bird's body and then the latter bird is asked by the former to dye its body in turn:

(5-82)   *Qeda-a,*   *laa-laa-laa-laa-lae,*   *qe*
        dye-3SG.OBJ   RDP-RDP-RDP-RDP-go   3SG.NFUT

        sui,   *aia,*   *nuta*   *ka*   *quna*   *qeri,*   *"Aia,*
        be.finished OK   bird.sp   3SG.SEQ manner   this   OK

        keekero,   *qoe*   *naqa* *neri*   *qoki*
        yellow.bibbed.lory   2SG   PRF   NPAST.HERE   2SG.FUT

        qeda-a   *laqu*   *seqe-ku."*
        dye-3.OBJ   ADD   body-1SG.PERS
        'He [a *nuta* bird] went on dyeing it [the body of a Yellow-bibbed
        Lory], on and on, until it was finished, OK, (and) the *nuta* said,
        "OK, Yellow-bibbed Lory, now *you* will dye *my* body.".'

   See also (5-84) further below.
   Additive *laqu* can also signify that one and the same participant is involved
in a certain situation besides being involved, in the same role, in a different
type of situation:

(5-83)   *Nau*   *ku*   *thaofa,*   *kwa*   *mae-li*   *kuqu*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry   1SG.SEQ die-TR   drink

        laqu   *boqo.*
        ADD   ASRT
        'I'm hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.'

   As (5-83) shows, two states of affairs need not be related sequentially to
each other for additive *laqu* to be used. This is also the case in (5-84) below,
where the participants are in a reciprocal relation to each other:

(5-84)   *Ma*   *thaari*   *qeri*   *ka*   *thathami*   *nau,*   *nau*
        and   girl   that   3SG.SEQ   like   1SG   1SG

        mena *kwa*   *thathami-a* *laqu* *boqo* *thaari*   *qeri.*
        FADD   1SG.SEQ   like   ADD   ASRT   girl   that
        'And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.'

   Additive *laqu* can even be used when the two states of affairs do not share
any participants, as long as the two states of affairs are conceptualized as being
alike in some respects. In (5-85) both the rain and the storm are characterized as
being "big":

(5-85)   *Dani   qe   baqita   qasia naqa, ma   kuburu   ka*
         rain   3SG.SEQ be.big   INTS INTS and   storm   3SG.SEQ

         baqita   laqu boqo.
         be.big   ADD   ASRT
         'It rained heavily, and there was a heavy storm.' (Lit.: 'The rain was
         big, and the storm was big too.')

In negative sentences, *laqu* may be used additively in the ways it is used in
positive sentences. For example, it may express repetition, more accurately the
absence of repetition:

(5-86)   *Lae-laa   qoe   qeri, qe   aqi   qosi   ili-a*
         go-NMLZ   2SG   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 2SG.NEG do-3SG.OBJ

         laqu qi   buri.
         ADD   LOC   later.time
         'This wandering (lit.: going) of yours, don't do that (ever) again in
         future (lit.: at a later time).'

In (5-87) *laqu* is used to express the fact that there are not many other, addi-
tional things to be said, besides the ones that have already been mentioned:

(5-87)   *Qe   aqi   laqu ta   si   doo   qoro*
         3SG.NFUT   not.exist ADD   some PRTT thing be.many

         k=i   laal-a.
         PL=LOC   inside-3SG.PERS
         'There isn't much more to it [a story].' (Lit.: 'There are not many
         other things inside it.')

In positive clauses, additive *laqu* can signal that one and the same partici-
pant is involved in the same role in another situation. In a parallel way, in nega-
tive clauses it can express the fact that a participant that performed one event,
expressed in the first clause, did not also perform another event, expressed in
the second, negative clause. The implication is that the non-occurrence of the
second event is unusual, contrary to norm or expectation. Thus, for example, it
is not normal in Toqabaqita culture for a person to get up and leave others
without saying anything:

(5-88)   *Nia   e   lae   na-na,   qe   aqi*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT   go   PRF-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   NEGV

> *si   baqe   laqu.*
> 3SG.NEG speak   ADD
> 'He left without saying anything.' (Lit.: 'He went; he did not also speak.')

When eating food, one swallows it, but this is not what happened in the situation expressed in (5-89):

(5-89)   *... si   manga   n=e   qani-a   fanga*
        PRTT time   REL=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ   food

        qe=ki,   qe   aqi   si   oko-mi-a
        that=PL   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG swallow-TR-3SG.OBJ

        laqu.
        ADD
        '... when she was "eating" the food (lit.: foods), she did not swallow it.'

And by using (5-90), the speaker says he had failed to close the basket, which is what he should have done:

(5-90)   *... nau   ku   lae   mai ma   ku   qaliqali*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   go   VENT and 1SG.NFUT   hurry

        ba-kuqa,   e   aqi   kwasi fono-a
        LIM-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG close-3.OBJ

        laqu maa-na   waqi   qeri.
        ADD   opening-3.PERS   basket that
        '... I came here, I was in a hurry and hadn't closed the (mouth of the) basket.' 'I came here in a hurry without (first) closing the basket.'

The other function of *laqu* is restitutive: a state of affairs that held earlier is restored due to another state of affairs. It is the latter state of affairs that *laqu* serves to express. For example, in the situation described in (5-91) the boomerang ends up being back at its original location:

(5-91)   *Bumerang   e   laa-lae, lili, ka   oli*
        boomerang 3SG.NFUT   RDP-go   veer   3SG.SEQ   return

> *laqu mai.*
> REST VENT
> 'The boomerang kept going, turned around (lit.: veered) and came back again.'

In the situation expressed in (5-92) the person building a house goes back down to the ground after securing wall sticks:

(5-92)   *Nia   fasi-a,   ka   sifo   laqu boqo i*
          3SG   plant-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ descend REST ASRT LOC

          thaqegano ….
          ground
          'He positions (lit. plants) them [wall sticks] and (then) goes back down to the ground ….'

In (5-93) the speaker expresses his wish that the person spoken about be well again:

(5-93)   *Qadomi nia   ka   too   leqa*
          help   3SG   3SG.SEQ be.in.certain.dondition   be.good

          laqu boqo.
          REST ASRT
          'Help her so that she may be well again.'

And by means of (5-94) the speaker is inquiring whether a watch is working again, whether it has been repaired:

(5-94)   *Qe   raa   laqu ba-na?*
          3SG.NFUT   work REST LIM-3SG.PERS
          'Is it working again?'

In the restitutive function, *laqu* highlights the restoration of a state of affairs after a period when it did not obtain. However, the restitutive and the additive meanings cannot always be neatly distinguished. If a state of affairs is repeated, there were periods of times when that state of affairs did not obtain. Outside of context, the sentence in (5-95) can be interpreted as involving either a restoration of a state of affairs when there is a single event of the speaker's coming back or a repeated performance of the action of coming back:

(5-95)   *Nau   kwai   oli   laqu   uri-a   si   doo*
          1SG   1SG.FUT   return   REST/ADD   PURP-3.OBJ   PRTT   thing

          baa.
          that
          a. 'I'll go back for that thing.'
          b. 'I'll go back for that thing again.'

In (5-96) the intended meaning is restitutive. The speaker gives an order that escaped prisoners be brought back.

(5-96)   *Qoo, moro   tole-da   laqu bo=mai,   keko*
          oh   2DU.NFUT   lead-3PL.OBJ   REST ASRT=VENT 3DU.SEQ

          oli   laqu mai.
          return   REST VENT
          'Bring (lit. lead) them back; they must come back.'

The prisoners had earlier been brought to the place from which they subsequently escaped. The sentence could be given a repetitive interpretation, when the speaker's primary interest would be seen as being the addressees' again performing the event of bringing the prisoners and in the prisoners again coming to that place: 'Bring them again; they must come here again'. However, the speaker's interest lies in the escapees being back, and the force of *laqu* is restitutive.

5.2.6.   *Qasia* intensifier

Qasia functions as an intensifier, but only in combination with the postverbal particles *boqo* or *naqa*, both of which also function as intensifiers. See sections 5.2.8 and 5.2.12, respectively, for further discussion and more examples. The combination *qasia naqa* is particularly common.

(5-97)   *Nuu-maroqa   qe   leqa   qasia naqa.*
          picture-2DU.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.nice   INTS   INTS
          'The picture of you two is very nice.'

(5-98)   *Tai   toqa,   thaitoqoma-na-laa   kera qe*
          some.PL people   know -3SG.OBJ-NMLZ   3PL   3SG.NFUT

> *faqekwa qasia boqo.*
> be.little INTS ASRT
> 'Some people have very little knowledge.' 'Some people *do* know (just) very little.' (Lit.: 'Some people, their knowing it is very little.')

In (5-99) and (5-100), respectively, *qasia naqa* and *qasia boqo* are used with verbs that modify nouns (section 6.10):

(5-99)   *kata   baqita   qasia naqa*
          k.o.pudding be.big   INTS INTS
          'very big (quantity of) *kata* pudding'

(5-100)   *wela faqekwa ni   qasia boqo*
          child be.little LIG   INTS INTS
          'a very little child'

The intensifier *qasia* is historically most likely related to the verb *qasi* 'fall, fall down (including unintentional, accidental falling)'. In spite of its meaning, *qasi* is a Class 1 transitive verb:

(5-101)   *Raqu-a   wela qena   ada   ka   qasi-a.*
          hold-3.OBJ child that(2)   TIM   3SG.SEQ fall-3SG.OBJ
          'Hold the child so that he doesn't fall down.'

(5-102)   *Karangi-a   sa   kwai   qasi nau.*
          be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT fall   1SG
          'I nearly fell down.'

Historically, then, *qasia naqa* would have been *qasi-a naqa* '(it) has fallen down', where *naqa* marked the perfect: 'The picture of you two is nice; it has fallen down.' ([5-97] further above). (The intended interpretation is not one of the picture falling down.) And *qasia boqo* would have been *qasi-a boqo* '(it) did fall down', where *boqo* functioned as an assertive marker: 'Some people, their knowing is little; it did fall down' ([5-98] further above). The referent of the subject of *qasi-a* would have been the proposition encoded in the preceding clause. It is, of course, possible that in those times the verb *qasi* had a different meaning.

Qasia can also function as a clause-level intensifier in combination with a situational demonstrative adverb; see (13-130) in section 13.7.

5.2.7.   *Toqo* obligation

This particle is used in to express an obligation on the part of the addressee or somebody else to bring the relevant state of affairs about. *Toqo* cooccurs with the assertive marker/intensifier *boqo*.

(5-103)   *Wela   naqi ki keka   fanga   toqo   boqo.*
          child   this PL 3PL.SEQ eat   OBLIG   ASRT
          'The (lit.: these) children must, should eat.'

(5-104)   *Weleq=qoko   dau   eno   toqo   boqo!*
          man!=2SG.SEQ be.at.rest be.quiet OBLIG   ASRT
          'Man, stay put!' 'Man, you must stay put!'

    For another example of obligation-marking *toqo* see the next section.
    Toqo is used as an obligation marker only infrequently. More commonly it functions as a clause-level particle expressing epistemic possibility 'perhaps, probably, possibly' (section 18.5.1). Historically, *toqo* may be related to the verb *toqo* 'prick, poke, cut, bang', 'of a state of affairs: happen, occur, take place', 'be eager to do st.', 'of st.: afflict sb. or st. as natural punishment' and some other senses.

5.2.8.   *Boqo* assertive, intensifier

In declarative clauses/sentences, *boqo* serves to strongly assert, emphasize that the state of affairs is indeed so or such and such. In its assertive function, *boqo* is particularly frequent in negative clauses. *Boqo* is also used in non-declarative clauses/sentences, where its function is better seen as intensifying. Most commonly, *boqo* has the predicate in its scope, but its scope may extend over the whole clause.
    Boqo has a combining form *bo=*, used in combination with the perfect marker/intensifier *naqa* and with the directionals.
    In (5-105) – (5-110) the assertive particle has the predicates in its scope.

(5-105)   *Si   fanga   qoe   bia   si   fanga   nau   qe*
          PRTT food   2SG   and   PRTT food   1SG   3SG.NFUT

          boobola boqo.
          be.equal ASRT
          'Your (share of) food and my (share of) food *are* (exactly) the same.'

(5-106)   A: *Qo*   *lae*   *Honiara qana wiki baa?*
                 2SG.NFUT   go   Honiara GENP week that

           B: *Nau   ku*   *lae*   *boqo, sui   nau   ku*
                 1SG   1SG.NFUT   go   ASRT but   1SG   1SG.NFUT

                 mataqi, karangi-a   *sa   kwasi   lae.*
                 be.sick   be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.NEG go
           A: 'Did you go to Honiara last week?'
           B: 'I *did* (go), but I was sick and almost did not go.'

In (5-107) the assertive marker occurs in its combining form *bo=* with the perfect marker:

(5-107)   *Roo   wela baa   ki keka   baqita   bo=naqa, ...*
           two   child that   PL 3PL.SEQ   be.big   ASRT=PRF
           'The two children had grown big, ...'

And in (5-108) *bo=* cooccurs with *naqa*, where the latter has an intensifying function:

(5-108)   *Ka   angi bo=naqa.*
           3SG.SEQ cry   ASRT=INTS
           '(And) he cried a lot.'

For the use of *bo=* with a directional see (5-113) further below.
In the next three examples the assertive marker occurs in negative clauses:

(5-109)   *Ni*   *qoe, kera*   *qadomi qoe; nau,*
           PROFORE   2SG   3PL.NFUT   help   2SG   1SG

                 qe   *aqi*   *kesi*   *qadomi nau   boqo.*
                 3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3PL.NEG   help   1SG   ASRT
                 'You, they helped; me, they did *not* (help).

(5-110)   *Kwasi   riki-a.*   *Kwasi   riki-a*   *boqo.*
           1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ   1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ ASRT
           'I haven't seen it. I have *not* seen it.' (The speaker has been unsuc-
           cessfully looking for something.)

The assertive marker may have the whole clause in its scope, including the subject. Given the broader context, what is being asserted in (5-111) is that *no* cargo arrived, not that some cargo did not arrive:

(5-111)   *Ta   kako ka   aqi   si   fula   boqo,*
           some cargo 3SG.SEQ NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive   ASRT

           lole-laa   ni   bana.
           tell.lie-NMLZ   LIG   LIM
           '*No* cargo at all arrived; (it was) just lies [what certain people had said about cargo arriving].'

What is asserted in (5-112) is that *both* of the man's hands (as signified by the exhaustive marker *sui*) are strong, not just that his hands are strong:

(5-112)   *Wane   roo   qaba nia   ki qe   suukwaqi*
           man   two   hand 3SG   PL 3SG.NFUT   be.strong

           sui   boqo.
           EXHST   ASRT
           'The man has *both* of his hands strong.' (That is, he is ambidextrous.) (Lit.: 'The man, *all* his hands are strong.')

In (5-113) *boqo* occurs twice in B's speech, in a negative clause and in a positive clause. In the first, negative clause, *boqo* has the whole clause in its scope. (For negative answers to open questions see section 19.4.3.)

(5-113)   A: *Qo   lae   mai   bi=ni   tei?*
              2SG.NFUT   go   VENT COM=PERSMKR   who?

           B: *Qe=aqi   boqo,   ku   lae*
              3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   ASRT   1SG.NFUT go

              bo=ma-ku   teqe   nau.
              ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS   sole   1SG
              A: 'With whom did you come?'
              B: 'No one (at all); I came alone.'

Boqo can also function as an intensifier. In that function it frequently cooccurs with *naqa*, also an intensifier:

(5-114)   A: *Kale   qena,   fale=qa-ku   ta*
                mate   that(2)   give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS   some

           si   suka.
           PRTT sugar

        B: *Kale   qena,   si   suka neqe qe   faqekwa*
           mate   that(2)   PRTT   sugar this 3SG.NFUT   be.little

           qasia boqo.
           INTS   INTS
        A: 'Friend, give me some sugar.'
        B: 'Friend, I have very little sugar.' (Lit.: 'Friend, this sugar is very
           little.')

(*Kale qena*, lit. 'that mate', is also used as a form of friendly address; see also
section 13.3.2.2.)

As an intensifier *boqo* is used to make imperatives more emphatic, more
insistent:

(5-115)   *Raa   quna   baa   laqu boqo.*
           work manner   that   ADD   ASRT
           'Do work in that way again.'

In (5-116) *boqo* cooocurs with the obligation marker *toqo*:

(5-116)   *Qoko   lae   toqo   boqo.*
           2SG.SEQ go   OBLIG   INTS
           'You should, must go.'

Boqo also serves to make questions more emphatic requests for information:

(5-117)   *Qoki   lae   laqu boqo?*
           2SG.FUT go   ADD   INTS
           '*Will* you go too?'

(5-118)   *Ura   taa   na   qosi   faa-fanga   quu   boqo*
           REAS   what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   RDP-eat   ANT   INTS

           qi   quuqusungadia? Ma=sa   qo   faa-fanga
           LOC   morning   or=IRR 2SG.NFUT   RDP-eat

> *quu   boqo, sa   qoko   thaofa   qe=aqi.*
> ANT   INTS   IRR   2SG.SEQ   be.hungry   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
> 'Why hadn't you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would
> not have been hungry (later).'

5.2.9.   *Mena* concessive

Concessive clauses are discussed in detail in chapter 32, and here only one
illustrative example is given:

(5-119)   *Ma   keka   firu   mena,   nia   e   too*
         and   3PL.SEQ   fight   CONC   3SG   3SG.NFUT   stay

         ba-n=i   Safo.
         LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC   Savo
         'And even though they [Japanese soldiers on the one hand and Aus-
         tralian and other soldiers on the other] were (still) fighting, he [a
         Japanese pilot] just stayed on Savo (Island).'

   Mena also functions as a foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6), and
it is also part of the clausal conjunction *sui mena*, which expresses contrast,
unexpectedness (section 28.3).

5.2.10.   *Qa-* self-benefactive, recipient-benefactive

5.2.10.1.   *Introduction*

The particle *qa-* has two functions in the verb complex: self-benefactive and
recipient-benefactive. It also functions as a possessive marker outside of the
verb complex (section 26.2.1.1). (For discussion of these functions of *qa-* in
broader Oceanic context see Lichtenberk 2002.[19]) *Qa-* takes personal suffixes
to index the relevant participant. However, it is not only *qa-* that is used in
these two functions; certain other postverbal particles are as well. In fact, *qa-*
can only be used if one or more of those latter particles are not present in the
verb complex. Those particles are the limiter, the perfect marker, and the ven-
tive and the andative directionals. Furthermore, the limiter and the perfect
marker can combine with one of the directionals, but they cannot combine with
each other. When one of these particles or a combination of them is present, it
is that particle or the combination of the particles together with the personal
suffix that bears the self-benefactive or the recipient-benefactive function. All

of these latter particles occur in reduced combining forms. (See the relevant sections further below for details.) The first pair of examples contains *qa-* in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions, respectively:

(5-120)   *Keki   siisiu qa-da.*
           3PL.IPFV bathe SBEN-3PL.PERS
           'They are bathing.'

(5-121)   *Fale-a   qa-na   ta   iqa.*
           give-3.OBJ   RECBEN-3SG.PERS some fish
           'Give him some fish.'

Compare (5-121) above with *qa-* and the broadly synonymous (5-122) below with the andative directional, which carries the recipient-benefactive function:

(5-122)   *Fale-a   ka-na   ta   iqa.*
           give-3.OBJ   AND-3SG.PERS   some fish
           'Give him some fish.'

In (5-123) the self-benefactive function is borne by the perfect marker, and in (5-124) by the limiter:

(5-123)   *Nau   ku   taqe   na-kuqa.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   ascend   PRF-1SG.PERS
           'I'm going up now.'

(5-124)   *Qoko   beta   qoe   ba-muqa, ...*
           2SG.SEQ take.care.of 2SG   LIM-2SG.PERS
           'Just take care of yourself, ...'

In (5-125) it is the combination of the limiter and the andative directional that fulfils the self-benefactive function:

(5-125)   *Kwai   sifo   ba=ka-kuqa   qi   taraqena.*
           1SG.FUT descend LIM=AND-1SG.PERS   LOC   today
           'I'll go down [to the coast] today.'

And in (5-126) it is the combination of the perfect and the ventive directional particles that bears the recipient-benefactive function:

(5-126) *Maka   nau   bia   thaina-ku   keka   fale*
        father   1SG   and   mother-1SG.PERS   3PL.SEQ   give

        nau   na=ma-da   qi   bali   araqi   loo.
        1SG   PRF=VENT-3PL.PERS   LOC   side   mature.man   upward
        'My parents gave me to God (lit.: to the side of the mature man up
        there).' That is: My parents decided to make me a Christian.

Cases like those in (5-125) and (5-126) above need to be distinguished from those like the one in (5-127) below. There the personal suffix is added to the combination of the assertive and the ventive particles, but it is only the ventive particle that triggers the presence of the personal suffix, because the assertive particle cannot bear the self-benefactive or the recipient-benefactive function.

(5-127) *Tai   wane keka   ngali-a   bo=ma-da*
        some.PL   man   3PL.SEQ   take-3.OBJ   ASRT=VENT-3PL.PERS

        selen ....
        money
        'Some men bring money ….'

It is really the personal suffixes on the various particles that express the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions. In the absence of the limiter, the perfect marker, and the directionals, the "default" self-benefactive/recipient-benefactive particle *qa-* is required.

The personal suffixes used in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions are also used in one type of possessive construction to index the possessor, with one qualification. The suffixes are listed in table 8.1 in section 8.1.2. In the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions it is the longer first person singular and the second person singular suffixes, *-kuqa* and *-muqa*, respectively, that are normally used, not the short variants *-ku* and *-mu*; see, for example, (5-123) and (5-124) further above.

The self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive functions will now be discussed in turn, focusing on the use of the particle *qa-*. Additional examples of the other particles with these functions are given in the respective sections later in this chapter.

5.2.10.2. *The self-benefactive construction*

In the self-benefactive construction, the personal suffix on *qa-* or one of the other relevant particles indexes the referent of the subject of the clause. The

basic meaning of the self-benefactive construction is some kind of beneficial effect on the referent of the subject: the referent of the subject brings about a state of affairs for his/her/its own benefit, in his/her/its own interest. The kind of benefit or interest involved may be quite subtle and not necessarily obvious to an outsider without some knowledge of the context. In most cases, the beneficiary is human or at least animate; however, the self-benefactive construction can also occur with inanimate subjects. In some, though not all, cases such inanimate subjects are treated, metaphorically, as animate or human.

In the situation expressed in (5-128) it was in the people's (prisoners') interest to pretend they were near death in order to be treated better:

(5-128)   ... *kera   lole   qa-da   qana   mae-a   ....*
               3PL.NFUT   pretend   SBEN-3PL.PERS GENP   die-DVN
           '... they pretended to be dying ....'

The sentence in (5-129) was intended as an explanation for why white, Caucasian women tend to live longer than white men:

(5-129)   *Kera   beta   kera   qa-da.*
           3PL.NFUT   take.care.of 3PL   SBEN-3PL.PERS
           'They take (good) care of themselves.'

In (5-130) the self-benefactive marker is present in A's sentence and in the first clause of B's sentence, but not in the second clause of B's sentence, where it would be odd (indicated by "#"): while bathing is normally beneficial, being busy is not.

(5-130)   A: *Lae   koro   siisiu qa-karoqa.*
               go   DU(INCL).NFUT bathe SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS

           B: *Lae   qa-muqa;   nau   ku   qoga*
               go   SBEN-2SG.PERS 1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.busy

           (#qa-kuqa).
           SBEN-1SG.PERS
           A: 'Let's go and bathe.'
           B: 'You go; I am busy.'

In the next two examples the beneficiaries are anthropomorphized, or, in the second one, treated as at least animate:

(5-131)   *Madami lo=e   qui-a*
           moon   upward=3SG.NFUT   build.stone.wall-3.OBJ

           qa-na   umu   nia.
           SBEN-3SG.PERS   perimeter.around.stone.oven   3SG
           'There is a ring around the moon.' Literally: 'The moon (has) built
           itself a perimeter of stones around its stone oven.'

(5-132)   *Lolo neqe e   maleu   qa-na.*
           plant this 3SG.NFUT sleep   SBEN-3SG.PERS
           'The plant is sleeping.' Said of plants whose leaves wilt and/or curl
           up in the evening and open up again in the morning. (*Lolo* refers to
           grasses and various other plants that are not trees.)

However, it is also possible for self-benefactive *qa-* to occur with a few verbs with inanimate subjects that are not metaphorically treated as animate. The verb *quri* 'resemble, be like' sometimes takes self-benefactive *qa-* with such subjects:

(5-133)   *Keka   faqameemengo-a   wela qeri, doo*
           3PL.SEQ bestow.name.on-3.OBJ   child that   thing

           quri-a   qa-na   sa   dedikeyshin,
           be.like-3.OBJ   SBEN-3SG.PERS   IRR   dedication

           keka   dedikeytim wela qeri, ...
           3PL.SEQ dedicate   child that
           'They gave the child a name; the thing was as if it were a dedica-
           tion/baptism [in Christian church]; they dedicated the child ....'
           (Speaking about traditional initiation ceremonies.)

There is a commonly used sentence type, usually subjectless and without a subject marker, where the intended referent is often inanimate:

(5-134)   *Too   qa-na.*
           stay   SBEN-3SG.PERS
           'Leave it [where it is].' That is, 'Don't take/move it.'. (Lit.: '(It)
           stays/should stay.')

5.2.10.3.   The recipient-benefactive construction

In the recipient-benefactive construction, the personal suffix on *qa-* and the other particles that occur in this construction encodes the participant that is simultaneously a beneficiary in the event and the actual or intended recipient of something (to be) transferred to him/her/it. The recipient is normally the new possessor and so an alternative label for the function could be "possessor-benefactive". However, the construction is also used with verbs meaning 'give', where the relevant participant is construed primarily as a recipient, and so "recipient-benefactive" is more appropriate than "possessor-benefactive".

As discussed in section 10.4.2, beneficiaries and recipients can also be encoded by means of prepositions, but in such cases beneficiaries are not necessarily recipients because nothing is transferred to them.

The recipient-benefactive construction can be used only if the recipient-beneficiary is not expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase. In the latter case, that participant can only be encoded in a prepositional phrase; see (10-172) in section 10.4.2 and (10-148) in section 10.3.7.

The particle *qa-* is often used with the verb 'give' to encode the recipient, who, at the same time, benefits from the event:

(5-135)   *Fale-a   qa-na   ta   fa   lole.*
          give-3.OBJ   RECBEN-3SG.PERS   some   CLF   candy
          'Give him a candy/candies.'

In (5-136) the recipient-benefactive construction has fused with the verb 'give' and the object marker has been elided (section 2.5):

(5-136)   *Kwai   fale=qa-mu=ta   qai.*
          1SG.NFUT   give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-2SG.PERS=some   tree
          'I will give you a tree/trees.' (The addressee will use the tree[s] for timber.)

The sentence in (5-137) contains the recipient preposition *a-* (section 10.4.2) in the first clause and the recipient-benefactive construction in the second clause, with exactly the same meanings. (The second clause contains the intransitive verb 'give'.)

(5-137)   *Tai   wane, kere   fale-a   fanga   qi*
          some.PL   man   3PL.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   food   LOC

          a-da,   tai   wane   qe   aqi   kesi
          REC-3PL.PERS   some.PL   man   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3PL.NEG

> *fale   qa-da.*
> give   RECBEN-3PL.PERS
> 'Some (of the) men they did give food to; some (of the) men they did not give (food) to.'

However, the recipient-benefactive construction is also used with verbs that do not have transfer of an entity to a recipient as part of their meaning. It is the recipient-benefactive construction, not the verb, that signals that the relevant participant is the (intended) recipient. In the situation expressed in (5-138) the speaker and his brother are to become recipients/possessors of the bows (for shooting arrows) that they want the addressee to make for them:

(5-138) *Kamareqa   thathami-a   qoki   thau-ngani-a   si*
         1DU(EXCL)   want-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   make-TR-3.OBJ   PREC

         qa-mareqa   ta   roo   basi.
         RECBEN-1DU(EXCL).PERS   some   two   bow
         'We want you to make us two bows [for shooting arrows] first.'

And in the situation expressed in (5-139) the speaker is the intended recipient/possessor of a fan:

(5-139) *Kini   kai   faa-li-a   qa-kuqa   teqe*
         woman   3SG.FUT   weave-TR-3.OBJ   RECBEN-1SG.PERS   one

         teeteru.
         fan
         'The woman will weave a fan for me.' 'The woman will weave me a fan.'

In (5-140) the speaker is asking for a share of food on behalf of a person who is not present. The speaker wants the addressees to give the food to him. He is the intended recipient in that event but not strictly speaking a possessor (the food will not be his). And he is a beneficiary, because he wants the action to be carried out.

(5-140) *Nau   ku   thathami-a   muki   alu-a*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   2PL.FUT   put-3.OBJ

         qa-kuqa   teqe   wane   qi   laa
         RECBEN-1SG.PERS   one   man   LOC   IN

> *ukuuka-a*   *naqi.*
> divide.into.shares-DVN   this
> 'I want you to include (lit.: put) one (other) man in this dividing [of food].'

5.2.11. *Ba-* limiter

The bound postverbal limiter *ba-* is related to the limiter particle *bana* used in noun phrases. *Ba-* takes personal suffixes that index the subject. The limiter has a broad range of uses. In some cases, it characterizes the state of affairs as the sole one that is relevant in the given context. It is not accompanied by other states of affairs that might be expected to hold in the broader context. In other cases, it signals that a simpler state of affairs holds instead of some other. The simple state of affairs, may, but need not be, conceptualized as being less appropriate or less desirable than another one. In still other cases, the limiter signals that the extent of the state of affairs is limited in some way. Sometimes the limiter also has a self-benefactive function (section 5.2.10.2): the referent of the subject limits the state of affairs in any of the ways just mentioned for his or her own benefit. It should be kept in mind, though, that the exact significance of the limiting construction is highly context-specific.

In (5-141) – (5-144) the self-benefactive meaning is present simultaneously with the limiting meaning:

(5-141)   *Kai   tii   ba-na.*
           3SG.FUT drink.tea   LIM-3SG.PERS
           '[He says] he'll just drink tea.' (That's all he wants; he doesn't want any food.)

(5-142)   *Nau kwai   liiliu   ba-kuqa.*
           1SG   1SG.IPFV take.walk   LIM-1SG.PERS
           'I'm just taking a walk (not going anywhere in particular).'

(5-143)   *Qo   raa, mada   qo   biinga*
           2SG.NFUT   work or   2SG.NFUT   sleep

           ba-muqa?
           LIM-2SG.PERS
           'Did you work, or did you just sleep?'

(5-144) *Kwai   sifo   ba=ka-kuqa   qi   taraqena.*
         1SG.FUT descend LIM=AND-1SG.PERS   LOC   today
         'I'll just go down [to the coast] today.' (That's what I want to do.)

In the following examples, only the limiting meaning is present, not the self-benefactive one. In the situation expressed in (5-145) the event encoded in the clause with the limiter will take place only if the other, preferred event does not eventuate:

(5-145) *Mada   sa   tarake   e=aqi   si   fula,*
         or   IRR   truck   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG   arrive

         mika   lae   ba-miliqa.
         1PL(EXCL).SEQ   walk LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS
         'If the truck doesn't arrive, we'll just (have to) walk.'

In (5-146) the speaker is commenting on the limited range of work he and the others had done. In the given context, there is no implication that that restriction was self-benefactive.

(5-146) *Kamiliqa   mili   feleni   ba-miliqa.*
         1PL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   plane   LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS
         'All we did was plane [timber] (nothing else).'

While one could see comitting suicide as self-beneficial in some circumstances, in (5-147) the force of the limiter is to express the speaker's inability to provide a reason why people commit suicide.

(5-147) *Kera   thau-ngi kera ba-da.*
         3PL.NFUT   kill-TR   3PL   LIM-3PL.PERS
         'They just kill themselves. (That's all there is to it. That's all one can say about it.)' (As a reply to another person's question: "Why do white, Caucasian people commit suicide?")

And in (5-148) the limiter is used to express the restricted nature of the event of cracking a small quantity of canarium nuts in a person's own home rather than organizing a gathering of several men to crack a large quantity of nuts. This example also contains two instances of the limiter *bana* in a noun phrase.

(5-148) *... tai   wane ki   keka   thau-ngi-a*
         some.PL man PL   3PL.SEQ pound-TR-3.OBJ

> *ba-da   teqe   bi-qi   ngali*
> LIM-3PL.PERS   single   bamboo.container-ASSOC   canarium.nut
>
> *ki bana qi   maqa   fera   kera ki bana.*
> PL LIM   LOC CLF   house   3PL   PL LIM
> '... some men just pound only single containerfuls of canarium nuts (each) (to make pudding), just in their houses.'

The limiter often cooccurs with one of the preverbal particles that themselves have some kind of restricting function.

(5-149)   *Nia   qe   biqi   fula   ba-na.*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   IMM   arrive LIM-3SG.PERS
          'He has only just arrived.'

In (5-150) the event is definitely not beneficial to the speaker.

(5-150)   *Nau   ku   marungeqe raa   ba-kuqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   INEFF   work   LIM-1SG.PERS
          'I worked, and nothing.' (For example, the speaker did work for somebody but got no reward in return, or only a very small reward; or he or she worked hard in the garden, but the result, in terms of the crops, was nil or negligible.)

Since the limiter need not carry a self-benefactive meaning, it is quite commonly used with inanimate subjects, without the referent being treated metaphorically as human or (other) animate.

(5-151)   *Kabisi   naqi   qe   aqi   misi*
          greens   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1PL(EXCL).NEG

          fasi-a.   Doo   e   tala   taqe
          plant-3SG.OBJ   thing 3SG.NFUT   SELFC   grow

          ba-na   i   laa   tolo,   doo   kwasi.
          LIM-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   bush   thing be.wild
          'This (kind of) greens we don't plant; it (lit.: the thing) just grows by itself in the bush; it's wild (lit.: a wild thing).'

The limiter is used in a conventionalized way with the verb *leqa* 'be good'. The construction *leqa ba*-PERS is used with the meaning of a person, a thing, a state of affairs, etc. being '(just) fine':

(5-152) A: *Qo   leqa   ba-muqa?*
         2SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-2SG.PERS

        B: *Ku   leqa   ba-kuqa.*
        1SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-1SG.PERS
        A: 'Are you OK?' 'How are you?' (Also as a greeting.)
        B: 'I'm (just) fine.'

(5-153) *Nia   e   sore-qe,   "Leqa   ba-na."*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT   say-DETR   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
         [A person had just been warned that he would be reported for com-
         ing to an island to dive illegally for shellfish there.] 'He said,
         "(That's just) fine. [I don't care.].".'

The limiter is also used in conventionalized ways with the verb *too*, whose
senses include 'of a person: be at home' and 'of a person: be still around/alive,
not having died' (and several others). The construction *too ba-*PERS is used
when somebody is inquiring about the whereabouts of that person and that per-
son is at home:

(5-154) A: *Ma   tha   Qolofia?*
         and   PERSMKR   Olofia

        B: *Kai   too   ba-na.*
        3SG.IPFV   be.at.home   LIM-3SG.PERS
        [A meets B, who is from Olofia's household.]
        A: 'And (what about) Olofia?'
        B: 'He's (just) at home.'

And the construction *too ba-*PERS is also used with the sense of a person still
being around, alive:

(5-155) A: *Mista   Fanis,   kai   too   quu*
         Mister   Fanis   3SG.IPFV   be.around   ANTCONT

        ba-na?
        LIM-3SG.PERS

        B: *Kai   too   ba-na.*
        3SG.IPFV   be.around   LIM-3SG.PERS
        A: 'Mr Fanis, is he still around?'
        B: 'He is around.'

The limiter is also used with the verb *too* 'stay, remain' or, rarely, with the verb *lado* 'be joined end to end' to express the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4):

(5-156)   *Nau   ku   mataqi   ka   too   ba-na.*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick   3SG.SEQ   stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
            'I am often sick'. 'I am always sick.'

For an example of the limiter with an inclusive personal suffix used integratively see example (4-283) in section 4.10.

5.2.12. *Naqa* perfect, intensifier

The particle *naqa* has two functions. In one, it marks the perfect; in the other, it functions as an intensifier. The perfect-marking function is discussed in detail in section 15.3 in the chapter on tense and aspect and is illustrated here only briefly.

Naqa has a combining variant *na-*, used in combination with the directionals and with the personal suffixes in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10).

The core function of the perfect is to signal a new state of affairs at reference time:

(5-157)   *Tarake   qe   fungu   naqa.*
            truck   3SG.NFUT   be.full   PRF
            'The truck is full now.'

The perfect marker often cooccurs with the completive/exhaustive marker *sui* or, rarely, the completive marker *danga* to signal that a situation has taken place by the time of reference (section 5.2.4):

(5-158)   *Kamiliqa   mili   ngata   sui   naqa, ...*
            1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   talk   COMPL   PRF
            'We have finished talking, ...

The combining form *na=* occurs before the andative directional in (5-159):

(5-159)   *Kera   ngali-a   na=kau   kui   baa.*
            3PL.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   PRF=AND   dog   that
            'They have taken the dog away.'

And *na-* occurs in the self-benefactive construction in (5-160) and in the recipient-benefactive construction in (5-161), in the latter together with the combining form of the ventive directional:

(5-160)   *Kamareqa   mere   lae   si*
          1DU(EXCL)   1DU(EXCL).NFUT   go   PREC

          na-mareqa.
          PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS
          'We'll be going now.' 'We're going now.' (Said by one of two people on the point of departure.)

(5-161)   *Maka   nau   bia   thaina-ku   keka   fale*
          father   1SG   and   mother-1SG.PERS   3PL.SEQ   give

          nau   na=ma-da   qi   bali   araqi   loo.
          1SG   PRF=VENT-3PL.PERS   LOC   side   mature.man   upward
          'My parents gave me to God (lit.: to the side of the mature man up there).' That is: My parents decided to make me a Christian.

In the intensifying function, *naqa* frequently cooccurs with the intensifier *qasia* (section 5.2.6). The combination *qasia naqa* may signal a high degree of a physical state, property; high intensity of a psychological state; high intensity or a large extent of an action.

(5-162)   *Tarake   qe   fungu   qasia naqa.*
          truck   3SG.NFUT   be.full   INTS   INTS
          'The truck is very full.'

(5-163)   *Luma   kamiliqa   qe   faqekwa qasia naqa.*
          house   1PL(EXCL)   3SG.NFUT   be.small   INTS   INTS
          'Our house is very/too small.'

(5-164)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a   qasia naqa   kwai*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   INTS   INTS   1SG.FUT

          school ....
          attend.school
          'I want very much to attend school ....'

(5-165)   *Weleqi,   ma   ni   qoo   fanga   qasia naqa.*
           man!   and   PROFORE   2SG   eat   INTS INTS
           'But (lit.: and), man!, you do eat a lot. '

In (5-166) the intensifier combination occurs in a negative clause:

(5-166)   *Qoo, kamaroqa   sa   moka   mae   e   aqi,*
           oh   2DU   IRR   2DU.SEQ die   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

           uri-a   e=aqi   mosi   faqa-ulafu-a
           REAS-3.OBJ   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2DU.NEG   CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ

           qasia naqa soldia   nau   ki, ...
           INTS INTS soldier   1SG   PL
           'Oh, the two of you won't die, because you did not make my po-
           licemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing
           you).'

As an intensifier, *naqa* also commonly occurs with the assertive marker *bo=*
(section 5.2.8):

(5-167)   *Daniel   ka   tataqe,   tataqe   kokoto   bo=naqa.*
           Daniel   3SG.SEQ ascend   ascend   be.straight ASRT=INTS
           'Daniel [a pilot] went straight up and up [in his airplane].'

(5-168)   *Qe   garo   bo=naqa   neri.*
           3SG.NFUT   be.wrong   ASRT=INTS VIVID
           'It [the kind of situation just mentioned] is very wrong.'

Naqa can be used as an intensifier by itself. This is frequently the case with
the verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case', 'not exist', 'not be available' (section
17.3), where *naqa* functions to make the negation strongly emphatic, more so
than the intensifier *boqo*:

(5-169)   a.   *Qe   aqi   boqo.*
                 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   ASRT
                 'No.'

           b.   *Qe   aqi   naqa.*
                 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   INTS
                 'Not at all.' 'No way.'

(5-170)   *Ma   qaburu   baa   qe   qii:-qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
          and   ogre   that   3SG.NFUT   RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ

          gwau-na   quna   qeri   ma   ka   aqi
          head-3SG.PERS   manner   that   and   3SG.SEQ   not.be.so

          naqa,   ifu-n=e
          INTS   hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

          katu.
          be. hindered.from.movement
          'And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but
          (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.' (The ogre's hair was tied
          down.)

   Naqa can also be used in the perfect-marking function with the negative
verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case', 'not exist, not be available', and in some
such cases it can be seen as having simultaneously the intensifying function:

(5-171)   *Nau   wane   ku   rii-riki-qi   doo,   manga*
          1SG   man   1SG.NFUT   RDP-see-DETR   thing time

          qeri   qe   aqi   naqa.
          this   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   PRF/INTS
          'I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no
          more/not at all.' 'I used to be a man who was rich; this time no
          more/not at all.'

5.2.13.   *Feteqi* intensifier

This intensifier serves to emphasize the intensity of an event or a state, but is
used only infrequently. It is mutually exclusive with the other verb-phrase in-
ternal intensifiers.

(5-172)   *Manga   n=e   toqo   qi   ei,   ma*
          time   REL=3SG.NFUT   prick LOC   LOCPRO   and

          ka   busu   feteqi   qana   qabu.
          3SG.SEQ   burst   INTS   GENP   blood
          'When it [a stick] pricked (me) there [the place on the speaker's leg
          where a sore had been], it [the old sore] burst (open) with a lot of

blood.' (Lit.: 'The time that it pricked there, and it burst with a lot of
blood.')

(For the pleonastic use of *ma* 'and' see section 28.2.2.)

(5-173)   *Laalae   qo   thathami   nau   feteqi   neri, ….*
           if   2SG.NFUT   like   1SG   INTS   NPAST.HERE
           'If you *really* like me, ….'

5.2.14. *Mai* ventive and *kau* andative

5.2.14.1.   The basic properties

There are two particles whose core function is to signal the direction of transla-
tional movement of an entity. *Mai* is a ventive directional: it signifies direction
towards the deictic centre. *Kau* is an andative directional: it signifies direction
away from the deictic centre.

    Mai has reduced, combining variants *ma-* and *m-*, and *kau* has reduced,
combining variants *ka-* and *k-*. *M-* and *k-* are (optionally) used only with ele-
ments that begin with a vowel and contain at least two syllables. *Ma-* and *ka-*
are obligatory with the personal suffixes in the self-benefactive and the recipi-
ent-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10) and optional elsewhere. In (5-
174) *ma-* occurs in the recipient-benefactive construction and in (5-175) *ka-*
occurs in the self-benefactive construction:

(5-174)   *Ngali-a   ma-ku=ta   kaleko   uusuli-a*
           take-3.OBJ   VENT-1SG.PERS=some   cloth   be.like-3.OBJ

           kaleko   qoe   qena.
           cloth   2SG   that(2)
           'Bring me (from a shop) some cloth (that is) like/the same as that
           one of yours.'

(5-175)   *Qoko   lae   ka-muqa.*
           2SG.SEQ   go   AND-2SG.PERS
           '[All right,] you go.' (Speaking to a person who was taking her
           leave.)

  The next two examples illustrate the *m-* and *k-* variants, respectively:

(5-176)   *Nau   ku   keba-a   m=araqi   naqi.*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   accompany-3.OBJ   VENT=old.man   this
            'I came with the old man.'

(*Keba* has the meaning 'accompany, walk with, sb. who is very old or sick'.)

(5-177)   *... kere   liothau   qasia naqa   qana*
                 3PL.NFUT   like   INTS INTS   GENP

            gwau-na   gwa   tolo   ki;   kera keki   lae
            top-3.PERS   CLF   mountain   PL   3PL   3PL.IPFV   go

            k=uri-a.
            AND=ALL-3SG.OBJ
            '... they really like the hilltops a lot; they (often) go there (lit.: to them).'

Before discussing the various uses of the directionals, it is necessary to consider how deictic centres are established.

5.2.14.2.   Establishing a deictic centre

Most commonly, the deictic centre is the speaker or the speaker's current location, or his/her location at the time of the state of affairs expressed in the clause:

(5-178)   *Lae   si   mai.*
            go   PREC   VENT
            'Come here now.'

(5-179)   *Wela loo   ki kera   qui kamiliqa   mai qana*
            child upward   PL 3PL.NFUT   pelt 1PL(EXCL)   VENT INS

            fau.
            stone
            'The children up there threw stones at us.' 'The children up there pelted us with stones.'

(5-180)   *Kera   ngali-a   na=kau   kui   baa.*
            3PL.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   PRF=AND   dog   that
            'They have taken the dog away.'

Metaphorically, the time of reference, such as the time of speaking, may be treated as a location and so as the deictic centre:

(5-181)   *Nau   ku   ngata   mai ....*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak   VENT
          'I've been speaking (up until now) ....'

The deictic centre may be a location with which the speaker has some association, such as his or her home, regardless of his or her location at the time of reference. In the situation expressed in (5-182) the speaker is leaving his present location to go to his home, and he uses the ventive directional:

(5-182)   *Nau   ku   taqe   na=mai   uri   fanu nau.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   ascend   PRF=VENT   ALL   home 1SG
          'I'm going up to my home now.'

On the other hand, the sentence in (5-183) expresses a situation where the speaker went to a place that is other people's home, and that place is not conceptualized as the deictic centre. The deictic centre is the speaker's location at the time, and so the andative directional is used:

(5-183)   *Nau   ku   fula   ka=i   biqu   kera,*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive   AND=LOC   house   3PL

          kera   fanga   sui   naqa.
          3PL.NFUT   eat   COMPL   PRF
          'When I arrived at their house, they had already eaten.' (Lit.: 'I arrived at their house; they had finished eating.')

With respect to the speaker and the addressee, it is usually the speaker and/or his or her location that is the deictic centre. Direction towards the speaker is signalled by ventive *mai*:

(5-184)   *Oli   si   mai.*
          return   PREC   VENT
          'Come back now.'

Direction away from the speaker is signalled by andative *kau*. Frequently, but not necessarily, *kau* signals direction towards the addressee. The addressee may, but need not, be overtly expressed. In (5-185) the addressee is encoded by the second person singular personal suffix on the recipient preposition, while in (5-186) it is only implied by the andative directional:

(5-185) *Nau ku   fale-a   kau teqe necklace*
          1SG 1SG.NFUT   send-3.OBJ AND one   necklace

          fa-mu.
          REC-2SG.PERS
          'I am sending you a necklace.'

(5-186) *Nau kwai   ringi kau.*
          1SG 1SG.FUT ring AND
          'I'll phone (you).' 'I'll give [you] a ring.'

The sentence in (5-186) would also be appropriate if the person to be rung were somebody other than the addressee.

    However, it is possible for the addressee or the addressee's location to be treated as the deictic centre, as shown in the next two examples. In (5-187) the andative directional is used: the fish is to move away not from the speaker but from the addressee.

(5-187) *Fale-a   ka-na   ta   iqa.*
          give-3.OBJ AND-3SG.PERS some fish
          'Give him some fish.'

    At the time the sentence in (5-188) below was written, the writer was in the Solomon Islands and the addressee in New Zealand. The writer chose the addressee's location as the deictic centre, and so it was the ventive directional that was called for: the addressee had returned to his home place.

(5-188) *Qo   oli   mai, qoko   fula safely*
          2SG.NFUT   return   VENT 2SG.SEQ arrive safely

          qa-muqa   qi   NZ.
          SBEN-2SG.PERS   LOC N.Z.
          'You went (lit.: came) back [to your place] (and) arrived safely in New Zealand.'

    It is possible for the deictic centre to be neither the speaker nor the addressee, but some other entity or location, one that is currently the focus of attention in the discourse. In (5-189) the speaker, who had not gone to the church service, is asking about another person, whether that person had been present. The deictic centre is the church:

(5-189)   *Qe*   *lae*   *ma-n=i*   *sukulu?*
           3SG.NFUT   go   VENT-3SG.PERS=LOC church
           'Did he go (lit.: come) to church?'

In the discourse immediately preceding sentence (5-190) below, a man called Bariqi and his pet bird are at a place in a village with children who are supposed to guard him so that he may not run away. The bird begins to move away and Bariqi follows him, having tricked the children by saying he was going to catch the bird, rather than them trying to catch it. The deictic centre is the location where all the participants were initially, and the andative directional is, therefore, used.

(5-190)   *Thaqaro baa   ka*   *sukani*   *lae*
           bird   that   3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree go

           bo=na=kau   *ura*   *kula* *na=i*   *maa-na*
           ASRT=PRF=AND   ALL   place REL=LOC   edge-3.PERS

           masuqu. Bariqi   ka   *lae*   *ka=i*
           bush   Bariqi   3SG.SEQ   go   AND=LOC

           buir-a.
           behind-3SG.PERS
           'The bird moved (lit.: went) away a little towards the edge of the bush. Bariqi followed it.'

In the portion of the text immediately preceding the next example, the prominent participant is Daniel, a pilot during World War II, and he is the deictic centre. Daniel and a Japanese pilot are engaged in a dogfight. The Japanese pilot's shooting at Daniel is characterized as having ventive directionality, and Daniel's shooting at the Japanese as having andative directionality:

(5-191)   *Japan   ka*   *quu mai, Daniel   ka*   *quu kau.*
           Japanese 3SG.SEQ shoot VENT Daniel   3SG.SEQ shoot AND
           'The Japanese was shooting this way [at Daniel], and Daniel was shooting that way [at the Japanese pilot].'

The deictic centre may, of course, shift as discourse proceeds. In (5-192) both clauses contain the ventive directional, but in the first clause the deictic centre is the speaker as the other people call out a greeting to him, while in the second one it is those other people who are now the deictic centre:

(5-192)   *Toqa   loo   kera   qarataqi   nau*
           people   upward 3PL.NFUT call.out.greeting.to   1SG

       mai,   nau   ku   tatha   mai.
       VENT   1SG   1SG.NFUT   walk.past   VENT
       'The people called out a greeting to me (as) I was passing by.' (The speaker was not walking to the other people, but when he was greeted he was still some distance from them and getting closer.)

Both directionals have a range of functions. These are discussed next.

5.2.14.3. Directional uses

The core function of the directionals is to express the direction of translational movement of a physical entity. With intransitive verbs, it is usually the referent of the subject that moves:

(5-193)   *Manga   na   mili   taqe   kau,*
           time   REL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT ascend   AND

       mika   fula   naqa qi   Honiara.
       1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive   PRF   LOC   Honiara
       'When we went up (from Malaita), we arrived in Honiara.' (Travelling from Malaita to Honiara is spoken of as 'going up'.)

See also, for example, (5-184) and (5-189) in section 5.2.14.2.
However, in (5-194) it is the referent of the oblique object that is in andative motion:

(5-194)   *Nanga   k=ani-a.*
           throw   AND=GENP-3SG.OBJ
           'Throw it away.'

Nanga 'throw' is an intransitive verb. The object thrown is expressed as an oblique object.
In (5-195) also the verb is intransitive, but there the objects moving, the bullets, are not encoded at all. However, their presence is entailed by the actions. The two pilots are not necessarily moving towards each other.

(5-195)   *Japan   ka   quu   mai, Daniel   ka   quu   kau.*
            Japanese 3SG.SEQ shoot VENT Daniel   3SG.SEQ shoot AND
            'The Japanese was shooting this way [at Daniel], and Daniel was
            shooting that way [at the Japanese pilot].'

With transitive verbs it is normally the referent of the direct object that is in translational motion, although not necessarily exclusively:

(5-196)   *Rusu-a   mai   beleta   qena.*
            push-3.OBJ VENT plate   that(2)
            'Push the plate to me.'

Only the plate need move, not the addressee.
    In the situation expressed in (5-197) is is only the referent of the direct object that moves to the addressee:

(5-197)   *Nau   ku   fale-a   kau   teqe   necklace*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   send-3.OBJ AND   one   necklace

            fa-mu.
            REC-2SG.PERS
            'I am sending you a necklace.'

Depending on the situation, it is, of course, possible for the subject referent to move as well:

(5-198)   *Ngali-a   mai   kate   baa.*
            carry-3.OBJ VENT card   that
            'Bring the (playing) cards.'

See also (5-180) in section 5.2.14.2.
    However, it may be a participant other than the referent of the direct object that is in directional motion. In (5-199) the verb is 'pelt sb., st., throw (st.) at sb., st.', which is the transitive counterpart of *quu* 'shoot' in (5-195) further above. With the transitive verb, the projectiles are encoded as an oblique object, and it is the projectiles that undergo translational motion:

(5-199)   *Wela loo   ki kera   qui   kamiliqa   mai*
            child upward PL 3PL.NFUT pelt   1PL(EXCL) VENT

qana   fau.
INS   stone
'The children up there threw stones at us.' 'The children up there pelted us with stones.'

In the next example, the verb of motion and its directional are used metaphorically. The deictic centre is an earlier state of affairs: the people's bodies are meant to return to their earlier condition.

(5-200)   *Iu,   kera keka   fita   uri-a   fasi*
          OK   3PL   3PL.SEQ run   PURP-3.OBJ PURP

          seqe-da   ka,   ka   sukani
          body-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ[HESIT]   3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree

          oli   mai.
          return VENT
          [Some people spend days sitting in offices, and their bodies become a little fat.] 'OK, they jog (lit.: run), so that they might lose some weight (lit.: so that their bodies come back a little).'

However, the directionality does not have to relate to literal or metaphorical movement of an entity. Rather, it may be the activity itself performed by somebody that is conceptualized as having directionality. In (5-201) the speaker is asking the addressee to look at the object he (the speaker) is holding. None of the participants — the speaker, the addressee, or the object held — need move. Rather, it is the direction of the addressee's looking that is to be ventive:

(5-201)   *Riki-a   mai.*
          look.at-3SG.OBJ   VENT
          'Look at it.' (The speaker is holding the object.)

Similarly in (5-202), where it is the activity of speaking that is directed at the addressee:

(5-202)   *Nau ku   ngata kau, ku*
          1SG 1SG.NFUT speak   AND   1SG.NFUT

          soe-toqo-mu   kau ....
          ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ AND
          'I spoke to you, I asked you ....'

In (5-186) in section 5.2.14.2 it is the activities of making a telephone call and of speaking that are presented as having addressee-oriented directionalities: 'I'll phone (you).' 'I'll give [you] a ring.'.

5.2.14.4.   *Displaced directionality*

A different kind of departure from the core function of the directionals, which is to signal directional movement of physical entities, is "displaced directionality" (Lichtenberk 2003a). In displaced directionality, a directional particle occurs with a verb in a verb phrase, and there is translational movement of an entity, but the verb with which the directional occurs does not itself encode the event that involves the directional movement. Rather, there is another, implied event, in which that entity undergoes translational movement that has the directionality signalled by the directional particle. That event, however, does not receive overt expression in that clause, although it may in another clause.

An example of displaced directionality is given in (5-203): the ventive directional occurs with the transitive verb 'shout to sb., call sb.)', but it does not signal directionality of the calling. Rather, there is an implied event of coming, which is directional.

(5-203)   *Qai-li-a   mai   wela baa.*
           call-TR-3.OBJ   VENT child that
           'Call the child (to come) here.'

The broadly synonymous sentence in (5-204) has displaced directionality in the first clause, whereas the second clause overly encodes the action that involves directional motion:

(5-204)   *Qai-li-a   mai   wela baa, ka   lae   mai.*
           call-TR-3.OBJ   VENT child that   3SG.SEQ go   VENT
           'Call the child to come here.' (Lit.: 'Call the child here; he/she will come.')

In the next example there is displaced directionality in the first sentence: the action of arresting somebody is not directional. The event that has the (ventive) directionality is expressed only in the next sentence:

(5-205)   *Keka   qarest,   qarestim   mai tai   wane*
           3PL.SEQ arrest   arrest[REPAIR] VENT some.PL man

fasi-a	*bali*	*loo*	*qana*	*qiist,*	*west,*	*sauth,*
ABL-3.OBJ	side	upward	GENP	east	west	south

nooth.	*Keka*	*ngali-da*	*mai*	*qana*	*faka,* ....
north	3PL.SEQ	take-3PL.OBJ	VENT	GENP	ship

'They arrested (and brought) some men from the eastern side [of the island], (from) the west, the south, the north. They brought them to the ship, ...'

The next several examples illustrate displaced directionality without the other, linked event being expressed. In the situation inquired about in (5-206), the addressee not only went to the store and bought something, but he brought the purchase back with him. The latter event is signalled only by means of the ventive directional with the verb 'buy'.

(5-206)

Taa	*n=o*	*lae*	*qoko*	*uusi-a*	*mai*
what?	FOC=2SG.NFUT	go	2SG.SEQ	buy-3SG.OBJ	VENT

qi	*laa*	*sitoa*	*qi*	*roqo?*
LOC	IN	store	LOC	yesterday

'What did you go and buy in the store yesterday? (More lit.: 'What did you go to the store and buy and bring back yesterday?')

Similarly in (5-207): the event of bringing the broken-off coconut frond is only implied by means of the ventive directional, which accompanies the verb 'break (off)':

(5-207)

Qoe-a	*mai*	*ta*	*gwa*	*senga.*
break-3.OBJ	VENT	some	CLF	coconut.frond

'(Go and) break off a coconut frond and bring it here.'

In (5-208) the directional occurs in the recipient-benefactive construction. The speaker wants a betel quid to be pre-chewed for him and given to him. The action of giving is not expressed overtly by means of a verb but only by means of the recipient-benefactive construction.

(5-208)

Butha-a	*ma=ku=ta*	*fulo.*
chew.betel.quid-3.OBJ	VENT=1SG.PERS=some	betel.quid

'Chew up some betel quid for me.' (An old, toothless person is asking another person to pre-chew a betel quid for him.)

In displaced directionality, the overtly expressed event often, but not always, precedes the implied event, and, sometimes, it causes or enables the later event (or is at least intended to bring it about): calling somebody may cause them to come, breaking off a coconut frond enables its being brought. However, the two events need not be related sequentially in this way. The events may be simultaneous, without a causing or enabling link between them. For example, there are two simultaneous subevents in the overall situation expressed in (5-209): the addressee's counting the islands as he was flying towards his destination, and his movement itself. The former does not cause or enable the latter. (*Lane* 'land' is an incorporated object; see section 12.4.2.)

(5-209)   *Qoki   teqe-maqi   lane   mai.*
           2SG.IPFV one-TR   land   VENT
           '[As you were coming here on an airplane,] you were counting the places (lit.: lands) (you were flying over) on your way here.'

Displaced directionality is considerably more common with the ventive directional than with the andative one. With the former, there is an implied translational movement of an entity, usually encoded either as the subject of an intransitive verb or as the direct object of a transitive verb. All the examples above are of these types. The andative directional does occur in displaced directionality. What is signalled there is that a participant will end up being spatially distant from another one, because the latter moves away. In the overall situation expressed in (5-210), the pig, after being killed, ended up being distant from the people who killed it because the people went away. The directional occurs with the verb 'kill'; the people's going away is expressed overtly only in the second clause:

(5-210)   *Kera   thau-ngi-a   ka=botho   baa, keka   lae*
           3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   AND=pig   that 3PL.SEQ go

           na=kau.
           PRF=AND
           'They killed the pig and went away.'

The sentence in (5-211) is a leave-taking formula. The addressee will become removed from the speaker because of the speaker's going away. This is a particularly clear example of displaced directionality, because the directional occurs with a verb that expresses a stable position in space.

(5-211)   *Qoko   too-too   kau.*
           2SG.SEQ RDP-stay   AND
           (I am going). 'Good bye.' (Lit.: 'You stay off.')

Very much the same is found in the next example, also a leave-taking formula, where the directional does not even occur with a true verb but a pseudo-verb (section 4.7):

(5-212)   *Qoko   rodo leqa   kau.*
           2SG.SEQ night be.good AND
           'Good night to you.' (Lit.: 'You be good-night off.') (Said by the person leaving.)

5.2.14.5.   *States of affairs extended in time*

Both directionals are also used to express a state of affairs' obtaining over a period of time in relation to the time of reference. A state of affairs' being extended in time is conceptualized metaphorically as translational movement in space. The ventive signifies that the situation began before the time of reference and has continued up until then. The usual implication is of a relatively extended period of time during which the state of affairs has held. Whether or not it will continue beyond the time of reference is not part of its meaning.

(5-213)   *Qe   raa   quu   na=mai.*
           3SG.NFUT   work ANTCONT   PRF=VENT
           'It is still working.' 'It has been working until now.' (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

(5-214)   *Nau   ku   uqunu   mai. Si   uqunu   qeri*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   tell.story VENT PRTT story   this

           ka   fula   bo=naqa   quna   qeri, ka
           3SG.SEQ arrive   ASRT=PRF   manner   this   3SG.SEQ

           sui   naqa.
           be.finished PRF
           'I've been telling this story, and now it's finished.' (Lit.: 'I have been story-telling. The story has arrived like this, and it is finished.')

Andative *kau*, on the other hand, signifies that a state of affairs continues from the time of reference onward. It may have begun at the time of reference or earlier.

(5-215) *Nau   seqe-ku   qe   laqa*
          1SG   body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.without.hindrance

          na=kau.
          PRF=AND
          'I am free now, from now on.' (Lit.: 'I, my body is without hindrance from now.')

(5-216) *... kamaliqa   miki   sukani   too*
              1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).FUT be.of.little.extent   stay

          tau   quu   kau   neqe ....
          be.long.time   ANTCONT   AND   here
          '... we'll stay here a little longer ...' (Lit.: '... we will stay here, it will still be a little long.')

5.2.14.6.   Mai *with an ingressive function*

In the ingressive function, *mai* signals that a participant reaches, enters the state designated by the verb with which it occurs in a verb complex. The state is concepualized metaphorically as a location and reaching the state as reaching a location. In this function the ventive directional is often accompanied by the perfect marker.

(5-217) *Fanua   neqe sui   naqa,   nia   fungu*
          place   this EXHST   PRF   3SG   be.full

          na=mai   qana   kuburu.
          PRF=VENT   GENP   storm
          'All of this place, it had become full of the storm.' (That is, the cyclone had spread all over the area.')

(5-218) *Kera   kwaqe-a   ka   mae*
          3PL.NFUT   beat-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ die/be.dead

na=mai.
PRF=VENT
'They beat him and (eventually) he died.' 'They beat him until he died.' 'They beat him to death.'

(5-219) *Ka   lio-ngaqi   nia   mai   qana kini, ...*
         3SG.SEQ look-TR   3SG   VENT GENP woman
         'She [an ancestral spirit] had disguised herself as a woman, ...' 'She [an ancestral spirit] had made herself look like a woman, ….'

5.2.14.7.   Mai *as a marker of distance*

Finally, *mai* is also used as a marker of distance from the deictic centre, even when there is no translational movement involved: a state of affairs obtains at a location away from the deictic centre. In its core function, *mai* signals movement towards the deictic centre. Such movement can only take place from a location away from the deictic centre, and through a metonymical extension, *mai* can also signal distance from the deictic centre. Most commonly the distance is spatial.

(5-220) *Lifuna   e   nii   quu*
         Lifuna   3SG.NFUT   be.located.at.place   ANTCONT

         ma-na.
         VENT-3SG.PERS
         'Lifuna is still [there] [she did not want to come back home yet].'

Quite commonly, *mai* is used together with other forms that express a location, more or less distant. In (5-221) the location is encoded by the locational noun *ninima* 'beside' (section 10.8.4), although the distance involved here is more than immediately beside.

(5-221) *... wane qe=ki keka   fale-a   kulu   qi*
             man that=PL 3PL.SEQ send-3.OBJ k.o.rope   LOC

         gwau-na   ta   qai   n=e   takwe
         top-3.PERS some   tree REL=3SG.NFUT   stand

> *ma=i   ninima-na ....*
> VENT=LOC   beside-3SG.PERS
> '[Some canarium-nut trees are very big and difficult to climb and so]
> the men [who want to climb them] first get (lit.: send) [one end of] a
> *kulu* climbing rope to the top of a tree that stands beside/near it [and
> then they get the other end of the rope to the tree they want to climb,
> and move along the rope from the one tree to the other one].'

In the next example, the addressee is, in fact, told to go away to another
location, and the event to take place there is marked as being distant from the
interlocutors' present location:

(5-222)   *Lae   qoko   siisiu   mai   qi   laa   kafo   baqita.*
          go   2SG.SEQ bathe   VENT LOC IN   water be.big
          'Go and bathe in the river.'

Similarly in (5-223): the people will go to a distant island, where they will
sleep. It is the verb 'sleep' that is accompanied by the directional:

(5-223)   *Toqa   naqi ki tootoo   keki   lae,   keki   teo*
          people this PL later   3PL.FUT go   3PL.FUT sleep

          ma=i   laa   aququa loo.
          VENT=LOC   IN   island upward
          'These people will go and sleep/overnight on that island.'

Mai can also be used to signal temporal distance into the past from the time
of reference:

(5-224)   *Kera   lumaqaa   sui   na=mai*
          3PL.NFUT   hold.wedding.ceremony   COMPL   PRF=VENT

          qana madami baa.
          GENP month   that
          'They held the wedding ceremony (already) last month.'

A sentence with the ventive directional could, in principle, be ambiguous
between two interpretations, one in which the directional signals the location of
an event away from the deictic centre and one in which it signifies translational
movement, literal or metaphorical, to the deictic centre. However, it appears
that such sentences are normally interpreted as involving movement, if the verb
easily permits such an interpretation. For example, in (5-206) further above,

repeated here as (5-225), the normal interpretation of *mai* is that of signalling that the addressee brought the item with him (meaning [a]) rather than as just signalling that the buying took place away from the place of reference (meaning [b]). Of course, with the former interpretation also the event of buying took place away from the deicitic centre.

(5-225) *Taa   n=o   lae qoko   uusi-a   mai*
        what? FOC=2SG.NFUT go   2SG.SEQ buy-3SG.OBJ VENT

        qi   laa   sitoa qi   roqo?
        LOC IN   store LOC   yesterday
        a. 'What did you go to buy in the store yesterday, bringing it back?'
        b. ?'What did you go and buy in the store?'

Similarly, in (5-226) the normal interpretation is that the woman shouted towards the speaker (from a distance, of course), rather than her just shouting in the distance:

(5-226) *Teqe kini   e   qai   mai.*
        one woman   3SG.NFUT   shout VENT
        a. 'A woman shouted to me. [She was in the distance.]'
        b. ?'A woman shouted in the distance.' [Not necessarily shouting to
          me.]'

Mai is normally interpreted as only signalling that a state of affairs obtains away from the deictic centre when the verb does not encourage an interpetation in terms of translational motion, such as 'be located at a place' ([5-220] further above), 'stand' (5-221), 'bathe' (5-222), and 'sleep' (5-223). That is, where possible, *mai* is interpreted as more informative (location away from *and* movement to the deictic centre) rather than as less informative (location away from the deictic centre).

Chapter 6
The noun phrase

6.1. The basic type of lexical noun phrase

The Toqabaqita basic noun phrase minimally consists of a noun or an independent personal pronoun; see *wela* 'child' in (6-1) and the first person singular pronoun *nau* in (6-2), respectively:

(6-1) *Wela qe   biinga;   qoko   alu-a*
       child 3SG.NFUT be.asleep   2SG.SEQ put-3.OBJ

       taunamo   qena   faafi-a.
       mosquito.net   that(2)   SUPER-3SG.OBJ
       'The child is asleep; put the mosquito net over him.'

(6-2) *Maqasi   nau.*
       wait.for   1SG
       'Wait for me.'

The basic lexical noun phrase, as the term is used here, is a noun phrase other than a possessive, an associative, a coordinate, or an appositional lexical noun phrase. Possessive and associative noun phrases are discussed in chapter 8. However, constructions headed by nouns that have an ordinal-numeral function and that have the structure of one type of possessive noun phrase are discussed in this chapter. Noun phrase coordination and apposition are discussed in chapter 11. This section is concerned with the structure of the basic lexical noun phrase. Pronominal noun phrases are discussed in section 6.3.

Nominal heads can be accompanied by a large variety of prenominal and postnominal modifiers. Some of those modifiers can also occur with pronominal heads; and there is one element that occurs with pronominal heads but not with lexical heads. The structure of the lexical noun phrase is given in a schematic form in (6-3).

(6-3)   NP →   (quantifier[a])[V]   (cardinal-numeral
                                       phrase)[IV]
                                       (interrogative
                                       quantifier)

       (noun)[II]   (person marker)[I]   NOUN[b]
       (adjective)   (identifier)
                     (partitive/diminutive)
                     (classifier)

       (verb complex[c])[III] (determiner   (qualifying
                               demonstrative)[VI]   demonstrative)[VII]

       (plural)[VIII]   (prepositional phrase)[IX]
                         (*quna* NP[d])

       (particle complex)[X]   (relative clause[e])[XI]
                                (complement clause)

Notes: a. Quantifiers other than the interrogative one.
         b. The head noun.
         c. The verb complex consists of a verb and optionally one or more
            particles.
         d. Noun phrase headed by *quna* 'manner, way'.
         e. More than one relative clause can occur.

    There are some additional complexities in the basic lexical noun phrase
type, not captured in (6-3). For example, the position of the plural marker is
variable when a relative clause is present. Such complexities are discussed in
the relevant places, in this chapter or elsewhere. The noun-phrase particle com-
plex contains a number of particles. These are discussed in chapter 7.
    As is the case with the structure of the verb phrase given in (4-1) in chapter
4, in (6-3) too the raised roman numerals identify the layered structure within
the noun phrase. For example, a noun phrase that contains a classifier and a
verb complex has the internal structure given in (6-4):

(6-4)   [[classifier noun] verb complex]

    And a noun phrase that contains a numeral phrase and a determiner demon-
strative has the internal structure given in (6-5):

(6-5)   [[cardinal.numeral.phrase noun] determiner.demonstrative]

The layering within noun phrases is transparent in those cases where all the modifiers are prenominal or postnominal. When prenominal and postnominal modifiers cooccur, the layering is a reflection of the closeness of the semantic links within the overall noun phrase. For example, a classifier has a closer link to the head noun than a modifying verb ([6-4] above); and a numeral (phrase) has a closer link to the head noun than a demonstrative ([6-5] above).

There is one case that requires special mention. It concerns the sole adjective 'small, little' and the verb 'be small, little', which may cooccur in a noun phrase:

(6-6)   *kasi biqu faqekwa*
         small house be.small
         '(very) small house'

Either modifier can occur without the other:

(6-7)   a   *kasi biqu*
              small house
              'small house'

         b.   *biqu faqekwa*
              house be.small
              'small house'

There is some evidence that the adjective occurs in an inner structure relative to the verb. First, prosodically the adjective is more closely bound to the noun than the verb is. There may be a pause — albeit a slight one — between the noun and the modifying verb, but there is normally no such pause between the adjective and the noun. And second, there is a closer structural link between the adjective and the noun in the following sense. The adjective has three variant forms, whose choice depends partly on the animacy and the count/mass status of the noun (section 6.12). On the other hand, no verb is sensitive to these features of the nouns they modify. The internal structure of (6-6) above then is that given in (6-8):

(6-8)   *[kasi biqu] faqekwa*
         small house be.small
         '(very) small house'

This is the only type of case where an adjective and a synonymous modifying verb can cooccur with a head noun, because 'small, little' is the only adjective in the language.

The existence of layered structure within noun phrases is evident from the way some of the modifiers function in the presence of non-basic noun phrases. Disregarding coordination and apposition, there are two types of non-basic noun phrase: possessive and associative (chapter 8). Both of these types of noun phrase can contain modifiers that occur in the basic noun phrase type. In (6-9) the possessive noun phrase *nila nau* 'my (iron) nail' is in the scope of the demonstrative *baa*, and the larger noun phrase is, in turn, in the scope of the plural marker *ki*:

(6-9)   *[[nila   nau] baa] ki*
           nail   1SG   that   PL
           'those (iron) nails of mine'

And in (6-10) the associative noun phrase *fu-qi ngasi* 'clump of sugarcane' is in the scope of the verb 'be big':

(6-10)   *[fu-qi   ngasi]   baqita*
           clump-ASSOC   sugar.cane   be.big
           'big clump of sugar cane' (not: *'clump of big sugar cane')

Below are given a few examples of cooccurrence of various modifiers in lexical noun phrases of the basic type:

(6-11)   *teqe   kali   fa   thaqaro*
           one   small.SG CLF   bird
           'one small bird'

(6-12)   *Qe=aqi   misi   raqu   quu*
           3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1PL(EXCL).NEG   possess   ANTCONT

           boqo faafi-a   [ta   teqe   kasi   qamplifae]   mena, ...
           ASRT CONF-3.OBJ some one   small amplifier   FADD
           'We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier ....'

The foregrounding additive particle *mena* in (6-12) is a clause-level element, not part of the noun phrase (see section 28.6).
   In (6-13) there are two particles in the noun-phrase particle complex, *sui* and *boqo*:

(6-13)   *roo   Fiona   ki   sui   boqo*
           two   Fiona   PL EXHST   ASRT
           'both Fionas' (i.e., both of the girls called Fiona)

On the other hand, in (6-14) the intensifier combination *qasia boqo* is in a verb complex together with the verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little'. The verb complex modifies the head noun:

(6-14)   *wela faqekwa qasia boqo*
          child be.little INTS INTS
          'very little child'

The noun phrase in (6-15) contains a determiner demonstrative followed by a qualifying demonstrative:

(6-15)   *botho   baa   fuu*
          pig   that   downward
          'the pig (spoken of before) down there'

The noun phrase in (6-16) contains a prepositional phrase as a modifier and the one in (6-17) a relative clause:

(6-16)   *tha   wela qeri i   laa   bang*
          PERSMKR   chap that LOC   IN   bank
          'the chap in the bank'

(6-17)   *tala qeri na   kero   lae   suli-a*
          path   that REL   3DU.NFUT   walk   PROL-3SG.OBJ
          'the path they were walking on (lit. along it)'

Most types of noun-phrase elements are discussed in this chapter, while prepositional phrases, demonstratives, complement clauses, and relative clauses are discussed in later chapters, chapters 10, 13, 29, and 30, respectively. For the particles in the verb complex see chapter 5.

6.2.   Classes of nouns

Toqabaqita nouns can be classified in several ways. In one classification there is a distinction between common nouns and proper nouns. Common nouns can occur with certain modifiers that proper nouns normally do not occur with: the partitive/diminutive marker, and the classifiers:

(6-18)   *si   kafo*
          PRTT water
          'some of the water'

(6-19)   *teqe gwa iqa*
           one   CLF   fish
           'one fish'

(However, not all common nouns occur with classifiers; see section 6.7.)
     Among the common nouns there is a distinction based on animacy: higher-animate nouns (including human nouns) on the one hand, and lower-animate and inanimate nouns on the other. Higher-animate, especially human, referents are normally marked for non-singular (plural and dual) number by the subject markers, the object suffixes (under the appropriate structural conditions), and the personal suffixes on certain particles, whereas lower-animates and inanimates normally are not; see section 4.9 for detail. The sole adjective 'small, little' has three variant forms, whose use is partly determined by the animacy status of the noun it modifies (section 6.12).
     Common nouns are subclassified into count and mass ones. Only count nouns (but see further below) can normally be treated as plural, by means of the plural marker *ki*, numerals, the plural indefinite quantifier *tai*, the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the personal suffixes. The relevant elements are bolded in the three examples below:

(6-20)   **Roo** *wela baa* **ki** *rake-***da**   *ka*   *qiri, .…*
           two   child that   PL belly-3PL.PERS 3SG.SEQ be.angry
           'The two children were angry .…' (Lit.: 'The two children, their bellies were angry .…')

(6-21)   **Tai**   *wane* **ki**   **keka**   *lole*   *qasia naqa .…*
           some.PL man PL   3PL.SEQ tell.lie   INTS INTS
           'Some (of the) men lied greatly .…'

(6-22)   *Kini*   *lakoo*   **ki***,   *ku*   *dora*
           woman   that(3)   PL   1SG.NFUT   not.know

           *qani-***da**.
           GENP-3PL.OBJ
           'Those women I don't know.'

     To express a large quantity, a large number of entities, count nouns occur with the verb *qoro* 'be many, numerous', either in a subject noun phrase with *qoro* in the predicate, or in any noun phrase position and modified by *qoro*, as in (6-23) and (6-24), respectively:

(6-23)   *Toqa   mataqi   kera   qoro   qi   laa   kliniki.*
          people   be.sick   3PL.NFUT   be.many   LOC   IN   clinic
          'There were many sick people at the clinic.' (Lit.: 'Sick people were
          many at the clinic.')

(6-24)   *Kera too   suli=fa   thato   qoro   ki, ...*
          3PL   stay   PROL:3.OBJ=CLF   day   be.many   PL
          'They stayed [there] for many days, ...'

    With mass nouns, to express a large quantity the verb *baqita* 'be big, large',
'be plentiful, a lot' is used instead:

(6-25)   *fanga   baqita*
          food   be.plentiful
          'a large quantity of food; a lot of food'

    And to designate a small quantity, the verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not
plentiful, be little in quantity' is used with mass nouns:

(6-26)   *Si   fanga   qeri   e   faqekwa   ba-na.*
          PRTT   food   this   3SG.NFUT   be.little   LIM-3SG.PERS
          'There is just little of (this) food.' (Lit.: 'This food is just little.')

    The verb *faqekwa* can be used with count nouns, in which case it signifies
small size:

(6-27)   *biqu   faqekwa*
              house   be.small
              'small house'

    To designate a small quantity, number with count nouns, the verb *qoro* 'be
many, numerous' is negated when in a predicate. In (6-28) *qoro* occurs twice:
as a noun modifier in the first sentence, and negated in the predicate in the sec-
ond sentence:

(6-28)   *Toq=qoro   qasia naqa kera   thaitoqoma-na*
          people=be.many   INTS   INTS   3PL.NFUT   know-3.OBJ

          uqunu   naqi. Toqa   na   kera   dora
          story   this   people   REL   3PL.NFUT   not.know

qani-a	*qe=aqi*	*kesi*	*qoro*	*boqo.*
GENP-3SG.OBJ	3ST.NFUT=NEGV	3PL.NEG	be.many	ASRT

'Very many people know this story. The people who do not know it are not many.'

Nouns that are mass nouns in their basic meaning can, however, be treated as count nouns, when they are used to refer to kinds or to discrete units of those substances. In (6-25) further above, with the verb *baqita* 'be big', 'be plentiful', the reference is to a large quantity of food, regardless of whether of one or more than one kind, while in (6-29) below, with the verb *qoro* 'be many, numerous', the reference may be to many different kinds of food, or to many items of food, even if of one kind:

(6-29) *fanga qoro ki*
        food be.many PL
        a. 'many different kinds of food'
        b. 'many items of food'

And in (6-30) the noun 'time' is treated as a count one, signifying periods of time, here days, in parallel with the noun *thato* 'day' in the first clause:

(6-30) *Kera too suli=fa thato qoro ki, manga*
        3PL stay PROL:3.OBJ=CLF day be.many PL time

        qoro ki, qi laa lokap.
        be.many PL LOC IN jail
        'They stayed for many days, for a long time (lit.: for many periods of time), in jail.'

Only count nouns can be modified by the plural form *kaala* of the adjective 'small, little':

(6-31) *... kasi-a kaala si sokara ki, ...*
        cut-3.OBJ small.PL DIM forked.stick PL
        '... [then he] cuts small forked sticks ....'

With mass nouns only the *kasi* form of the adjective can be used:

(6-32) *kasi kafo*
        little water
        'little (of the) water'

With count nouns, *kasi* has a singular (not a plural) value (section 6.12).

A few common nouns can occur with the person markers *tha* (masculine) and *ni* (feminine) (section 6.4).

Some common nouns can form locative noun phrases that behave grammatically in one respect like place names; see further below for discussion.

A common, count noun that needs special mention is *doo*, whose basic meaning is 'thing', in a concrete or abstract sense:

(6-33) *Teqe doo qe   tagwasu naqa qi   ei.*
        one   thing 3SG.NFUT   sprout   PRF LOC LOCPRO
        'Something (lit.: one thing) had sprouted there.'

(6-34) *Teqe si   doo   qe   fuu   i   laa   aququa*
        one   PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT   happen   LOC IN   island

        qi   Malaqita.
        LOC   Malaita
        'Something has happened on the island of Malaita'

Doo also functions as a general, "semantically light" substitute for a more specific noun, for example, when the speaker cannot think of the appropriate noun, when there is no need for a specific noun, or when the speaker prefers not to use a specific noun, such as a person's name. For example, in (6-35) the speaker first uses *doo* because he cannot think of the name of the woman he is speaking about. Note that *doo* is accompanied by the feminine person marker *ni*, because the intended referent is a woman (section 6.4):

(6-35) *Ma   ni   doo, ni   Feefelo, ka   oli.*
        and   PERSMKR   thing PERSMKR   Feefelo 3SG.SEQ   return
        'And, what's her name, Feefelo, went back.'

In (6-36) *doo* occurs with the masculine person marker *tha*. The speaker chose not to mention the person by name:

(6-36) *Tha   doo   e   oqela   naqa.*
        PERSMKR   thing 3SG.NFUT   be.near.death PRF
        'He/The chap is near death.'

In (6-37) *doo* is used in the modifier position in an associative construction (section 8.2.1). In the associative construction a modifier noun phrase is obligatory.

(6-37)   *nuu-qi   doo*
        picture-ASSOC   thing
        'a picture (of something/someone unspecified)'

Compare (6-38), where *nuu* 'picture' occurs as the possessum in a possessive construction and where the possessor noun phrase identifies what is depicted in the picture:

(6-38)   *nuu-na   teqe   wane*
        picture-3.PERS one   man
        'picture of a/one man'

And in (6-39) *doo* is used as a head noun modified by numerals when objects are being counted, in place of the noun that designates that kind of object:

(6-39)   *ulu   taafuli   doo   kwalu   doo*
        three tens   thing eight   thing
        'thirty eight (of them)'

Doo also sometimes appears in the apodoses of conditional sentences, without any obvious meaning; see section 31.1.1.

As far as proper nouns are concerned, subclasses of personal names and place names need to be distinguished, besides all other proper nouns. Personal names are characterized by the optional presence of a person marker, masculine *tha* and feminine *ni*:

(6-40)   *tha   Ulufaalu*
        PERSMKR   Ulufaalu
        'Ulufaalu' (a man)

(6-41)   *ni   Saelifiqa*
        PERSMKR   Saelifiqa
        'Saelifiqa' (a girl)

The person markers are discussed in section 6.4.

The subclass of place names is characterized by special properties when such nouns head a noun phrase that is the object of certain prepositions. The facts are somewhat complex. Unlike other noun phrases, those that are headed by a place name are not indexed by means of an object suffix on the allative verb-like preposition *uri* (section 10.3.2), with some qualifications; and sometimes they are not indexed on the general verb-like preposition *qani* (section 10.3.7). For no obvious reason, it is only the allative preposition among the

spatial prepositions that does not carry object marking for objects that are place names. One might expect the ablative preposition to exhibit the same property, but it does not. Objects that are place names are indexed on the ablative preposition just like any other objects.

The first two examples show absence of indexing on the allative preposition with objects that contain the name of a place:

(6-42)   ... *keka   lae   qalaqa   kau   uri   Malu'u* ....
          3PL.SEQ go   go.up   AND   ALL   Malu'u
          '... they went up towards Malu'u ....'

(6-43)   *Mulu   lae   uri   Da'i,* ....
          2PL.NFUT   go   ALL   Da'i
          'Go to Da'i (Island), ...'

However, when the allative preposition cooccurs with the locative preposition *qi* (in a stacked prepositional phrase) with an object that contains a place name, object indexing is optional, although more likely to be absent:

(6-44)   *Nau   ku   lae   ngado   {uri   /   uri-a)*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   go   be.settled   ALL   /   ALL-3.OBJ

          qi   Qauki.
          LOC   Auki
          'I often go to Auki.'

(The verb *ngado*, whose basic meaning is 'be still, settled, firm' is used as a modifying verb in [verb verb] compounds to signify that the event encoded by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly.)

Foreign place names, that is names of places outside the Solomon Islands, are optionally indexed. In (6-45) the locative object *Japan* is not indexed, but in (6-46) it is.

(6-45)   *Sonia   kai   liiliu   qa-na   uri   Japan.*
          Sonya   3SG.FUT   stroll   SBEN- 3SG.PERS   ALL   Japan
          'Sonya will go leisurely (lit.: stroll) to Japan.'

(6-46)   ... *kwa   lofo   naqa   uri-a   Japan.*
          1SG.SEQ fly   PRF   ALL-3.OBJ   Japan
          '… I flew to Japan.'

And in (6-47) *Brisbane* is not treated as a place-name object:

(6-47)　　*… ku　　　　　lae　　qana 10ᵗʰ　May　uri-a*
　　　　　　1SG.NFUT　　go　　GENP 10ᵗʰ　May　ALL-3.OBJ

　　　　　Brisbane, ….
　　　　　Brisbane
　　　　　'… I went to Brisbane on the 10ᵗʰ of May, ….'

The next example shows object indexing on the ablative preposition and its absence on the allative preposition:

(6-48)　　*Nau　ku　　　　lae　kau　fasi-a　　　　Solomon Aylen,*
　　　　　　1SG　1SG.NFUT　go　　AND　ABL-3.OBJ　Solomon Island

　　　　　ku　　　　　lae　uri　Niu　Silana, ...
　　　　　1SG.NFUT　go　　ALL　New　Zealand
　　　　　'I went from the Solomon Islands (and went) to New Zealand ....'

The name of the country, Solomon Islands, is usually not indexed on the allative preposition:

(6-49)　　*… ku　　　　　oli　　　mai　uri　Solomoni　Aylen, ….*
　　　　　　1SG.NFUT　return　VENT　ALL　Solomon　　Island
　　　　　'… I came back to the Solomon Islands ….'

However, it is not only place names that are not indexed on the allative preposition. Certain common nouns behave in the same way when they serve to express locations, especially a location where one's home is or a location in one's home area. Such "locative nouns" include, for example, *fanu* 'place where one's home is', *fera* (often with the classifier *maqa*) 'one's home', *tolo* 'bush', *qamali* 'sea', *ano* and *thaqegano* both 'ground', *sukulu* 'school' (place where one goes as a pupil)', also 'church (that one attends)', and *bali* 'side'. For example:

(6-50)　　*Nia　ka　　　　oli　　　na-na　　　　　uri　fanu*
　　　　　　3SG　3SG.SEQ　return　PRF-3SG.PERS　　ALL　home.place

　　　　　nia.
　　　　　3SG
　　　　　'He has returned to his home place.'

(6-51)   *Kulu   lae   teqefau   uri   maqa   fera*
       PL(INCL).NFUT go   every.one ALL   CLF   home

       tha   Qolofia kera.
       PERSMKR   Olofia   3PL
       'Let's all go to Olofia 'n them's house.'

(6-52)   *Qe   aqi   mosi   lae   uri   tolo.*
       3SG.NEG   NEGV 2DU.NEG   go   ALL   bush
       'Don't go to/into the bush.'

Place names can also behave in a unique way with respect to the general, verb-like preposition *qani*. As discussed in section 10.3.1, the general preposition occurs in the form *qana* with lexical objects. However, when the object is a place name and the prepositional phrase is a complement of the verb *qalangi* 'call st., sb. by a certain name', 'bestow a certain name on st., sb.', the form *qani* is possible also, in which case the locative object is not indexed on the preposition. In (6-53) the form of the preposition is *qana*, while in (6-54) and (6-55) it is *qani*:

(6-53)   *Laa-lae,   ka   fula qana teqe si   kula qi*
       RDP-walk   3SG.SEQ arrive GENP one   DIM   place LOC

       laa   qintoqo-na   thaqegano kera   qalangi-a
       IN   middle-3.PERS ground   3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ

       qana   "Daadanitalau".
       GENP   Daadanitalau
       '[He] kept walking and eventually arrived at a small place in the middle of the earth (lit.: ground) called (lit.: which they named) "Daadanitalau".'

(6-54)   *Lae fula i   kula kera   qalangi-a   qani*
       go   arrive LOC place 3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ GENP

       "Rokera".
       Rokera
       '[They] went and arrived at a place called "Rokera".'

(6-55)   *kula kera   qalangi-a   qani "Makira"*
       place 3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ GENP Makira
       'place called "Makira"'

Elsewhere the *qani* form of the general preposition and the *uri* form of the allative preposition, without object-indexing suffixes, can only have pronominal objects (section 10.3.1):

(6-56)   *... nau   kwa   waela   qasia naqa qani kera.*
          1SG   1SG.SEQ laugh   INTS   INTS   GENP 3PL
          '... I laughed at them a lot.'

(6-57)   *Wela qe   fita   mai   uri   nau.*
          child 3SG.NFUT   run   VENT ALL   1SG
          'The child ran to/towards me.'

Noun phrases headed by place names or locative nouns sometimes occur without any preposition when the verb is *lae* 'go' and the place is the goal of the movement. Compare (6-58), where the verb in the second clause is 'arrive' and the noun phrase *Honiara* occurs in a prepositional phrase, and (6-59), where the verb is 'go' and the noun phrase *Honiara* does not occur in a prepositional phrase:

(6-58)   *Manga   na   mili   taqe   kau,*
          time   REL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   ascend   AND

          mika   fula   naqa qi   Honiara.
          1PL(EXCL).SEQ arrive   PRF   LOC Honiara
          'When we went up (from Malaita), we arrived in Honiara.'

(6-59)   *Qo   lae   Honiara qana wiki baa?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   Honiara GENP week that
          'Did you go to Honiara last week?'

Both in (6-60) and (6-61) the verb is *lae*, but in the former the noun phrase that contains *sukulu* 'school', 'church' occurs in a prepositional phrase but not so in (6-61):

(6-60)   *Qe   lae   ma-n=i   sukulu?*
          3SG.NFUT   go   VENT-3SG.PERS=LOC   church
          'Did he go (lit.: come) to church?'

(6-61)   *Qo   lae   sukulu?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   church
          'Are you going to church?' (Asking a person on his way down towards the coast.)

There is also a subclass of nouns that consists of the numerals and the interrogative ordinal quantifier 'how many?' when these have an ordinal-numeral function. These are discussed in sections 6.8.4 and 6.8.5, respectively.

There are a few common nouns that only rarely exhibit nominal characteristics, because of their meanings. These are temporal deictic nouns such as *taraqena* 'today', *roqo* 'yesterday', and *qusungadi* 'tomorrow'. They normally head phrases that function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.1), but this is not diagnostic of nouns, because adverb phrases also can function as complements of this preposition (section 4.11). Nevertheless, they do occasionally exhibit noun properties. In (6-62) *taraqena* 'today' occurs in the subject position of a verbless sentence:

(6-62)   *Taraqena   fa   bongi   qana   tango-laa.*
          today   CLF   day   GENP   give.praise-NMLZ
          'Today is the day of giving praise (in church).'

And in (6-63) *qusungadi* 'tomorrow' is accompanied by the perfect marker *naqa*. In noun phrases the perfect marker may signal that at reference time there is, was, or will be a change in some circumstances of a state of affairs (section 7.8). In (6-63) the perfect marker emphasizes that the speaker will go back only when the time is/has become tomorrow. (There is another instance of the perfect marker, that one in the verb phrase.)

(6-63)   *Nau   kwai   teo   naqa,   qusungadi   naqa*
          1SG   1SG.FUT lie.down   PRF   tomorrow   PRF

          kwa   oli.
          1SG.SEQ   return
          'I am going to lie down now (to sleep); (when it is) *tomorrow* I will go back.'

6.3.   The independent personal pronouns

6.3.1.   The forms

The independent personal pronouns are set out in table 6.1.

Table 6.1.   Independent personal pronouns

	SINGULAR	DUAL	PLURAL
1EXCL	nau	kamareqa	kamiliqa, kamaliqa, kami[†]
INCL		koro	kulu, kia[†]
2	qoe, qoo	kamaroqa	kamuluqa, kamaluqa, kamiu,[†] kamu[†]
3	nia	keeroqa	kera, kiiluqa

All of the plural pronouns have variants. The forms marked with "[†]" were characteristic of women's speech in earlier times. With one exception (see section 6.3.2), they are not used today, but are still remembered by some people. Among the other variants, the ones listed first are the more common ones. The third person plural form *kiiluqa* and even more so the first person plural exclusive form *kamaliqa* are infrequent. The second person singular form *qoo* is rare. The second person plural form *kamaluqa* is used quite commonly.

There are some partial similarities among some of the dual and plural forms. And as is also the case with the subject markers (section 4.8), there is some association of the consonant *r* with the dual number and of *l* with the plural number. These are most likely due to historical associations with the numerals *rua* and/or *roo* 'two' and *ulu* 'three', respectively. Presumably, the plural forms *kamiliqa*, *kamaliqa*, *kamuluqa*, *kamaluqa*, *kiiluqa*, and possibly also *kulu*, were originally trial (or paucal) forms.

The dual inclusive pronoun *koro* is homophonous with the dual inclusive nonfuture subject marker *koro*; and the plural inclusive pronoun *kulu* is homophonous with the plural inclusive nonfuture subject marker *kulu*. There is a strong tendency to avoid a sequence of an inclusive pronoun in subject position and the corresponding nonfuture inclusive subject marker: *koro koro*, *kulu kulu*, and some speakers reject such sentences. For example:

(6-64)   (?*Kulu*) *kulu*   *foqa naqa*.
          PL(INCL) PL(INCL).NFUT   pray   PRF
          'Let's pray now.'

There is some evidence that in such "homophonic clashes" it is the pronoun rather than the subject marker that is omitted. First, it is common for a clause not to have a subject phrase, but subject markers are omitted much less commonly, apart from certain cases, such as imperatives with singular addressees. And second, an inclusive pronoun and a subject marker of the same phonological form can cooccur if the pronoun is accompanied by the pronominal foregrounder *ni* (section 6.3.2):

(6-65)   *Ni*   *kulu*   *kulu*   *raa*   *thasi*
          PROFORE   PL(INCL)   PL(INCL).NFUT   work   do.garden.work

          qasia naqa.
          INTS   INTS
          'We worked hard in the garden.'

6.3.2.   The functions

The basic structure of the pronominal noun phrase is given in (6-66):

(6-66)   NP   →   (pronominal.foregrounder)   PRONOUN
                        ('one')

                        (particle complex)   (relative clause)

The pronominal foregrounder and the numeral 'one' form the innermost layer with the head pronoun. The modifiers to the right of the head, that is the particle complex and relative clauses, form subsequent layers.

All of the various modifiers are discussed in the relevant places, and here only brief examples are given:

(6-67)   *ni*   *keeroqa*
          PROFORE   3DU
          'they (two)'

(6-68)   *[teqe nau] bana*
          sole   1SG   LIM
          'only I', 'just I alone'

(6-69)   *… kera na   kera   tala-i-a   si   raa*
            3PL   REL   3PL.NFUT   lead-TR-3.OBJ   PRTT   activity

      qeri ....
      that
      'they/those who led that activity ....'

With some systematic exceptions, the pronominal noun phrases are used in positions in which lexical noun phrases occur. They cannot occur in conjunction with the personal suffixes or the object-indexing suffixes in a phrase to index the same participant. On the other hand, they freely cooccur in subject position with the subject markers. They may be coreferential with another noun phrase in the clause. In (6-70) there are two instances of a pronoun in the direct-object position, coreferential with the subjects of the two clauses:

(6-70)   *... sui   akalo   qeri qe   bula-si   nia,*
            but   ancestral.spirit that 3SG.NFUT change-TR 3SG

            ka   lio-ngaqi   nia   mai qan=teqe   thaari
            3SG.NFUT   look-TR   3SG   VENT GENP=one girl

            laqu boqo.
            REST ASRT
            '... but the ancestral spirit had changed herself and disguised herself back as a girl.' '... but the ancestral spirit had changed herself and had made herself look again like a girl.'

The pronouns, including the third person pronouns, are used primarily with human reference, and with reference to ancestral spirits and ogres.

(6-71)   *Nia ka   riki-a,   ma   ka   thathami-a*
            3SG   3SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ and   3SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ

            kai   lae   bii keeroqa.
            3SG.FUT go   COM 3DU
            'He [a boy] saw it and wanted to go with them [his parents].'

For an example of a pronoun referring to an ancestral spirit see (6-70) above.

Less frequently, the pronouns are used to refer to animals (other than in traditional stories, where animals often behave in ways otherwise characteristic of humans), and to inanimate objects. Such usage is somewhat restricted and occurs in particular in subject position. And it is more common with non-human entities that are in view and can be pointed at:

(6-72)   *Nia   e   mataqi   nena.*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT   be.sick   NPAST.THERE
         'It [a chicken] is sick.' (The chicken is in view.)

(6-73)   *Nia   e   teqe-bali-qa   neri.*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT   one-side-PROP   NPAST.HERE
         'It is lopsided, not symmetrical.' (The object is near the speaker.)

However, the pronouns are commonly used with non-human, even inanimate reference as resumptive pro-forms in subject topicalization and in the focus position. In (6-74) the pronoun functions resumptively in topicalization:

(6-74)   *Daadaku   qeri, nia   qe   takwe   qi   laa*
         Calophyllum.sp   that 3SG   3SG.NFUT   stand   LOC   IN

         one ….
         sand
         'The *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree, it stood in the sand [on the beach] ….'

In (6-75) the pronoun, in bold, occurs in the focus position:

(6-75)   *Keka   waqe-li-a   ba-da   qana nga*
         3PL.SEQ   dance-TR-3.OBJ   LIM-3PL.PERS   GENP IDENT

         lolo   ki bana … mamalana   bana si   doo   wane
         grass PL LIM   any.one   LIM PRTT thing   man

         e   raqu qani-a   ka
         3SG.NFUT   grab GENP-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ

         *waqe-li-a   ba-na   qani-a.   **Nia**   na*
         dance-TR-3SG.OBJ LIM-3SG.PERS GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG   FOC

         kera   qalangi-a   qana   "ululu   kwasi".
         3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   branches   be.wild
         'They dance at it [a kind of mortuary feast] with [i.e., holding] just grass, … just anything a man will grab hold of and will dance with it. *That* is what is called (lit.: what they name) [the mortuary feast of] "wild branches". (*Lolo* is a general term for grasses, herbaceous plants and other relatively small plants without trunks or woody

stems. At the *ululu kwasi* mortuary feast the dancers can hold any kind of branch or leaves in their hands while dancing.)

The third person singular pronoun is used in a verbless closing formula:

(6-76)   *Nia   bo=naqa   neri.*
       3SG   ASRT=PRF   NPAST.HERE
       'That's all (I have to say).' 'That's it.' 'That's the way it is/was.'

While the personal pronouns cannot cooccur with the personal suffixes or the object-indexing suffixes in a phrase to index the same participant, they freely cooccur in subject position with the subject markers (apart from the homophonic clash with the inclusive forms mentioned in the previous section). Sometimes this happens when the subject noun phrase is foregrounded:

(6-77)   *Wane   naqi   qe   kwai-thathai   kai   lae*
       man   this   3SG.NFUT   LIP-ready   3SG.FUT   go

       naqa; ni   nau   kwai   lae   bii   nia.
       PRF   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.FUT   go   COM   3SG
       'This man is ready to go, (and) *I* will go with him.'

However, the personal pronouns are also commonly used when the subject is not foregrounded. For example, in (6-78) the speaker simply announces that he and another person are about to leave. There is no foregrounding, no implication of contrast:

(6-78)   *Kamareqa   mere   lae   naqa.*
       1DU(EXCL)   1DU(EXCL).NFUT   go   PRF
       'We're going now.'

Similarly in (6-79) there is no foregrounding of the subject. In fact, there it is a temporal phrase that has been foregrounded, by topicalization:

(6-79)   *Si   manga   qeri   nau   ku   thathami-a kwai*
       PRTT   time   this   1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT

       uqunu   suli-a   maqaluta-na raa-laa   qana
       narrate   PROL-3.OBJ aspect-3.PERS work-NMLZ   GENP

oqola.
garden
'This time, I want to talk about (aspects of) working in gardens.'

In order to foreground a pronoun, the same topicalization and focusing strategies are used as with lexical noun phrases (chapters 38 and 39, respectively). However, relatively weak foregrounding is achieved by means of the pronominal foregrounder *ni*, which directly precedes the pronoun.

(6-80)   *Ni*   *kamiliqa*   *sui*   *boqo miki*
         PROFORE   1PL(EXCL)   EXHST   ASRT 1PL(EXCL).IPFV

         too   *leqa*   *ba-miliqa*
         be.in.certain.condition   be.good   LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

         qa=si   *manga*   *qeri.*
         GENP=PRTT time   this
         'We, all of us, are just fine at this time.'

(6-81)   *Nau   ku*   *lae   naqa;   ma   ni*   *kamuluqa?*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   go   PRF   and   PROFORE   2PL
         'I'm going now; and you?'

The pronominal foregrounder is often used in conjunction with the other foregrounding strategies. In (6-82) it is combined with focusing and in (6-83) further below with topicalization.

(6-82)   *Ni*   *qoe   n=o*   *faqa-aqana-a*
         PROFORE   2SG   FOC=2SG.NFUT   CAUS-be.lost-3.OBJ

         qila   qeri.
         knife   that
         'It was you who lost the knife.'

The pronominal foregrounder is normally not used in positions other than subject, unless the noun phrase is foregrounded in some way and does not occur *in situ*. In (6-83) it is used with the fronted, contrastively topicalized second person singular pronoun that corresponds to the direct object. However, as the second clause shows, the foregrounder is not obligatory when a pronoun is fronted:

(6-83) *Ni*   *qoe,*   *kera*   *qadomi* *qoe;*   *nau,*
        PROFORE   2SG   3PL.NFUT   help   2SG   1SG

        qe   *aqi*   *kesi*   *qadomi* *nau*   *boqo.*
        3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3PL.NEG   help   1SG   ASRT
        'You, they helped; me, they did *not* (help).'

In (6-84) the pronoun with the foregrounder is not a direct object, even though it does encode the person seen. Rather, it is an adjunct at the clause level (section 11.2.1.3), and so the foregrounder can be used.

(6-84) *Nau*   *ku*   *riki-a*   *doqora-mu*   *ma*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   sibling-2SG.PERS   and

        ni   *qoe.*
        PROFORE   2SG
        'I saw your brother, and/as well as you.'

The inclusive pronouns can be used integratively: an inclusive pronoun is used to include the addressee as if he/she were part of the speaker's group when, objectively, he or she is not (see also section 4.10). In (6-85) the speaker uses the inclusive pronoun indexically to express personal closeness. Personal baskets, *waqi*, are strictly personal property, but the speaker speaks of the addressee's basket in a jocular way as if it were theirs jointly.

(6-85) *Nau*   *kwai*   *qasi-qaba*   *fas=i*   *laa*   *waqi*
        1SG   1SG.FUT   fall-hand   PREC=LOC   IN   basket

        koro,   *wane* *nau.*
        DU(INCL)   man   1SG
        'I'm going to poke my hand into our basket, my friend (lit. my man).' (In order to search through the basket for tobacco or areca nuts.)

For another example of the integrative use of a pronoun see (4-283) in section 4.10.

As mentioned in section 6.3.1, there are special plural pronominal forms which were characteristic of women's speech in earlier times. These pronouns are not normally used today, with one exception. The inclusive pronoun *kia* is used in the expression *fanu kia* 'our home, our country' (*fanu* 'home, one's home place'). It is used both by women and by men, especially when away from one's home area.

Finally, the third person plural pronoun *kera* is used in one type of compound with kinship-term nouns to signify the plural number in forms of address; see section 12.7.

6.4.   *Tha* and *ni* person markers

Proper nouns that designate humans, ancestral spirits, ogres, domestic or pet animals, and certain other nouns optionally take one of the two person markers, *tha* and *ni*. *Tha* has a broader range of use that *ni*. With the names of people, ancestral spirits and ogres, *tha* is used when the reference is to a male and *ni* when the reference is to a female:

(6-86)   *tha*   *Ulufaalu*
           PERSMKR   Ulufaalu
           'Ulufaalu' (a man)

(6-87)   *ni*   *Saelifiqa*
           PERSMKR   Saelifiqa
           'Saelifiqa' (a girl)

(6-88)   *Tha*   *Kwaqengara   ka   thare-a   ni*
           PERSMKR   Kwaqengara   3SG.SEQ beget-3.OBJ PERSMKR

           Kwakwanumae.
           Kwakwanumae
           'Kwaqengara [a man] begot Kwakwanumae [a woman].'

In (6-89) the masculine person marker occurs with the name of an ancestral spirit:

(6-89)   *tha*   *Feotoqoniwane*
           PERSMKR   Feotoqoniwane
           'Feotoqoniwane'

The person markers are used with introduced Western names:

(6-90)   *tha*   *Nestoo*
           PERSMKR   Nestoo
           'Nestoo' (Nestor)

(6-91)   *ni*   *Fiona*
           PERSMKR   Fiona
           'Fiona'

With the names of pet, domestic animals, the marker *tha* is used regardless of the sex of the animal:

(6-92)   *tha*   *Binamaakwao*
           PERSMKR   Binamaakwao
           'Binamaakwao' (a pig)

(6-93)   *tha*   *Rofa*
           PERSMKR   Rofa
           'Rofa' (Rover) (a dog)

The words for God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, devil, and Satan, introduced from Solomon Islands Pijin or English, are treated as masculine names: *tha Goot* 'God', *tha Lood* 'the Lord', *tha Diises* 'Jesus', *tha Krayst* 'Christ', *tha defolo* 'the devil', *tha Saetana* 'Satan'. And the Solomon Islands Pijin word for 'pastor' is treated as a proper noun when referring to a specific person: *tha baastoo* 'the Pastor'.

The person markers are used only in noun phrases of reference, not in terms of address. However, even in noun phrases of reference their use is not obligatory, and not infrequently they are omitted. The first pair of examples below shows variable presence of the masculine marker, and the second pair variable presence of the feminine marker, in subject and direct-object positions, respectively

(6-94)   *Ma*   *tha*   *Ulufaalu*   *qe*   *sifo?*
           and   PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT   descend
           'And Ulufaalu went down [to the coast]?'

(6-95)   *Ulufaalu*   *qe*   *fula*   *naqa.*
           Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF
           'Ulufaalu has arrived.'

(6-96)   *Qoko*   *thuu-fi-a*   *ni*   *Saelifiqa, .…*
           2SG.SEQ   protect-TR-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Saelifiqa
           'Protect Saelifiqa, .…'

(6-97)   *Qoko   qadomi-a   Rosina, ….*
          2SG.SEQ help-3.OBJ   Rosina
          'Help Rosina, ….'

The person markers are also used with the noun *doo* 'thing', when *doo* functions as a substitute for a person's name:

(6-98)   *kaluwani   tha   doo*
          son   PERSMKR   thing
          'the son of what's his name'

For other examples see (6-35) and (6-36) in section 6.2

The masculine marker *tha* is also used with the common nouns *wela*, whose basic meaning is 'child (young person or offspring)', *kale*, whose range of meanings includes 'child (offspring)', and *weleqi* 'guy, chap', all to mean 'the guy, the chap', with reference to adult males.

(6-99)   *Tha   wela ba=e   sui   naqa.*
          PERSMKR   chap that=3SG.NFUT be.finished PRF
          'The chap has expired.'

(*Sui*, whose basic meaning is 'end, finish; be finished' is a respectful term for 'die'.)

Tha wela (*wela* 'child') can also be used to refer to adolescent males; see (22-21) in section 22.2.2.

(6-100)   *Nau ku   ngata   uri=tha   kale qena,*
          1SG 1SG.NFUT   speak   ALL:3.OBJ=PRS.MKR guy that(2)

          ka   qaukwailiu   ba-na.
          3SG.SEQ not.pay.attention   LIM-3SG.PERS
          'I talked to the guy, (but) he just was not paying attention.'

(6-101)   *Tha   weleqi, wane e   fafala   neq!*
          PERSMKR   guy   man 3SG.NFUT   be.slow VIVID
          'The guy, is he ever slow! (Lit.: 'The guy, the man is slow!')

The feminine marker *ni* is not used in analogous ways to refer to women.

The masculine person marker *tha* is also used by men in the expression *tha wane funa* for self-reference in response to a query about a person's identity (*wane* 'man'). The word *funa* appears restricted to this expression and to the expressions used by women (for which see further below).

(6-102)   A: *Tei   n=e   raa   qa=si   doo   naqi?*
              who? FOC=3SG.NFUT work GENP=PRTT thing this

           B: *Tha   wane   funa.*
              PERSMKR   man   *funa*
           A: 'Who worked on this?
           B: 'Me.' 'Yours truly.' (A man speaking.)

There are two parallel expressions used by women for self-reference, which, however, do not contain the feminine marker *ni*: *ai funa* and *imole funa*. *Ai* means 'woman', and the meaning of *imole* outside of the formula is 'person, human being'. Although *imole* is gender-neutral in its general use, in this formula it is used only by women. (The other word for 'woman', *kini*, which is elsewhere interchangeable with *ai*, is not used in this construction.)

(6-103)   *Si   doo   {imole   /   ai}   funa.*
           PRTT thing person   /   woman *funa*
           '(It's) mine.' (Lit.: 'The person's/woman's thing'.) (A woman speaking) (As a response to: 'Whose is it?')

The masculine marker *tha* can also be used with the names given to certain inanimate objects:

(6-104)   *Nini   qau   marakwa   nia   tha*
           bamboo.knife   piece.of.bamboo   be.green   3SG   PERSMKR

           Raqafeqebasi.
           Raqafeqebasi.
           'His green-bamboo knife is (named) Raqafeqebasi.'

(*Qau* designates a piece of bamboo that has been cut and used for a certain purpose.)

(6-105)   *tha   Aliurauqia*
           PERSMKR   Aliurauqia
           'Aliurauqia' (the name of a certain stone wall)

The "feminine" marker *ni* is also optionally used with the interrogative word *tei* 'who?'. However, in such cases it has no gender value; see section 19.3.3 for discussion.

6.5.   *Nga* **identifier**

The identifier *nga* has several functions. In two of these, a kind-identifying one and a foregrounding one, it can only be used in lexical noun phrases, and only in ones that contain no other modifier, apart from a noun-phrase particle. First, it is used to identify a kind, type of entity, to state that a given entity is, or is indeed, of such and such a kind. The noun phrase with *nga* as a modifier is generic. In (6-106) speaker B identifies the source of the sound as a truck, but the identity of the truck is not relevant and may not even be known:

(6-106)   A: *Teqe doo   ku   rongo-a;*
           one   thing 1SG.NFUT   hear-3SG.OBJ

           linga-na   qe   quri-a   tarake.
           sound-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ   truck

           B: *Qoo, nga   tarake   ni   boqo.*
           oh   IDENT   truck   LIG   ASRT
           A: 'I can hear something; it sounds like a truck (lit.: its sound is like a truck).'
           B: 'Oh, it *is* a truck.'

Compare the next pair of examples. In (6-107) the modifier of *botho* 'pig' is the numeral *teqe* 'one'. The speaker says that a certain man ate his pig:

(6-107)   *Botho   baa, teqe wane   qe   qani-a.*
           pig   that one man   3SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ
           'That pig, a (certain) man ate it.'

In (6-108), the modifier is the identifier *nga*, rather than *teqe* 'one'. It serves to express the speaker's conviction that the eater of the pig was a person rather than, for example, a dog. (*Wane* has the meaning 'man' and 'person').

(6-108)   *Botho   baa, nga   wane   qe   qani-a.*
           pig   that IDENT   person   3SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ
           'The pig, a person ate it.'

In (6-109) the identifier serves to emphasize that *Suriaoa* was (just) a (pet) bird, not a human being, and so should not be blamed for what had happened:

(6-109)   *... keka   ngata-fi-a   tha   Suriaoa, nga*
           3PL.SEQ speak-TR-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Suriaoa IDENT

> *thaqaro ni   bana,....*
> bird   LIG   LIM
> '...they scolded Suriaoa [blaming him for a misfortune], (but) he was just a bird ….'

The identifier can occur in a noun phrase headed by the interrogative word *taa* 'what?', in sentences that inquire about the kind of thing involved:

(6-110) *Nga   taa   n=e   ni-i   laa*
         IDENT   what?   FOC=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC IN

         waqi   qena   nena?
         basket that(2) NPAST.THERE
         'What's that in that basket [that you have]?'

The interrogative phrase *nga taa* can also be used to inquire about the meaning of a word:

(6-111) *"Losu" nga   taa   neri?*
         losu   IDENT   what?   NPAST.HERE
         'What's "*losu*"?' 'What does "*losu*" mean?'

And the expression *Nga taa?* can be used when a person did not hear well what has been said: 'What (did you say)?' 'What (was that)?'.

The identifier can be used with proper nouns that function as the predicate of a verbless clause. The predicate noun phrase identifies the name of the referent of the subject.

(6-112) *Faka n=e   fula   tootolenaqo,   n=e*
         ship   REL=3SG.NFUT arrive   earliest.time   REL=3SG.NFUT

         lae   mai, thata-na   faka qeri nga   Silaqa.
         go   VENT name-3.PERS   ship that IDENT   Silaqa
         'The ship that was the first to arrive (lit.: that arrived at the earliest time), that came, the name of the ship was Silaqa.'

The identifier cannot be used if the noun phrase contains any other modifier, apart from a noun-phrase particle, and this includes even the classifiers, although noun phrases with classifiers can be generic:

(6-113) A: *Thaqaro taa   neri?*
            bird   what?   NPAST.HERE

      B: *(*Nga)   fa   sobe   neri.*
          IDENT   CLF   bird.sp   NPAST.HERE
      A: 'What (kind of) bird is it?'
      B: 'It's a *sobe*.'

In (6-114) the identifier occurs in a noun phrase with an intensifying particle:

(6-114)   *Nga   taa   ni   qana?*
            IDENT   what LIG   INTS
            'What (did you say)?' 'What exactly (did you say)?'

However, the identifier is not obligatory in a noun phrase that asserts the identity of something or inquires about the identity of something.

(6-115)   A: *Thaqaro taa   na=nia?*
          bird   what this=3SG

        B: *Kiro   nena.*
          female.eclectus.parrot.   NPAST.THERE
        A: 'What kind of bird (is it), this one?'
        B: 'That's a female Eclectus Parrot.'

(6-116)   *(Nga)   taa   n=o   riki-a?*
            IDENT   what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ
            'What did you see?'

For another instance of omission of the identifier see B's first response in (6-119) further below.

In another function, *nga* is used as a weak foregrounder, to focus, contrast, emphasize an entity. A noun phrase foregrounded by means of *nga* remains *in situ*. The noun phrase with foregrounding *nga* may be generic or specific, definite. In (6-117) *nga* serves to emphasize the day of the week:

(6-117)   *Wiki loo   taa,   ma   kwai   oli   na=kau,*
           week upward lo!   and   1SG.FUT return   PRF=AND

           qana nga   Tosde   neri.
           GENP IDENT   Thursday   NPAST.HERE
           'Next week, I'll go back, on *Thursday*.' (Lit.: 'Next week, lo!, and I will go back, (it will be) on *Thursday*.')

In (6-118) *nga* serves to contrast an older child with another, younger one:

(6-118)   *Ma   nga   wela naqo   qeri ka   quna*
          and   IDENT   child earlier.time that 3SG.SEQ manner

          qeri, "...."
          this
          'And the older child (lit.: child of earlier time) said, "....".'

In the foregrounding function, *nga* is also used when a speaker is repeating something emphatically, for example because the addressee did not hear or did not understand:

(6-119)   A: *Waqi   taa   nena?*
             basket   what?   NPAST.THERE

          B: *Redio.*
             radio

          A: *Taa?*
             what?

          B: *Nga   redio!*
             IDENT   radio
          A: 'What's (in) that bag?'
          B: 'A radio.'
          A: 'What?'
          B: 'A *radio*!'

In a way, in B's final utterance the kind-identifying and the foregrounding functions are present simultaneously. However, the fact that *nga* is used only in B's second, emphatic reply and not in his first reply suggests that the foregrounding function is primary there.

Similarly in the next example, where *nga* is used with the interrogative noun *taa* 'what?', but only in the second, emphatic question:

(6-120)   A says something.

          B: *Taa?*
             what?

          A does not respond.

B: *Nga   taa?*
   IDENT   what?
A says something.
B: 'What (did you say)?'
A does not respond.
B: '*What*?'

The foregrounding identifier is ungrammatical in the last utterance in (6-121) because of the presence of the person marker in the noun phrase:

(6-121)   A: *Tha   Ulufaalu   qe   fula   naqa.*
              PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF
              'Ulufaalu has arrived.'

           B does not hear well who it was that arrived, and so A repeats, emphatically:

           A: *(*Nga)   tha   Ulufaalu qe   fula   naqa!*
              IDENT   PERSMKR   Ulufaalu 3SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF
              '*Ulufaalu* has arrived!'

Nevertheless, *nga* can be used with the foregrounding function with proper names; see (6-117) further above. (The situational demonstrative *neri* in [6-117] is not inside the noun phrase.)
   Finally, *nga* also serves as a semantically empty filler, when the speaker cannot immediately think of the appropriate noun or noun phrase. In this function it can occur with pronouns.:

(6-122)   *Kwa   riki-a   kamel,   kwa   riki-a   layon,*
           1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   camel   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   lion

           kwa   riki-a   nga [pause] *gorila ....*
           1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   IDENT   gorilla
           '[In the zoo] I saw camels, I saw lions, I saw [pause as the speaker is searching for the word] gorillas, ...'

And in (6-123) the speaker uses *nga* with the third person singular pronoun while thinking of the right phrase:

(6-123)   *Nga   nia,   tha   wela qeri i   laa   bang,*
           IDENT   3SG   PERSMKR   guy   that LOC   IN   bank

> ka   ala-ma-tani-a   kai   ngali-a   mai
> 3SG.SEQ   allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   take-3SG.OBJ   VENT
>
> ....
> 'Um, he, the guy in the bank, allowed him to withdraw (lit.: take) it [money] ….'

6.6.   *Si* **partitive, diminutive**

The particle *si* has three basic functions: as a partitive marker, as a diminutive marker, and as a classifier. However, the distinctions are not always clear-cut, and sometimes *si* can be seen as having more than one function simultaneously. In this section, only the partitive and the diminutive functions are discussed. *Si* as a classifier is discussed in section 6.7.5. In the examples, *si* is glossed according to its function or its dominant function: PRTT, DIM, and CLF.

Historically, the particle *si* is related to the noun *sii* 'piece (of), portion (of)', typically, but not exclusively, used to refer to a piece, portion, or share of food:

(6-124)   *sii-na*   *botho*
            portion-3.PERS   pork
            'piece(s)/portion(s)/share(s) of pork'

(6-125)   *ta*   *sii*   *qana fanga*   *naqi*
            some   portion   GENP food   this
            'a portion of this food'

The particle *si* and the noun *sii* cannot co-occur:

(6-126)   **si*   *sii*   *qana botho*
            PRTT   piece   GENP pork
            ('some of/piece of the pork')

(The construction **si sii-na botho* would be ungrammatical for another reason: the possessive construction of the type in [6-124] is ungrammatical when the possessum noun is individuated, characterized more closely; see section 8.1.7.)

The partitive function of *si* is considered first. In this function, *si* can occur both with count nouns and with mass nouns. The first set of examples contains *si* with count nouns. The first pair shows the contrast between one of the classifiers and the partitive marker. In (6-127) the noun *niu* 'coconut' occurs with the classifier and it is whole coconuts (fruit) that are referred to:

(6-127)   *ulu   fa   niu*
    three   CLF   coconut
    'three (whole) coconuts (fruit)'

In (6-128), with the partitive marker, the reference is to pieces of coconut:

(6-128)   *ulu   si   niu*
    three   PRTT   coconut
    'three pieces of coconut (fruit)'

The partitive marker and a classifier cannot cooccur. More accurately, when the partitive marker is present because the reference is not to a whole entity, a classifier is not used:

(6-129)   *si   (*gwa)   iqa*
    PRTT   CLF   fish
    'piece of (the) fish'

The word for 'taro', *alo*, becomes *salo* when it is modified by the partitive marker *si*. Most likely, *salo* consists historically of partitive *si* and *alo*, but this etymology has been obscured and *si* is used with *salo*:

(6-130)   *Nau   ku   qani-a   si   salo.*
    1SG   1SG.NFUT   eat-3.OBJ   PRTT   taro
    'I ate a piece of/some of the taro.'

In the next two examples *si* is used with mass nouns:

(6-131)   *Kale   qena,   fale=qa-ku*   *ta*
    mate   that(2)   give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS   some

    si   suka.
    PRTT   sugar
    'Friend, give me some sugar.'

(6-132)   *Nau   kwasi   kuqu-fi-a   ta   si   kafo.*
    1SG   1SG.NEG   drink-TR-3.OBJ   some   PRTT   water
    'I didn't drink any (of the) water.'

With mass nouns the partitive marker does not necessarily signify a subset of a specific whole. Rather, the amount spoken about may be a subset of a general, unspecified whole. In (6-133) the food and water being thanked for in an

evening prayer do not come from specific larger amounts of food and water. Rather, they are conceptualized as being individual amounts out of the total set of food and drink that exists.

(6-133) *Qi   laa   fa   thaqulafia   naqi, kamiliqa   sore*
       LOC   IN   CLF   evening   this   1PL(EXCL)   speak

       leqa   uri-a   n=o   fale-a   si
       be.good   REAS-3.OBJ   COMPL=2SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   PRTT

       fanga   ma   si   kafo ….
       Food   and   PRTT   water
       'This evening, we give thanks (lit.: we speak well) because you [God] give [us] food and water ….'

In a similar fashion, the partitive marker is often used with the noun for 'time' when reference is being made to a particular point in time or a particular period of time: the time being spoken about is a subset of all the time:

(6-134) *Si   manga   n=e   fula   kula qeri, ka*
       PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   arrive   place that   3SG.SEQ

       riki-a   teqe kule-qe   toqa ….
       see-3.OBJ   one   place-ASSOC   people
       'When (lit.: the time that) he arrived at that place, he saw a group of local people ….' (*Kule-qe toqa*, lit. 'place of people', has the meaning 'people of a certain place'.)

(6-135) *Meka   to=ofu   qana si   manga   qeri.*
       1DU(EXCL).SEQ   stay=be.together   GENP PRTT   time   this
       'We are staying together at this time.'

With the noun *doo* 'thing', the partitive marker is often (but not always) used to refer to a specific abstract concept, idea, or event:

(6-136) *Qoo, teqe si   doo koro   koki   ade-a.*
       oh   one   PRTT thing DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT   do-3SG.OBJ
       'Oh, there is one thing you and I will do.' (Deciding on a course of action.)

Si is often used in noun phrases that refer to events or states. In such cases what is signified is not the type of activity or state, and not so much the fact

that the situation obtains, but rather the content, the result, or the point of the event or the state; for example, not 'doing', but 'what is being done'; not 'seeing' but 'what is seen'. Frequently, but not always, the head of such a noun phrase is a nominalized form of a verb. In the next example, the noun phrases *si uqunu-laa* and *si riki-laa*, which contain nominalizations, do not refer, respectively, to the situations of narrating and seeing, but rather to the narrating of something and to the seeing of something:

(6-137)   *Iu,   si   uqunu-laa   ma   si   riki-laa   na*
          OK   PRTT   narrate-NMLZ   and   PRTT   see-NMLZ   REL

          ku   riki-a   bo=naqa   qana fanua
          1SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ   ASRT=PRF   GENP country

          na=i   Niu   Silan   neri.
          REL=LOC   New   Zealand   NPAST.HERE
          'OK, this is what I have to say [about it], and this is what I saw in the country of New Zealand.' (Lit.: 'OK, my narrating [about my trip to New Zealand] and the seeing that I saw in the country of New Zealand are these here.')

(For "cognate relativization" — 'the seeing that I saw' — see section 30.5.)
    In (6-138), the noun phrase *si baqe-a*, with a deverbal noun, refers to what was said on that occasion:

(6-138)   *Si   baqe-a   nau   qeri   qe   funumae*
          PRTT   speak-DVN   1SG   that   3SG.NFUT   be.in.vain

          ba-na.
          LIM-3SG.PERS
          'What I said was just (all) in vain.' (Lit.: 'That speaking/speech of mine was just in vain.')

    Si is also sometimes (but not always) used with the noun *raa* 'work, activity' to refer to a specific task, job, event, something being done:

(6-139)   *Gavman   qe   fulatoqo-na   lole-laa*
          government   3SG.NFUT   determine-3.OBJ   tell.lie-NMLZ

          baqita   qe   nii   i   laal-a   si
          be.big   3SG.NFUT   exist   LOC   inside-3.PERS   PRTT

raa	qeri	na	kera	qalangi-a	qana
activity	that	REL	3PL.NFUT	name-3SG.OBJ	GENP

"Masing	*Ruul".*
Marching	Rule

'The government determined that there were great lies in that activity called (lit.: that they named) "Marching Rule".'

The other function of *si* discussed here is that of a diminutive marker. However, it should be kept in mind that the partitive and the diminutive meanings are not always clearly distinguishable and that they may be present simultaneously.[20] When the meaning of a noun phrase with *si* includes the notion of a small size or small quantity, *si* will be treated as a diminutive marker, even if the partitive meaning is present as well. For example, in (6-140) *si* has a partitive significance, but it also signifies smallness of the piece of bamboo:

(6-140)   *si   ongi*
          DIM   bamboo sp.
          'small piece (e.g. sliver) of *ongi* bamboo'

The noun phrase in (6-141) would be used to refer to a relatively short piece of rope, regardless of whether that piece of rope is thought of as having been cut from a longer rope or not:

(6-141)   *si   qoko*
          DIM   rope
          'short (piece of) rope'

And although one could think of small stones as being detached parts of larger stones, what is important in the situation expressed in (6-142) is that the stone(s) be small:

(6-142)   *Lae   rofe-a   mai   ta   si   fau.*
          go   look.for-3.OBJ   VENT   some DIM   stone
          'Go and look for (and bring) (a) small stone(s).'

A speaker may characterize something as small by means of *si* out of modesty or in a self-deprecating way, as in the next two examples. There is no partitive meaning present in those two sentences. In (6-143) the money spoken about was not part of a larger sum; it was the total amount earned, collected. The amount of money in question was several hundred dollars, a large amount in Solomon Island terms, but it turned out not to be sufficient.

(6-143)   *Meka   raqa   faafi-a   si   malefo   qeri.*
           1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go.up   CONF-3.OBJ   DIM   money   that
           'We went up [to Honiara] with that small amount of money.'

And the story mentioned in (6-144) was not part of a larger story, and it was not particularly short either:

(6-144)   *Iu,   si   uqunu   qeri   qe   fula   qi   kula*
           OK   DIM   story   this   3SG.NFUT   arrive   LOC   place

           qeri   ka   sui   bo=naqa.
           this   3SG.SEQ   be.finished   ASRT=PRF
           'OK, this is the end of this little story.' (Lit.: 'OK, this little story (has) arrived at this place, and it is finished.')

At some point in the history of the language, *si*, in its diminutive function, became part of one of the forms of the adjective 'small, little', *kasi* (section 6.12).

Si is also used with a few nouns as a classifier (section 6.7.5), in which case the partitive and the diminutive meanings are not normally present, but there a few cases where the referents are relatively small. For example:

(6-145)   *teqe   si   bauta*
           one   CLF/DIM   boat
           'one dinghy', 'one life boat'

While dinghies can be thought of as small boats, not every small modern watercraft would be referred to by means of *si bauta*.

6.7.   The classifiers

6.7.1.   Introduction

Toqabaqita has five classifiers, as the term is used here (see below for discussion). However, the classifier system is only little developed. First, of the five classifiers, only three are used with relatively large numbers of nouns, while another one is used only with one noun. And, second, most nouns do not take any classifiers; there is no general, default classifier in the language.

The nouns that do occur with classifiers normally take a classifier in the presence of a numeral or a quantifier in the noun phrase, but the presence of a numeral or a quantifier is not a necessary condition. For example, a classifier

may be used in the presence of a demonstrative in the noun phrase even though there is no numeral or quantifier in that noun phrase. There are a few nouns that require a classifier even in the absence of any other element in the noun phrase.

Some nouns can occur with different classifiers, and as a rule there is a semantic contrast in such cases. More commonly, however, the presence of a classifier is contrastive with its own absence.

All of the classifiers are historically related to nouns, and in four out of the five cases the nouns exist in the language. In the case of the fifth classifier, only comparative evidence from closely related languages reveals its link to a noun. Only those forms are considered here classifiers that in that particular form do not function as nouns. In some associative constructions (section 8.2. the head noun has a classifier-like function. For example, the noun for 'leaf' *ree/re-* can occur as the head of an associative construction:

(6-146)   *re-qe*   *baqu*
             leaf-ASSOC   banana
             'banana leaf'

Re- can also occur as the head of an associative construction in a function that is classifier-like:

(6-147)   *re-qe*   *befa*
             leaf/sheet-ASSOC   paper
             'sheet of paper'

Similarly, the noun for 'fruit' *foa/foe-* can occur as the head of an associative construction with that meaning:

(6-148)   *foe-qe*   *baibai*
             fruit-ASSOC   Malayan.palm.fern
             'Malayan Palm-fern fruit'

And the same noun can also occur with modifier nouns that do not designate fruit-bearing plants:

(6-149)   *foe-qe*   *gasi*
             "fruit"-ASSOC   electric.light
             'lightbulb'

Furthermore, the noun *foa/foe-* is historically related to one of the (true) classifiers, *fa*.

Although certain nouns when functioning as the head of an associative construction are reminiscent of classifiers, they are, at the same time, different from the true classifiers. They occur in the head position of a certain type of noun phrase, the associative noun phrase, while the classifiers do not. They are nouns; the classifiers are not nouns. However, two of the true classifiers originated historically as heads of the associative construction.

Although most of the classifiers are normally used when a numeral is present in the noun phrase, they are not used when nouns that signify numerically specific sets are used rather than numerals (section 6.8.3). In (6-150), with the numeral 'ten', the classifier *fa* is used:

(6-150)   *taafuli   fa   bereta*
           ten   CLF   bread
           '10 bread rolls'

In (6-151), with a noun for a set of ten, the classifier is not used with the word for 'taro', even though it is used when a numeral is present; cf. (6-152):

(6-151)   *teqe   finta   qalo*
           one   tensome taro
           '10 taro corms'

(6-152)   *sikwa fa   qalo*
           nine   CLF   taro
           'nine taro corms'

The classifiers will now be discussed in turn.

6.7.2.   The classifier *fa*

The classifier *fa* is historically related to the noun *foa* 'fruit' (*foe-* as the head of an associative construction). Exceptionally, the vowel of the classifier assimilates to the first vowel of the word for a species of bamboo. The usual word for that species of bamboo is *ongi*, and there is also a rare variant *ungi*. See (6-153a) and (6-153b), respectively:

(6-153)   a.   *fo   ongi*
                 CLF   bamboo.sp
                 'length of *ongi* bamboo cut for a certain purpose'

    b.   *fu   ungi*
         CLF   bamboo.sp
         'length of *ungi* (*ongi*) bamboo cut for a certain purpose'

This kind of assimilation does not take place before other nouns that begin with *o* or *u* (or any other vowel): *fa osi* 'row or column of ground in a garden delineated by partitions', *fa ua* 'relatively small hill'.

The classifier optionally fuses with other vowel initial nouns, in which case it has the form *f=*:

(6-154) *f=io   loo*
         CLF=single-tip-arrow upward
         'the single-tip arrow up there'

For the full form *fa* with the noun *io* 'single-tip arrow' see (6-177) further below.

In its core function the classifier *fa* is used in noun phrases that refer to entities that are relatively small and, loosely speaking, round. So, with a few exceptions specified below, it is used to refer to fruit, nuts, tubers, corms, or bulbs. Here the classifier contrasts with its own absence: it is not used when the reference is to the plant itself.

(6-155) a.   *ngali*   b.   *fa   ngali*
              canarium.nut   CLF   canarium.nut
              'canarium-nut tree'   'canarium nut

(6-156) a.   *fai   keekene*   b.   *fai   fa   keekene*
              four   breadruit   four   CLF   breadfruit
              'four breadfruit trees'   'four breadfruits'

(6-157) a.   *kwaqi-a   alo*
              cut-3.OBJ   taro
              'cut off the taro top after pulling the plant out of the ground'

         b.   *nii-a   fa   qalo*
              break.up-3.OBJ CLF   taro
              'break up (roasted) taro corm into pieces'

(*Alo* becomes *qalo* immediately after words that end in *a*, but not after transitive verbs that carry the object suffix *-a*.)

Further examples:

(6-158)   *Kasi maga-a   fa   aniani   qena.*
            chop break-3.OBJ CLF   onion   that(2)
            'Chop up the onion (bulb).'

(6-159)   Fa   *meleni   neqe qe   kobu   naqa.*
            CLF   watermelon this 3SG.NFUT be.big.but.not.ripe PRF
            'This watermelon is big now, but it is not ripe yet.'

However, the classifier is not always used when context makes it clear that it is the fruit, bulb, corm, etc. that is intended, rather than the plant. Thus the exhortation in (6-160) is about eating a taro corm not a taro plant:

(6-160)   *Qani-a   alo   manga   kai   qaaqako.*
            eat-3.OBJ   taro   time   3SG.FUT be.warm
            'Eat the taro while it's warm.' (Lit.: 'Eat the taro [at] the time when it will be warm.')

Nevertheless, when a numeral or a quantifier is present in a noun phrase, the classifier is normally used even if the context makes it clear that it is the fruit, corm, etc. that is intended:

(6-161)   *Nau ku   qani-a   teqe fa   qalo baqita.*
            1SG 1SG.NFUT   eat-3.OBJ   one   CLF   taro be.big
            'I ate a/one big taro.'

Compare also (6-162) without a quantifier and without the classifier, and (6-163) with both. In both sentences the reference is to areca nuts, not to areca trees:

(6-162)   *Qota   qe   bulo   nau.*
            areca.nut   3SG.NFUT   make.dizzy 1SG
            'An areca nut (that I chewed) made me dizzy.'

(6-163)   *Kera   ngali-a   mai tai   fa   qota?*
            3PL.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   VENT some.PL CLF   areca.nut
            'Did they bring any areca nuts?'

There are two exceptions to the pattern of the use of *fa* when reference is to fruit, nuts, tubers, etc. First, with the noun *thao* 'sago', the classifier *fa* is used to refer to sago palms not to their ivory nuts:

(6-164)　　*ulu　fa　thao*
　　　　　　three　CLF　sago
　　　　　　'three sago palms'

To refer to ivory nuts, the noun *foa/foe-* 'fruit' must be used:

(6-165)　　*ulu　foe-qe　thao*
　　　　　　three　fruit-ASSOC　sago
　　　　　　'three ivory nuts'

And, second, with the words for 'yam', it is the classifier *si* (section 6.7.5), rather than *fa*, that is normally used to refer to tubers, although *fa* is occasionally found (especially in the speech of younger people). To signify a yam plant, it is the classifier *gwa* (section 6.7.3) that is used.

The classifier *fa* cannot occur with the noun *foa/foe-* 'fruit', to which it is historically related:

(6-166)　　**fa　foa-na　keekene*
　　　　　　CLF　fruit-3.PERS　breadfruit
　　　　　　'breadfruit (fruit)'

Fa is used with nouns that designate relatively small, roundish birds, and with the noun 'bird' when the reference is to such a bird:

(6-167)　　*teqe　fa　thaqaro*
　　　　　　one　CLF　bird
　　　　　　'one (small, roundish) bird'

As elsewhere, the classifier can be used even in the absence of a numeral, a quantifier, or any other modifier:

(6-168)　　*Wane　e　quri-a　fa　kiikidukome.*
　　　　　　man　3SG.NFUT　be.like-3.OBJ　CLF　willy.wagtail
　　　　　　'The man is like a willy-wagtail.' (Said about active, energetic, enthusiastic people.)

Some other types of objects that are relatively small and either spherical or round even though they may be more or less flat and that are referred to using *fa* are (sport) balls, candies, bread rolls, medicine pills, coins, and wristwatches.

(6-169)   *Fa   lole   qoe,   fa   lole   qoe,   fa   lole   qoe.*
           CLF   candy   2SG   CLF   candy   2SG   CLF   candy   2SG
           '[Here is] your candy, [here is] your candy, [here is] your candy.'
           (Said when distributing candies to children, one by one.)

(6-170)   *teqe   fa   meresina*
           one   CLF   medicine
           'one medicine pill'

In (6-171) a baby possum is characterized by means of the noun *raranga* 'body fat of an animal' and the classifier as 'a ball of fat':

(6-171)   *Qoo, weleqi   qae,   fa   raranga neri.*
           hey!   man!   VOC   CLF   fat   NPAST.HERE
           'Hey, man! (It's) a ball of fat.' (Responding to another possum hunter's question: "What's the baby one [a possum] like?".)

The words for stars, including shooting stars, take *fa*, probably because they are perceived as small round objects:

(6-172)   *fa   bubufanga*
           CLF   Evening.Star
           'the Evening Star' (*bubu* 'observe', *fanga* 'food'; the star comes out when people are eating in the evening)

(6-173)   *Nau   ku   riki-a   teqe   fa   rade*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   one   CLF   shooting.star

           qe   tala   qana   mangaa.
           3SG.NFUT   shine   GENP   air
           'I saw a shooting start shine in the air.'

Fa contrasts with the classifier *gwa* with the noun *ua* 'hill': *fa ua* 'relatively small hill' vs. *gwa ua* 'relatively big hill'.

By another extension from the core function, *fa* is used in noun phrases that refer to objects that are (more or less) circular in cross-section, not spherical but relatively long and not necessarily small, such as house beams and types of sticks used in house construction (but not posts; see section 6.7.4), lengths of bamboo (see [6-153] further above), *rina* ear ornaments (long decorated sticks inserted into holes in earlobes), fingers/toes (both with the general word for fingers/toes and with the names of the individual fingers/toes), cigarettes, bat-

teries, bean pods, snakes, and a type of arrow with a single tip (but not another type with a triple tip). For example:

(6-174)   *roo   fa   qato   qe=ki*
                two   CLF   rafter that=PL
                'those two rafters'

House beams and types of sticks used in house construction can also be referred to by means of the noun *foa*, whose other meaning is 'fruit' and to which the classifier is related.

(6-175)   *fa   niiniitele*
                CLF   thumb/big.toe
                'thumb, big toe' (*nii* 'break [tr.]', *tele* 'roasted taro/yam/breadfruit')

(6-176)   *lulugomi-a   fa   sigirete*
                roll.up-3.OBJ   CLF   cigarette
                'roll a cigarette'

(6-177)   *... ka   thau-ngani-a   fa   io   ki, ...*
                   3SG.SEQ make-TR-3.OBJ CLF   single.tip.arrow   PL
                '… she made single-tip arrows, ….'

Some uses of *fa* are due to metonymic extensions from a more basic use. For example, in its core function, the classifier is used in noun phrases that refer to canarium nuts; see (6-153b) further above. And it is also used with the word for 'year' as a unit of time, which too is *ngali*. Traditionally, years are thought of as involving two seasons: six months of canarium nuts and six months without canarium nuts:

(6-178)   *roo   fa   ngali*
                two   CLF   canarium.nut/year
                a. 'two canarium nuts'
                b. 'two years'

See further below for other cyclical units of time.

The noun *seleni* (or *selen*) is a borrowing from Solomon Islands Pijin, ultimately English *shilling*. Today it is used to refer specifically to the 10-cent coin, but may be used to refer to other coins and also to money in general. The classifier *fa* is used in all cases:

(6-179)   *teqe   fa   seleni*
        one   CLF   ten.cent.coin
        'one 10-cent coin'

(6-180)   *Fita   fa   seleni   qana kisi   miti?*
        how.much? CLF   money   GENP case   meat
        'How much money for a case of (tinned) meat?'

However, when reference is being made specifically to banknotes, *fa* is not used; instead, *ree* literally 'leaf' is used as the head of a possessive or an associative construction (see also [6-146] and [6-147] further above):

(6-181)   *ree-na   noto*
        leaf-3.PERS   banknote
        '(the) banknotes'

As shown in (6-178) further above, *fa* is used with the word for 'year' when a year is conceptualized as a (cyclical) unit of time. It is also used with some, but not all, other nouns that can designate cyclical units of time. The noun *thato* can be used to refer to the sun, to daytime, and to a day as a 24-hour period. *Fa* is used when the reference is to a 24-hour period or to daytime, but not to the sun (even though one might think of the sun as a round object). Another word for a day as a 24-hour period, *bongi*, also takes *fa*:

(6-182)   *teqe   fa   {thato   /   bongi}*
        one   CLF   day   /   day
        'one day'

But:

(6-183)   *Thato   e   suu   naqa.*
        sun   3SG.NFUT   (sun)set PRF
        'The sun has gone down.'

There is another noun that designates a day as a period of 24 hours, *dani*, which, however, takes a different classifier, *maqe*; see section 6.7.4.

Nouns that designates times of day, such as 'daytime' (same word as for 'day [24 hours])', nightime', 'morning' and 'evening' also take *fa*:

(6-184)   *Nau   kwai   biinga   qa=fa   thato   ada*
        1SG   1SG.FUT sleep   GENP=CLF daytime TIM

> *kwa   feda   qana tharaqi-laa   qa=fa*
> 1SG.SEQ be.tired GENP be.awake-NMLZ   GENP=CLF
>
> *rodo.*
> night
> 'I will sleep during the day so that I am not (too) tired to stay awake
> (lit.: so that I am not tired of being awake) at night.'

(6-185)   *qi   laa   fa   thaqulafia   naqi*
          LOC   IN   CLF   evening   this
          '(in) this evening'

Fa is also used with *wiki* 'week' as a cyclical unit of time, which is an intro-
duced, Western concept, but not with *madami* 'month'.

It is conceivable, although one cannot be certain, that the use of the classi-
fier with some nouns that signify cyclical units of time is an extension from its
use with the noun for 'year', which itself is a metonymical extension from its
use with the noun for canarium nuts. Interestingly, those cyclical units that are
referred to using the classifier are relatively short: days and weeks, not months.
It is possible that the notion of cyclicity is more prominent with relatively short
periods of time. Years, of course, are the longest cyclical periods, but there the
use of *fa* is due to the association of years with canarium nuts. The reason why
madami 'month' does not take the classifier is not obvious. One could speculate
that this is because *madami* also means 'moon', and in that sense does not take
the classifier either, and because a month is too long a cyclical unit. (Compare
thato 'sun' without the classifier and 'day (24 hours)' with the classifier.)

Fa is also used with nouns that are nominalizations of verbs. There the ref-
erence is not to an event/state as such or to its obtaining, but rather to an
event/state as a unit in a cycle. In the first example below, the deverbal noun
biinga-a refers to one's sleeping as an event, and the classifier is not used:

(6-186)   *Nau ku   rongo   qoe   qo   didilifo*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear   2SG   2SG.NFUT   gnash.teeth

          qi   laa   biinga-a.
          LOC   IN   sleep-DVN
          'I heard you gnash (your) teeth in (your) sleep.'

On the other hand, in the next example *biinga-a*, with *fa*, refers to sleeps as
temporal units:

(6-187)   *Nau, roo   fa   biinga-a   feteqi   qa=fa   thato*
          1SG   two   CLF   sleep-DVN   INTS   GENP=CLF   day

          qeri.
          this
          'I [had] two sleeps during the day.' 'I [took] two naps during the day.'

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In the first one, the nominalization *lae-laa*, without the classifier, is used to refer to the performance of an activity of going:

(6-188)   *Kere   are   nau   bo=naqa   uri-a   lae-laa.*
          3PL.NFUT   urge   1SG   INTS=INTS   PURP-3.OBJ   go-NMLZ
          'They strongly urged me to go.'

In the second example, *lae-laa*, with *fa*, signifies an occasion of going as a temporal cyclical unit:

(6-189)   *Fita   fa   lae-laa   n=o   lae*
          how.many?   CLF   go-NMLZ   FOC=2SG.NFUT   go

          qani-a   uri   Honiara?
          INS-3SG.OBJ   ALL   Honiara
          'How many times have you been to Honiara?' (Lit.: 'How many goings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?')

There is a verb *fali* 'take a step, steps'. Its nominalization, when used with *fa*, serves to refer to spatial cyclical units: paces, as units of length.

(6-190)   *fai   fa   fali-laa*
          four   CLF   take.step-NMLZ
          'four paces' (when measuring st.)

However, *fa* is not used with other units of length that are not nominalizations. The two terms for half-fathom take the classifier *gwa* (see the next section), and others take no classifier at all, such as *malafunu* 'span, from the tip of the thumb to the tip of another finger, with the fingers fully spread'.

Fa is also used with nouns that designate songs, such as *nguu* 'song (general term)', *kana* 'k.o. traditional song', *siisila* 'k.o. traditional song'. The motivation for that is not clear, although it is conceivable that songs are conceptualized as a kind of cyclical unit, because they are sung on various occasions.

(6-191)   … *tai   si   manga   laa-lae   ka   fula*
    some.PL PRTT time RDP-go   3SG.SEQ arrive

    ba-na   qan=teqe   imole   ura
    LIM-3SG.PERS   GENP=one   person   PURP

    nguu-li-la-na   fa   nguu   qe=ki.
    sing-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   CLF   song   that=PL
    '... sometimes it would go so far that there would be only one person
    to sing the songs.' (Lit.: '… sometimes it just arrived at one person
    for the singing of the songs.')

There are nouns that take the classifier *fa* where the motivation is not at all obvious, at least not at the present time. For example, *keqata* 'huge pig that has been fed for many years' takes *fa* even though other words for 'pig' and varieties of pigs do not. This may be an extension of the use of *fa* when reference is to house beams. *Riqi* 'sp. of a small tree' takes *fa*; and here *fa* contrasts with the classifier *gwa*: *gwa riqi* 'k.o. magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees'. The names of a few other plants also take *fa*, while most others do not. For example, *que* 'lawyer-cane (plant)' does; but so does *que* 'external tumour on a body'. In the latter case, *fa* is used because tumours are (nearly) spherical. As far as the word for lawyer-cane is concerned, it is not clear whether some kind of connection is/was perceived between tumours and lawyer-cane, or whether the use of *fa* with *que* 'lawyer-cane' is an extension based on homonymy. *Kiikii*, which is a general term for giant clams, takes *fa*, but its synonym *qima* does not.

6.7.3.   The classifier *gwa*

The classifier *gwa* is related to the noun *gwau* 'head'. With a few nouns, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence or, rarely, with the classifier *fa*, but in most cases *gwa* is not contrastive, and it is not always used.
  In one of its functions, *gwa* occurs with nouns that signify certain parts of the head or things associated with heads. It is also used with the word for 'skull':

(6-192)   *gwa   leelete   qana imole*
    CLF   skull   GENP human.being
    'human skull'

However, it is not used with the noun *gwau* 'head':

(6-193)   **gwa gwau*
           CLF   head
           ('head')

It is used with the words for teeth, including the general word for 'tooth':

(6-194)   *Teqe gwa lifo   qe   thakathaka qana lifo-ku.*
           one   CLF tooth 3SG.NFUT   wiggle   GENP tooth-1SG.PERS
           'One of my teeth wiggles/is wiggly.' (Lit.: 'One tooth wiggles
           among my teeth.')

(6-195)   *(gwa)   ulunga-ku*
           CLF   wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
           'my wisdom tooth/teeth'

Gwa is used when the reference is to kinds of head hair, to facial hair, and
also to the absence of head hair; and/or to a head that has a certain kind of hair
style, is bald, etc.; and in a few cases to a person who has a certain kind of head
hair. In some such cases, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence.

(6-196)   *gwa   thaathate*
           CLF   beard
           'beard'

Without the classifier, *thaathate* designates the chin and the jaws.

(6-197)   *gwa   sufi*
           CLF   k.o.hairdo
           'hair shaved off in the front in a straight line from ear to ear'

Compare *sufi* (intr.) 'shave os.', and *sufi* (tr.) 'shave (hair, beard)'.

(6-198)   *gwa   kookori*
           CLF   shaved.head
           'person's head whose hair has been completely shaved off'

There is an intransitive verb *kookori* 'grate coconuts', and the serializing
compound *sufi kookori* expresses the meaning 'completely shave sb.'s head'.

(6-199)   *gwa   falai*
          CLF   bald.head
          'bald head'

Compare *falai* 'be bald'.

(6-200)   *gwa   kwao*
          CLF   white/grey.hair
          'person with white/grey head hair'

Compare *kwao* 'of hair: be white, grey'.

    Some other nouns that signify concepts associated with the head and/or hair that take *gwa* are:

(6-201)   *gwa   qeda*
          CLF   black.dye
          a. 'hair dyed black'
          b. 'black hair-dye'

(6-202)   *gwa   bili*
          CLF   mark.of.mourning
          'black marks worn on one's face as a sign of mourning for sb.'s death'

Compare *biliqa* 'be dirty', where *qa* is most likely historically the proprietive suffix *-qa* (section 4.2.2.3), and *toobili*, 'observe a period of mourning, wearing black marks on one's face' (*too* 'of a person: be in a certain condition').

    Gwa is used with certain nouns that refer to categories or kinds of people. This may be an extension of the association of *gwa* with the head, the head being the most prominent part of the body. For example: *gwa reto* 'mature person, no longer young (but not necessarily very old)'; *gwa tero* 'person in a permanently bad physical or medical condition (e.g., crippled, paralyzed, constantly with sores)'.

    Gwa is also used when reference is made to relatively large bones, including the general noun for 'bone'. This may be an extension of its use with the noun for 'skull'.

(6-203)   *gwa   qogi   qana   qaba-ku*
          CLF   bone   GENP   arm-1SG.PERS
          'the bone in my arm', 'my humerus'

(6-204)   *gwa   laqo*
    CLF   kneecap
    'kneecap bone, patella'

Compare *laqo* 'large disc-like body ornament made from a clam shell with tur-tle-shell filigree, worn by men on one temple' (related to *laqo* 'kneecap bone'?).

  And *gwa* is also used to refer to the rib cage: *gwa baabara*.

  Gwa is also used when the reference is to a lump-shaped collectivity of something, possibly through a metaphorical extension from the meaning 'head'. For example: *gwa gano* 'lump of soil', 'small hump of soil on the ground' (*gano* 'ground, soil'); *gwa meme* 'morsel, mouthful, lump of pre-chewed food (given to babies or to piglets)' (*meme* [intr.] 'pre-chew food [for a baby or a piglet]', 'of cooked food: be soft because pre-chewed or mashed'). Included here may perhaps also be *gwa rama* 'flotsam':

(6-205)   *Teqe gwa   rama   qe   ni=i   laa   asi.*
    one   CLF   flotsam 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC IN   sea
    'There is a patch of flotsam in the sea.'

  The classifier is also used with the nouns that designate mountains and hills, hillocks (natural features that are large lumps?): *gwa tolo* 'mountain'; *gwa ua* 'relatively big hill'; cf. *fa ua* 'relatively small hill' (section 6.7.2); *gwa sulaa* 'small piece of ground higher than the surrounding area; (small) hillock'. With-out the classifier, *tolo* designates bush up on a mountain.

  Gwa is used with the general words for fish, *iqa* (the usual term) and *sak-wari* (not common):

(6-206)   *Ku   dee-a   kwalu   gwa   {iqa / sakwari}.*
    1SG.NFUT   catch.fish-3.OBJ   eight   CLF   fish / fish
    'I caught eight fish.'

  There are also nouns *iqa* and *sakwari* that designate thrush (disease) in the mouth that affects mainly babies, but there *gwa* is not used:

(6-207)   *Wela,   {iqa / sakwari}   e   thau-ngi-a.*
    child   thrush/ thrush   3SG.NFUT   afflict-TR-3SG.OBJ
    'The child is suffering from thrush.' (Lit.: 'The child, thrush has afflicted him/her.')

  Both *iqa* and *sakwari* are also used to refer to borderline leprosy, but there they occur with the classifier *maqe* (see the next section). It is not clear whether

the nouns for fish on the one hand and those for thrush and borderline leprosy on the other are related.

Another use of the classifier *gwa* is when reference is made to a relatively stationary body of water or another liquid, but not to water or another liquid in a man-made container. In some such cases, *gwa* contrasts with its own absence. For example, without the classifier, *kafo* refers to fresh water, streams, rivers, while with the classifier it may signify a puddle of water, continuous area flooded with water, or a pool in a stream where the water moves only slowly, even if the pool is man-made:

(6-208)   *Kera   nao-fi-a   gwa kafo qeri.*
           3PL.NFUT   bail-TR-3.OBJ   CLF   water that
           'They bailed the water out of the pool [to be able to catch the
           shrimps in it).' (Here *gwa kafo qeri* refers a place in a stream that
           has been enclosed with a barrier.)

The word for 'blood', *qabu*, occurs with *gwa* to refer to a pool or puddle of blood, to a subcutaneous accumulation of blood, and also to a placenta.

In some other cases the presence of *gwa* is not contrastive:

(6-209)   *gwa qirodo*
           CLF   water.in.hollow.of.tree.or.of.rock
           'accumulation of water in a hollow in a tree or in a rock'

Gwa is also used with some nouns that signify concepts having to do with (mostly traditional) magic and religion. Here *gwa* is contrastive. *Biqu*, without *gwa*, signifies a traditional men's house, while *gwa biqu (abu)* refers to traditional shrines (where men or women could be buried) and also to modern burial places (*abu* 'be taboo, not allowed, forbidden', 'be sacred, holy [in the Christian sense]'). Possibly related is the use of *gwa* in *gwa rodo abu* 'time of day: before day-break (still dark)' (*rodo* 'night'). *Riqi* (optionally) takes the classifier *fa* to refer to a species of a small tree (section 6.7.2), whereas *gwa riqi* designates a kind of magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees. *Funu*, without *gwa*, is an intransitive verb 'be destroyed, ruined', while *gwa funu* designates a kind of magic, sorcery that resides in its possessor's hands. Even a slight touch can kill the person touched:

(6-210)   *Wane gwa funu   e   nii   qani nia.*
           man   CLF   k.o.magic   3SG.NFUT   exist GENP 3SG
           'The man possesses *funu* magic.'

Also included here is *gwa {fiu/lalaia}* 'root of *fiu/lalaia* sp. of ginger': chewed-up ginger root was used, together with chewed-up betel quid, in a kind of traditional healing.

Qai, without *gwa*, designates trees and wood. *Gwa qai* has several meanings: (a) 'place for traditional worship'; (b) 'k.o. magic owned by some men that is used to affect girls and young women: the affected person behaves as if possessed and may eat leaves of *riqi* trees', same as *gwa riqi*; (c) 'stick used to beat a traditional wooden drum'. The last meaning links *qai* with other nouns that refer to sticks or stick-like objects used to beat or pound something (not people): *gwa kodo* 'stick used to beat a drum' (without *gwa*, *kodo* can refer to a stick used to beat a person)*, gwa qaululu* 'bamboo pole used to mash pudding in a large bowl', *gwa lafuta* 'stick, pole (not of bamboo) used to pound pudding or as a rammer', *gwa fisi* 'beater made out of a coconut frond split in half, used to beat the surface of the sea to drive fish into a desired place where they are then caught or speared' (a group of people using such beaters). And further, there is a connection to words referring to coconut fronds (the stick of a coconut frond can also be used to beat drums): *gwa senga* 'coconut frond', and see also (6-211).

(6-211)   *gwa   qaba qana niu*
           CLF   arm   GENP coconut
           'coconut frond'

Without *gwa*, *qaba*, designates a hand or an arm.

Gwa qaba can also designate a measure of length, a half-fathom (the distance from the centre of the chest to the tips of the fingers of one arm extended to the side'; also *gwa qaaqaba*.

Gwa is also used with reference to stones and rocks bigger than those that would be referred to using the diminutive particle *si* (section 6.6).

(6-212)   *teqe   gwa   fau*
           one   CLF   stone
           'one stone'

Unless the stone is very big, some speakers, especially young ones, use the classifier *fa* rather than *gwa* with *fau* 'stone'. Furthermore, the classifier *maqe*/*maqa* (see the next section) is also possible with *fau*, when the stone, rock in question is relatively large.

The word for 'reef' can occur with *gwa* to signify the rocks of the reef: *gwa mai*.

Nouns that signify different kinds of armlet take *gwa*: *gwa kome* 'armlet worn on the upper arm (general term)', *gwa qimai* 'k.o. armlet made from the

shell of a giant clam' (cf. *qima* 'giant clam'); and *gwa sifala* 'k.o. armlet made from *sifala* shell'. Here it is likely that the use of the classifier is metonymically related to its use with nouns that signify relatively large bones, such as those of the upper arm ([6-203] further above); and compare also its use with *qaba* 'arm' to refer to coconut fronds.

There are also some uses of the classifier *gwa* that are not transparently related to any of those discussed above. For example: *gwa kurua* 'depression in the ground' (cf. [*maqe*] *kurua* 'low-lying area', 'valley'); *gwa suku* 'canarium-nut tree that bears nuts with very small kernels' (cf. *fa suku* 'canarium nut with a very small kernel'); *gwa {kai/ufi}* 'yam plant' (cf. *si {kai/ufi}* 'yam tuber'); and *gwa ngeqe* 'sp. of grasshopper'.

6.7.4.   The classifiers *maqe* and *maqa*

These two classifier forms are almost always interchangeable. Historically, *maqe* is a grammaticalization of *ma-qe*, the head of associative noun phrases, and *maqa* is most likely a backformation from *maqe* (see further below). *Ma-qe*, as the head of associative noun phrases, still exists in present-day Toqa-baqita, and it and the classifier *maqe* are not always easily distinguishable. *Ma-* in the associative construction is a reduced form of *maa*, which has a variety of senses, loosely characterizable as 'focal point', 'prominent part', such as 'eye', 'tip', 'cutting edge', also 'opening' (e.g. a doorway or the mouth of a basket), 'exterior front part of st.', 'lid'.[21] The form *maa* occurs in the possessum position in possessive noun phrases, while *ma-* occurs as the head of associative noun phrases. (Compare *ree* 'leaf' in the possessum position in [6-181] further above and *re-* as the head of an associative noun phrase in [6-146] and [6-147].)

(6-213)   *ma-qe*   *suta*
           point-ASSOC   comb
           'tooth of a comb'

(6-214)   *maa-na*   *suta*
           point-3.PERS   comb
           '(all) the teeth of a comb'

(For the collective significance of the possessive construction in contrast to the type-identifying function of the associative construction see section 8.2.2.)

Ma-qe in associative constructions contrasts with *maa* in possessive constructions. On the other hand, the classifier *maqe* is, with just a few exceptions, in free variation with *maqa*:

(6-215)   {*maqe   /   maqa}   kumu*
            CLF   /   CLF   anvil.stone
            'anvil stone used in cracking canarium nuts'

Without the classifier, *kumu* signifies a kind of pudding made from mashed taro or mashed sweet potatoes, and there is also a transitive verb *kumu* 'punch, pound'.

However, in some cases *maqe* and *maqa* contrast with *maa*, which is a reflection of the historical origin of *maqe* in *ma-qe*.[22] As far as the origin of the variant *maqa* is concerned, it is most likely a later development from *maqe*. As discussed in section 8.2.1, nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable take the *-i* variant and possibly the *-e* variant, respectively, of the associative suffix rather than *-qi* and *-qe* variants; and with some nouns the final vowel of the base is deleted. The form *maqe*, from *ma-qe* (where *ma-* was a reduced form of *maa*), was most likely misanalyzed as coming from *maqa*, and *maqa* was created by backformation.

We can now consider the uses of the classifiers *maqe* and *maqa*. Unless specified otherwise, the two forms are interchangeable, even if only one form is given in an example. As the head of an associative construction, the noun *ma-qe* (with the associative suffix) may signify the point, tip or the cutting edge of an implement or a weapon:

(6-216)   *ma-qe   naifa*
            edge-ASSOC knife
            'the cutting edge of a knife (including the tip)'

On the other hand, the classifiers *maqe* and *maqa* signify a wound or injury made with, or caused by, a given implement or weapon:

(6-217)   {*maqe   /   maqa}   naifa*
            CLF   /   CLF   knife
            'wound inflicted with a knife; knife injury'

(6-218)   *maqe subi*
            CLF   k.o.warclub
            'wound inflicted with a *subi* club'

Perhaps by metonymical extension from the sense of 'wound, injury', *{maqe/maqa} ona* refers to a piece of vascular tissue of a species of tree fern (*fali*) sharpened at one end. Such spikes are placed around trees that their owner wants to prevent others from climbing. The spikes are stuck into the ground with only the sharp tips protruding in order to penetrate would-be transgressors'

feet. Without the classifier, *ona* signifies a species of sea urchin with long, sharp spikes, and also the spikes of a crayfish.

Maqe and *maqa* are also used with the general term for houseposts and house piles, *beta*. (With nouns that signify house beams and stick used in house construction, it is the classifier *fa* that is used.)

(6-219) *Ngali-a   mai ta   ulu {maqe / maqa} beta.*
         carry-3.OBJ VENT some three CLF   / CLF   housepost
         'Bring three (of the) houseposts.'

However, to refer collectively to all the posts of a house, the possessive construction is used:

(6-220) *maa-na   beta*
         focal.point?-3.PERS   housepost
         'the posts (of a house)'

The classifiers are also used when reference is specifically to a housepost made from the wood of a *Vitex cofassus* tree. A living *Vitex cofassus* tree is referred to as *fata*, one that has been felled as *buu*, and a post made from its wood as *maqe buu*.

Perhaps related is the use with the noun *qai*. By itself *qai* designates a tree or wood. However, *qai* with *maqe* or *maqa* and with a modifying verb 'be bad' designates elephantiasis. In (6-221) the final vowel of the classifier has been deleted before a word that begins with *q*, and the two glottal stops are realized as one long one (section 2.2.1):

(6-221) *maq̓=qai   taqaa*   [máʔ:əi táʔaːa]
         CLF=tree   be.bad
         'elephantiasis'

The name of another type of (possibly) serious illness also takes the classifiers:

(6-222) *maqe {iqa   / sakwari}*
         CLF   borderline.leprosy / borderline.leprosy
         'borderline leprosy'

Both *iqa* and *sakwari* also designate the mouth disease thrush, in which case they occur without a classifier. And as discussed in the preceding section, there are also nouns *iqa* and *sakwari* 'fish', which (may) take the classifier *gwa*. It is

conceivable that the use of *maqe/maqa* to designate elephantiasis and border-line leprosy is related to their use to refer to wounds and injuries.

With some nouns, *maqe* and *maqa* signify that the referent of the noun phrase is relatively large. In some such cases the classifiers contrast with their own absence, in some others they contrast with another classifier, and in still some others they are not contrastive. They are used with reference to large baskets. The general term for basket' is *waqi*, which can be used to refer to a basket of any type and size. *{Maqe/maqa} waqi* signifies a certain type of large basket, also referred to as *{maqe/maqa} foofote* (*fote* '[canoe] paddle', 'shoulder blade'). The noun *raraqai* can refer to a type of small personal basket (like a purse or a dilly-bag) or to a different type of basket that is large and is used to carry produce in, while *maqa raraqai* can designate only the latter. Here, only the *maqa* form of the classifier is used.

In contrast, the noun *maa* in relation to a basket signifies the mouth of a basket:

(6-223)   *maa-na*   *waqi*
           opening-3.PERS   basket
           'the mouth of a basket'

Maqe and *maqa* are also used to refer to stones, rocks that are relatively large:

(6-224)   *{maqe   /   maqa}   fau*
           CLF   /   CLF   stone
           '(large) rock, boulder'

Stones that are not particularly large (but not very small either) are referred to by means of the classifier *gwa*, or sometimes *fa* (section 6.7.3).

The nouns that signify anvil stones used in cracking canarium nuts all take *maqe/maqa*: *maqe kumu* (*kumu* [n.] 'k.o. pudding made from mashed taro or mashed sweet potatoes, *kumu* (tr. v.) 'punch, pound'); *maqe naanagi* (*nagi* 'chert', used for anvil stones); *maqe sadi* (*sadi* 'be hard [not soft]'). And there is also *maqe rafe* 'stone believed to have fallen from the sky during a thunderstorm' (found near trees split during thunderstorms; the trees are believed to have been split by the falling stones). *Rafe* has no other meaning.

The notion of relatively large size is also present in the use of *maqe/maqa* with the noun *kurua*: *maqe kurua* 'low-lying area', 'valley', as opposed to *gwa kurua* 'depression in the ground' (section 6.7.3).

Maqe and *maqa* are also used with the nouns for 'night' and 'darkness' to signify a long period of darkness and pitch darkness, respectively.

(6-225)   *maqe   rodo*
           CLF   night
           'long period of darkness at night before the moon appears'

Compare:

(6-226)   *si   rodo*
           DIM   night
           'short period of darkness at night before the moon appears'

(6-227)   *maqa   keela*
           CLF   pitchdark.night
           'pitch-dark night'

Maqa keela designates a night darker that *maqa kee* 'moonless night'. Neither *keela* nor *kee* have other meanings. (There is another noun *kee* 'sp. of wren'.)

    Rodo and *kee* can take either the *maqe* or the *maqa* form of the classifier, while *keela* can only take the latter.

    With the noun *era* 'fire', the classifier *maqe* signifies an area whose vegetation has been burnt down so that a new garden may be made there: *maqe era*. Here *maqe* contrast with the classifier *si*: *si era* 'piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood'.

    Maqe is used with one of the three nouns for 'day (24-hour period)': *maqe dani*. (The other two nouns, *thato* and *bongi*, take the *fa* classifier; see section 6.7.2).

    Maqe and *maqa* are used with the noun *toaa* 'household, homestead', 'hamlet, village' with the significance of the homestead, hamlet or village as a person's home.

(6-228)   *Nau   ku   thafaliqi   futa   qi   laal-a*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   INCEP   be.born   LOC   inside-3.PERS

           naintin   twenty   eit,   qi   laa   maqe   toaa   qi
           nineteen   twenty   eight LOC   IN   CLF   hamlet   LOC

           Malethau.
           Malethau
           'I was originally born (lit.: I began to be born) in 1928 in the hamlet of (lit.: at) Malethau.'

However, only the form *maqa*, not *maqe*, is possible with the noun *fera* 'family house' (where traditionally a woman and her children, but not her husband, lived). *Maqa fera* has the meaning 'one's house as one's home'.

(6-229)   *Lae   i   maqa   fera.*
          go   LOC   CLF   house
          'Go home (not necessarily into the house).'

And only *maqa*, not *maqe*, is used, obligatorily, with the noun for 'forehead', *dara*:

(6-230)   *... ma   fa   io   baa   ka   toqo qi*
           and   CLF   single.tip.arrow   that   3SG.SEQ   hit   LOC

          maqa   daar-a ....
          CLF   forehead-3SG.PERS
          '... and the arrow hit [him] in his forehead ....'

Finally, the classifiers are used with the words for 'drum' to signify drum beats:

(6-231)   *Wane   baqita,   laalae   qe   mae, keka*
          man   be.important   when   3SG.NFUT   die   3PL.SEQ

          buuleqemae   qani nia   fai   taafuli
          beat.drum.to.announce.death   GENP 3SG   four   ten

          maqe oqo.
          CLF   drum
          'An important man, when he died, they would give (lit.: beat) 40 drum beats for him.'

And from drum beats there is an extension to clock time, with *doo* 'thing' as the head noun. Presumably, the association with drum beats has to do with iron gongs that used to be (and still are) used in place of traditional drums to signal time for doing something (e.g. for attending a church service) and possibly also with time signals on the radio.

(6-232)   *Kamiliqa   molo   mili   nii*
          1PL(EXCL)   AFFTOP   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   be.located

> *bo=naqa   qi   laa   roo   maqa doo   neri.*
> ASRT=PRF LOC IN   two   CLF   thing NPAST.HERE
> 'Where we are, it's now two o'clock.' (Lit.: 'We are in two things
> now.') (Speaking on the telephone to somebody in a different coun-
> try and a different time zone.)

In comparison with the other two classifiers that have relatively large ranges of use, *fa* and *gwa*, the uses of *maqe* and *maqa* appear to be less tied to certain semantic areas and more lexically idiosyncratic. It is conceivable that this is due to their arising from the head of the associative noun phrase, and that the variety of uses is the result of selective grammaticalization of *ma-qe* in differ-ent associative constructions.

6.7.5.   The classifier *si*

The element *si* functions primarily as a partitive and a diminutive particle, but with a few nouns it does function as a classifier. In some such cases, there is no necessary implication of partitiveness or small size. *Si* as a classifier may con-trast with another classifier and/or with its own absence. As discussed in sec-tion 6.7.2, the terms for fruit, nuts, tubers, corms, and (plant) bulbs take the classifier *fa*. However, the words for 'yam' take *si* when the reference is to yam tubers (even though yams can be quite large), while the classifier *gwa* (section 6.7.3) is used to refer to yam plants:

(6-233)   *roo   si   {kai   /   ufi}*
           two   CLF   yam   /   yam
           'two (whole) yam tubers'

(6-234)   *roo   gwa   {kai   /   ufi}*
           two   CLF   yam   /   yam
           'two yam plants'

Si also functions contrastively with *thao* 'sago'. *Si thao* designates panels of house thatching made of sago-palm leaves bent around, and sewn to, narrow wooden slats; compare *fa thao* 'sago palm tree' (section 6.7.2).
    With the noun for 'blood', *si* functions to signify blood relationship between people:

(6-235)   *Kamiliqa   teqe   si   qabu.*
           1PL(EXCL)   one   CLF   blood
           'We are one blood.'

However, with *qabu*, *si* could also be used in the diminutive function: *si qabu* 'drop of blood'; compare also *gwa qabu* 'pool of blood', 'subcutaneous accumulation of blood', and 'placenta' (section 6.7.3).

In some cases, however, the classifying function of *si* cannot be neatly distunguished from its partitive or diminutive functions. For example:

(6-236)   *si   era*
           CLF   fire
           'piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood (which can be used to start a new fire)'

Although a burning or glowing piece of (fire)wood can be thought of as a small fire, *si era* is not used to refer to any small fire. This is shown in (6-237), where it is the adjective *kasi* 'small' that characterizes the fire as small:

(6-237)   *Tei   n=e   soqoni-a   kasi era*
           who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   light.fire-3.OBJ small fire

           loo   na   kai   tharu loqo?
           upward REL 3SG.IPFV   burn up.there
           'Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?'

Besides *si era* 'piece of burning or glowing (fire)wood' there is also *maqe era* 'area burnt out to make a new garden', with the classifier *maqe*.

Similarly, while sticks can be thought of small pieces of wood or of trees, not every small piece of wood would be referred to by means of *si qai* (*qai* 'tree', 'wood'). *Si qai* normally signifies a stick or a stick-like piece of wood. And as pointed out in section 6.6, the classifying and the diminutive and partitive functions are intertwined in *teqe si bauta* (*bauta* 'boat') 'one dinghy', 'one life boat' (example [6-145]).

Si is also used as a classifier with a few nouns where it does not contrast with another classifier or with its own absence: *si mamu*, also *si walota* 'bait (used in fishing)', *si omaleqewane* 'proverb, customary saying', 'riddle', *si onga* 'tattoo':

(6-238)   *Qui-a   fasi si   onga nau.*
           make.tattoo-3.OBJ PREC CLF   tattoo 1SG
           'Make me a tattoo now.'

One tattoo pattern that consists of short horizontal lines under a person's eyes is referred to as *si qai* 'sticks'.

6.7.6.   The classifier *noniqi*

This classifier is restricted in its use to a single noun *wane* 'man', 'person (re-gardless of sex)'. There is no classifier specifically to designate women.

The classifier is historically the head of an associative noun phrase: *noni-qi*. There is no noun *noni* in present-day Toqabaqita, but closely related languages have a noun *noni*, which has 'body' among its meanings.[23] Since there is no related word *noni* in Toqabaqita, *noniqi* is treated as monomorphemic.

Noniqi is used only if there is a numeral or a quantifier present in the noun phrase, but it is not obligatory. Example (6-239) illustrates its use in reference to men and (6-240) in reference to a person, who, in fact, is a woman.

(6-239)   *Si   manga   na   keka   ngali-a   sikwa   noniqi*
          PRTT time   REL   3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ nine   CLF

          wane baa   ki, nain sif   baa   ki, keka   alu-a
          man   that PL nine chief that   PL 3PL.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ

          i   laa   brisen.
          LOC   IN   prison
          'When they took those nine men, the nine chiefs, they put them in prison.'

(6-240)   *Teqe noniqi   wane,   teqe kini   qi   Japana,*
          one CLF   person one woman   LOC   Japan

          ka   soe-toqo-na   tha   Franke   uri   nau,
          3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Frank   ALL   1SG

          ka   quna   qeri, "…."
          3SG.SEQ manner   this
          'One person, a woman from (lit.: at) Japan, asked Frank about me, she said, "…."'

6.7.7.   Summary

As far as the classifier system of Toqabaqita is concerned, it is neither the case that the various classifiers are always independently meaningful, that is, con-trastive; nor is it the case, with one exception, that they are never independently meaningful, contrastive. The one exception is the classifier *noniqi*, which oc-curs only with one noun and is optional. In most cases, when a classifier is con-

trastive, it contrasts with its own absence. Only in a relatively few cases does a classifier contrast with another one. Most nouns do not take any classifier; there is no general, default classifier in the language.

A few representative examples of classifiers that function contrastively are given in table 6.2. The presence of a classifier with a noun in the table does not signify that the classifier must be used. However, if one is used, it is the one specified in the table.

Table 6.2.   Examples of contrastively functioning classifiers (continued on next page)

classifiers				
fa	*gwa*	*maqe*/*maqa*	*si*	nil
fa qalo 'taro corm'				*alo* 'taro plant'
fa suku 'canarium nut with a very small kernel'	*gwa suku* 'canarium-nut tree that bears nuts with very small kernels'			
fa thao 'sago palm'			*si thao* 'thatching panel'	
fa thaqaro 'any sp. of small bird'				*thaqaro* 'bird'
fa riqi 'sp. of tree'	*gwa riqi* 'k.o. magic'			
	gwa kafo 'stationary body of fresh (not sea) water'			*kafo* 'fresh water', 'stream, river'
		maqe subi 'injury made with a *subi* club'		*subi* 'k.o. warclub'
		maqe waqi 'large basket'		*waqi* 'basket'

		maqa fera 'one's home'		*fera* 'family house'
fa kai 'yam tuber' (not common)	*gwa kai* 'yam plant'		*si kai* 'yam tuber' (common)	
	gwa fau 'stone (some-what big)'	*maqe fau* 'large rock, boulder'		*fau* 'stone'
	gwa qabu 'pool, puddle of blood', 'subcutaneous accumulation of blood', 'placenta'		*si qabu* 'blood kinship relation'	*qabu* 'blood'
		maqe era 'area burnt out for a new garden'	*si era* 'firebrand, piece of glow-ing (fire) wood'	*era* 'fire'
	gwa iqa 'fish'	*maqe iqa* 'borderline leprosy'		*iqa* 'thrush (disease)'

In the case of the last entry in the table, it is not clear whether there is a pair of homonyms involved, *iqa* 'fish' and *iqa* 'borderline leprosy', 'thrush (disease)', or one polysemous word. The facts that besides *iqa* all three concepts can also be expressed by means of the noun *sakwari* and that *sakwari* is less common that *iqa* in all three meanings suggest three-way polysemy. However, it is not obvious what the semantic link between 'fish' on the one hand and 'borderline leprosy', 'thrush (disease)' on the other might be.

6.8.   Noun phrase quantification

Toqabaqita has a morphosyntactically heterogenous set of forms and constructions that are used with quantification functions inside noun phrases. There are several types of prenominal elements: numerals, interrogative quantifiers, several other quantifiers, quantifying nouns, and an adjective; and two types of

postnominal elements: quantifying verbs and a particle. In some cases it is the quantifying element that is the head of a noun phrase. And there is also a quantifying noun that forms compounds with verbs (section 12.6).

6.8.1.   The cardinal numerals

The set of the cardinal numerals is a decimal one; see table 6.3.

Table 6.3.   Basic cardinal numerals

teqe, *eta*	'one'
roo, *rua*	'two'
ulu	'three'
fai	'four'
lima	'five'
ono	'six'
fiu	'seven'
kwalu	'eight'
sikwa	'nine'
taafulu, taafuli, tangafulu	'ten'
talanga	'hundred'
toqoni	'thousand'

The numerals 1-10 exhibit some peculiarities, and their morphosyntactic category is ambiguous. They exhibit one property they share with nouns: they take the third person (singular) personal suffix, but only when they have an ordinal-numeral function. On the other hand, when they have a cardinal-numeral function, they are unlike nouns. For expository reasons, the cardinal and the ordinal functions are discussed in separate sections. And the terms "cardinal numerals" and "ordinal numerals" are used for convenience. They are one and the same set of forms, but with different morphosyntactic properties in the cardinal and the ordinal functions.

As discussed in section 6.8.3, there is a set of nouns that designate numerically specific sets. However, the cardinal numerals 1-10 are not (quantifying) nouns. First, classifiers occur with them when the head noun is one of those that take classifiers. On the other hand, classifiers are not used when quantification is expressed by means of the numerically-specific quantifying nouns. Second, nearly all of those nouns function as the heads of associative noun phrases, whereas the numerals 1-10 do not. Third, apart from special forms for 'one' and 'two', with the numerals the entities being counted must be encoded, whereas this is not the case with the numerically-specific quantifying nouns, Finally,

unlike nouns, the cardinal numerals cannot be modified by noun-phrase parti-
cles (but the ordinal ones can).

Nearly all of the numerically-specific nouns designate sets of 10. They do
not trigger the use of the classifiers (for an example see [6-245] further below),
while the general terms for 'ten' do:

(6-241)   *taafulu   fa   seleni*
           ten   CLF   ten.cent.coin
           '10 10-cent coins'

(6-242)   *roo   taafulu   fa   bongi*
           two   ten   CLF   day
           '20 days'

That is, the absence of classifiers with the numerically specific sets is not
due to their numerical value.

Unlike the terms for 'one' to 'ten', the cardinal terms for 'hundred' and
'thousand' are indeed nouns, and there are no ordinal forms for 'hundredth' and
'thousandth'. First, they function as the heads of associative noun phrases; see
further below. And, second, the classifiers are not used in the presence of either
numeral. For example, the classifier *fa* is used with the noun *alo/qalo* 'taro'.
(The basic form of the word for 'taro' is *alo*; *qalo* is used immediately after
words that end in *a*, but not after transitive verbs that carry the object suffix -*a*.)

(6-243)   *ulu   fa   qalo*
           three   CLF   taro
           'three taro corms'

However, the classifier is not used in the presence of the terms for 'hundred'
and 'thousand' or with the special quantifying noun *finita*, which designates a
set of ten:

(6-244)   *ulu   toqoni   alo*
           three   thousand   taro
           '3000 taros (corms or whole plants)'

In (6-245) the classifier occurs with the numeral 'eight' but not with 'hun-
dred' and not with the quantifying noun *finita* 'tensome' used to count taros:

(6-245)   *roo   talanga   qalo   lima   finita   qalo   kwalu fa   qalo*
           two   hundred   taro   five   tensome   taro   eight CLF   taro
           '258 taro corms'

Nevertheless, the terms for 'hundred' and 'thousand' are included among the numerals here, because unlike the (other) quantifying nouns their use is not restricted to counting certain types of entities.

The forms *eta* 'one' and *rua* 'two' are used when there is no head noun, for example, when numbers are recited in sequence. The forms *teqe* 'one' and *roo* 'two' are used when there is a head noun. With all the other numerals the same form is used regardless of whether or not there is a head noun.

(6-246)   *Eta,   rua,   ulu,   fai,   lima, ...*
          one   two   three   four   five
          'One, two, three, four, five, ...'

(6-247)   *teqe   madami*
          one   month
          'one month'

(6-248)   *roo   fa   qalo*
          two   CLF   taro
          'two taro corms'

(6-249)   *lima   bute-qe   atha*
          five   packet-ASSOC   k.o.pudding
          'five packets of *atha* pudding'

There are three numeral forms for 'ten', in free variation. The form *tangafulu* is the least common one, while *taafulu* and *taafuli* are both common:

(6-250)   *teqe   {taafulu /   taafuli}   botho*
          one   ten   /   ten   pig
          '10 pigs'

In addition to the general numerals for 'ten', there are also several quantifying nouns that signify the value 'ten' and that are used to count certain types of entities; see section 6.8.3.

The numeral *kwalu* 'eight' is used in a few idiom constructions to signify a nonspecific, but usually large, number:

(6-251)   *qolo-a   kwalu   lio*
          arrange-3.OBJ   eight   thought
          'have many, all kinds of, thoughts'

(6-252)   *kwalu   kuduqi   wane*
           eight   large.quantity   person
           'huge number of people'

(Most likely, *kuduqi* historically contains the associative suffix *-qi*, but there is no form *kudu* in the present-day language.)

(6-253)   *kwalu   sui-fanua*
           eight   be.finished-land
           'the four corners of the earth', 'the whole world'

Without *kwalu*, *sui-fanua* has the meaning 'the geographic end of the world'.
    The terms for 'hundred', *talanga*, and 'thousand', *toqoni*, with or without the associative suffix, function as the heads of associative noun phrases: 'set of hundred' and 'set of thousand', respectively. Their modifiers are noun phrases that designate the entities counted.

(6-254)   *teqe   talange-qe   imole*
           one   hundredsome-ASSOC   person
           '100 people'

To count hundreds of taros there is also a quantifying noun *anga* 'hundredsome' (section 6.8.3).

(6-255)   *toqoni   iqa*
           thousand   dolphin.tooth
           '1000 dolphin teeth'

The noun *iqa* designates not only fish, but also a superordinate category that includes fish, whales, dolphins, turtles, and dugongs. It also designates dolphin teeth, which are used to make valuables.
    The terms for 'ten', *taafulu/taafuli/tangafulu*, 'hundred', *talanga*, and 'thousand', *toqoni*, combine with the numerals 1-9 in numeral phrases to express the respective number of tens, hundreds, and thousands. The numerals 1-9 precede the terms for 'ten', 'hundred', and 'thousand': *fai taafuli* X '40 X', *roo talange-qe* X '200 X', *lima toqoni* X '5,000 X'. The numeral 'one' is optional here:

(6-256)   *(teqe)   taafulu   botho*
           one   ten   pig
           '10 pigs'

See also (6-254), and (6-255) above.

To form other numeral expressions, numeral phrases with coordinated constituents are used. Optionally, although commonly, the constituents are coordinated by means of the conjunction *ma* 'and' (also used to coordinate phrases and clauses). The entities being counted are expressed in every conjunct. The basic formula is given in (6-257). X represents the constituent that contains the noun designating the entities counted. (See [6-3] in section 6.1 for the internal structure of basic lexical noun phrases.). The conjunction 'and' can, of course, be present only if the numeral expression to its right in (6-257) is present.

(6-257)   ('thousand' X) ('and') ('hundred' X) ('and') ('ten' X) ('and') (X)

(6-258)   *taafulu   uni-qi   wane   ma   fiu*
           ten   generation-ASSOC   person   and   seven

           uni-qi   wane
           generation-ASSOC person
           '17 generations'

(6-259)   *teqe   taafalu   fa   ngali   roo   fa   ngali*
           one   ten   CLF   year   two   CLF   year
           '12 years'

The position where one of the numerals for 'ten' occurs can instead be occupied by a numerically-specific noun with the value 'ten' (section 6.8.3). In (6-260) this position is filled by *akwale-qe*, used to count people:

(6-260)   *teqe   toqoni   imola   ma   roo   talange-qe*
           one   thousand   person   and   two   hundred-ASSOC

           imole   ma   lima   akwale-qe   imole
           person   and   five   tensome-ASSOC   person
           '1250 people'

(The form of the noun 'person' is optionally *imola*, rather than *imole*, after relatively high numerals, several tens and higher.)
    For another example see (6-245) further above.
    Apart from situations when numerals are recited in sequence, numeral expressions must contain an expression of the entities counted. Instead of a noun that explicitly designates a certain type of entity, the general noun *doo* (section 6.2) can be used:

(6-261)   A: *Fita   doo?*
              how.many? thing

           B: *Fai   doo.*
              four   thing
           A: 'How many (of them) [did you have]?'
           B: 'Four.'

In (6-261) *doo* is used with reference to bags of copra.

(6-262)   *ulu   taafuli   doo   kwalu   doo*
           three   ten   thing eight   thing
           '38 (of them)'

    Although Toqabaqita does have means to express large numbers, in practice, numerals borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin are normally used for numbers higher than ten. For example:

(6-263)   *... ka   fula-toqo-na   fulinga-na   seven*
              3SG.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ value-3.PERS   seven

           handred dola.
           hundred dollar
           '... (and) the amount reached 700 dollars.' (Lit.: '… it reached the value of 700 dollars.')

    However, not infrequently Solomon Pijin numerals are used even for numbers 1-10 (chapter 40).

6.8.2.   Other uses and meanings of *teqe*

The numeral *teqe* 'one' is also used to introduce new (singular) participants into discourse. In (6-264) there are three such instances of *teqe* (in bold). Two of the new participants are referred to again in the immediately following sentence, and the third one in a later sentence (not included here).

(6-264)   *Si   manga qeri nau kwai   uqunu   suli-a*
           PRTT time   this 1SG 1SG.FUT tell.story PROL-3.OBJ

           teqe *wane   qe   raqa-a* ***teqe*** *keekene*
           one   man   3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ one   breadfruit

n=e	*takwe*	*ninima-na*	***teqe***	*kilu.* *Qe*
REL=3SG.NFUT	stand	beside-3.PERS	one	hole 3SG.NFUT

raqa-a	*ura*	*foa-na*	*keekene*	*qeri.*
climb-3SG.OBJ	PURP	fruit-3.PERS	breadfruit	that

'This time I will tell a story about a man who climbed a breadfruit (tree) that stood beside/next to a hole. He climbed it for its fruit (lit.: for the fruit of the breadfruit).'

Teqe may also be used with the meaning 'sole, only, single': *teqe* X 'sole X', 'only X', 'X alone', 'single X'.

(6-265)

Ai	*fuu*	*ki*	*kera*	*lae*	*teqefau,*
woman	downward	PL	3PL.NFUT	go	every.one

teqe	*ni*	*Qane*	*bana*	*na* *kai*
sole	PERSMKR	Qane	LIM	FOC 3SG.IPFV

kiili-a	*luma*	*fuu.*
stay.alone.in(house)-3.OBJ	house	downward

'The women have all gone away; only Qane alone is (staying) in the house.'

In this function *teqe* can modify personal pronouns, including plural ones:

(6-266)

Toqa	*naqi*	*ki*	*kera*	*thaa-thaka*	*ka*
people	this	PL	3PL.NFUT	RDP-flee	3SG.SEQ

sui	*naqa;*	*teqe*	*nau*	*naqa* *ku*	*too.*
be.finished	PRF	sole	1SG	PRF 1SG.NFUT	stay

'The people have kept fleeing until they are all gone (lit.: it is finished now); I alone now stay [here].'

(6-267)

Teqe	*keeroqa*	*bo=naqa*	*n=e*	*aqi*
sole	3DU	ASRT=INTS	FOC=3SG.NFUT	NEGV

kesi	*mae ….*
3DU.NEG	die

'It was only the two of them who did not die ….'

And *teqe* can occur with this meaning in a plural noun phrase with a distributive interpretation, as in (6-268):

(6-268)   ... *tai   wane ki   keka   thau-ngi-a*
         some.PL man   PL   3PL.SEQ   pound-TR-3.OBJ

         ba-da   teqe   bi-qi   ngali
         LIM-3PL.PERS   single   bamboo.container-ASSOC canarium.nut

         ki bana qi   maqa   fera   kera ki bana.
         PL LIM   LOC   CLF   house   3PL   PL LIM
         '... some men just crack (lit.: pound) only single containerfuls of
         canarium nuts (each) [to make pudding], just in their houses.'

6.8.3.   Nouns designating numerically specific sets

Besides the cardinal numerals, there are several nouns that signify numerically specific sets. Most of these quantifying nouns have the significance of 'tensome', and each one is used to count certain kinds of entities. When the entities being counted are expressed, the quantifying nouns that signify sets of ten function as the head of an associative construction, and the entities counted are expressed in the modifier phrase. With none of these quantifying nouns do the nouns in the modifier phrase take a classifier even if they otherwise do.

Akwala 'tensome' is used to count people, dolphin teeth, which are used to make valuables, and by extension pounds sterling, used as currency in earlier times, at least by older speakers who still remember pounds sterling.

(6-269)   *fai   akwale-qe   kini*
       four   tensome-ASSOC   woman
       '40 women'

(6-270)   *roo   akwale iqa*
       two   tensome dolphin.tooth
       '20 dolphin teeth'

(6-271)   *Keka   uusi   nau boqo qana akwale-qe*
       3PL.SEQ   pay.wage.to 1SG   ASRT GENP tensome-ASSOC

       baoni   ma   fai   baoni.
       pound   and four pound
       'They paid me the wages of 24 pounds [for one year of work].'

However, to count dollars, the Pijin numeral *ten* 'ten' is normally used: *ten dola* '10 dollars'.

Kobi (rarely *kubi*) 'tensome' is used to count sets of traditional shell money:

(6-272)   *teqe kobi-qi*   *taafuliqae*
           one   tensome-ASSOC   set.of.shell.money
           '10 sets of shell money'

(The noun *taafuliqae* 'set of shell money' consists of the numeral *taafuli* 'ten' and *qae* 'leg'.)

Finita, usually pronounced *finta*, 'tensome' is used to count tubers, corms, fruit, nuts, seeds, pods, medicine pills, bread rolls. Except for the words for 'yam', nouns that take *finita* take the classifier *fa* elsewhere, but the reverse is not true: not all nouns that occur with *fa* elsewhere are used with *finita*.

(6-273)   *roo finta   qalo (ma) lima fa   qalo*
           one tensome taro and   five CLF   taro
           '25 taros'

(6-274)   *teqe finte-qe*   *kai*
           one   tensome-ASSOC   yam
           '10 yams'

Qada 'tensome' is used to count coconuts (fruit):

(6-275)   *roo qade-qe*   *niu*
           two tensome-ASSOC   coconut
           '20 coconuts'

Lama 'tensome' is used to count birds, flying foxes, and possums. (There are separate words for birds, flying foxes, and possums. However, the word *thaqaro*, which can specifically designate birds, also designates a superordinate category that includes birds, flying foxes, and possums.)

(6-276)   *teqe lame-qe*   *lakwatho*
           one   tensome-ASSOC   flying.fox
           '10 flying foxes'

And *sinolo* 'tensome' is used to count relatively big fish that are not/cannot be wrapped together in packets (see below):

(6-277)   *roo sinolo-qe*   *iqa*
           two tensome-ASSOC   fish
           '20 (big) fish'

Sinolo can also designate 10 packets, parcels of small fish (the fish are normally wrapped in leaves), but in that case it does not occur in the associative construction:

(6-278)   *teqe   sinolo   qana   kefa   qana   karusu*
         one   tensome GENP sardine   GENP packet.of.fish
         '10 packets of sardines' (lit.: one tensome of sardines in packets')

These quantifying nouns for sets of ten can combine with numerals in numeral phrases to form complex numeral expressions. They occupy the TEN position in the formula given in (6-257) in section 6.8.1:

(6-279)   *teqe   kobi-qi   malefo   ma   teqe   malefo*
         one   tensome-ASSOC   shell.money and   one   shell.money
         '11 sets of shell money'

See also (6-260) and (6-272) further above.
Unlike the numerals, the quantifying nouns do not require expression of the entities counted.

(6-280)   *teqe   akwala*
         one   tensome
         '10 (people)'

In (6-281) a quantifying noun is combined with a numeral in a complex numeral expression, and it is only with the numeral that the entities counted are expressed:

(6-281)   *teqe   kobi   ma   roo   malefo*
         one   tensome and   two   shell.money
         '12 sets of shell money'

There is one quantifying noun that signifies 'hundred', *anga*. It is used only when taros and yams are counted. Unlike the other quantifying nouns, it cannot combine with numerals to form complex numeral expressions:

(6-282)   *roo   anga   qalo*
         two   hundredsome   taro
         '200 taros'

Anga also functions as a quantifying noun with the meaning 'small number', 'few' with reference to entities other than taros and yams (section 6.8.11).

To form complex numeral constructions when taros are counted the (nominal) numeral *talanga* is used:

(6-283)   *roo   talanga qalo lima finita   qalo kwalu fa   qalo*
             two   hundred taro five tensome taro eight CLF   taro
             '258 taro corms'

The use of the specialized quantifying nouns for sets of 10 appears to be on the wane, with the younger speakers tending to use the numerals 'ten' instead. Thus, where an older speaker might use the construction in (6-284a), a younger speaker may be more likely to use the one in (6-284b):

(6-284)   a.   *teqe finte-qe   bereta*
                one   tensome-ASSOC   bread
                '10 bread rolls'

         b.   *taafuli fa   bereta*
                ten   CLF   bread
                '10 bread rolls'

Similarly, the quantifying noun for 'hundred (taros, yams)' may be replaced with the (nominal) numeral *talanga* 'hundred':

(6-285)   *roo   talanga qalo*
             two   hundred taro
             '200 taros'

6.8.4.   The ordinal numerals

When the numerals 1–10 have the ordinal-numeral function, they carry either of the two third person singular personal suffixes, *-na* and *-a*. The form *-a* is used with bases that contain *l* or *n* in the last syllable: *ulu* 'three', *kwalu* 'eight', *taafulu* and *tangafulu* 'ten', and *ono* 'six. In addition, there is metathesis of the *l* or *n* and the final vowel; for example *kwaul-a* 'eighth'. The suffix *-na*, without metathesis, is used elsewhere.

For the ordinal numeral 'first', it is *eta* 'one', not *teqe*, that serves as the base; and for 'second' it is *rua*, not *roo*. For 'tenth' the base can be *taafulu* or *tangafulu*, not *taafuli*. The basic set of the ordinal numerals is given in table 6.4.

Table 6.4.   Ordinal numerals 1–10

eta-na	'first'
rua-na	'second'
uul-a	'third'
fai-na	'fourth'
lima-na	'fifth'
oon-a	'sixth'
fiu-na	'seventh'
kwaul-a	'eighth'
sikwa-na	'ninth'
taafuul-a, tangafuul-a	'tenth'

The variation between the third person personal suffixes *-a* with metathesis and *-na* without metathesis is (also) found with the possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive construction (section 8.1.2) and with Class 2 transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.3.1.). Both possessum nouns and transitive verbs are the heads of their respective phrases. And there is evidence that in phrases with the ordinal numerals it is the numeral that is the head, specifically the head of a suffixing possessive construction. This in turn is evidence that the numerals are a subclass of nouns, when they have the ordinal-numeral function. For example, in (6-286) it is *lima-na* 'fifth' that is the head, not *wela* 'child':

(6-286) *lima-na   wela*
         five-3.PERS child
         'the fifth child'; lit.: 'the fifth (one) of a child'

The evidence that the ordinal numerals are a subtype of nouns is as follows. First, it is the use of the third person singular personal suffix, which in a possessive noun phrase occurs on the possessum, head noun. Second, the ordinal numerals can occur by themselves, without any expression of the entity being counted. Similarly, the head of a suffixing possessive construction can occur without a possessor phrase. In (6-287) the ordinal numerals function as subjects of verbless clauses:

(6-287) ... *eta-na   baru-qi   ongi,*
             one-3SG.PERS   lined.up.set-ASSOC   bamboo.sp

> *rua-na   thao,   uul-a   kaakaro.*
> two-3SG.PERS sago.panel three-3SG.PERS bamboo.panel
> [A traditional house has triple walls.] '... the first (innermost) one
> (is) (sticks of) *ongi* bamboo lined up, the second one (is) panels
> made out of sago leaves, the third one (is) panels made out of bam-
> boo slats.'

Compare (6-288) where a possessum phrase occurs without a possessor
phrase:

(6-288)   *Thaina-na   ka   quna   qeri, "…."*
           mother-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ manner   this
           'His mother said, "…."'

The sentence in (6-289) too contains an ordinal numeral without a modifier.
The sentence comes from an account of the various uses of areca nuts. Here it
is a third traditional kind of use of areca nuts that is being described:

(6-289)   *Uul-a,   si   manga   na   wane   qe*
           three-3SG.PERS PRTT   time   REL   man   3SG.NFUT

           thare-a   qa-n=ta   kaluwani, ….
           beget-3.OBJ   SBEN-3SG.PERS=some   son
           'Third, when a man had a son (lit.: when a man begot a son) (when
           the son was eight years old, he was taken to a priest's house where he
           was given a new name. On that occasion he was given an areca nut to
           chew to make him fearless.).'

The ordinal numeral *rua-na* 'second' is modified by a prepositional phrase
in the expression for 'third day after tomorrow':

(6-290)   *rua-na   qi   fuleqe*
           two-3SG.PERS   LOC   second.day.after.tomorrow
           'third day after tomorrow'

(Alternatively, *rua-na* may be modified just by the noun phrase *fuleqe*: *rua-na
fuleqe* 'third day after tomorrow.)
    Similarly, nouns can be modified by prepositional phrases (section 6.13):

(6-291)   *ququa   qi   Malaqita*
           island   LOC   Malaita
           'the island of (lit.: at) Malaita'

And the ordinal numerals can be in the scope of particles that occur in noun phrases (table 7.1 in section 7.1). In (6-292) the particle is the perfect marker *naqa*. The sentence is a response to the question: 'How many times have you been to the Solomons now?'. See (6-305) in section 6.8.5 for the question.

(6-292)   *Fai-na   naqa si   manga   neri.*
           four-3.PERS PRF   PRTT time   NPAST.HERE
           '(This is) the fourth time.' (Lit.: 'Fourth now of time.')

In (6-293) the ordinal numeral occurs with the combination of the assertive and the perfect markers:

(6-293)   *Rua-na   bo=naqa   si   manga   neri.*
           two-3.PERS ASRT=PRF   PRTT time   NPAST.HERE
           'This is the second time.'

There is, however, one difference between the ordinal numerals and nouns that can occur in the possessum position of a suffixing possessive construction. When a possessum phrase has dual or plural reference and there is no possessor phrase present, the possessum noun takes the dual or the plural personal suffix, respectively:

(6-294)   *thaina-da*
           mother-3PL.PERS
           'their mother'

On the other hand, the ordinal numerals can take only the third person singular personal suffix, even if there is no expression of the entities counted.

There is, then, strong evidence that the ordinal numerals, unlike the cardinal ones, function as a subclass of nouns.

Some more examples of ordinal numerals are given below:

(6-295)   *rua-na   oomea*
           two-3.PERS fight
           'Second World War'

(6-296)   *Laala=e   fula   i   fiu-na   madami, mada*
           when=3SG.NFUT   arrive LOC   seven-3.PERS   month   or

oon-a   madami, oqola   qeri   ka   rafo ….
six-3.PERS   month   garden   that   3SG.SEQ   be.ripe
'After seven months, or six months [after planting], the (food in the) garden is ripe …. .' (Lit.: 'When it arrives at the seventh month, or the sixth month, the [food in the] garden is ripe ….')

(6-297)   *Keka   qolo   suli-a   kwalu   fa   bongi,   fula*
3PL.SEQ   count   PROL-3.OBJ   eight   CLF   day   arrive

i   kwaul-a   fa   bongi,   keko   oli   mai.
LOC   eight-3.PERS   CLF   day   3DU.SEQ   return   VENT
'They counted off the eight days [one after another] [i.e., they waited for eight days], (and) when the eighth day arrived (lit.: when it arrived at the eighth day), they came back.'

The forms *taafuul-a* and *tangafuul-a* besides meaning 'tenth' are also used to refer to tithes given to the church:

(6-298)   *{taafuul-a / tangafuul-a}   si   doo   kamiliqa   ki*
ten-3.PERS / ten-3.PERS   PRTT   thing   1PL(EXCL)   PL
'our tithes' (lit.: 'the tenth (ones) of our things')

To express ordinal numbers higher than ten, the coordinate construction for the cardinal numerals is used (see [6-257] in section 6.8.1), in which cardinal numeral phrases are conjoined to form a numeral that is one less than the number to be expressed, to which is coordinated, with or without the conjunction 'and', the next number in the sequence, as an ordinal number. Thus, 'fifteenth X' can be expressed as 'ten X and four X and fifth X':

(6-299)   *Teqe   akwale-qe   wela   ma   fai   wela   ma*
one   tensome-ASSOC   child   and   four   child   and

lima-na   wela   neq.
five-3.PERS   child   here
'This/Here is the 15th child.'

And 'twentieth' can be expressed as 'ten X and nine X tenth X':

(6-300)   *Teqe   akwale-qe   kini   ma   sikwa   kini*
one   tensome-ASSOC   woman   and   nine   woman

> *taafuul-a   kini   neq.*
> ten-3.PERS woman here
> 'This/Here is the 20th woman.'

When counting something in twos, the following grammatically idiosyncratic formula is used, which contains a mixture of cardinal and ordinal numerals:

(6-301) *Roo   doo, fai   doo, roo   limani   ma   oon-a,*
         two   thing four thing two   five   and   six-3SG.PERS

        roo   fiu   ma   kwaul-a,   roo   sikwa
        two   seven   and   eight-3SG.PERS   two   nine

        taafuul-a.
        ten-3SG.PERS
        'Two, four, six, eight, ten.' (Lit.: 'Two things, four things, two five and sixth, two seven and eighth, two nine tenth.')

The word for 'five' in the formula is *limani* rather than *lima*. Some, but not all, of the cardinal numerals occur without the head noun *doo*, while all three of the ordinals numerals occur without *doo*. If necessary, after reaching ten the speaker goes back to *roo doo*, etc.

6.8.5. *Fita* and *fita-na* interrogative quantifiers

Fita 'how many?, how much?' is a cardinal interrogative quantifier and *fita-na* its ordinal counterpart, 'how manieth?'. Interrogative sentences with these two quantifiers are discussed in section 19.3.6, and here only information about their morphosyntactic status is given, with a few examples.

The cardinal quantifier is a noun modifier and occurs in the same position in which cardinal numeral expressions do. It can be used with count nouns as well as with mass nouns.

(6-302) *Qoe   fita   fa   ngali?*
         2SG   how.many? CLF   year
         'How old are you?' (Lit.: 'You how many years?')

(6-303) *Fita   si   kafo   n=o   kuqu-fi-a?*
         how.much? PRTT water FOC=2SG.NFUT drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
         'How much of the water did you drink?'

In its ordinal function, the quantifier functions as a noun, the way the ordinal numerals do. It carries the third person singular personal suffix -*na* and functions as the head of suffixing possessive noun phrases.

(6-304)   *Fita-na*   *si*   *manga* *neri?*
            how.many?-3.PERS   PRTT   time   NPAST.HERE
            'What's the time now?' (Lit.: 'How manieth of time now?')

In (6-305) the quantifier is accompanied by the perfect marker, one of the particles that can function as noun-phrase constituents:

(6-305)   A: *Qoe,* *fita-na*   *naqa* *si*   *manga*   *qo*
               2SG   how.many?-3.PERS   PRF   PRTT   time   2SG.NFUT

               fula   *i*   *Solomoni*   *neri*?
               arrive   LOC   Solomons   NPAST.HERE

            B: *Fai-na*   *naqa* *si*   *manga*   *neri.*
               four-3.PERS   PRF   PRTT   time   NPAST.HERE
            A: 'You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?'
               (Lit.: 'You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the
               Solomons?')
            B: '(This is) the fourth time.' (Lit.: 'Fourth now of time.')

On the other hand, in its cardinal function, *fita* cannot be accompanied by noun-phrase particles.

6.8.6.   *Ta* and *tai* indefinite quantifiers

These two quantifiers occur in the position before the one occupied by numerals and the interrogative quantifiers. One of them, *ta*, can cooccur with numerals but not with the interrogative quantifiers. Apart from one use of *ta*, both function as existential quantifiers and will be glossed 'some' in all cases. The two quantifiers are first discussed in positive contexts; their use in negative contexts will be considered subsequently.

Tai is a plural quantifier ('some.PL') and can only be used with count nouns. Sometimes, but not always, it signifies a subset of a larger set, but the larger set need not be overtly expressed. It is used both in referential and non-referential noun phrases.

Ta is used both with count nouns and with mass nouns. It has three functions. First, it is used to form non-referential noun phrases. With count nouns, it

is — strictly speaking — neutral with respect to number, but its default value is singular. A noun phrase with *ta* is normally interpreted as singular unless the context suggests otherwise. Second, it is used to denote numerically-specific subsets, in which function it cooccurs with numerals higher than one. And third, it is used to signify an approximate quantity, number; in this case too it cooccurs with a numeral. In the glosses, *ta* is not specified for number.

The next several examples illustrate the number contrast between *ta* and *tai*. In (6-306) the normal interpretation of *ta* is as having a singular value, while *tai* in (6-307) can only have a plural value. In both sentences the relevant noun phrases are non-referential.

(6-306)   *Ngali-a   mai ta   thakia.*
          take-3.OBJ   VENT some tongs
          'Bring a pair of tongs.'

(6-307)   *Ngali-a   mai tai   thakia.*
          carry-3.OBJ VENT some.PL tongs
          'Bring some tongs (more than one pair).'

Similarly in the next example: in the first sentence the noun phrase with *ta* is non-referential and singular (the person wants to buy only one fish); in the second sentence with *tai* the noun phrase is non-referential and plural.

(6-308)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a kwai   uusi-a*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   buy-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT buy-3.OBJ

          ta   iqa. Tai   iqa   qe   too   quu
          some fish   some.PL fish   3SG.NFUT   remain   ANTCONT

          ba-na?
          LIM-3SG.PERS
          'I want to buy a fish. Are there still any fish left?'

In the next two examples the relevant noun phrases are referential. In both, *ta* and *tai* occur with the noun *manga* 'time', and in both cases more than one occasion is involved. However, with *ta* each occasion is conceptualized individually, while with *tai* the multiple occurrences are taken collectively.

(6-309)   *Ta   si   manga keeroqa sui   bana keki   raqa.*
          some PRTT time   3DU   EXHST LIM 3PL.IPFV climb
          'Sometimes both of them would climb (a tree).'

That is, there would be a time when both of them climb the tree, and there is more than one such time.

(6-310)   *Tai   si   manga   keko   lae,   keko   ngali-a*
           some.PL PRTT   time   3DU.SEQ go   3DU.SEQ take-3.OBJ

           mai   denge   na=i   laa   kafo   ki. …. Tai
           VENT   shrimp   REL=LOC IN   stream   PL   some.PL

           si   manga   keka   lae   ura   futa ….
           PRTT   time   3PL.SEQ go   PURP   possum
           'Sometimes they would go and bring [home] shrimp (that were) in
           the streams…. Sometimes they would go [hunting] for possums ….'

That is, these were things that they often, customarily did.

   The next set of examples illustrates differences between *ta*, the numeral *teqe* 'one', and *tai*. In (6-311) the noun phrase with *ta* is non-referential, and one or more person may be involved. The speaker assumes that someone has been stealing the coconuts but does not know who the perpetrator(s) is/are.

(6-311)   *Ta   wane   toqo   n=e   bili-a*
           some   person   probably FOC=3SG.NFUT steal-3.OBJ

           niu   kulu   naqi   ki.
           coconut PL(INCL)   this   PL
           'Someone probably has been stealing these coconuts of ours.'
           ('These coconuts of ours have probably been being stolen by some-
           one.') (Lit.: 'It is probably some person/people who has/have been
           stealing these coconuts of ours.')

   In (6-312) the noun phrase with *teqe* 'one' is singular and referential. The speaker knows (or assumes he knows) the identity of the perpetrator.

(6-312)   *Teqe wane qe   bili-a   niu   kamiliqa   ki*
           one   man   3SG.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ coconut 1PL(EXCL)   PL

           ka   too-too   ba-na.
           3SG.SEQ RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'A (certain) man keeps stealing our coconuts.'

   In (6-313) the noun phrase with *tai* is plural and can be either referential or non-referential:

(6-313)   *Tai   wane   kera   bili-a   niu*
          some.PL person   3PL.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ coconut

          kamiliqa   ki ka   too-too   ba-na.
          1PL(EXCL)   PL 3SG.SEQ   RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
          'Some/Certain people keep stealing our coconuts.'

The three functions of *ta* can now be considered in turn. First, *ta* is used in non-referential noun phrases, count or mass. Examples of count noun phrases have been given further above, in (6-308) and (6-311). In (6-314) *ta* occurs in a noun phrase headed by *toqa* 'people', which necessarily has plural significance:

(6-314)   *Kulu   bona   qa-kuluqa   ada   ta*
          PL(INCL).NFUT be.silent SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS   TIM   some

          toqa   ka   rongo   kulu.
          people   3SG.SEQ   hear   PL(INCL)
          'Let's be quiet in case some people might hear us.'

The sentences in (6-315) and (6-316) show *ta* in mass noun phrases. In (6-315) *ta* has fused with the transitive verb, and as a consequence the object marker in not present

(6-315)   *Kuki=ta   kafo.*
          boil:3.OBJ=some   water
          'Boil some water.'

(6-316)   *Tootoo   kwai   uusi-a   qa-karoqa   ta*
          later   1SG.FUT buy-3.OBJ   RECBEN-DU(INCL).PERS   some

          kofe.
          coffee
          'I'll buy us coffee [instant coffee to be used to make coffee].'

In another function, *ta* is used to signify numerically-specific subsets. If the membership of the subset is higher than one, the corresponding numeral phrase is used. If the subset consists of only one member, no numeral is used. (However, *ta* can be used in combination with *teqe* 'one' in negative contexts, where it has a different value; see further below.)

(6-317)   *Ta   fai   noniqi   wane   keka   lae   uri-a*
          some   four   CLF   man   3PL.SEQ   go   PURP-3.OBJ

> *raraqe-laa,*   *ma   ta   fai   noniqi   wane*
> hunt.possum-NMLZ   and   some   four   CLF   man
>
> *keka   lae   uri-a   nao-laa   qi   laa   kafo.*
> 3PL.SEQ   go   PURP-3.OBJ   bail-NMLZ   LOC   IN   stream
> 'Four of the [eight] men were going to go possum-hunting, and (the other) four men were going to go and bail water out of (lit.: in) the stream.'

In (6-318) *ta* first cooccurs with a numeral to signify a subset of three and then without a numeral to signify a subset of one:

(6-318)   *Ta   ulu   wela   qe   ni=i*
           some   three   child   3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC

> *laal-a   gwa   kafo   qeri   ... ma   ta   wela*
> inside-3SG.PERS   CLF   water   that   and   some   child
>
> *ka   dudu   ka   too   ma=i   laa*
> 3SG.SEQ   move.backwards   3SG.SEQ   stay   VENT=LOC   IN
>
> *babaruqu   lokoo ....*
> cave   that(3)
> 'Three of the [four] children were in the pool ... and the other child backed into the cave and stayed there (lit.: and the other child moved backwards and stayed in the cave) ....'

In the third function too *ta* cooccurs with a numeral. It signals that the quantity expressed by the numeral is only approximate.

(6-319)   *... mili   raqu   faafi-a   fulinga-na*
           1PL(EXCL).NFUT   possess   CONF-3.OBJ   amount-3.PERS

> *ta   tri   handred   dolas   toqo.*
> some   three   hundred   dollar   perhaps
> '… we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.'

(6-320)   *Miki   too   laqu   boqo, buria-na   ta*
           1PL(EXCL).IPFV   live   ADD   ASRT   after-3.PERS   some

> *roo   fa   ngali   qe   suqusia, maka   nau*
> two   CLF   year   3SG.NFUT   elapse   father   1SG

> *ka   nofi.*
> 3SG.SEQ die
> 'We were living [like that] again, (then) after about two years (had
> elapsed) my father died.'

The plural quantifier *tai* may, but need not, signify a subset. In (6-321) it
does not:

(6-321)   *Kwai   lae,   kwai   kwaqe-a   mai tai   doo*
          1SG.FUT go   1SG.FUT hit-3.OBJ   VENT some.PL thing

          n=e   maruki, doo mala tai   loi
          REL=3SG.NFUT be.alive thing EQT some.PL snake

          mala baqekwa,   tai   kooseqe, tai   kuqunao,
          EQT snake.sp   some.PL frog.sp   some lizard.sp

          tai   qiiqilo, ….
          some skink.sp
          'I'll go and kill (lit. hit) (and bring here) some living things, things
          such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs,
          some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks, (and) ….'

When *tai* does signifiy a subset, the subset is not numerically specific. The
larger set may be expressed in the clause, as in (6-322) or not, as in (6-323):

(6-322)   *Tai   qanamola ki na   ni   nau lio   kwa*
          some.PL animal   PL REL   PROFORE 1SG   look 1SG.SEQ

          riki-da,   qe   aqi   kwasi   rii-riki-a
          see-3PL.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG RDP-see-3.OBJ

          quu   boqo seqe-da.
          ANTCONT   ASRT body-3PL.OBJ
          'Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality be-
          fore.' (Lit.: 'Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen
          their bodies.')

(6-323)   *Tai   wane keka   fale-a   thao,*
          some.PL man   3PL.SEQ hand-3.OBJ thatching.panel

> *tai   toqa   ki keka   kani-a.*
> some.PL people   PL 3PL.SEQ tie-3SG.OBJ
> 'Some of the men hand the thatching panels (to others), (and) some
> of the people tie them down.' (Describing what men do when build-
> ing a house.)

The notion of subsets can also be expressed by means of the quantifier
tootoqe (see section 6.8.7).

The use of *tai* and *ta* in negative clauses is considered next. With the excep-
tion of negative existential clauses where the noun phrase that contains *tai* des-
ignates the type of entity that does not exist, *tai* functions as an existential
quantifier ('some not'), just as it does in positive sentences: the negation ap-
plies to some but not all of the relevant entities. Compare the positive sentence
in (6-324) and the negative sentence in (6-325) below. In both cases *tai* signi-
fies subsets:

(6-324)   *Kini   qeri qe   fale fanga   ba-na*
          woman   that 3SG.NFUT   give food   LIM-3SG.PERS

          qan=tai   wela.
          GENP=some.PL child
          'The woman only gave food to some (of the) children.'

(6-325)   *Kini   qeri qe   aqi   si   fale fanga*
          woman   that 3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3SG.NEG give food

          qan=tai   wela.
          GENP=some.PL child
          'The woman did not give food to some (of the) children (but to some
          she did).'

The negative sentence in (6-326) too contains *tai*:

(6-326)   *Tai   wane ma   tai   kini   qe   aqi*
          some.PL man   and some.PL woman   3SG.NFUT   NEGV

          kesi   thathami-a araqi   kwao   naqi.
          3PL.NEG like-3.OBJ   mature.man be.white this
          'Some men and some women do not like this white [Caucasian]
          man.'

In the subject position of negative existential clauses (section 26.1.2.2) *tai* functions as a universal quantifier: no entities of a given type exist, are found (perhaps at a certain location):

(6-327) *Qe   aqi   tai   toqa   qi   laa*
         3SG.NFUT   not.exist some.PL   people   LOC   IN

         aququa   naqi.
         island   this
         'There are no people on this island.'

Ta always has the force of a universal quantifier in negative clauses ('not any'). Compare (6-325) further above with *tai* and (6-328) below with *ta*:

(6-328) *Kini   qeri   qe   aqi   si   fale   fanga*
         woman   that   3SG.NFUT NEGV   3SG.NEG give   food

         qa=ta   wela.
         GENP=some   child
         'The woman did not give food to any child.' 'The woman did not give food to any (of the) children.'

Further examples:

(6-329) *Qe   aqi   kwasi   alu-a   ta   malefo.*
         3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG have-3.OBJ some   money
         'I don't have any money.'

In (6-330) the noun phrase with *ta* functions as the subject of a negative existential clause:

(6-330) *Nau   ku   kwaa-kwai-amasi,   ka   aqi*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   RDP-LIP-call.for.help 3SG.SEQ   not.exist

         ta   wane   si   fula   boqo.
         some   person 3SG.NEG arrive   ASRT
         'I kept calling for help, but nobody came (lit.: but there was not any person who arrived).'

Ta can be used in a negative clause together with the numeral *teqe* 'one' in a noun phrase. The construction [*ta teqe* noun] is used with two kinds of mean-

ing. One, the more common one, is to emphasize total absence. Compare (6-331) with only *ta* and (6-332) with *ta teqe*:

(6-331) *Qe   aqi   kwasi   riki=ta   wane.*
         3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG see:3.OBJ=some   person
         'I did not see anybody.'

(6-332) *Qe=aqi   kwasi   riki=ta   teqe wane*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG see:3.OBJ=some   one   person

         mena.
         CONC
         'I did not see even a single person.'

    Less commonly, a [*ta teqe* noun] phrase functions to state emphatically that not just one single entity is involved, but more than one:

(6-333) *Doo   e   aqi   kesi   alu-a   laqu sa*
         thing 3SG.NFUT NEGV   3PL.NEG put-3SG.OBJ ADD   GOAL

         ta   teqe noniqi   wane ....
         some sole CLF   man
         'The thing [a job to do] they won't always assign to (lit.: put onto) just one man (rather different men will take turns doing it).'

6.8.7.   *Tooteqe* 'each', *tootoqe* 'some'

These two prenominal quantifiers are used in relation to sets of entities. *Tooteqe* serves to emphasize that the relevant state of affairs applies to all the candidates 'each (in a set)'. The form *tooteqe* may have some historical relation to the numeral *teqe* 'one'.

(6-334) *Uka-li-a   fanga   neqe i*
         divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ food   this   LOC

         fa-kuluqa   tooteqe wane,   qe   aqi
         REC-PL(INCL).PERS   each   person 3SG.NFUT   not.exist

         ta   wane   si   ore.
         some person 3SG.NFUT be.left.out
         'Divide the food to each one of us, no one to be left out.'

On the other hand, *tootoqe* signifies that the relevant state of affairs applies only to some, not all, members of a set of candidates.

(6-335) *Tootoqe si   manga mili   thaofa.*
         some   PRTT time   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   be.hungry
         'Sometimes [during a certain period], at times, we were hungry.'

The idea of a state of affairs applying only to some potential candidates can also be expressed by means of *tai* (section 6.8.6).

6.8.8. *Toqo* distributive

The prenominal quantifier *toqo* has a distributive function: the same number of entities expressed in the noun phrase applies to all the relevant participants. The noun phrases may, but need not be repeated in a clause.

(6-336) *Ku   uka-li-a   fanga   naqi,   toqo*
         1SG.NFUT   divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ   food   this   DSTR

         roo   wane   kai   fanga   ofu   qi   laa
         two   person 3SG.FUT eat   be.together LOC   IN

         teqe   beleta, toqo roo   wane   kai   fanga
         one   plate   DSTR two   person 3SG.FUT eat

         ofu,   toqo roo   wane   kai   fanga   ofu.
         be.together DSTR two   person 3SG.FUT eat   be.together
         'I have divided the food (in such a way that) two people will eat from (lit.: in) one plate, (another) two people will eat together, (another) two people will eat together.'

On the other hand, in (6-337) the noun phrase with the distributive quantifier is present only once:

(6-337) *Kulu   uka-li-a   fanga   naqi,*
         PL(INCL).NFUT   divide.into.shares-TR-3.OBJ   food   this

         toqo roo   wane   kai   fanga   i   laa   teqe
         DSTR two   person 3SG.FUT eat   LOC   IN   one

> *beleta.*
> plate
> 'Let's divide the food (in such a way that) always two people will
> eat from one plate.'

6.8.9.   Quantification by means of verbs and by means of an adjective

As discussed in section 6.2, Toqabaqita has the verbs *qoro* 'be many, numerous', used with count nouns, and *baqita* 'be big, large', 'be plentiful, a lot', and *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity', both used used with mass nouns. Being stative verbs, they can functions as noun modifiers in noun phrases (see section 6.10 for detail).

(6-338)   *Kaala   doo   qoro   qe   taqe i   fafo-na*
          little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT   grow LOC top-3.PERS

          kwaingaqia qeri ….
          grave   that
          'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave ….'

(6-339)   *fanga baqita*
          food   be.big
          'a large quantity of food; a lot of food'

The verb *faqekwa* 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity' is exemplified in (6-340) below.

Toqabaqita has only one adjective, which has the meaning 'small, little' (section 6.12). The adjective has three forms, and one of these, *kasi*, can also have the quantification meaning 'little (in quantity)'. In this function it is used with mass nouns, and normally cooccurs with the modifying verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be little in quantity':

(6-340)   *Kasi   malefo   faqekwa   qasia   naqa na*
          little.SG money   be.little.in.quantity INTS   INTS FOC

          kulu   alu-a.
          PL(INCL).NFUT have-3SG.OBJ
          'It's only very little money that we have.'

6.8.10. *Sui* quantifying particle

Several particles can function as modifiers within a noun phrase (chapter 7). One of them is the exhaustive particles *sui*, which also occurs as an exhaustive and completive particle in verb phrases (section 5.2.4). In noun phrases, *sui* has the quantifying meaning 'all, every'. It is normally accompanied either by the limiting particle *bana* or the assertive particle *boqo*. The quantified noun phrase may be lexical or pronominal. For the latter see (6-344) and (6-346a) further below. In examples (6-341) – (6-343) the noun phrases with *sui* occur in grammatically possessive sentences.

(6-341)   *Wela naqi ki sui   {boqo   /   bana}   kera*
          child this   PL EXHST   ASRT   /   LIM   3PL.NFUT

          thaofa.
          be.hungry
          'All of these children are hungry.'

(6-342)   *Qi   laa   fa   quuqusungadia ki sui   bana kere*
          LOC   IN   CLF   morning   PL EXHST   LIM 3PL.NFUT

          fita   ba-da   sula   tala   qe=ki, ...
          run   LIM-3PL.PERS   PROL   road   that=PL
          'Every morning they run [jog] on (lit. along) the roads, ...'

In (6-343) the exhaustive particle occurs in a predicate noun phrase:

(6-343)   *Toqa   na=i   fanu   qe=ki   toqa   leqa*
          people   REL=LOC   country   that=PL   people   be.good

          ki   sui   boqo.
          PL   EXHST   ASRT
          'The people in those countries are all good people.'

In grammatically negative clauses, *sui* may have the negation in its scope or may be in the scope of the negation, even if the linear order of *sui* and the negative elements is the same, as in (6-344) and (6-345), where *sui* occurs in the subject phrases, before the negative elements. In (6-344) *sui* has the negation in its scope: 'all not'.

(6-344)   *Toq=qe=ki   sui   bana qe   aqi*
          people=that=PL   EXHST   LIM 3SG.NFUT   NEGV

> *kesi   lae   mai.*
> 3PL.NEG go   VENT
> 'None of the people came.' (Lit.: 'All the people did not come.')

And in (6-345) *sui* is in the scope of the negation: 'not all'.

(6-345)   *Faa-li-la-na   teeteru   qe   qafetaqi,*
           weave-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   fan   3SG.NFUT   be.difficult

           imole   ki sui   bana qe   aqi kesi
           person   PL EXHST   LIM   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3PL.NEG

           thaitoqoma-na.
           know-3SG.OBJ
           'Fan-weaving is difficult; not everybody knows (how to do) it (lit.: all the people do not know it).'

Sometimes the exhaustive particle can occur in a noun phrase or in a verb phrase, without any significant difference in meaning:

(6-346)   a.   *Kulu   sui   boqo kuki   nguu.*
                 PL(INCL) EXHST   ASRT PL(INCL).FUT   sing
                 'Let's sing, all of us.'

           b.   *Kulu   kuki   nguu sui   boqo.*
                 PL(INCL) PL(INCL).FUT   sing   EXHST   ASRT
                 'Let's all sing.'

Similarly in (6-347):

(6-347)   a.   *Wela naqi ki   sui   boqo kera*
                 child this   PL   EXHST   ASRT 3PL.NFUT

                 thaofa.
                 be.hungry
                 'All of these children are hungry.'

           b.   *Wela naqi ki kera   thaofa   sui   boqo.*
                 child this   PL 3PL.NFUT   be.hungry   EXHST   ASRT
                 'These children are all hungry.'

This kind of alternation is reminiscent of quantifier floating, but in Toqa-baqita it is a reflection of the fact that *sui*, just as many other particles (chapter 7), may occur in verb phrases or in noun phrases with similar functions. Furthermore, while exhaustive *sui* can occur in combination with assertive *boqo* both in noun phrases and in verb phrases, in combination with the limiter *bana* it can occur only in noun phrases, not in verb phrases, and so there is no alternation in such cases.

When there is a pronominal direct object in a clause, the position of the combination of the exhaustive particle and the assertive marker or the limiter may be indeterminate. Thus, in (6-348) *sui* and *boqo* could be in the noun phrase headed by the pronoun *kera* or they could be postverbal particles that follow the pronominal direct object:

(6-348)   a.   *Toq=qe=ki$_i$,   kera$_j$ [hangim [kera*
                people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT   hang   3PL

                sui   boqo]$_i$].
                EXHST   ASRT
                'Those people$_i$, they$_j$ hanged them$_i$ all.' 'All those people were hanged.'

          b.   *Toq=qe=ki$_i$,   kera$_j$ [hangim   kera$_i$*
                people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT   hang   3PL

                sui   boqo].
                EXHST   ASRT
                'Those people$_i$, they$_j$ hanged them$_i$ all.' 'All those people were hanged.'

6.8.11. Quantification by means of heads of phrases

In section 6.8.3 nouns that designate numerically specific sets were discussed. Those nouns function as the heads of their phrases. There are several other elements with a quantification meaning that occur in the head position of a phrase. They are a heterogenous group, both in terms of their semantic properties and their formal properties. Two of these elements are nouns and function as the head of an associative noun phrase, with or without the associative suffix (section 8.2). They are *ngada ~ ngade-qe* and *anga ~ ange-qe* 'small number', 'few', and they are used with count nouns. The entities characterized as being few in number occur in the modifier noun phrase.

(6-349)   *{ngada   /   ngade-qe   /   anga   /*
           small.number   /   small.number-ASSOC /   small.number   /

           ange-qe}   gwa   iqa
           'small.number-ASSOC   CLF   fish
           'small number of fish', 'few fish'

All these forms are synonymous, except that *anga* is not normally used with reference to taros and yams, because there it expresses the numerical value 100 (section 6.8.3). As (6-349) above shows, although the four forms are nouns, they do trigger the use of the classifiers, unlike the nouns with the numerically specific value 10 (section 6.8.3).

Below are given two more examples of the quantifying nouns:

(6-350)   *... mili   ngali-a   ange-qe   si*
           1PL(EXCL).NFUT   take-3.OBJ   small.number-ASSOC   PRTT

           doo   qe=ki ....
           thing   that=PL
           '... we took (only) a few of those things ....'

In (6-351) the noun 'money' is treated as a count one: 'pieces of money, coins':

(6-351)   *Nau, ngada   fa   seleni   boqo na   ku*
           1SG   small.number   CLF   money   ASRT FOC   1SG.NFUT

           alu-a.
           have-3SG.OBJ
           'I, I only have little money.' (Lit.: 'I, it is only small number of money/coins that I have.')

And there are three quantifying elements that exhibit properties of verbs: *talifili, teqefili,* and *talitoqo*, all of which have the meaning 'only, sole, alone (without anybody or anything else)'. However, none of these forms can form the head of a predicate. They are used only in the functions discussed here. Of the three forms, *teqefili* is least common. Evidently, it has some historical relation to *teqe* 'one', also 'sole, only, single'. There are Class 1 transitive verbs *fili* 'choose, select, prefer', 'appoint, elect', and *tali* 'clear the ground in order to make a new garden' in the language, but whether they have any kind of relation to the quantifiers is not clear. The structure of this type of quantifier phrase is given in (6-352). The quantifier is the head.

(6-352)   QUANTIFIER (NP)

Talifili and *teqefili* are like Class 1 transitive verbs in the sense that they take the third person (singular) object suffix -*a* to index the noun phrase that encodes the entity characterized as being sole, but only when the noun phrase is lexical. The suffix is also present when there is no noun phrase encoding the entity characterized as being sole. And when such an entity is expressed by means of a personal pronoun, the quantifiers do not take the object suffix, just as is the case with Class 1 transitive verbs with pronominal direct objects. Compare *talifili-a kini* 'woman alone, by herself' and *talifili nau* 'I alone, I by myself' in (6-353) and (6-354), respectively:

(6-353)   *Maqa   fera   qeri   qe   gwaqu,   talifili-a*
           CLF   house   that   3SG.NFUT   be.empty   only-3.OBJ

           kini   na=i   kula   qeri   bana,   gwauliqi
           woman   REL=LOC   place that   LIM   married.person

           ai   na=i   laa   toaa   qeri   bana, kai
           woman   REL=LOC   IN   homestead that   LIM   3SG.IPFV

           too.
           be.at.home
           'The house is empty; only the woman of (lit.: at) the place, only the married woman of the homestead, is at home.'

(Both *kini* and *ai* have the meaning 'woman'.)

(6-354)   *... fasi kini   qeri   ka   qadomi nau   ka*
               PURP woman   that   3SG.SEQ   help   1SG   3SG.SEQ

           too   i   sa-ku,   uri-a   talifili   nau,
           reside   LOC   ADJC-1SG.PERS   REAS-3.OBJ only   1SG

           nau   ku   feda   naqa.
           1SG   1SG.NFUT be.tired PRF
           '[I wish very much you would marry a woman,] so that the woman might help me (and) live with me, because (I am) by myself (lit.: only me) (and) I am tired.'

The next two examples illustrate the quantifier *teqefili*. In (6-355a) the quantifier has a pronominal complement. In the synonymous sentence in (6-355b)

there is no complement, and the relevant entity is encoded only by means of the object suffix on the quantifier:

(6-355)   a.   *Wela qe   maqu   qana lae-laa*
                 child 3SG.NFUT   be.afraid   GENP go-NMLZ

                 teqefili   nia   qi   laa   masuqu.
                 only   3SG   LOC   IN   bush
                 'The child is afraid to go into the bush alone.'

           b.   *Wela qe   maqu   qana lae-laa*
                 child 3SG.NFUT   be.afraid   GENP go-NMLZ

                 teqefili-a   qi   laa   masuqu.
                 only-3SG.OBJ   LOC   IN   bush
                 'The child is afraid to go into the bush alone.'

The third quantifier *talitoqo* is like Class 2 transitive verbs: it takes the same set of object suffixes for all grammatical persons and numbers. Furthermore, the *toqo* part of the quantifier may be historically the same morpheme as the TEST suffix found in many Class 2 transitive verbs. Whether there is also some historical relation to the distributive quantifier *toqo* (section 6.8.8) is not clear.

(6-356)   ... *talitoqo-na fanga   na   mili   qani-a*
                only-3.OBJ food   REL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ

                bo=naqa   na   nga   alo, ...
                INTS=INTS   FOC   IDENT taro
                '... really the only (kind of) food we ate was taro, ...', '... taro was really the only (kind of) food we ate ....'

Compare the synonymous sentences in (6-357). In the first one, the quantifier is *talifili* with the first person singular pronoun as its complement, while in the second one the quantifier *talitoqo* carries the first person singular object suffix:

(6-357)   a.   *Talifili   nau   bana ku   too.*
                 only   1SG   LIM 1SG.NFUT   stay
                 'Only I stayed.'

b.   *Talitoqo-ku   bana ku   too.*
      only-1SG.OBJ   LIM   1SG.NFUT   stay
      'Only I stayed.'

6.9.   *Ki* **plural marker**

Pronominal noun phrases make a three-way number distinction: singular, dual, and plural (section 6.3). In lexical noun phrases, there is only a binary number contrast, singular vs. plural. The plural is marked by the particle *ki*; there is no overt marking of the singular, as shown in (6-358) and (6-359), respectively:

(6-358)   *wela baa   ki*
           child that   PL
           'those children'

(6-359)   *wela   baa*
           child that
           'that child'

The plural marker and the demonstrative *qeri* 'this', 'that' normally fuse together as *qe=ki*:

(6-360)   *doo   qe=ki*
           thing that=PL
           'those things'

The plural marker can cooccur with proper nouns:

(6-361)   *roo   Fiona   ki sui   boqo*
           two   Fiona   PL EXHST   ASRT
           'both Fionas' (i.e., both of the girls called Fiona)

However, the plural marker is not obligatory, and its presence is variable. It is more likely to be used in noun phrases with higher-animate, especially human referents than in noun phrases with nonhuman or inanimate referents. And it is more likely to be used when the noun phrase is definite rather than indefinite. On the other hand, it is less likely to be used if there is some other indication of plurality in the noun phrase, such as a numeral or the plural quantifier *tai*, especially in indefinite noun phrases with referents other than human. The examples below illustrate the variable presence of the plural marker.

In (6-362) the plural marker is absent from the two indefinite noun phrases with human referents but present in the subsequent definite noun phrase with the same referents:

(6-362)   *... nia   ka   thare-a   roo   wela; qe*
          3SG   3SG.SEQ give.birth.to-3.OBJ two   child 3SG.NFUT

          thare-a   roo   wela wane. Si   manga
          give.birth.to-3.OBj two   child man   PRTT time

          n=e   thare-a   roo   wela wane
          REL=3SG.NFUT give.birth.to-3.OBJ two   child man

          qe=ki   qe   sui, ...
          that=PL 3SG.NFUT   be.finished
          '… she gave birth to two children; she gave birth to two boys. After she had given birth to the two boys (lit.: at the time she gave birth to the two boys [and] it was finished) ….'

In (6-363) the noun phrase has a human referent but is indefinite and contains the plural quantifier *tai*, and the plural marker is absent:

(6-363)   *Kwa   riki-a   tai   wane baqita.*
          1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   some.PL man   be.big
          'I saw some big men.'

In (6-364) the noun phrase has nonhuman referents, it contains the plural form of the adjective 'little' and the quantifying verb 'be many, numerous', and the plural marker is not used:

(6-364)   *Kaala   doo   qoro   qe   taqe i   fafo-na*
          little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT   grow LOC   top-3.PERS

          kwaingaqia qeri ....
          grave   that
          'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave ….'

On the other hand, in (6-365) there are two noun phrases with inanimate referents, but they are both definite and the plural marker is present in both:

(6-365)   *Kera   thau-ngani-a biqu   qe=ki   qi*
          3PL.NFUT   build-TR-3.OBJ house   that=PL LOC

> *qaaqae-na   ngali   kera   ki ....*
> foot-3.PERS canarium.nut   3PL   PL
> 'They build the houses [here: sheds] at the foot of their canarium-
> nut trees ....' (The canarium nuts that have been harvested will be
> processed in the sheds.)

With the noun *toqa* 'people', which inherently has plural significance, the plural marker may be present or absent, even if the noun phrase is definite:

(6-366)   *Toqa   baa   ki keka   fita   mai ....*
           people   that   PL 3PL.SEQ   run   VENT
           'The people came running ....'

(6-367)   *Toqa   baa   kera   thaka ....*
           people   that   3PL.NFUT   flee
           'The people fled ....'

When a noun phrase is definite, has a human referent and there is no other indication of plurality in the noun phrase, the plural marker is, as a rule, used.

When there is a relative clause present, the plural marker may occur inside the head noun phrase, or inside the relative clause, or in both positions simulta- neously; see section 30.3 for discussion.

6.10.   Modification of nouns by verb complexes

Nouns can be modified by verbs, and it is even possible for certain particles that occur with verbs in verb phrases (chapter 5) to occur with verbs that mod- ify nouns.[24] A noun-modifying construction that consists of a verb and possibly one or more particles is referred to here as a "verb complex". (Cf. the notion of the verb complex within verb phrases introduced in section 6.1.) A large major- ity of verbs that can modify nouns are intransitive stative verbs. Verbs that have a stative meaning as part of their semantic range can modify nouns only in their stative meaning. There is (at least) one intransitive stative verb that cannot modify nouns. Noun-modifying verb complexes follow their head nouns.

There are also a few transitive verbs that can function as noun modifiers. However, this kind of noun modification is not productive and is restricted to a small number of compounds. Such compounds are discussed in section 12.3.3.

The discussion will focus first on noun-modifying verb complexes that con- sist only of a verb. Example (6-368) shows the verbs *nguunguru* 'be short' and *suukwaqi* 'be strong' in their predicative function, and (6-369) and (6-370) show the same two verbs as modifiers in noun phrases:

(6-368)   *Wane   qeri, dooqanitaa ka   nguunguru mena,*
　　　　　　man   that   CONC   3SG.SEQ be.short   CONC

　　　　　　nia   e   suukwaqi.
　　　　　　3SG   3SG.NFUT   be.strong
　　　　　　'The man, even though he is short, he is strong.'

(6-369)   *naifa nguunguru baa*
　　　　　　knife be.short   that
　　　　　　'that short knife'

(6-370)   *Toqa   maamaelia, toqa   suukwaqi,   toqa   leqa.*
　　　　　　people   be.powerful people   be.strong   people   be.good
　　　　　　'[That was what I saw during my visit to that country.] Powerful
　　　　　　people, strong people, good people.'

In (6-370) *maamaelia* 'be powerful' and *leqa* 'be good' also are verbs that
function as modifiers in the noun phrases.

　　Hengeveld (1992) and Hengeveld, Rijkhoff, and Siewierska (2004) define
verbs as lexemes that can function only as heads of predicate phrases. However,
as argued in Lichtenberk (2005b), in Toqabaqita, the lexemes discussed in this
section are indeed verbs, but they can also function as noun modifiers. Impor-
tantly, when verbs function as noun modifiers in the sense the term is employed
here, they do not form the heads of predicates in relative clauses. Of course,
nouns can be modified by relative clauses (chapter 30). Relative clauses are
usually (although not always) introduced by *na*, reduced to *n=* in (6-371). The
relative clause and its head noun are in bold.

(6-371)   *Qoko   suqu-si-a   raa-la-na   wane qeri,*
　　　　　　2SG.SEQ block-TR-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ-3.PERS   man   this

　　　　　　*tha   Saetana; nia   **wane n=e   taqaa**, ….*
　　　　　　PERSMKR   Satan   3SG   man   REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad
　　　　　　'Block the workings of this man, Satan; he is a man who is bad, ….'

　　On the other hand, in (6-372) *taqaa* functions as a noun modifier. It does not
occur in a clause of its own. There is no relative marker and no subject marker
with *taqaa*. The noun phrase is in bold.

(6-372)   *Doo, **kusi taqaa   qena**,   kai   tee-teo*
　　　　　　thing cat   be.bad   that(2)   3SG.IPFV   RDP-lie

> *ba-n=i*   *fafo-na*   *nena, ….*
> LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC   top-3SG.PERS   NPAST.THERE
> 'The thing, the no-good (lit.: bad) cat, is just lying on top of it [a
> piece of timber], ….'

Furthermore, the noun phrase in (6-372) contains the demonstrative *qena* 'that(2)', which follows the verb *taqaa* 'be bad', but relative clauses follow noun-phrase internal demonstratives (see [6-3] in section 6.1); see (6-373). In (6-373) the "heavy" direct object noun phrase that contains the relative clause has been postposed to the right of the first situational demonstrative *nena*:

(6-373)   *Qoe*   *n=o*   *thaitoqoma-na* *leqa*   *qasia naqa*
             2SG   FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ   be.good   INTS   INTS

             nena   **school**   **kamaluqa**   *qena*   *n=e*
             NPAST.THERE   school   2PL   that(2)   REL=3SG.NFUT

             leqa   **nena**, *….*
             be.good   NPAST.THERE
             'It's you who knows which of your schools there is good, ….' (Lit.:
             'It is you who knows the school of yours that is good, ….')

In addition, some of the particles that can occur with verbs in relative clauses cannot occur with verbs in the constructions discussed here, such as the directionals. (The directionals can occur in noun phrases, but in that case they function as modifers of the head noun.) And, finally, in the type of construction discussed here a verb may be accompanied by one or more particles, as in verb phrases. There is, however, an important difference: in the construction discussed here, a postverbal particle can be linked to the verb by means of the ligature *ni*, which is not the case in verb phrases. Examples are given further below.

If the constructions discussed in this section were to be considered to be reduced relative clauses, there would be no explanation for the various differences from relative clauses. The constructions in question do not, then, involve relative clauses but verbs that modify nouns. A few more examples of noun-modifying verbs are given below. All of those lexemes can also function predicatively.

(6-374)   *Thala*   *taa*   *n=o*   *thathami-a?*   *Thala*
             cloth   which?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ   cloth

> *meemenaqa mada   thala kwaakwaoqa?*
> be.red   or   cloth be.white
> 'Which cloth do you want? The red cloth or the white cloth?'

(6-375)   *Tarausisi   tekwa   nau   baa   na   qoki   wasi-a.*
          trousers   be.long 1SG   that   FOC   2SG.FUT wash-3SG.OBJ
          'It's my long trousers that you will wash.'

The interrogative verb *qufita* 'be how?' (section 19.3.5) too can function as a noun modifier:

(6-376)   A: *Nau   qa-kuqa   teqe   banikeni.*
              1SG   POSS-1SG.PERS   one   cup

             B: *Banikeni   qufita?*
               cup   be.how?

             A: *Banikeni   nau   qeri   qe   ilingi-a*
               cup   1SG   that   3SG.NFUT be.just.like-3.OBJ

              banikeni   naqi.
               cup   this
              A: 'I have a cup.' (Lit.: 'I, of mine there is one cup.')
              B: 'What (kind of) cup?' 'What is the cup like?'
              A: 'My cup (lit.: that cup of mine) is/looks just like this cup.'

In (6-377) the modifying verb is a depatientive one (section 21.4):

(6-377)   *wane   kwai-faqa-maqu-i*
          man   LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
          'frightening man'

And in (6-378) the noun is modified by a (serializing) [verb verb] compound:

(6-378)   *kini   raa   kwasi*
          woman   work be.wild
          ' very hard-working woman', 'woman who works very hard'

The verb *kwasi*, which has a number of senses, one of which is 'of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild', is used as a non-final member of verb-verb compounds to signify that the activity encoded by the preceding verb

is performed very intensively, or very often, or to excess, immoderately. For another example see (6-389) further below.

Verbs that modify nouns can be accompanied by one or more of the particles that occur with verbs in predicates. However, not all of the particles that occur in predicates occur in noun-modifying verb complexes. Those that can are illustrated below. When postverbal particles occur with verbs that modify nouns, they may be joined to the noun by means of the ligature *ni*. (The ligature does not occur when verbs function predicatively.) If there is more than one postverbal particle, it is the particle complex as a whole that has the ligature. In (6-379) it is the perfect marker *naqa* that is present:

(6-379)   *Kafa   qeri, wane mae   naqa n=e*
          comb   this   man be.dead   PRF   FOC=3SG.NFUT

          alu-lu-a.
          own-RDP-3SG.OBJ
          'This comb, it was the dead man (lit.: the now-dead man) who used
          to own it.'

In (6-380) the perfect marker is joined to the verb by means of the ligature *ni*. The ligature and the perfect marker have fused, the *i* of the ligature has dropped out, and the *n* of the ligature and the *n* of the perfect marker are jointly realized as long *n*:

(6-380)   *Wane   qeri wan=daraa   n=naqa* [n:áʔa] ....
          man   that man=be.young.and.single   LIG=PRF
          'The man was already a *daraa* man ....' (*Daraa* is used about males
          who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young
          and not yet married.)

In (6-381) the noun-modifying verb is accompanied by the intensifier combination *qasia naqa*, and in (6-382) the same intensifier combination is linked to the head noun by the ligature *ni*.

(6-381)   *Keko   figu-a   botho qoro   qasia naqa,* ....
          3DU.SEQ gather-3.OBJ   pig   be.many INTS INTS
          'They gathered very many pigs [for a feast], ...'

(6-382)   *wane   maamaelia ni   qasia naqa*
          man   be.powerful LIG   INTS INTS
          'very powerful man'

In (6-383) there are two instances of the modifying verb *baqita* 'be big', one with the preverbal immediate (past) marker *biqi* and one with the perfect marker *naqa*:

(6-383)   ... *ta   fai,   ta   lima wane biqi baqita   bii*
             some four   some five   man   IMM be.big   COM

             kamiliqa,   ta   fai   wane baqita   naqa.
             1PL(EXCL)   some four   man   be.big   PRF
             '[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big), (together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.'

The postverbal self-benefactive and recipient-benefactive marker *qa* cannot occur with noun-modifying verbs, and neither can the self-benefactive construction used with some of the other postverbal particles (section 5.2.10). One of those particles is the limiter, which obligatorily has the form *ba-*, with a personal suffix, in verb phrases. With a noun modifying verb, the limiter can only occur in its full form *bana*, without a personal suffix:

(6-384)   *wela faqekwa quu   bana*
             child be.little   ANTCONT   LIM
             'child that is still only little'

Occurrence of particles with verbs modifying nouns must be distinguished from occurrence of particles that may also occur postverbally in noun phrases but that are noun-phrase level particles and have the whole noun phrase in their scope, not just the verb. They can occur without a noun-modifying verb. These are discussed in chapter 7.

A noun-modifying verb can be negated. As discussed in chapter 17, there are several negating strategies for verbs that head verb phrases, but only one of them can be used with noun-modifying verbs, the one that consists of the negative marker *si*.

(6-385)   *Wane baa wane   si   maqu.*
             man   that   man   NEG   be.afraid
             'That man (is) a man (who is) not afraid.' 'That man is a man without fear.'

In (6-386) the negated verb modifies the head noun in a lexicalized phrase (section 12.8):

(6-386)   *fanua   si   rodo*
        place   NEG   be.dark
        'place (that is) not dark', 'place without darkness' (referring to Christian heaven)

Similarly in (6-387) the verb *baqita* 'be big' together with the immediate-past preverbal particle *biqi* modifies the head noun in a lexicalized phrase.

(6-387)   *ai   biqi   baqita   ki*
        woman   IMM   be.big   PL
        'girls', 'young, unmarried women' (lit.: 'women just/recently big')

The combination of the verb *baqita* 'be big' and the immediate-past marker *biqi* is used to designate adolescent, unmarried people. See also *ta lima wane biqi baqita* 'some five adolescent men' in (6-383) further above. In (6-383) there is another instance of *baqita* 'be big' modifying a noun. There the verb is accompanied by the perfect marker *naqa*: *ta fai wane baqita naqa* 'some four men already grown up'.

[Verb verb] compounds of a certain type cannot have a direct object (section 12.5). Instead, what would be the direct object of a transitive verb outside a compound is realized as an oblique object of the compound. In (6-388) below the oblique object is *kofe* 'coffee'. The compound also contains the verb *kwasi* 'of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild', which is used in compounds to signify that the activity encoded by the preceding verb is performed very intensively, or very often, or to excess, immoderately; see also (6-378) further above.

(6-388)   *Wane   qe   kuqu kwasi   qana kofe.*
        man   3SG.NFUT   drink be.wild   GENP   coffee
        'The man is an inveterate coffee drinker.' 'The man is an inveterate drinker of coffee.'

And in (6-389) the same construction with a verb-verb compound and an oblique object functions as a noun modifier:

(6-389)   *wane kuqu kwasi   qana kofe*
        man   drink be.wild   GENP   coffee
        'inveterate coffee drinker', 'man (who is) an inveterate drinker of coffee'

The prepositional phrase *qana kofe* has been incorporated: *kuqu kwasi qana kofe* is a lexicalized phrase that functions as a complex intransitive verb. An-

other example of such oblique object-incorporation, this time in a predicate, appears in (12-194) in section 12.8.

Modification of nouns by intransitive stative verbs is productive, but there is (at least) one intransitive stative verb that cannot function in this way. The verb is *sukani* 'be of little quantity, degree', even though its near synonym *faqekwa* 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity' can (see [6-340] in section 6.8.9).

Many intransitive stative verbs that can modify nouns can also function as modifiers of verbs in verb-verb compounds.

6.11.   Modification of nouns by nouns

To attribute the property of being big or plentiful, in large quantity, to an entity, the verb *baqita* 'be big, large', 'be plentiful, a lot' may be used as a modifying verb:

(6-390)   *botho   baqita*
           pig   be.big
           'big pig'

(6-391)   *fanga   baqita*
           food   be.plentiful
           'a large quantity of food, a lot of food'

However, there is another way, which is to use one of two nouns in a noun-modifying construction. The two nouns are *thaama*, which is the archaic word for '(classificatory) father', but has other uses as well, and *thaina* '(classificatory) mother', which is not archaic.[25] Before their noun-modifying function is considered, here are some examples of their other uses, starting with *thaama*. *Thaama* takes personal suffixes to encode the possessor:

(6-392)   *Thaama-ku   qe   nii   qi   Honiara.*
           father-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.located   LOC   Honiara
           'My father (arch.) is in Honiara.'

In everyday speech, *thaama* is not normally used with the meaning 'father', having been almost completely replaced by *maka* (see section 8.1.5). However, *thaama* is used even today in a swearing formula:

(6-393)   *Fee-feqe-si-a   gwau-na   thaama-na!*
           RDP-defecate-TR-3.OBJ   head-3.PERS   father-3SG.PERS
           'Shit on his father's head!' (Swearing about a third person.)

And *thaama* is commonly used in an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation, which need not be directed at one's (classificatory) father. In this use, *thaama* takes the archaic plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* (section 8.1.2) and is often followed by the vocative marker *qae* (section 6.16): *Thaama-ka qae!* (lit. 'Our father!').

Thaina '(classificatory) mother' also takes personal suffixes to encode the possessor:

(6-394)   *Thaina-na   ka   quna   qeri, "...."*
           mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   manner   this
           'His mother said, "....".'

Below is given an example of the two nouns in their noun-modifying function. *Thaama* can carry either the third person singular personal suffix or the associative suffix, while *thaina* can carry only the latter. Both nouns are given their literal glosses 'father' and 'mother', respectively. The details of the constructions will be discussed subsequently.

(6-395)   *{thaama-na   /   thaame-qe   /   thaine-qe}   fanga*
           father-3.PERS   /   father-ASSOC   /   mother-ASSOC] food
           'a large quantity of food, a lot of food'

(The change of the final *a* to *e* in *thaama* and *thaina* takes place with other nouns before the associative suffix [section 8.2.1]).

In the noun-modifying function, *thaina* cannot occur with the personal suffix:

(6-396)   **thaina-na   fanga*
           mother-3.PERS   food
           ('a large quantity of food, a lot of food')

The phrase in (6-396) would be grammatical with the implausible meaning 'food's mother'.

The personal suffixes are used on the head, possessum noun in one type of possessive construction to index the possessor (section 8.1.2); and the associative suffix is used on the head noun in the associative construction (section 8.2.1). The noun phrases in (6-395) further above then have the appearance of a possessive construction and two associative constructions: 'father of (the) food', 'father/mother food'. However, there is evidence that *thaama* and *thaina* are not the heads but rather modifiers. First, in (6-395) *fanga* is the head semantically. The referent of the noun phrase is food, not a father or a mother, and the nouns *thaama-na*, *thaame-qe*, and *thaine-qe* function attributively: they attrib-

ute the property of being plentiful to the food. *Fanga* is also the head gram-
matically: it could occur on its own. It is true that the noun *thaama-na* could
also occur on its own, but then its meaning would be 'his/her father', and it
would be archaic. On the other hand, there is nothing archaic about *thaama-na
fanga* 'a large quantity of food, a lot of food'. Neither *thaame-qe* nor *thaine-qe*
could occur on their own even if they were heads, because the heads of associa-
tive constructions cannot occur without a modifier. Additional evidence that
thaama and *thaina* are modifiers rather than heads is given further below.

Of the three constructions, *thaine-qe* is the least common one, and is, in fact,
quite rare. One more example is given in (6-397):

(6-397)   *thaine-qe   botho*
           mother-ASSOC   pig
           'big pig'

Compare the synonymous *botho baqita* 'big pig' in (6-390) above.

Thaama-na and *thaame-qe* are both common, the former somewhat more so,
and all of the subsequent examples contain one or the other. In (6-398) it is the
noun *rara* that is the (semantic) head: what is built is a wall, not somebody's
father.

(6-398)   *Kera   thau-ngani-a   teqe   thaama-na   rara*
           3PL.NFUT   build-TR-3.OBJ one   father-3.PERS   wall

           kaa-kali-a   biqu   kera.
           RDP-surround-3.OBJ   house   3PL
           'They built a big wall all the way around their house.'

Thaama-na is freely omissible from (6-398) with a predictable semantic
consequence: the wall is not characterized as big; see (6-399).

(6-399)   *Kera   thau-ngani-a   teqe   rara   kaa-kali-a*
           3PL.NFUT   build-TR-3.OBJ one   wall   RDP-surround-3.OBJ

           biqu   kera.
           house   3PL
           'They built a wall all the way around their house.'

There is also grammatical evidence that in (6-398) above *thaama* is not the
head of the noun phrase *teqe thaama-na rara* 'a/one big wall'. As discussed in
section 8.1.7, in a suffixing possessive noun phrase, where the possessum noun
carries a personal suffix indexing the possessor, there cannot be a numeral

modifier (or a demonstrative modifier, a verbal modifier or an adjectival modifier). An alternative construction must be used instead. *Thaama-na rara* in (6-398) is, then, not a possessive noun phrase.

In (6-400) it is the nominalization *qai-laa* 'shouting' that is the head: the man gave a loud shout.

(6-400)   *… nia   ka   qai   qana teqe*
          3SG   3SG.SEQ shout   INS   one

          thaame-q=qai-laa   n=e   baqita.
          father-ASSOC-shout-NMLZ   REL=3SG.NFUT   be.big
          '… he gave a very loud shout.' (Lit.: '… he shouted with big shouting that was big.')

In (6-400) the shouting is characterized as 'loud, big' by prenominal *thaame-qe* and also by the verb *baqita* 'be big' in the predicate of the relative clause. *Baqita* can also function as a postnominal modifier in conjunction with prenominal *thaame-qe*/*thaama-na* (see further below).

In the situation expressed in (6-401) what is falling is rain:

(6-401)   *Thaama-na   langabuu   e   qaru.*
          father-3.PERS   heavy.rain   3SG.NFUT   fall
          'It's raining very heavily.' (Lit. 'Big heavy rain is falling.')

Compare:

(6-402)   *Dani qe   qaru.*
          rain   3SG.NFUT   fall
          'It's raining.'

Thaama-na, *thaame-qe*, and *thaine-qe* function as modifiers in the type of construction discussed here, but historically such constructions do correspond to possessive and associative constructions, with *thaama-na* as the head of the former type and *thaame-qe* and *thaine-qe* as the heads of the latter type. What has occurred is dependency reversal (Malchukov 2000; see also Ross 1998a, b; Lichtenberk 2005b): the former head position has become a dependent position, and the former dependent position has become the head position.

As in possessive constructions, the "singular" personal suffix *-na* is used on noun-modifying *thaama* even if the noun phrase is plural. In (6-403) the noun phrase *thaama-na baqekwa ki* 'big sharks' functions as the predicate of a verbless subjectless clause (section 27.2.4):

(6-403)   … *mika   lio,   mika   riki-a   iqa*
           1PL(EXCL).SEQ look   1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ   fish

           qe=ki   na   thaama-na   baqekwa   ki …. ma
           that=PL   REL   father-3.PERS shark   PL   and

           thaama-na   fali   qe=ki ….
           father-3.PERS   stingray that=PL
           '… we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks … and (we
           saw) the big stingrays ….'

To emphasize the big size or the large quantity of an entity, one of the modi-
fying nouns and the modifying verb *baqita* 'be big', 'be plentiful' can occur
simultaneously with the same head noun:

(6-404)   *thaama-na   wane   baqita*
           big-3.PERS   man   be.big
           'very big man'

(6-405)   … *qi   roqo   mika   laa-lae   qana*
           LOC   yesterday   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   RDP-go   GENP

           teqe   thaame-qe   bilei   baqita.
           one   father-ASSOC   play   be.big
           '… yesterday we went to a very big (sports) play [a great (sports)
           event].'

In (6-406) there is further intensification by means of the intensifier combi-
nation *qasia naqa* with the modifying verb:

(6-406)   *Uul-a   maama   kera   qalangi-a   qana*
           three-3.PERS   mortuary.feast 3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ GENP

           "lekwesi",   thaama-na   maama   baqita   qasia naqa
           lekwesi   father-3.PERS mortuary.feast be.big   INTS INTS

           neri.
           VIVID
           'The third mortuary feast (in a series of mortuary feasts) is called
           (lit. they name it) "*lekwesi*"; (it is) a really huge mortuary feast.'

6.12.   Modification of nouns by the adjective

To attribute the property of being small in size or little in quantity to an entity, the intransitive stative verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity' can be used as a noun modifier:

(6-407)   *biqu faqekwa*
           house be.small
           'small house'

(6-408)   *si   kafo faqekwa*
           PRTT water be.little.in.quantity
           'little (of the) water'

Another way is to use an adjective that means 'small, little (in size or in quantity)'. Unlike the verb *faqekwa*, the adjective occurs prenominally:

(6-409)   *kasi   biqu*
           small house
           'small house'

(6-410)   *kasi   kafo*
           little   water
           'little (of the) water'

The adjective 'small, little' is the sole adjective in the language, but it has three variant forms: *kasi*, *kali*, and *kaala*. *Kasi* is illustrated in (6-409 and (6-410) above. *Kali* and *kaala* are illustrated in (6-411) and (6-412), respectively:

(6-411)   *kali   wela*
           small/little.SG   child
           'small/little child'

(6-412)   *kaala   wela*
           small/little.PL   child
           'small/little children'

The use of the variants is determined, partly, by certain properties of the nouns they modify and of the noun phrases in which they occur. *Kasi* occurs with nouns that are inanimate, count or mass. With count nouns, *kasi* has a singular-number value, while with mass nouns it signifies a small amount.

(6-413)   *Tei   n=e   soqoni-a   kasi era*
          who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   light.fire-3.OBJ small fire

          loo   na   kai   tharu loqo?
          upward REL   3SG.IPFV   burn up.there
          'Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?'

(6-414)   *Kwai   reri fasi qa=ta   kasi manga.*
          1SG.FUT lie   PREC GENP=some   little time
          'I'm going to lie (down) for a short time.'

Kali is used with count nouns, animate or inanimate, and it has a singular-number value:

(6-415)   *Kali   wela baa kai   angi.*
          little.SG child that 3SG.IPFV cry
          'The little child is crying.'

(6-416)   *... kali   fa   wasi,   riki-la-n=e*
          little.SG CLF   watch   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

          leqa   qasia naqa.
          be.nice INTS INTS
          '... the little watch, it looks very nice. (Lit.: '... the little watch, its looking-at is very nice.')

With inanimate count nouns either *kasi* or *kali* can be used in singular noun phrases:

(6-417)   *{kasi /   kali}   naifa*
          small /   small.SG knife
          'small knife'

Kaala, like *kali*, is used with count nouns, animate or inanimate, but it has a plural-number value:

(6-418)   *Wane   ki na kwa lio kwa   rik=kera,*
          person PL REL 1SG.SEQ look 1SG.SEQ see=3PL

  kere   *quri-a*   *naqa tai* *kaala* *wela ki.*
  3PL.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ PRF some.PL little.PL child PL
  'The people that I saw (lit.: that I looked and saw them) [after get-
  ting to the top of a very high building] then looked like (some) little
  children.'

(6-419) *Kaala* *doo* *qoro* *qe*   *taqe* *i* *fafo-na*
     little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT grow LOC top-3.PERS

     kwaingaqia *qeri* *na* *tha*   *Boranigao*
     grave   that REL PERSMKR Boranigao

     qe   *teo* *qi* *ei.*
     3SG.NFUT lie LOC LOCPRO
     'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave where
     Boranigao lay.'

 Kasi, *kali*, and *kaala* can function only as noun modifiers. They cannot head
verb phrases or noun phrases. They are neither verbs nor nouns; they are adjec-
tival forms. Historically, they are related to the noun *kale*, whose meanings
include 'baby, child, offspring, young (of an animal)'.[26] The form *kasi* is his-
torically *ka-si*, where the *si* syllable is the partitive and diminutive marker *si*
(section 6.6). The form *kaala* is historically *kaal-a*, where the final *a* was origi-
nally the third person singular personal suffix, and there was metathesis of the *l*
and the second *a* (from *kala*). (For more detail on the history of the adjectival
forms see Lichtenberk [2005b].)

 The prenominal adjectival forms 'small, little' can be combined with the
postnominal verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not plentiful, be little in quan-
tity' in the same noun phrase when the small size or quantity of the referent of
the noun phrase is to be emphasized:

(6-420) *Wela qeri kali* *wela faqekwa ni* *bana.*
     child that little.SG child be.little LIG LIM
     'He was just a very little child.' (Lit.: 'The child [was] just a very
     little child.')

 In (6-421) the combination of *kasi* and *faqekwa* is further strengthened by
the intensifier combination *qasia naqa* with the verb:

(6-421) *Kasi* *malefo* *faqekwa*   *qasia* *naqa na*
     little.SG money be.little.in.quantity INTS INTS FOC

> *kulu   alu-a.*
> PL(INCL).NFUT have-3SG.OBJ
> 'It's only very little money that we have.'

The sole adjective does not take any modifiers or particles, and consequently there is no basis for positing an adjective-phrase category in the language.

6.13.   Modification of nouns by prepositional phrases

Two basic types of modification of nouns by prepositional phrases can be distinguished. These will be referred to as "direct modification" and "relative modification", respectively. In relative modification, the prepositional phrase is introduced by the relative marker; in direct modification there is no relative marker. Direct modification of nouns by prepositional phrases is also found in lexicalized phrases (section 12.8).

6.13.1. Direct prepositional-phrase modification

In direct modification a noun is modified by a prepositional phrase of one of the types discussed in Chapter 10. The prepositional phrase directly follows the head noun or the immediately preceding modifier. For example:

(6-422)   *roo   wane fasi-a   saoth*
          two   man   ABL-3.OBJ   south
          'two men from the south'

(6-423)   *biqu naqi qi   Fuusai*
          house this   LOC   Fuusai
          'this house at Fuusai [a place]'

(6-424)   *Wane qi   fei   ba=ku   riki-a   bii   qoe*
          man   LOC   where?   that=1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ   COM   2SG

          qi   roqo?
          LOC   yesterday
          'Where was the man from, (the one) I saw with you yesterday?'
          (Lit.: 'Man from where I saw him with you yesterday?')

Stacked prepositional phrases, where a preposition has a prepositional-phrase complement (section 10.5), also can function as noun modifiers. In noun-modifying stacked prepositional phrases, the higher preposition is (general) locative *qi ~ i* and the lower preposition is inessive *laa*.

(6-425)   *tha   wela qeri i   laa   bang*
          PERSMKR   chap that LOC IN   bank
          'the chap in the bank'

(6-426)   *Fanga kulu   baa ki qi   laa   raa   qe*
          food   PL(INCL) that PL LOC IN   garden 3SG.NFUT

          sui   naqa.
          be.finished PRF
          'Our food (lit.: foods) in the garden is finished now.' (That is, there is no food of any kind left in the garden.)

Particles in the noun-phrase particle complex (chapter 7) and relative clauses follow noun-modifying prepositional phrases in a noun phrase (see [6-3] in section 6.1). In (6-427) the noun phrase is in the predicate position of a verbless and subjectless clause. The limiter particle *bana* is a noun-phrase level particle.

(6-427)   *Si   fanga   fa-na   wela kera ki bana.*
          DIM   food   BEN-3.PERS   child 3PL   PL LIM
          '(It's) just a little food for their children.'

In (6-428) the noun *uqunu* is modified by a relative clause, among other modifers. The noun phrase is in square brackets:

(6-428)   *[Si   uqunu   nguuguru   suli-a   saiklon Namu*
          DIM   story   be.short   PROL-3.OBJ   cyclone Namu

          n=e   thau-ngi   kamiliqa]   neri.
          REL=3SG.NFUT   hit-TR   1PL(EXCL)   NPAST.HERE
          'This/Here now is the story about Cyclone Namu, which hit us.'

Occasionally, however, noun-modifying prepositional phrases are extraposed to the right, out of the noun phrase. In (6-429) the prepositional phrase *i a-kuluqa*, here 'of us/ours', has been postposed to the right of the clause-level foregrounding-additive marker *mena* (chapter 28.6):

(6-429)   *Tai   wane   ki   mena   i   a-kuluqa*
          some.PL person   PL   FADD   LOC   BEN-PL(INCL).PERS

          qe   aqi   kesi   riki-a   quu   doo
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3PL.NEG   see-3.OBJ   ANTCONT   thing

          maruki   qe=ki.
          be.alive   that=PL
          'Some people of ours had not seen those (kinds of) living things
          [animals] either.' (Lit.: 'Some people also for us had not seen those
          live things.')

6.13.2. Relative prepositional-phrase modification

In this type of construction, modification is achieved by means of a "relative
prepositional phrase". The term "relative prepositional phrase" is used here by
analogy to "relative clause". Like relative clauses (chapter 30), relative preposi-
tional phrases are introduced by the marker *na*. Relative prepositional phases
are headed by the general locative preposition *qi*. The preposition and the rela-
tive marker always fuse together as *na=i*. A relative prepositional phrase char-
acterizes, identifies the referent of the noun phrase within which it is a modifier
in terms of its location in space or in time. The characterizing location is per-
manent or long-term, rather than temporary.

(6-430)   *figu-a   na=i   Irobuli*
          gather-DVN   REL=LOC   Irobuli
          'the congregation of/at Irobuli [church]' (the people who belong to
          the Irobuli church)

(6-431)   *fa   bongi   na=i   dini*
          CLF   day   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past
          'days of distant past'

Relative noun phrases need to be distinguished from locative relative
clauses. Locative relative clauses contain a locative verb with its own subject
marker, whereas relative noun phrases contain neither. In (6-432) the noun
phrase contains a locative relative clause

(6-432)   *toqa   na   kere   too   i   laa   siti*
          people   REL   3PL.NFUT be.located   LOC   IN   city
          'the people who were in the city'

Example (6-433) contains both a relative prepositional phrase and a relative clause. The former characterizes the people in permanent terms as being from Malaita, while the latter describes them in more transient terms as being involved in a certain activity at a given period of time:

(6-433)   *toqa*   *na=i*   *Malaqita*   *na*   *kera*   *too*
          people   REL=LOC Malaita   REL   3PL.NFUT   be.located

          i   *laa*   *si*   *doo*   *qeri*
          LOC   IN   PRTT   thing   that
          'the people of Malaita who were (involved) in that thing'

Below are given a few sentential examples that contain relative prepositinal phrases. The first two have to do with locations in space.

(6-434)   *... ka*   *ngali-a*   *mai*   *ka*   *ano-a*   *qi*
          3SG.SEQ   take-3SG.OBJ   VENT   3SG.SEQ   plant-3SG.OBJ   LOC

          maa-na   *biqu*   *nia*   *na=i*   *Fuusai.*
          front-3.PERS   house   3SG   REL=LOC   Fuusai
          '... he brought it [a sugar-cane plant] and planted it in front of his house at Fuusai.'

(6-435)   *Mika*   *fiitoqo-mu,*   *mika*   *too*   *qani*
          1PL(EXCL).SEQ   trust-2SG.OBJ   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   stay   GENP

          qoe,   *mika*   *ngado*   *qi*   *qaba-mu,*   *Good*
          2SG   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   be.still   LOC   hand-2SG.PERS   God

          na=i   *heven.*
          REL=LOC   heaven
          '(And) we trust you, we stay with you, we are still/calm in your hands, God in heaven.'

In (6-436) there are two temporal relative prepositional phrases:

(6-436)   *Qi*   *laa*   *fa*   *thato*   *na=i*   *taraqena,*
          LOC   IN   CLF   day   REL=LOC   today

          uni-qi   *imole*   *na=i*   *manga*   *qeri*
          generation-ASSOC   person   REL=LOC   time   this

> *ngata-la-d=e*   *ruru*   *naqa.*
> speak-NMLZ-3PL.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.scattered   PRF
> 'These days (lit.: in the days at today), the (way of) speaking of to-
> day's generation (lit.: generation at this time) is all over the place
> (lit.: scattered).' (That is, the way today's people speak is not as
> good as the way earlier generations spoke.)

Relative prepositional phrases that contain a place name may serve to char-
acterize a location as having that name:

(6-437)   *aququa   na=i   Malaqita*
          island   REL=LOC   Malaita
          'the island of Malaita'

(6-438)   *siti   na=i   Qoklan*
          city   REL=LOC   Auckland
          'the city of Auckland'

There are also a few lexicalized phrases that contain relative prepositional
phrases. See section 12.8.

Sometimes noun modification may be achieved by means of the direct con-
struction where the preposition is locative *qi* (or its variant *i*) or by means of the
relative construction, without any appreciable difference in meaning. For ex-
ample, either type of construction can characterize a person as being from a
certain place:

(6-439)   a.   *toqa   i   Merika*
               people   LOC   America
               'Americans; people from America'

          b.   *toqa   na=i   Merika*
               people   REL=LOC   America
               'Americans; people from America'

Similarly, either type of structure with a proper-noun as the complement of
the preposition may name a location:

(6-440)   a.   *aququa   qi   Malaqita*
               island   LOC   Malaita
               'the island of Malaita'

b.   *aququa   na=i   Malaqita*
    island   REL=LOC   Malaita
    'the island of Malaita'

6.14.   Modification of nouns by a noun phrase

There is one (and only one) type of noun phrase that can modify nouns. Such noun phrases are headed by the noun *quna* 'manner, way' with a demonstrative as a modifier. Noun phrases headed by *quna* are unique in other ways. They can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs (section 4.7), and they can function as verb-phrase internal constituents (see [4-1] in section 4.1 and examples [4-231] and [4-232] in section 4.7). And noun phrases headed by *quna* can modify nouns.
    In (6-441) *quna qeri* modifies the noun *tala* 'way, means of doing st.':

(6-441)   ... *m=e   thau-ngani-a   tala   quna   qeri*
            and=3SG.NFUT   make-TR-3.OBJ   way   manner   that

            fasi   qaburu   qeri   ka   kwai-mangosi   qana
            PURP   ogre   that   3SG.SEQ   LIP-be.unable   GEN

            lae-laa   mai.
            go-NMLZ   VENT
            '… and she realized, put into practice that kind of way [mentioned previously] to prevent the ogre from coming.' '… and that's what she did in order to prevent the ogre from coming.' (That is, the woman followed up on the ideas she had about how to prevent the ogre from coming.)

    In (6-442) the *quna* phrase contains the elevational demonstrative *loo* 'upward':

(6-442)   ... *biqu   na   kera   too-too   qi   ei*
            house   REL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-reside   LOC   LOCPRO

            qe   ni=i   kula   quna   loo.
            3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC   place   manner   upward
            '…the house they used to live in is at the place up there (lit.: at the place (in) the upward manner).'

    In the next example the modifying *quna* phrase contains a combination of a demonstrative and the plural marker *ki*. In addition, the noun-phrase level lim-

iter *bana* is present. The structural position of the limiter is not clear. It could be part of the *quna* phrase: 'food only like that', that is 'food of only those kinds'. Alternatively, it could be part of the larger noun phrase: 'only food like that'. The two possibilities are shown in (6-443a) and (6-443b), respectively.

(6-443)   a.   *[Fanga [quna   qe=ki   bana]]   na   ni*
                 food   manner   that=PL   LIM   FOC   PROFORE

                 kamiliqa   miki   qani-a   bia   alo.
                 1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).IPFV   eat-3SG.OBJ   COM   taro
                 'It was food (lit.: foods) only like that that we would eat with
                  taro.' (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

           b.   *[Fanga [quna   qe=ki]   bana]   na   ni*
                 food   manner   that=PL   LIM   FOC   PROFORE

                 kamiliqa   miki   qani-a   bia   alo.
                 1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).IPFV   eat-3SG.OBJ   COM   taro
                 'It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with
                 taro.' (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

In principle, *quna* noun phrases modifying nouns are analyzable in two ways. First, since *quna* phrases can modify verbs, they can be analyzed straightforwardly as noun phrases modifying nouns. But, since *quna* phrases can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs, and since certain verbs can modify nouns, *quna* phrases could be seen as pseudo-verbs modifying nouns. However, in the absence of additional evidence that noun-modifying *quna* phrases have been re-ranked as pseudo-verbs, the first analysis is adopted here.

6.15.   Modification of nouns by ligature phrases

This type of modification occurs in lexicalized phrases; see section 12.8.

6.16.   The vocative phrase

The vocative phrase is not a type of noun phrase. It is discussed here for convenience, because it involves noun phrases. In the vocative phrase, a noun phrase is followed by the vocative marker *qae*. Vocative noun phrases serve as terms of address. They are particularly common when calling a person but are not restricted to such situations.

(6-444)   *Lifuna   qae!*
           Lifuna   VOC
           'Lifuna! (Calling her.)

(6-445)   *Wane leqa   nau   qae, misi   fii   qoe*
           man be.good 1SG   VOC 1PL(EXCL).NEG expect   2SG

           boqo qoki   tona   fale i   a-miliqa.
           ASRT 2SG.FUT RESTR   give LOC   REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS
           'My good man, we did not expect you at all to just give us (things)
           (without being asked, without expecting anything in return).'

The vocative marker is typically used when addressing a person, but can
also be used when speaking to a pet or domestic animal, as in (6-446), which
comes from a traditional story. Binamaakwao was a pig that two boys kept.

(6-446)   *Binamaakwao qae, bongi   kulu   fanga ofu*
           Binamaakwao VOC day   PL(INCL).NFUT eat   together

           ka   sui   naqa neqe.
           3SG.SEQ   be.finished PRF   VIVID
           'Binamaakwao, the days when we eat together are over.' 'Binama-
           akwao, the days of us eating together are over.'

The vocative marker is typically present in the exclamation in (6-447). The
noun phrase contains the archaic term for 'father', and the expression has the
form of address, but today it is commonly used as an exclamation of surprise,
shock, reproach, indignation. It need not be directed at one's (classificatory)
father; in fact, it need not be directed at anyone.

(6-447)   *Thaama-ka   qae!*
           father-PL(INCL).PERS VOC
           Exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach, indignation.

The vocative particle is not obligatory with terms of address:

(6-448)   *Thaina-ka,   maka   kamareqa qe*
           mother-PL(INCL).PERS   father 1DU(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT

           ni=i   fei?
           be.located=LOC   where?
           'Mother (lit.: our mother), where is our father?'

For the use of the archaic plural inclusive personal suffix *-ka* with *thaama* and *thaina* see section 8.1.2.

Chapter 7
The noun-phrase internal particle group

7.1. Introduction

Noun phrases may contain one or more postnominal particles that together form a particle group. For the position of the particle group in a noun phrase see (6-3) in section 6.1. The particle group may be linked to the preceding element — the noun or a noun modifier — by means of the ligature *ni*. Only one instance of the ligature is possible regardless of the number of particles. However, it is not common for a particle group to contain more than two particles. A particle or a combination of particles has the whole noun phrase to its left in its scope. In (7-1) the noun phrase in the scope of the particle group consists of just a noun.

(7-1)   *toqa   ni   sui   bana*
         people   LIG   EXHST   LIM
         'all the people'

In (7-2) it is the whole possessive noun phrase that is in the scope of the particle group, not just the pronoun:

(7-2)   *[ai   nia]   ni   laqu   boqo*
         wife   3SG   LIG   ADD   ASRT
         'his wife as well [in addition to one or more other people]'

The particle group in (7-3) contains three particles, and there is no ligature:

(7-3)   *kera   sui   bo=naqa*
         3PL   EXHST   ASRT=INTS
         'all of them'

The noun-phrase particles are listed in table 7.1 in the order in which they occur in noun phrases. (This is also the order in which they are discussed.) Those that occupy the same position in the group and so are mutually exlusive are listed under the same letter.

Table 7.1.   Membership of the noun-phrase internal particle group

a.	*tona*, *toneqe*	'of little significance'
b.	*quu*	distal; restrictive
	sui	exhaustive
c.	*laqu*	additive
d.	*boqo*	assertive; intensifier
e.	*bana*	limiter
	naqa	perfect; intensifier
	feteqi	intensifier
	qana	intensifier
f.	*mai*	ventive
	kau	andative

With one exception, all the members of the noun-phrase particle group also function as particles in the verb complex (chapter 5), and in most cases the functions of a given particle in the two types of phrase are very similar. The particle that does not occur in the verb complex is the intensifier *qana*. And with the exception of the particles *tona*, *toneqe*, all those that occur in verb phrases are postverbal, and they are postnominal in noun phrases. *Tona* and *toneqe* are preverbal and prenominal.

It is necessary to distinguish situations where a particle functions as a noun-phrase particle and has the whole noun phrase in its scope and those where a particle is a verb-complex particle and has a verb that modifies a noun (section 6.10) in its scope. In (7-4) *naqa* functions as a noun-phrase particle and has the whole possessive noun phrase in its scope:

(7-4)   … *[qiiqisi-la-na   fa   ngali qeri   naqa]   na*
              be.last-NMLZ-3.PERS CLF year this PRF   FOC

         keki   faqa-danga-a   biqu qeri, .…
         3PL.FUT   CAUS-be.finished-3.OBJ   house that
         '… it will be (at) the end (lit. being last) of this year that they will finish [building] the house, .…'

On the other hand, in (7-5) *naqa* functions as a postverbal particle and has only the verb *mae* in its scope:

(7-5)   *Kafa   qeri, wane [mae   naqa]   n=e*
         comb   this   man be.dead PRF   FOC=3SG.NFUT

> *alu-lu-a.*
> own-RDP-3SG.OBJ
> 'This comb, it was the dead man (lit.: the now-dead man) who used
> to own it.'

The particles will now be discussed in turn.

7.2. *Tona*, *toneqe* 'of little significance, etc.'

As discussed in section 5.1.1, the *qe* element in *toneqe* is, historically, the de-
transitivizing suffix *-qe*.

   Tona and *toneqe* serve to express the fact that the referent of the noun
phrase is judged to be of little significance, relevance, consequence, value:

(7-6)   *Nau   tona   wane   ni   bana.*
         1SG   of.little.significance   person   LIG   LIM
         'I am a nobody.' 'I am an unimportant person.'

(7-7)   *Sui   taa   nau   ku   riki-a*
         but   but   1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ

         thaitoqoma-na-laa   qena,   toneqe   doo
         know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ   that(2)   of.little.value   thing

         nena, ...
         NPAST.THERE
         '[Some of these men have seen the service of worship (in church)
         many times, and they now know how to conduct it.] However, I
         have seen this "knowledge", (and) it's not much (lit.: [it is] a thing
         of little value) ....'

   In saying the sentence in (7-7) the speaker is being sarcastic about the value,
quality of the knowledge that the others have about how to conduct worship
services. See (28-31) in section 28.3 for context.

7.3. *Quu* distal, restrictive

The particle *quu* has two functions in noun phrases. First, it is used in temporal
noun phrases to signal time relatively distant from the time of reference, in the

past or in the future. This distal notion has to do with distance in time, not in space.

(7-8)   *fa   sadee   baa   quu*
          CLF   Sunday   that   DIST
          'last Sunday (which was several days ago)'

(7-9)   *dini   quu   naqa*
          relatively.distant.past   DIST   INTS
          'somewhat distant past'

(7-10)   *madami   loo   quu   mai*
            month   upward   DIST   VENT
            'next month (still some time away)'

(7-11)   *si   manga   loo   ki   quu   mai*
            PRTT   time   upward   PL   DIST   VENT
            'in relatively distant future (times)'

In the second function, *quu* is used in combination with the assertive marker *boqo* in a restrictive function. The combination *quu boqo* asserts that only the referent of the noun phrase in their scope qualifies; none other does. Only that entity or those entities (can) play that role in a given state of affairs.

(7-12)   *... kwai-mu   quu   boqo qoki*
              spouse-2SG.PERS   RESTR   ASRT   2SG.IPFV

          laebiibii   bii-a.
          walk.close.to.sb.   COM-3SG.OBJ
          '[In the old days you would not walk closely behind the wife of another man.] … only your wife (and no other woman) would you walk close to (lit.: with).'

(7-13)   *Fa   silifa ki quu   boqo na   kera   quu*
            CLF   coin   PL RESTR   ASRT FOC   3PL.NFUT   throw

          qani-a.
          GENP-3SG.OBJ
          'It's strictly coins (and nothing else, no paper money) that they throw (lit.: throw with it) [into the pool in a zoo].'

With temporal noun phrases that refer to a moment in time, *quu boqo* signifies the immediacy of the time: 'at that very time (and none other)':

(7-14) *Ma   doo qeri ka   dola   bo=naqa   si*
      and   thing that 3SG.SEQ disappear ASRT=INTS PRTT

      kade-qe   manga qeri quu   boqo,   ka
      block-ASSOC   time   that RESTR   ASRT   3SG.SEQ

      aqi   si   riki-a   laqu.
      NEGV   3SG.NEG   see-3SG.OBJ   ADD
      'And that thing disappeared at that very point in time; he did not see it again.'

7.4.   *Sui* **exhaustive**

As a noun-phrase particle, *sui* functions as a quantifying particle that signifies that the situation encoded in the clause applies to all the relevant participants. *Sui* is discussed in detail and exemplified in section 6.8.10 under noun phrase quantification. Here it is treated only briefly, from the perspective of its membership in the noun-phrase particle group. As a rule, *sui* is accompanied either by the assertive marker *boqo* or by the limiter *bana*. It is only rarely that it occurs by itself. Here is an example:

(7-15) *Mili   gani-a   si   doo qe=ki*
      1PL(EXCL).NFUT ask.for-3.OBJ PRTT thing that=PL

      sui   qana thata-mu,   Diises, ...
      EXHST   INS   name-2SG.PERS   Jesus
      'We ask for all those things through [i.e., appealing to] your name, Jesus, ...'

In (7-16) *sui* cooccurs with the limiter *bana*, and in (7-17) with the assertive-intensifier combination *bo=naqa*:

(7-16) *si   doo ki sui   bana n=e   taqaa*
      PRTT thing PL EXHST   LIM   REL=3SG.NFUT be.bad
      'all the things that are bad'

(7-17) *Toqa   ni   sui   bo=naqa   na   kere*
      people   LIG   EXHST   ASRT=INTS FOC   3PL.NFUT

ili=si		*doo*	*qeri*	*si*	*manga*	*na*	*uni*
do:3.OBJ=PRTT		thing	this	PRTT	time	REL	season

qai.
tree
'*Everybody* does this (kind of) thing when it is the season of canar-
ium-nut harvest.' (Lit.: 'It is all the people that do this thing when it
is the time which is the season of trees.')

Some more examples of *sui* with *boqo* and *bana* are given in sections 7.6
and 7.7, respectively.

7.5.   *Laqu* additive

The function of the additive particle *laqu* is to signal the fact that one or more
additional participants or circumstances are involved in the same way in a given
situation or a type of situation as some other(s). The other participant(s) or cir-
cumstance(s) may, but need not be specified. If the other participants or cir-
cumstances are expressed, the additive noun phrase may, but need not be joined
to that noun phrase with the conjunction 'and'; see (7-18) and (7-19), respec-
tively:

(7-18)   ... *ka*   *lae*   *bia*   *kaluwani*   *nia*   *ma*   *tai*
             3SG.SEQ   go   COM   son   3SG   and   some.PL

wane laqu ....
man   ADD
'... he went with his son and some other men ....'

(7-19)   ... *kera*   *fale-a*   *mai*   *fanga*   *i*
             3PL.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   VENT   food   to

qa-miliqa,   *raisi,*   *tai*   *si*   *fanga*   *laqu*
REC-1PL(EXCL).PERS   rice   some.PL   PRTT   food   ADD

....
'... they gave us food, rice, (and) some other food ....'

In the elliptical sentence in (7-20) only a noun phrase with the additive
marker is present:

(7-20)   *Taa   laqu?*
           what?   ADD
           'What else?' (A shop assistant asking a customer: 'What else do you
           want to buy?'.)

Not infrequently, the additive marker combines with assertive/intensifying
boqo:

(7-21)   *... kera   anikaba-a   qaba-na   ma*
               3PL.NFUT   handcuff-3.OBJ hand-3SG.PERS and

           qae-na   laqu boqo.
           leg-3SG.PERS   ADD   ASRT
           '... they handcuffed his hands as well as his legs.'

(7-22)   *Lae   naqa! Qoe laqu boqo!*
           go   PRF   2SG   ADD   ASRT/INTS
           '[To one person:] Go now! [To another person:] You too!'

In a negative clause, the additive marker signals the absence of a (type of)
entity after its presence earlier:

(7-23)   *Ma   ka   aqi   naqa ta   si*
           and   3SG.SEQ not.be.available PRF   some   PRTT

           thaqegano laqu uri-a   fasi   wane   ka
           ground   ADD   PURP-3.OBJ   PURP   person 3SG.SEQ

           fasi-a   fanga   qi   ei   ka   leqa.
           plant-3.OBJ food   LOC   LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ be.good
           'And there is now no more ground for a person to plant food where
           it would do well.' (Lit.: 'There is now not more ground so that a per-
           son might plant food there and it would be good.')

In the next example, *laqu* occurs three times: twice as a-noun phrase particle
and once in a verb complex:

(7-24)   *Si   manga qeri laqu, nau kwai   uqunu   laqu*
           PRTT time   this ADD   1SG 1SG.FUT narrate   ADD

> *suli-a   rua-na   si   uqunu   laqu   boqo, ...*
> PROL-3.OBJ two-3.PERS DIM   story   ADD   ASRT
> 'This time too/again I will tell another little story, ...' (Lit.: 'This time too I will again narrate about another little story, ...')

Multiple use of additive *laqu* within the same clause is not unusual. In some cases, as in (7-24), such multiple use is pleonastic; it adds little, if anything, to the meaning of the clause. In other cases, it is meaningful. In the next example, *laqu* occurs twice, in a noun phrase and in a verb complex. The *laqu* in the noun phrase signifies that the men will be there in addition to other men (mentioned earlier), while the *laqu* with the verb signifies that those men too will take out the kernels of the cracked canarium nuts, together with the women. Cracking large quantities of canarium nuts is a collective activity. The cracking is done by men; the kernels are taken out by women, with men sometimes joining in.

(7-25)   *Tai   wane ki laqu boqo keka   qegwe   laqu*
          some.PL man PL ADD   ASRT 3PL.SEQ shell.nuts   ADD

          boqo bia   kini   qe=ki.
          ASRT COM woman   that=PL
          'Some other men will also shell [the cracked canarium nuts], together with the women.'

7.6.   *Boqo* assertive, intensifier

One function of *boqo* is to signal an assertion concerning the identity of the referent of its noun phrase, or the identity of the type of referent. *Boqo* has a combining form *bo=* used in combination with the intensifier *naqa*; see further below for examples.

(7-26)   *... kukeqe   nau   ni   boqo n=e   aqi*
              wife   1SG   LIG   ASRT FOC=3SG.NFUT NEGV

          si   maqu.
          3SG.NEG be.afraid
          '[My children and I were afraid;] my wife was the one who was not afraid.'

(7-27)   A: *Teqe doo   ku   rongo-a;*
              one   thing 1SG.NFUT   hear-3SG.OBJ

linga-na	*qe*	*quri-a*	*tarake.*
sound-3SG.PERS	3SG.NFUT	be.like-3.OBJ	truck

B: *Qoo, nga   tarake   ni   boqo.*
   oh   IDENT   truck   LIG   ASRT

A: 'I can hear something; it sounds like a truck (lit.: its sound is like a truck).'

B: 'Oh, it *is* a truck.'

(7-28)   *Roo   baoni   boqo teqe   madami.*
          two   pound   ASRT one   month
          'Two pounds a month, no more, no less.' (Speaking about wages.)

Boqo may have an interrogative noun phrase in its scope. In such cases, it functions as an intensifier: the speaker's wish is to have a definite, explicit answer to what is under interrogation.

(7-29)   *Koro,   taa   ni   boqo koki   ade-a?*
          DU(INCL)   what?   LIG   ASRT DU(INCL).FUT   do-3SG.OBJ
          'You and I, *what* will we do?'

Boqo often combines with restrictive *quu*, additive *laqu*, or exhaustive *sui*, whose values it strengthens; see (7-30), (7-31) and (7-32), and (7-33) below, respectively. The distinction between the assertive and the intensifying functions is not always clear-cut.

(7-30)   *... kwai-mu   quu   boqo qoki*
          spouse-2SG.PERS   RESTR   ASRT 2SG.IPFV

          laebiibii   bii-a.
          walk.close.to.sb.   COM-3SG.OBJ
          '[In the old days you would not walk closely behind the wife of another man.] … only your wife (and no other woman) would you walk close to (lit.: with).'

See also (7-13) in section 7.3.

(7-31)   *Tha   God ka   thuu-fi   qoe, wane nau,*
          PERSMKR   God 3SG.SEQ   protect-TR   2SG   man   1SG

ma	*ni*		*nau*	*laqu*	*boqo.*
and	PROFORE		1SG	ADD	INTS

'May God protect you, my man, and me too.'

(7-32) | *Lae* | *naqa!* | *Qoe* | *laqu* | *boqo!* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| go | PRF | 2SG | ADD | ASRT/INTS |

'[To one person:] Go now! [To another person:] You too!'

(7-33) | *Ni* | *kamiliqa* | *sui* | *boqo* | *miki* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PROFORE | 1PL(EXCL) | EXHST | ASRT | 1PL(EXCL).IPFV |

too		*leqa*	*ba-miliqa*
be.in.certain.condition		be.good	LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

qa=si	*manga*	*qeri.*
GENP=PRTT	time	this

'We, all of us, are just fine at this time.'

Boqo can also have the consequence marker *adelana*, which is a nominalization of *ade* 'do', in its scope; see example (34-6) in chapter 34.

Conversely, the assertive or intensifying value of *boqo* may be strengthened by the intensifier *naqa*. *Boqo* and *naqa* obligatorily fuse together as *bo=naqa*. In (7-34) *bo=naqa* has in its scope a nominalization with an incorporated object:

(7-34) | *Kwade-qe* | | *doo* | *naqi,* | *kwade-qe* | | *doo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hollow.object-ASSOC | | thing | this | hollow.object-ASSOC | | thing |

uri-a	*taqu-kaleko-laa*	*ni*	*bo=naqa,*	*qe*
PURP-3.OBJ	wash-clothes-NMLZ	LIG	ASRT=INTS	3SG.NFUT

aqi	*qosi*	*alu-a*	*fanga*	*ki*	*qi*	*ei.*
NEGV	2SG.NEG	put-3.OBJ	food	PL	LOC	LOCPRO

'This bucket (lit.: this hollow object of a thing), it's a bucket for *washing clothes* (and for nothing else); don't put food in there.'

(7-35) | *Meka* | *tatha-fi-a* | *laa* | *fanua* | *naqi* | *sui* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1DU(ECXL).SEQ | pass.by-TR-3.OBJ | IN | area | this | EXHST |

bo=naqa, ….
INTS=INTS
'We passed through (lit.: by) the entire area, [there was no place we did not visit].'

The force of the combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles may be further strengthened by means of the focus construction:

(7-36)   *Fa   bongi   baa   bo=naqa   na   kwai   oli*
           CLF   day   that   ASRT=INTS FOC   1SG.FUT return

           kau.
           AND
           'It will be on *that* day (and not on any other) that I will go back.'

For more examples of *bo=naqa* see section 7.8.

7.7.   *Bana* limiter

As a noun-phrase particle, the limiter *bana* has several functions. Its core function is to make it explicit that the proposition expressed in the clause applies only to those entities encoded in the noun phrase in its scope, excluding any other potential candidates:

(7-37)   *Tai   wane bana kera   lae   mai   qa=fa*
           some.PL   man   LIM   3PL.NFUT go   VENT GENP=CLF

           rodo.
           night
           'Only some (of the) men came last night (lit.: at night).'

(7-38)   *Qoe   ban=o   thaitoqoma-na.*
           2SG   LIM=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ
           'You know best.' (Lit.: 'Only you know it.')

In the next sentence, *bana* has one of the conjuncts in a coordinate noun phrase in its scope: only the woman's son was living with her, his father having died.

(7-39)   *Nia   bana bia thaina-na   kero   too*
           3SG   LIM   and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside

qana teqe kasi maqa   toaa.
GENP one   small CLF   hamlet
'Only he and his mother were living in a small hamlet.'

Quite commonly a noun phrase with the limiter is placed in focus:

(7-40)   *Fanga   quna   qe=ki   bana na   ni*
         food   manner that=PL LIM FOC   PROFORE

         kamiliqa   miki   qani-a   bia alo.
         1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ COM taro
         'It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with taro.'
         (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

The sentence in (7-40) also appears in (6-443) in section 6.14. As mentioned in the paragraph preceding (6-443), the structural position of the limiter is not clear: it could be a constituent of the noun phrase *quna qe=ki bana* 'food only like that', or it could be an immediate constituent of the larger noun phrase *fanga quna qe=ki bana* 'only food like that'. The way the sentence is translated in (7-40) above corresponds to the structure in (6-443b).

The limiter can also be used in non-referential noun phrases. There it signifies that there is no characterization that applies other than the one given:

(7-41)   *Nau ku   dora   qana   wane   naqi, sui*
         1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know   GENP   man   this but

         mena nau ku   toqomatafa-na   wane
         but   1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   man

         leqa   ni   bana.
         be.good LIG   LIM
         'I don't know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is) just a good man.' (There is nothing bad about him.)

Bana can also have the consequence marker *adelana* in its scope; see example (34-7) in chapter 34.

Another function of *bana* can be loosely characterized as "downgrading". *Bana* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is in some sense of lesser value, significance, interest, extent, size, effect than some other, comparable entity. The downgrading is normally only implicit: neither the entity to which the noun-phrase referent is compared nor the respect in which it is viewed as being of lesser value, etc. is normally expressed. Usually, but not necessarily,

the evaluation of the referent is negative, disparaging, belittling, even if perhaps only slightly so. In (7-42) traditional bush medicine is implicitly contrasted with Western medicine, which, on the whole, enjoys higher prestige:

(7-42)   *Nau, meresina   kwasi   ni   bana n=e*
         I   medicine   be.wild LIG   LIM   FOC=3SG.NFUT

         faqa-qakwaa   nau.
         CAUS-be.cured   1SG
         'Me, it was just bush medicine (lit. wild medicine, i.e. medicine from wild plants) that cured me.'

Two more examples of (slightly) negative downgrading are (7-43) and (7-44):

(7-43)   *Fa   sobe   ni   bana.*
         CLF   bird.sp. LIG   LIM
         'It's just a *sobe* [bird].' (When asked by another person what kind of bird it was. The *sobe* is a little bird of no particular importance or significance.)

(7-44)   *gita   kokoto   ni   bana*
         guitar   be.straightforward LIG   LIM
         'just an ordinary [here: acoustic] guitar' (not an electric guitar, electric guitars being valued more highly)

As the next examples show, the downgrading need not be negative. Compare (7-44) above and (7-45) below with the same verb modifying the head noun:

(7-45)   *Mataqi-a   kokoto   ni   bana.*
         be.ill-DVN be.straighforward LIG   LIM
         '[It's] not a serious illness.' (Lit.: '[It's] just a straightforward illness.')

Similarly, there is nothing disparaging in characterizing a child as being only little in (7-46). The limiter occurs in a non-referential noun phrase: the characteristic of being a little child is implicitly compared to that of being a big, bigger child.

(7-46)   *Wela qeri kali   wela faqekwa ni   bana.*
          child that   little.SG child be.little LIG   LIM
          'He was just a little child.' (Lit.: 'The child [was] just a little child.')

In another type of use, *bana* occurs in combination with the exhaustive particle *sui*. (See also sections 7.4 and 6.8.10.)

(7-47)   *Kamiliqa   sui   bana qana fanu naqi*
          1PL(EXCL)   EXHST   LIM   GENP area   this

          mika   isifuufuli   faqa-maqu.
          1PL(EXCL).SEQ rush.back.and.forth   CAUS-be.afraid
          'All of us in this area rushed back and forth a lot [as a cyclone was approaching].'

(*Faqa-maqu* 'be of great quantity, degree' also functions as an intensifier after other verbs; cf. also the Class 1 transitive verb *faqa-maqu* 'frighten, scare, make afraid'.)

Bana is also used in two constructions that signal unrestricted choice: any member of a given class satisfies the proposition expressed in the clause; or, conversely, the proposition expressed in the clause applies to any member of a given class of entities. In one of the constructions, *bana* has an interrogative noun phrase in its scope (section 24.2):

(7-48)   *Tei   bana na   qoki   ngata   bii-a,*
          who   LIM REL   2SG.IPFV   speak   COM-3SG.OBJ

          qoko   ngata   leqa   bii-a.
          2SG.SEQ speak   be.nice COM-3SG.OBJ
          'Whoever you speak with, you should speak nicely with them.'

In the other construction *bana* has a noun phrase headed either by *mamalana* 'any one' or by *qatona* 'any one' in its scope (section 24.3).

(7-49)   *Mamalana bana ta   wane   qe   lae*
          any.one   LIM some person   3SG.NFUT   go

          ma=i   biqu nau, nau kwai   fale-a   fanga
          VENT=LOC   house 1SG 1SG 1SG.FUT/IPFV give-3.OBJ food

i   a-na.
LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
'(If) anyone comes to my house, I'll give food to him/her.' 'Anyone who comes to my house, I give food to him/her.' 'Whoever comes to my house, I give food to him/her.'

7.8.   *Naqa* **perfect, intensifier**

As a postverbal particle, *naqa* functions as a perfect marker and as an intensifier. As a noun-phrase particle, it has, broadly speaking, the same two functions. The perfect-marking function will be considered first. The core function of postverbal perfect-marking *naqa* is to signal that a new state of affairs obtains at the time of reference. As a noun-phrase particle, it also signals a new state of affairs at the time of reference, but specifically that a different participant is involved, different from the relevant participant(s) involved in an earlier situation, or that there is a change in some aspect or circumstance of the situation, or in some characteristic(s) of a participant. The new participant or circumstance is in implicit or explicit contrast with one or more other ones that were involved in an earlier situation.

As in its postverbal function, in its noun-phrase internal function *naqa* has a combining variant *na=*. *Na=* is used when another noun-phrase particle follows, which can only be one of the directionals.

The first set of examples has to do with a change in participants. In the states of affairs expressed in (7-50), it is the people who were fleeing that are in the foreground at first. As a result of their fleeing, one lone person was left behind. This is the new situation, and it is the sole remaining person who is now in the foreground. The noun phrase encoding that participant contains the perfect marker.

(7-50)   *Toqa   naqi ki kera   thaa-thaka ka*
          people   this   PL 3PL.NFUT   RDP-flee   3SG.SEQ

          sui   naqa; teqe   nau   naqa ku   too.
          be.finished PRF   sole 1SG   PRF   1SG.NFUT   stay
          'The people have kept fleeing until they are all gone (lit.: it is finished now); I alone now stay [here].'

In (7-51) the exchange between A and B is about turns when playing cards. With each turn, the situation is new because the player is different from the preceding one. The perfect marker occurs both in the question and in the an-

swer. In both cases the contrast is between the person to play next and the previous player.

(7-51)   A: *Tei   naqa   neri?*
             who? PRF   NPAST.HERE

          B: *Qoe   naqa   neri.*
             2SG   PRF   NPAST.HERE
          A: 'Whose turn is it now?' (Lit.: 'Who now?')
          B: 'Your turn.' (Lit.: 'You now.')

   In the overall situation described in (7-52) below, it is first the speaker that is in the foreground. The sentence describes how he would behave according to tradition. In the second sentence, a different participant is placed in the foreground. The sentence describes what *she* would do. The switch in the individuals is highlighted by means of *naqa*.

(7-52)   *Nau   kwai   alu-a   ba-kuq=i   thaqegano*
          1SG   1SG.IPFV   put-3SG.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS=LOC   ground

          kwa   quna   qeri, "Si   doo   qeri   neri."
          1SG.SEQ   manner   this   PRTT   thing this   NPAST.HERE

          Nia   naqa   ka   gwee-a.
          3SG   PRF   3SG.SEQ   pick.up-3SG.OBJ
          '[In the old days, when a woman who was the wife of another man asked me to give her something, I would not hand it to her directly.] I would just put it on the ground and say, "Here is the thing.". (And) *she* would pick it up.'

   In (7-53) the speaker is wondering what the child is eating at that particular time, compared to what the child had eaten earlier. The perfect marker is linked to the head noun by the ligature *ni*.

(7-53)   *Taa   ni   naqa na   wela kai   qani-a?*
          what?   LIG   PRF   FOC   child 3SG.IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ
          'What's the child eating now?' 'What is it now that the child is eating?'

   While the perfect marker serves to foreground a new participant, this use of the perfect marker is different from focusing. In (7-53) the noun phrase with the perfect marker is additionally in focus. (For focusing see chapter 39.)

In (7-54) there are three instances of noun-phrase internal *naqa* (and one instance of *naqa* as a postverbal perfect marker). What is new is the kinds of food some people eat nowadays, and they are implicitly contrasted with traditional, local kinds of food.

(7-54)   *Tai   wane ki ma   tai   toqa   ki   kera*
         some.PL man PL and   some.PL people   PL   3PL.NFUT

         qarutoqo-na   naqa   fanga araqi   kwao   ki
         use-3.OBJ   PRF   food mature.man be.white PL

         naqa neq,   raisi naqa, tii   naqa, doo   quna
         PRF   VIVID   rice PRF   tea   PRF   thing kind

         qe=ki   bana ....
         this=PL   LIM
         'Some people (lit.: some men and some people) now use white people's food, rice, tea, only things like these ….'

(*Araqi kwao* 'white, Caucasian man' is also used to refer to white people in general, regardless of sex.)
    In (7-55) the perfect marker cooccurs with the andative directional and consequently has the form *na=*:

(7-55)   *Si   doo   qoe   na=kau   nena.*
         PRTT thing 2SG   PRF=AND   there(2)
         'That's your food (lit.: thing).' (As opposed to the food given to other people a short while previously.)

    In the next example *naqa* has in its scope possessum noun phrases, one that contains the ordinal interrogative quantifier noun *fita-na* 'how manieth?' and one with the ordinal numeral noun *fai-na* 'fourth'. The speaker is asking how many times the addressee had been to the Solomon Islands by that time. It is the number of the latest visit that is new, compared to the previous visits.

(7-56)   A: *Qoe, fita-na   naqa si   manga   qo*
            2SG   how.many?-3.PERS   PRF PRTT time   2SG.NFUT

            fula   i   Solomoni   neri?
            arrive   LOC   Solomons   NPAST.HERE

B: *Fai-na   naqa si   manga   neri.*
   four-3.PERS PRF   PRTT time   NPAST.HERE
A: 'You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?'
   (Lit.: 'You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the Solomons?')
   B: '(This is) the fourth time.' (Lit.: 'Fourth now of time.')

In its other function, *naqa* functions as an intensifier. In this function it cooccurs with the assertive/intensifying particle *boqo*.The two particles obligatorily fuse together as *bo=naqa*.

(7-57)   *Ma   moki   lole   neri.*   *Nia   bo=naqa*
         and   2DU.IPFV tell.lie NPAST.HERE   3SG   ASRT=INTS

         neqe!
         here
         'But (lit.: and) you are lying [when you say you have not brought a possum]. It's (right) here!'

In (7-58) it is identity of type that is strongly asserted:

(7-58)   *Nau   kwa   riki-a   ba-kuqa   doo   kera*
         1SG   1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   LIM-1SG.PERS   thing 3PL.NFUT

         keda-a,   mada   sa   ka   qisu,   wane
         paint-3SG.OBJ or   IRR   3SG.SEQ   move   person

         ni   bo=naqa.
         LIG   ASRT=INTS
         '(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.' (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

Noun phrases that contain *bo=naqa* are often in focus:

(7-59)   *Qoe bo=naqa   n=o   thaitoqoma-na.*
         2SG   ASRT=INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT   know-3SG.OBJ
         'You know best.' (Lit.: 'It is you who knows it.')

Compare a semantically close sentence with the limiter *bana* rather than
bo=naqa in (7-38) in section 7.7.

(7-60)   *Nia   bo=naqa   na   keki   lio   uri-a,   ma*
            3SG   ASRT=INTS FOC   3PL.FUT look ALL-3SG.OBJ   and

            nia   bo=naqa   na   keki   faqa-baqita-a
            3SG   ASRT=INTS FOC   3PL.FUT CAUS-be.important-3SG.OBJ

            qasia naqa.
            INTS   INTS
            'It's *him* that they will look to, and it's *him* that they will honour
            (lit.: make important) greatly.'

In (7-61) *bo=naqa* occurs in combination with the exhaustive particle *sui*:

(7-61)   *Meka   tatha-fi-a   laa   fanua naqi sui*
            1DU(ECXL).SEQ pass.by-TR-3.OBJ IN   area this   EXHST

            bo=naqa, ….
            INTS=INTS
            'We passed through (lit.: by) the entire area, [there was no place we
            did not visit].'

Bo=naqa occurs in a verbless closing formula:

(7-62)   *Nia   bo=naqa   neri.*
            3SG   ASRT=PRF   NPAST.HERE
            'That's all (I have to say).' 'That's it.' 'That's the way it is/was.'

For more examples of *bo=naqa* see section 7.6.

7.9.   *Feteqi* intensifier

One function of *feteqi* is to emphasize in declarative sentences that the referent
of the noun phrase is indeed such and such, possibly against what is normal or
what might be expected. What is emphasized in (7-63) is that the speaker took
two naps during the day, which is not what he normally does:

(7-63)   *Nau, roo   fa   biinga-a   feteqi   qa=fa   thato qeri.*
          1SG   two   CLF   sleep-DVN   INTS   GENP=CLF   day   this
          'I [had] *two sleeps* during the day.' 'I [took] *two naps* during the
          day.'

And what is emphasized in (7-64) is that it is only at some times that a pos-
sum hunter is up in a tree searching for possums. At other times he is on the
ground, looking for possums from there. To foreground the former information
even more, the noun phrase with the intensifier is in focus:

(7-64)   *Tai   si   manga feteqi   na   kai*
          some.PL PRTT   time   INTS   FOC   3SG.IPFV

          i=i   gwau-na   qai   qena   ki, ...
          be.located=LOC   top-3.PERS tree   that(2) PL
          'It is only sometimes that he is up in the top of the trees, [at other
          times he just looks around, standing on the ground].'

And second, *feteqi* is used in interrogative phrases to highlight the kind of
information being requested (section 19.3.11):

(7-65)   *Maeori, taa   feteqi   n=o*
          Maeori   what?   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT

          kaa-kasi-a   qa=fa   thato naqi, laa-lae,
          RDP-chop-3SG.OBJ   GENP=CLF   day   this   RDP-go

          fanua   ka   rodo   naqa?
          place   3SG.SEQ   be.night PRF
          'Maeori, what on earth have you been chopping [here: carving
          wood] the whole day until the night?' (Lit.: 'Maeori, what on earth
          have you been chopping on this day until it has become night?')

However, *feteqi* occurs only rarely in interrogative phrases. There another
intensifier, *qana*, is normally used; see the next section.

7.10.   *Qana* intensifier

The intensifier *qana* is used primarily in interrogative noun phrases in open
interrogatives. Its function is to make a question more emphatic, more insistent,
to request a more accurate, detailed, elaborate answer. Emphatic open inter-

rogatives are discussed further in section 19.3.11, and here only one example is
given.

(7-66)　　*Ni*　　　　*tei*　　*qana*　*n=o*　　　　　　*riki-a?*
　　　　　PERSMKR　who?　INTS　FOC=2SG.NFUT　　see-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　'*Who* did you see?' 'Who was it that you saw?'

　　It is only rarely that *qana* is used in sentences other than interrogative. In (7-
67) it functions to emphasize the strangeness of the fish:

(7-67)　　*Nau*　*ku*　　　　　*deedee,*　*kwa*　　　*dee-toqo-na*
　　　　　1SG　1SG.NFUT　fish　　　1SG.SEQ　catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ

　　　　　teqe　*iqa*　*qeeqeta*　　*qana,*　　*iqa*　*kwasi*
　　　　　one　　fish　be.strange　INTS　　　fish　1SG.NEG

　　　　　rii-riki-a.
　　　　　RDP-see-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　'I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had
　　　　　not seen (before).'

7.11.　　*Mai* ventive and *kau* andative

The core function of *mai* and *kau* as postverbal particles is to signal directional-
ity of movement, ventive and andative respectively. As noun-phrase particles,
they signal distance of the referent of the noun phrase from the deictic centre.
Mai is used both in spatial and in temporal noun phrases, while *kau* is used only
in temporal noun phrases. The uses of *mai* are considered first.
　　As a postverbal particle, *mai* can signal that a state of affairs obtains away
from the deictic centre. This function is due to a metonymic extension from the
ventive function: movement to the deictic centre can only be from a location
away from it (section 5.2.14.7). The notion of distance from the deictic centre
is also present in the use of *mai* as a spatial noun-phrase internal particle. The
link between movement to the deictic centre and a location away from it can be
clearly seen in the next two examples. In (7-68) the speaker says that his family
line originally lived in a place other than the one where they live now, implying
that his ancestors moved to the area they are in now.

(7-68)   *Kamiliqa   toqa   qi   West Fataleka   mai.*
          1PL(EXCL)   people   LOC   West Fataleka   VENT
          'We are people (originally) from (lit.: at) West Fataleka.' (Like the
          Toqabaqita area, the West Fataleka area is in North Malaita; see
          map 1.3 in section 1.3.)

Similarly in the next example: the people in the surrounding areas, away
from the deictic centre, which is where the feast is to be held, bring pigs and
taros for the feast. The movement to the deictic centre, the location of the feast,
is signalled by postverbal *mai*. The noun-phrase internal *mai* and the postverbal
mai are in bold.

(7-69)   *... toqa   kaa-kali   ki **mai** na   kera   nii*
              people   RDP-be.around   PL VENT REL   3PL.NFUT   reside

          *karangi   kera, kera   ngali-a   laqu boqo **mai***
          be.near.to   3PL   3PL.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   ADD   ASRT   VENT

          botho ki ma   alo   ki, ...
          pig   PL and   taro   PL
          'people (from) all around who live near them [the people giving the
          feast] also bring pigs and taros ....'

Even though in (7-69) the noun *toqa* 'people' is modified by the verb *kaa-
kali* 'be all around', the ventive particle in the noun phrase is not a postverbal
particle there. The verb and the ventive marker are separated by the plural
marker *ki*. That is, *mai* has the whole plural noun phrase in its scope.
    Mai can also signal temporal distance from the time of reference with noun
phrases that are not inherently temporal. (For the use of both *mai* and *kau* with
inherently temporal noun phrases see further below.) In (7-70) it has the noun
'generation(s)' in its scope:

(7-70)   *kwalafaa   ni   mai*
          generation   LIG   VENT
          'earlier generation(s)'

In (7-71) there are two instances of the ventive marker. The first *mai* is
noun-phrase internal: 'a custom of ours from before; i.e., a custom of ours that
existed already in earlier times'. The second *mai* is in the verb complex and
signals that the customs have persisted until now (section 5.2.14.5).

(7-71)   *Biibirangaa kulu   ni   mai neri,*
          custom   PL(INCL) LIG   VENT NPAST.HERE

       qe   teo   quu   na=mai.
       3SG.NFUT   stay   ANTCONT   PRF=VENT
       'This is a custom of ours from before; (and) it has stayed (with us)
       up until now.'

Both directionals can occur in temporal noun phrases that signify periods of time, such as days and months, distant from the time of reference. Under some conditions, either directional can be used without any apparent difference in meaning, while elsewhere only one of them is grammatical. On the whole, where both are possible, ventive *mai* is more common than andative *kau*. In addition to a directional marker, temporal noun phrases may contain a demonstrative that signals the direction of the displacement in time, past or future.

Either directional is possible when the noun phrase contains the demonstrative *qeri* 'this' or *naqi* 'this', signalling the next, "coming" time period:

(7-72)   *fa   Sandee {qeri /   naqi} {mai /   kau}*
          CLF   Sunday this   this   VENT /   AND
          'this coming Sunday'

To express the fact that the future time period is not the next, coming one but the one after it, the noun phrase contains the elevational demonstrative *loo* 'upward', optionally followed by ventive *mai*:

(7-73)   *fa   Sandee loo   (mai)*
          CLF   Sunday upward   VENT
          'the Sunday after next'

To signal a relatively great distance in time, the distal particle *quu* is used in addition:

(7-74)   *madami loo   quu   mai*
          month   upward   DIST VENT
          'next month (still some time away)'

Future time is conceptualized as being up and moving towards the time of reference (see also section 13.4).

On the other hand, to refer to the most recent preceding period of time, the noun phrase contains the demonstrative *baa* 'that', optionally followed by andative *kau*:

(7-75)   *fa   Sandee   baa   (kau)*
          CLF   Sunday   that   AND
          'last Sunday'

However, if a temporal noun phrase contains the distal marker *quu*, *mai* rather than *kau* is used:

(7-76)   *fa   Sandee   baa   quu   mai*
          CLF   Sunday   that   DIST   VENT
          'last Sunday (some days ago)'

Baa is a demonstrative of absence, and it also functions anaphorically; see sections 13.3.2.4 and 13.5.1, respectively. It does not have an elevational meaning.

Mai is also used in temporal phrases that contain a lexical element that signifies past time:

(7-77)   *qa=fa   thato na=i   dini   mai*
          GENP=CLF   day   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past VENT
          'in the days of the past'

(7-78)   *birangaa   qi   naqo   quu   mai*
          custom   LOC   earlier.time DIST   VENT
          'custom(s) of (lit.: at) long time ago'

Chapter 8
Possessive and associative noun phrases

Even though possessive noun phrases and associative noun phrases are different from each other both structurally and semantically, they are best discussed together in one chapter, in order that the differences between them may be brought to the fore, especially since some nouns can form the heads of both types of construction.

8.1. Possessive noun phrases

8.1.1. Introduction

The term "possessive noun phrases" is inaccurate because it suggests that the primary function of the constructions is to express possession, ownership. This, however, is far from being the case. Similarly, the terms for the two constituents of a possessive construction, the "possessor" noun phrase and the "possessum" noun phrase, do not always signify an owner and that which is owned, respectively. Nevertheless, all these terms have been retained here in keeping with the tradition in Oceanic linguistics and elsewhere. And, for convenience, the terms "possessor" and "possessum" will be used in two senses: to refer to the constituents of a possessive noun phrase and to their referents.

Possessive constructions are relational: there are two entities that are in a certain relation to each other. The relation may be one of true possession, ownership (the possessor owns the possessum), but there may be many other kinds of relation: the possessum may be part of the possessor, the two may be in a kinship relation to each other, the possessor may use or control the possessum without owning it, the possessor may produce the possessum without owning it, the possessor may be an agent in an event treated grammatically as a possessum, etc. In fact, one of the two main types of possessive noun phrase in Toqabaqita does not express ownership.

On formal grounds, two basic types of possessive noun phrase are distinguished in Toqabaqita. These will be referred to as "bare" and "suffixing", respectively. It is bare possessive noun phrases that may, but need not, encode ownership. The formal properties of the two types of possessive construction are discussed first; their semantic/pragmatic properties will be discussed subsequently. The choice between the two types of noun phrase is to a large extent,

but not fully, determined by semantic and pragmatic factors, specifically by the nature of the relation between the referents of the possessor and the possessum phrases. If it were not for this semantic/pragmatic constrast between the two types of construction, there would really be no justification for treating them as subtypes of one category.

8.1.2.   Suffixing possessive noun phrases

The basic structure of the suffixing possessive noun phrase is given in (8-1):

(8-1)   [(CLF) POSSESSUM.NOUN-PERS]$_{NP}$ ([lexical.possessor]$_{NP}$)

The possessum noun is the head of the construction. The only noun-phrase element that can occur with the head noun in the possessum noun phrase is a classifier. The possessum noun carries a personal suffix that indexes the possessor. Possessor noun phrases are optional, and they can only be lexical, not pronominal. There are some further restrictions on the structure of the suffixing possessive construction. Those are discussed in the appropriate places later.

The personal suffixes correspond to, and in some cases are cognate with, what in the descriptions of other Oceanic languages are usually termed "possessive suffixes". Here the term "personal" is preferred over "possessive" for two reasons. First, the suffixes are also used in constructions other than possessive: with Class 2 transitive verbs to index their objects; with certain postverbal particles, where they index the subject referent, or in one type of construction the recipient/beneficiary; with certain prepositions, where they index the complement. And the term "personal" is intended to capture certain parallels between the suffixes and the independent personal pronouns: the two categories make the same person, number, and inclusive/exclusive distinctions.

Toqabaqita suffixing possessive constructions correspond to direct possessive constructions of other Oceanic languages, where the possessum noun takes possessive suffixes indexing the possessor (Lichtenberk 1985). However, since unlike those other languages Toqabaqita does not have a category of indirect possessive constructions, where it is possessive classifiers that carry the possessive suffixes, the type of constructions is termed "suffixing", as opposed to the other, "bare" type.

The personal suffixes are listed in table 8.1 below. With two exceptions (see below), the list is the same as the list of the object suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs given in table 4.4 in section 4.2.3.3.1.

Table 8.1. Personal suffixes

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

In the first and the second persons singular, the longer forms *-kuqa* and *-muqa*, respectively, do not function as object suffixes. They are not used in the suffixing possessive construction either, but are listed here for the sake of completeness. They are only used with certain postverbal particles in the self-benefactive and the recipient-benefactive constructions (section 5.2.10), where the short forms are rare.

Many of the personal suffixes used in the suffixing possessive construction have variant forms. In the plural category, the forms markerd with "[†]" were characteristic of women's speech in earlier times, and, with one exception to be discussed later, are not in normal use today. Among the other plural variants, the one that is more common is listed first. The second person plural form *-maluqa* and even more so the third person plural form *-daluqa* are infrequent. The use of the two variants in the third person singular is discussed further below.

There are some partial similarities among many of the suffixes. The final syllable *qa* is found in all persons other than third singular. The initial syllable of each dual form is identical with the initial or the sole syllable of at least one of the corresponding plural forms; for example *da* in the third person. The dual forms have mid vowels in the second syllable, while the tri-syllabic plural forms have the corresponding high vowels in the second syllable: *o* vs. *u*, and *e* vs. *i*. The most common first person plural exclusive, plural inclusive, and second plural variants exhibit assimilation of the vowel in the first syllable to that in the second syllable. And as is the case with the independent pronouns (section 6.3.1), the dual number is associated with the consonant *r*, and the plural number with the consonant *l* in the polysyllabic forms. Most likely, these consonants have a historical link with the numerals *rua* and/or *roo* 'two' and *ulu* 'three', respectively. The present-day trisyllabic plural forms were originally

most likely trial (or paucal) forms. In spite of these partial similarities, the personal suffixes are treated here as unanalyzed wholes.

The first set of examples below illustrates some of the personal suffixes:

(8-2)   *gwalusu-ku*   (8-3)   *thaina-maroqa*
         nose-1SG.PERS   mother-2DU.PERS
         'my nose'   'your mother'

(8-4)   *ngata-la-kuluqa*
         speak-NMLZ-INCL(PL).PERS
         'our speaking'

In the third person singular, there are two variants *-na* and *-a*. Their distribution is determined partly phonologically and partly lexically. With the exception of nominalizations and a few nouns, the form *-a* is used when the last syllable of the noun base contains *l* or *r*; and it is also used with at least one noun that contains *n* in the final syllable. In addition, there is metathesis of the *l*, *r*, or *n* and the vowel of that syllable. The suffix *-a*, with metathesis, is not used with nominalizations, which contain the suffix *-la* immediately before the personal suffix, and, exceptionally, they are not used with a few nouns that have *l* or *r* in the final syllable. The form *-na*, without metathesis, is used elsewhere. In a few cases, *-a* (with metathesis) and *-na* are in free variation. The *-a* variant is illustrated first with nouns where it is the only form possible. (The reason for the absence of specification of the singular number in some of the glosses will be given later.)

(8-5)   a.   *suil-a*   cf.   b.   *suli-ku*
               back-3SG.PERS   back-1SG.PERS
               'his/her/its back'   'my back'

(8-6)   a.   *boor-a*   *kilu*   cf.   b.   *boro-mu*
               bottom-3.PERS hole   bottom-2SG.PERS
               'the bottom of a hole'   'your bottom (body
                                                    part)'

The next two examples illustrate variation between the two suffixes found with just a few nouns. In such cases the *-a* variant is more common.

(8-7)   {*lail-a*   /   *lali-na*}   *qai*   *neqe*
         root-3.PERS   /   root-3.PERS   tree   this.here
         'the root of this tree'

(8-8)   *maqa {daar-a   /   dara-na}   wane*
          CLF   forehead-3.PERS   /   forehead-3.PERS   man
          'a/the man's forehead'

Example (8-9) shows the regular use of the *-na* variant with nominalizations:

(8-9)   *nguu-la-na   kini*
          sing-NMLZ-3.PERS   woman
          'a/the woman's singing'

Just a few nouns that have *l* or *r* in the last syllable exceptionally require the *-na* variant:

(8-10)   *babali-na*   (8-11)   *gwero-na   kuukua*
          cheek-3SG.PERS   crest-3.PERS   chicken
          'his/her cheek(s)'   'a/the chicken's crest'

As discussed in section 6.8.4, the ordinal numerals are a subcategory of nouns, and they take the third person singular suffix, *-na* or *-a*. In the case of some of them, the corresponding cardinal numeral contains *l* in the final syllable. Such ordinal numerals take the *-a* variant of the personal suffix and undergo metathesis. For example:

(8-12)   a.   *kwaul-a*   cf.   b.   *kwalu*
                 eight-3SG.PERS   'eight'
                 'eighth'

The ordinal numeral 'sixth' also takes *-a* and undergoes metathesis, even though the corresponding cardinal numeral has *n*, not *l* or *r*, in the final syllable

(8-13)   a.   *oon-a*   cf.   b.   *ono*
                 six-3SG.PERS   'six'
                 'sixth'

This is the only known case where the suffix *-a* is used with a lexeme that contains *n* in the final syllable. However, there is one other noun that contains *n* in the final syllable, exhibits metathesis and ends in *a*: *wai-waena* '(classificatory) sibling of opposite sex'. A few kinship terms and a few other nouns contain the prefix *wai* (for the former see table 8.2 in section 8.1.5), and while there is no word **waena*, there is *wane* 'man'. It is very likely that at one point *wai-waena* was **wai-waen-a*, with the suffix-*a* and metathesis. However, in the

present day language the final *a* in *wai-waena* does not function as the third
person singular personal suffix. *Wai-waena* does not occur as the possessum
noun in a suffixing possessive noun phrase but in a bare possessive noun phrase
(section 8.1.3):

(8-14)   *wai-waena*   *nau*
         LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex   1SG
         'my sister (man speaking), my brother (woman speaking)', also 'my
         cousin of opposite sex'

The third person dual and plural personal suffixes can only be used in the
absence of a possessor phrase:

(8-15)   *nuu-daroqa*
         picture-3DU.PERS
         'their picture' in the sense of a picture that depicts the two of them

(8-16)   *nuu-da*
         picture-3PL.PERS
         'their picture', 'a picture that depicts them'

When there is a possessor phrase present, the possessum noun must carry
the third person singular suffix, *-na* or *-a*, regardless of the grammatical number
of the possessor. In (8-17), (8-18), and (8-19) the possessor phrases are singu-
lar, dual, and plural, respectively. Because in the presence of a possessor phrase
there is no contrast in number, the personal suffix is not specified for number:

(8-17)   *nuu-na*   *teqe*   *wane*
         picture-3.PERS   one   man
         'picture of a/one man'

(8-18)   *nuu-na*   *roo*   *wane*
         picture-3.PERS   two   man
         'picture of two men'

(8-19)   *nuu-na*   *wane* *ki*
         picture-3.PERS   man   PL
         'picture of men'

That is, there is only partial indexing of non-singular lexical possessors, in
person but not in number. (Similarly, transitive verbs must take the singular

object suffixes if there is a (lexical) object present, regardless of its grammatical number; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1.)

A different kind of partial indexing concerns the third person dual number. When there is no lexical possessor phrase present, the plural personal suffix is not uncommonly used instead of the dual suffix, even though the reference is to two entities. In (8-20) there are two such instances. The nouns *thaina* 'mother' and *rake* 'belly' carry the plural suffix even though the possessor is dual: there are two children. The nouns are in bold.

(8-20) **Thaina-da**   *ka*   *quna*   *qeri,*   "*Qe*
        mother-3PL.PERS   3SG.SEQ   manner   this   3SG.NFUT

          aqi;   *kamaroqa*   *qe*   *aqi*   *mosi*   *lae*
        not.be.so   2DU   2SG.NFUT   NEGV   2DU.NEG   go

          uri-a". ...   *Roo*   *wela*   *baa*   *ki,*   **rake-da**
        ALL-3SG.OBJ   two   child   that   PL   belly-3PL.PERS

          ka   *qiri;*   *keka*   *thathami-a*   *bo=naqa*   *keki*
        3SG.SEQ   be.angry   3PL.SEQ   want-3.OBJ   INTS=INTS   3DU.FUT

          thau-ngi-a   *qaburu*   *baa.*
        kill-TR-3.OBJ   ogre   that
        'Their mother said, "No, don't you two go there." The two children were angry (lit.: the two children, their bellies were angry); they wanted very much to kill the ogre.'

(Note also the use of the third person plural sequential marker *keka* with the dual subject; see section 4.9 for discussion.)

Suffixing possessive constructions can only have a lexical noun phrase in the possessor position. Pronominal possessor phrases are ungrammatical, regardless of grammatical person:

(8-21) *gwau-ku*   (**nau*)
        head-1SG.PERS 1SG
        'my head'

(8-22) *thaina-na*   (**nia*)
        mother-3SG.PERS   3SG
        'his/her/its mother'

(Similarly, an object suffix on a verb and a coreferential independent pronoun in the direct object position cannot cooccur in a verb phrase; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 4.2.3.3.1.)

However, a pronominal noun phrase that encodes the possessor but does not occur inside the possessive noun phrase is grammatical. Compare the ungrammatical (8-23a) with a personal pronoun in the possessor position and the grammatical (8-23b), where the possessor phrase has been fronted for topicalization.

(8-23)   a.   *Nuu-maroqa   kamaroqa   qe   leqa*
             picture-2DU.PERS   2DU   3SG.NFUT   be.nice

             qasia   naqa.
             INTS   INTS
             ('The picture of you two is very nice.')

         b.   *Kamaroqa,   nuu-maroqa   qe   leqa*
             2DU   picture-2DU.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.nice

             qasia   naqa.
             INTS   INTS
             'You two, the picture of you (lit. your picture) is very nice.'

Table 8.1 lists several personal suffixes that used to be characteristic of women's speech in earlier times but are not normally used today, although they are known by some, especially older, people. There is, however, one type of exception. The plural inclusive suffix *-ka* is used with two nouns, and is used both by women and by men. One of the nouns is *thaina* '(classificatory) mother'. The form *thaina-ka* literally 'our (pl, incl) mother' is the term of address to one's own (classificatory) mother. The suffix is used regardless of the number of possessors, including a single one, as in (8-24):

(8-24)   ... *ka*   *faqa-rongo-a*   *thaina-na,*   *ka*
             3SG.SEQ   CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ

             quna,   "Qoo,   thaina-ka   *qae,   si*
             manner   oh   mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC   PRTT

             do=e   *taqaa   mamana   boqo ...."*
             thing=3SG.NFUT   be.bad   be.real   ASRT
             '… he told his mother, he said, "Oh, Mother, it's really bad (lit.: the thing is really bad) …."'

The other lexical item is *thaama*, which is the archaic term for '(classifica-
tory) father'. The expression *thaama-ka*, typically followed by the vocative
marker *qae*, is commonly used as an exclamation of surprise, shock, reproach,
indignation. It may be directed at anybody or at nobody at all; and it is not ar-
chaic. (See also section 6.16.) The exclamation in (8-25) expressed the person's
fear and was not directed at any specific person among those present:

(8-25)   *Thaama-ka*   *qae!, teqe kui   mai*
         father-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC one   dog   VENT

         nena,   ada   ka   qale   kulu.
         there(2)   TIM   3SG.SEQ bite   PL(INCL)
         'Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.'

The only modifier that can occur with the possessum noun in the possessum
noun phrase is a classifier:

(8-26)   *gwa   ulunga-ku*
         CLF   wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
         'my wisdom tooth/teeth'

(8-27)   *maqa daar-a*   *wane*
         CLF   forehead-3.PERS   man
         'a/the man's forehead'

However, the use of a classifier with the possessed noun in a suffixing con-
struction is possible only if the classifier is not contrastive; either because it is
obligatory or because in its absence the possessum noun phrase would not refer
to a different kind of entity. If the possessum noun is to be modified by, for
example, a numeral, an adjective or a contrastive classifier, the bare possessive
construction is required. This is discussed in section 8.1.7.

8.1.3.   Bare possessive noun phrases

The basic structure of bare possessive noun phrases is given in (8-28):

(8-28)   [... POSSESSUM.NOUN ...]$_{NP}$ [possessor]$_{NP}$

In bare possessive noun phrases there is no indexing of the possessor on the
possessum noun. For that reason, a possessor noun phrase must be present. In
the absence of a possessor phrase, a noun phrase cannot be interpreted as a

possesssum one. The possessor noun phrase may be lexical or pronominal (however see further below for lexical possessor phrases):

(8-29)   *biqu   tha   Liliqa*
         house   PERSMKR   Liliqa
         'Liliqa's house'

(8-30)   *maka   nau*
         father   1SG
         'my father'

The possessum noun can be modified by various prenominal modifiers. As far as postnominal modifiers are concerned, possessum nouns can only be modified by verbs. All the other post-nominal modifiers can only occur after the possessor noun phrase and they have the possessive construction as a whole in their scope:

(8-31)   *[[kali   fa   wasi]   qoe] baa*
         small.SG CLF   watch   2SG   that
         'that small watch of yours'

(8-32)   *[[roo qae] nia] ki*
         two leg   3SG   PL
         'his two legs', 'both of his legs'

(8-33)   *[[tarausisi tekwa]   nau] baa*
         trousers   be.long 1SG   that
         'those long trousers of mine'

(8-34)   *[biqu   keeroqa]   na=i   Takwaraasi*
         house   3DU   REL=LOC   Takwaraasi
         'their house at Takwaraasi [a place]'

(8-35)   *[[si   kula] kera] ki na   kera   nii ki   i*
         PRTT place 3PL   PL REL   3PL.NFUT   dwell PL   LOC

         ei
         LOCPRO
         'their places that they live in'

In all of the examples above with modified possessum nouns the possessor noun phrases are pronominal. Lexical possessors are also possible:

(8-36)   *kaleko   faalu   wela*
           clothes   be.new   child
           'the child's new clothes'

See also (8-39) and (8-40) further below.

However, there is a tendency to keep bare possessive constructions with lexical possessors structurally relatively simple. If either the possessum noun has one or more modifiers or the possessor phrase is complex, the possessor phrase is often displaced from inside the possessive construction. It may be topicalized and fronted, or it may be postposed, and in either case a coreferential pronominal possessor phrase is used inside the possessive construction. In (8-37) the lexical possessor phrase has been topicalized:

(8-37)   *Boranigao, roo   kaluwani   nia   ki na   tha*
           Boranigao   two   son   3SG   PL REL   PERSMKR

           Walanifau   ma   tha   Bualigia.
           Walanifau   and   PERSMKR   Bualigia
           'Boranigao, his two sons were Walanifau and Bualigia.' 'Boranigao had two sons, who were Walanifau and Bualigia.'

In (8-38) the lexical noun phrase that encodes the possessor is complex, and it has been postposed to after the possessive construction: *hapa kera, toqa lo=i Da'i* 'their harbour, the people up there at Da'i', rather than *hapa [toqa lo=i Da'i]* 'the harbour of the people up there at Da'i'.

(8-38)   *... kuki   lae   i   laa   hapa   kera, hapa*
               PL(INCL).FUT   go   LOC   IN   harbour   3PL   harbour

           kera, toqa   lo=i   Da'i.
           3PL   people   upward=LOC   Da'i
           '... let's go into their harbour, their harbour, the people up there at Da'i (Island).'

Cases of modifiers that have a whole possessive noun phrase in their scope must be distinguished from ones where post-nominal modifiers are part of the possessor phrase:

(8-39)   *raa   [araqi   loo]*
           work   mature.man   upward
           'God's work'

(8-40)   *biqu*   *[wane   baa   ki]*
           men's.house   man   that   PL
           'those men's men's house'

At present *biqu* can designate a variety of types of house (other than a family house), but traditionally it designated men's houses, in which the men of a hamlet slept. This is the interpretation intended here: one house for the men. To signify that more than one house is intended, a collective-plural noun *tale* would be used as the head of an associative construction:

(8-41)   *tale-qe*   *biqu*   *wane baa   ki*
           totality-ASSOC house   man that   PL
           '(all) the (men's) houses of those men'

A demonstrative that follows a possessor noun can only function as a modifier of that noun:

(8-42)   a.   *kaleko   [wela   qena]*
                  clothes   child   that(2)
                  'that child's clothes

    not: b.   **[kaleko wela]   qena*
                  clothes   child   that(2)
                  ('those clothes of the child')

To place a possessive construction with a lexical possessor in the scope of a locative demonstrative element, a presentative locative demonstrative adverb is required instead. The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs are predicate-level elements (section 13.16.2).

(8-43)   *Ngali-a   mai [kaleko   wela]   nena!*
           carry-3.OBJ VENT clothes   child   there(2)
           'Bring the child's clothes, (those) there.'

When the possessor is pronominal, the following demonstrative has the whole possessive noun phrase in its scope, not the pronoun; see (8-31) and (8-33) further above.

8.1.4.   Recursiveness in possessive constructions

Possessive constructions can be recursive, in any combination of the suffixing and the bare types:

(8-44)   *ngata-la-na*   *thaina-da*
          speak-NMLZ-3.PERS   mother-3PL.PERS
          'their mother's speaking'

(8-45)   *wela doqora-ku*
          child sibling-1SG.PERS
          'my brother's/sister's child'

(8-46)   *manta-na*   *wela nau*
          mind-3.PERS   child 1SG
          'my child's mind'

(8-47)   *biqu*   *maka*   *kamiliqa*   *ki*
          men's.house   father   1PL(EXCL)   PL
          'our (classificatory) fathers' men's house'

   However, recursivness in possessive constructions tends to be restricted to constructions that are relatively simple, without many modifiers, especially in the possessum phrase. While constructions such as the one in (8-48) are grammatical, they are not in normal use:

(8-48)   *[[roo kome   baqita   [maka   nau]]*
          two armring be.big   father   1SG
          'my father's two big armrings'

   However, there is one type of recursive possessive construction that, apparently, used to be used commonly, although today it is encountered only rarely. Its basic structure is given in (8-49):

(8-49)   POSSESSUM.NOUN   [*thata*-PERS]_{possessor.NP}
                            'name'

   The possessor noun phrase is itself a suffixing possessive phrase with *thata* 'name' as its head. Within the possessor phrase, the possessor is expressed only by means of a personal suffix on *thata*. This construction is used only where otherwise a simple bare possessive noun phrase would be grammatical, as a respectful alternative.

(8-50) a.   *ai   nia*   b.   *ai   thata-na*
             wife 3SG   wife name-3SG.PERS
             'his wife'   'his wife (respectful)' (lit.: 'the
                                         wife of his name')

This construction is used as a polite, respectful expression when giving something to somebody, especially when offering food, or when one takes food for oneself, having offered food to the others first. (*Doo* 'thing' is a respectful way of designating food that is being offered.)

(8-51)   *Si   doo   thata-mu   neri.*
         PRTT thing name-2SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
         'Here you are.' (Lit.: 'Here is the thing of your name.')

(8-52)   *Si   doo   thata-ku   naqa na=nia.*
         PRTT thing name-1SG.PERS   PRF   this=3SG
         'Here is mine now.' (Lit.: 'Thing of my name now, this one.')

8.1.5.   The semantics of possessive noun phrases

With some exceptions to be discussed further below, the suffixing construction is used with "relational nouns" as heads of possessum phrases. Relational nouns are nouns that designate inherently relational concepts (see, for example, Partee 1997, Partee and Borschev 2003, Dowty 2003, and also Barker 1995.) The type of relation between a possessum and its possessor is of a kind usually referred to as inalienable possession. As discussed in the next section, it is possible for a polysemous noun to be relational in some of its senses but not in others. The use of the bare construction is best defined negatively: it is used wherever the suffixing construction is not grammatical. As will be shown later, under certain conditions it is also used with inherently relational nouns. Some such cases are lexical exceptions, while others are systematic.

The broad categories of possessum-possessor relations where the suffixing construction is used are given below.

Parts of a whole, body parts. Included here is also the body itself, the inner chest, which is viewed as the locus of psychological, mental processes and states, and the integral contents of a possessor, such as juice (of fruit) and blood (in the possessor's body).

(8-53)   *rake-da*   (8-54)   *seqe-na   botho*
         belly-3PL.PERS   body-3.PERS   pig
         'their bellies'   'a/the pig's body'

(8-55)   *lio-mu*   (8-56)   *suul-a*   *qasai*
          inner.chest/mind-2SG.PERS   juice-3.PERS   mango
          a. 'your chest'   'the juice of a/the mango'
          b. 'your mind'

Also included here are non-kinship nouns designating people, even though such nouns are not relational. They occur in the possessum phrase of the suffixing construction with the collective-plural meaning 'the occupants, inhabitants of (a place)':

(8-57)   *wane-na*   *Malaqita*
          person-3.PERS   Malaita
          'the people of Malaita'

Natural products of possessors, such as tears, sweat, urine, faeces, semen, eggs, breath, voice/sound, shadow/shade/reflection (e.g., in water or in a mirror)/picture (depicting the referent of the possessor phrase), something that emanates from the possessor.

(8-58)   *qiiqida-ku*   (8-59)   *linga-na*   *oqo*   *qeri*
          sweat-1SG.PERS   sound-3.PERS   drum   that
          'my sweat'   'the sound of that drum'

(8-60)   *nuu-na*   *wane*
          shadow/reflection/picture-3.PERS   man
          a. 'a/the man's shadow'
          b. 'a/the man's reflection'
          c. 'picture of a/the man'

Attributes of the possessor, such as his/her/its name; customary, characteristic behaviour; and numerical value and monetary price. See also under nominalizations further below.

(8-61)   *thata-na*   *faka*   *qeri*
          name-3.PERS   ship   that
          'that ship's name'

(8-62)   *biranga-na*   *araqi*   *kwao*
          custom-3.PERS   mature.man   be.white
          'the white (Caucasian) people's way(s), custom(s)'

Biranga is also used in the suffixing construction in the sense of 'custom associated with (possessor)'

(8-63)   *biranga-na   ngali*
          custom-3.PERS canarium.nut
          'customary behaviour associated with canarium nuts' (what people customarily do with respect to canarium nuts, especially during harvest time) (lit.: 'custom of canarium nuts')

(8-64)   *fulinga-na   lima fa   ngali*
          value-3.PERS   five CLF   year
          'period of five years'

(8-65)   *Si   doo   naqi fulinga-na   tu   dola.*
          PRTT thing this   value-3.PERS two   dollar
          'This thing costs two dollars.' (Lit.: 'This thing, its value (is) two dollars.')

Spatial and temporal relations. Here the head of the possessum phrase is a locational noun (section 10.8).

(8-66)   *qi   naqofa-na   tarake*
          LOC   front-3.PERS truck
          'in front of the truck'

Some of the locational nouns are used both with spatial and with temporal significance:

(8-67)   *qi   qintoqo-na   biqu   naqi*
          LOC   centre-3.PERS house   this
          'in the centre of this house'

(8-68)   *qi   qintoqo-na   thato*
          LOC   middle-3.PERS day
          'in the middle of the day'

Kinship relations. In this semantic area, only relatively few nouns occur in the suffixing construction; most do not.

(8-69)   *doqora-mu*   (8-70)   *thaina-na   wela naqi*
          sibling-2SG.PERS   mother-3.PERS child this
          'your brother/sister'   'this child's mother'

Table 8.2 shows which of the kinship terms occur in the suffixing construction and which ones occur in the bare construction.

Table 8.2. Kinship terms as possessums in the suffixing and in the bare possessive constructions (continued on next page)

suffixing construction	bare construction
thaama (arch.) 'father', 'father's brother'	*maka* 'father', 'father's brother'
	makarua 'father's brother'
thaina 'mother', 'mother's sister', 'father's brother's wife'	*thainarua* 'mother's sister'
kale 'baby', 'young (of animal)'	*kale*, *waikale* 'wife's brother', 'wife's sister', 'husband's brother'
	wela 'child'
	welarua 'man's brother's child', 'woman's sister's child'
	kaluwani 'son', 'sibling's son'
	thaari 'daughter', 'sibling's daughter'
doqora 'sibling, regardless of sex and age', 'cousin regardless of sex and age'	*doqorarua* 'cousin, regardless of sex and age'
thaasi 'younger sibling'	*waiwaena* 'sibling of opposite sex', 'cousin of opposite sex'
thooqo 'older sibling'	*waiwaenarua* 'cousin of opposite sex'
	diqi, *waidiqi* 'cross-cousin'
kwai 'spouse'	*makaru* (arch.) 'one's own husband'
	wane 'man', 'husband'
	araqi 'mature man', 'husband'
	ai, *kini* 'woman', 'wife'
	kukeqe 'mature woman', wife'
thaifa 'husband's sister'	*funga*, *waifunga* 'parent-in-law', 'parent-in-law's sibling'
thaula 'wife's sister's husband', 'husband's brother's wife'	*fungao* 'son-in-law', 'sibling's daughter's husband', 'sister's husband', 'parent's sister's husband'
	kini fungao 'daughter-in-law', 'sibling's son's wife', 'sister-in-law'

kwaliqa 'member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending' 'mother's sibling', 'father's sister', 'sibling's child' (same as *koqo*, *kookoqo*)	*koqo*, *kookoqo* 'member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending'; 'mother's sibling', 'father's sister', 'sibling's child' (same as *kwaliqa*)
inalaa 'one's kin, collectively, descended from the same ancestors some generations back'	

There is no evidence that the kinship relations in the two sets are conceptualized differently by the Toqabaqita people, that, for example, the mother relation is conceptualized differently from the father relation, and that that is the reason why the two terms select different possessive constructions. Rather, there are other factors that appear to be responsible for the difference. First, nouns that are replacements of old etyma occur in the bare possessive construction, even though the items they have replaced occurred in the suffixing construction. For example, the archaic term for 'father' *thaama* continues the Proto Oceanic form *tama and occurs in the suffixing construction, while the new term *maka* occurs in the bare construction. Similarly, *wela* 'child' is a lexical innovation, replacing Proto Oceanic *natu, and it too occurs in the bare construction. This, however, does not explain why *thaari* 'daughter' occurs in the bare construction, because it continues a Proto Oceanic form (with some secondary developments; see Lichtenberk 1986). However, *thaari* is also used with the non-kinship sense 'girl (not married)', and it may be that this non-kinship sense has become dominant, which has resulted in the reassignment of the noun into the bare-construction category. This factor may also be relevant to *wela* 'child', which too has a kinship sense and a non-kinship sense: 'child: offspring' and 'child: young person, not an adult'. And there are other nouns whose primary senses are non-kinship but that can be used in kinship senses, and they always appear in the bare construction; for example, *kini* 'woman', 'wife', and *araqi* 'mature man', husband'.

For an explanation why *thainarua* 'mother's sister' occurs in the bare construction even though *thaina* '(classificatory) mother' occurs in the suffixing construction see section 8.1.7.

There are several nouns based on kinship terms that have a collective significance and that contain what historically was the third person singular personal suffix -*na*, which, however, does not function as such in those terms; for example, *wai-kwaina* 'married couple' (cf. *kwai* 'spouse'), *(wai-)doqorana* 'set of siblings' (cf. *doqora* 'sibling'), and *wai-makana* 'group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their father(s), and possibly also their mother(s)'. *Wai-makana* has the frozen suffix -*na*, even

though *maka*, unlike the bases of the other collective terms, occurs in the bare construction, not the suffixing construction. This may be due to analogy with those other collective nouns. And, as mentioned in section 8.1.2, *wai-waena* '(classificatory) sibling of opposite sex' historically contains the *-a* variant of the third person singular personal suffix. The prefix *wai-* found in the collective terms is discussed in section 21.6, where more forms that contain the frozen suffix *-na* are listed.

The term for 'trading partner' and more recently 'friend', *ruana*, even though relational, occurs in the bare construction:

(8-71)   *ruana*   *nau*
          friend/trading.partner 1SG
          a. 'my friend'
          b. 'my trading partner'

(This term is historically the same etymon as the ordinal numeral *rua-na* 'second' [section 6.8.4].)

The last category of possessums in the suffixing construction are nominalizations of verbs (section 9.1), although there is some variation between the suffixing and the bare constructions. In the large majority of cases, it is the suffixing construction that is used:

(8-72)   *thau-ngi-la-na*   *kumu*
          pound-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   k.o.pudding
          'pounding of *kumu* pudding'

(8-73)   *nguu-la-na*   *kini*
          sing-NMLZ-3.PERS woman
          'a/the woman's singing'

(8-74)   *makwa-la-na*   *botho*
          smell-NMLZ-3.PERS   pig
          'the smell (lit.: smelling) of a/the pig'

Some nominalizations express attributes of the possessor (see further above):

(8-75)   *... baqita-la-na*   *biqu qeri,*
          be.big-NMLZ-3.PERS   house that

          taqe-la-na   *biqu   qeri,*
          be.extended.vertically-NMLZ-3.PERS   house   that

> *ree-reba-qa-la-na*   *biqu   qeri, ma*
> RDP-board-PROP-NMLZ-3.PERS house   that and
>
> *tekwa-la-na*   *biqu qeri, ….*
> be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS house that
> [Before a man starts to build a house, he will first think about the house,] 'the size of the house, the height of the house, the width of the house, and the length of the house, ….'

(*Ree-reba-qa* is a proprietive verb [section 4.2.2.3] 'be wide', based on the noun *reba* 'board' [e.g. wooden board], '[solid] sheet'.)

(8-76)   *Kuluqa-la-na*   *baeka   kafara   qe*
          be.heavy-NMLZ-3.PERS bag   copra   3SG.NFUT

          baqita.
          be.big
          'The weight of the bag of copra is great.'

However, some nominalizations may occur in the bare construction. This is briefly mentioned in the next section and discussed in more detail in section 9.1.3.

8.1.6.   Fluidity in the possessive system

Following Nichols (1992), the term "fluidity" is used here to refer to the possibility of nouns occurring in the possessum phrase both of the suffixing construction and of the bare construction, normally with some semantic difference. Such fluidity must be distinguished from the appearance of one and the same possessum noun in the two types of construction depending on whether the referent of the possessum phrase is or is not individuated. This latter type of case is discussed in section 8.1.7.

    There may be fluidity with polysemous nouns, where certain senses are inherently relational and so require the suffixing construction (unless the possessum has been individuated), while other senses are not inherently relational and so require the bare construction. For example, *gona* can signify the heart, in which case the suffixing construction is used; but it can also signify a species of tree, *Burckella* sp., whose fruit is said to resemble the heart, in which case the bare construction is used:

(8-77)   *gona-ku*   (8-78)   *gona*   *nau*
        heart-1SG.PERS   Burckella.spp   1SG
        'my heart'   'my *Burckella* tree'

And to refer to the (edible) fruit of the tree, *gona* occurs with the classifier *fa*, also in the bare construction:

(8-79)   *fa*   *gona*   *nau*
        CLF   Burckella.spp   1SG
        'my *Burckella* fruit'

The primary sense of the noun *keekene* is 'breadfruit (tree and fruit)', and it requires the bare construction. The noun also has the body-part sense 'stomach', and there it is the suffixing construction that is used. (Stomachs are said to look like breadfruit fruit.)

(8-80)   *keekene*   *nau*   (8-81)   *keekene-ku*
        breadfruit   1SG   stomach-1SG.PERS
        'my breadfruit (tree)'   'my stomach'

To refer to breadfruit fruit, *keekene* occurs with the classifier *fa* in the bare construction.

The noun *thata* can signify the name that someone or something bears, in which case the suffixing construction is used; but it can also signify a person's namesake, in which case the bare construction is required:

(8-82)   *Thata-ku*   *tha*   *Maeli.*
        name-1SG   PERSMKR   Maeli
        'My name is Maeli.'

(8-83)   *Thata*   *nau.*
        namesake   1SG
        'My namesake.' (A friendly form of address to one's namesake.)

As a rule, nominalizations occur in the suffixing construction. However, there are nominalizations that have acquired more of a noun status with their own meanings, other than signifying a state of affairs. For example, *leqa-laa* in the suffixing construction has the meaning 'being good', while in the bare construction it has the meaning 'goodness'. (The nominalizing suffix *-laa* becomes *-la* before a personal suffix.)

(8-84)   *Nau   ku   thaitoqoma-na   leqa-la-na.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   be.good-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
          'I know (about) him being good.'

(8-85)   *leqa-laa   qoe   na=i   thalo   loo*
          be.good-NMLZ   2SG   REL=LOC   heaven   upward
          'your goodness (which is) in heaven'

The occurrence of nominalizations in the possessum position is discussed in detail in section 9.1.3 in the next chapter.

There are also cases of polysemy where a figurative sense is (presumably) still perceived as such, rather than as a fully established sense. For example, there are several nouns for 'penis' and they occur in the suffixing construction:

(8-86)   *{fotho-na   /   thee-na   /   mego-na}   wane*
          penis-3.PERS   /   penis-3.PERS   /   penis-3.PERS   man
          'a/the man's penis'

However, when a man's penis is referred to, for example, jocularly, as his 'dibble stick' (used in planting and to husk coconuts) or his 'stick', it is the bare construction that is used:

(8-87)   *kwato   qoe*   (8-88)   *qai   nau*
          dibble.stick 2SG   stick 1SG
          'your dibble stick [penis]'   'my stick [penis]'

There is also fluidity that does not involve polysemy. One and the same noun used with one and the same sense can occur in the possessum position in either type of possessive construction, but the two constructions differ in their pragmatic significance. What determines the choice of the construction is the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor entities. If the relation is of the inalienable kind, it is the suffixing construction that is used (again provided the possessum has not been individuated); if not, it is the bare construction that is required. Both in (8-89) and in (8-90) the noun *gwau* 'head' has the sense of a body part. In (8-89) the meaning is that of the head as part of the possessor's own body and there the suffixing construction is required. On the other hand, in (8-90) that is not the case: the head is not part of the possessor's own body, and there it is the bare construction that is required:

(8-89)   *gwau-ku*   (8-90)   *gwau nau*
           head-1SG.PERS   head 1SG
           'my head' (part of   'my head' (e.g., my fish
           my own body)   head as food)

The sense of *gwau* 'head' is inherently relational both in (8-89) and in (8-90). What makes the two cases different from each other is the nature of the relations between the possessums and the possessors. There can also be fluidity when a noun whose meaning is not inherently relational is used to express a relational meaning. The noun *toqa* 'people' is not inherently relational. In (8-91) the possessive construction *toqa nia ki* 'his people' is of the bare type. It refers to the people who are helping to build the person's house.

(8-91)   *... ka   faqa-rongo-a   toqa   nia   ki na*
                3SG.SEQ   CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   people   3SG   PL REL

           kere   raa ofu   bii   nia   neri ....
           3PL.NFUT   work be.together   COM   3SG   NPAST.HERE
           '... he tells his people who are working with him [what to do].'

On the other hand, in (8-92) the people in question are viewed as the inhabitants of a place, which is a relational, part-whole sense, and there the noun *toqa* occurs in the possessum position of the suffixing construction:

(8-92)   *Moro   uufi-a   bungu   qena   uri-a*
           2DU.NFUT   blow-3.OBJ   conch.shell   that(2)   PURP-3.OBJ

           toqa-na   fanu qena.
           people-3.PERS   place that(2)
           'Blow the conch shell for the people of the place [to come].'

The crucial role of the conceptualization of the relation between a possessum and its possessor can also be seen from the next pair of examples. The noun *nuu* has these senses: 'shadow', 'reflection (e.g. in water or in a mirror)', 'likeness, such as a picture, photograph, carving, statue', and 'personal luck (good or bad) that a person generally has when doing something'. It is relational in all its senses. In the sense 'likeness, picture, photograph, etc.', when the referent of the possessor phrase is depicted in the picture, it is the suffixing construction that is used:

(8-93)   *nuu-ku*
          picture-1.PERS
          'picture of me'

However, when the referent of the possessor phrase is conceptualized as the owner of the picture, the noun *nuu* occurs as the head of an associative construction with the general noun *doo* 'thing' in the modifier phrase (section 8.2), and the associative construction as a whole functions as the possessum phrase in a bare possessive construction:

(8-94)   *[Nuu-qi   doo] nau   nena.*
          picture-ASSOC thing 1SG   there(2)
          'That's my picture (it belongs to me).'

This type of construction is used regardless of what is depicted in the picture. The sentence in (8-94) could be used even if it were the speaker who was depicted in the picture. What is important is that at that time the speaker thinks of himself/herself as being the owner of the picture.

In some cases, fluidity is due to different senses of polysemous possessum nouns. But as the examples of fluidity that do not involve different senses show, fluidity may also be due to purely pragmatic factors: is a body part part of the possessor's own body or not?; are people viewed as the inhabitants of a place or not?; is a picture conceptualized as being a depiction of someone/something or as, for example, an item of possession?

The role of the relation between a possessum and its possessor is also fundamental in another respect, to be discussed next.

8.1.7.   Individuation of the possessum

The suffixing possessive construction is used when the possessum noun is a relational one (including polysemous nouns used in their relational senses), when the possession is of the inalienable kind. However, the converse is not true. It is not the case that every time the possessive relation is of the inalienable kind it is the suffixing construction that is required. First, there are exceptions in the kinship category. And second, and this is the subject of this section, there are systematic exceptions to the overall pattern. Under certain conditions, a possessum noun that is relational must occur in the bare construction, even though elsewhere it must occur in the suffixing construction. There is no difference in the senses involved, and there is no difference in the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor. That is, such cases do not involve fluidity discussed in the preceding section.

It is necessary to distinguish cases where the possessor is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase and cases where the possessor is expressed by means of a personal suffix on the possessum noun or by means of an independent personal pronoun. Cases of the latter type are discussed first, but what is said about the semantic aspects of those constructions applies equally to constructions of the former type.

In (8-95) the noun *maa*, there used in the sense 'eye', occurs in the possessum phrase of the suffixing construction, as expected:

(8-95)   *maa-ku*
          eye-1SG.PERS
          'my eye(s)'

However, in (8-96) and (8-97) the same noun, used in the same sense, occurs in the possessum position of the bare construction:

(8-96)   *maa   mauli   nau*   (8-97)   *maa   nau   naqi*
          eye   be.on.left.side   1SG   eye   1SG   this
          'my left eye'   'this eye of mine

Both in (8-95) on the one hand and in (8-96) and (8-97) on the other, the relations between the possessum and the possessor are the same: the eye/eyes is/are part of the possessor's own body. There is no difference in inalienability.

Similarly, the nouns *qaba* 'arm, hand' and *qae* 'leg, foot' occur in the suffixing construction in (8-98), but in the bare construction in (8-99), even though in both cases the arms/hands and the legs/feet are part of the possessor's own body:

(8-98)   ... *kera   anikaba-a   qaba-na   ma*
               3PL.NFUT   handcuff-3.OBJ   hand-3SG.PERS   and

          qae-na   laqu   boqo.
          foot-3SG.PERS   ADD   ASRT
          '... they handcuffed his hands as well as his feet.'

(8-99)   ... *keki   tekwa-si-a   roo   qaba   nia   ki ma*
               3PL.FUT   be.long-TR-3.OBJ   two   arm   3SG   PL and

          roo   qae   nia   ki.
          two   leg   3SG   PL
          '[He told them] they should stretch out both of his arms and both of his legs.'

And in (8-100) *qaba* 'arm, hand' is the head component of a compound, modified by the noun *suukwaqi-a* 'strength'. Even though the reference is to the addressee's own arm, it is the bare possessive construction that is used:

(8-100) *Qoko   raqu qani-a   qana   qaba suukwaqi-a*
         2SG.SEQ hold GENP-3SG.OBJ INS   hand be.strong-DVN

         qoe.
         2SG
         'Hold it with your strong arm.'

Qaba suukwaqi-a, lit. 'arm (of) strength', signifies a person's strong arm, such as the right arm of a right-handed person.

The noun *thata* 'name' occurs in the suffixing construction in (8-101) and in the bare construction in (8-102). Here too, there is no difference in the relation between the possessum and the possessor. In both cases the question is about the addressee's own name:

(8-101) *Thata-mu   ni   tei?*
         name-2SG.PERS   PROFORE   who?
         'What (lit.: who) is your name?'

(8-102) *Rua-na   thata qoe ni   tei?*
         two-3.PERS name 2SG   PROFORE   who?
         'What is your second name?

As argued in Lichtenberk (2005c), the relevant factor is possessum individuation, specifically the individuation of the possessum vis-à-vis the possessor. The suffixing construction is used when there is no modification of the possessum noun other than by the possessor noun phrase. That is, the possessum is not individuated vis-à-vis the possessor. It is viewed more just as an aspect of the possessor, rather than as an entity in its own right. Thus, for example, the meaning of *maa-ku* in (8-95) further above is really something like 'the eye aspect of me, my "eyeness"', rather than 'my eye(s)', and the meaning of *thata-mu* in (8-101) is something like 'the name aspect/property of you' rather than 'your name'. Note also the absence of plural marking with the suffixing constructions *qaba-na* 'his hands' and *qae-na* 'his feet' in (8-98) and its presence with the bare constructions *roo qaba nia ki* 'both of his arms' and *roo qae nia ki* 'both of his legs' in (8-99). In (8-98) the hands and the feet are not individuated; they are merely aspects of the possessor's body, not entities in their own right.

When an entity has more than one part of a certain type, the suffixing construction normally has a collective-plural meaning, or the exact number is irrelevant.

(8-103)   *qunga-na   iqa*
           scale-3.PERS   fish
           'the scales of a/the fish'

(8-104)   *ree-na   qai*
           leaf-3.PERS   tree
           'the leaves of a/the tree'

(8-105)   *ifu-na   thaqaro   naqi*
           feather-3.PERS   bird   this
           'this bird's feathers'

This kind of collective plural does not necessarily have to subsume every single part, especially if the number is large, only a significant number of them. Thus, (8-105) does not necessarily have to signify every single feather of the bird. However, the parts are conceptualized as a collectivity.

In the situation expressed in (8-106) both eyes are involved:

(8-106)   *Maa-ku   qe   bii-biinga-la.*
           eye-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   RDP-sleep-PROP
           'I am sleepy.' 'My eyes are sleepy.'

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (8-107) it could be either just one eye or both eyes that are involved:

(8-107)   *Maa-ku   e   fii.*
           eye-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   hurt
           'My eye hurts.' 'My eyes hurt.'

A more accurate characterization of the meaning of (8-107) would be something like: 'The eye aspect/part of me hurts.' or 'My "eyeness" hurts.'

A possessum can be individuated by specification: 'my left eye' (rather than the right one), 'this eye of mine' (rather than the other one), 'both arms', 'both legs' (rather than just one of them), 'your strong arm' (not the other one)', 'your second name' (not the first one). Even though the relation between the possessum and the possessor has not changed and is still of the inalienable kind, the possessum is given an identity of its own vis-à-vis the possessor.

It is possible for a possessum to be individuated by means of a classifier, in those cases where the classifier is contrastive. The noun *thaathate*, without a classifier, designates the chin and jaw region of the face up to the cheek bones, and it occurs in the suffixing construction, unless individuation has taken place:

(8-108)   *thaathate-ku*
           chin.and.jaws-1SG.PERS
           'my chin and jaws', 'the chin-and-jaw part of my face'

With the classifier *gwa* the reference is to a person's beard, and it is the bare construction that is required:

(8-109)   *gwa*   *thaathate*   *nau*
           CLF   chin.and.jaws/beard   1SG
           'my beard'

Without the classifier, *thaathate* signifies the chin-and-jaw part of the face, regardless of whether it has a beard or not. With the classifier, there is individuation: it is specifically the beard part of the chin and the jaws that is signified.

On the other hand, with the noun *ulunga* 'wisdom tooth' the classifier *gwa* is not contrastive. While it is normally used, it need not be, but the sense remains the same. Here the classifier does not individuate, and it is the suffixing construction that is used:

(8-110)   *(gwa)*   *ulunga-ku*
           CLF   wisdom.tooth-1SG.PERS
           'my wisdom tooth/teeth'

We can now consider constructions where the notional possessor is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase, although not necessarily in the grammatical-possessor position. In (8-111) the possessum is not individuated and it is the suffixing construction that is used:

(8-111)   *qaba-na*   *wane*
           hand-3.PERS   man
           'the man's arm/arms'

When the possessum is individuated, the notional possessor normally occurs inside a prepositional phrase that modifies the noun phrase expressing the possessum. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana* (section 10.3.7).

(8-112)   *qaba   aqolo   qana wane*
           arm   be.on.right.side   GENP   man
           'the man's right arm' (lit.: 'the right arm of/on the man')

(8-113)   *roo   qaba qana wane*
           two   arm   GENP   man
           'both of the man's arms'

(8-114)   *qaba naqi   qana wane qeri*
           arm   this   GENP   man   this
           'this arm of this man'

(Both *naqi* and *qeri* have the meaning 'this' in [8-114].)

    Constructions where the notional possessor is expressed in the possessor position of a bare possessive construction, parallel to constructions with pronominal possessors, are of marginal grammaticality and sometimes rejected outright:

(8-115)   ?*qaba   aqolo   wane*
           hand   be.on.right.side   man
           'the man's right hand'

    Below are given a few more examples of constructions where the notional possessor is expressed in a modifying prepositional phrase:

(8-116)   *alinga   mauli   qana wela*
           ear   be.on.left.side   GENP   child
           'the child's left ear'

(8-117)   *roo   alinga   qana wela*
           two   ear   GENP   child
           'both of the child's ears'

    Compare:

(8-118)   *alinga-na   wela*
           ear-3.PERS   child
           'the child's ear(s)'

(8-119)   *Rua-na   maa qana   wane e   taqaa.*
           two-3.PERS eye   GENP   man   3SG.NFUT   be.bad
           'The man's other (lit.: second) eye is no good.'

Compare:

(8-120)   *maa-na   wane*
            eye-3.PERS   man
            'the man's eye(s)'

Another possible strategy to express a notional possessor by means of a lexical noun phrase is to place that noun phrase outside the noun phrase that contains the possessum phrase, especially by placing it in the topic position. The topicalized phrase is referred to anaphorically by a personal pronoun in the possessor position of a bare possessive construction of the type discussed further above. In fact, where topicalization is possible, that strategy is preferred. Thus, for example, instead of (8-119), (8-121) might be used:

(8-121)   *Wane,   rua-na   maa nia   e   taqaa.*
            man   two-3.PERS eye   3SG   3SG.NFUT   be.bad
            'The man's other eye is no good.' (Lit.: 'The man, his second eye is bad.')

In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topics (section 38.1). While in the situation expressed in (8-119) and (8-121) it is one of the the man's eyes that is affected, it is ultimately the man who is affected, and this is better expressed by making the man the topic. See section 38.3.5 for discussion of possessor topicalization.

The notion of possessum individuation also applies to some kinship terms. The term for 'classificatory mother' occurs in the suffixing constructions when the subcategory of 'mother' is not specified (and there is no other individuation):

(8-122)   *thaina-da*
            mother-3PL.PERS
            'their mother, their mother's sister, their father's brother's wife'

It is possible to identify a woman specifically as somebody's biological mother by means of the verb *mamana* 'be real, true' modifying *thaina*. In that case it is the bare construction that is required:

(8-123)   *thaina   mamana kera*
            mother   be.true   3PL
            'their true, biological mother'

There is also a compound that contains *thaina* and that specifically identifies a woman as somebody's mother's sister, and in that case too it is the bare construction that is required:

(8-124)   *thaina-rua   nau*
           mother-two 1SG
           'my mother's sister'

The same applies to *doqora* 'classificatory sibling', whose range of reference includes siblings and cousins. When the reference is not narrowed down in any way, the noun occurs in the suffixing construction, but when the reference is narrowed down, the bare construction is required:

(8-125)   *doqora-ku*
           sibling-1SG.PERS
           'my brother, my sister, my cousin'

(8-126)   *doqora   mamana nau*
           sibling   be.true 1SG
           'my brother, my sister'

(8-127)   *doqora-rua nau*
           sibling-two 1SG
           'my cousin'

The notion of possessum individuation has grammatical relevance only with respect to inalienable possession. When the relation between a possessum and its possessor is of the alienable kind, the possessum is always individuated vis-à-vis the possessor and so it is the bare construction that is always used, regardless of whether or not the possessum is characterized in any way:

(8-128)   *waqi   nau*
           basket   1SG
           'my basket'

(8-129)   *waqi   baqita   nau   naqi*
           basket   be.big   1SG   this
           'this big basket of mine'

The notion of possessum individuation is also relevant to inalienable possession in the following way. When a noun that designates multiple parts of a whole occurs in the suffixing possessive construction, the construction tends to

have a collective-plural significance, unless context specifies otherwise; see (8-103) ('the scales of a/the fish'), (8-104) ('the leaves of a/the tree'), and (8-105) ('this bird's feathers') further above. The possessum is not individuated. Sometimes, the interpretation of a possessive construction is indeterminate as to how many parts of a whole are involved. The interpretation of the sentence in (8-130) is indeterminate as to how many teeth ache:

(8-130)   *Nau   lifo-ku   e   fii.*
           1SG   tooth-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   ache
           'My tooth aches.' 'My teeth ache.' 'I have a toothache.' ('I ache
           with respect to my teeth.') (Lit.: 'I, my tooth/teeth ache[s].')

To identify more closely the subset involved, the notional possessum noun can be modified by a numeral or a quantifier, but in that case the suffixing possessive construction cannot be used. Rather, the notional possessum noun is modified by a prepositional phrase that identifies the whole. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana*.

(8-131)   *Teqe gwa lifo   qe   thakathaka qana lifo-ku.*
           one   CLF   tooth 3SG.NFUT   wiggle   GENP tooth-1SG.PERS
           'One of my teeth wiggles/is wiggly.' (Lit.: 'One tooth wiggles
           among my teeth.')

The suffixing possessive construction is ungrammatical in such cases:

(8-132)   **teqe lifo-ku*
           one   tooth-1SG.PERS
           ('one of my teeth')

The construction that individuates a subset of a whole is the same as that used with lexical noun-phrase possessors discussed further above; see, for example, (8-112), (8-113), and (8-114). However, there the noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase refers to the notional possessor, whereas here the noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase identifies the whole, the total set.

One more example is given in (8-135) and (8-136). The noun *sii* 'piece (of), portion (of)' occurs in the suffixing construction when the number of the pieces is left unspecified:

(8-133)   *sii-na   fanga   naqi*
           portion-3.PERS food   this
           'portion(s) of this food', 'the portions of this food'

However, when the subset is specified more closely, the suffixing construction cannot be used. The quantifier *ta* 'some' has a singular-number value as its default (section 6.8.6), and this would be the normal interpretation of (8-134) unless context specified otherwise:

(8-134)   *ta*   *sii*   *qana fanga*   *naqi*
           some   portion   GENP food   this
           'a portion of this food'

Putting aside the lexical exceptions (some of the kinship terms), it is possessum individuation that is the central factor that determines the choice of the suffixing or the bare construction, and only secondarily the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession, between nouns that are relational and those that are not. In alienable possession, the possessum is always individuated, and so it is always the bare construction that is required. In inalienable possession, the possessum may but need not be individuated. If it is, it is the bare construction that is required; if it is not, it is the suffixing construction that is required.[27]

8.2.   The associative noun phrase

The formal properties of the associative noun phrase are considered first, and its semantics subsequently.

8.2.1.   The form

The basic form of the associative noun phrase is given in (8-135):

(8-135)   (X) [NOUN(-ASSOC) NP] (Y)

The head noun optionally carries the associative suffix. Although the suffix is optional, it is considerably more common for it to be present than absent. The head noun must be modified by a noun phrase. That noun phrase can only be non-referential. It can itself be of the associative type, in a recursive structure; see example (8-167) further below. An associative construction may have its own modifiers, before or after it, represented by X and Y, respectively, in (8-135). The X modifiers are those that occur prenominally in the basic type of lexical noun phrase, and the Y modifiers are those that occur postnominally in the basic type of lexical noun phrase; see (6-3) in chapter 6.

Among the pre-nominal modifiers, the person markers do not occur with the associative noun phrase, because the construction does not take proper nouns as its head.

The associative suffix has several alternative forms, whose distribution is conditioned phonologically. There is a pair of allomorphs *-qi* and *-qe*, and there is an allomorph *-i*. One would also expect an allomorph of the form *-e*, but there is no unequivocal evidence of that form. (The forms *-qi* and *-qe* also function as detransitivizing suffixes; see section 4.6.) The variants *-qi* and *-qe* are used with nouns that do not contain *q* in the last syllable: *-qi* is used if the last vowel of the noun is high (*i* or *u*) (but see 8-172 further below), and *-qe* is used if the last vowel of the noun is non-high (*e*, *o*, or *a*). The variant *-i* is used with nouns that contain *q* and a high vowel in the final syllable. And one would expect there to be an allomorph *-e* used with nouns that contain *q* and a non-high vowel in the final syllable. There are relatively few nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable and qualify to function as the head of the associative noun phrase, and the evidence is not straightforward to interpret, as discussed further below. The three examples below illustrate the *-qi*, *-qe*, and *-i* variants of the associative morpheme.

(8-136) *thaalu-qi*   *thaqaro*
         egg-ASSOC   bird
         'bird egg'

(8-137) *waino-qe*   *butete*
         soup-ASSOC sweet.potato
         'soup made of sweet potatoes'

(8-138) *biqu-i*   *dudualinga*
         house-ASSOC   bee
         'bees' nest', 'beehive'

There are also some phonological changes that the nouns that take the associative suffixes undergo or may undergo. Because of the additional complexities having to do with the *-i* (and *-e*?) allomorph(s), they will be discussed only later. Until specified otherwise, the discussion of the stem-internal changes that follows concerns nouns that take the *-qi* or *-qe* variants.

In many nouns that end in *a*, the *a* is replaced with *e* before the associative suffix; and in a few nouns that end in *o*, the *o* is replaced with *e* before the suffix:

(8-139) *qite-qe*   *alo*
         k.o.basket-ASSOC   taro
         '*qita*-basketful of taros'

(8-140) *qoke-qe*   *qai*
         vine/rope-ASSOC   wood
         'bundle, pile of (fire)wood' (even if not tied with rope)

Compare *qita* 'k.o. basket' and *qoko* 'rope'.

Nominalizations of verbs can function as heads of associative noun phrases. The nominalizing suffix has the form *-laa*, when no suffix follows. When a personal suffix follows, the form of the nominalizing suffix is *-la*, and when the associative suffix follows, the form of the nominalizing suffix is obligatorily *-le*:

(8-141) *manta-le-qe*   *doo*
         think-NMLZ-ASSOC   thing
         'thinking', 'a/the thought' (lit.: 'thing thinking')

The associative construction in (8-142) is a lexicalized phrase:

(8-142) *thaka-le-qe*   *thaqaro*
         flee/go.into.hiding-NMLZ-ASSOC   possum
         'place where possums stay, where they can be usually found'

In a few nouns that end in *u*, the *u* is replaced with *i* before the associative suffix, in some cases only optionally.

(8-143) *fungi-qi*   *qota*
         cluster-ASSOC   areca.nut
         'cluster of areca nuts'

Compare:

(8-144) *fungu-na*   *qota*
         cluster-3.PERS   areca.nut
         '(all) the clusters of areca nuts (on a tree)'

With nouns that can occur both in the associative construction and in the suffixing possessive construction, if there is variation in the form of the noun, it is the form in the possessive construction that is the basic one. That is also the form that occurs without the personal suffix, for example when the noun occurs in the bare possessive construction because the possessum has been individuated, as discussed in section 8.1.7.

In a few nouns that end in two vowels, the final vowel is deleted before the associative suffix:

(8-145) *bi-qi*   *ngali*
         bamboo.container   canarium.nut
         'bamboo-containerful of canarium nuts'

Compare *bii* 'bamboo container'.

(8-146)   *thaki-qi   ongi*
           tongs-ASSOC   bamboo.sp.
           'tongs made out of *ongi* bamboo'

Compare *thakia* 'tongs'.

(8-147)   *nga-qe   botho*
           excrement-ASSOC pig
           'pig excrement'

   Compare:

(8-148)   *ngae-na   botho*
           excrement-3.PERS pig
           'the pig's excrement'

   The associative suffix is sometimes omitted. Such omission is more likely if the stem undergoes one of the phonological changes mentioned above, but is not restricted to such cases. If a noun does undergo a change in the presence of the associative suffix, the change is likely to be manifested in the absence of the suffix as well.

(8-149)   *{fungi-qi   / fungi}   baqu*
           bunch-ASSOC   bunch   banana
           'the full bunch of bananas (e.g. still on a tree)'

   The basic form of the noun 'bunch' is *fungu*; cf. *fungu-na qota* '(all) the clusters of areca nuts (on a tree)' in (8-144) further above.

(8-150)   *qoke   ongi*
           vine/rope   bamboo.sp
           'bundle of *ongi* bamboo'

   The basic form of the noun 'vine, rope' is *qoko*. See also *qoke-qe qai* 'bundle, pile of (fire)wood' in (8-140) further above.

   In (8-151) there are three variants, including one without a phonological change in the noun:

(8-151)   *{baeke-qe   /   baeke   /   baeka}   raisi*
             bag-ASSOC /   bag   /   bag}   rice
             'bag(ful) of rice'

Even though the form *baeka* may occur without the associative suffix, when the suffix is present, the form is always *baeke-qe*, with the replacement of the *a* with *e*.

At this point we will consider the use of the forms *-i* and possibly *-e* of the associative morpheme with nouns that contain *q* in the final syllable. The form *-i* is exemplified and discussed first.

(8-152)   *biqu-i   dudualinga*
             house-ASSOC   bee
             'bees' nest', 'beehive'

The form of the noun 'house' is *biqu*.

(8-153)   *fai   [suqu-i   fanua]*
             four   corner-ASSOC   area
             'the four corners of the earth; the whole world'

The form of the noun 'corner' is *suqu*. The basic meaning of *suqu* is 'sea inlet, sea arm penetrating inland'. The expression *fai suqu-i fanua* is probably a partial calque from English.

Both in (8-152) and in (8-153) the head noun ends in *u*. On the other hand, the noun for 'basket' ends in *i*, and there the suffix does cannot occur:

(8-154)   *waqi   iqa*
             basket   fish
             'basket(ful) of fish'

As mentioned above, the *-qi* and the *-qe* variants of the associative marker can also be omitted, but such omission is never obligatory. One could speculate that there is a prohibition on *...qi-i* sequences in associative constructions, but since this is the only instance that has been identified of a noun that ends in *qi* and can occur as the head of an associative construction, it is impossible to be certain. There are no general phonotactic constrains on *qii* sequences in the language; for example *qiiqiir-a baqu* (bottom.part.of.bunch.of.bananas-3.PERS banana) 'the bottom part of a full bunch of bananas, where the bananas are relatively small'. However, there is some support for the hypothesis that there may be a constraint in associative constructions against *...qi-i* sequences when

we consider cases where an *-e* variant of the associative morpheme would be expected.

(8-155)   *taqe*   *niu*
           husk-ASSOC   coconut
           'coconut husk'

Compare:

(8-156)   *taqa-na*   *niu*
           husk-3.PERS   coconut
           'the husk of a/the coconut'

The basic form of the noun 'husk' is *taqa*. Is the *e* in *taqe* the associative suffix or is it a replacement of the stem-final *a* as happens elsewhere in associative constructions in the absence of the associative suffix?

Similarly in (8-157), which shows variation between *kwaqo* and *kwaqe*:

(8-157)   *{kwaqo*   /   *kwaqe}* *botho*
           intestine-ASSOC   /   intestine pig
           'pig intestine(s)'

The basic form of the noun 'intestine' is *kwaqo*.

If one were to assume that *taqe* is really *taq-e* and *kwaqe* is really *kwaq-e*, one would have to assume that in these cases the final vowel of the noun has been deleted. There is, however, no independent evidence that such deletion takes place in the presence of the associative suffix. It is much more likely, then, that the final *e*'s in those two forms are the result of vowel replacement rather than instances of the associative suffix. This in turn suggests that the associative suffix is absent because of a prohibition on …*qe-e* sequences in associative constructions.

Importantly, it is the presence of *q* in the last syllable of the basic form of a noun that determines whether the associative suffix will have *q* or not. For example, the word for 'leg, foot' and 'handle (of a tool)' is *qae*, and it is disyllabic (section 2.2.3):

(8-158)   *qae-na*   *qila* *neqe*
           handle-3.PERS knife this
           'the handle of this knife'

In (8-159) the noun for 'handle' occurs as the head of an associative construction, and the form is *qa-qe*:

(8-159)   *qa-qe   qila*
           handle-ASSOC   knife
           'knife handle'

The form *qae-qe* is also possible, but not *qa-e. While in *qa-qe* the syllable before the suffix contains *q*, the last syllable of the basic, full form *qae* does not.

To summarize: The associative morpheme has -*i* as one of its variants. One would expect there to be an -*e* variant as well. Although this variant has not been encountered, this is presumably because of the very restricted distribution it has/would have.

The modifying noun phrase in an associative construction can only be non-referential, but it may contain modifiers in addition to the noun. In (8-160) the modifying phrase contains a classifier, and the one in (8-161) a modifying verb:

(8-160)   *ulu   talange-qe   fa   bongi*
           three hundred-ASSOC   CLF   day
           '300 days'

(8-161)   *[linge-qe   oqo   bulu]   baa*
           sound-ASSOC   drum be.dark   that
           'that sound of a deep-sounding drum'

Oqo bulu, literally 'dark drum', signifies a kind of drum that produces a deep sound.

A modifying noun phrase may be a coordinate one:

(8-162)   *teqe   [maame-qe   ngasi,   alo   ma   botho]*
           one   mortuary.feast-ASSOC sugar.cane taro   and   pig
           'a mortuary feast with sugar cane, taro, and pigs'

In (8-161) above the associate noun construction is modified by a demonstrative and the one in (8-162) by a numeral. A few more examples of associative constructions with pre-nominal and post-nominal modifiers are given below:

(8-163)   *teqe si   abe-qe   ongi*
           one   DIM strip-ASSOC   bamboo.sp.
           'one small strip of *ongi* bamboo'

(8-164)   *fu-qi   ngasi   nau*
           clump-ASSOC   sugar.cane   1SG
           'my clump of sugar cane' (not: *'clump of my sugar cane')

(8-165)   *waqi   iqa   baqita   neqe ki*
           basket   fish   be.big   this   PL
           'these big baskets/basketfuls of fish' (not: *'these basketfuls of big
           fish'; and not: *'basketfuls of these big fish')

(8-166)   *tai   bi-qi   doo   ki na   ka*
           some.PL   bamboo.container-ASSOC   thing PL REL   3SG.SEQ

           nanga   takatabolo   qani-a
           throw   mess.up.place   GENP-3SG.OBJ
           'some (broken up) bamboo containers that he threw all around, thus
           making the place messy (with them)'

(*Nanga* 'throw' is an intransitive verb; the entity thrown is expressed as an
oblique object.)
    For the use of *doo* 'thing' in the modifier phrase in associative constructions
see further below.
    Associative constructions can be recursive:

(8-167)   *bore-qe   [bi-qi   doo]*
           bottom-ASSOC bamboo.container-ASSOC   thing
           'food remaining at the bottom of a cooking bamboo after most,
           much of the food has been taken out' (lit.: 'bottomful of a bamboo
           container')

    In an associative construction, the head noun must have a modifying noun
phrase. In place of a semantically-explicit noun in the modifier phrase, the noun
doo 'thing' is used as a semantically-empty head. Compare (8-168) with an
explicit modifier noun and (8-169) with *doo*:

(8-168)   *bi-qi   ngali*
           bamboo.container-ASSOC   canarium.nut
           'bamboo-containerful of canarium nuts'

(8-169)   *bi-qi   doo*
           bamboo.container-ASSOC   thing
           'bamboo-containerful of unspecified contents' (the container does
           contain something)

Similarly in the next pair of examples:

(8-170)   *re-qe*   *baqu*
          leaf-ASSOC banana
          'banana leaf'

(8-171)   *Alu-a*   *re-qe*   *doo* *faafi-a*   *maa-na*
          put-3.OBJ   leaf-ASSOC thing SUPER-3.OBJ   opening-3.PERS

          kuki   *qena.*
          saucepan   that(2)
          'Put a leaf over the (mouth of the) saucepan (as a lid).'

See section 6.2 for the use of *doo* 'thing' as a "semantically light" noun.

There is at least one noun that contains what historically was the associative suffix but that does not occur in the associative construction and so need not have a modifier: *weleqi* 'chap, guy', also used as a familiar form of address; cf. *wela* 'child':

(8-172)   *Weleqi,* *qoko*   *mamalo* *naqa.*
          man!   2SG.SEQ rest   PRF
          'Man! Take a rest now.'

Exceptionally, it is the *-qi* form of the associative suffix that is present in *weleqi*, even though the vowel in the preceding syllable is not high.[28] There is also a form *wele-qe*, which takes as its modifiers noun phrases with the nouns 'man' and 'woman' to designate boys/relatively young men and girls/relatively young women, respectively.

(8-173)   *wele-qe*   *ai*
          child-ASSOC   woman
          'girl, young woman'

8.2.2.   The semantics

The associative construction expresses a variety of meanings. In one of its uses, it contrasts with the suffixing possessive construction. One type of relation between possessums and their possessors that the suffixing possessive construction can express is a part-whole relation: the possessum is part of the possessor.

(8-174)   *lail-a   abalolo baa*
           root-3.PERS Ficus.sp that
           'the root of that *Ficus* tree'

On the other hand, since in associative constructions the modifier phrase is non-referential, associative constructions do not express relations between entities. In some cases the modifier phrase designates the type of the entity denoted by the whole associative noun phrase:

(8-175)   *lali-qi   abalolo   naqi*
           root-ASSOC Ficus.sp.   this
           'this *Ficus* root'

The same basic kind of semantic contrast exists between (8-176) and (8-177):

(8-176)   *qae-na   qila neqe*
           handle-3.PERS   knife this
           'the handle of this knife'

(8-177)   *qa-qe   qila*
           handle-ASSOC   knife
           'knife handle (as opposed to other kinds of handle)'

If a whole has a large number of constituent parts of the same kind, the suffixing possessive construction normally designates such parts collectively. (See also examples [8-103] – [8-105] in section 8.1.7.).

(8-178)   *Taga-na   taatali   qe   qabu-qabu-qa.*
           flower-3.PERS   hibiscus 3SG.NFUT   RDP-blood-PROP
           'The flowers of the hibiscus (bush) are blood-red.'

On the other hand, the corresponding associative construction identifies more closely the type of entity designated by the head noun:

(8-179)   *Kwai   kulu-thango   qana tage-qe   taatali.*
           1SG.FUT hang-cordyline   INS   flower-ASSOC hibiscus
           'I'll make an ear ornament for myself from a hibiscus flower.'

(There is a noun *kulu-thango* ('hang'-'cordyline') that designates any makeshift ear ornament, such as a flower or a rolled up leaf, worn through a hole in an

earlobe. The verb *kulu-thango* refers to putting such an ornament in one's ear or to wearing one.)

The "type-of" semantic contribution of the modifier phrase in associative phrases is also found in cases where in the corresponding suffixing possessive constructions the possessum expresses something produced by the possessor or something that emanates from the possessor:

(8-180)   *linge-qe   oqo*
           sound-ASSOC   drum
           'sound of a drum', 'drum sound'

Compare:

(8-181)   *linga-na   oqo   qeri*
            sound-3.PERS   drum   that
            'the sound of that drum'

In another function, associative constructions designate collectivities, conglomerates, groupings, sets of entities. The head noun designates the kind of collectivity, and the modifier phrase designates the kind of entity making up the collectivity:

(8-182)   *[tale-qe   lifo]   i   aa*
           row-ASSOC   tooth   LOC   space.up
           'upper row of teeth'

(8-183)   *fu-qi   ngasi   baqita*
           cluster-ASSOC   sugar.cane   be.big
           'big clump of sugar cane', 'a large number of sugar cane plants growing closely together'

Included here are also quantifying nouns and the nouns designating numerically specific sets (usually of ten; section 6.8.3):

(8-184)   *teqe   talanqe-qe   imole*
           one   hundred-ASSOC   person
           '100 people'

(8-185)   *ange-qe   fa   qalo*
           small.number-ASSOC   CLF   taro
           'small number of taro corms', 'few taro corms'

(8-186)   *fai   akwale-qe   kini*
          four   tensome-ASSOC   woman
          '40 women'

The collectivity in question may form the contents of a container. The head noun designates the type of container:

(8-187)   *baeke-qe   kafara*
          bag-ASSOC   copra
          'bag(ful) of copra'

(8-188)   *lequ-qi   kafo*
          leaf.cup-ASSOC   water
          'leaf-cupful of water' (*legu* designates a kind of drinking cup made by rolling up a leaf)

The head of an associative noun phrase may designate a portion, fragment, unit, or a measure of that designated by the modifier phrase. In a sense, these are collectivities too, but collectivities that used to be part of a bigger whole:

(8-189)   *naanafu-qi   alo*
          fragment-ASSOC   taro
          'taro crumb'

(8-190)   *roo   [qabale-qe   kaleko]*
          two   fathom-ASSOC cloth
          'two fathoms of cloth' (e.g., cut from a bale of cloth)

The modifier phrase may designate the kind of material or the principal, defining ingredient in the type of entity designated by the head noun:

(8-191)   *atha-qe   koqa*
          k.o.pudding-ASSOC   mangrove
          'k.o. pudding made from mangrove fruit (and other ingredients)'

(8-192)   *sofusoqu-qi   kai*
          soup-ASSOC   yam
          'yam soup'

When the modifying phrase contains a mass noun, it is sometimes possible to view the meaning of an associative construction from two different perspectives: (a) the modifier designates the kind of stuff out of which the entity desig-

nated by the whole construction is made (or in which it is the main ingredient);
or (b) the head noun designates the kind of collectivity of the stuff designated
by the modifier:

(8-193)   *nini-qi*   *ongi*
          knife-ASSOC   bamboo.sp.
          a. 'knife made out of *ongi* bamboo'
          b. '(piece of) *ongi* bamboo that has been made into a knife'

(8-194)   *kodo-qe*   *thalo*
          stick-ASSOC   iron
          a. 'iron rod', 'rod made out of iron'
          b. '(piece of) iron in the shape of a rod'

   In some cases, the head of an associative construction has a classifier-like
meaning. For example, there is a noun *reba*, whose basic meaning is '(wooden)
board'. *Reba* occurs in the possessum position of a possessive noun phrase in
(8-195) and in the head position of an associative noun phrase in (8-196):

(8-195)   *reba-na*   *qai*
          board-3.PERS   wood
          '(the) timber board(s) (for building a house)'

(8-196)   *rebe-qe*   *ngali*
          board-ASSOC   canarium.nut
          'timber board from a canarium-nut tree'

   And associative noun phrases headed by *reba*/*rebe-qe* can also designate
other kinds of rigid, loosely speaking board-like kinds of entities:

(8-197)   *reba*   *fisketi*
          board   biscuit/cracker
          'square or rectangular biscuit or cracker'

(8-198)   *rebe-qe*   *iqa*
          board-ASSOC   fish
          'half of a fish split lengthwise'

   There is a noun *ree*, whose basic meaning is 'leaf':

(8-199)   *ree-na*   *kaufa*
          leaf-3.PERS   pandanus.sp
          '(the) leaf/leaves from a *kaufa* pandanus plant'

And the noun can also be used to designate relatively thin, non-rigid, loosely speaking leaf-like entities:

(8-200)   *re-qe*   *befa*
          leaf/sheet   paper
          'sheet of paper'

(8-201)   *re-qe*   *buka*
          leaf/sheet-ASSOC   book
          'leaf in/from a book'

See also example (6-149) in section 6.7.1: 'lightbulb', lit.: 'fruit of electric light'.

The associative suffix is, historically, part of the classifiers *maqe* and *noniqi* (sections 6.7.4 and 6.7.6, respectively), although it does not function as such there any more.

There are also a number of fixed associative constructions that do not fit neatly into any of the categories enumerated above and that involve some kind of figurative extension. Only a few examples are given here.

(8-202)   *rake-qe*   *que*
          belly-ASSOC   lawyer.cane
          'waist strap made from layer cane (worn by men)'

(8-203)   *kifi-qi*   *botho*
          hat-ASSOC   pig
          'kind of hat made from pig tails'

(8-204)   *oqole-qe*   *maama*
          garden-ASSOC   mortuary.feast
          'special garden in which food is grown for a mortuary feast'

Chapter 9
Nominalizations and deverbal nouns

There are two types of noun derived from verbs in Toqabaqita. These will be referred to as nominalizations and deverbal nouns, respectively. Derivation of nominalizations is fully productive, while derivation of deverbal nouns is lexically restricted. Deverbal nouns behave syntactically just like basic, non-derived nouns, while nominalizations exhibit not only nominal properties but also some properties characteristic of verbs.

9.1.   Nominalizations

9.1.1. Formation of nominalizations

Nominalizations are formed from verbs by means of the suffix *-laa*, which becomes *-la* or *-le* if another suffix follows. Only the personal suffixes and the associative suffix can follow the nominalizing suffix. The *-la* form of the nominalizing suffix is used in the presence of a personal suffix, and the *-le* form in the presence of the associative suffix. As discussed in section 8.2.1, in nouns that end in *a* the *a* changes, optionally or obligatorily, to *e* before the associative suffix. With nominalizations, the *a*-to-*e* change is obligatory in the nominalizing suffix. The nominalization in (9-1) does not carry any additional suffix, the one in (9-2) carries a personal suffix, and the one in (9-3) carries the associative suffix:

(9-1)   *qaranga-laa*
          swim-NMLZ
          'swimming'

(9-2)   *ngata-la-ku*
          speak-NMLZ-1SG.PERS
          'my speaking'

(9-3)   *manta-le-qe*   *doo*
          think-NMLZ-ASSOC   thing
          'thinking', 'a/the thought' (lit.: 'thing thinking')

There are also double nominalizations, which contain two instances of the nominalizing suffix:

(9-4)   *thau-ngi-la-da-laa*
         kill-TR-NMLZ-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ
         'killing (of) them'

Double nominalizations are discussed in section 9.1.2.

Nominalizations may be based on intransitive verbs and on transitive verbs. In (9-5) the nominalization is based on an intransitive verb:

(9-5)   *lae-la-na   toqa   qe=ki*
         go-NMLZ-3.PERS   people   that-PL
         'those people's going'

In the case of Class 1 long transitive verbs, which have two basic allomorphs of the (long) transitive suffix, -C*ani* and -C*aqi*, it is the latter that is present in nominalizations. Examples (9-6) – (9-9) below illustrate nominalizations based on Class 1 transitive verbs: a bare transitive, a short transitive, a long transitive, and an extended long transitive, respectively.

(9-6)   *ngali-la-na   botho*
         carry-NMLZ-3.PERS   pig
         'carrying (of) a pig'

(9-7)   *raqa-fi-la-na   ngali*
         climb-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   canarium.nut
         'climbing (of) a canarium-nut tree'

(9-8)   *fuqaro-taqi-la-na   wane*
         whisper-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   person
         'whispering about a person'

(9-9)   *sifo-la-ngaqi-la-na   kako*
         descend-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   cargo
         'unloading (of) cargo'

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs exhibits some properties significantly different from those of Class 1 transitive verbs. When Class 2 transitive verbs are nominalized, they are nominalized together with object suffixes. The nominalizing suffix is added to the verb-OBJ stem. In (9-10) the verb *thaitoqoma* 'know' carries the third person (singular) object suffix -*na*:

(9-10)   *Nau   ku   thaitoqoma-na wane   qeri.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   man   that.
          'I know that man.'

An object suffix must also present when the verb is nominalized:

(9-11)   *Tai   toqa,   thaitoqoma-na-laa   kera   qe*
          some.PL people   know -3SG.OBJ-NMLZ 3PL   3SG.NFUT

          faqekwa qasia boqo.
          be.little   INTS   ASRT
          'Some people have very little knowledge.' Some people *do* know
          (just) very little.' (Lit.: 'Some people, their knowing it is very lit-
          tle.')

Class 2 transitive verbs also retain object suffixes in compounds in positions
where Class 1 verbs do not (section 12.5).

There are two arguments of the source verb encoded in connection with the
nominalization in (9-11): (i) there is an object suffix on the nominalization that
corresponds to the direct object of the source verb; and (ii) there is a personal
pronoun in the possessor position that corresponds to the subject of the source
verb: 'their knowing it'.

In (9-12) the Class 2 transitive verb verb *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)'
carries the second person singular object suffix *-mu*.

(9-12)   *… kwa   soe-toqo-mu,   "Taa   na   qo*
          1SG.SEQ ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ   what?   FOC   2SG.NFUT

          manata-toqo-na?"
          think-TEST-3SG.OBJ
          '… (and) I asked you, "What are you thinking about?".'

The sentence in (9-13) contains a nominalization of *soe-toqo* 'ask', and the
nominalization contains the second person singular object suffix. Here there is
no possessor encoding the subject of the source verb.

(9-13)   *Wane   naqi seqe-n=e   noni   uri-a*
          man   this   body-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.shy   PURP-3.OBJ

> *soe-toqo-mu-laa*   *uri-a*   *wela qoe ki.*
> ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ-NMLZ PURP-3.OBJ child 2SG   PL
> 'This man is (too) shy to ask you about your children.' (Lit.: 'This man, his body is shy for asking you about your children.')

And in (9-14) the nominalization of *soe-toqo* 'ask' carries the third person singular object suffix. (*Dora* 'forget', also 'not know' [see (9-19) further below] is an intransitive verb.) The nominalization also carries a personal suffix. Its presence is discussed below.

(9-14)   *Nau   ku   lio-dora   qana*
>   1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP
>
>   *soe-toqo-na-la-na*   *toq=qe=ki*   *manga*
>   ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   people=that=PL   time
>
>   *taa   na   keki   lae   mai.*
>   what?   FOC   3PL.FUT   go   VENT
>   'I forgot to ask the people when they would come.' (Lit.: 'I mind-forgot asking the people what time they would come.')

In (9-14) the nominalization of *soe-toqo* carries the third person singular object suffix *-na* and also the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The object suffix is singular because in the presence of a lexical direct object the singular suffix is used regardless of the grammatical number of the object. And the set of object suffixes used with Class 2 transitive verbs is, with some minor exceptions, the same as the set of the personal suffixes. See table 4.4 in section 4.2.3.3.1 and table 8.1 in section 8.1.2.

In (9-15) the nominalization carries the third person plural object suffix and the third person singular personal suffix:

(9-15)   B: *Qoo, nau lio-ku*   *qe*   *dora*   *qana*
>   oh   1SG mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   forget   GENP
>
>   *soe-toqo-da-la-na.*
>   ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
>   [A: 'When will those people arrive?']
>   B: 'Oh, I forgot to ask them.' (Lit.: 'Oh, I, my mind forgot asking them.')

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs must carry an object suffix. Additionally, like other nominalization, they can carry a personal suffix. With

nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs, the personal suffix indexes the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the verb. However, with Class 2 transitive verbs the argument that corresponds to the direct object is indexed by an object suffix. With Class 2 transitive verbs, the personal suffix is semantically empty. It does not index a participant. What (9-15) says more literally is 'Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them'. Similarly, what (9-14) says more literally is 'I mind-forgot its asking the people what time they would come.' Although the third person singular personal suffix is semantically empty, it is used only if the object suffix is third person, whether singular or not, as in (9-14) and (9-15), respectively. It is not used when the object suffix is other than third person; see (9-13).

A few more examples of the presence of the semantically empty third person singular personal suffix on a nominalization are given below. The sentence in (9-16) contains the Class 2 transitive verb *qaru-toqo* 'use' (section 4.2.3.3.2.2):

(9-16) *Qaru-toqo-na*   *gete.*
        fall-TEST-3.OBJ   gate
        'Use the gate (to go in).'

The nominalization of *qaru-toqo* in (9-17) carries both the third person singular object suffix *-na*, which indexes the theme noun phrase *ta doo mala ta qamplifae, doo quna qeri* 'something like an amplifier, something like that' and also the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The nominalization is in bold.

(9-17) *Meka*   *man-toqo-na*   *uri-a*   *sa*
        1DU(EXCL).SEQ   think-TEST-3SG.OBJ PURP-3.OBJ   IRR

        meki   *ngali-a*   *ta*   *doo* *mala ta*
        1DU(EXCL).FUT   take-3.OBJ   some   thing EQT   some

        qamplifae, doo   quna   qeri,   ura
        amplifier   thing manner that   PURP

        qaru-toqo-na-la-na   *qi   laa   raa   qeri.*
        fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   work   that
        'We thought we might take something like an amplifier, something like that, to use in that work [a musical group].' (Lit.: 'We thought it so that we might take something like an amplifier, [a] thing like that, for its using it in that work.')

The sentence in (9-18) contains the Class 2 transitive verb *naqare-tele* 'roast food other than meat'. (The noun *tele* designates items of food other than meat

that have been roasted or are intended for roasting, such as taros, yams, bread-fruit, and sweet potatoes.)

(9-18)   *Qi   laa   rodo qi   taraqena   kuki*
          LOC   IN   night LOC   today   PL(INCL).FUT

          naqare-tele-na   keekene.
          roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ breadfruit
          'Tonight we'll roast breadfruit.'

And the nominalization of *naqare-tele* in (9-19) carries an object suffix and a personal suffix:

(9-19)   *Thaari   naqi   qe   dora   qana*
          girl   this   3SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP

          naqare-tele-na-la-na   keekene.
          roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   breadfruit
          'This girl does not know how to roast breadfruit.' (Lit.: 'This girl does not know its roasting breadfruit.')

One more example is given in (9-20). Here it is the coordinate noun phrase 'reading and writing' that is indexed by the object suffix. The coordinate noun phrase itself contains nominalizations.

(9-20)   *Thaitoqoma-na-la-na   keekeda-laa   ma*
          know-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   write-NMLZ   and

          teqe-maqi-laa si   doo taingaqi   neri.
          one-TR-NMLZ   PRTT   thing be.important   VIVID
          'Knowing how to write and read is important.' (Lit.: 'Its knowing writing and reading (is) an important thing.')

(The verb *teqe-maqi* is based on *teqe* 'one' and means both 'count' and 'read'.)

The process of deriving nominalizations is fully productive. Any verb can be made into a nominalization, and the process is highly regular semantically as well (but see further below). Nominalizations function as "action nominals", except that they can designate not only physical, dynamic situations (e.g. running), but also non-dynamic situations such as sensory perception (e.g. seeing), psychological and other states (being afraid), and properties, characteristics (e.g. being tired).

Verbal compounds with incorporated objects or incorporated subjects and [verb verb] compounds (chapter 12) can be nominalized; see (9-21), (9-22), and (9-23), respectively:

(9-21)   *kwaqi-botho-laa*
           carve-pig-NMLZ
           'pig-carving, carving (cutting up) of (a) pig(s)'

(9-22)   *lio-dora-laa*
           mind-forget-NMLZ
           'forgetting'

(9-23)   *abula-taqaa-laa*
           behave-be.bad-NMLZ
           'behaving badly', 'behaving sinfully'

Complex compounds, one of whose constituents is itself a compound, also can be nominalized:

(9-24)   *Kwaqe-fole-niu-laa*   *e*   *faqa-ulafu*
           hit-split-coconut-NMLZ   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-work.hard

           qasia naqa.
           INTS   INTS
           'Coconut-splitting is very hard work.'

(*Faqa-ulafu* in [9-24] is an intransitive verb 'be hard work'. There is also a transitive verb *faqa-ulafu* 'make sb. work hard'.)
However, such nominalizations are usually considered awkward, and other constructions are used instead. Instead of the notional direct object being inside a nominalized compound, it may be placed outside of the nominalization as its (grammatical) possessor:

(9-25)   *Kwaqe-fole-la-na*   *niu*   *e*
           hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS   coconut   3SG.NFUT

           faqa-ulafu   *qasia naqa.*
           CAUS-work.hard   INTS   INTS
           'Splitting of coconuts is very hard work.'

Nominalizations are freely formed from verbs borrowed from Solomon Islands Pijin, regardless of whether the verb is accommodated to the phonology of Toqabaqita or not; see (9-26) and (9-27), respectively:

(9-26)   *bekamu-la-na*   *bret*
          bake-NMLZ-3.PERS   bread
          'baking of bread'

(9-27)   *qarestim-la-na*   *toq=qe=ki*
          arrest-NMLZ-3.PERS   people=that=PL
          'arresting (of) those people'

Some nominalizations have developed additional and less predictable meanings. For example, the nominalization of the intransitive verb *oli* 'return, go/come back' can function not just as an action nominal, but also as a noun with the meaning of '(land) boundary':

(9-28)   *oli-la-na*   *fanua*
          return-NMLZ-3.PERS   land
          'land boundary'

The nominalization of the transitive verb *uusi* 'buy' has, besides 'buying', also the meaning '(commercial) price':

(9-29)   *Uusi-la-na*   *redio e*   *baqita   qasia naqa.*
          buy-NMLZ-3.PERS   radio 3SG.NFUT   be.big   INTS   INTS
          'The price of a radio is very high.' 'The prices of radios are very high.'

The nominalization of *riki* 'see', 'look at' can be used with the meaning 'mien, appearance, the way someone or something looks, appears to be to an observer':

(9-30)   *Riki-la-mu*   *qe*   *quri-a*   *qo*
          look.at-NMLZ-2SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ   2SG.NFUT

          mataqi.
          be.sick
          'You look like you are sick.' 'You seem to be sick.' (Lit.: 'Your looking-at is like you are sick.')

See section 18.4.3 for more detail on the use of *riki-la-* with this function.

The nominalization of *ade* 'do' with the third person singular personal suffix, *ade-la-na*, introduces consequence clauses (chapter 34; there written as *adelana*).

9.1.2.   Double nominalizations

The term "double nominalization" designates nominalizations that contain two instances of the nominalizing suffix. They can be formed only from transitive verbs, and they always carry a personal suffix indexing the possessor. One instance of the nominalizing suffix occurs before and the other after the personal suffix:

(9-31)   *gani-la-na-laa*
           ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
           'asking him/her (for st., to do st.)'

Double nominalizations are possible only if there is no possessor noun phrase. If there is a possessor noun phrase, only single nominalizations are grammatical:

(9-32)   a.   *gani-la-na-laa   *wane*
              ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3.PERS-NMLZ   man
              ('asking the man [for st., to do st.]')

         b.   *gani-la-na*   *wane*
              ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3.PERS   man
              'asking the man (for st., to do st.)'

Double nominalizations are never obligatory; single nominalizations can always be used instead. Most commonly, double nominalizations occur in oblique-object positions, where they are sometimes judged to be "stronger", "more forceful" than single nominalizations. The first example below shows the free variation between a single and a double nominalization:

(9-33)   A: *Qo*   *gani-a*   *naqa wane baa   ura*
             2SG.NFUT   ask.sb.(for.st.)-3.OBJ   PRF   man   that   ALL

             seleni?
             money

B: *Qe   aqi   boqo.   Seqe-ku*
   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   ASRT   body-1SG.PERS

   qe   noni   qana
   3SG.NFUT   be.ashamed   GENP

   {gani-la-na   /
   ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS /

   gani-la-na-laa}.
   ask.sb.(for.st.)-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
A: 'Have you asked the man for money?'
B: 'No, I haven't. I am ashamed to ask him.' (Lit.: 'My body is
   ashamed about asking him.')

In (9-34), where the nominalization does not have a possessor noun phrase, double nominalization is possible, while in (9-35), where the nominalization has a lexical possessor, only single nominalization is possible:

(9-34)   *Qo   lae   mai   uri-a*
         2SG.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ

         faqa-maruki-la-miliqa-laa, ….
         CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS-NMLZ
         'You [Christ] came to save our lives, ….' (Lit.: 'You came for caus-
         ing us to be alive, ….')

(9-35)   *Qo   lae   mai   uri-a*
         2SG.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ

         faqa-maruki-la-na   imole.
         CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-3.PERS   human.being
         'You came to save human beings.'

Further examples of double nominalizations:

(9-36)   *Keka   kwaqe   nau   qana*
         3PL.SEQ   beat   1SG   GENP

faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa, ….
CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ
'They [the speaker's parents] would give me whippings to straighten me, ….' (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give him whippings to make him behave.)

In (9-37) the double nominalization is based on a Class 2 transitive verb. Not only is the nominalization double, but it also contains both an object suffix and a personal suffix:

(9-37)   B: *Qoo, nau   lio-ku   qe   dora   qana*
              oh   1SG   mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   forget   GENP

          soe-toqo-da-la-na-laa.
          ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
          [A: 'When will those people arrive?']
          B: 'Oh, I forgot to ask them.' (Lit.: 'Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them.')

See the synonymous sentence in (9-15) in section 9.1.1 with a single nominalization.

Double nominalizations are not ungrammatical in positions other than oblique object, but there single nominalizations are clearly preferred. Example (9-38) shows a double nominalization in the direct-object position, as a possible, but dispreferred alternative to the single nominalization:

(9-38)   *Ili-toqo-na   {qani-la-na   /*
          do-TEST-3.OBJ   eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   /

          qani-la-na-laa}.
          eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
          'Try eating it.'

9.1.3.   Nominal and verbal properties of nominalizations

In Toqabaqita, nominalizations exhibit properties both of nouns and of verbs.[29] Their nominal characteristics will be considered first. Nominalizations occur in positions in which nouns occur, and they take modifiers that only nouns can take, albeit with some restrictions.

There are some complexities when nominalizations head the possessum phrase in possessive noun phrases, and these constructions are discussed first.

The distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is relevant here, and so is the distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs.

First, nominalizations of intransitive verbs need not occur in a possessive construction:

(9-39)   *Raa-laa   naqi   e   tekwa   quu.*
         work-NMLZ this   3SG.NFUT be.long ANTCONT
         'There is still a lot of this work (to be done).' (Lit.: 'This working is still long.')

When a nominalization of an intransitive verb heads a possessum phrase, the possessor always corresponds to the subject of the source verb. As a norm, nominalizations of intransitive verbs occur in the suffixing possessive noun phrase. However, nominalizations of some verbs can occur in the possessum position of the bare possessive noun phrase (see further below). The next two examples show nominalizations in the possessum position of the suffixing possessive construction:

(9-40)   *tekwa-la-na   biqu   qeri*
         be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS   house   this
         'the length of this house'

(9-41)   *Ngata-la-da   qe   leqa.*
         speak-NMLZ-3PL.PERS   3SG.NFUT be.good
         'Their speaking is/was good.' (For example: what they said was good; or the way they spoke was good.)

Some nominalizations have acquired more of a noun status with their own meanings, other than signifying a state of affairs. For example, the nominalization of the depatientive verb *kwai-qadomi* 'help (people)' occurs in the possessum position of the bare possessive construction with the meaning 'help, assistance':

(9-42)   *kwai-qadomi-laa   qoe*
         LIP-help-NMLZ   2SG
         'your help (help that you provide)'

And the nominalization of *qafetaqi* 'be difficult to do, difficult to cope with, difficult to do st. about' occurs in the possessum position of the bare possessive construction with the meaning 'difficulty, problem (that one has encountered)':

(9-43)   *qafetaqi-laa   kera ki*
           be.difficult-NMLZ 3PL   PL
           'their difficulties, problems', 'difficulties, problems they have en-
           countered'

See also examples (8-84) and (8-85) in section 8.1.6 on fluidity in posses-
sive constructions for the difference between the nominalization of *leqa* 'be
good' in the suffixing construction ('his being good') and in the bare construc-
tion ('your goodness').

Nominalizations of a few verbs can be used in either type of possessive con-
structions without any appreciable difference in meaning:

(9-44)   a.   *Too-la-ku   qe*
                 be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

                 leqa   ba-na.
                 be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
                 'I am fine.' 'My life is fine.'

           b.   *Too-laa   nau   qe   leqa*
                 be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ   1SG   3SG.NFU be.good

                 ba-na.
                 LIM-3SG.PERS
                 'I am fine.' 'My life is fine.'

(The verb *too* has a variety of meanings, one of which can be characterized as
'be in a certain condition'. It is used with this meaning in questions and state-
ments about a person's well-being.)

(9-45)   *Ku   riki-a   raa-la-mu*
           1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ-2SG.PERS

           ka   leqa.
           3SG.SEQ   be.good
           'I saw your working, and it was good.'

(9-46)   *Ku   riki-a   raa-laa   qoe*
           1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ   2SG

> *ka   leqa.*
> 3SG.SEQ be.good
> 'I saw your work(ing), and it was good.'

There is also some variability among speakers as to how readily they accept nominalizations of intransitive verbs in the bare construction. For example, while the suffixing construction in (9-47a) is fully acceptable, the corresponding bare construction is not always acceptable. And to the extent that it is acceptable, its range of meaning is narrower than that of the suffixing construction:

(9-47)   a.   *ngata-la-da*
              speak-NMLZ-3PL.PERS
              'their speaking' (for example, what they said, the way they speak, their language)

          b.   *ngata-laa   kera*
              speak-NMLZ 3PL
              'their language'

The suffixing construction is not used if there is a related bare Class 1 transitive verb of the same form, because with nominalizations of such transitive verbs the personal suffix can only index the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. For example, there is an intransitive verb *luqu* 'answer, respond', and a bare transitive verb *luqu* 'answer (somebody, question, letter, etc.), respond to'; see (9-48) and (9-49) below, respectively. The nominalization of the intransitive verb occurs in the bare possessive construction; the possessor corresponds to the subject. On the other hand, the nominalization of the transitive verb occurs in the suffixing construction; the possessor corresponds to the direct object.

(9-48)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa qana luqu-laa   qoe.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.like GENP answer-NMLZ 2SG
         'I don't like your answer (lit.: answering).'

(9-49)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   qana*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.want   GENP

         luqu-la-mu.
         answer-NMLZ-2SG.PERS
         'I don't want to answer you (lit.: answering of you).'

Transitive verbs too can occur in the possessum phrase both of the suffixing and of the bare types of possessive construction, but with some additional differences. Furthermore, there are differences between nominalizations of Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs. Nominalizations of Class 1 verbs are discussed first.

With nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs in the suffixing construction, the possessor corresponds to the direct object of the source verb.

(9-50)   *qadomi-la-miliqa*
          help-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS
          'helping us'

(9-51)   *Wela qe   lalakwa   qana qani-la-na*
          child 3SG.NFUT   not.like   GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS

          butete.
          sweet.potato
          'The child does not like to eat sweet potatoes.'

In (9-52) the nominalization is of the double type:

(9-52)   *Toqa   baa   kera   lae   mai   uri-a*
          people   that   3PL.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ

          riki-la-ku-laa, ...
          see-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ
          'The people came to see me, ...'

When a nominalization of a Class 1 transitive verb occurs in the bare type of possessive construction, the possessor corresponds to the subject of the source verb. The argument that corresponds to the direct object is expressed in a prepositional phrase that modifies the nominalization. The prepositional phrase is headed by the general preposition *qana*.

(9-53)   *Fasi-laa   qoe   qana baqu   qena   ki,*
          plant-NMLZ   2SG   GENP banana that(2)   PL

          riki-la-na   qe   leqa.
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.good
          'Your planting of those bananas looks good.' 'The way you planted those bananas looks good.' (Lit.: 'Your planting of those bananas, its looking-at is good.')

Compare (9-54), where the nominalization of the verb *fasi* 'plant st.' occurs in the suffixing possessive construction and the possessor corresponds to the direct object:

(9-54)   *fasi-la-na*   *baqu*
          plant-NMLZ-3.PERS   banana
          'planting of bananas'

Similarly in (9-55) the argument that corresponds to the direct object of *riki* 'look at' is expressed in a prepositional phrase that modifies the nominalization:

(9-55)   *Riki-laa*   *nau*   *qana* *misina*   *naqi*   *qe*
          look.at-NMLZ   1SG   GENP sewing.machine   this   3SG.NFUT

          leqa   *qasia* *naqa.*
          be.good   INTS   INTS
          'This sewing machine looks very good to me.' (Lit.: 'My looking-at of this sewing machine is very good.')

Nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs were discussed in detail in section 9.1.1. They carry an object suffix that indexes the argument that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. They can occur in the possessum position of the bare type of possessive construction, where the possessor corresponds to the subject of the source verb. However, in that case the argument that corresponds to the direct object can only be expressed by an object suffix on the nominalization. The argument cannot be additionally expressed by a noun phrase. In (9-56) *wane qeri* 'the/that man' corresponds to the subject. There can be no phrasal expression of the direct-object argument. (The noun 'father' functions as a modifier of the nominalization to express a great degree; see section 6.11.)

(9-56)   *Nau*   *ku*   *kwele*   *qana* *thaama-na*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.amazed   GENP father-3.PERS

          thaitoqoma-na-laa   *wane* *qeri.*
          know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ   man   that
          'I was amazed at how much the man knew about it.' (Lit.: 'I was amazed at the man's big knowing [about] it.')

On the other hand, in (9-57) there is no possessor phrase expressing the subject argument, and so there can be a phrasal expression of the direct-object

argument, *keekene* 'breadfruit'. As discussed in section 9.1.1, nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs can also carry the third person singular personal suffix, which, however, is semantically empty.

(9-57)   *Thaari   naqi   qe   dora   qana*
         girl   this   3SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP

         naqare-tele-na-la-na   *keekene.*
         roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   breadfruit
         'This girl does not know how to roast breadfruit.' (Lit.: 'This girl does not know its roasting breadfruit.')

The various types of construction in which nominalizations can occur as the heads of possessum phrases are summarized in table 9.1.

Table 9.1.   Nominalizations in the possessum position

Nominalizations based on intransitive verbs
In the suffixing construction (the usual case) or, in some cases, in the bare construction; the possessor always corresponds to the subject of the source verb.

Nominalizations based on transitive verbs:
A.   *When only one argument of the source verb is expressed:*
      Class 1 transitive verbs: in the suffixing construction; the possessor corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. Class 2 transitive verbs: an object suffix indexes the direct-object argument; the direct object may, in addition, be expressed by a lexical noun phrase.
B.   *When two arguments of the source verb are expressed:*
      In the bare construction; the possessor corresponds to the subject. Class 1 transitive verbs: the direct object is expressed as a prepositional-phrase modifier of the nominalization. Class 2 transitive verbs: an object suffix indexes the direct-object argument; the direct object cannot be additionally expressed by a noun phrase.

Nominalizations can occur not only in the possessum position but also in the possessor position:

(9-58)   *Keda-la-na*   *ngata-la-miliqa*   *qe*
         write-NMLZ-3.PERS   speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS   3SG.NFUT

> *sukani   qafetaqi.*
> be.of.little.degree   be.difficult
> 'Writing how we speak is a little difficult.' (Lit.: 'Writing of our speaking is a little difficult.')

Nominalizations can function as the heads of associative noun phrases:

(9-59)   *Manta-le-qe   doo ki qe   kuluqa   i*
         think-NMLZ-ASSOC   thing PL 3SG.NFUT be.heavy   LOC

         sa-miliqa.
         GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS
         '(Some people's) thinking/thoughts is/are unfriendly (lit.: heavy) towards us.'

Nominalizations can cooccur in a clause with the same verb they are based on. An example of such "cognate nominalization" is given in (9-60), where the nominalization *too-laa* 'staying' cooccurs with the verb *too* 'stay':

(9-60)   *... kwa   fula   kwa   riki-a   na   muki*
             1SG.SEQ arrive   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   COMP   2PL.IPFV

         too ba-muluqa   qan=teqe si   too-laa   qeri
         stay LIM-2PL.PERS   GENP=one PRTT stay-NMLZ   that

         bana,   nau kwai   ngali kamuluqa i   laa lokap.
         LIM   1SG 1SG.FUT   take 2PL   LOC   IN   jail
         '[If, after the 14 days of warning to you to abandon the Marching Rule movement] I arrive and see that you haven't budged [i.e., that the addressees have not abandoned the movement], I will put you in jail.' (Lit.: '... I arrive and see that you are staying in just that one staying, I will take you in jail.')

For another example of cognate nominalization see (30-49) in section 30.5.

However, what is considerably more common is a pattern referred to as "cognate relativization" in section 30.5. In cognate relativization, a nominalization functions as a head modified by a relative clause and the relative clause contains the same verb on which the head nominalization is based. See section 30.5 for discussion. Nominalizations can also head noun phrases in the focus position where a/the clause in the presupposition domains contains the same verb the nominalization is based on; see section 39.2 for such "cognate focusing".

Nominalizations can occur with other noun modifiers, pre-nominal as well as post-nominal. In (9-62) the nominalization occurs with a numeral and a modifying verb:

(9-61)　　　*... teqe oge-laa　　faqa-maqu　　fula　　ka*
　　　　　　　one　break-NMLZ　　CAUS-be.afraid happen　3SG.SEQ

　　　　　　　thau-ngi kamiliqa.
　　　　　　　hit-TR　　1PL(EXCL)
　　　　　　　'... there was a terrible break(ing) up [of a musical group], and it hit us (badly).'

And in (9-62) the nominalization occurs with the diminutive marker and a demonstrative:

(9-62)　　　*Nau　ku　　　　thatana-a　　　ba-kuqa　　　si*
　　　　　　　1SG　1SG.NFUT　contribute-3.OBJ　LIM-1SG.PERS　DIM

　　　　　　　fale-laa　naqi.
　　　　　　　give-NMLZ　this
　　　　　　　'I provide only this small contribution.' (Lit.: 'I only contribute this small giving.')

Besides properties characteristic of nouns, nominalizations also exhibit characteristics of verbs. First, in nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs the object suffixes are used in a way parallel to their use with the verbs; see the discussion further above.

As discussed in chapter 5, verbs can be accompanied by particles. Some particles can occur both with verbs and with nouns, but with different functions. For example, the ventive directional can signal the directionality of movement with verbs (section 5.2.14.3), but not with (true) nouns. They can, however, have this function with nominalizations:

(9-63)　　　*Maqasi nau　qana oli-la-ku　　　　　　　mai.*
　　　　　　　wait.for 1SG　GENP return-NMLZ-1SG.PERS　　VENT
　　　　　　　'Wait for me to come back.' 'Wait for me until I come back.' (Lit.: 'Wait for me until my returning here.')

Postverbal particles precede lexical direct objects. Similarly, when a nominalization is formed from a transitive verb and there is a lexical possessor phrase present that corresponds to the direct object of the source verb, postverbal particles associated with the nominalization precede the possessor phrase:

(9-64)   *Qo*   *talaqa-na*   *ngali-la-na*   *kau*   *kada*
             2SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   carry-NMLZ-3.PERS   AND   block

             qai   *qena?*
             wood   that(2)
             'Are you able to carry (away) that log?'

(In verb phrases the postverbal particles follow pronominal objects. However, with nominalizations pronominal possessor phrases corresponding to direct objects are not possible. Participants that would be encoded as pronominal direct objects can only be encoded by means of personal suffixes or as prepositional-phrase modifiers in the case of nominalizations of Class 1 transitive verbs, and by object suffixes in the case of nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs.)

Nominalizations can take the same type of oblique complement or adjunct that their source verbs take, introduced by the same prepositions. For example, both the verb *lio* 'look' and its nominalization take complements introduced by the prolative preposition *suli* 'look/looking after (someone)':

(9-65)   *Qoko*   *lio*   *suli-a*   *wela.*
             2SG.SEQ look   PROL-3.OBJ child
             'Look after the child.'

(9-66)   *Lio-laa*   *suli-a*   *wela* *faqekwa* *qe*
             look-NMLZ   PROL-3.OBJ   child be.little   3SG.NFUT

             faqa-ulafu.
             CAUS-work.hard
             'Looking after a little child is hard work.'

And both the verb *ngata* 'speak' and its nominalization take comitative oblique objects:

(9-67)   *Qo*   *ngata*   *bii*   *nia?*
             2SG.NFUT   speak   COM   3SG
             'Did you speak with him?'

(9-68)   *Nau*   *ku*   *lalakwa* *qana* *ngata-laa*   *bii*   *nia.*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.like   GENP   speak-NMLZ   COM   3SG
             'I don't like speaking with him.'

Locative nouns are not indexed on the allative preposition *uri*, and noun phrases headed by such nouns may occur without any preposition when the verb is 'go' and the locative noun phrase expresses the goal of the movement (section 6.2). This is also the case when such locative phrases are modifers of nominalizations. In (9-69) the goal object *fanu kera* 'their home place' is not indexed on allative *uri*, and in (9-70) the goal modifier *sukulu* 'church' has no preposition.

(9-69)　　　*Oli-laa*　　　*uri*　*fanu*　　　*kera*　*kera*　　　*dele*
　　　　　　return-NMLZ　　ALL　home.place　3PL　3PL.NFUT　be.jailed

　　　　　　uri-a ....
　　　　　　PURP-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　　'On account of [here: in order to prevent them from] returning to their home places they were jailed .... (Lit.: 'Returning to their home places they were jailed for ....')

(9-70)　　　*manga*　*qana* *lae-laa*　　*sukulu*
　　　　　　time　　GENP go-NMLZ　　church
　　　　　　'time to go to church', 'time for going to church'

Like verbs, nominalizations can be reduplicated to signal continuativity or iterativity: a state of affairs has a relatively long temporal extension (section 15.2.3). In (9-71) both the verb *fita* 'run' and its nominalization are reduplicated:

(9-71)　　　*Fii-fita-laa*　　　*qeri*　*na*　*kera* *kere*　　　*fii-fita*
　　　　　　RDP-run-NMLZ　　　that　REL　3PL　3PL.NFUT　RDP-run

　　　　　　suli-a,　　　*kera* *kera*　　　*qoo-qono*　*ki* ....
　　　　　　PROL-3SG.OBJ　3PL　3PL.NFUT　RDP-sit　　　PL
　　　　　　'... the running [here: jogging] that they do, they/those who are always sitting (in offices all day long and get a little fat).' (Lit.: '... the runnings that they run along, they who sit ....')

And the verb *too* 'stay' is used to form the frequentative aspect: a clause that encodes a state of affairs is followed by a clause with *too* (section 15.2.4). The verb *too* can be reduplicated to emphasize the high frequency of occurrence of the state of affairs. This construction can be used not only when the state of affairs is encoded by a finite clause preceding the *too* clause, but also when the state of affairs is encoded by means of a nominalization; see (9-72) and (9-73), respectively.

(9-72)   *Mili   fale fanga   qi   fa-da*
          1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food   LOC   REC-3PL.PERS

          ka   too-too   ba-na,   laa-lae, mika
          3SG.SEQ RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS   RDP-go   1PL(EXCL).SEQ

          feda   naqa.
          be.tired   PRF
          'We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired
          (of it) now.'

(9-73)   *Kamiliqa   mili   feda   qana*
          1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   be.tired   GENP

          fale-fanga-laa   qi   fa-da   ka   too-too
          give-food-NMLZ   LOC   REC-3PL.PERS   3SG.SEQ RDP-stay

          ba-na.
          LIM-3SG.PERS
          'We are tired of giving them food all the time.'

Like verbs, nominalizations can have their own complement clauses. For
example, the Class 2 transitive verb *soe-toqo* 'ask sb.' takes as its direct object
the addressee, and in addition there is a (paratactic) complement clause ex-
pressing the content of the asking:

(9-74)   *Ka   lae   mai, ka   soe-toqo-na   tha*
          3SG.SEQ go   VENT 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ   PERSMKR

          Nori qe,   qe   ngali-a   doo
          Nori 3SG.NFUT   3SG.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   thing

          qeri qi   fei.
          that   LOC   where?
          'It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government]
          came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.:
          taken) that thing.'

And in (9-75) the nominalization of 'ask' takes a complement clause that
expresses the content of the question.

(9-75)   *Nau   ku   lio-dora   qana*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP

          soe-toqo-na-la-na   *toq=qe=ki*   *manga*
          ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   people=that=PL   time

          taa   na   keki   lae   mai.
          what?   FOC   3PL.FUT go   VENT
          'I forgot to ask the people when they would come.' (Lit.: 'I mind-
          forgot its asking the people what time they would come.')

Nominalizations are also used in complementation structures that corre-
spond in their function to finite complement clauses (Chapter 29).

In Toqabaqita, nominalizations can also be used with a "stance" function
(Yap and Matthews 2008, also Noonan 1997). In the stance function, Toqa-
baqita nominalizations express disapproval of, or annoyance with, the state of
affairs the sentence expresses. A nominalization and its complements or ad-
juncts, if any, and particles, if any, constitute a clause. There is no finite verb,
but such clauses are not verbless in the same sense that verbless clauses with a
predicate noun phrase are (chapter 27). And they are not elliptical.

(9-76)   *Liu-laa   ni   boqo neri!*
          walk.aimlessly-NMLZ   LIG   ASRT NPAST.HERE
          'Walking/running all over the place (all the time)! (This could be
          said, for example, to a child who has been moving, running around
          to make him/her stop. Or it could be said to a person who has had an
          accident while walking from place to place without a goal in mind.)

(9-77)   *Qaa! Ngata-laa   sula doo   qoro   qeri!*
          hey! talk-NMLZ   PROL thing be.many that
          'Hey! All this talking about the things!' 'Hey! Too much talking
          about the things!' (Lit.: 'Hey! Talking about those many things!')

In (9-78) below, *fau-la-ngaqi-la-na* has the form of a nominalization, but
there is no verb *fau-la-ngani/fau-la-ngaqi* in the present-day language, although
there is *fau-ngani* 'cut with (e.g. a knife) in an idle manner, not really cutting,
just playing around with the implement'. *Fau-la-ngaqi-la-na* appears to be a
nominalization of an extended Class 1 transitive verb. There is a noun *fau*
'stone, rock', which probably has some historical relation to the verb(s).

(9-78)   *Fau-la-ngaqi-la-na*   *naifa nau ada*
          cut.idly.with-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS   knife 1SG TIM

> *ka   foo!*
> 3SG.SEQ   be.blunt
> 'Cutting around with my knife; it might get blunt!'

While nominalizations are a kind of noun, they at the same time exhibit a number of syntactic properties characteristic of verbs. In that respect they are very different from deverbal nouns, discussed next.

9.2.   Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns are formed from verbs by means of the suffix *-a*. Sometimes the base to which *-a* is added is a reduplication of the source verb.

(9-79)   *mataqi-a*   (9-80)   *faa-fanga-a*
          be.sick-DVN   RDP-eat-DVN
          'sickness'   'feast'

The process of forming deverbal nouns is lexically restricted. Deverbal nouns are mostly based on intransitive verbs, as those in (9-79) and (9-80) above are; but not every intransitive verbs has a deverbal-noun counterpart.

When the base is a transitive verb, there are several patterns. With bare Class 1 verbs, long Class 1 transitive verbs, and Class 2 transitive verbs, the suffix *-a* is simply added to the verb stem:

(9-81)   *nii-a*
          break/cut.into.pieces-DVN
          'pieces of food broken up/cut up (especially about food to be given to pigs)'

Nii is a bare transitive verb.

With long Class 1 transitive verbs, which have two basic allomorphs of the (long) transitive suffix, *-Cani* and *-Caqi*, it is the *-Caqi* variant that occurs in deverbal nouns:

(9-82)   *ala-ngaqi-a*
          promise/threaten-TR-DVN
          'a promise, a threat'

In (9-83) the deverbal noun is based on the Class 2 transitive verb *qaru-toqo* 'use':

(9-83)   *qaru-toqo-a*
          fall-TEST-DVN
          'implement, tool'

In the case of short Class 1 transitive verbs, there is some variability with respect to the (short) transitive suffix. In some cases, the deverbal suffix follows the transitive suffix, which remains intact; in some others, the *i* of the suffix is replaced with *a* (this *a* is not the DVN suffix); and in still others, the *i* is omitted altogether; see (9-84), (9-85), and (9-86), respectively.

(9-84)   *kwai-tagi-si-a*
          LIP-take.good.care-TR-DVN
          'reconciliation (between parties in a dispute)'

Compare *kwai-tagi-si* 'of opposing parties in a dispute: reach reconciliation' and *tagi-si* 'take great care with st., sb., so that the result may be good'.

(9-85)   *thuu-fa-a*
          cover-TR-DVN
          'protective, guardian spirit', 'Saviour (Christ)'

Compare *thuu-fi* 'cover', 'of an ancestral spirit, God, Jesus: protect'.

(9-86)   *laa-lae-f-a*
          RDP-go-TR-DVN
          'ladder; anything used as a ladder', 'baby walker: a stick placed horizontally above the ground or the floor and secured at both ends, so that a baby beginning to learn to walk can hold onto it'

There are a few cases where two deverbal nouns are derived from the same base verb, the only difference being reduplication of the base in one of them:

(9-87)   a.   *moqosu-a*   b.   *moo-moqosu-a*
              sleep-DVN   RDP-sleep-DVN
              '(a) sleep'   'the day before a certain event', 'the eve on an event' (e.g. the day before a feast, or the eve of the market day)

(9-88)   a.   *baqe-a*   b.   *baa-baqe-a*
              speak-DVN   RDP-speak-DVN
              'speech', 'words',   'k.o. chant-like recitation'
              'that which is said'

In other cases, the two deverbal nouns have the same verbal root but different stems:

(9-89)   a.   *lae-a*
                go-DVN
                a. 'going, occasion of going somewhere (not necessarily involving a group)'
                b. 'group of people going somewhere'

           b.   *laa-lae-f-a*
                 RDP-go-TR-DVN
                 'ladder; anything used as a ladder', 'baby walker: a stick placed horizontally above the ground or the floor and secured at both ends, so that a baby beginning to learn to walk can hold onto it'

(9-90)   a.   *futa-a*   b.   *fuu-futa-nga-a*
                be.born-DVN   RDP-be.born-TR-DVN
                'descent line'   'apical ancestor of a descent line'

The existence of *fuu-futa-nga-a* suggests the presence of a short transitive verb **futa-ngi*, but there is no such verb in present-day Toqabaqita. However, there is a long transitive verb *futa-ngani-a* 'beget (a child)', 'give birth to', also with *ng* as its thematic consonant.

Deverbal nouns can be based on compound verbs of various types: verb-noun (object-incorporation), noun-verb (subject-incorporation), and verb-verb (verb serialization); see (9-91), (9-92), and (9-93), respectively:

(9-91)   *thau-wane-a*   (9-92)   *rake-boko-a*
          kill-person-DVN   belly-be.blocked-DVN
          'killing, murder'   'constipation'

(9-93)   *ngata-ofu-a*
          speak-be.together-DVN
          'coming together and having a discussion; discussion meeting'

Deverbal nouns bear a variety of semantic relations to their source verbs. They can signify the type of event, state, condition, or characteristic designated by the source verb:

(9-94) *firu-a*   (9-95) *maqu-a*
        fight-DVN   be.afraid-DVN
        'fight, war'   'fear'

Some deverbal nouns denote the outcome or result of the event designated by the source verb:

(9-96) *qaa-qafu-a*   (9-97) *manata-a*
        RDP-wrap-DVN   think-DVN
        'human corpse wrapped   'thought, idea'
        in a mat for burial'

Some deverbal nouns signify the place or, less commonly, the time where or when the situation denoted by the source verb takes place:

(9-98) *uusi-a*   (9-99) *arakwa-a*
        buy/sell-DVN   (moon)be.full-DVN
        'market'   'time of full moon'

A few deverbal nouns denote means, instruments, tools:

(9-100) a. *laungi-a*   also b. *laa-laungi-a*
             decorate-DVN   RDP-decorate-DVN
             'personal ornaments,   'personal ornaments,
             decorations'   decorations'

(9-101) *qaru-toqo-a*
         fall-TEST-DVN
         'implement, tool'

A few deverbal nouns denote the performer of the event designated by the source verb:

(9-102) *thuu-fa-a*
         cover-TR-DVN
         'protective, guardian spirit', 'Saviour (Christ)'

There is a minor pattern where a deverbal noun refers both to a type of action and to the performer(s) of the action. When such a deverbal noun refers to the performers of the action, it always signifies a group of people acting collectively. When the same deverbal noun refers to the action, the normal signifi-

cance is that of collectivity of people involved, although this is not necessarily the case.

(9-103)   *luqu-a*
          shift.residence-DVN
          a. 'movement, relocation of people to a different area'
          b. 'group of people moving to a different area'

(9-104)   *lae-a*
          go-DVN
          a. 'going, occasion of going somewhere'
          b. 'group of people going somewhere'

(9-105)   *quu-a*
          'crack.canarium.nuts-DVN
          a. 'collective occasion of cracking (and shelling) canarium nuts'
          b. 'people jointly cracking (and shelling) canarium nuts'
    also c. 'heap of cracked canarium nuts (but not shelled yet)'

There are also deverbal nouns whose semantics is more idiosyncratic. Some examples are:

(9-106)   *qoo-a*
          be.broken-DVN
          'taboo sign: a partly broken sapling/twig placed next to/on a tree to stop people from taking its fruit'

(9-107)   *faalu-a*
          be.new-DVN
          a. 'newly-married person, newlywed'
          b. 'person/people who stay with newlyweds for some time after the wedding to help them out'

(9-108)   *faa-taqi-a*
          show/point.at-TR-DVN
          'part of one's garden whose crop has been sold or given to sb. (the buyer/recipient will harvest the crop)'

Unlike nominalizations, deverbal nouns are fully-fledged nouns and exhibit only nominal properties. They can only take modifiers that occur with nouns, not those that occur exclusively with verbs. Below are given three sentential examples with deverbal nouns:

(9-109)   *Nau, roo   fa   biinga-a   feteqi   qa=fa   thato*
           1SG   two   CLF   sleep-DVN   INTS   GENP=CLF   day

           qeri.
           this
           'I [had] two sleeps during the day.' 'I [took] two naps during the
           day.'

(9-110)   *Si   faqa-rongo-a   leqa   neri.*
           PRTT   CAUS-hear-DVN   be.good   NPAST.HERE
           'This is good news.'

Since nominalizations can be formed from any verb but deverbal nouns only
from some, the former are sometimes used on a par with the latter. In (9-111)
two nominalizations are in coordination with a deverbal noun:

(9-111)   *Beta   nia   fasa   mataqi-a,   feda-laa,*
           protect   3SG   ABL   be.sick-DVN   be.tired-NMLZ

           taqaa-laa.
           be.bad-NMLZ
           'Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wicked-
           ness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].'

Chapter 10
The prepositional phrase

10.1. Introduction

The category of prepositions in Toqabaqita is formally quite heterogeneous. Some prepositions index their complements by means of affixes; others do not; for the latter see (10-1) and (10-3) below. Some of the prepositions that index their complements do so by means of object suffixes also used with Class 1 transitive verbs (see [10-2]), others by means of personal suffixes (see [10-4]). The complement of a preposition may be a noun phrase (see [10-1], [10-2], and [10-4]), an adverb phrase (see [10-3]), or a prepositional phrase (see [10-4]). In (10-1) – (10-4) the prepositions are in bold:

(10-1)   ***mala*** *kali*   *wela*
         EQT   little.SG   child
         'like a little child'

(10-2)   ***fasi-a***   *biqu lakoo*
         ABL-3.OBJ   house that(3)
         'from that house'

(10-3)   ***i***   *loori*
         LOC   up.there
         '(at) up there'

(10-4)   ***qi***   *[sa-na*   *maka*   *qoe]*
         LOC   GOAL-3.PERS   father   2SG
         'to your father'

The prepositions that do not index their complements are referred to as "bare", those that index their complements by means of the object suffixes as "verb-like", and those that index their complements by means of the personal suffixes as "noun-like".

The complement of a preposition is typically a noun phrase. A few prepositions may have an adverb phrase as their complement. One of those prepositions, general locative *qi*, takes as its complements adverb phrases that consist

of the general locative demonstrative adverbs *loori* 'up there' or *fuuri* 'down there', or of the interrogative adverbs *fei* 'where?' or *angita* 'when?'. The others, allative *uri* and ablative *fasi*, take only *fei* 'where?' phrases as their complements. (For adverb phrases see section 4.11.)

A few forms that functions as prepositions also take clauses as their complements. Those are discussed in chapter 33.

Those prepositions that index their complements by means of suffixes (object or personal) may occur without a complement phrase:

(10-5)   *bii-da*
           COM-3PL.OBJ
           'with them'

(10-6)   *i*   *[a-ku]*
           LOC   REC-1SG.PERS
           'to me'

Prepositions are sometimes omitted, but this normally happens only with the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.1) and with the general preposition *qani* (section 10.3.7).

The various subtypes of prepositions and prepositional phrases will now be discussed in turn. Included here are also locational nouns, which primarily express locative concepts and whose use typically involves prepositions. Also included here is discussion of a locative pro-form, which can only occur with one of the prepositions.

10.2.   The bare prepositions

The bare prepositions do not index their complements in any way. The following are the bare prepositions: *qi* general locative, *laa* inessive, and *mala* equative.

10.2.1. *Qi* general locative

Qi is a general locative preposition. It may express a location at a place or in time, or a goal location. The preposition is commonly realized as *i*, especially in fast speech, but not sentence initially or after a pause. A few examples of the general locative preposition as the head of simple prepositional phrases follow. In (10-7) – (10-9) it serves to express locations in space.

(10-7)   *Kera keka   teo   qi   kula qeri.*
          3PL   3PL.SEQ lie   LOC   place that
          'They lay (down) at that place.'

In (10-8) the prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase:

(10-8)   *tale-qe   lifo   i   ano*
          row-ASSOC tooth LOC   ground
          'the bottom row of teeth'

In (10-9) the preposition *qi* has a temporal noun phrase complement:

(10-9)   *Qi   manga   taa   na   qoki   fula?*
          LOC   time   what?   FOC   2SG.FUT arrive
          '(At) what time will you come?'

Besides noun phrases, the general locative preposition takes adverb phrases as its complements. The adverb phrase may consist of the general locative demonstrative adverbs *loori* 'up there' or *fuuri* 'down there' (section 13.6.3), or of the interrogative adverbs *fei* 'where?' (section 19.3.7) or *angita* 'when?' (section 19.3.9). In (10-10) the adverb phrase contains *fei* 'where?' The location is a goal one.

(10-10)   *Qo   alu-a   qi   fei?*
          2SG.NFUT put-3SG.OBJ LOC   where?
          'Where did you put it?

In (10-11) the adverb phrase contains the general locative demonstrative adverb *loori* 'up there':

(10-11)   *Teqe wane   kai   ngata-ngata   i   loori.*
          one person 3SG.IPFV RDP-speak   LOC up.there
          'Somebody has been speaking up there.'

The preposition also takes a locative pro-form as its complement; see section 10.2.2.

The general locative preposition is sometimes omitted:

(10-12)   *(Qi) qusungadi kwai   lae   qana uusi-a.*
          LOC   tomorrow 1SG.FUT go   GENP buy-DVN
          'Tomorrow I'll go to the market.'

(10-13)   *Qo*   *lae*   *(i)*   *fei?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   LOC   where?
          'Where are you going?'

In (10-14) the preposition has been omitted before the noun phrase *teqe daadaku qi fafo-na qamali* 'the foot of a *daadaku* tree by the sea'. The position where it would be expected to occur is immediately before *qae-na*:

(10-14)   … *ka*   *too*   *ba-na*   *qae-na*   *teqe*
              3SG.SEQ   stay   LIM-3SG.PERS   foot-3.PERS   one

          daadaku   *qi*   *fafo-na*   *qamali.*
          Calophyllum.sp   LOC   top-3.PERS   sea
          '… she stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree by (lit. on top of) the sea.'

Because the meaning of *qi* is fairly general with respect to the exact nature of the spatial relation between two entities, the preposition frequently takes as its complement a phrase headed by a more specific locative form, either the inessive preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3) or a noun phrase headed by locational noun (section 10.8); see (10-15) and (10-16), respectively:

(10-15)   *qi*   *laa*   *biqu*
          LOC   IN   house
          'in the house'

(10-16)   *qi*   *fafo-na*   *biqu*
          LOC   top-3.PERS   house
          'on top of the house'

The general locative preposition also takes recipient, benefactive and goal prepositional phrases as its complements, which are headed by noun-like prepositions (section 10.4). On the other hand, a prepositional phrase headed by the locative preposition may itself be the complement of a verb-like preposition, although this is somewhat rare, and is possible only with those prepositions that have locative significance, the allative one and the ablative one. Stacked prepositional phrases are discussed in section 10.5.

The general locative preposition is the only preposition that can be used with the locative pro-form *ei*. Such prepositional phrases are discussed in the next section.

10.2.2. Prepositional phrases with the locative pro-form

Toqabaqita has a locative pro-form *ei*, which must occur as a complement in a prepositional phrase headed by the bare preposition *qi*: *qi ei*. The preposition normally cliticizes to the pro-form: [ʔíɛɪ] or [íɛɪ].

Ei is a locative anaphoric pro-form. It can be used only endophorically; there must be a preceding antecedent, either in the same clause or a preceding clause. With some minor, partial exceptions to be discussed later, the antecedent must be locative, spatial.

When a locative phrase is fronted for topicalization or focusing, the prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form occurs in the extraction site; see (10-17) and (10-18), respectively:

(10-17) *Qi   laa   toaa   naqi   mena   kwasi*
         LOC   IN   village   this   FADD   1SG.NEG

         thaitoqoma-na boqo ta   wane   qi   ei.
         know-3.OBJ   ASRT some person   LOC   LOCPRO
         'In this village too I don't know anybody (there).'

(10-18) *Qi   fei   n=o   alu-a   koafa   baa   ki*
         LOC   where?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   guava   that   PL

         qi   ei?
         LOC   LOCPRO
         'Where did you put those guavas?'

In relativization on locatives, the prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form occurs in the position relativized:

(10-19) *Kaala   doo   qoro   qe   taqe   i   fafo-na*
         little.PL   thing be.many   3SG.NFUT   grow   LOC   top-3.PERS

         kwaingaqia qeri   na   tha   Boranigao   qe
         grave   that   REL   PERSMKR   Boranigao   3SG.NFUT

         teo   qi   ei.
         lie   LOC   LOCPRO
         'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave where [in which] Boranigao lay.'

The antecedent of the locative pro-form may be in a preceding coordinate clause:

(10-20)   ... *keko   soqoni-a   era,   keko   qaru-a*
          3DU.SEQ light.fire-3.OBJ fire   3DU.SEQ drop-3.OBJ

          fau   i   ei, ...
          stone LOC   LOCPRO
          '...they lit a fire (and) they dropped stones there [into the fire], (and) ....'

The antecedent may be in a preceding sentence, as in (10-21) below. As this example also shows, there may be more than one instance of the locative pro-form with the same (ultimate) antecedent. The first instance of the pro-form is inside a relative clause, and the second one in the following sentence:

(10-21)   ... *keka   riki-a   naqa kula na   tha   kale*
          3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ   PRF   place REL   PERSMKR   guy

          baa   qe   agwa-a   gu-qi   doo   baa
          that   3SG.NFUT   hide-3.OBJ head-ASSOC thing   that

          qi   ei.   Teqe doo   qe   tagwasu naqa
          LOC   LOCPRO one   thing 3SG.NFUT   sprout   PRF

          qi   ei.
          LOC   LOCPRO
          '... they saw the place where the guy had hidden the head (lit.: that head thing). Something had sprouted there.'

In (10-21) above it is the first instance of the locative pro-form that can be seen as the (immediate) antecedent of the second instance of the locative pro-form. The two are separated by one sentence boundary. However, the locative pro-form may be separated from its antecedent by more than one clause boundary. In (10-22) the locative pro-form occurs in the last clause, and is separated from its antecedent *biqu qeri* 'the house' by a relative clause.

(10-22)   *Ma   kera   lio,   kera   riki-a   biqu qeri*
          and   3PL.NFUT   look   3PL.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   house that

          mena   qe   fura naqa,   ma   doo ni
          FADD   3SG.NFUT   rot   PRF   and   thing LIG

thau	*wane*	*na*	*kera*	*fii-firu*	*ki*	*qani-a*
kill	person	REL	3PL.NFUT	RDP-fight	PL	INS-3SG.OBJ

ka	*too*	*ba-n=i*	*ei.*
3SG.SEQ	be.located	LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC	LOCPRO

'And they looked and saw that the house too had rotted, but (lit.: and) the weapons (lit.: things for killing people) that they [the earlier inhabitants of the house] used to fight with were there OK (lit. were simply there; i.e., in good condition, not rotten).'

The location that the locative pro-form refers to may be a metaphorical one rather than a physical one. In (10-23) the antecedent of the locative pro-form is *Masin Ruul* Marching Rule, a political-social-cultural movement (see note 15). Note the use of the negated locative verb *too* 'be located (at a place)' when speaking about not joining, not participating in, the movement. The pro-form occurs at the very end.

(10-23)

Ni		*nau*	*ma*	*maka*	*nau*	*ki*	*qe=aqi*
PROFORE		1SG	and	father	1SG	PL	3SG.NFUT=NEGV

misi		*too*		*boqo*	*qi*	*laa*	*Masin*
1PL(EXCL).NEG		be.located		ASRT	LOC	IN	Marching

Ruul,	*qe*		*aqi*	*misi*		*join*	*qap*	*boqo*
Rule	3SG.NFUT		NEGV	1PL(EXCL).NEG		join	up	ASRT

qana	*Masin*		*Ruul,*	*uri-a*		*mili*
GENP	Marching		Rule	REAS-3.OBJ		1PL(EXCL).NFUT

riki-a		*doo*	*qeri*	*qe*		*garo.*		*Nau*
see-3.OBJ		thing	that	3SG.NFUT		be.wrong		1SG

mena	*kwa*	*riki-a*		*qe*		*garo,*
FADD	1SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ		3SG.NFUT		be.wrong

ka	*aqi*	*kwasi*	*too*		*boq=i*	*ei.*
3SG.SEQ	NEGV	1SG.NEG	be.located		ASRT=LOC	LOCPRO

'I and my (classificatory) fathers were not in Marching Rule [never joined the Marching Rule movement]; we didn't join Marching Rule, because we saw that thing was wrong. I too saw it was wrong; (and so) I was not in it.'

Most commonly, the locative pro-form refers to a location, as in all the examples above, but it can also refer to a locative goal:

(10-24) *Biqu   nia   e   kaa-karangi-a   naqa,*
         house   3SG   3SG.NFUT   RDP-approach-3SG.OBJ   PRF

         kuki   fula   i   ei.
         PL(INCL).FUT   arrive   LOC   LOCPRO
         'His house is very close now (lit.: his house has approached it); we
         will arrive there [soon].'

Marginally, the locative pro-form can be used with temporal antecedents.
While the pro-form is obligatory when the antecedent is locative, unless some
other expression is used (see further below), it is never obligatory with temporal antecedents. Furthermore, it is possible only when the temporal antecedent
refers to a relatively long period of time inside which a state of affairs may be
metaphorically located. In the next example, the locative pro-form is possible
although not preferred.

(10-25) *(Qi   laa)   ulu   madami qe=ki,   dani   qe   qaru*
         LOC   IN   three month   this=PL   rain   3SG.NFUT   fall

         (qi   ei)   ka   lado   ba-na.
         LOC   LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ   be.joined   LIM-3SG.PERS
         '(During) these three months, it has just kept raining.' (Lit.: 'In
         these three months it has rained, it has just been joined [end to
         end].')

The pro-form is ungrammatical when reference is being made to a temporal
"point" (even though not necessarily momentaneous) at which something happens. In (10-26) the temporal noun is *thato*, which can signify a day as a period
of time, but which functions here to identify the time when the travel took
place, and the locative pro-form is ungrammatical:

(10-26) *Fa   thato na   ku   lae   qi   laa   faka   uri*
         CLF   day   REL   1SG.NFUT   go   LOC   IN   ship   ALL

         *Honiara (*i   ei,)   qamali   qe   luulua-qa*
         Honiara LOC   LOCPRO   sea   3SG.NFUT   wave-PROP

qasia naqa.
INTS   INTS
'The day I went by ship to Honiara, the sea was very choppy/rough.'

Since the general locative preposition is the only one that can govern the locative pro-form, such prepositional phrases cannot distinguish between different kinds of location or orientation of the antecedent's referent with respect to another entity. However, context and/or knowledge of the world usually makes it clear what the relative location or orientation is. So it is a safe assumption that in the event encoded in (10-27) the objects will be placed *on* the (bed of the) truck:

(10-27)   *Tarake   naqi na   ku   ngali-a   mai*
          truck   this FOC   1SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ   VENT

          qoko-na   doo nau ki qi   ei.
          pile-3.PERS thing 1SG PL LOC   LOCPRO
          'It was this truck that I brought (the pile of) my things on.'

To specify more closely the location or orientation, it is possible to use means of expression other than the locative pro-form. Compare (10-28a), with the locative pro-form, which only signifies that the food was placed in some location relative to the box, and (10-28b), with the locational noun *laal-a* (section 10.8.9), which specifies that the food was placed *inside* the box:

(10-28)   a.   *Nii   fei   bakosi baa ku*
               be.located where?   box   that 1SG.NFUT

               alu-a   fanga   baa i   ei?
               put-3.OBJ   food   that LOC   LOCPRO
               'Where is the box where I put the food?'

          b.   *Nii   fei   bakosi baa ku*
               be.located where?   box   that 1SG.NFUT

               alu-a   fanga   baa i   laal-a?
               put-3.OBJ   food   that LOC   inside-3SG.PERS
               'Where is the box I put the food in (lit.: inside it)?'

And although there is no great danger of ambiguity or vagueness in (10-29a), with the locative pro-form, the speaker has the option of using the more

explicit verb-like prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4) instead; see (10-29b):

(10-29) a. *Mere*   *garo,*   *qe*   *aqi*
              1DU(EXCL).NFUT   lose.way   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

              ta   *tala* *fasi* *meka*   *lae*   *qi*
              some path   PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go   LOC

              ei.
              LOCPRO
              'We had lost our way; there was no path for us to walk (on).'
              (Lit.: '…; there was no path so that we might walk there.')

         b. *Mere*   *garo,*   *qe*   *aqi*
              1DU(EXCL).NFUT   lose.way   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

              ta   *tala* *fasi* *meka*   *lae*
              some path   PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go

              suli-a.
              PROL-3SG.OBJ
              'We had lost our way; there was no path for us to follow.'
              (Lit.: '…; there was no path so that we might walk along it.')

And in (10-30) the location is specified more closely by the (postposed) locative phrase *qana beta-na abu qeri* 'on the posts of that sacred house':

(10-30) *Qi*   *laa*   *abu*   *laungi-a*   *kera*
          LOC   IN   sacred.house   decorate-3.OBJ 3PL.NFUT

          thau-ngani-a   *nuu-na*   *doo* *ki,*   *quri-a*
          make-TR-3.OBJ likeness-3.PERS   thing PL   look.like-3.OBJ

          qa-na   *sa*   *tai*   *baqekwa,*   *qana*
          SBEN-3SG.PERS   IRR   some.PL shark   GENP

          beta-na   *abu*   *qeri.*
          post-3.PERS   sacred.house   that
          'Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks, on the posts of that sacred house.' (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

There is a general verb-like preposition *qani/qana*, which is used with a variety of functions (section 10.3.7). It can take locative complements (see *qana beta-na abu qeri* 'on the posts of that sacred house' in [10-30]), and in that function is occasionally used where the locative pro-form *ei* would be used otherwise. In such cases the preposition occurs in the form *qani* and carries an object suffix; see (18-89) in section 18.6.3 for an example.

10.2.3. *Laa* inessive

Laa is an inessive locative preposition, whose meaning is 'in'. *Laa* is different in several respects from the other two bare prepositions (general locative *qi* and equative *mala*), and its status as a preposition is somewhat ambivalent. First, phrases headed by *laa* usually (although not necessarily) occur as the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*. And second, phrases headed by *laa* not uncommonly function as subjects or direct objects.

Historically, *laa* is probably related to the locational noun *laal-a* 'inside' (section 10.8.9). However, unlike *laal-a* and the other locational nouns, but like the other bare prepositions, *laa* must have a complement phrase.

Laa can take locative complements, including locative goals, and temporal complements; see (10-31), (10-32), and (10-33), respectively:

(10-31)   ... *qo   uqunu   mai bii   nau laa leta baa.*
              2SG.NFUT   converse VENT COM 1SG IN   letter that
           '... you conversed with me in the letter.'

(10-32)   ... *keka   alu-a   laa   fanga.*
              3PL.SEQ   put-3SG.OBJ   IN   food
           '... they put it [love magic] in the [woman's] food.'

(10-33)   *Laa   thato!*
           IN   sun/daytime
           'Good day!' (Greeting used around the middle of the day.)

In the next two examples *laa* prepositional phrases occur as complements of the general locative preposition *qi* in stacked prepositional phrases (section 10.5). This is the commonest way in which *laa* phrases function.

(10-34)   ... *tha   Bariqi   kai   teo   i   [laa teqe*
              PERSMKR   Bariqi   3SG.FUT lie   LOC   IN   one

gwa   *kurua].*
CLF   depression.in.ground
'[She said that] Bariqi should lie in a depression in the ground.'

(10-35)   *qi*   *[laa*   *rua-na*   *oomea]*
LOC   IN   two-3.PERS   fight
'in the Second World War'

Laa prepositional phrases may function as complements of other preposi-tions as well; see (10-192) in section 10.5.

Laa prepositional phrases are sometimes interchangeable with possessive noun phrases with the locational noun *laal-a* 'inside' as the head of the posses-sum phrase (section 10.8.9):

(10-36)   a.   *Nau*   *ku*   *alu-a*   *fanga*   *i*   *laa*
1SG   1SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   food   LOC   IN

bakosi   *naqi.*
box   this
'I put the food in this box.'

b.   *Nau*   *ku*   *alu-a*   *fanga*   *i*
1SG   1SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   food   LOC

laal-a   *bakosi*   *naqi.*
inside-3.PERS   box   this
'I put the food inside this box.'

However, *laa* and *laal-a* are not always interchangeable. *Laal-a* normally signifies one entity being inside another entity, significantly enclosed in it, such as being inside a container; while *laa* can have the significance of 'on top' with noun phrases that refer to objects with extended horizontal surfaces on which something or someone can be placed or can place himself/herself:

(10-37)   *Kwai*   *qono*   *ba-kuqa*   *qi*   *laa*   *tafe.*
1SG.FUT   sit   LIM-1SG.PERS   LOC   IN   bench
'I'll just sit on (lit.: in) the bench.'

And second, unlike *laal-a*, *laa* must be followed by a complement phrase:

(10-38)   a.   *Bakosi*   *naqi*   *ku*   *alu-a*   *fanga*
box   this   1SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   food

> *i   laal-a ....*
> LOC   inside-3SG.PERS
> 'This box I put food in (lit.: inside it) (not clothes).'

b.   **Bakosi naqi ku   alu-a   fanga*
    box   this 1SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   food

> *i   laa ....*
> LOC   IN
> ('This box I put food in ....')

In (10-38b) the locative pro-form *ei* could be used in place of *laa* to make the sentence grammatical.

Unlike any other type of prepositional phrase, those headed by *laa* may function as the subject and the direct object arguments of verbs. Examples (10-39) and (10-40) illustrate *laa* prepositional phrases in the subject position. As is the case with subjects, the prepositional phrase precedes the subject-tense marker; and there is no (other) noun phrase for the subject marker to index:

(10-39)   *Laa   qamali   e   sinasina.*
    LOC   sea   3SG.NFUT   sparkle
    'The sea (lit.: in the sea) is sparkling.'

(10-40)   *Laa   taofa   e   biliqa.*
    LOC   porch   3SG.NFUT   be.dirty
    'The porch is dirty.'

When a *laa* prepositional phrases occurs in the direct-object position, it is indexed on the verb by means of an object suffix, the way lexical objects are:

(10-41)   *Dani e   qaru,   ma   kafo ka*
    rain 3SG.NFUT   fall   and water 3SG.SEQ

> *luqu   ka   dalafa-a   laa*
> (water)run.in.strong.current 3SG.SEQ   flood-3.OBJ IN

> *toaa.*
> village
> 'It rained, and the water ran in a strong current and flooded the village.'

(10-42) *rasa-a   laa   kuki   qana uugula*
         scrub-3.OBJ LOC saucepan   INS Ficus.spp
         'scrub the inside of a saucepan with *uugula* leaves' (The rough
         leaves of *uugula* trees are used as abrasive.)

10.2.4. *Mala* equative

The equative preposition is related to the transitive verb *mala* 'act, behave in one's usual way, the way one usually does', 'stay the way one usually, normally is'. The direct object of the verb is coreferential with the subject; that is, 'act, behave (like) oneself', 'stay (like) oneself'. In (10-43) the verb is reduplicated:

(10-43) *Ada qoko   maa-mala   qoe.*
         TIM   2SG.SEQ RDP-behave 2SG
         [I am concerned.] 'Don't act the way you normally, always do.'
         (E.g., this is a special occasion, and so do something different from
         what you would normally do.)

    The verb *mala* is also found in the intransitive compound *mala-quri* 'be a likeness (of sb., st.)' (*quri* [tr.] 'resemble, be like'): *mala-quri qana* X 'be a likeness of X' (e.g. a carving representing X). (*Qana* is a general preposition; see section 10.3.7.)

    The equative preposition has two functions, each function being associated with different syntactic properties. In one, prepositional phrases headed by *mala* express comparison of equality: one entity encoded in a clause is characterized as being in some relevant respects similar or equivalent to the referent of the complement of *mala*. The *mala* prepositional phrase is an adjunct of the verb. Most commonly the entity that is being likened to the referent of a *mala* prepositional phrase is encoded as the subject, as in examples (10-44) – (10-46). The respect in which that entity is likened to the other one is expressed by the verb and its complement(s), if any.

(10-44) *... ma qoko   seqe-thaathala laqu boqo mala nau.*
         and   2SG.SEQ body-be.light ADD ASRT EQT 1SG
         '(Do such and such) and you will be as happy as I am (lit.: and you
         too will be body-light like me).'

(10-45) *Weleqi!, qoto   ade-de   mala tha   Liliqa.*
         man! 2SG.DEHORT   act-RDP EQT PERSMKR Liliqa.
         'Man!, don't act like Liliqa.' (Liliqa is a character in a traditional
         story. The meaning of the saying is something like: 'Don't count

your chickens before they are hatched.'.) (For more detail see section 20.3.2, where the example, there given as [20-47], is discussed. See also text 2 in the Appendix.)

(10-46)   *eno   mala gwiigwia*
           be.calm   EQT   poison.scorpion.fish
           'be (calm) like a Poison Scorpion-fish' (said about a person who is outwardly calm but who can suddenly explode in anger)

Less commonly, the entity being compared to another one is encoded in a non-subject position. In (10-47) it is encoded as the direct object:

(10-47)   *... ma   keka   stakim   kera bo=naqa   qi*
            and   3PL.SEQ   stack   3PL   ASRT=INTS   LOC

           boor-a   faka mala tai   baeka-na   kafara.
           bottom-3.PERS ship   EQT   some.PL bag-3.PERS copra
           '... and they stacked them [prisoners] in the lower deck of the ship like some bags of copra.' (That is, the prisoners were stacked as if they were bags of copra.)

In their other use, prepositional phrases headed by *mala* function as modifiers in noun phrases. Here no comparison is being expressed; rather, the referent of the noun phrase is characterized by the prepositional phrase *mala* X as being of the X kind, sort, as being included among entities of the X kind. For example, in (10-48) below, the speaker says what kinds of animals she is going to look for; she is not comparing one kind of animal to another. There are two *mala* prepositional phrases in (10-48), one within the other. The inner one, *mala baqekwa* 'such as *baqekwa* snakes', modifies *loi* 'snakes', and the outer one, *mala tai loi mala baqekwa, tai kooseqe, tai kuqunao, tai qiiqilo* 'such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs, some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks' modifies *doo* 'things':

(10-48)   *Kwai   lae,   kwai   kwaqe-a   mai   tai   doo*
           1SG.FUT   go   1SG.FUT   hit-3.OBJ VENT some.PL thing

           n=e   maruki, doo   mala tai   loi,
           REL=3SG.NFUT   be.alive thing EQT   some.PL snake

           mala baqekwa,   tai   kooseqe, tai   kuqunao,
           EQT   snake.sp   some.PL frog.sp   some   lizard.sp

>   *tai   qiiqilo, ...*
>   some skink.sp
>   'I'll go and kill (lit. hit) (and bring here) some living things, things
>   such as some snakes, such as *baqekwa* snakes, some *kooseqe* frogs,
>   some *kuqunao* lizards, (and) some *qiiqilo* skinks, (and) ....'

In (10-49) only one type of entity is mentioned explicitly; others, also
needed by a musical group, are not specified:

(10-49)   *Meka*   *man-toqo-na*   *uri-a*   *sa*
          1DU(EXCL).SEQ   think-TEST-3SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ IRR

          meki   *ngali-a   ta   doo mala ta*
          1DU(EXCL).FUT   take-3.OBJ   some thing EQT   some

          qamplifae, doo   quna   qeri, ura
          amplifier   thing manner   that   PURP

          qaru-toqo-na-la-na   *qi   laa   raa   qeri.*
          use-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   work that
          'We thought we might take something like an amplifier, something
          like that, to use in that work [a musical group].' (Lit.: 'We thought it
          so that we might take something like an amplifier, [a] thing like that,
          for its using it in that work.)

10.3.   The verb-like prepositions

10.3.1. The full and the reduced forms

Toqabaqita has a set of six prepositions that exhibit a property characteristic of
one class of transitive verbs: with qualifications to be elaborated on presently,
they index their complements in the same ways that Class I transitive verbs
index their direct objects. At the same time, these "verb-like" prepositions are
unlike verbs because they cannot form predicates; they can only function as
prepositions, not as verbs. These prepositions (and their history) have been
discussed in detail in Lichtenberk (1991b), and here only the salient points are
presented. The verb-like prepositions are: *uri* allative, purpose, reason; *fasi*
ablative; *suli* prolative, reason; *faafi* superessive, confective, 'concerning'; *bii*
comitative; and *qani* general and instrumental.
    All of these prepositions have two forms: a full form and a reduced form.
The full forms are those listed at the end of the preceding paragraph, and it is

these forms that are verb-like. They are full in the sense that, under the appropriate conditions, they take object suffixes that index their complemements. On the other hand, the reduced forms do not take the suffixes; more accurately, the suffixes have been phonologically absorbed into the prepositions themselves. The full forms are discussed first.

The full forms of the verb-like prepositions employ the same third-person object-indexing suffixes that Class 1 transitive verbs use to index their direct objects, and they employ them in the same way, with some minor exceptions. The plural and the dual suffixes are used to index plural and dual objects, respectively, provided there is no lexical object:

(10-50) *ngata   suli-da*   (10-51)   *lae   bii-daroqa*
         speak   PROL-3PL.OBJ   go   COM-3DU.OBJ
         'speak about them'   'go with them (two)'

The singular object suffix *-a* is used to index singular objects when there is no lexical object phrase, and to index lexical objects regardless of their grammatical number when the object occurs in its canonical position to the right of the preposition:

(10-52) *nanga   qani-a*
         throw   GENP-3SG.OBJ
         'throw it away'

(10-53) *thamo   uri-a   subi*
         reach.out   ALL-3.OBJ   k.o.war.club
         'reach out for a *subi* club'

(10-54) *fali   faafi-a   roo   subi   baa   ki*
         take.step   CONF-3.OBJ   two   k.o.war.club   that   PL
         'take steps with [i.e. holding] the *subi* clubs'

Objects other than third person can be encoded only by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun, which is not indexed on the preposition:

(10-55) *bili-a   fanga   fasi   kamiliqa*
         steal-3.OBJ   food   ABL   1PL(EXCL)
         'steal food from us'

With objects that are third person and are not expressed by a lexical noun phrase, either an object suffix or an independent pronoun in the object position can be used, but not both at the same time:

(10-56) a. *lae   bii-daroqa*
             go   COM-3DU.OBJ
             'go with them (two)'

       b. *lae   bii   keeroqa*
             go   COM   3DU
             'go with them (two)'

Objects that are backgrounded, for example because they are non-referential or because their referents are not salient, are not indexed. (This corresponds to one type of object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds; see section 12.4.2.)

(10-57) ... *qe   aqi   kwasi   lae   bo=mai*
           3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG go   ASRT=VENT

        suli   tala, ...
        PROL path
        '... I didn't come here [walking] on a path, (I walked through the bush).'

Objects that are headed by place names and by locative nouns are not indexed on the allative preposition *uri*, subject to some conditions, and the names of places, as names, are sometimes not indexed on the general preposition *qani*; see section 6.2 for detail. The allative and the ablative prepositions can take as their complements an adverb phrase that consists of *fei* 'where?'. The adverb phrase is not indexed on the preposition:

(10-58) *Qo   lae   uri   fei?*
        2SG.NFUT   go   ALL   where?
        'Where are you going?'

See also (4-285) in section 4.1. For an example with ablative *fasi* see (10-88) in section 10.3.3.

The reduced forms of the prepositions are discussed next. (There are no corresponding reduced forms of Class 1 transitive verbs.) The reduced forms are listed in Table 10.1. For comparison the full forms with the object suffix *-a* are listed as well.

Table 10.1. Full and reduced forms of the verb-like prepositions

	full form	reduced form
allative, purpose, reason	*uri-a*	*ura*
ablative	*fasi-a*	*fasa*
prolative, reason	*suli-a*	*sula*
superessive, confective, 'concerning'	*faafi-a*	*faafa*
comitative	*bii-a*	*bia*
general, instrumental	*qani-a*	*qana*

   In the reduced forms the final *i* of the root of the full form is omitted and the suffix *-a* becomes part of the preposition. As discussed in Lichtenberk (1991b), the reduced forms are monomorphemic, even though they contain the erstwhile suffix *-a*. The *a* is not a morpheme in the reduced forms. First, it does not contrast with the dual and the plural suffixes, and it does not contrast with its own absence the way it does in the full forms when the object is a personal pronoun or when a lexical object is backgrounded. And second, unlike the full forms, the reduced forms cannot be used without a complement phrase. The conditions under which the reduced forms are used are discussed further below.

   Being monomorphemic, the reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions are like the bare prepositions: they too do not index their complements in any way. And like the bare prepositions, they must have a complement *in situ*. However, unlike the bare prepositions, they have full counterparts, which do index their complements (under the appropriate conditions).

   The reduced forms can only be used with lexical, non-backgrounded complements in their canonical position, which is also the environment under which the full forms are used with the suffix *-a*. They cannot be used with pronominal objects or with backgrounded objects, where *-a* does not occur.

   Examples of the reduced forms are given in (10-59) – (10-64):

(10-59)   *thamo   ura   teqe   gafa*
            reach.out   ALL   one   three.tip.arrow
            'reach for a three-tip arrow'

(10-60)   *thaka   fasa   luma*
            run.away   ABL   house
            'run away from the house'

(10-61)   *lio   sula   wela*
          look   PROL   child
          'look after a child'

(10-62)   *thau-ngi-a   faafa   bili-a*
          kill-TR-3SG.OBJ   CONF   steal-DVN
          'kill him/her because of a theft'

(10-63)   *lae   bia   kaluwani   nia*
          go   COM   son   3SG
          'go with his son'

(10-64)   *nanga   qana fau*
          throw   GENP stone
          'throw away the stone'

The reduced forms can only be used with their complements in their canonical position. They cannot be used when the complement has been displaced; that is, they cannot be stranded. (See section 10.6 on preposition stranding.) In (10-65) the complement occurs immediately after the preposition and both the full form and the reduced form are possible:

(10-65)   *Toqa   naqi keki   kani-a teqe taafulu botho*
          people   this 3PL.FUT tie-3.OBJ one   ten   pig

          {uri-a   /   ura} faa-fanga-a   naqi.
          PURP-3.OBJ /   PURP RDP-eat-DVN   this
          'These people will tie up 10 pigs for this feast.'

On the other hand, in (10-66) the object of the preposition has been fronted for topicalization, the preposition has been stranded behind, and only the full form is grammatical:

(10-66)   *Faa-fanga-a   naqi, toqa   naqi keki   kani-a*
          RDP-eat-DVN   this   people   this 3PL.FUT tie-3.OBJ

          *teqe   taafulu botho   {uri-a   /   *ura}.*
          one   ten   pig   PURP-3.OBJ   /   PURP
          'This feast, these people will tie up 10 pigs for (it).'

The reduced forms are innovative (Lichtenberk 1991b). Although the innovative, reduced variants exist for all six verb-like prepositions, there are differ-

ences among them with respect to their distribution and frequency of use. Those prepositions that can take complements headed by place names do not occur in the reduced form there. The reduced forms of the allative and the ablative prepositions cannot be used when the complement is an adverb phrase with *fei* 'where?' (section 4.11).

The comitative preposition must occur in the reduced form *bia* in the relevant environment (with a lexical object *in situ*); the non-reduced form *bii-a* is ungrammatical there (although it occurs in other environments).

The general/instrument preposition must occur in the reduced form *qana* in the relevant environment, except for two types of case. First, the form *qani* is used, optionally, when the complement is headed by a place name and the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *qalangi* 'call st., sb. by a certain name', 'bestow a certain name on st., sb.'. The complement is not indexed on the *qani* form of the preposition. See section 6.2, examples (6-53) and (6-54). And second, when, rarely, a prepositional phrase headed by the general preposition is itself a complement of the prolative preposition, it is the form *qani-a*, with the object suffix, that is used. In that case, the prolative preposition normally occurs in its reduced form *sula*. Compare (10-67), where only the reduced form is grammatical, and (10-68), with *qani-a*. In fact, *qani-a* is optional in (10-68); the prolative preposition (in its reduced or full form) is sufficient by itself.

(10-67) *Nau   ku   dora   {qana/   *qani-a}   kini*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP /   GENP-3.OBJ woman

         naqi.
         this
         'I don't know this woman.'

(10-68) *Kwai   uqunu   {sula qani-a   /   sula   /*
         1SG.FUT   tell.story   PROL GENP-3.OBJ   /   PROL   /

         suli-a}   roo   wela}.
         PROL-3.OBJ   two   child
         'I will tell a story about two children.'

The form *qani* is also used when the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *tatha* 'pass, pass by', where *tatha qani-a* X has the meaning 'especially X', 'X in particular'; see (10-143) in section 10.3.7.

For the remaining four prepositions, a study of texts (Lichtenberk 1991b) showed the relative frequencies of use of the reduced and the full variants in the

contexts where both can occur (before lexical complements). The frequencies are given in table 10.2.

Table 10.2. Relative frequencies of use of the reduced and the full forms of four of the verb-like prepositions in a corpus of texts, in environments where both variants are grammatical (after Lichtenberk 1991b)

	reduced form		full form	
allative, purpose, reason	*ura*	35%	*uri-a*	65%
prolative, reason	*sula*	20%	*suli-a*	80%
ablative	*fasa*	3%	*fasi-a*	97%
superessive, confective, 'concerning'	*faafa*	0%	*faafi-a*	100%

There was no occurrence in the corpus of the reduced variant of the superessive/confective/'concerning' preposition *faafa*, but the form is grammatical.

The verb-like prepositions will now be discussed individually. Typically, the prepositions can express a variety of meanings, and general labels, such as "ablative" and "superessive", do not always do justice to them.

10.3.2. *Uri* allative, purpose, reason

The preposition *uri* has three functions. One is allative, expressing directionality to, towards. Often, but not always, it is directionality of movement that is being expressed:

(10-69)   *Wela e   fita   mai   uri   nau.*
          child 3SG.NFUT   run   VENT ALL   1SG
          'The child ran to, towards me.'

(10-70)   *Qe   lae   ura   kula baa ….*
          3SG.NFUT   go   ALL   place that
          'He went to that place ….'

The complement may be an adverb phrase with *fei* 'where?':

(10-71)   *Qo   lae   uri   fei?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   ALL   where?
          'Where are you going?'

In the next two examples the directionality does not involve movement:

(10-72)   *Nia   ka   baqe   mai   uri-a   tha*
          3SG   3SG.SEQ speak   VENT   ALL-3.OBJ   PERSMKR

          Maeori,   ka   quna   qeri, "...."
          Maeori   3SG.SEQ   manner   this
          'She spoke to Maeori, she said, "….".'

In (10-73) the goal prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase. The complement of the preposition is non-referential and so is not indexed on the preposition.

(10-73)   *ngata-laa   uri   gwauliqi   ai   ma*
          speak-NMLZ   ALL   married.person woman   and

          gwauliqi   wane
          married.person man
          '[the manner of] speaking to married women and married men'

Another function of *uri* is to express the purpose, goal of an event. Sometimes the event involves movement:

(10-74)   *Nau   kwai   lae   uri-a   ta   sokara ....*
          1SG   1SG.FUT go   PURP-3.OBJ   some   forked.stick
          'I'll go for a forked stick ....' 'I'll go to get a forked stick ….'

(10-75)   *Qe   raqa-a   ura   foa-na   keekene*
          3SG.NFUT   climb-3SG.OBJ   PURP   fruit-3.PERS   breadfruit

          qeri.
          that
          'He climbed it [a breadfruit tree] for fruit of the breadfruit tree.'

In other cases, there is no movement:

(10-76)   *Kera gani   kamiliqa   ura   alo.*
          3PL   ask.sb.(for.st.) 1PL(EXCL)   PURP taro
          'They asked us for taro.'

In (10-77) the prepositional phrase of purpose functions as a noun modifier:

(10-77)   *kote   uri-a   ifu-na   imole*
          scissors PURP-3.OBJ hair-3.PERS person
          'scissors for (cutting) people's hair'

Complements of *uri* with a nominalization as their head express states of affairs that are the purpose of another state of affairs:

(10-78)   *Kera   lae   ura   sula-niu-laa.*
          3PL.NFUT   go   PURP   husk-coconut-NMLZ
          'They went to husk coconuts.'

The complement of *uri* may simultaneously encode purpose and a beneficiary:

(10-79)   *Nau   ku   foqa   qasia naqa uri   qoe ....*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   pray   INTS INTS PURP 2SG
          'I pray a lot for you ….'

When the complement of *uri* is a noun phrase with the interrogative noun *taa* 'what?', several different meanings can be expressed. Often *taa* is fronted, and the preposition is stranded behind (section 10.6). In such cases *taa* sometimes serves to inquire about an entity:

(10-80)   *Taa   n=o   lae   mai   uri-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT go   VENT PURP-3SG.OBJ
          'What did you come for?' 'What did you come to get?'

More commonly, however, *uri* with *taa* inquires about the purpose of a state of affairs, rather than about an entity:

(10-81)   *Taa   n=o   fele-si   nau   uri-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   press-TR   1SG   PURP-3SG.OBJ
          'What did you "press" me for?' 'Why did you "press" me?'

(*Fele-si* designates the action of one person gently and discretely pressing part of another person's body to attract their attention, for example, for a private conversation.)

(10-82)   *Taa   n=o   kefu-a   uri-a?*
           what FOC=2SG.NFUT   uncover-3SG.OBJ   PURP-3SG.OBJ
           'What did you uncover it [a saucepan] for? 'Why did you uncover
           it?'

Uri with *taa* as its complement may also express reason, rather than pur-
pose. In that case it is normally the whole prepositional phrase that is fronted.
This is the only situation where a verb-like preposition is not stranded behind.
This suggests that when *uri-a taa* expresses reason, rather than purpose, it is an
indivisible syntactic unit.

(10-83)   *Uri-a   taa   na   wane baa qe   aqi*
           REAS-3.OBJ what?   FOC   man that 3SG.NFUT   NEGV

           si   fula   qi   roqo?   Mada   e
           3SG.NEG arrive   LOC   yesterday or   3SG.NFUT

           mataqi?
           be.sick
           'Why didn't the man come yesterday? Was he perhaps sick?'

Similarly in the next example: the speaker is inquiring about the reason why
the addressee, having gone to the garden, had come back without any food.
(Because of the relatively long distances of gardens from people's houses,
when a person goes to a garden, for whatever purpose, they tend to bring some
food back with them.)

(10-84)   *Uri-a   taa   qo   laa-lae i   laa*
           REAS-3.OBJ what?   2SG.NFUT   RDP-go   LOC IN

           oqola   qoko   qolo-si   qoe   bo=ma-muqa?
           garden   2SG.SEQ straighten-TR   2SG   INTS=VENT-2SG.PERS
           'Why did you go to the garden and come back empty-handed?'
           (That is, why didn't you bring any food back?)

(The expression 'straighten oneself' has the idiomatic meaning 'go somewhere
empty-handed'.)
     With *taa* as its complement, it is usually the full form of the preposition that
is used, but the reduced form is possible too:

(10-85) *Ura taa   na   qosi   qani-a   ta   si   doo?*
         REAS what? FOC 2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ   some PRTT thing
         'Why didn't you eat anything?'

The use of *uri* with *taa* is also considered in section 19.3.4 in the chapter on interrogatives.

Uri can also take reason and purpose clauses as its complements (sections 33.2 and 33.3, respectively).

10.3.3. *Fasi* ablative

The ablative preposition expresses two main notions. One is that of locative source, origin, usually, although not necessarily, the source of movement:

(10-86) *Nau ku   lae   kau fasi-a   Solomon Aylen ....*
         1SG 1SG.NFUT go   AND ABL-3.OBJ   Solomon Island
         'I went from the Solomon Islands ....'

(10-87) *Ngali-a   naifa qena   fasi nia!*
         take-3.OBJ   knife that(2) ABL 3SG
         'Take the knife away from him!'

The ablative preposition may take as its complement an adverb phrase that contains *fei* 'where?'. In (10-88) the ablative phrase functions as a noun modifier in a lexicalized phrase (section 12.8).

(10-88) *Wane   fasi fei?*
         man   ABL where
         'A man from where?'

Metaphorical sources can also be encoded by means of ablative prepositional phrases:

(10-89) *Nau ku   gege-a   bili-a   fasi nau.*
         1SG 1SG.NFUT push-3.OBJ steal-DVN   ABL 1SG
         'I denied stealing.' 'I rejected the accusation of stealing.' (Lit.: 'I pushed the theft away from me.')

In its other function, the ablative preposition signals separation, distancing, rather than a locative source: one entity is separated, distant from the entity encoded as the complement of the ablative preposition. In the situation ex-

pressed (10-90) the children are not a source location; on the contrary, the intention is to keep the candies away from them. The use of the demonstrative of absence *baa* (section 13.3.2.4) with *wela* 'child(ren)' signifies that the children were not present at the time:

(10-90)   *Agwa-fani-a   lole   naqi ki fasi-a   wela baa   ki.*
           hide-TR-3.OBJ candy   this PL ABL-3.OBJ child that   PL
           'Hide the candies from the children.'

In the situation expressed in (10-91), the movement is not away from the village but rather past the village, some distance away from it:

(10-91)   *Kulu   gali   fasi-a   toaa   naqi.*
           PL(INCL).NFUT skirt.place ABL-3.OBJ village this
           'Let's walk by the village (rather than through it).' 'Let's skirt the village.'

Metaphorical separation or distancing also can be expressed by means of *fasi*:

(10-92)   *Beta   nia   fasa mataqi-a,   feda-laa,*
           protect 3SG   ABL be.sick-DVN   be.tired-NMLZ

           taqaa-laa.
           be.bad-NMLZ
           'Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].'

The verb *beta* 'protect' normally has a positive connotation. With verbs that do not inherently have positive connotations, the ablative construction with the meaning of distance, separation often carries an adversative meaning. The referent of the complement of the preposition is a maleficiary.

(10-93)   *Oli-li   naqa ada fanua ka   rodo   fasi qoe.*
           return-RDP PRF TIM place 3SG.SEQ be.dark ABL 2SG
           'Go back right now so that it doesn't get dark on you.' (That is, go back now before it [lit.: the place] gets dark.)

(10-94)   *Era   neqe qe   mae naqa fasi   nau.*
           fire   this 3SG.NFUT die PRF ABL 1SG
           'The fire has died on me.'

(10-95)   *Ma   nia   qe   ade   fasi-a   maka   nia*
          and   3SG   3SG.NFUT   act   ABL-3.OBJ   father 3SG

          bia   thaina-na ....
          and   mother-3SG.PERS
          'And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother ....'

Ade 'act, behave' together with the ablative preposition expresses the meaning 'disobey' ('act away from'), while with the prolative preposition *suli* it expresses the meaning 'obey' ('act along'); see (10-110) in section 10.3.4.

Conceptual distance also may be expressed by means of a *fasi* phrase. In (10-96) the ablative phrase serves to express a difference in appearance:

(10-96)   *... kwai   thau-ngani=ta   doo   na*
               1SG.FUT make-TR:3.OBJ=some thing   REL

          riki-la-na   kai   qeeqeta   fasi-a
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.FUT   be.different   ABL-3.OBJ

          subi   na   tha   Fiuoomea   e
          k.o.war.club   REL   PERSMKR   Fiuoomea   3SG.NFUT

          thau-ngani-a.
          make-TR-3SG.OBJ
          '... I will make something that will look different (lit.: whose looking-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuoomea made.'

Fasi has an archaic and hardly ever used variant *faqisi*. *Faqisi* does not have a reduced variant **faqisa*, which suggests that the emergence of the reduced form *fasa* is a relatively recent development; and, indeed, *fasa* is not common at all: see table 10.2 in section 10.3.1. The only naturally occurring example of *faqisi* in the corpus comes from a (Christian) prayer:

(10-97)   *Qoko   faqa-rodo-a   maa=tha*
          2SG.SEQ CAUS-(eye)not.see.well-3.OBJ   eye:3.PERS=PERSMKR

          Saetana ka   roo-rodo-qa,   ka
          Satan   3SG.SEQ   RDP-(eye)not.see.well-PROP   3SG.SEQ

          dangathabuluqa, ka   isifuraqa,   Lood,   faqisi
          (eye)be.bedazzled 3SG.SEQ   be.rotten   Lord   ABL

kamiliqa.
1PL(EXCL)
'Make Satan's eyes not see well (so that) they will become blinded and dazzled and rotten, Lord, from us [that is, so that he cannot see us].'

   Fasi, but not *faqisi*, can also take purpose clauses as its complements (section 33.3).

10.3.4.   *Suli* prolative, reason

The prolative preposition is used with several meanings. Its basic, locative meaning is 'along', whether in a dynamic sense, involving motion of one physical entity along another one, or not:

(10-98)   *Kamiliqa   mili   abuli-si-a   fau*
           1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   roll-TR-3.OBJ   stone

           suli-a   tala   fuu.
           PROL-3.OBJ   path   downward
           'We rolled the rock along the path down there.'

(10-99)   *Ku   liiliu   qa-kuqa   sula   qamali.*
           1SG.NFUT   stroll   SBEN-1SG.PERS   PROL   sea
           'I strolled by, along the sea.'

(10-100)   *Iu,   manga   na   ku   mae   sui   naqa,*
           OK   time   REL   1SG.NFUT   die   COMPL   PRF

           kamaroqa   moka   qolo-toqo   suli   nau ....
           2DU   2DU.SEQ   arrange-TEST   PROL   1SG
           [A dying man speaking.] 'OK, when I have died, you will measure me (lit.: measure along me) [so that addressees could dig a grave of the right size] ....'

(10-101)   *Nia   ka   lio   suli   nia ....*
           3SG   3SG.SEQ   look   PROL   3SG
           'She looked at herself, up and down [scanning herself with her eyes], ...'

Prolative phrases are used with *verba dicendi*, with verbs of mental processes or states, and with some verbs of sensory perception to encode the subject matter or the percept, as if speaking, thinking, and perception involved movement along the subject matter or the percept:

(10-102) *... kera   keki   baqe   suli-a   faa-fanga-a*
           3PL   3PL.FUT speak   PROL-3.OBJ RDP-eat-DVN

          qeri ....
          that
          '... they will speak about the feast ....'

(10-103) *Nau   ku   manta   suli-a   wela nau.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   think   PROL-3.OBJ child 1SG
          'I think about my child.'

(10-104) *... mika   rongo   suli-a   toqa   i*
           1PL(EXCL).SEQ hear   PROL-3.OBJ people   LOC

          Tokio ....
          Tokyo
          '... we heard about the people in Tokyo ....'

(10-105) *Nau   ku   moqosubole   suli   qoe.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   dream   PROL 2SG
          'I dreamt about you.'

In (10-106) there are two instances of the prolative preposition. First, a prolative prepositional phrase functions as a modifier within a noun phrase. The second instance involves stranded *suli* whose complement has been topicalized. The topicalized noun phrase *si doo baa* 'that thing' refers to an earlier discussion.

(10-106) *Iu,   si   doo baa suli-a   course   in*
           OK,   PRTT thing that PROL-3.OBJ course   in

          physiotherapy, qosi   worry   qasia naqa   suli-a.
          physiotherapy 2SG.NEG worry   INTS INTS   PROL-3SG.OBJ
          'OK, that thing about a course in physiotherapy, don't worry too much about it.'

Similarly, a text, a conversation, or a mental process moves, metaphorically, along its contents:

(10-107) *Si   uqunu   qeri   qe   lae   suli-a   teqe*
          PRTT   story   this   3SG.NFUT   go   PROL-3.OBJ   one

          wane bia   kwai-na   bia   qa-daroqa
          man   and   spouse-3SG.PERS   and   POSS-3DU.PERS

          teqe   wela, wela wane.
          one   child child man
          'This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of theirs, a boy.'

A metaphorical notion of movement along can also serve to express the notion of an entity affecting other entities one after another:

(10-108) *Teqe qaburu qe   fanga   suli   kera* ....
          one   ogre   3SG.NFUT   eat   PROL   3PL
          'An ogre ate them [people] one after another ....'

With temporal complements that signify units of time, the prolative preposition serves to express the extent of time, in terms of the time units, for which a state of affairs holds:

(10-109) ... *[keka]   dele   suli-a   ono   madami.*
               3PL.SEQ be.jailed   PROL-3.OBJ   six   month
          '... they were jailed for six months.'

The verb *ade* 'act, behave' with the prolative preposition has the meaning 'obey', lit. 'act along':

(10-110) *Ade   naqa suli   nau!*
          act   PRF   PROL   1SG
          'Obey me, now!'

Here the prolative preposition contrasts with the ablative one: *ade fasi* 'disobey'; see (10-95) in section 10.3.3.

The preposition *suli* can also express a reason/cause, but it is only relatively rarely that it has this function.

(10-111)   *Adelana toqa   naqi keka   firu,   suli-a*
    CONS people this 3PL.SEQ fight PROL-3.OBJ

    kwala-laa   ba=i   naqo   quu   mai.
    swear-NMLZ that=LOC earlier.time ANTCONT VENT
    'And so/That's why these people fought, because of the swearing
    [that is, insults] (that happened) a long time ago.'

In some cases, a *suli* phrase can be seen as having simultaneously a (meta-phorical) prolative function and a reason/cause function:

(10-112)   *Mili   mamathaqa suli   qoe.*
    1PL(EXCL).NFUT be.worried PROL 2SG
    'We are worried, concerned about you.'

As mentioned in section 10.3.1, the *sula* form of the prolative preposition can cooccur with the *qania* form of the general preposition, but this is rare; see example (10-68) there.

Suli can also take clauses of reason as its complements (section 33.2).

10.3.5.   *Faafi* superessive, confective, 'concerning'

The preposition *faafi* has a fairly wide range of uses. Most of these fall into three broad categories. The broadest of these is a locative one, where *faafi* is used with a superessive significance, with or without contact: 'on (top of)', 'on the surface of', 'over', 'above'. In the superessive contact meaning *faafi* usually implies the presence of weight, pressure, force exerted by the upper entity on the lower one, or some other kind of effect. As will be seen in section 10.8.5, superessive contact meaning without the implication of weight, pressure, or force, is expressed by the locational noun *fafo* 'on (top of)'. There are also various metaphorical extensions from these basic locative uses. The next two examples illustrate superessive contact situations where force, pressure is involved:

(10-113)   *Fela faafi-a   tiba   fasi   ka   ngado.*
    press SUPER-3.OBJ timber PURP 3SG.SEQ be.firm
    'Press down (on) the timber so that it does not move.'

(10-114)   *Qosi   uru faafi-a   kaleko   nau!*
    2SG.NEG step SUPER-3.OBJ clothes 1SG
    'Don't step on my clothes!'

In the situation expressed in the next example, the weight is only minimal, but the leaf is to rest on the mouth of a saucepan to serve as a lid:

(10-115) *Alu-a*   *re-qe*   *doo* *faafi-a*   *maa-na*
          put-3.OBJ   leaf-ASSOC   thing SUPER-3.OBJ   opening-3.PERS

          kuki   *qena.*
          saucepan   that(2)
          'Put a leaf over the (mouth of the) saucepan (as a lid).'

In (10-116) and (10-117) *faafi* is used with a superessive non-contact function:

(10-116) *Teqe noqo-abu*   *e*   *lofo ka   tatha*
          one   bird-be.taboo   3SG.NFUT   fly   3SG.SEQ   pass

          faafi-a   *gwa tolo.*
          SUPER-3.OBJ   CLF   mountain
          'There is an eagle flying above the mountain.'

(10-117) ... *kera*   *alu=i*   *makwa-thasu, faafi-a*
              3PL.NFUT   put:3SG.OBJ=LOC   smell-smoke   SUPER-3.OBJ

          era, ...
          fire
          '... they put them [canarium nuts] up (on a shelf), above the fire, [so that they may be smoke-dried].'

(*Makwa-thasu* designates space, area around and above a fire where the heat of the fire extends.)

The term "superessive" as used here does not necessarily mean 'vertically on (top of)' or 'above'. In some cases a more accurate characterization would be something like 'in contact with the surface of' or 'some distance from the surface of', the entity in question being more or less fully enveloped. Only a part of the enveloping is truly above, over the object.

(10-118) *koko faafi-a*   *teeteru*
          hold   SUPER-3.OBJ   fan
          'hold a fan by its handle, with one's hand around the handle'

(10-119) *Alu-a   taunamo   qena   faafi-a   wela   qena.*
put-3.OBJ   mosquito.net that(2)   SUPER-3.OBJ   child   that(2)
'Put the mosquito net over the child.' (The mosquito net will not be in contact with the child.)

Faafi is also used metaphorically with the sense of a state of affairs affecting, "descending on", "weighing on" someone:

(10-120) *Seqe-thaathala-laa   baqita   e   fula*
body-be.light.in.weight-NMLZ   be.big   3.NFUT   arrive

faafi   kamiliqa.
SUPER   1PL(EXCL)
'Great happiness (lit.: big body-being-light) came to, upon us.'

(10-121) *Mataqi-a   e   bibithata   faafi-a   wane.*
be.ill-DVN   3SG.NFUT   affect   SUPER-3.OBJ   man
'The illness has seriously affected the man.' 'The man has been seriously ill.'

The second main function of *faafi* is confective. Confective participants correspond to what Andrews (1985: 70) calls "Circumstantial Comitatives": "something that accompanies a participant, but does not itself participate".[30] Typically, a confective participant, encoded as a complement of *faafi*, is held and carried by a moving agent:

(10-122) *Afa   e   lofo faafi-a   kuukua.*
eagle 3SG.NFUT   fly   CONF-3.OBJ chicken
'The eagle flew (off) with the chicken (after snatching it).' (That is, the eagle carried the chicken; the chicken itself was not flying.)

(10-123) *Oli   faafi-a   naifa kera.*
return   CONF-3.OBJ   knife 3PL
'Take their knife back.' (Lit.: 'Return/Go back with their knife.')

(10-124) *Keka   waqe mai   faafi-a   tale-qe   doo*
3PL.SEQ   dance VENT   CONF-3.OBJ   row-ASSOC   thing

na   kera   thau-ngaqi-da   ki.
REL   3PL.NFUT   make-TR-3PL.OBJ   PL
'They came dancing with (i.e. holding) all the things [carved dancing sticks] they had made.'

In the next pair of examples, *faafi* has a confective and a superessive meaning, respectively, with the same verb, *toli* 'descend':

(10-125)   *Maka   qae,   nau   ku   fula   neri,*
           father   VOC   1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive   NPAST.HERE

           ku   toli   faafi-a   ifi
           1SG.NFUT   descend   CONF-3.OBJ   bunch

           nono-m-a   naqi, ifi
           rub.with.healing.leaves-TR-DVN   this   bunch

           sulu-a   neqe.
           heal-DVN   this
           'Father, I have arrived, I have come down with this bunch of *nonoma* healing leaves, this bunch of *sulua* healing leaves.'

(10-126)   *Holi Spirit   e   toli   faafi-a   teqe*
           Holy Spirit   3SG.NFUT   descend   SUPER-3.OBJ   one

           talange-qe   wane   ma   roo   akwala   qi   laa
           hundred-ASSOC   person   and   two   tensome LOC   IN

           qabarum.
           upper.room
           'The Holy Spirit descended upon the 120 people in the upper room.'

Although a confective participant is usually literally held, carried by the agent, this is not necessarily the case:

(10-127)   *Keka   oli   mai faafi-a   sikwa   noniqi*
           3PL.SEQ   return   VENT CONF-3.OBJ nine   CLF

           wane baa   kera   tatha k=i   naqo, keka   oli
           man   that   3PL.NFUT   pass   PL=LOC   front   3PL.SEQ   return

           faafi-da   uri   fanu kera ki.
           CONF-3PL.OBJ   ALL   place 3PL   PL
           'They came back with the nine men who were the leaders [of the Marching Rule movement] (lit.: with the men who passed in front); they went back with them to their places.'

The leaders of the Marching Rule movement, who had been held prisoner, were transported by government people on a ship.

And with some verbs, the referent of a confective complement is not necessarily something that is held and carried. One such verb is *raqu* 'hold, grab': *raqu faafi-a* X has the meaning 'have, possess X'.

(10-128)
Qe=aqi	*misi*	*raqu*	*quu*	*boqo*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV	1PL(EXCL).NEG	possess	ANTCONT	ASRT

faafi-a	*ta*	*teqe*	*kasi*	*qamplifae*	*mena,*
CONF-3.OBJ	some	one	small	amplifier	FADD

mada	*ta*	*si*	*spika*	*mena,*	*mada*	*ta*
or	some	DIM	speaker	FADD	or	some

maekrofon	*mena,*	*ma*	*gita*	*ni*	*mena*
microphone	FADD	and	guitar	LIG	FADD

ka	*aqi.*
3SG.SEQ	not.be.available

'We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.'

Metaphorically, *faafi* phrases are used as confective complements of the verb *lae* 'go' to express the notion of carrying out, or being involved in, an activity, undertaking:

(10-129)
Si	*manga*	*na*	*mili*	*lae*	*faafi-a*
PRTT	time	REL	1PL(EXCL).NFUT	go	CONF-3.OBJ

raa	*qeri* ....
work	that

'When we were involved in that work ....' 'When we were doing that work ....'

(10-130)
toq=qe=ki	*na*	*kera*	*lae*	*faafi-a*
people=that=PL	REL	3PL.NFUT	go	CONF-3.OBJ

Masin	*Ruul*
Marching	Rule

'the people who were involved in, went ahead with, Marching Rule'

In its third function, *faafi* has the meaning 'concerning, with regard to, on account of'. The gloss 'concerning' is uniformly used in such cases. Such prepositional phrases function as complements of a relatively small number of verbs.

(10-131) *Uri-a   taa   qoko   lole   faafi   nau?*
          REAS-3.OBJ what?   2SG.SEQ tell.lie concerning 1SG
          'Why did you tell lies about me?'

(10-132) *Nau   ku   thathami-a   wela nau   ki   keki*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   child 1SG   PL   3PL.FUT

          qadomi   nau   faafa   raa   nau   ki.
          help   1SG   concerning   work   1SG   PL
          'I want my children to help me with my work (lit.: works).'

Sometimes, complements of *faafi* in this function express reason, as in the next two examples:

(10-133) *Kere   firu   faafi-a   karango   i   Da'i.*
          3PL.NFUT   fight concerning-3.OBJ shellfish LOC   Da'i
          'They fought over, on account of, shellfish at Da'i (Island).' (Both sides claiming the shellfish for themselves.)

In (10-134) the *faafi* phrase functions as a complement of a noun:

(10-134) *oli-suusuqu-a   faafi-a   thaqegano*
          return-insist-DVN   concerning-3.OBJ   land
          'land dispute; argument over land'

(The deverbal noun *oli-suusuqu-a* has the meaning 'dispute, argument, especially a lengthy, extended one.)

10.3.6. *Bii* comitative

The preposition *bii* has an exclusively comitative function. As discussed in section 10.3.1 above, *bii* has a reduced variant *bia*, which must be used with non-backgrounded lexical complements in the canonical position; *bii-a* is ungrammatical there. Below are given a few examples of comitative *bii* and *bia*.

(10-135) A: *Nau   ku   riki-a   doqora-mu.*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   sibling-2SG.PERS

          B: *Qo   ngata   bii   nia?*
                2SG.NFUT   speak   COM   3SG
          A: 'I saw your brother.'
          B: 'Did you speak with him?'

(10-136) *Tai   wane ki laqu boqo keka   qegwe   laqu*
          some.PL man   PL ADD   ASRT 3PL.SEQ shell.nuts   ADD

          boqo bia kini   qe=ki.
          ASRT COM woman   that=PL
          'Some other men will also shell the [cracked] canarium nuts, to-
          gether with the women.'

(10-137) *Lae   bii-a.*
          go   COM-3SG.OBJ
          'Go with her.'

A somewhat metaphorical use of a comitative phrase is seen in the next ex-
ample: the custom under discussion died out with the people of the older gen-
erations dying:

(10-138) *Qe   sui   na=mai   bia   uni-qi*
          3SG.NFUT   finish/die   PRF=VENT   COM   generation-ASSOC

          wane   na   kera   tatha   sui   naqa.
          person   REL   3PL.NFUT   pass.by   COMPL   PRF
          'It [a custom] finished, died together with the old generations.' (Lit.:
          'It finished/died together with the people that have passed by.')

(The verb *sui* has the senses 'end, finish; be finished' and 'die'.)
    Comitative phrases may express accompaniment of participants other than
those encoded in the subject position, as in the next two examples:

(10-139) *Wane qi   fei   ba=ku   riki-a   bii   qoe*
          man   LOC   where?   that=1SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ COM   2SG

> qi   roqo?
> LOC   yesterday
> 'Where is the man I saw with you yesterday from?' (Lit.: 'That man from where I saw him with you yesterday?')

Comitative participants are usually human, but they can even be inanimate:

(10-140)   *Fanga   quna   qe=ki   bana   na   ni*
food   manner   that=PL   LIM   FOC   PROFORE

kamiliqa   miki   qani-a   bia   alo.
1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).IPFV   eat-3SG.OBJ   COM   taro
'It was only food (lit.: foods) like that that we would eat with taro.' (Referring back to the kinds of food mentioned earlier.)

See also the next example.
Comitative phrases can function as modifiers within noun phrases:

(10-141)   *gwagwari-a   bia   doo   fii*
be.cold-DVN   COM   thing   be.painful
'feeling of being cold accompanied by pain' (lit.: 'cold with a pain-ful thing') (describing the symptoms of pneumonia)

The forms *bii* and *bia* also function as a conjunctive coordinator 'and' (sections 11.2.1 and 28.2.3).

10.3.7. *Qani* general preposition, instrumental

The preposition *qani* is used with a large variety of functions, and it is for this reason that it is referred to as a "general" preposition. One of its functions is to mark instruments, but since in this function it has some properties that are significantly different from those in the other functions, the instrument-marking function is separated off from the others and the preposition is given the gloss 'INS(trumental)'.

The reduced variant *qana*, is, with some minor exceptions, obligatory with non-backgrounded lexical complements in the canonical position. One exception to this rule is when an *qani* phrase is itself a complement in a stacked prepositional phrase under the prolative preposition, normally in its form *sula*: *sula* [*qani-a* [lexical NP]]. In such cases the general preposition is optional; the prolative meaning is carried by the prolative preposition.

(10-142) *Kwai   uqunu   {sula qani-a   / sula /*
          1SG.FUT tell.story PROL GENP-3.OBJ / PROL /

          suli-a}   roo   wela}.
          PROL-3.OBJ two   child
          'I will tell a story about two children.'

For a possible history of this construction see section 33.2.1

And the full form *qani-a* is also used when the prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the verb *tatha* 'pass, pass by', when the construction *tatha qani-a* X has the idiomatic meaning 'especially X, X in particular':

(10-143) *... kera   thau-ngani-a   qana imole,   tatha*
              3PL.NFUT   make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person   pass.by

          qani-a   wela kini.
          GENP-3.OBJ child woman
          '… they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.'

(Prepositional phrases headed by the general preposition are also used with the verb *tatha* to express comparison of inequality [chapter 25]. There the preposition occurs in the reduced form *qana* under the relevant condition.)

Complements of the general preposition can signify location in space or in time:

(10-144) *Keka   too   naqa qana   ua   qeri.*
          3PL.SEQ stay PRF GENP   hill that
          'They stayed on that hill.'

(10-145) *... i   laa   fa   ngali qe=ki   n=e   qita*
              LOC IN   CLF   year that=PL REL=3SG.NFUT begin

          qana footi faiv, ...
          GENP forty five
          '... in the years that began in [19]45 ...'

They can encode locative goals, with or without movement in space:

(10-146) *Qo   lae   qana uusi-a?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   GENP buy-DVN
          'Did you go to the market?'

(10-147) *redu-a*   *foko-na*   *qana wane*
          turn.inside.out-3.OBJ mouth-3SG.PERS   GENP person
          'make a facial gesture of anger at a person by pursing one's lower
          lip and turning it inside out'

They can encode recipients:

(10-148) *Kini   qeri qe*   *fale fanga*   *ba-na*
          woman   that 3SG.NFUT   give   food   LIM-3SG.PERS

          qan=tai   *wela.*
          GENP=some.PL   child
          'The woman only gave food to some (of the) children.'

The general preposition can also signal purpose:

(10-149) *Keka   kwaqe   nau   qana*
          3PL.SEQ   beat   1SG   GENP

          faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa, ….
          CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ
          'They [the speaker's parents] would give me whippings to straighten
          me, ….' (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give
          him whippings to make him behave.)

Phrases headed by the general preposition function as complements of a
large number of, mostly intransitive, verbs: *dora qana* X 'not know X'; *raqu
qana* X 'hold (onto) X'; *mae qana* X 'die of X (e.g. illness)'; *raa qana* X 'work
on X, work on making, fixing, etc. X'; *fungu qana* X 'be full of X'; *nanga qana*
X 'throw away X'; *maqu qana* X 'be afraid of X'; *liothau qana* X 'love X';
qana qana X 'own X, be the owner of X'; *qalangi-a* X *qana* "Y" 'call X "Y"',
'bestow the name "Y" on X', also 'accuse X of Y'; and many others. For ex-
ample:

(10-150) *Qoko   raqu qani nau.*
          2SG.SEQ   hold GENP 1SG
          'Hold (onto) me.'

(10-151) *Ta   maama   laqu kera*   *qalangi-a*
          some   mortuary.feast ADD   3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ

> *qana "booa".*
> GENP *booa*
> 'Another mortuary feast [in a sequence of mortuary feasts] was called (lit.: they named) "*booa*".'

Oblique objects of *qalangi* 'call st., sb. by a certain name', 'bestow a certain name on st., sb.' sometimes take the *qani* form of the preposition, rather than the reduced form *qana*, and are not indexed on it (section 6.2):

(10-152) *kula kera   qalangi-a   qani "Makira"*
          place 3PL.NFUT   name-3.OBJ GENP Makira
          'place called "Makira"'

Qani phrases can also function as modifiers within noun phrases:

(10-153) *bali loo   qana qiist*
          side upward GENP east
          'the eastern side' (lit.: 'the up side in the east')

(10-154) *manga   qana dani*
          time   GENP rain
          'rainy season', 'time of rain'

Finally, the general preposition can also be used with an instrument-marking function:

(10-155) *Nia   qe   kwaqe   nau qana alafolo.*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   hit   1SG INS k.o.warclub
          'He hit me with an *alafolo* club.'

With instrumental phrases, "instrument inversion" takes places under certain syntactic conditions; see section 10.7 for discussion.

The general/instrument prepositions *qana* has a combining form *qa=*, used when the preposition fuses, optionally, with the following word that is monosyllabic (and so is a grammatical element):

(10-156) *Ma   ni   qoe   qo   qufita   qa=si*
          and   PROFORE   2SG   2SG.NFUT   be.how? GENP=PRTT

          manga   qeri?
          time   this
          'And you, how are you at this time?'

See (10-160) further below for the form *qana* of the preposition with the same noun phrase *si manga qeri* 'this time'.

(10-157) *Nau   kwasi   lae   qa=ta   kula, ….*
          1SG   1SG.NEG   go   GENP=some   place
          'I did not go anywhere, ….'

The preposition may also fuse with the following word and have the form *qan=*, when the following word begins with a dental consonant, in particular /t/:

(10-158) *Qan=teqe   fa   bongi   roo   wela   qe=ki   kero*
          GENP=day   CLF   day   two   child that=PL   3DU.NFUT

          lae, ...
          go
          'One day the two children went, ….'

When the following word begins with /n/, the /n/ of the preposition and the following /n/ are realized as one long /n/:

(10-159) *Nau   ku   ruana   qan=nia.*   [ʔə̀nːíə]
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.friends   GENP=3SG
          'I am friends with him.'

One type of complement that the preposition takes is noun phrases headed by the noun *manga* 'time'. The partitive particle *si* (section 6.6) is normally present as well:

(10-160) *Meka   to=ofu   qana si*
          1DU(EXCL).SEQ   stay=be.together   GENP PRTT

          manga   qeri.
          time   this
          'We are staying together at this time.'

See also (10-156) further above, where the preposition occurs in its combining form *qa=*.

However, the preposition is frequently omitted when a temporal noun phrase headed by *manga* 'time' functions as a clause-level adjunct:

(10-161) *Kulu   foqa si   manga   qeri.*
        PL(INCL).NFUT pray PRTT time   this
        'Let's pray now/(at) this time.'

The omission of the preposition is particularly common when the temporal adjunct phrase has been topicalized:

(10-162) *Si   manga   qeri, araqi   kwao   qoro   ki*
        PRTT time   this mature.man be.white be.many PL

        kera   ni=i   Solomoni   Aylen.
        3PL.NFUT   exist=LOC Solomon   Islands
        '(At) this time there are many white people in the Solomon Islands.'

(The basic meaning of *araqi* is 'mature man', but in the compound *araqi kwao* it can signify persons of both sexes when the reference is to a number of people: 'white, Caucasian people'.)

    The preposition is not used when *manga* 'time' (or much less commonly *kada* 'time') functions as the head of a temporal relative clause (section 35.2.1):

(10-163) *Si   manga   na   kera   raa   qana fanga   kera*
        PRTT time   REL   3SG.NFUT   work GENP food   3PL

        qeri, dani ka   qaru-ngi-a   qasia naqa.
        that rain 3SG.NFUT fall-TR-3SG.OBJ   INTS INTS
        'When they worked (on preparing) their food (lit.: that food of theirs), it [the food] got rained on a lot (lit.: 'rain fell on it a lot).'

10.4. The noun-like prepositions

10.4.1. Introduction

The noun-like prepositions index their complements by means of the personal suffixes, which are also used in suffixing possessive noun phrases on the possessum noun to index the possessor. In fact, prepositional phrases headed by the noun-like prepositions have the same basic structure as suffixing possessive constructions: the preposition corresponds to the possessum and its complement to the possessor. Compare (10-164), which is a suffixing possessive construction, and (10-165), which is a prepositional phrase, itself headed by the locative preposition *qi*:

(10-164)   *thaina-na   wela*
            mother-3.PERS   child
            'the child's mother'

(10-165)   *qi   [fa-na   wela]*
            LOC   REC-3.PERS child
            'to the child'

The rules for the use of the personal suffixes on the noun-like prepositions are the same as those for their use on possessum nouns. The "singular" personal suffix *-na* is used regardless of the grammatical number of the complement noun phrase when there is a lexical complement in the canonical position, to the right of the preposition. Compare (10-165) above with a singular complement and (10-166) with a plural complement:

(10-166)   *qi   [fa-na   wela ki]*
            LOC   REC-3.PERS child PL
            'to the children'

The dual and the plural suffixes can only be used in the absence of a complement noun phrase in the canonical position:

(10-167)   *qi   [sa-da]*
            LOC   GOAL-3PL.PERS
            'to them'

Independent personal pronouns cannot function as complements of the noun-like prepositions. If there is no lexical complement, the participant can only be encoded by means of a personal suffix on the preposition:

(10-168)   *qi   [a-na   (*nia)]*
            LOC   REC-3.PERS 3SG
            'to him/her'

(10-169)   *qi   [sa-ku]*
            LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS
            'to me'

With some exceptions, prepositional phrases headed by a noun-like preposition occur as complements in stacked prepositional phrases (section 10.5). The higher preposition is the general locative one, *qi*. This is the case in all the examples above. The locative preposition is not used if a benefactive preposi-

tional phrase functions as a noun modifier; see example (10-178) in section 10.4.2. And *qi* is occasionally not used as a higher preposition even if a prepositional phrase functions as a predicate-level or a clause-level constituent, as in (10-170) and (10-171):

(10-170) *Nau   ku   fale-a   kau   teqe   necklace*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   send-3.OBJ   AND   one   necklace

           fa-mu.
           REC-2SG.PERS
           'I am sending you a necklace.'

(10-171) *Nia   ka   lae   mai   ka   fula   sa-na*
           3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   VENT 3SG.SEQ   arrive   GOAL-3.PERS

           thaina-na ....
           mother-3SG.PERS
           'He came and arrived at his mother's place (lit.: to his mother) ....'

There are three noun-like prepositions, *fa* and *a* recipient, benefactive; and *sa* goal, adjacency. They will now be discussed in detail.

10.4.2. *Fa-* and *a-* recipient, benefactive

The prepositions *fa-* and *a-* are synonymous and interchangeable in most of their uses. Where either preposition is grammatical, some speakers consider *a-* to be the real, "proper" form, but both *fa-* and *a-* are common, with *fa-* used more by younger people. The first pair of examples shows the two prepositions in their recipient-marking function:

(10-172) *Fale-a   tai   fa   qota*
           give-3.OBJ   some.PL   CLF   areca.nut

           {qi   a-na   /   qi   fa-na}   wane   qena.
           LOC   REC-3.PERS /   LOC REC-3.PERS   man   that(2)
           'Give some areca nuts to the man.'

(10-173) *Toqa   na   kera   raa   bii   kamiliqa,*
           people   REL   3PL.NFUT   work COM   1PL(EXCL)

mili	*fale-a*	*fanga*	*qi*	*a-da.*
1PL(EXCL).NFUT	give-3.OBJ	food	LOC	REC-3PL.PERS

'The people who worked with us, we gave food to them.'

In the recipient-marking function, prepositional phrases with *fa-* or *a-* are interchangeable with the recipient-benefactive construction (see example [5-137] in section 5.2.10.3), except that the recipient-benefactive construction cannot be used if the recipient is expressed by means of a lexical phrase.

In the beneficiary-marking function, prepositional phrases with *fa-* or *a-* are used only if the beneficiary is distinct from the referent of the subject. If the two are identical, the self-benefactive construction is used (section 5.2.10.2).

(10-174)   *... keka*   *foqe-a*   *kini*   *qeri*
            3PL.SEQ   pay.bride.price.for-3.OBJ   woman   that

qi   *fa-ku.*
LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS

'... they paid the bride price for that woman for me.' '… they bought that woman for me [as my wife].'

(10-175)   *Lima, lima fa   ngali,   oo,   ono   fa   ngali nau*
            five   five   CLF   year,   oh,   six   CLF   year   1SG

ku   *raa   ma=i   a-na.*
1SG.NFUT   work   VENT=LOC   BEN-3SG.PERS

'Five, five years, oh, six years, I worked for him [as a houseboy].'

The effect on a beneficiary participant need not be positive:

(10-176)   *Mada   sa   kwasi   kuqu   meresina   qi*
            or   IRR   1SG.NEG   drink   medicine   LOC

roqo,   qoo,   ka   taqaa   qasia   naqa qi
yesterday   oh   3SG.SEQ   be.bad   INTS   INTS LOC

a-ku.
BEN-1SG.PERS

'If I hadn't drunk medicine yesterday, oh, that would have been very bad for me.'

Beneficiaries are typically human or at least animate, but they need not be:

(10-177) *doo   na   kai   ili-a   i   fa-na   biqu*
          thing REL   3SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ LOC   BEN-3.PERS house

           qe=ki
           that=PL
           'the things that he will do for the houses [that he is going to build]'

A beneficiary prepositional phrase can function as a noun modifier. In such cases the prepositional phrase does not occur in a stacked prepositional phrase under the locative preposition *qi*. In this function, only *fa* is used, not *a*.

(10-178) *Si   fanga   fa-na   wela kera ki bana.*
          DIM   food   BEN-3.PERS   child 3PL   PL LIM
           '(It's) just a little food for their children.'

The benefactive meaning can be extended to include notions that are somewhat possessive like:

(10-179) *Tai   wane   ki   mena   i   a-kuluqa*
          some.PL person   PL   FADD   LOC   BEN-PL(INCL).PERS

           qe   aqi   kesi   riki-a   quu   doo
           3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3PL.NEG   see-3.OBJ   ANTCONT   thing

           maruki   qe=ki.
           be.alive   that=PL
           'Some people of ours had not seen those (kinds of) living things [animals] either.' (Lit.: 'Some people also for us had not seen those live things.')

10.4.3. *Sa* goal, adjacency

The preposition *sa* has two main functions. In both it typically takes complements with human referents. (For an example with an inanimate referent see [38-67] in section 38.6.) In one function, it marks goal entities. The relevant state of affairs may, but need not, involve translational movement. In the situations expressed in (10-180) and (10-181) there is translational movement:

(10-180)   *Lae   ma=i   sa-ku.*
           go   VENT=LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS
           'Come to me.'

(10-181)   *Ngali-a   kaseti   qi   sa-na   maka   qoe.*
           carry-3.OBJ cassette LOC   GOAL-3.PERS   father   2SG
           'Take the cassette to your father.'

A number of verbs that do not denote translational movement select goal prepositional phrases. For example:

(10-182)   *Nau   ku   faa-tani-a   nuu-qi   doo*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   show-TR-3.OBJ picture-ASSOC thing

           qi   sa-na   kini.
           LOC   GOAL-3.PERS   woman
           'I showed the picture to the woman.'

(10-183)   *Mada   s=o   thathami-a,   kwai   toqo-a*
           or   IRR=2SG.NFUT want-3SG.OBJ   1SG.FUT teach-3.OBJ

           faa-teeteru-laa   qi   sa-mu.
           weave-fan-NMLZ   LOC   GOAL-2SG.PERS
           'If you want, I'll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).'

(10-184)   *Nau   ku   ngata   qi   sa-na   wela nau*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak   LOC   GOAL-3.PERS   child 1SG

           fasi   ka   sukulu   leqa.
           PURP 3SG.SEQ   study   be.good
           'I had a word with my child to make him study well.' (Lit.: 'I spoke to my child so that he may study well.')

Occasionally, although only relatively rarely, a goal prepositional phrase functions as a complement of the allative verb-like preposition *uri*, rather than the locative preposition:

(10-185)   *Laalae   qo   thathami   keekeda mai*
           if   2SG.NFUT   DES   write   VENT

> *uri-a   sa-ku, ...*
> ALL-3.OBJ   GOAL-1SG.PERS
> 'If you want to write to me, ...'

In its other function, *sa* signals spatial adjacency of an entity, a figure, to another one, the ground. Adjacency is often the result of prior movement to the other participant or to a location, but the verb in the clause with adjacency-marking *sa* does not express that movement. In (10-186) the movement that results in adjacency is expressed in the clause that precedes the one with *sa*:

(10-186)   *Lae   mai   qono qi   sa-ku.*
           go   VENT   sit   LOC   ADJC-1SG.PERS
           'Come here (and) sit next to me.'

In the situation expressed in (10-187) the man's sons had come to stay with him from a different place:

(10-187)   *Kera   too-too i   sa-na   maka keeroqa ....*
           3PL.NFUT   stay-RDP LOC ADJC-3.PERS   father 3DU
           'They stayed with their father [until he became old].'

Adjacency-marking prepositional phrases can function as noun modifiers, in which case the prepositional phrase does not occur as a complement in a stacked prepositional phrase:

(10-188)   *malefo baa sa-na   tha   Danikalia*
           money   that ADJC-3.PERS   PERSMKR   Danikalia
           'the money (that is) with Danikalia'

10.5.   Stacked prepositional phrases

In a stacked prepositional phrase, a prepositional phrase is itself the complement of another preposition: [P [PP]]$_{PP}$. Stacked prepositional phrases are not at all rare in Toqabaqita, and some types are, in fact, the norm. Not all of the prepositions can head a stacked prepositional phrase. Most commonly, stacked prepositional phrases are headed by the general locative preposition *qi*, where the complement prepositional phrase is headed by the inessive preposition *laa* or by a noun-like preposition. Conversely, phrases headed by *laa* and by the noun-like prepositions normally occur as complements in stacked prepositional phrases. A number of examples of such stacked prepositional phrases headed by *qi* were given in the preceding sections, and so only a few are given here:

(10-189) *Qe   aqi   kwasi   lae   qi   laa   oqola* ....
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG go   LOC   IN   garden
          'I didn't go to the garden ….'

(10-190) *Kera   naqare   alo   qi   fa-miliqa.*
          3PL.NFUT   roast   taro   LOC   BEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS
          'They roasted taros for us.'

(10-191) *Lae   i   sa-na   kookoqo   qoe.*
          go   LOC   GOAL-3.PERS   grandparent 2SG
          'Go to your grandfather.'

Some of the verb-like prepositions also may head a stacked prepositional phrase, usually, although not always, with locative significance. The ablative preposition *fasi* and the allative preposition *uri* function in this way. The complement prepositional phrase may be headed by the inessive preposition *laa*, by the general locative preposition *qi*, or by a noun-like preposition:

(10-192) *Nau   kwa   tataqe   **fasi-a**   **laa**   **biqu**   **naqi***
          1SG   1SG.SEQ get.up   ABL-3.OBJ   IN   house   this

          ***qi   Fuusai**, qoe   mena   qoki   lae   laqu boqo*
          LOC   Fuusai   2SG   FADD   2SG.FUT go   ADD   ASRT

          fasi-a   laa   biqu   naqi.
          ABL-3.OBJ   IN   house   this
          'I will get up (and depart) from this house at Fuusai, and you, you too will go away from this house.'

(10-193) *... qoki   lae   uri-a   qi   America.*
          2SG.FUT go   ALL-3.OBJ   LOC   America
          '... you will go to America.'

(10-194) *Laalae   qo   thathami   keekeda mai*
          if   2SG.NFUT   DES   write   VENT

          uri-a   sa-ku, ...
          ALL-3.OBJ   GOAL-1SG.PERS
          'If you want to write to me, ...'

The prolative verbal preposition, normally in the reduced form *sula*, occasionally heads a stacked prepositional phrase that is headed by the general verblike preposition *qani:*

(10-195) *Kwai   uqunu   [sula [qani-a   roo   wela]].*
          1SG.FUT tell.story   PROL GENP-3.OBJ two   child
          'I will tell a story about two children.'

It is even possible for a prepositional phrase to be doubly stacked: [P [P [PP]]_{PP}]_{PP}. However, such constructions are rare, and they appear restricted to cases where the innermost preposition is inessive *laa*. (Unlike the other types of prepositional phrase, prepositional phrases headed by inessive *laa* can also function as subjects and direct objects; see section 10.2.3.) In (10-196) a prepositional phrase headed by *laa* is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*, and that prepositional phrase is in turn the complement of the allative preposition *uri*:

(10-196) *Ma   ni   kulu   kuki   thaka bo=naqa*
          and   PROFORE   PL(INCL) PL(INCL).FUT   flee   ASRT=INTS

          uri=qi   laa   aququa fu=i   laa
          ALL:3.OBJ=LOC   IN   island   downward=LOC   IN

          qamali....
          sea
          'And we will run away to (lit.: towards in) the island down there in the sea ....'

The use of stacked prepositional phrases is usually semantically motivated. Thus, there is a semantic diference between (10-197) and (10-198), and the difference is due to the higher preposition, general locative *qi* vs. ablative *fasi*:

(10-197) *qi   laa   masuqu*
          LOC   IN   bush
          'in the bush'

(10-198) *fasi-a   laa   masuqu*
          ABL-3.OBJ   IN   bush
          'out of the bush'

Occasionally, however, the use of two prepositions rather than just one is not semantically significant. For example, (10-199) below contains a stacked

prepositional phrase with allative *uri* as the higher preposition and general locative *qi* as the lower one, even though either preposition can be used by itself to introduce the locative goal with the verb *lae* 'go', as shown in (10-200a) and (10-200b), respectively:

(10-199) *Tai   si   manga   ku   lae*
          some.PL   PRTT   time   1SG.NFUT   go

          uri   qi   Qauki.[31]
          ALL   LOC   Auki
          'Sometimes I go to Auki [the capital of Malaita Province].'

(10-200) a.   *lae   uri   Qaoke*   b.   *lae   qi   Qaoke*
               go   ALL   Auki   go   LOC   Auki
               'go to Auki'   'go to Auki'

   Similarly, the use of the general preposition *qani* together with the prolative preposition *suli* is redundant; the latter is sufficient by itself. The sentences in (10-201) below, either with the reduced or with the full variant of the prolative preposition, are semantically no different from (10-195) above. In fact, the prolative preposition is much more commonly used by itself, without the general preposition.

(10-201) *Kwai   uqunu   {sula / suli-a}   roo   wela.*
          1SG.FUT   tell.story PROL / PROL-3.OBJ   two   child
          'I will tell a story about two children.'

See also (10-142) in section 10.3.7 and the associated discussion.

10.6.   Preposition stranding

The bare prepositions, which do not index their complements in any way, must occur with an adjacent complement, lexical or pronominal:

(10-202) *Kamareqa meka   too   i   kula qeri ....*
          1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   stay   LOC   place that
          'We stayed at that place ....'

(10-203)   *qono mala nia*
            sit   EQT 3SG
            'sit in a casual way, not concerned about whether sitting in a proper, decent way, when in private, by oneself' (lit.: 'sit like himself/herself')

The reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions must occur with an adjacent lexical complement:

(10-204)   *thamo   ura   subi*
            reach   ALL   k.o.warclub
            'reach for a *subi* club''

Both the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions can occur without an adjacent object phrase, but the participant is indexed on the prepositions by means of an object suffix or a personal suffix, respectively. First, the noun-like prepositions cannot have a pronominal object phrase:

(10-205)   *Lae   ka=i   sa-na   (*nia).*
            go   AND=LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS   3SG
            'Go to him/her.'

Second, both types of preposition may occur without an object phrase if the identity of the participant is recoverable from context, linguistic or extra-linguistic. In (10-206) person B's brother is first mentioned in A's speech, and then is encoded in B's speech only by means of an object suffix on the comitative preposition:

(10-206)   A: *Nau   ku   riki-a   doqora-mu.*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   sibling-2SG.PERS

            B: *Qo   ngata   bii-a?*
                2SG.NFUT   speak   COM-3SG.OBJ
            A: 'I saw your brother.'
            B: 'Did you speak with him?'

With the verb-like prepositions, the third person independent pronouns can be used in the object position in anaphora across clause or sentence boundaries. Thus, instead of the form *bii-a* in (10-206) above, one can use the construction *bii nia*:

(10-207) A: *Nau   ku   riki-a   doqora-mu.*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   sibling-2SG.PERS

          B: *Qo   ngata   bii   nia?*
                2SG.NFUT   speak   COM   3SG
            A: 'I saw your brother.'
            B: 'Did you speak with him?'

In (10-208) the preposition occurs without an object phrase because the identity of the referent is obvious from the extra-linguistic context:

(10-208) *Fale-a   qi   fa-na!*
                give-3SG.OBJ   LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
                'Give it to him!'

With two types of exception, when the object of a verb-like or a noun-like preposition has been displaced from its canonical position adjacent to the preposition, in topicalization and in focusing, and in relativization on objects of the two types of preposition, the preposition must be left stranded. Since a stranded preposition must index the relevant participant, only the full variants of the verb-like preposition can be used in such cases. The first set of examples below illustrates stranding of verb-like prepositions with lexical objects in topicalization, focusing, and relativization.

In (10-209) the object of the comitative preposition is in the canonical position. The preposition must occur in its reduced form:

(10-209) *Nau   ku   lalakwa   ngata   bia   kini   naqi.*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT   UNDES   speak   COM   woman   this
                'I don't like to speak to this woman.' 'I don't like speaking to this woman.'

In (10-210) the object of the preposition has been fronted for topicalization. The comitative preposition has been stranded, and it must occur in its full form *bii* with the object suffix *-a*:

(10-210) *Kini   naqi ku   lalakwa   ngata   bii-a.*
                woman   this 1SG.NFUT   UNDES   speak   COM-3SG.OBJ
                'This woman I don't like to speak with.' 'This woman I don't like speaking with.'

The preposition cannot be fronted together with its object:

(10-211) **Bia   kini   naqi ku   lalakwa ngata.*
          COM   woman   this 1SG.NFUT   UNDES   speak
          ('With this woman I don't like to speak.' 'With this woman I don't
          like speaking.')

Examples (10-212) and (10-213) illustrate stranding of verb-like preposi-
tions in focusing and relativization, respectively:

(10-212) *Wane   baa   na   ni   kamiliqa*
          man   that   FOC   PROFORE   1PL(EXCL)

          mili   ngata   suli-a.
          1PL(EXCL).NFUT   speak   PROL-3SG.OBJ
          'It was that man that we spoke about.'

(10-213) *Wela n=e   ngali-a   fanga qeri fasi-a*
          child REL=3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ   food that ABL-3SG.OBJ

          qe   angi ka   angi qasia naqa.
          3SG.NFUT   cry   3SG.SEQ   cry   INTS INTS
          'The child he had taken the food from cried and cried a lot.'

The next set of examples illustrates stranding of noun-like prepositions in
topicalization, focusing, and relativization, respectively:

(10-214) *Wane   kere   fale-a   lio-toqo-a*
          man   3PL.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   mind-learn-DVN

          qi   fa-na.
          LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
          'The man has been gifted with wisdom.' (Lit.: 'The man, they gave
          wisdom to him.')

(10-215) *Wela naqi na   ku   fale-a   lole   qeri*
          child this FOC   1SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   candy   that

          qi   a-na.
          LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
          'It was this child I gave the candy to.'

(10-216)   *Kini   na   ku   faa-tani-a   nuu-qi*
woman   REL   1SG.NFUT   show-TR-3.OBJ   picture-ASSOC

doo   qeri   qi   sa-na   qe   kwele
thing   that   LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.surprised

baqita   qasia   naqa.
be.big   INTS   INTS
'The woman I showed the picture to was greatly surprised.'

When a lexical direct object occurs in its canonical position with a verb-like preposition, it is indexed on the full form of the preposition by means of the "singular" object suffix -*a*, regardless of its grammatical number. Similarly, when a lexical direct object occurs in its canonical position with a noun-like preposition, it is indexed on the preposition by means of the "singular" personal suffix -*na*, regardless of its grammatical number. However, when a plural or a dual lexical object noun phrase whose referent is human is displaced or relativized on, it is normally indexed on the stranded preposition by means of the plural or the dual suffix, respectively:

(10-217)   *Kini   lakoo   ki ku   dora   qani-da.*
woman   that(3)   PL 1SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP-3PL.OBJ
'Those women I don't know.'

(10-218)   *Tai   wane,   kere   fale-a   fanga   qi*
some.PL   man   3PL.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   food   LOC

a-da,   tai   wane qe   aqi.
REC-3PL.PERS   some.PL   man   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
'Some (of the) men they did give food to; some (of the) men, no.'

Displaced higher-animate objects of the verb-like prepositions can be encoded in the canonical position by means of the corresponding personal pronoun rather than by means of the object suffix. This construction is normally used only with human referents.

(10-219)   *Wane kere   alu-a   foqoa   {uri-a   /*
man   3PL.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   bounty   ALL-3SG.OBJ   /

uri   nia}.
ALL   3SG
'The man, a bounty was put up on his head.' (Lit.: 'The man, they
put up a bounty towards him.')

(10-220) *Toqa   baa   ki ku   ngata   {bii   kera   /*
people   that   PL 1SG.NFUT   speak   COM   3PL   /

bii-da}   kere   oli   naqa.
COM-3PL.OBJ   3PL.NFUT   return   PRF
'The people I spoke with have gone back.'

The pronominal option – using an independent pronoun instead of a suffix
on the preposition – is not available for the noun-like prepositions because
those cannot take pronominal objects (see further above).

Displaced lexical objects or lexical objects relativized on that are not human
are normally indexed on the prepositions by the singular suffix, regardless of
their grammatical number:

(10-221) *... ma   roo   subi   neqe ki na   koki*
and   two   k.o.warclub this   PL FOC   DU(INCL).FUT

raqu   qani-a ....
hold   GENP-3SG.OBJ
'… and it's these two *subi* clubs that you and I will grab hold of
….'

When a pronominal complement of a verb-like preposition is displaced, the
stranded preposition usually carries the corresponding (agreeing) object suffix:

(10-222) *Nia   na   ni   kamiliqa   mili   ngata*
3SG   FOC   PROFORE   1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   speak

suli-a.
PROL-3SG.OBJ
'It was him/her that we spoke about.'

Alternatively, it is possible for the stranded preposition to have a pronominal object that is identical to the displaced pronoun, but such constructions are
more likely to be used if the distance between the displaced pronoun and the
stranded preposition is relatively large. In (10-223) the pronoun has been displaced out of a complement clause:

(10-223)   *Nia   ku   thathami-a muki   beta   leqa*
           3SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 2PL.FUT   take.care   be.good

           {suli-a   /   suli   nia}.
           PROL-3SG.OBJ   /   PROL   3SG
           'Him I want you to take good care of.'

Even though the noun-like prepositions cannot have pronominal comple-
ments in the canonical position, they can occur with displaced pronominal ob-
jects, which are indexed on them by the corresponding personal suffixes. In
(10-224) the first person singular pronoun occurs in the topic position, and the
participant is also indexed on the noun-like preposition by means of the first
person singular personal suffix:

(10-224)   *Nau   qe   faqa-seqe-laqa*
           1SG   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

           na=ka=i   a-ku   neri.
           PRF=AND=LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
           'I am free now, from now on.' (E.g., all my work has been done).
           (Lit.: 'I, it is free for me now.')

(For a discussion of the verb *faqa-seqe-laqa* see the paragraph before the iden-
tical example [4-212] in section 4.5.)
   There are two types of exception with respect to preposition stranding, both
of which have to do with some of the verb-like prepositions. First, as discussed
in section 10.3.2, the allative, purpose, reason preposition *uri* can be fronted
together with the noun *taa* 'what?' to inquire about reason:

(10-225)   *Uri-a   taa   qoko   lole   faafi   nau?*
           REAS-3.OBJ what?   2SG.SEQ tell.lie concerning 1SG
           'Why did you tell lies about me?'

   The other type of exception concerns the general/instrument preposition
qani, which is the subject of the next section.

10.7.   Instrument inversion

Under certain syntactic conditions, to be specified further below, the gen-
eral/instrument verb-like preposition *qani* does not undergo stranding. This
preposition is used with a variety of functions (section 10.3.7), but it is only

when it marks instruments that it exhibits the properties to be discussed in what follows. It is for this reason that the preposition is glossed INS(trumental) when it has that particular function. Examples (10-226) – (10-228) illustrate the relevant structures. The sentence in (10-226) contains a basic structure with a patient direct object *doqora-ku* 'my sibling' and an instrument oblique object *naifa* 'knife':

(10-226) *Kera   kwaqe-a   doqora-ku   qana naifa.*
          3PL.NFUT   slash-3.OBJ sibling-1SG.PERS INS   knife
          'They slashed my brother with a knife.'

In (10-227) below, the instrument noun phrase has been fronted in focusing. With the other verb-like prepositions, when their object is displaced, stranding takes place and the preposition must occur in its full form with the appropriate object-indexing suffix (or possibly with a pronominal object if the referent is human). However, in (10-227) the preposition does not occur in its expected form *qani-a* 'with it'. Rather, it occurs in its reduced form *qana*, which is possible only if the preposition has a lexical object in its canonical position, immediately to its right. In (10-227) *qana* does have a lexical noun phrase to its immediate right, but it is the patient phrase *doqora-ku* 'my sibling':

(10-227) *Naifa naqi na   kera   kwaqe-a   qana*
          knife this FOC 3PL.NFUT slash-3SG.OBJ GENP

          doqora-ku.
          sibling-1SG.PERS
          'It was this knife that they slashed my brother with.'

The reduced form *qana* is grammatical only with an adjacent lexical object. This means that in (10-227) the object of the preposition can only be the patient noun phrase *doqora-ku* 'my sibling'. In other words, unlike in the basic structure in (10-226), in the focus structure in (10-227) the patient noun phrase is not the direct object. Nevertheless, the verb 'slash' carries an object-indexing suffix: *kwaqe-a*. The only candidate for direct-objecthood is the fronted instrument noun phrase *naifa naqi* 'this knife'. Between the basic structure in (10-226) and the structure in (10-227) "instrument inversion" has taken place: the oblique object in the inverted structure in (10-227) corresponds to the direct object in the basic structure in (10-226), and the fronted direct object in the inverted structure corresponds to an oblique object in the basic structure. If preposition stranding, without inversion, were to take place, the way it does elsewhere, the result would be ungrammatical:

(10-228)   *Naifa   naqi   na   kera   kwaqe-a*
            knife   this   FOC   3PL.NFUT   slash-3SG.OBJ

            doqora-ku   qani-a.
            sibling-1SG.PERS   INS-3SG.OBJ
            ('It was this knife that they slashed my brother with.')

While the grammatical relations of the direct and the oblique objects change under instrument inversion, their thematic roles do not: the instrument remains an instrument, and the patient remains a patient. Because the preposition *qana* has a patient, not an instrument, noun phrase as its complement in the inverted structure, it is glossed GENP rather than INS there.

There are syntactic restrictions on instrument inversion. First, it takes place only in transitive clauses. In basic intransitive clauses there is no direct object to become an oblique in the derived structure, and preposition stranding takes place as elsewhere with the verb-like prepositions. In (10-229) preposition stranding has taken place in a relative clause that contains an intransitive verb. (For instrument inversion in relativization see examples [10-235] and [10-238] further below.)

(10-229)   *roo   subi   na   toq=qe=ki   kera*
            two   k.o.warclub   REL   people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT

            fii-firu   qani-a
            RDP-fight   INS-3SG.OBJ
            'the two *subi* clubs that those people used to fight with' (that is, the two *subi* clubs that those people used to use as weapons)

Second, instrument inversion does not take place in transitive clauses if the patient/theme direct object of the basic structure is pronominal rather than lexical. Here too preposition stranding takes place. Example (10-230) contains a basic structure with a pronominal direct object:

(10-230)   *Nia   qe   kwaqe   nau   qana   alafolo.*
            3SG   3SG.NFUT   hit   1SG   INS   k.o.warclub
            'He hit me with an *alafolo* club.'

In (10-231a) the instrument noun phrase has been fronted, and the preposition has been stranded. Inversion would be ungrammatical, as shown in (10-231b).

(10-231) a. *Alafolo   naqi   n=e   kwaqe   nau*
              k.o.warclub this   FOC=3SG.NFUT hit   1SG

              qani-a.
              INS-3SG.OBJ
              'It was this *alafolo* club that he hit me with.'

          b. **Alafolo   naqi   n=e   kwaqe-a   qani*
              k.o.warclub this   FOC=3SG.NFUT hit-3SG.OBJ GENP

              nau.
              1SG
              ('It was this *alafolo* club that he hit me with.')

The correspondences between the basic and the inverted structures are shown in table 10.3:

Table 10.3. Structural differences in object inversion

Basic structure	Inverted structure
Subject$_i$	Subject$_i$
Verb	Verb
Lexical direct object: patient/theme$_j$	Oblique object: patient/theme$_j$
Oblique object: instrument$_k$	Direct object: instrument$_k$

Instrument inversion affects only the direct object and the instrumental oblique object. There is no effect on the subject, and there is no marking of the inversion on the verb.

In the examples above, instrument inversion took place when the instrument noun phrase was in focus. The next set of examples shows inversion when the instrument noun phrase has been topicalized. Compare the basic structure in (10-232) and the inverted structure in (10-233):

(10-232) *Nau kwai   kwaqi-a   botho naqi qana naifa naqi.*
          1SG 1SG.FUT carve-3.OBJ pig   this INS knife this
          'I will carve this pig with this knife.'

(10-233) *Naifa naqi kwai   kwaqi-a   qana botho   naqi.*
          knife this 1SG.FUT carve-3SG.OBJ GENP pig   this
          'This knife I will carve this pig with.'

Inversion also takes place in relativization on instrument obliques. Example (10-234) shows the basic structure with the verb *basi* 'shoot sb., st.':

(10-234)   *basi-a   botho   qana   kwanga*
           shoot-3.OBJ   pig   INS   rifle
           'shoot a pig with a rifle'

The relative clause in (10-235) with the verb *basi* shows inversion:

(10-235)   *Basi   na   maka   nau   kai   baa-basi-a   qana*
           bow   REL   father 1SG   3SG.IPFV   RDP-shoot-3SG.OBJ   GENP

           futa   manga   na=i   dini   neq.
           possum   time   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past here
           'Here is the bow my father used to shoot (the) possums with in the old days.'

In (10-235) with the transitive verb *basi* 'shoot' inversion has taken place. On the other hand, in (10-236) below, the verb *basi* has an incorporated object. As discussed in section 10.4.2, object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds of the type present in (10-236) are intransitive verbs. In (10-236) *baa-basi* 'shoot' and the incorporated noun *futa* 'possum' form an intransitive verb, and instrument inversion does not take place. Rather, the instrument preposition is stranded:

(10-236)   *Basi   na   maka   nau   kai   baa-basi   futa*
           bow   REL   father 1SG   3SG.IPFV   RDP-shoot   possum

           qani-a   manga   na=i   dini   neq.
           INS-3SG.OBJ   time   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past here
           'Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old days.'

Instrument inversion in a relative clause also occurs in (10-238) further below, with the verb *tari* 'chase (away)'. In the basic structure, the verb takes a theme, the entity chased, as its direct object:

(10-237)   *Tari-a   kusi   qena.*
           chase-3.OBJ   cat   that(2)
           'Chase the cat away.'

In the relative clause in (10-238), the theme, the spirit to be chased away, is an oblique object instead. The direct object is an instrument, that which is used in chasing away/casting out the spirit, encoded as the head of the relative clause. The relevant parts are in bold.

(10-238)   *Doo*   *quri-a*   *qa-n=ta*   **kasiaut**
            thing be.like-3.OBJ   SBEN-3.PERS=some   cast.out

            neri   **na**   **kera**   **tari-a**   **qana**
            NPAST.HERE   REL   3PL.NFUT   chase-3SG.OBJ GENP

            akalo   *n=e*   *thau-ngi-a*   *wane.*
            spirit   REL=3SG.NFUT affect-TR-3.OBJ   man
            [Using a chewed-up betel mixture to treat a man who had been made sick by a spirit: They chewed up the betel mixture, they spat it at the man's face, at his chest and lower back. In this way they removed the spirit that had affected the man, and the spirit went away.] 'The thing [that they did] was like casting out, with which they chased away the spirit that had affected the man.'

Instrument inversion takes place (if certain conditions are met) under the conditions where preposition stranding takes place otherwise. There is one more type of case where instrument inversion takes place (when there is a lexically encoded patient or theme), and that is in anaphora across clause boundaries that does not involve relativization. It takes place in the second of two clauses, where the object suffix on the verb anaphorically indexes an instrument mentioned in an earlier clause. This is illustrated in the next pair of examples. In (10-239) the verb *uusu* 'wipe' occurs in the basic structure, where it takes the patient, the entity wiped, as its direct object:

(10-239)   *Uusu-a*   *seqe-mu*   *qana taolo qena.*
            wipe-3.OBJ body-2SG.PERS INS   towel that(2)
            'Wipe your body with the towel.'

In (10-240) below, there are two clauses. In the first one, the noun phrase *taolo qena* 'the towel' is a theme, and it functions as the direct object of the verb 'take'. In the event expressed in the second clause, the towel is to serve as an instrument. It is encoded anaphorically on the verb 'wipe' as a direct object, while the patient, *seqe-mu* 'your body' is an oblique. Instrument inversion has taken place in that clause.

(10-240)   *Ngali-a   taolo qena,   qoko   uusu-a   qana*
              take-3.OBJ   towel that(2)   2SG.SEQ wipe-3SG.OBJ GENP

              seqe-mu.
              body-2SG.PERS
              'Take the towel (and) wipe your body with it.'

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In (10-241) the verb *raqa* 'climb' occurs in the basic structure, where its direct object encodes the patient, the entity climbed:

(10-241)   *Nau   kwai   raqa-a   ngali   naqi   qana*
              1SG   1SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ canarium.nut this   INS

              asikeba.
              k.o.climbing.rope
              'I'll climb this canarium-nut tree with (i.e., using) an *asikeba* rope.'

In (10-242) below, instrument inversion has taken place in the last, purpose, clause (in bold): the canarium-nut trees to be climbed are encoded as an oblique object. The direct object is indexed only by means of the object suffix on the verb *raqa* 'climb'. The suffix refers anaphorically to *naili* 'k.o. climbing rope' (different from *asikeba*), mentioned in the immediately preceding clause in the possessor position ('making of *naili* climbing ropes'). There is also an earlier mention of *naili* as the direct object of the verb *rofe* 'look for'.

(10-242)   *... keka   lae, keka   rofe-a   mai*
                 3PL.SEQ go   3PL.SEQ look.for-3.OBJ VENT

              nail=i   sa-na   tai   wane ki
              k.o.climbing.rope=LOC   ADJC-3.PERS   some.PL   man PL

              na   kere   thaitoqoma-na   thau-ngaqi-la-na
              REL   3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ   make-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS

              *naili,   **uri-a   keki   raqa-a***
              k.o.climbing.rope   PURP-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT climb-3SG.OBJ

              qana ngali   kera ki.
              GENP canarium.nut   3PL   PL
              '[At canarium-nut harvest time, when men see that the canarium nuts on their trees are ripe,] they go and look for *naili* climbing

ropes from (lit.: at] the men who know how to make climbing ropes, so that they can climb their [own] canarium-nut trees with [i.e., by means of] them.'

As argued in Lichtenberk (2006a) (where Toqabaqita instrument inversion is discussed in broader context), instrument inversion makes an instrument participant that has a relatively high degree of information prominence (in focusing, topicalization, relativization and inter-clausal anaphora) into one of the core arguments of the verb.

Toqabaqita instrument inversion is reminiscent of instrumental applicative constructions found in various languages (including some Oceanic ones; see, for example, Davis [2003] for Hoava). However, Toqabaqita instrument inversion differs from (prototypical) applicatives in two ways. First, there is no morphological marking of the inversion on the verb. And second, the inversion is severely restricted syntactically. It takes place only if two conditions are met simultaneously: (i) the general/instrument preposition would not have a lexical complement *in situ* (for example, because the instrument noun phrase has been topicalized or is in focus), and (ii) the patient/theme is encoded by a lexical noun phrase.

In section 4.3.3, a kind of valency rearrangement is discussed, whereby the direct object and an oblique object of certain verbs are interchanged; for example *kano-a* X *qana* Y 'smear X on Y' and *kano-a* Y *qana* X 'smear Y with X'. Both that kind of valency rearrangement and instrument inversion, also a kind of valency rearrangement, result in noun phrases of different thematic relations being realized as one of the core arguments of the verb; nevertheless, they are distinct phenomena. Valency rearrangement of the *kano* 'smear' type is restricted to a relatively small number of verbs, and it is not grammatically obligatory. On the other hand, instrument inversion takes place obligatorily with any transitive verb under certain syntactic conditions (although the conditions are pragmatically motivated, namely relatively high information prominence of the instrument).

It is only the general preposition in its instrument-marking function that permits this kind of inversion, none of the other prepositions do. This preposition is used to encode a large variety of semantic relations between verbs and their oblique objects, including marking of patients and themes in one type of [verb verb] compounding (section 12.5). All the other prepositions are much more restricted in their functions. It is the semantic flexibility of the general preposition that permits instrument inversion, where it takes patients and themes as its objects.

10.8.   The locational nouns

10.8.1. Introduction

Locational nouns (not to be confused with locative nouns, discussed in section 6.2) function to express the location of one entity, the figure, with respect to another entity, the ground. The locational nouns identify one spatial aspect of the ground, such as its front, back, middle, etc. The locational nouns function as the heads of suffixing possessive constructions, where the possessor phrase expresses the ground. Some of the locational nouns can also be used with temporal complements. Noun phrases headed by locational nouns normally function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*. Noun phrases headed by the locational nouns 'between, among, in the midst of' and 'in the middle/centre of' can occur in stacked prepositional phrases with the general locative preposition *qi* and the inessive preposition *laa*. Occasionally, constructions headed by the locational nouns occur without a preposition. All the locational nouns also function as nouns with other meanings.

The locational nouns are listed in table 10.4.

Table 10.4. Locational nouns

naqo, *naqofa*; *maa*	in front of
buri, *buria*, *buringa*	behind, in the back of
ninima	beside
fafo	on, on top of
fara, *faara*	below, under
maqaluta	between, among; in the midst of
qinitoqo	in the middle/centre of
laal-a	inside

10.8.2. *Naqo*, *naqofa* and *maa* 'in front of'

Maa has a very restricted distribution as a locational noun and is discussed at the end of the section. *Naqo* and *naqofa* are discussed first.

There is a noun *naqo*, which has the non-locational meanings '(space in) front', 'person's genitals, private parts (euphemistic)' and 'earlier time'; see (10-243) – (10-245), respectively:

(10-243)   *Tatha   i   naqo.*
          walk   LOC   front
          'Walk in front.'

(10-244)   *naqo-ku*
          front-1SG.PERS
          'my private parts'

(10-245)   *Qo   lae-toqo-na   qerofulae   qi   naqo?*
          2SG.NFUT   go-TEST-3.OBJ   airplane   LOC   earlier.time
          'Have you gone on an airplane before?'

There is also an intransitive verb *naqo* 'be in front', 'lead' and a Class 1 transitive verb *naqo-fi* 'face sb., st.'. The sentence in (10-246) exemplifies the latter:

(10-246)   *Nia   e=aqi   si   naqo-fi   nau,   nau*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   face-TR   1SG   1SG

          kwasi   naqo-fi-a.
          1SG.NEG face-TR-3SG.OBJ
          'She would not face me, (and) I would not face her.' (In earlier times, this was the proper way for a man and a woman who were not husband and wife to be positioned when speaking to each other.)

As a locational noun, *naqo* has the spatial meaning 'in front of'.

(10-247)   *... nia   ka   sifo   ma=i   naqo-na*
            3SG   3SG.SEQ descend   VENT=LOC   front-3.PERS

          qai   ni   soldia.
          unit   LIG   soldier
          '... he came down in front of the police (lit.: soldier) unit.' (That is, he walked in front, and the policemen followed him.)

However, it is relatively infrequent for *naqo* to function as a locational noun, apparently because it occurs in the same type of possessive construction with the meaning 'genitals, private parts'. More commonly, to express the meaning 'in front of, before', the form *naqofa* is used, which is historically most likely a deverbal noun based on the verb *naqo-fi* 'face sb., st.' (see [10-246] above): *naqo-f-a* 'face-TR-DVN'. Nevertheless, *naqofa* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole.

(10-248)   *qi   naqofa-na   tarake*
        LOC   front-3.PERS   truck
        'in front of the truck'

(10-249)   *Alu-a   naifa qi   naqofa-ku.*
        put-3.OBJ   knife LOC   front-1SG.PERS
        'Put the knife in front of me.'

The form *naqo* can also have the temporal meaning 'earlier time', in which case it does not occur in a possessive construction; see (35-28) in section 35.3.2.2.1 for an example.

The meaning 'in front of' can also be expressed by means of the locational noun *maa*, but only with respect to houses. As a non-locational noun, *maa* has a variety of senses, that can be characterized as 'focal point', 'prominent part', such as 'eye', 'tip', 'cutting edge', also 'opening' (e.g. a doorway or the mouth of a basket), 'front part of st.', 'lid', 'door'. It is the sense 'front part of st.' that is relevant here. For example:

(10-250)   *takwe   i   maa-na   faka*
        stand   LOC   front-3.PERS   ship
        'stand in the bow of the ship'

The next two examples contain *maa* as a locational noun. In (10-251) the ground location is a family house, *luma*, and in (10-252) a men's house, *biqu*:

(10-251)   *qi   maa-na   luma*
        LOC   front-3.PERS   family.house
        'in front of a/the family house'

(10-252)   *... ka   takalo-a   gano fuu   qi   maa-na*
        3SG.SEQ scatter-3.OBJ   soil   that   LOC   front-3.PERS

        biqu   fuu.
        men's.house   that
        '... it [a pig] scattered the soil in front of the men's house (by rooting in the ground).'

Maa can also have the spatial meaning 'outside', but in that case it does not function as a locational noun, as the term is employed here. It does not occur in the head position of the suffixing possessive construction. The ground location which something is specified as being outside of is not expressed in the possessor position.

(10-253)   … *kuki*   *alu-da*   *qi*   *maa*   *ada*
               PL(INCL).FUT   put-3PL.OBJ   LOC   outside   TIM

        keka   *mae.*
        3PL.SEQ   die
        '… we will put them [prisoners] outside (out of a tight enclosure) so
        that they do not die.'

While being in front of a house means being outside it, as a locational noun *maa* designates specifically a location in front of a house, not just outside it.

10.8.3. *Buri*, *buria*, *buringa* 'behind', 'after'

Of these three locational nouns, *buri* is the basic and commonest one. The other two forms, *buria* and *buringa* were, presumably, derived from it, but the formal nature of the relation is not obvious today.

    There is a noun *buri*, which has the locative meaning 'back, rear part of st.'. With this meaning it functions as the head of the possessum phrase in the suffixing possessive construction. Like other nouns that contain *r* in the final syllable, *buri* takes the *-a* variant of the third person "singular" personal suffix, and the *r* and the *i* of the last syllable metathesize (section 8.1.2).

(10-254)   *buir-a*   *baru*
               back-3.PERS   canoe
               'the stern of a/the canoe'

(10-255)   *Wan=taa*   *ni*   *boqo?*   *Uufi*   *bungu*   *i*
               man=what?   LIG   INTS   blow   conch   LOC

        maa-na,   *ka*   *teeteru*   *i*   *buir-a.*
        front-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ   fan   LOC   back-3SG.PERS
        'Who is he? (He has) a conch-blower in the front and a fan in the
        back.' (Lit.: 'What man? Blow conch in the front, fan in the back.')
        (This is a traditional riddle. The answer : A pig.)

    Buir-a is also used in the sense of 'toilet (place)':

(10-256)   a.   *buir-a*   *biqu*   b.   *buir-a*   *toaa*
                     back-3.PERS   house   back-3.PERS   village
                     'men's toilet area'   'women's toilet area'

(Traditionally, *biqu* designated men's houses, as opposed to family houses.)

Buri also has the meaning 'space in the back, space behind' and the temporal meaning 'later time' (see [35-28] in section 35.3.2.2.1), in which case it does not occur in the possessum phrase of a possessive construction and does not take complements:

(10-257)   *Ma   fai-susu   qe=ki   kera   ii*
           and   four-breast that=PL   3PL.NFUT   be.located

           ma=i   buri   takona.
           VENT=LOC back   most.likely
           'And the female possums ('four-breasts') are most likely in the back.'

(10-258)   *Lae-laa   qoe   qeri, qe   aqi   qosi   ili-a*
           go-NMLZ   2SG   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG do-3SG.OBJ

           laqu   qi   buri.
           ADD   LOC   later.time
           'This wandering (lit.: going) of yours, don't do that (ever) again in future (lit.: at a later time).'

As a locational noun, *buri* is used with the meanings 'behind' with spatial complements, and '(time) after' with temporal complements.

(10-259)   *Nau   ku   agwa qi   buir-a   fau, ….*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   hide LOC   behind-3.PERS   rock
           'I hid behind the rock ….'

In (10-260) the locational construction is used without the higher locative preposition *qi*:

(10-260)   *Lae   buri-da.*
           go   behind-3PL.PERS
           'Follow them.'

In (10-261) the *buri* phrase has a temporal meaning. The prepositional phrase occurs within a noun phrase:

(10-261)   *madami lo=i   buir-a   madami naqi*
           month   upward=LOC   after-3.PERS   month   this
           'next month' (lit.: 'the month up after this month')

In (10-261) the prepositional phrase *i buir-a madami naqi* 'after this month' is optional. The elevational demonstrative *loo* 'upward' alone can signal time subsequent to the time of reference (section 13.4).

The other two forms, *buria* and *buringa*, too are used with the meaning 'behind'. *Buria* is quite common, while *buringa* is rare. In the locative sense, *buria* is interchangeable with *buri*:

(10-262)   *Lae   ma=i   {buria-mareqa   /*
go   VENT=LOC   behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS /

buri-mareqa}.
behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS
'Follow us.'

(10-263)   *Teqe kini   qe   qono ma=i   buria-ku.*
one   woman 3SG.NFUT sit   VENT=LOC behind-1SG.PERS
'A woman (came and) sat down behind me.'

The form *buria-na*, with the third person singular personal suffix, is also used as a clause-level temporal adjunct '(time) after' (section 35.3.2.2.1).

The third form, *buringa*, is used only infrequently as a locational noun. As a non-locational noun it is another expression for 'toilet (place)':

(10-264)   a.   *buringa-na   toaa*   b.   *buringa-na   biqu*
behind-3.PERS   village   behind-3.PERS   house
'women's toilet area'   'men's toilet area'

There is also a Class 1 transitive verb *buringa-ni* 'build a toilet', 'make a place into a toilet area, reserve a place as a toilet area'.

As a locational noun with the meaning 'behind', *buringa* is interchangeable with *buri*, except that the form *buringa-na*, with the third person "singular" personal suffix, is avoided because of its association with the meaning 'toilet (place)'.

(10-265)   *Naifa   qe   nii   {qi buri-mu   /*
knife   3SG.NFUT   be.located LOC behind-2SG.PERS /

        qi   buringa-mu}.
        LOC   behind-2SG.PERS
        'The knife is behind you.'

10.8.4. *Ninima* 'beside'

There is a noun *ninima* 'side', which occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction:

(10-266)   *Baketa   ninima-n=e*   *kwada.*
             bucket   side-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.holed
             'The bucket has a hole in its side.' (Lit.: 'The bucket, its side is holed.')

   As a locational noun, *ninima* has the meaning 'beside; at, by the side of'.

(10-267)   *Qono   qi   ninima-ku.*
             sit   LOC   beside-1SG.PERS
             'Sit (down) beside me.'

(10-268)   *Nau kwai   fasi-a   teqe goafa   qi*
             1SG   1SG.FUT plant-3.OBJ one   guava   LOC

             ninima-na   biqu nau.
             beside-3.PERS   house 1SG
             'I'll plant a guava (tree) beside my house.'

   In (10-269) the locational expression occurs without the locative preposition *qi*:

(10-269)   *teqe keekene   n=e   takwe   ninima-na*
             one   breadfruit   REL=3SG.NFUT   stand   beside-3.PERS

             teqe kilu
             one   hole
             'a breadfruit (tree) that stood beside/next to a hole'

10.8.5. *Fafo* 'on, on top of'

There is a noun *fafo*, whose meaning is 'top exterior part, surface of st.'. It occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction.

(10-270) *Tai   wane ki keka   fale thao   uri-a*
          some.PL man   PL 3PL.SEQ hand thatching   ALL-3.OBJ

          fafo-na   biqu   loo ....
          top-3.PERS   house   upward
          'Some of the men [on the ground] pass thatching to the top of the
          house [i.e., to the people on top of the house] ....'

    As a locational noun, *fafo* has the contact spatial meaning 'on, on top of'. As discussed in section 10.3.5, there is a superessive verb-like preposition *faafi* 'on (top of)', 'on the surface of', 'over', 'above'. *Faafi* and *fafo* are not synonymous. First, *faafi* can be used regardless of whether or not there is contact between the figure and the ground, while *fafo* can only signify contact. And second, when there is contact, *faafi* usually implies the presence of weight, pressure, force exerted by the upper entity on the lower one, or some other kind of effect. *Fafo* carries none of these implications.

(10-271) *Kaala   doo   qoro   qe   taqe i   fafo-na*
          little.PL thing be.many 3SG.NFUT   grow LOC top-3.PERS

          kwaingaqia qeri ....
          grave   that
          'Many little things [plants] had grown on top of the grave ....'

(10-272) *Teo mai qi   fafo-ku.*
          lie   VENT LOC   top-1SG.PERS
          '(Come and) lie (down) on top of me.' (E.g., a mother speaking to a
          little child.)

    With nouns designating bodies of water, such as the sea and rivers, *fafo* is used with the meaning 'by the side of, on the shore/bank of':

(10-273) *Keka   lae, keka   kasi-a   tai*
          3PL.SEQ go   3PL.SEQ build.village-3.OBJ some.PL

> toaa   ki qi   fafo-na   qamali.
> village   PL LOC   top-3.PERS   sea
> 'They went and built villages by the sea.'

(10-274) ... *ka*   *takwe*   *qi*   *fafo-na*   *kafo qeri* ....
              3SG.SEQ   stand   LOC   top-3.PERS   river that
          '... she stood on the bank of the river ....'

Fafo may function as the head of a bare, rather than a suffixing, possessive construction, although this is not common:

(10-275) *Kuukua qe*   *liki   i   fafo   biqu.*
          chicken 3SG.NFUT   roost   LOC   top   house
          'The chicken is roosting on top of the house.'

However, if no possessor phrase occurs in the canonical position next to *fafo*, the suffixing construction must be used. In (10-276) there is a possessor noun, but it functions as the head of a relative clause:

(10-276) *Mata*   *n=o*   *qono qi*   *fafo-na*   *nena*
          mat   REL=2SG.NFUT   sit   LOC   top-3SG.PERS   there(2)

          qe   *biliqa.*
          3SG.NFUT   be dirty
          'The mat you're sitting on is dirty.'

10.8.6. *Fara*, *faara* 'below, under'

Of the two forms, *fara* and *faara*, the former is the basic one and the one normally used. However, *fara* itself occurs in the suffixing possessive construction as *faar-a*, with the third person "singular" personal suffix and metathesis of the *r* and the *a* in the final syllable. *Fara*, as a non-locational noun, has the meaning 'space, area underneath, below'. It occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction:

(10-277) *Faar-a*   *daadaku*   *qeri ka*
          underneath-3.PERS   Calophyllum.sp   that   3SG.SEQ

> *quri=ta* *biqu.*
> be.like:3.OBJ=some house
> 'The (space) underneath (of) the *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree (which was bent down) was like a house.' (That is, being under the tree was like being inside a house.)

The expression *faar-a luma* (lit. 'the underneath of a family house') has the meaning 'women's toilet area'.

There is also a Class 2 transitive verb *faara* 'fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.', 'match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.', 'be able, capable', 'be possible' (section 29.4.2).

The original lexeme *fara* has been subject to some idiosyncratic developments. First, the verb 'fit sb., st. etc.' is clearly derived from *fara*, but its form is *faara*. Most likely the verbal form was based on *faar-a*, with the third person singular personal suffix. For some reason, the suffix *-a* was not perceived as such, and consequently the verb takes the *-na* allomorph of the third person singular personal suffix, *faara-na* (see examples in section 29.4.2).

And second, the monomorphemic form *faara* also exists as a locational noun. It takes the *-na* allomorph of the third person singular personal suffix. As a locational noun *faara* is rare. One example is given in (10-278):

(10-278) *Alu-a*   *raboqa* *qi*   *faara-na*   *luma.*
          put-3.OBJ   bowl   LOC   under-3.PERS   house
          'Put the bowl under the house.'

It is possible that what is historically a doubly possessed form *faar-a-na* is used instead of *faar-a* especially when there is a possibility of an association with the meaning 'women's toilet area' (see further above). Still, some speakers do not like the expression *faara-na luma* 'under the house' because of its phonological similarity to *faar-a luma*.

The remaining examples illustrate the forms *fara/faar-a*.

(10-279) *qi*   *fara-ku*
          LOC   below-1SG.PERS
          'below me, under me'

Fara may be used regardless of whether or not there is contact between the figure and the ground, as in (10-280) and (10-281), respectively:

(10-280) *... qe*   *thamo*   *i*   *faar-a*
          3SG.NFUT   reach.out   LOC   under-3.PERS

> *qaba-na   kali   wela qeri ...   ta   qaba qi*
> arm-3.PERS little.SG child that   some arm LOC
>
> *faar-a   ta   qaba, ta   qaba qi*
> under-3.PERS some arm   some arm LOC
>
> *faar-a   ta   qaba ....*
> under-3.PERS some arm
> '... he reached out (with his arms) under the arms of the little child
> ... one of his arms under one arm [of the child], the other arm under
> the other arm (in order to lift the child)'

(10-281) *Kotho   i   faar-a   taunamo.*
          enter   LOC under-3.PERS mosquito.net
          'Get in under the mosquito net.'

In (10-282) a locational *fara* phrase functions as a modifier inside a noun
phrase:

(10-282) *falo i   faar-a   fulau*
          beam LOC under-3.PERS   floor
          'bearer beam under the floor', 'beam under, supporting the floor'

10.8.7. *Maqaluta* 'between, among', 'in the midst of'

There is a noun *maqaluta*, which is used in two main senses. In both senses it
occurs as the head of the suffixing possessive construction. In one sense, it
denotes a fork in a tree where a single trunk divides into two:

(10-283) *maqaluta-na   qai*
          fork-3.PERS   tree
          'fork in a tree where the trunk divides into two'

In the other sense, *maqaluta* signifies the inner aspect of st.: its central char-
acteristics, properties; its essence, nature; its essential details:

(10-284) *soe-kele-a   maqaluta-na   sitoa*
          inquire-turn-3.OBJ essence-3.PERS   store
          'inquire in detail about a store', 'ask well about the ins and outs of
          (having) a store' (A person wanting to start a store may ask for vari-

ous kinds of information, such as how to start a store and how to run it.)

An inner aspect of something may also be the members of a group:

(10-285)   *Kulu*   *baka-tani-a*
           PL(INCL).NFUT   resolve.problem.among-TR-3.OBJ

           maqaluta-kuluqa.
           inner.aspect-PL(INCL).PERS
           'Let's sort out our problems.' 'Let's sort ourselves out.' Let's sort the problems among ourselves.'

As a locational noun, *maqaluta* has the senses 'between, among', 'in the midst of'.

(10-286)   *Lae   mai   qoko   takwe   i   maqaluta-mareqa.*
           go   VENT 2SG.SEQ stand   LOC   between-1DU(EXCL).PERS
           'Come and stand between the two of us.'

(10-287)   *Keka   kal=i   maqaluta-na   imole, ...*
           3PL.SEQ   move.around=LOC   among-3.PERS   person
           'They [people affected by love magic] move around, circulate among people, ...'

(10-288)   *Teqe kasi   kafo   e   ni=i*
           one   small water   3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC

           maqaluta-na   teqe si   toaa.
           midst-3.PERS   one   DIM   village
           'There is a small pool of water in the midst of a built-up place (lit. village).' (Speaking about a small pool in a zoo into which people throw coins.)

Besides expressing physical locational relations, *maqaluta* phrases may also be used metaphorically with reference to other kinds of relation, such as relations between or among people:

(10-289) *Botho   e   kwai-tao-faqi   i   maqaluta-da.*
          pig   3SG.NFUT   LIP-cause.strife-TR   LOC   midst-3PL.PERS
          'The pig is causing strife, discord among them.' (Speaking about a
          pig that is often left free to roam around the village, rooting up the
          ground and soiling the area.)

In (10-290) a *maqaluta* locational phrase functions as a modifier of a nomi-
nalization:

(10-290) *uka-li-laa   qi   maqaluta-na   roo   figu-a*
          divide-TR-NMLZ   LOC   between-3.PERS   two   gather-DVN
          'division, split between two groups (because of disagreement)'

And in (10-291) the locational phrase occurs in a stacked prepositional
phrase:

(10-291) *... si   manga   na   oge-laa   ka   fula*
          PRTT   time   REL   break-NMLZ   3SG.SEQ   take.place

          laqu boqo qi   laa   maqaluta-na   grup   qeri.
          ADD   INTS LOC   IN   midst-3.PERS   group   that
          '… the time when dissent (lit.: breaking) took place again in the
          group.'

In all the examples above, the entities between or among which something is
located, literally or metaphorically, are encoded as grammatical possessors of
the locational noun, by a personal suffix ([10-286] and [10-289]) or by a lexical
noun phrase ([10-287], [10-288], [10-290], and [10-291]). In (10-292) below
the complement noun phrase is a coordinate one:

(10-292) *... tai   si   doo   ka   fale-a   biliqa-laa,*
          some.PL PRTT   thing 3SG.SEQ cause-3.OBJ   be.dirty-NMLZ

          ma   ka   fale-a   kuluqa-laa   qi
          and   3SG.SEQ cause-3.OBJ   be.heavy-NMLZ   LOC

          maqaluta-na   wela nau ki bia   ai   nau ...
          between-3.PERS   child 1SG PL and   wife 1SG
          '... some things cause unpleasantness (lit. dirtiness), and they cause
          heaviness [problems] between my children and my wife ….'

But there is another construction, where one of the entities is encoded by means of a personal suffix on the locational noun and the other one by means of a lexical noun phrase in a comitative prepositional phrase that functions as a modifier of the head, locational noun. In (10-293) the locational noun carries the second person singular personal suffix, which indexes the addressee, and the modifier of *maqaluta-mu* is the comitative phrase *bia kini qeri* 'with that woman'; that is 'between you and (lit.: with) the woman'. The sentence also contains the noun *maqalutaa* 'space between', which bears some historical relation to *maqaluta*.

(10-293) *Qoko   ala-ma-tani-a   ta   si   maqalutaa*
          2SG.SEQ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   some PRTT space.between

          qi   maqaluta-mu   bia   kini   qeri   ka
          LOC   between-2SG.PERS   COM   woman   that   3SG.SEQ

          tekwa.
          be.long
          '[In the old days, if there was another man's wife walking on a track ahead of you, you would not walk closely behind her. This is what you would do:] You would allow a lot of space in between, between you and the woman.' (Lit.: 'You would allow it that a space at your between with the woman be long.')

Another example of this construction is given in (10-294):

(10-294) *Maqaluta-ku   bia   ai   nau,   qoko   lio   qi*
          between-1SG.PERS   and   wife 1SG   2SG.SEQ   look LOC

          ei, ...
          LOCPRO
          '[In] between me and my wife, you look there (and you see certain things ....)' (Lit.: 'My between with my wife, you look there ....')

10.8.8. *Qinitoqo* 'in the centre of, in the middle of'

There is a noun *qinitoqo* 'space, area in the middle/centre'. With this meaning, *qinitoqo* normally does not function as the head of the suffixing possessive constuction. *Qinitoqo* is usually pronounced [ʔìntɔ́ʔɔ] rather than [ʔìnɪtɔ́ʔɔ] (section 2.2.1).

(10-295) *ta   ulu   doo   i   qintoqo*
      some three thing LOC middle
      'three (of the) things [sticks] (are) in the middle'

However, as a locational noun with the meaning 'in the centre of, in the middle of', *qinitoqo* does function as the head of the suffixing possessive construction. It may be used with spatial or temporal complements:

(10-296) *Teqe tefolo qe   ni=i   qintoqo-na*
      one   table 3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC centre-3.PERS

      biqu   naqi.
      house   this
      'There is a table in the centre of this house.'

(10-297) *Si   manga n=e   ful=i   Oreore qi*
      PRTT time   REL=3SG.NFUT arrive=LOC Oreore LOC

      qintoqo-na   thato, ….
      middle-3.PERS   day
      'When he arrived at Oreore in the middle of the day, ….'

In (10-298) *qintoqo* is modified by a combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles (sections 7.6 and 7.8). The locational phrase functions as a modifier of a noun.

(10-298) *qi   laa   fanua   naq=i   qintoqo-na*
      LOC   IN   place   this=LOC   centre-3.PERS

      bo=naqa   toaa   naqi
      ASRT=INTS village this
      'in this place in the very centre of this village'

In (10-299) the locational construction with *qinitoqo* occurs in a stacked prepositional phrase:

(10-299) … *mika   fula   i   laa qintoqo-na*
        1PL(EXCL).SEQ   arrive   LOC IN   middle-3.PERS

A

> *thaqegano, ….*
> ground
> '… we arrived in the middle of the ground ….'. Here:: '… we went underground (into a cave),….'

10.8.9. *Laal-a* 'inside'

Although there is no evidence of a related noun *lala, *laal-a* contains the *-a* variant of the third person "singular" personal suffix, and historically there was metathesis of the *l* and the preceding *a* (section 8.1.2). *Laal-a* probably has some historical relation to the inessive bare preposition *laa* (section 10.2.3). As a (possessed) noun, *laal-a* has the meaning '(the) inside, interior'.

Evidence for the structure *laal-a* comes from constructions where *laal-a* refers anaphorically to an earlier noun phrase, and the anaphoric reference can only be by means of a personal suffix. In (10-300) 'their inside' refers back to *nudula qena* 'the noodles':

(10-300) *Kuki-a   nudula   qena;   qoko   batari-a*
          cook-3.OBJ noodle   that(2) 2SG.SEQ permeate-3.OBJ

          laal-a   qana solo.
          inside-3SG.PERS   INS salt
          'Cook the noodles (and then) mix/stir salt in them.' (Lit.: 'Cook the noodles; and permeate their inside with salt.')

Similarly in (10-301), where *laal-a* in a relative clause has the head of the relative clause as its antecedent:

(10-301) *Nau kwasi   riki-a   waqi   na   maka nau*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   basket REL   father 1SG

          qe   alu-a   lif-iqa   baa qi
          3SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   tooth-fish   that LOC

          laal-a.
          inside-3SG.PERS
          'I haven't seen the basket my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in (lit.: inside it).'

Such anaphoric use of *laal-a* is fully parallel to the anaphoric use of the other locational nouns in relative clauses (and elsewhere). For example, in (10-

302) the locational noun *fafo* with the third person singular suffix is used ana-
phorically in a relative clause to refer to the head noun:

(10-302) *Mata*   *n=o*   *qono* *qi* *fafo-na*   *nena*
          mat   REL=2SG.NFUT sit   LOC top-3SG.PERS   there(2)

          qe   *biliqa.*
          3SG.NFUT   be dirty
          'The mat you're sitting on is dirty.'

And in (10-303) *laal-a* functions anaphorically with respect to the topic
phrase 'this box':

(10-303) *Bakosi* *naqi* *ku*   *alu-a*   *fanga*
          box   this   1SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   food

          i   *laal-a* ….
          LOC   inside-3SG.PERS
          'This box I put food in (lit.: inside it) (not clothes).'

The sentence in (10-304) contains *laal-a* with the meaning '(the) inside,
interior:

(10-304) *Laal-a*   *luma* *qe*   *kumu*   *qana* *lolo.*
          inside-3.PERS   house 3SG.NFUT   be.strewn   GENP   rubbish
          'The inside of the house is strewn with rubbish.'

See also (10-300) further above.

As a locational noun, *laal-a* can be used with locative or temporal comple-
ments. In (10-305) it has a locative complement.

(10-305) *Toq=qe=ki*   *keka*   *too*   *i*   *laal-a*   *lokap*
          people=that=PL 3PL.SEQ stay LOC   inside-3.PERS   jail

          suli=fa   *manga*   *qoro*   *ki.*
          PROL:3.OBJ=CLF   time   be.many   PL
          'The people stayed in jail for a long time (lit.: for many periods of
          time).'

See also (10-301) and (10-303) further above.

In (10-306) *laal-a* has a temporal complement:

(10-306) *Laa-lae   ka   fula   qi   laal-a   naintin*
          RDP-go   3SG.SEQ arrive   LOC   inside-3.PERS   nineteen

          foti   foo, ….
          forty   four
          'Eventually, [the year of] 1944 arrived ….' (Lit.: 'After some time,
          it arrived inside 1944 ….')

Chapter 11
Coordination of noun phrases and prepositional phrases. Apposition of noun phrases and prepositional phrases.

11.1.   Introduction

Two types of phrasal coordination and apposition are distinguished in Toqabaqita: noun-phrase coordination and apposition, and prepositional-phrase coordination and apposition. Clauses can consist exclusively of verb phrases. There is clausal coordination, but no separate category of coordinate verb-phrases. Clausal coordination is discussed in chapter 28. There is only one adjective in the language and no category of adjective phrase (section 6.12). The class of adverbs is very small (section 4.11), and there is no coordination of adverb phrases.

11.2.   Noun-phrase coordination

Toqabaqita has two basic types of noun phrase coordination: conjunctive and disjunctive.

11.2.1. Conjunctive noun-phrase coordination

11.2.1.1.   The basic structure

The basic structure of the conjunctive coordinate noun phrase is given in (11-1):

(11-1)   NP $\rightarrow$ NP [({*ma/bia/bii*}) NP]*
                       and/and/and

There are two pieces of evidence that the coordinators *maa*, *bia*, and *bii* 'and' form a unit with the following rather than the preceding NP. First, as discussed in section 11.2.1.2, the choice between *bia* and *bii* is determined by the type of the coordinand[32] — lexical or pronominal, respectively — to the right

of the coordinator. Second, less direct evidence comes from clausal coordination. In clausal coordination, the coordinators belong prosodically in the second clause (section 28.1). And a sentence can begin with *ma*, which may, but need not connect the sentence to the preceding discourse (section 28.2.1). (Neither *bia* nor *bii* are used in sentential coordination.)

As (11-1) shows, conjunctive noun phrase coordination may be syndetic or asyndetic. The asterisk in (11-1) signifies that there may be more than coordinand. Coordination with two coordinands is referred to in what follows as "binary", and coordination with more than two coordinands as "multiple" (Haspelmath 2004).

The coordinators *bia* and *bii* are synonymous phonological variants of each other, but they are not interchangeable. Both also function as variants of the comitative preposition (section 10.3.6). And *bia* and *bii* on the one hand and *ma* on the other too are synonymous. The use of the three forms is discussed in detail in section 11.2.1.2.

In binary coordination, a coordinator is usually present:

(11-2)   *araqi   qe=ki   ma   kukeqe   qe=ki*
         mature.man that=PL and   mature.woman that=PL
         'those adult men and those adult women'

(11-3)   *kaleko   nau   baa   ki bia   waqi   nau   baa*
         clothes   1SG   that   PL and   basket   1SG   that
         'those clothes of mine and that basket of mine'

Binary constructions without a coordinator are possible, although not frequent:

(11-4)   *... keka   riki-a   subi,   alafolo,*
             3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ   k.o. warclub   k.o.warclub

         ka   quna,"...."
         3SG.SEQ manner
         'they saw *subi* clubs, *alafolo* clubs, and [one of them] said, "....".'

Coordinators are somewhat more likely to absent when the coordinands contain numerals in complex numeral expressions (see [6-257] in section 6.8.1):

(11-5)   *Nau taafulu fa   ngali roo fa   ngali.*
         1SG   ten   CLF   year two CLF   year
         'I'm twelve years (old).'

However, in the next example, also with numerals in the coordinands, there is a coordinator present:

(11-6)   *Kamiliqa   taafulu   uni-qi   wane   ma   fiu*
        1PL(EXCL)   ten   generation-ASSOC   person   and   seven

        uni-qi   wane.
        generation-ASSOC   person
        'We are 17 generations.' 'There are 17 generations of us.'

In multiple coordination, the last coordinand normally has a coordinator, while the others — the first one apart — may, but need not. However, unless the number of coordinands is relatively large, there is a tendency for each coordinand after the first one to have its own coordinator.

(11-7)   *Wela nia   ki ma   kukeqe   nia   ma   nia,   keka*
        child 3SG   PL and   wife   3SG   and   3SG   3PL.SEQ

        thafaliq=qani-a   naqa oqola   kera qeri.
        INCEP=eat-3.OBJ   PRF garden   3PL   that
        'His children, and his wife, and he will begin to eat (the food grown in) that garden of theirs.'

(11-8)   *Meka   riki-a   baqekwa ki,   ma   iqa*
        1DU(EXCL).SEQ   see-3.OBJ   shark   PL   and   fish

        qoro   qeeqeta   ki,   ma   fali   ki,   ma
        be.many be.exceptional PL   and   stingray PL   and

        kokala   ki, ….
        octopus   PL
        'We saw sharks, and lots and lots of [different] fish (lit.: exceptionally many fish), and stingrays, and octopuses, ….'

It is more likely for coordinands that occur relatively early in a coordinate noun phrase not to have a coordinator than for those occurring relatively late. In the next example, all but the last two coordinands lack coordinators:

(11-9)   *Keka   ngata, …,   ni   Alakookona,   Alafisiqai,*
        3PL.SEQ speak   PERSMKR   Alakookona   Alafisiqai

Maokaalo, Faufio, ma Taatalaqu, ma Liorodo,
Maokaalo Faufio and Taatalaqu, and Liorodo

keka quna qeri, "…."
3PL.SEQ manner this
'They spoke, …, Alakookona, Alafisiqai, Maokaalo, Faufio, and
Taatalaqu, and Liorodo, they said "….".'

However, as the next example shows, an early coordinand may have a coordinator while subsequent ones need not:

(11-10)   *… ka   oli   mai, ka   sainem tai*
              3SG.SEQ return   VENT 3SG.SEQ sign.up some.PL

        wane ki qani kamiliqa,   toqa   na=i   laa
        man   PL GENP 1PL(EXCL) people   REL=LOC   IN

        aququa   naqi, ma   tai   wane   mai Westen,
        island   this   and   some.PL man   VENT Western

        tai   wane mai Gwalkana,   tai   toqa
        some.PL man VENT Guadalcanal   some.PL people

        mai Gela   qaylen, qan=bulis ….
        VENT Nggela island   GENP=police
        '... he signed up some men among us, people of this island
        [Malaita], and some men from [what is now] Western [Province],
        some men from Guadalcanal, some men from Nggela Island, into the
        police [force] ….'

(*Kamiliqa, toqa na=i laa aququa naqi,* '(among) us, people of this island,' is an
instance of apposition, not of coordination; see section 11.4.)

And when the number of coordinands is not very large, there need not be
any coordinator at all:

(11-11)   *Beta   nia fasa mataqi-a,   feda-laa,*
           protect   3SG ABL be.sick-DVN   be.tired-NMLZ

        taqaa-laa.
        be.bad-NMLZ
        'Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wickedness (that is, from being wicked, bad).'

11.2.1.2.   The three conjunctive coordinators ma, bia, *and* bii

All three coordinators have the meaning 'and', and there is some interchange-ability among them. *Ma* is interchangeable both with *bia* and with *bii*, but *bia* and *bii* are not mutually interchangeable. The first example below contains two adjacent sentences in a text, and the coordinate noun phrases have the same pairs of referents. The coordinate noun phrase in the first sentence contains *ma*, and the one in the second sentence *bia*:

(11-12)   *Tootoo*   **maka**   *nia*   *ma*   **thaina-na**   *keko*   *lae*
          later   father   3SG   and   mother-3SG.PERS   3DU.SEQ   go

          naqa. **Maka**   *nia*   *bia*   **thaina-na**   *keko*
          PRF   father   3SG   and   mother-3SG.PERS   3DU.SEQ

          sore-a," ...."
          say-3SG.OBJ
          'Later, his father and mother were about to go. His father and mother said, "....".'

The next pair of examples shows the coordinators *ma* and *bii* in the same structural position with an independent personal pronoun as the second coordinand:

(11-13)   **Doqora-ku**   *ma*   *ni*   *nau*,   *tootoo*
          sibling-1SG.PERS   and   PROFORE   1SG   later

          meki   *lae*   *uri*   *Honiara.*
          1DU(EXCL).FUT   go   ALL   Honiara
          'My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.'

(11-14)   *... **ai**   *qeri*   **bii**   *ni*   *nau*   *qe=aqi*
              woman   that   and   PROFORE   1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

          mesi   *kwai-naqo-fi.*
          1DU(EXCL).NEG   LIP-face-TR
          '[Traditionally, when the wife of another man and I were speaking to each other,] the woman and I would not face each other.'

The following are the conditions on the use of the three coordinators. *Bii* can be used only if the coordinand to its right is pronominal, as in (11-14) above. *Bia* can be used only if the coordinand to its right is lexical; see the sec-

ond sentence in (11-12). Compare also the broadly synonymous sentences (11-15) and (11-16) below. In (11-15) the second coordinand is lexical, and the coordinator has the form *bia*. On the other hand, in (11-16) the second coordinand is pronominal, and the coordinator has the form *bii*.

(11-15) *Nau*   *bia*   *doqora-ku,*   *tootoo*   *meki*   *lae*
   1SG and sibling-1SG.PERS later 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

   uri *Honiara.*
   ALL Honiara
   'I and my brother will go to Honiara one day.'

(11-16) *Doqora-ku*   *bii*   *nau,* *tootoo* *meki*   *lae*
   sibling-1SG.PERS and 1SG later 1DU(EXCL).FUT go

   uri *Honiara.*
   ALL Honiara
   'My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.'

It is the coordinand to the right of the coordinator rather than the one to its left that determines the choice between *bia* and *bii*. In (11-17) both coordinands are lexical, and the form of the coordinator is *bia*:

(11-17) *Thaina-na*   *bia*   *maka*   *nia* *kero*   *lae*
   mother-3SG.PERS and father 3SG 3DU.NFUT go

   qana *uusi-a ....*
   GENP buy-DVN
   'His mother and his father went to the market ....'

The sentence in (11-16) further above has a lexical coordinand to the left of the coordinator, but a pronominal coordinand to the right of the coordinator. And there the coordinator has the form *bii*.

The coordinators *bia* and *bii* are the same etymon as the variant forms of the comitative preposition. As discussed in section 10.3.6, the reduced prepositional form *bia* is obligatory with lexical complements, while the form *bii* is obligatory with pronominal complements (and with the object suffixes). The rules that govern the use of the two coordinator forms reflect the distribution of the corresponding prepositional forms (Lichtenberk 1991b). And the fact that it is the coordinand to the right of the coordinator that determines its form is evidence that the coordinators form a constituent with the coordinand to their right rather than with the one to their left (see [11-1] in section 11.2.1.1).

There are no restrictions on the use of *ma* in conjunctive coordination. It can be used in any type of coordinate noun phrase, regardless of the types of the coordinands. (*Ma* is also used freely in coordination of prepositional phrases, where neither *bia* nor *bii* is grammatical; in clausal coordination, where both *bia* and *bii* are rare, and in sentential coordination, where neither *bia* nor *bii* is grammatical.)

While independent pronouns can function as coordinands in conjunctive coordination, this is not always possible, and even where it is possible, it is not common. Examples (11-13) – (11-16) above show that a lexical noun phrase and a pronominal noun phrase can be coordinated. However, such coordination occurs freely only in the topic, non-argument position, as in (11-15) and (11-16). It is also possible in the subject position, although it is not common there; for an example see (11-23) in section 11.2.1.3. It is not grammatical elsewhere. The coordinate structure is not normally used when both/all of the coordinands would be pronominal. Instead, the corresponding dual or plural pronoun is normally used.

Because of the restrictions on the use of pronouns in coordinate noun phrases and consequently on the use of *bii*, the subsequent discussion deals only with *ma* and *bia*. *Bia* is used much more commonly if the coordinand to its right is human than if it is non-human. In practice this means that *bia* is used much more commonly if both (or all) coordinands are human than if they are not, because coordinands are usually of the same animacy status. There is no such restriction on the use of *ma*: *ma* is common with coordinands regardless of their animacy status. In a corpus of 15 texts of more than 2800 clauses analyzed in Lichtenberk (1991b), there were 83 instances of conjunctive noun phrase coordination: 53 instances of *ma* and 30 instances of *bia*. (There were no instances of *bii*.) The distribution of the two coordinators in the corpus is shown in table 11.1.

Table 11.1. Distribution of *ma* and *bia* in a corpus of texts (Lichtenberk 1991b)

	ma		*bia*		Total: 83
human coordinands	29	51.8%	27	48.2	56
inanimate coordinands	24	88.9%	3	11.1%	27

Of the 83 tokens of coordinate noun phrases, 56 involved human coordinands and 27 inanimate coordinands. (There were no instances of non-human animate coordinands.) In every coordinate noun phrase the coordinands were of the same animacy status. With human coordinands, *ma* and *bia* were just about equally common: 29 instances of *ma* versus 27 instances of *bia*. On the other hand, the distribution of *ma* and *bia* was highly skewed with inanimate coordi-

nands: 24 instances of *ma* as against only 3 instances of *bia*. The relatively rare use of *bia* with inanimate coordinands reflects its origin as a comitative preposition, which normally takes human complements.

Occasionally, the categorial status of *bia* (or *bii*) either as a coordinator or as a comitative preposition is not transparent. For example in (11-18) it could be interpreted as either, without any great semantic difference:

(11-18)   *Ku*   *riki-a*   *kukeqe*   *bia*   *wela*
            1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   mature.woman and/COM   child

            nia   *ki.*
            3SG   PL
            a. 'I saw the woman and her children.'
            b. 'I saw the woman with her children.'

Mostly, however, the status of *bia* as a coordinator rather than a preposition is clear. For example, in (11-19) both coordinands are singular but the coordinate noun phrase is dual, as evidenced by the dual subject marker *keko*:

(11-19)   *...* *wane qeri bia* *kwai-na*   *keko*
            man   that   and   spouse-3SG.PERS   3DU.SEQ

            manata-toqo-na   *keki*   *sifo*   *qi*
            think-TEST-3.OBJ   3DU.FUT   descend LOC

            maa-na   *uusi-a.*
            point-3.PERS   buy-DVN
            '... the man and his wife thought of going down to the market place.'

And in (11-20) there are three coordinands rather than a noun phrase followed by two comitative prepositional phrases. The story in question is not (primarily) about the man. It is about all three people. The man is in no sense the primary character.

(11-20)   *Si*   *uqunu*   *qeri* *qe*   *lae*   *suli-a*   *teqe*
            PRTT story   this   3SG.NFUT go   PROL-3.OBJ one

            wane bia *kwai-na*   *bia*   *qa-daroqa*
            man   and   spouse-3SG.PERS and   POSS-3DU.PERS

      teqe   wela, wela wane.
      one   child child man
      a. 'This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of
         theirs, a boy.'
      Not: b. *'This story is about a man with his wife (and?) with a child
          of theirs, a boy.'

11.2.1.3.   *More on conjunctive coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases*

Lexical and pronominal noun phrases are freely coordinated in a non-argument position, such as the topic position, and the two types of coordinand can occur in either order.

(11-21)   *Nau   ma   doqora-ku,   tootoo   meki   lae*
        1SG   and   sibling-1SG.PERS   later   1DU(EXCL).FUT   go

        uri   Honiara.
        ALL   Honiara
        'I and my brother will go to Honiara one day.'

(11-22)   *Doqora-ku   ma   ni   nau, tootoo*
        sibling-1SG.PERS   and   PROFORE   1SG   later

        meki   lae   uri   Honiara.
        1DU(EXCL).FUT   go   ALL   Honiara
        'My brother and I will go to Honiara one day.'

This type of coordination is also possible in the subject position, but it is relatively rare there:

(11-23)   *Nau   ma   wela nau ki   mili*
        1SG   and   child 1SG   PL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT

        too   siafaqa.
        be.in.certain.condition   not.be.well.off
        'I and my children are not well off.'

However, the situation is quite different in non-topic and non-subject positions. The discussion that follows focuses on the direct-object position, but brief remarks will subsequently be made about other positions. The sentences in (11-24) and (11-25) appear to contain coordinate noun phrases in the direct-

object position, the former having the lexical noun phrase before the personal pronoun and the latter the personal pronoun before the lexical noun phrase:

(11-24) *Wane*   *e*   *laba-tani-a*   *maka*   *nau*   *ma*
         man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR-3.OBJ   father   1SG   and

         ni   *nau.*
         PROFORE   1SG
         'The man harmed my father and me.'

(11-25) *Wane*   *e*   *laba-taqi*   *nau*   *ma*   *maka*   *nau.*
         man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR   1SG   and   father   1SG
         'The man harmed me and my father.'

In (11-24), with the lexical phrase next to the verb 'harm', the verb carries the suffix *-a*, which indexes lexical direct objects, and the form of the verb is *laba-tani*. On the other hand, in (11-25), with a pronominal phrase next to the verb, the verb does not carry the object suffix and its form is *laba-taqi*. *Laba-tani/laba-taqi* 'harm' is a long transitive verb, and such verbs exhibit alternation in the form of the (long) transitive suffix: with one type of exception that is not relevant here, *-Cani* is used in the presence of an object suffix and *-Caqi* is used elsewhere, including with pronominal objects (section 4.2.3.2.2).

One might want to argue that the presence or absence of the object suffix and consequently the form of the verb work on a "proximity" principle, that it is the coordinand closer to the verb that is the determining factor. However, there is evidence that that is not the case. As shown in (4-1) in section 4.1, pronominal direct objects and lexical direct objects occupy different positions in the verb phrase: pronominal objects occur directly after the verb, before any postverbal particles, while lexical objects occur after all of the postverbal particles. What happens if a postverbal particle is inserted into sentences such as (11-24) and (11-25) above? The sentences in (11-26) and (11-27) below contain the perfect marker *naqa*. The sentence in (11-26) corresponds to (11-24), with the lexical noun phrase coming first:

(11-26) *Wane*   *e*   *laba-tani-a*   *naqa* *maka* *nau*   *ma*
         man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR-3.OBJ   PRF   father 1SG   and

         ni   *nau.*
         PROFORE   1SG
         'The man has harmed my father and me.'

In (11-26) the perfect marker comes before the lexical noun phrase, which is the situation with lexical direct objects. However, the perfect marker also precedes the pronominal phrase, which is not what happens with pronominal objects elsewhere.

The sentence in (11-27) corresponds to (11-25), with the pronominal noun phrase coming first:

(11-27)   *Wane   e   laba-taqi   nau   naqa ma   maka*
           man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR   1SG   PRF   and   father

           nau.
           1SG
           'The man has harmed me and my father.'

The perfect marker comes after the pronoun, which is what one would expect, but it is placed between the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase. Both types of problem, the one exemplified in (11-26), where a postverbal particle comes earlier than the pronoun, and the one exemplified in (11-27), where a postverbal particle intervenes between the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase, are evidence that the pronoun and the lexical noun phrase do not form a coordinate noun phrase with each other. Only the first noun phrase is the direct object. This accounts for the presence and absence of the object suffix on the verb and the *-tani/-taqi* variation in the form of the transitive suffix. The second noun phrase is a clause-level adjunct: 'The man has harmed my father, and/as well as me' for (11-26), and 'The man has harmed me, and/as well as my father' for (11-27). Similarly for (11-24) and (11-25). (For more detailed discussion in the context of direct objecthood in Toqabaqita and for another example see Lichtenberk [1997].)

The next pair of examples shows a parallel situation with a verb-like preposition. In (11-28) the lexical noun phrase occurs next to the prolative preposition and is indexed on it by means of the suffix *-a*, as is the case with lexical objects of the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3.1):

(11-28)   *Toqa   naqi ki kera   ngat=taqaa   suli-a*
           people   this PL 3PL.NFUT   speak=be.bad   PROL-3.OBJ

           mak=kamuluqa   ma   ni   kamuluqa.
           father=2PL   and   PROFORE   2PL
           'These people speak badly about your father and (about) you.'

On the other hand, in (11-29) it is the pronoun that occurs next to the preposition, and as is the case with pronominal objects, it is not indexed on the

preposition. (In 11-29 there is no phonological fusion of the verbs *ngata* 'speak' and *taqaa* 'be bad'.)

(11-29) *Toqa   naqi ki kera   ngata   taqaa   suli*
         people   this PL 3PL.NFUT   speak   be.bad   PROL

        kamuluqa   ma   mak=kamuluqa.
        2PL   and   father=2PL
        'These people speak badly about you and (about) your father.'

Here too the presence and absence of object indexing on the preposition is evidence that it is only the phrase next to the preposition that is its object. The other one is an adjunct.

While the second noun phrase in the constructions discussed in this section is an adjunct, there is not necessarily a prosodic break between the two noun phrases. Sometimes, however, there is a (slight) pause between the two, as in the next example. In fact, in that sentence there are two adjunct phrases, and each one contains a combination of the additive marker and an intensifier. Each adjunct is separated from the preceding phrase by a pause, indicated by commas.

(11-30) *… qoko   qadomi nia,   ma   ai   nia   ni   laqu*
        2SG.SEQ help   3SG   and   wife   3SG   LIG   ADD

        boqo,   ma   kali   wela nia   ni   laqu boqo, ….
        INTS   and   little.SG child 3SG   LIG   ADD INTS
        '… help him, and also his wife, and also his little child, ….'

Coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases in a non-argument position is not unusual. It is grammatical in the subject position but not common. Coordination of lexical and pronominal noun phrases in other positions is not grammatical. Instead, only one noun phrase functions as the object of the verb or of a preposition, the other one(s) being (an) adjunct(s). This type of construction is dispreferred. What is preferred both in the subject position and in the object positions is constructions with inclusory pronominals, which are discussed in chapter 14.

11.2.2. Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination

The basic structure of the disjunctive coordinate noun phrase is shown in (11-31):

(11-31)   NP → NP [*mada* NP]*
                      or

Disjunctive noun-phrase coordination can only be syndetic. There is only one, invariable disjunctive coordinator, *mada* 'or'. (*Mada* is also used in coordination of clauses and sentences [section 28.4], to introduce the protases of conditional sentences [section 31.1.1], and to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition [section 18.5.3].)

Disjunctive coordination can be binary or multiple; see (11-32) for the former, and (11-33) and (11-34) for the latter.

(11-32)   *Qo   moa-tani-a   fanga   mada kafo ni   bana?*
            2SG.NFUT   vomit-TR-3.OBJ food   or   water LIG   LIM
            'Did you vomit out food or just water?'

In multiple disjunctive coordination, each coordinand other than the first one occurs with *mada*:

(11-33)   *... ka   teo   si   qa-na   ta   kwalu   fa*
            3SG.SEQ lie   PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS some   eight   CLF

            bongi,   mada   ta   fiu   fa   bongi,   mada ono
            day   or   some seven CLF day   or   six

            fa   bongi,   sui, ...
            CLF   day   be.finished
            '[After an area of the bush has been cleared for a new garden,] it [the cleared area] will first lie (like that) for some eight days, or (some) seven days, or six days, then ....'

In (11-34) a multiply disjunctive noun phrase occurs as the complement of the confective preposition *faafi*:

(11-34)   *Qe=aqi   misi   raqu   quu   boqo*
            3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1PL(EXCL).NEG   possess   ANTCONT   ASRT

            faafi-a   ta   teqe kasi   qamplifae mena,
            CONF-3.OBJ   some   one   small   amplifier   FADD

            mada   ta   si   spika   mena,   mada   ta
            or   some   DIM speaker FADD   or   some

maekrofon	*mena,*	*ma*	*gita*	*ni*	*mena*
microphone	FADD	and	guitar	LIG	FADD

ka	*aqi.*
3SG.SEQ	not.be.available

'We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.'

Lexical and pronominal phrases are not normally combined in disjunctive coordination in argument positions. Instead, disjunctive phrases are placed in clauses as adjuncts, the referents being encoded in an argument position jointly by a subject marker or by an object marker. In (11-35) they are encoded jointly by means of the plural object suffix on the comitative preposition. The reference of the object suffix is made clear by the following disjunctive phrase:

(11-35) | *Tei* | *na* | *qoki* | *lae* | *bii-da,* | *kamiliqa* | *mada* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| who | FOC | 2SG.FUT | go | COM-3PL.OBJ | 1PL(EXCL) | or |

kini	*qena*	*ki?*
woman	that(2)	PL

'Who will you go with (lit.: with them), us or those women?'

11.3.　Prepositional-phrase coordination

Coordination of prepositional phrases can be of the conjunctive or the disjunctive type. Conjunctive coordination is discussed first. In conjunctive coordination, only the conjunction *ma* 'and' can be used, which is also used to coordinate noun phrases (and clauses and sentences). The other coordinators used in conjunctive noun-phrase coordination, *bia* and *bii*, do not function as coordinators of prepositional phrases. *Ma* is optional, although usually present, especially in binary coordination.

Example (11-36) contains binary coordination:

(11-36) | *Wane* | *araqi* | *ki* | *ma* | *ai* | *biqi* | *baqita* | *ki* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | mature.man | PL | and | woman | IMM | be.big | PL |

na	*kere*	*fii-fita*	*suli-a*	*tala*	*qeri*	***i***	***laa***
FOC	3PL.NFUT	RDP-run	PROL-3.OBJ	road	that	LOC	IN

fa	*quuqusungadia*	*ki*	*ma*	*i*	*laa*	*thaqulafia*	*ki*.
CLF	morning	PL	and	LOC	IN	evening	PL

'It's (both) adult men and adolescent women (lit.: women just/recently big) that run [here: jog] on that road in the mornings and in the evenings.'

In (11-37) the coordinator is absent from binary coordination:

(11-37)   ... *tai*   *kini*   *ki na*   *keki*   *qono* **ura**
            some.PL woman   PL FOC   3PL.IPFV sit   PURP

qegwe-la-na,   *uri-a*
extract.kernel.out.of-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ

alu-la-na   *i*   *laa*   *fo*   *ongi.*
put-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   CLF   bamboo.sp

'[When canarium nuts are processed, the men crack them open (and)] it is some (of the) women who sit [there] to extract the kernels out of them (and) to put them [the kernels] in *ongi* bamboo [containers].' (Lit.: '... it is some women who sit for extracting the kernels out of them, for putting them in *ongi* bamboo.')

Disjunctive coordination is discussed next. There the conjunction *mada* 'or' is used, which also serves to coordinate noun phrases (and clauses). *Mada* is obligatory. The next two examples contain disjunctive coordination:

(11-38)   ... *uri-a*   *kwai*   *raa* *i*   **Kilufi**   **mada**   *i*
            PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT work LOC Kilufi   or   LOC

Malu'u.
Malu'u
'[I applied for a job] so that I could work at Kilufi [Hospital] or at Malu'u [Clinic].

(11-39)   ... *keko*   *kotho*   *ba-daroqa*   *i*
            3DU.SEQ go.through   LIM-3DU.PERS LOC

maatonga-na   *fenisi*   *qeri*   **mada**   *i*
mid.of.vertical.object-3.PERS   fence   that   or   LOC

> **qaaqae-na**   *fenisi*   *qeri*   *toqo.*
> base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS   fence   that   perhaps
> '… they went [out] simply through the middle of the fence or per-
> haps at [i.e. under] the bottom of the fence.'

11.4.   Noun-phrase apposition and prepositional-phrase apposition

In apposition, as the term is used here, two, or more, phrases that are referen-
tially non-distinct are juxtaposed, without a coordinator. In apposition, the
phrase(s) after the first one supplies/supply additional, clarifying, elaborating,
or correcting information about the entity or the type of entity encoded by the
first phrase. The two or more appositive phrases are normally separate intona-
tion units, indicated by commas in the examples. The first four examples illus-
trate noun-phrase apposition, which is more common than prepositional-phrase
apposition:

(11-40)   *Nia*   *ka*   *lae*   *bo=naqa*   *buria-na*   **wane**
          3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   ASRT=INTS   behind-3.PERS   man

          qeri, wane   *ni*   *thau*   **wane**   *qeri.*
          that man   LIG   kill   person   that
          'He followed (lit. went behind) the man, the killer of people.'

(11-41)   *Kera*   *laba-tani-a*   *qasia naqa toqa*   *naqi ki*
          3PL.NFUT   harm-TR-3.OBJ   INTS   INTS   people   this   PL

          i   *laal-a*   **aququa naqi, Malaqita**, *.…*
          LOC   inside-3.PERS   island   this   Malaita
          'They really harmed the (lit.: these) people on this island, Malaita,
          .…'

In (11-42) the second noun phrase clarifies the reference of the personal
pronoun with which it is in apposition:

(11-42)   *…* *ta*   *fai,*   *ta*   *lima wane biqi   baqita   bii*
               some   four   some   five   man IMM   be.big   COM

          kamiliqa,   *ta*   *fai*   **wane baqita**   *naqa.*
          1PL(EXCL)   some   four   man be.big   PRF
          '[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the
          work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big),

(together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.'

More than two phrases may be in apposition:

(11-43)   ... ***tha***   ***Mata,***   ***kwai=ni***   ***Joy,***
           PERSMKR   Mata   spouse:3.PERS=PERSMKR   Joy

           Police   ***man baa***, *e*   *faqa-rongo nau   mai* ....
           police   man that   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear 1SG   VENT
           '… Mata, Joy's husband, the policeman, told me ….'

The next example contains prepositional-phrase apposition, where the second prepositional phrase has a disjunctive coordinate noun phrase as its complement:

(11-44)   ... *ma*   *kuka*   *toli-ngi*   *nia*   ***qan=ta***
           and   PL(INCL).SEQ   give.share.to-TR   3SG   GENP=some

           si   *doo,* *qan=sii-na*   ***botho***   *mada*   *ta*
           PRTT   thing GENP=piece-3.PERS   pork   or   some

           kata   *mada*   *ta*   *iqa*.
           k.o.pudding or   some   fish
           '... and we give him a share of something, (such as) some pork, or some *kata* pudding, or some fish.'

Chapter 12
Compounding

12.1.   Introduction

Toqabaqita has a large variety of types of compounds. On the basis of their constituents, the following main types can be distinguished in the language: [noun noun], [noun verb], [verb noun], and [verb verb] compounds. There are both endocentric and exocentric compounds, and both root and synthetic compounds. With one minor type of exception, all endocentric compounds are left-headed. Apart from the major compounding types, there are also some minor types, and also idiosyncratic compounds. And besides compounds, there are lexicalized phrases, which too are discussed in this chapter.

The only phonological characteristic that may be indicative of a word being a compound is stress. As discussed in section 2.3, in words with more than one stressed syllable the final stress tends to be stronger than the preceding stress(es). So, for example the word *alo* 'taro' would be stressed [álɔ] when not in a compound, whereas it would normally receive secondary stress as the first constituent in the compound [àlɔmáɛ] (*alo-mae* 'taro'-'die') 'blight that affects taro plants'.

The following conventions are employed in writing compounds. Compounds that are irregular, semantically or formally, are written as one word. Included here are [verb noun] compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs. All other compounds are written as separate words, with one type of exception. Compounds that carry affixes that apply to the compound as a whole are written as one word to show that the affix applies to the whole compound. This applies to nominalizations and deverbal nouns formed from compound verbs; for example, *abula taqaa* ('behave' 'be.bad') 'behave badly', but *abula-taqaa-laa* 'behaving badly', with the nominalizing suffix *-laa*; and *alu wane* ('bury' 'person') 'bury (dead) people' but *alu-wane-a* 'burial', with the the deverbal-noun forming suffix *-a*. Similarly, compounds that carry other affixes are written as one word; for example, *lofo-qaba-ku* ('inner.side'-'hand'-1SG.PERS) 'my (hand) palm'; cf. the synonymous possessive noun phrase *lofo-na qaba-ku* 'the palm of my hand' (with the third person possessive suffix *-na*). Lexicalized phrases are written as separate words, unless they are highly idiosyncratic semantically and/or formally.

There are also compound-like words where only one of the elements exists as a word in the language today; for example, *utarodo* (n.) 'rain at night', cf. *rodo* night. There is no related word *uta*, but cf. Proto-Oceanic *qunsa 'rain', of which *uta* would be a regular reflex in Toqabaqita.

Some compounds function purely as lexemes, the way non-compound lexemes do. But certain types of compound fulfill an information-packaging function. Specifically, they permit the backgrounding of a participant.

12.2.   [noun noun] compounds

With a very small number of exceptions, all [noun noun] compounds are themselves nouns. This type of compound may be endocentric or exocentric.

Endocentric compounds:

(12-1)   *firi   thato*   (12-2)   *fau   botho*
        tobacco   sun   stone pig
        'variety of tobacco   'basalt'
        with yellow leaves'

The nouns *wane* 'man' and *kini* 'woman' are used as modifiers in compounds to signal male and female gender, respectively:

(12-3)   *wela wane*   (12-4)   *nguda   kini*
        child man   crab   woman
        'boy', 'son'   'female crab'

Exocentric compounds:

(12-5)   *qaba-malefo*   (12-6)   *qai-alo*
        arm/hand-shell.money   tree-taro
        'kind of armlet made   'corn'
        out of shell money'

There are a few pairs of compounds and synonymous possessive phrases:

(12-7)   a.   *lofo-qaba-ku*
           inner.side-hand-1SG.PERS
           'my (hand) palm'

b.　*lofo-na*　　　　*qaba-ku*
　　inner.side-3.PERS　hand-1SG.PERS
　　'the palm of my hand'

In other cases, a compound and the corresponding possessive phrase are not synonymous, because the compound has an idiosyncratic meaning.

(12-8)　*mee-qulau*　　　　　(12-9)　*mea-na*　　　*qulau*
　　　　tongue-frog.sp.　　　　　　　　tongue-3.PERS　frog.sp.
　　　　'young coconut　　　　　　　　　'the tongue of an *qulau*
　　　　with very soft flesh'　　　　　　frog'

In very few cases, a compound that consists of two nouns is not itself a noun but a verb.

(12-10)　*maa-fau*
　　　　eye-stone
　　　　'of a person: be serious, not given to jokes, laughter', 'be stony faced'

Similarly in (12-11), where, however, the constituents can occur in either order without any difference in meaning:

(12-11)　a.　*maa-era*　　　　　　　　b.　*era-maa*
　　　　　　eye-fire　　　　　　　　　　　fire-eye
　　　　　　both: 'stare with one's eyes wide open (e.g. when being fierce)', 'have eyes flashing (e.g. in anger)'

12.3.　[noun verb] compounds

There are three subtypes of [noun verb] compounds. One of them is root compounds and the other two synthetic compounds.

12.3.1. Root [noun verb] compounds

Compounds of this type are quite numerous, and they can be either endocentric or exocentric. Only intransitive verbs can occur as modifiers in this type of compound. The compound is a noun.

Endocentric compounds:

(12-12) *kini*   *faalu*   (12-13) *iqa*   *tekwa*
         woman   be.new   "fish"   be.long
         'newly-married woman'   'dugong'

(The *iqa* category subsumes not only fish but also sea mammals.)

Exocentric compounds:

(12-14) *alo-mae*   (12-15) *kuukuu-qoro*
         taro-die   finger/toe-be.many
         'blight that affects   'centipede'
         taro plants'

12.3.2. Subject-incorporating [noun verb] compounds

This type of compound consists of a noun followed by an intransitive verb. The noun corresponds to the subject of the verb. The resulting compound is an intransitive verb. In fact, such compounds typically have broadly synonymous analytic counterparts where the noun of the compound heads the subject phrase and the verb of the compound occurs in the predicate. This makes this type of compound different from the [noun verb] compounds discussed in section 12.3.1, which do not have synonymous clausal counterparts. In (12-16) and (12-17), the examples in (a) give the compounds by themselves; the examples in (b) illustrate their use in sentences; and the examples in (c) contain broadly synonymous sentences with the relevant noun in the subject and the verb in the predicate.

(12-16) a. *lio-dora*
             mind-forget
             'forget'

         b. *Nau   ku   lio-dora   qana thata-na*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP name-3.PERS

             wane qeri.
             man   that
             'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I have mind-forgotten the man's name.')

c. *Nau, lio-ku   e   dora   qana*
    1SG   mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT forget   GENP

   thata-na   wane qeri.
   name-3.PERS   man   that
   'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I, my mind has forgotten the man's name.')

In (12-16c) the subject is *lio-ku* 'my mind', and the verb has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. (The first person singular pronoun *nau* is in the topic position.) On the other hand, in (12-16b) the subject is the pronoun *nau* 'I', and the verb has the first person singular nonfuture subject marker.

(12-17) a. *seqe-lufa*
             body-be.shy/ashamed
             'be shy', 'be ashamed'

         b. *Wela e   seqe-lufa.*
             child 3SG.NFUT body-be.shy/ashamed
             'The child is shy.' 'The child is ashamed.'

         c. *Wela,   seqe-n=e   lufa.*
             child   body-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.shy/ashamed
             'The child is shy.' 'The child is ashamed.' (Lit.: 'The child, his/her body is shy/ashamed.')

This type of compounding is lexically quite restricted. Verbs formed in this way signify mental or physical characteristics, usually, but not necessarily, of people. Some more examples are given below. The first three have synonymous analytic counterparts.

(12-18) *manata-akele*   (12-19) *gwau-boko*
         thought/mind-turn   head-be.blocked
         'regret', 'repent'   'be dumb, not smart', 'be a blockhead'

(12-20) *seqe-daadaola*
         body-(body/body.part)be.tired/stiff/numb
         'be, feel lazy', 'not feel like doing st.'

There are also subject-incorporating compounds that have analytic counterparts but the two constructions are not (fully) synonymous. For example, there

is a compound *ifu-kulu* ('hair'-'hang') 'have long, unkempt hair as a sign of mourning'. The coresponding analytic construction with *ifu* 'hair' in the subject position and *kulu* 'hang' in the predicate expresses the meaning '(a person's) (long) hair hangs down', without any implication of the person being in mourning. And there is a compound *seqe-thaathala* ('body'-'be.light.in.weight') 'be, feel happy'. The corresponding analytic construction with *seqe* 'body' in the subject and *thaathala* 'be light in weight' in the predicate has the meaning 'person (lit. person's body) feels good physically' (e.g. because he/she is free of illness).

A few nouns participate in more than one subject-incorporating compound. One such noun is *manata* 'mind, thought' (same as *lio* 'mind, thought'); for example, *manata-dora* 'forget' (*dora* 'forget', also 'not know'), same as *lio-dora* 'forget' (see [12-16] further above), and *manata-akele* 'regret', 'repent' (*akele* 'turn around, over'). *Seqe* 'body' also enters into several compounds. Besides *seqe-lufa* 'be shy, be ashamed' (see [2-17]), and *seqe-thaathala* 'be, feel happy' (see the preceding paragraph), there is also *seqe-leqa* 'be clean', 'be new' (e.g. clothes) (*leqa* 'be good', 'be nice'). Conversely, the verb *boko* 'be shut', 'be blocked' enters into more than one compound with different nouns: *rake-boko* 'be constipated' (*rake* 'belly'), *gwau-boko* 'be dumb, not smart', 'be a blockhead' (*gwau* 'head'), and *maa-boqo* 'be blind, blinded, unable to see, because of blindness or a temporary eye problem)' (*maa* 'eye'). More examples of subject-incorporating compounds can be found in Lichtenberk (2008b).

Verbs that participate in subject-incoporating compounds are intransitive verbs that take experiencers or themes as their subjects, verbs such as 'forget', 'be shy, ashamed', 'be good, nice', 'be tired, stiff, numb', 'be closed, blocked', 'be light in weight', 'turn', and 'hang'. And the nouns that enter into such compounds tend to be nouns that designate body parts, such as 'head', 'eye', 'belly', 'mouth' (not exemplified here) and also 'body', and also concepts such as 'mind' and 'breath' (not exemplified here). All of these nouns are relational (section 8.1.5) and occur in the possessum phrases in the suffixing possessive noun phrase (unless the possessum has been individuated).

However, there is at least one compound that does not fit this pattern: *akalo-taqe* ('ancestral.spirit'-'ascend'): 'of a person: have a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit':

(12-21)   *Wane*   *e*   *akalo-taqe*.
          man   3SG.NFUT   ancestral.spirit-ascend
          'The man had a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit.'

This compound does have a broadly synonymous analytic counterpart. However, the analytic counterpart is transitive. The noun in the compound corresponds to the subject of a transitive verb:

(12-22)   *Akalo*   *e*   *taqe-li-a*   *wane.*
                ancestral.spirit   3SG.NFUT   ascend-TR-3.OBJ   man
                'The ancestral spirit visited, communicated (something) to, the man.'

Akalo is a relational noun (an ancestral spirit must be a spirit of an ancestor), but it is not relational in this way to the person visited and communicated to.

    Subject-incorporating compounds have as their function manipulation of discourse structure, information packaging, specifically making the notional possessor into the topic of the sentence. Consider (12-23) with a subject-incorporating compound:

(12-23)   *Wela e*   *rake-boko.*
                child 3SG.NFUT   belly-be.blocked
                'The child is constipated.'

The notional possessor, 'the child' is encoded in the subject position, rather than in the possessor position, as in (12-24):

(12-24)   *rake-na*   *wela*
                belly-3.PERS   child
                'the child's belly'

    In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topics (section 38.1). The types of situation which are encoded by means of subject-incorporating compounds are primarily about the notional "possessor", not about his/her body part, his/her body, or his/her mind. So although in the situation expressed in (12-23) above it is the child's belly that is immediately affected, ultimately it is the child that is affected. Similarly, the sentence in (12-25) is primarily about the person forgetting, not about his or her mind.

(12-25)   *Nau*   *ku*   *lio-dora*   *qana thata-na*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP name-3.PERS

                wane qeri.
                man   that
                'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I have mind-forgotten the man's name.')

    As Bally (1996 [1926]: 33) said: "The part of the body directly affected is only the medium for a condition which spreads to the whole system.".

Topicalization is also relevant in the sentence in (12-21) further above, 'The man had a visitation, communication from an ancestral spirit'. The statement is primarily about the man and what happened to him rather than about the ancestral spirit.

That it is foregrounding, topicalization of the notional possessor that is the relevant factor is indirectly evidenced by the fact that when an analytic construction is used instead of the synonymous subject-incorporating compound, it is common for the possessor to be topicalized (by fronting). (In addition, the possessor is indexed on the possessum noun by a personal suffix.) This is shown in (12-26), which corresponds to (12-25), and in (12-27), which corresponds to (12-23).

(12-26)   *Nau, lio-ku*   *e*   *dora*   *qana*
           1SG   mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   forget   GENP

           thata-na   *wane qeri.*
           name-3.PERS   man   that
           'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I, my mind has forgotten the man's name.')

(12-27)   *Wela,   rake-n=e*   *boko.*
           child   belly-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.blocked
           'The child is constipated.' (Lit.: 'The child, his/her belly is blocked.')

Sentences that correspond to those either with a subject-incorporating compound or with the topicalization of the possessor but employ neither are grammatical, but they are not very common. They may be used if, for example, the sentence has a different topic. In (12-28) the topic is the man, and the sentence employs a subject-incorporating compound:

(12-28)   *Wane   naqi qe*   *seqe-daadaola*   *qasia naqa.*
           man   this 3SG.NFUT   body-be.tired/numb   INTS INTS
           'This man is very lazy'

On the other hand, in (12-29) the temporal phrase 'in the morning' represents the topic, and the sentence employs neither the compound *seqe-daadaola* nor topicalization of the possessor. (Double topicalization is possible; see section 38.6.)

(12-29)   *Qi   quuqusungadia   seqe-ku*   *qe*
           LOC   morning   body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

> *daadaola   qasia   naqa, ….*
> be.tired/numb   INTS   INTS
> 'In the morning I felt very lazy, ….'

12.3.3. Object-incorporating [noun verb] compounds

This type of compounding is severely restricted lexically. Compounds of this type are endocentric and they are nouns. The modifying verb is transitive, but only Class I transitive verbs participate in such compounds. In fact, almost all the verbs that occur in such compounds are bare transitives. The verb carries the third person (singular) object suffix *-a*, regardless of the grammatical number of the noun phrase headed by the compound. This suffix is used on Class 1 transitive verbs in verb phrases to index their lexical objects, also regardless of the grammatical number of the object (section 4.2.3.2.1). However, while in a verb phrase the order is [verb direct.object], in object-incorporating compounds of this type the order is [noun verb].

One verb that occurs in an object-incorporating [noun verb] compound is *thare* 'bear (a child, young), give birth to'; 'of female and male human parents: beget'; also 'feed'; 'give food to'; 'provide food for'; and 'keep domestic and pet animals'. In (12-30) the verb functions as the head of a verb phrase:

(12-30)   *… roo   wela   inomae   kero*
          two   child   be.orphaned   3DU.NFUT

          thare-a   teqe   botho.
          keep.animal-3.OBJ one   pig
          '… two orphaned children kept a pig.'

In an object-incorporating compound, *thare-a* occurs with *wela* 'child' as the head and the compound has the meaning 'fostered (lit.: fed) child'. In (12-31a) the compound is singular and in (12-31b) it is marked for the plural number. In both cases the verb carries the object suffix *-a*.

(12-31) a. *wela thare-a*   b. *wela thare-a   ki*
             child feed-3.OBJ   child feed-3.OBJ   PL
             'fostered child'   'fostered children'

Below are given a few more examples of this type of compound:

(12-32)   *qota*   *fasi-a*
           areca.nut   plant-3.OBJ
           'a planted areca-nut tree', 'an areca-nut tree that has been planted by
           somebody (as opposed to a self-sown tree)'

Also with *fasi-a*:

(12-33)   *alita*   *fasi-a*
           indian.almond   plant-3.OBJ
           'variety of the Indian Almond tree (*Terminalia* sp.) that bears nuts
           with large kernels'

But not, for example:

(12-34)   **alo   fasi-a*
           taro   plant-3.OBJ
           ('planted taro')

This is, presumably, because it is normal for taros to be planted. On the
other hand, there is a compound to designate self-sown taros, which are much
less common than planted ones:

(12-35)   *alo   gwee-a*
           taro   pick.up-3.OBJ
           'self-sown taro' (i.e., taro that is just pulled out from the ground,
           without anybody having planted it)

(12-36)   *iqa   sule-a*
           fish   fish.with.hook.and.line-3.OBJ
           'species of mackerel' (lit. 'fish caught with hook and line')

(12-37)   *wela   suluqi-a*
           child adopt.at.birth-3.OBJ
           'child adopted at birth because his/her mother died when giving
           birth'

(12-38)   *gwa   kafo   qoto-a*
           CLF   water   dam-3.OBJ
           'pool in a stream created by means of a dam, barrier'

(12-39)　　*waqi*　　*fafa-a*
　　　　　　basket　　carry.on.back-3.OBJ
　　　　　　'backpack'

In the compound in (12-40) the modifying verb is short transitive and is reduplicated:

(12-40)　　*waqi*　　*taa-taru-fi-a*
　　　　　　basket　　RDP-hang-TR-3.OBJ
　　　　　　'k.o. personal basket carried slung from the shoulder'

(The meaning of *taru-fi* is 'carry a personal basket, bag suspended on one's body'; for example, carry a personal basket slung from one's shoulder, or carry a backpack on one's back.)

12.4.　Object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds

12.4.1.　Introduction

There are three subtypes of object-incorporating compounds: (i) compounds that are intransitive verbs, (ii) compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs, and (iii) compounds that are nouns.

With some provisos to be discussed further below, verbs that enter into this type of compound exist as transitive verbs, but, with one exception, only Class 1 transitive verbs do. As transitive verbs, when they occur in a verb phrase, they index their lexical objects by the third person (singular) object sufix, regardless of the grammatical number of the object. However, when such verbs occur in object-incorporating compounds, the verb in the compound cannot carry an object suffix. In the case of compounds that are intransitive verbs, there is no object suffix because the compound verb is intransitive. In the case of compounds that are Class 2 transitive verbs, there is an object suffix, but it is attached to the compound as a whole, not to the constituent verb. Second, nothing can intervene between the verb and the noun in such compounds. Postverbal particles can only come after a compound. And third, nouns in the direct-object position can have modifiers and can carry personal suffixes, but the nouns in compounds can have neither. These differences between verbs and their direct objects on the one hand and object-incorporating compounds on the other are illustrated by the next three pairs of examples. In (12-41) the verb carries the object suffix *-a*, the precedentive particle comes between the verb and the direct object, and the direct-object noun carries a personal suffix:

(12-41)   *Nau   kwai   dada-a   fasi   lifo-ku.*
         1SG   1SG.FUT   brush-3.OBJ   PREC   tooth-1SG.PERS
         'I'm going to brush my teeth now.'

In broadly synonymous (12-42) the verb-noun combination is an intransitive verb. There is no object suffix, the precedentive particle comes after the verb-noun combination, and the noun does not, and cannot, carry the personal suffix.

(12-42)   *Nau   kwai   dada   lifo   fasi.*
         1SG   1SG.FUT   brush   tooth   PREC
         'I'm going to brush (my) teeth now.'

In (12-43) the verb carries an object suffix, the ventive directional comes between the verb and the direct object, and the direct object contains, beside the noun, a demonstrative and the plural marker:

(12-43)   *Ni   nau   na   kwai   ngali-a   mai   qai   lakoo*
         PROFORE 1SG   FOC   1SG   carry-3.OBJ   VENT   wood   that(3)

         ki.
         PL
         'It will be me who will bring those pieces of (fire)wood.'

In (12-44) the verb-noun combination is an intransitive verb. There is no object suffix, the ventive particle comes after the verb-noun combination, and the noun does not, and cannot, be modified by a demonstrative or the plural marker:

(12-44)   *Ni   nau   na   kwai   ngali   qai   mai.*
         PROFORE   1SG   FOC   1SG.FUT   carry   wood   VENT
         'It will be me who will bring (fire)wood.'

The next pair of examples concerns an object-incorporating compound that is a Class 2 transitive verb. In (12-45) the Class 1 transitive verb *naqare* 'roast, cook' carries the third person object suffix *-a*, and the direct object contains a noun modified by a demonstrative:

(12-45)   *... ka   naqare-a   alo   baa   ki ....*
         3SG.SEQ   roast-3.OBJ   taro   that   PL
         '… she roasted the taros ….'

In (12-46) the verb *naqare* is combined with the noun *tele*, which designates items of food other than meat that have been roasted or are intended for roasting, for example, taros, yams, and breadfruit. The noun *tele* cannot have a modifier here. The combination *naqare-tele* is a Class 2 transitive verb: it carries the object suffix *-na*, rather than *-a*. And there is a direct object, 'taros':

(12-46)   *Kini*   *qe*   *naqare-tele-na*   *alo*   *ki.*
          woman   3SG.NFUT   roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ   taro   PL
          'The woman roasted (the) taros.'

Verbs that enter into object-incorporating compounds are Class 1 transitive when they occur outside of compounds. However, when they occur in compounds, their form need not be the same as the one they have elsewhere (apart from the absence of the object suffix). Following the tradition in Micronesian linguistics (see, for example, Rehg 1981), the form of a transitive verb that occurs as the first element of a compound is referred to here as the "combining" form. The combining forms will also be relevant to [verb verb] compounds. With bare transitive verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts, the combining form is the base without the object indexing suffix:

(12-47)   a.   *dada-a*   *seqe-na*   *alafolo*
               rub/brush-3.OBJ   body-3.PERS   k.o.warclub
               'rub the body of an *alafolo* club' (e.g., to make it smooth)

         b.   *dada*   *lifo*
               rub/brush   tooth
               'brush (one's) teeth'

Short transitive verbs contain a variant of the suffix *-Ci*. For those verbs that do not have intransitive counterparts, the combining form usually, but not always, lacks the suffix. For example:

(12-48)   a.   *faa-li-a*   *waqi*   b.   *faa*   *waqi*
               weave-TR-3.OBJ   basket   weave   basket
               'weave a/the basket'   'weave a basket/baskets'

Less commonly, the transitive suffix is retained in the combining form of a short transitive verb:

(12-49)   a.   *uusu-li-a*   *aququa*
               follow-TR-3.OBJ   island
               'of a boat, ship: follow (the coast of) an island'

b.   *uusu-li   thara*
     follow-TR   coast
     'of a boat, ship: follow a coast'

c.   *uusu-su-li-tala*
     follow-RDP-TR-path
     'species of crab' (lit.: 'follows paths')

But there are other compounds where the combining form of 'follow' does not carry the transitive suffix:

(12-50   a.   *uusu-asi*   d.   *uusu-qai*
              follow-sea   follow-tree
              'bowsprit of a boat'   'Common Kingfisher'
              (lit.: 'follows sea')   (lit.: 'follows trees')

Long transitive verbs take -C*ani* and -C*aqi* allomorphs of the transitive suffix. The combining form always has the -(C)*aqi* variant of the suffix:

(12-51) a.   *teo-fani-a   wela*   b.   *teo-faqi   wela*
              lie-TR-3.OBJ child   lie-TR   child
              'put, lay a/the child   'put, lay a child/
              down (to sleep)'   children down (to sleep)'

If a bare or a short transitive verb has an intransitive counterpart, the combining form corresponds in most cases to the intransitive verb. For example:

(12-52) a.   *kuqu-fi-a   meresina* b.   *kuqu meresina*
              drink-TR-3.OBJ medicine   drink medicine
              'drink (the) medicine'   'drink medicine'

There is an intransitive verb *kuqu*:

(12-53) *Lae   qoko   kuqu.*
         go   2SG.SEQ   drink
         'Go (and have a) drink.'

This is particularly evident with verbs that undergo vowel alternations between the intransitive and the transitive variants (section 4.2.3.2.2). It is the intransitive variant that occurs in the compound. For example, there is a transitive verb *qoe* 'break, snap st.', which has an intransitive counterpart *qoo* 'place a taboo sign next to or on a tree' (the taboo sign consists of a partly broken

sapling or twig; see example [9-106] in section 9.2). (The intransitive verb *qoo* also has the senses 'break, snap; be broken'.) The combining form is *qoo*; see (12-54c).:

(12-54) a. *Nau   ku   qoo   faafi-a   niu*
              1SG   1SG.NFUT   place.taboo.sign   CONF-3.OBJ   coconut

              nau   naqi ....
              1SG   this
              'I have put a taboo sign by this coconut tree of mine ....'

         b. *qoe-a   thao*
              break-3.OBJ   sago
              'bend (lit.: break) a/the sago leaflet around a slat when making a thatching panel'

         c. *qoo   thao*
              break   sago
              'bend sago leaflets around a slat/slats when making a thatching panel/thatching panels'

There is transitive verb *qui* 'beat a drum', also 'crack canarium nut', which has an intransitive counterpart *quu* 'crack canarium nuts'. The combining form is *quu*; see (12-55c):

(12-55) a. *Qoko   quu   bia   toqa   naqi.*
              2SG.SEQ   crack.canarium.nuts   COM   people   this
              'Crack nuts together with these people.'

         b. *qui-a   suqari*
              beat-3.OBJ   drum
              'beat a/the drum'

         c. *quu   suqari*
              beat   drum
              'beat a drum/drums'

However, suffixless combining forms do not always correspond to intransitive verbs. First, some bare or short intransitive verbs do not have intransitive counterparts. For example, the short transitive verb *faa-li* 'weave' has *faa* as its combining form:

(12-56)   *faa   waqi*
           weave   basket
           'weave a basket/baskets'

However, there is no intransitive verb **faa*. *Faa* exists only as the combining form of *faa-li*.

And sometimes a bare or a short transitive verb does have an intransitive counterpart, but the form of the intransitive verb is not the same as that of the combining form. The bare transitive verb *kesi* 'scrape st. in order to clean it' (especially about scraping roasted tubers) has *kesi* as its combining form:

(12-57)   *kesi-alo*
           scrape-taro
           a. 'species of bivalve shellfish whose shell is used as a scraper'
              (e.g. to scrape roasted tubers clean)
           b. 'such a scraper'

There is a corresponding intransitive verb, but it is a reduplication of the transitive root, *keekesi* 'scrape roasted tubers'. (See section 4.2.2.2 for intransitive verbs that involve reduplication of transitive bases.)

Finally, there is a suppletive intransitive-transitive pair of verbs that mean 'eat', *fanga* (intr.) and *qani* (tr.), and it is *qani*, not *fanga*, that is the combining form:

(12-58)   *Nia   qe   qani   qasai   ba-na.*
           3SG   3SG.NFUT   eat   mango   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'He only eats mangoes (and nothing else).'

(However, in [verb verb] compounds, it is the intransitive form *fanga* that functions as the combining form; see section 12.5.)

Exceptionally, a few verbs carry the detransitivizing suffix *-qi/-qe* (section 4.6) when they combine with an incorporated-object noun: *riki-qi* 'see', *lole-qe* 'pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case' (see section 29.4.11), and *thaitoqome-qe* 'know'. Examples of the three verbs are given in (12-59) – (12-62). In (12-59) the self-benefactive postverbal particle follows the [verb noun] unit:

(12-59)   *Lae   kwai   riki-qi   fula-a   qa-kuqa.*
           go   1SG.FUT see-DETR   arrive-DVN   SBEN-1SG.PERS
           'I'll go see a group of arrivals/groups of arrivals.'

The compound *riki-qi doo* 'see-DETR thing' has the idiomatic meaning 'be rich, have a lot of possessions':

(12-60) *Nau wane ku   rii-riki-qi   doo, manga*
        1SG   man 1SG.NFUT   RDP-see-DETR   thing time

        qeri   qe   aqi   naqa.
        this   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   PRF/INTS
        'I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no more/not at all.' 'I used to be a man who was rich; this time no more/not at all.'

See also (12-71) in section 12.4.2. Compare (30-18) in section 30.3, with *riki* 'see' in a relative clause headed by *doo* 'thing' with the sense 'have, own, possess'.

In (12-61) the incorporated object is a nominalization. The perfect marker *naqa* follows the compound:

(12-61) *Ta   wane   ka   lole-qe   mae-laa   naqa,*
        some   man   3SG.SEQ pretend-DETR   die-NMLZ   PRF

        keka   lada-fi-a.
        3PL.SEQ carry.on.shoulder-TR-3.OBJ
        'One of the men pretended to have died (faked having died), (and) they carried him on their shoulders.'

Lole-qe can also take deverbal nouns as its incorporated objects; see (29-202) in section 29.4.11.

The next example contains *thaitoqome-qe* 'know'. *Thaitoqome-qe* has an incorporated object *doo* 'thing'. There is another occurrence of the verb 'know' at the end of the sentence, with *doo* 'thing' as the head of its direct object. There the noun is modified by the quantifier *ta* and the partitive marker *si*, and so cannot be incorporated; and the verb has the form *thaitoqoma* and carries the object-indexing suffix *-na*.

(12-62) *Wane   naqi, ngata-la-na   qe   quri-a*
        man   this talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT be.like-3.OBJ

        wane   qe   thaitoqome-qe doo, sui   taa
        man   3SG.NFUT   know-DETR   thing but   but

> *qe=aqi*   *doodolo-qa*   *ka*
> 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   be.smooth-PROP   3SG.SEQ
>
> *thaitoqoma-na ta   si   doo.*
> know-3.OBJ   some PRTT thing
> 'This man talks like someone who knows a lot, but he doesn't know
> a thing.' (Lit.: 'This man, his talking is like a man who knows
> things, but he does not know anything at all.')

(The verb *doodolo-qa* is used to intensify negation; see section 17.5.)

All the object-incorporating compounds where the verb carries the detransi-
tivizing suffix function as intransitive verbs, discussed in section 12.4.2.

While the combining forms of some transitive verbs do correspond to their
intransitive counterparts, combining forms cannot be simply equated with in-
transitive verbs, for a number of reasons. First, some transitive verbs do not
have intransitive counterparts. Second, for some transitive verbs that do have
intransitive counterparts, the combining form is not the same as the intransitive
verb. Third, the combining forms of some transitive verbs retain the transitive
suffix. (The combining forms of long transitive verbs always carry the *-Caqi*
variant of the transitive suffix.) And finally, a few verbs have combining forms
that contain the detransitivizing suffix. Those forms do not function as intransi-
tive verbs.

With the exception of the verb 'know', Class 2 transitive verbs do not form
object-incorporating compounds and do not have combining forms. With Class
2 transitive verbs, even non-referential direct objects (see the next section) can-
not be incorporated and must be indexed on the verb by the third person (singu-
lar) object suffix. For example:

(12-63) *Qi*   *laa*   *rodo* *qi*   *taraqena*   *kuki*
         LOC   IN   night LOC   today   PL(INCL).FUT

         naqare-tele-na   *keekene.*
         roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ   breadfruit
         'Tonight we'll roast breadfruit.'

*Naqare-tele keekene, as an object-incorporating compound 'roast breadfruit',
is ungrammatical.

The three subtypes of object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds are now
disscussed in turn.

12.4.2. Object-incorporating compounds that are intransitive verbs

There are several pieces of evidence that compound verbs of this type are in-
transitive. First, as discussed in the preceding section, they cannot take object-
indexing suffixes. Second, there is evidence from nominalization. With one
type of exception, compounds of this type can be nominalized, and such nomi-
nalizations exhibit a property characteristic of nominalizations of simple intran-
sitive verbs. When an intransitive verb is nominalized and heads the possessum
phrase of a possessive noun phrase, the possessor of the nominalization corre-
sponds to the subject of the source verb. When a transitive verb is nominalized
and heads the possessum phrase of a possessive noun phrase and only one ar-
gument of the source verb is expressed, then the possessor of the nominaliza-
tion corresponds to the direct object of the source verb. (See table 9.1 and asso-
ciated discussion in section 9.1.3). Example (12-64) shows the nominalization
of the transitive verb *kori* 'grate' where the possessor corresponds to the direct
object:

(12-64)   *kori-la-na*   *niu*
            grate-NMLZ-3.PERS   coconut
            'grating (of) coconuts'

    The sentence in (12-65) below contains the nominalization of the compound
verb *kori niu* 'coconut grate'. There is no oblique object there corresponding to
the direct object of the source verb (because the direct-object noun has been
compounded with the verb), and the possessor corresponds to the subject of the
source compound verb, just as is the case with simple intransitive verbs:

(12-65)   *Wane*   *naqi,* *kori-niu-la-na*   *qe*
            man   this   grate-coconut-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT

            taqaa.
            be.bad
            'This man is no good at grating coconuts.' (Lit.: 'This man, his co-
            conut-grating is bad.')

    Compare (12-66) with a nominalization of the simple transitive verb *ngata*
'speak, talk':

(12-66)   *Wane*   *naqi,* *ngata-la-na*   *qe*   *quri-a*
            man   this   talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ

> *wane   qe   thaitoqome-qe doo, ….*
> man   3SG.NFUT   know-DETR   thing
> 'This man talks like he knows a lot, (but) ….' (Lit.: 'This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, ….')

Third, object-incorporating compounds can occur as non-final verbs in certain types of [verb verb] compounds where Class 1 transitive verbs can only occur in their combining, detransitivized forms (section 12.5). On the other hand, simple intransitive verbs (and Class 2 transitive verbs) freely occur in non-final positions in [verb verb] compounds. The sentence in (12-67) contains a simple intransitive verb in the first position of a [verb verb] compound, and the one in (12-68) contains an object-incorporating compound in the first position of a [verb verb] compound:

(12-67)   *Kuki   biinga leqa   qa=fa   rodo naqi.*
           PL(INCL).FUT   sleep   be.good LOC=CLF   night this
           'We'll sleep well tonight.'

(12-68)   *Kukeqe nau   qe   tai   kaleko   leqa.*
           wife   1SG   3SG.NFUT   sew   clothes be.good
           'My wife sews clothes well.' 'My wife is good at sewing clothes.'

And like simple intransitive verbs, object-incorporating compounds of the type discussed here do not undergo instrument inversion when they have an instrument oblique object; see (10-236) in section 10.7 (also given as [12-73] further below).

Besides regular nominalizations, there are also a few deverbal nouns based on intransitive [verb noun] compounds. For example:

(12-69)   *thau-wane-a*   (12-70)   *gwee-ngali-a*
           kill-person-DVN   pick.up-canarium.nut-DVN
           'killing, murder'   'time/occasion of picking canarium nuts knocked down from trees'

There is also a deverbal noun based on a compound where the verb carries the detransitivizing suffix *-qi*:

(12-71)   *riki-qi-doo-a*   *nia*
           see-DETR-thing-DVN   3SG
           'his (plentiful) possessions', 'his riches'

For the (reduplicated) compound *riki-qi doo* 'be rich, have a lot of possession' (lit.: 'see things') see (12-60) in section 12.4.1.

Object-incorporating compounding that gives rise to intransitive verbs is fully productive in the sense that for any Class 1 transitive verb-direct object combination it is possible, in principle, to form a corresponding intransitive [verb noun] compound. In addition, there are also some idiom compounds for which there are no corresponding verb-direct object combinations in the relevant meanings. A few examples are given further below.

The productive compounding serves to background the participant(s) or the type of participant that would otherwise be encoded as the direct object of the verb. The patient/theme/stimulus is backgrounded because it is not salient, discource prominent. The noun functions as a modifier of the verb. It identifies the activity, etc. denoted by the verb as applying to a certain type of entity. This kind of backgrounding takes place when there are no specific patient, etc. participants to which the state of affairs applies, for example because the activity is presented as a habitual one:

(12-72) *Mili*   ***fale***   ***fanga***   *qi*   *fa-da*
         1PL(EXCL).NFUT give   food   LOC   REC-3PL.PERS

         ka   *too-too*   *ba-na,*   *laa-lae,*   *mika*
         3SG.SEQ   RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS   RDP-go   1PL(EXCL).SEQ

         feda   *naqa.*
         be.tired   PRF
         'We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired
         (of it) now.'

(12-73) *Basi*   *na*   *maka nau*   *kai*   ***baa-basi***   ***futa***
         bow   REL   father 1SG   3SG.IPFV   RDP-shoot   possum

         qani-a   *manga*   *na=i*   *dini*   *neq.*
         INS-3SG.OBJ   time   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past here
         'Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old
         days.'

However, even if there are one or more specific patient, theme, or stimulus entities involved in a situation, they can be backgrounded by means of object-incorporation if they are not salient, if their identity is not relevant:

(12-74)   *Keki   naqare   keekene.*
           3PL.IPFV   roast   breadfruit
           'They are roasting breadfruit.' (The speaker is commenting on what
           other people were doing at that time.)

(12-75)   *Muki   gwee   ngali?*
           2PL.IPFV   pick.up   canarium.nut
           'Are you picking canarium nuts?' (The nuts were being picked after
           having been knocked down from trees.)

Besides productive object-incorporating compounding, there are also compounds that are not compositional because the corresponding verb-direct object combination would be semantically wrong or pragmatically implausible, or the meaning would be quite different. Here are a few examples:

(12-76)   *kafi-boro*
           lift.clothes-bottom
           'bare one's behind and stick it out at a person, as a sign of great
           anger at the person'

(12-77)   *ngali-thauthau*
           take-wind
           'go and get fresh air' (usually by walking to an open place where
           there is breeze)

(12-78)   *kotho-luma*
           enter-family.house
           'of a man: creep into another family's house with the intention of
           having sex with a woman living there'

(12-79)   *qoo-qae*
           break-leg
           'walk a very long distance to reach a destination'

12.4.3.   Object-incorporating compounds that are transitive verbs

All such compounds are Class 2 transitive verbs; however, it is only Class 1 transitive verbs, bare or short transitive, that enter into them, in their combining forms. This type of compounding is not productive. The number of compounds is relatively small, and they tend not to be semantically fully transparent. A few examples are given below:

(12-80)   *qafu-saasaba-na*   *iqa*
          wrap-parcel.of.fish-3.OBJ   fish
          'wrap fish in several layers of leaves for cooking directly in fire'

(12-81)   *ngata-maa-na*   *wela*
          speak-eye-3.OBJ   child
          'give a child a talking to'

Compare *ngata-fi* 'scold'.

(12-82)   *kiki-qamali-na*   *sofusofu*
          pour-seawater/salt-3.OBJ   soup
           'add salt/seawater to (the) soup', 'salt (the) soup'

(12-83)   *Kera*   *lafu-lifo-ku.*
          3PL.NFUT   remove-tooth-1SG.OBJ
          'They extracted my tooth. 'They extracted (one/some of) my teeth.'
          'They performed tooth-extraction on me.'

(12-84)   *Alo   naqi   kuki*   *thau-kumu-na.*
          taro   this   PL(INCL).FUT   pound-k.o.pudding-3SG.OBJ
          'This taro we will make/pound into *kumu* pudding.'

In the next compound, the incorporated noun is a nominalization of a verb:

(12-85)   *Ada   keka*   *sore-mae-la-mu.*
          TIM   3PL.SEQ   say-die-NMLZ-2SG.OBJ
          'They might sentence you to death.'

Class 2 transitive verbs index their direct objects by means of suffixes that are also used on possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive noun phrase (section 8.1.2). And in some cases, the noun in the compound could occur as the possessum noun in a suffixing possessive construction. For example:

(12-86)   a.   *foqa-thata-na*   *akalo*
                pray-name-3.OBJ   ancestral.spirit
                'pray to (the name of) an ancestral spirit'

          b.   *thata-na*   *akalo*   *fuu*
                name-3.PERS   ancestral.spirit   that
                'that ancestral spirit's name'

(12-87) a. *ngata-maa-na   wela*   b. *maa-na   wela*
speak-eye-3.OBJ   child   eye-3.PERS   child
'give a child a talking to'   'child's eye'

(12-88) a. *lafu-lifo-ku*   b. *lifo-ku*
remove-tooth-1SG.OBJ   tooth-1SG.PERS
'remove my tooth/teeth'   'my tooth/teeth'

It is likely that this kind of compounding originated as incorporation of the possessum noun that was part of the direct object, together with the personal suffix on the possessum noun, which was then re-interpreted as an object-indexing suffix on the compound verb. The original possessor phrase was reinterpreted as the direct object of the compound. That is, there was restructuring of the construction in (12-89a) into the one in (12-89b):

(12-89) a.   verb-3.OBJ [possessum.noun-PERS   (possessor)]_{DO}

         b.   [verb-noun]-OBJ   (DO)

When the verb in the original structure contained a short transitive suffix, the suffix was removed, and the verb occurred in its combining form, without the original object suffix. For example, the construction in (12-90a) would have been restructured into the one in (12-90b).

(12-90) a. *foqa-si-a   [thata-na   akalo]*
pray-TR-3.OBJ   name-3.PERS   ancestral.spirit
'pray to the name of an ancestral spirit'

         b. *foqa-thata-na   akalo*
pray-name-3.OBJ   ancestral.spirit
'pray to (the name of) an ancestral spirit'

However, while such restructuring may have been the way this type of compounding originated, it does not account for all the instances of this type of compound, because, in the present-day language at least, one cannot always assume the existence of a suffixing possessive construction where the possessum noun corresponds to the incorporated noun and the possessor to the direct object. For example, there is a compound verb *qili-ano*:

(12-91)   a.   *qili-ano-na   kai*
                 dig-soil-3.OBJ   yam
                 'dig up and heap up soil around a (newly planted) yam plant'

One would then expect the suffixing possessive construction in (12-91b):

           b.   *ʔano-na   kai*
                 soil-3.PERS   yam
                 'the soil of the yam'

However, such a construction, while perhaps conceivable, is semantically odd because it claims the soil to be part of the yam plant, or something produced, exuded by the yam plant. (See section 8.1.5 for the semantics of the suffixing possessive construction.)

An even more telling case involves the verb *fale-qoko* 'of a man: have sex with (a woman)':

(12-92)   a.   *fale-qoko-na   kini*
                 give-penis-3.OBJ   woman
                 'of a man: have sex with a woman'

Now, *qoko* 'penis' can occur in the possessum position of a suffixing possessive construction, but the possessor must have a male referent, the penis being part of the possessor referent's own body:

           b.   *qoko-na   wane*
                 penis-3.PERS   man
                 'man's penis'

With a female possessor referent the construction would be pragmatically very odd, because it would claim the penis to be part of the woman's own body:

           c.   *ʔqoko-na   kini*
                 penis-3.PERS   woman
                 'woman's penis'

While incorporation of possessum nouns with their personal suffixes may have led to the formation of a new type of compound, it is likely that the structure of such compounds became a pattern that came to be used to form compounds that did not involve possessum incorporation.

There is at least one compound that corresponds to what Mithun (1984) and Rosen (1989) refer to as "classificatory/classifier noun incorporation": a rela-

tively general noun is incorporated into the verb and the noun in the direct object is more specific, such as a hyponym of the incorporated noun. The verb is *naqare-tele*, where *naqare* is a verb meaning 'roast, cook' and *tele* designates items of food other than meat that have been roasted or are intended for roasting, such as yams, taros, breadfruit, and sweet potatoes. The verb take as its direct object noun phrases that refer to such items of food:

(12-93)   *Naqare-tele-na*   *kai*   *qena.*
          roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ   yam   that(2)
          'Roast the yam.'

(12-94)   *Kini*   *qe*   *naqare-tele-na*   *alo*   *ki.*
          woman   3SG.NFUT   roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ   taro   PL
          'The woman roasted (the) taros.'

(12-95)   *Kuki*   *naqare-tele-na*   *keekene*
          PL(INCL).FUT   roast-food.for.roasting-3.OBJ   breadfruit

          naqi   *ki.*
          this   PL
          'We'll roast these breadfruits.'

However, such "classifier" compounding is exceptional in Toqabaqita. In other compounds the semantic relation between the noun in the compound and the direct object is not of this type.

12.4.4.   Object-incorporating compounds that are nouns

This type of compounding is lexically higly restricted. Only Class I transitive verbs enter into such compounds. The verbs occur in their combining forms. Many (but not all) compounds of this type designate fauna. In such cases, the type of referent of the compound is characterized as habitually performing the type of activity designated by the compound. Not infrequently, the verb is reduplicated. (Reduplication is one way to encode habitual activities; see section 15.2.2). A few examples of such compounds are given below:

(12-96)   *qaa-qani-iqa*   (12-97)   *qaa-qani-qofa*
          RDP-eat-fish   RDP-eat-betel.pepper
          'species of sea-hawk'   'species of skink'

(12-98)   *taa-tarasi-botho*
RDP-singe-pig
'dragonfly'

(12-99)   *oko-waa*
swallow-worm
'Brahminy Kite'

(12-100)   *ngede-ngali*
pluck-canarium.nut
alternative name for the
native pigeon (*bola*)

(12-101)   *ngamu-ngali*
snap.at-canarium.nut
another alternative name
for the native pigeon

(12-102)   *qoto-botho*
poke.with.pole-pig
'kind of spear (used in
fighting)'

(12-103)   *suu-subi-qaba*
RDP-cut/clip.nail-hand
'modern nailclipper'

(12-104)   *kwaqi-thate*
cut-chin.and.jaws
'species of bivalve shellfish' (the shell used to be used to pluck fa-
cial hair)

In (12-105) the verb *dokofi* 'prick' occurs (reduplicated) both in a compound
and in the verb phrase. The compound *doo-dokofi-qae* designates a species of
shellfish with sharp spines on its shell.

(12-105)   *Doo-dokofi-qae   qe   dokofi-a   qae-ku.*
RDP-prick-foot   3SG.NFUT   prick-3.OBJ foot-1SG.PERS
'The *doodokofiqae* shell pricked/cut my foot.'

12.5.   [verb verb] compounds

[Verb verb] compounds are themselves verbs and they involve a kind of verb
serialization. Such compounds may be endocentric or exocentric (or asymmet-
ric and symmetric, respectively, in the terminology of Aikhenvald [2006]). To-
qabaqita verb serialization/[verb verb] compounding is also discussed, from a
different perspective, in Lichtenberk (2006b). In [verb verb] compounds one of
the constituent verbs may itself be a [verb verb] compound. Examples of such
complex compounds will be given later. For the time being, the discussion will
focus on simple compounds.

Subject to some qualifications to be elaborated on later, any combination of
intransitive and transitive verbs is possible.

Intransitive – intransitive:

(12-106) *Oqola   nau   e   **nii   karangi***
          garden   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.located   be.near

        ba-na.
        LIM-3SG.PERS
        'My garden is just nearby.'

Intransitive – transitive:

(12-107) *Dani qe   **qaru   laba-taqi***   *nau   qasia*
          rain   3SG.NFUT   fall   affect.negatively-TR   1SG   INTS

        naqa.
        INTS
        'I got rained on very badly.' (Lit.: 'Rain fell and affected me badly a lot.')

Transitive – intransitive:

(12-108) *Nau   kwasi   **thaitoqoma-na**   **leqa**   *wane   baa.*
          1SG   1SG.NEG   know-3.OBJ   be.good   man   that
          'I don't know that man well.'

Transitive – transitive:

(12-109) ***Kasi   muu-si-a***   *qoko   qena.*
          cut   sever-TR-3.OBJ   rope   that(2)
          'Cut the rope (e.g., to make it shorter).'

In verb-serializing compounds too the distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs is relevant. Class 2 verbs can occur in the first position and they do carry object suffixes; see *thaitoqoma-na leqa* 'know' 'be.good' in (12-108) above.

Class 1 transitive verbs can occur in the first position only in their combining forms; see *kasi* 'cut' in (12-109). Even if such a compound has a direct object, the object cannot be indexed on a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position. The combining forms of Class 1 transitive verbs were discussed in section 12.4.1. With a small number of exceptions, the combining forms of verbs used in verb-serializing compounds are the same as those used in object-incorporating compounds. The exceptions are as follows: The verb *riki* 'see',

'look at' has the form *riki* in verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it has the form *riki-qi*, with the detransitivizing suffix. Similarly, *lole* 'lie, tell a lie/lies', 'pretend, fake' has the form *lole* in verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it has the form *lole-qe*, also with the detransitivizing suffix. There is a suppletive pair of verbs meaning 'eat'. The intransitive verb *fanga* is used in the first position of verb-serializing compounds, while in object-incorporating compounds it is the transitive verb *qani* that is used, whose combining form is *qani*. And the Class 2 transitive verb *thaitoqoma* 'know' occurs in its transitive form, with an object suffix, in verb-serializing compounds (see [12-108] further above), while in object-incorporating compounds it occurs in its combining form *thaitoqome-qe*, with the detransitivizing suffix.

Table 12.1 summarizes the possible combinations of intransitive and transitive verbs, and for each combination it gives the transitivity status of the compound type.

Table 12.1. Possible combinations of verbs in [verb verb] compounds and the transitivity statuses of the compound types

first position	second position	compound
intransitive	intransitive	intransitive
intransitive	Class 1 transitive	transitive
Class 1 transitive	intransitive	intransitive
Class 2 transitive	intransitive	transitive
Class 1 transitive	Class 1 or Class 2 transitive	transitive

Note: Class 1 transitive verbs in the first position must be in their combining forms.

When both component verbs have the same transitivity value, that is also the transitivity value of the compound. Compounds that contain Class 2 transitive verbs are always transitive, specifically Class 2 transitive. As far as Class 1 transitive verbs are concerned, when they occur in the second position, the compound is transitive, specifically Class 1 transitive. When they occur in the first position, the transitivity value of the compound is determined by the final verb. If the final verb is transitive, Class 1 or 2, the compound is transitive, Class 1 or 2, respectively. If the second verb is intransitive, the compound is intransitive. Compounds with Class 1 transitive verbs in the first position are discussed next.

When a Class 1 transitive verb is followed by another transitive verb (Class 1 or Class 2), the two verbs must share the direct-object argument (see further below for more on argument sharing). This is simply by virtue of the fact that the two verbs form a compound and the direct object is an object of the compound.

(12-110) *Kera*   *kwaqe*   *laba-tani-a*   *tai*
          3PL.NFUT   beat   affect.negatively-TR-3.OBJ some.PL

          wane.
          man
          'They harmed/killed some men by beating them.'

(12-111) *Qo*   *riki*   *thaitoqoma-daroqa?*
          2SG.NFUT   see   know-3DU.OBJ
          'Did you recognize them (by sight)?'

When the second verb is intransitive, the participant that would be encoded as the direct object of the first, Class 1 transitive verb when not in a compound is realized as an oblique object of the compound, headed by the general preposition *qani*/*qana*. In (12-112) the verb *alu* 'put ' takes a direct object when not in a compound:

(12-112) *Alu-a*   *kaufa*   *qena*   *i*   *ano.*
          put-3.OBJ   mat   that(2)   LOC   ground
          'Put the mat on the ground.'

In (12-113) *alu* occurs as the first constituent in a compound and is followed by an intransitive verb. The mat must be encoded as an oblique object:

(12-113) *[Alu kokoto]*   *qana*   *kaufa*   *qena*   *i*   *ano.*
          put be.correct GENP   mat   that(2)   LOC   ground
          'Put the mat properly on the ground.'

Although it is the second verb that determine the transitivity status of compounds that contain a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position, it is the first verb that sanctions the oblique object. Thus, in (12-113) above the oblique object 'the mat' is sanctioned by the verb *alu* 'put', not by the second verb *kokoto* 'be correct'. Similarly, in (12-114) below, the oblique object 'a/the fan' is sanctioned by the first verb 'weave':

(12-114)   *Kini   qe   faa   qaliqali qana teeteru.*
        woman   3SG.NFUT   weave   be.quick GENP fan
        'The woman quickly wove a/the fan.'

Compare (12-115), where the verb 'weave' occurs in its transitive form, with a direct object:

(12-115)   *Kini   kai   faa-li-a   qa-kuqa   teqe*
        woman   3SG.FUT   weave-TR-3.OBJ   RECBEN-1SG.PERS one

        teeteru.
        fan
        'The woman will weave a fan for me.' 'The woman will weave me a fan.'

The sentence in (12-116) contains a long Class 1 transitive verb as the first element of the compound. The verb occurs in its combining form with the *-ngaqi* variant of the transitive suffix:

(12-116)   *Thau-ngaqi leqa   qani-a.*
        make-TR   be.good   GENP-3SG.OBJ
        'Make it well.'

Compare the verb 'make' when not in a compound, with the *-ngani* form of the transitive suffix when the direct object is lexical:

(12-117)   *... keka   thau-ngani-a   teqe   fulake ....*
        3PL.SEQ make-TR-3.OBJ   one   flag
        '… they made a flag ….'

As mentioned further above, the intransitive verb *fanga* 'eat' is used in the first position of verb-serializing compounds, rather than the combining form of the transitive verb *qani* 'eat':

(12-118)   *Nau   ku   fanga   baqita   qana alo.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   eat   be.big   GENP taro
        'I ate a lot of taro.'

Outside a compound, *fanga qana alo 'eat (of) taro' is ungrammatical, and the transitive verb *qani* must be used:

(12-119) a.   *Wela qe   qani-a   alo.*
                 child 3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ   taro
                 'The child ate the taro.'

          b.   **Wela   qe   fanga   qana alo.*
                 child   3SG.NFUT   eat   GENP taro
                 ('The child ate [some of] the taro.')

However, in (12-118) above it is *fanga* that sanctions the oblique object.

Verb-serializing compounds can be either endocentric or exocentric. Endocentric compounds can only have an intransitive verb in the second position, while exocentric compounds can have either an intransitive or a transitive verb in the second position. In endocentric compounds the second verb functions as a modifier of the first verb. Typically, it expresses the manner in which the state of affairs encoded by the first verb obtains or takes place, or provides an evaluative judgement on the state of affairs:

(12-120) *... roo   ai   qe=ki   kera   raa   suukwaqi*
                two   spouse that=PL 3PL.NFUT work   be.strong

           qasia naqa qana fanga, ...
           INTS   INTS GENP food
           '… the husband and wife worked extremely hard on (getting) food, ….'

(12-121) *Kosu leqa   qani-a.*
           fold be.good GENP-3SG.OBJ
           'Fold it well.'

Verbs that function as modifiers of the first verbs in [verb verb] compounds are stative intransitive verbs. They also function as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases (section 6.10).

Exocentric [verb verb] compounds encode macro-situations that consist of two sub-situations. The relation between the sub-situations is that of cause and effect: the first verb designates the cause situation, and the second verb the effect situation:

(12-122) *Qidu karangi mai.*
           move be.close VENT
           'Move close/closer.'

(12-123)   *Ku   rongo   thaitoqoma-na ngata-la-na*
          1SG   hear   know-3.OBJ   speak-NMLZ-3.PERS

          ni   Lifuna.
          PERSMKR   Lifuna.
          'I recognized Lifuna's speaking.'

Sometimes the first sub-situation may be viewed alternatively as being the means or the manner through which the second sub-situation comes about, but in such cases the cause-effect relation obtains as well:

(12-124)   *Nau   ku   qala   muu-si-a   si   qoko.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   bite   sever-TR-3.OBJ DIM   rope
          'I broke/severed the rope by biting it.'

With one type of exception, the verbs in serializing compounds share their arguments (as well as adjuncts), by virtue of being compounds. The exception has to do with some endocentric compounds, those where the modifying verb has no argument structure of its own and serves purely as a modifier of the other verb. For example, the verb *baqita* 'be big', 'be plentiful (of non-countable entities)' is used as a modifying verb to signal a relatively high degree of intensity of the state of affairs encoded by the first verb:

(12-125)   *Teqe kini   e   qai   baqita   mai.*
          one   woman 3SG.NFUT   shout   be.big   VENT
          'A woman shouted loudly this way.'

Baqita functions as an intensifier of *qai* 'shout'; it does not signify here that the referent of the subject of the compound, the woman, was big. Compare (12-126) without a compound, where *baqita* does signify that the woman is big:

(12-126)   *Kini   e   baqita ….*
          woman   3SG.NFUT   be.big
          'The woman is big ….'

In the imperative in (12-127) the verb *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be not plentiful, be little in quantity', 'be of low intensity' signals that the event encoded by the first verb should be performed gently, not that the addressee should be small:

(12-127)   *Sua   faqekwa   qana kale-qe   kuukua.*
           hold   be.of.low.intensity GENP egg-ASSOC   chicken
           'Hold the chicken egg gently.'

And in (12-128) the speaker uses the verb *leqa* 'be good' not to describe himself as not being good but to say that his sleeping was not good:

(12-128)   *Kwasi   biinga   leqa   qa=fa   rodo   i*
           1SG.NEG sleep   be.good   GENP=CLF   night LOC

           baare.
           time.earlier.in.day
           'I did not sleep well in the morning hours (lit.: at night earlier in the day).'

Certain verbs are used highly productively as modifiers in endocentric serializing compounds: *baqita* 'be big', 'be plentiful (of noncountable entities)' as an intensifier ([12-125] above), *faqekwa* 'be small, little', 'be of low intensity' as a kind of downtoner (12-127), *leqa* 'be good' for positive evaluation (12-128), *taqaa* 'be bad' for negative evaluation ([12-135] and [12-138] further below). *Kwasi* 'of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild' signifies that the action denoted by the first verb is performed unusually frequently, highly intensively, immoderately, or to excess:

(12-129)   *Kini   e   lio-nuu-na   kwasi.*
           woman   3SG.NFUT   look-reflection-3SG.OBJ   be.wild
           'The woman looks at herself [in a mirror] all the time.'

See also (12-136) further below.
Cases like those above need to be distinguished from serializing compounds where the modifying verb has the same notional subject as the first verb. In (12-130) the reduplicated verb *oli* 'return' signifies the back-and-forth directionality of the movement of the referents of the subject:

(12-130)   *Keka   fita   oli-li   ba-da   qi   laa   luma*
           3PL.SEQ run   return-RDP LIM-3PL.PERS   LOC   IN   house

           kamiliqa ....
           1PL(EXCL)
           'They just kept running back and forth inside our house …..'

Compare *oli-li* outside a compound:

(12-131) *Ma   kera   oli-li   mai ….*
        and   3PL.NFUT   return-RDP   VENT
        'And they kept coming back ….'

See further below for reduplication of verbs in compounds.
    And in (12-132) the verb *ofu* 'be together' signifies that the referents of the subject phrase were together:

(12-132) *Meka   lae   ofu   nabaa.*
        1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go   be.together   PAST.THERE
        'We went together.'

In some [verb verb] compounds the second verb occurs reduplicated. In such cases the meaning of the compound is usually not fully compositional. For example, the intransitive verb *qaru* 'fall' occurs in its reduplicated form *qaru-qaru* in the compound *lae qaru-qaru* 'of a baby: begin to learn to walk (falling often)' (*lae* 'go', 'walk'). And the verb *fuli* 'of a state of affairs: happen, occur, take place' occurs in its reduplicated form *fuu-fuli* in compounds to signal that the (type of) event designated by the first verb happens all over the place, all around, everywhere, in all directions; for example: *lio fuu-fuli* 'look everywhere, in all directions' (*lio* 'look') and *rofe fuu-fuli* 'search everwhere, all over the place' (*rofe* 'look for sb., st.').
    It is also possible for reduplication to apply to the first verb, but, arguably, in such cases it applies to the whole compound:

(12-133) *Qosi   qoo-qono   boko-si-a*
        2SG.NEG   RDP-sit   be.blocked-TR-3.OBJ

        foko-na   luma.
        doorway-3.PERS   house
        'Stop blocking the doorway by sitting there.' 'Don't sit in the doorway, blocking it.'

Verb serializing compounds can be nominalized:

(12-134) *Kere   raa   qana kwaqe-fole-la-na   niu.*
        3PL.NFUT   work GENP hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS   coconut
        'They are (working on) splitting coconuts.'

(12-135)   *abula-taqaa-laa*   *kera ki*
           behave-be.bad-NMLZ 3PL   PL
           'their behaving badly'

However, the use of nominalizations of [verb verb] compounds is not par-
ticularly common, and is restricted to a few combinations of verbs, such as
those two just above.

Verb-serializing compounds can function as noun modifiers (section 6.10),
although this does not happen frequently.

(12-136)   *wane gani   kwasi*
           man   ask.sb.(for.st.)   be.wild
           'man who often asks others for something'

Note that even though in (12-136) the first verb is not stative, the compound
as a whole counts as stative: the man has that characteristic.

(12-137)   *Meka*   *riki-a*   *baqekwa ki,   ma   iqa*
           1DU(EXCL).SEQ   see-3.OBJ   shark   PL   and   fish

           qoro   qeeqeta   *ki,   ma   fali   ki,   ma*
           be.many   be.exceptional PL   and   stingray PL   and

           kokala   ki, ...
           octopus   PL
           'We saw sharks, and lots and lots of [different] fish (lit.: exception-
           ally many fish), and stingrays, and octopuses, ...'

Object-incorporating compounds, be they intransitive or transitive verbs
(sections 12.4.2 and 12.4.3, respectively), can function as constituents in serial-
izing compounds, in particular as the first verbs in endocentric compounds:

(12-138)   *Wane   qeri   e   [baqe-alinga   taqaa]   qana*
           man   that   3SG.NFUT   speak-ear   be.bad   GENP

           thaari   nau.
           daughter 1SG
           'The man talked my daughter into doing something bad.' (Lit.: 'The
           man talked badly my daughter (into doing something.')

(The compound *baqe-alinga* 'speak'-'ear' is used with the sense '(try to) persuade somebody to do something; try to dissuade somebody from doing something'.)

(12-139) *[Qili-ano-na   leqa]   fu-qi   ngasi   qena.*
dig-soil-3.OBJ   be.good   clump-ASSOC   sugar.cane   that(2)
'Dig up and heap up soil around the clump of sugar cane well.'

In other cases, a compound as a whole has an incorporated object, and the compound is intransitive:

(12-140) *Ni=e   sifo   kai   kwaqe   fole   niu.*
3SG=3SG.NFUT   descend   3SG.FUT   hit   split   coconut
'He went down [in the direction of the coast] to split coconuts.'
(Lit.: 'He descended he will hit split coconuts.')

In principle, it is possible to form nominalizations of serializing compounds with incorporated objects, but they are of marginal status. For example, while the complex compound nominalization in (12-141a) is possible, the simpler compound in (12-141b), where the incorporated noun of (12-141a) occurs in the possessor position instead is preferred.

(12-141) a.   *kwaqe-fole-niu-laa*
hit-split-coconut-NMLZ
'coconut splitting'

          b.   *kwaqe-fole-la-na   niu*
hit-split-NMLZ-3.PERS   coconut
'splitting of coconuts'

See the sentential examples in (9-24) and (9-25) in section 9.1.1, which deals with nominalizations.
There is one lexical exception to the pattern whereby in endocentric compounds the modifying verb follows the head verb. The exception is the verb *sukani* 'be of little quantity, degree, extent', which precedes the head verb. (Also exceptionally, *sukani* does not function as a noun modifier, even though it is an intransitive stative verb.) This is the only type of endocentric compound that is right-headed.

(12-142) *Nau   ku   sukani   mataqi.*
1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.of.little.degree   be.sick
'I am a little sick.'

(12-143)   *Keda-la-na*   *ngata-la-miliqa*   *qe*
           write-NMLZ-3.PERS   speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS   3SG.NFUT

           sukani   qafetaqi.
           be.of.little.degree   be.difficult
           'Writing how we speak is a little difficult.' 'Writing our language is
           somewhat difficult.' (Lit.: 'Writing of our speaking is a little diffi-
           cult.')

It is possible for verb-serializing compounds to contain a constituent that
itself is a [verb verb] compound, although such complex compounds are rela-
tively rare. Such compounds are endocentric, and with one type of exception it
is the first verb that is a compound. That compound may be endocentric or exo-
centric, as in (12-144) and (10-145), respectively:

(12-144)   *Kere*   *[[ade   garo]   ngado].*
           3PL.NFUT   act   be.wrong   be.firm/settled
           'They often act/behave wrongly.'

The verb *ngado* 'be still, settled, firm' is used as a modifying verb to signify
that the event encoded by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly.

(12-145)   *Taunamo   nau, qasufa e   [[qala   muu-si]*
           mosquito.net   1SG rat   3SG.NFUT   bite   sever-TR

           taqaa]   qani-a.
           be.bad   GENP-3SG.OBJ
           'My mosquito net has been badly chewed up and broken by a rat.'
           'My mosquito net, a rat has badly chewed it up and broken it.'

However, with the verb *sukani* 'be of little quantity, degree, extent', which
precedes, rather than follows, the head verb (examples [12-142] and [12-143]
further above), it is the second verb that is itself a [verb verb] compound. Thus,
besides the simple compound in (12-146) there is a complex compound in (12-
147):

(12-146)   *Fanga   naqi e   sukani   makwa.*
           food   this 3SG.NFUT   be.of.little.degree smell
           'This food smells a little.'

(12-147)   *Fanga   naqi e   [sukani   [makwa*
           food   this 3SG.NFUT   be.of.little.degree smell

taqaa]].
be.bad
'This food smells bad a little.'

In fact, *sukani*, unlike any other modifying verb, can form a modifying compound with another verb. The compound follows the head verb:

(12-148)   *Fanga   naqi   e*   *[makwa   [sukani*
           food   this   3SG.NFUT   smell   be.of.little.degree

           taqaa]].
           be.bad
           'The food smells a little bad.'

Finally, as discussed in section 4.7, noun phrases headed by *quna* 'manner, way' can be re-ranked as verbs. When they are re-ranked in this way, they can form [verb (pseudo-)verb] compounds with another, preceding verb:

(12-149)   *Ma   kai*   *[ade   quna   qeri]   ba-na*
           and   3SG.IPFV   act   manner   that   LIM-3SG.PERS

           qana   fa   thaqulafia   qeri.
           GENP   CLF   evening   that
           'And he was just acting/behaving like that [in a manner mentioned previously] that evening.'

The unitary lexical status of *ade quna qeri* is evidenced by the position of the limiter *ba-*, one of the postverbal particles (section 5.2.11), after *quna qeri*, rather than after *ade*. For another example of a [verb (pseudo-)verb] compound see (4-229) in section 4.7.

12.6.   **[verb *teqefau*] compounds**

Although this type of compound consists of a verb followed by a noun, it is significantly different from object-incorporating [verb noun] compounds discussed in section 12.4. First, both intransitive and Class 1 transitive verbs may participate in *teqefau* compounds. Class 1 transitive verbs occur in their combining forms. The combining forms are the same as those used with incorporated objects. The noun *teqefau* is itself a compound: *teqe* 'one' and *fau* 'stone', but it is treated here as an unanalyzed whole. It is glossed 'every one' or 'all of it', depending on the context. Although *teqefau* is a noun and follows the verb,

it is not an incorporated object noun. It does not correspond to the direct object of the verb. In fact, as mentioned above it can combine with intransitive verbs. *Teqefau* has a quantifying function: it signifies, and emphasizes either that the proposition applies to all of the relevant entities, without exception, or that it applies to the whole of an entity. Compounds formed by means of *teqefau* are intransitive verbs. The process is fully productive, subject only to semantic/pragmatic plausibility.

The compound status of [verb *teqefau*] sequences can be seen from the fact that postverbal particles follow such sequences; see (12-152) and (12-157) further below.

Teqefau may have the subject or an oblique object in its scope. It cannot have a direct object in its scope, because *teqefau* compounds are intransitive verbs.

The first two examples illustrate *teqefau* compounds with intransitive verbs, where the relevant participants are expressed as subjects.

(12-150) *Doo na mika fasi-da ki ka dele*
        thing REL 1PL(EXCL).SEQ plant-3PL.OBJ PL 3SG.SEQ wither

        teqefau ka mae.
        every.one 3SG.SEQ die.
        'The things that we had planted withered, every one of them, (and) died.'

(12-151) *... seqe-na ka qabu-la teqefau ....*
          body-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ blood-PROP all.of.it
        '... its body was bloody, all of it, ...

In (12-152) *teqefau* has an oblique object in its scope. The [verb *teqefau*] compound is followed by the postverbal perfect marker *naqa*:

(12-152) *Uqunu na ku thaitoqoma-na ki ku*
        story REL 1SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ PL 1SG.NFUT

        uqunu teqefau naqa suli-a qi sa-mu.
        narrate every.one PRF PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
        'The stories that I know, I have told (lit.: narrated about) every single one to you.'

With verbs that are transitive outside *teqefau* compounds, the participants that would be encoded as direct objects are encoded as oblique objects of *teqefau* compounds. The oblique object is governed by the general preposition

qani/qana. In (12-153) the verb *asi* 'scrape' occurs without *teqefau* and has a direct object, *fanga baa* 'the food':

(12-153) *Toqa   baa   kere   asi-a   fanga baa*
          people   that   3PL.NFUT scrape-3.OBJ   food   that

          ka   sui   naqa.
          3SG.SEQ   be.finished   PRF
          'The people have polished off (i.e., eaten; lit.: scraped) the food, and it's gone.'

On the other hand, in (12-154) *asi* 'scrape' forms a compound with *teqefau* and the patient participant is realized as an oblique object. The verb *asi* does not carry an object suffix:

(12-154) *Toqa   baa   kere   asi   teqefau   qana*
          people   that   3PL.NFUT scrape   all.of.it   GENP

          fanga baa   ka   sui   naqa.
          food   that   3SG.SEQ   be.finished   PRF
          'The people have polished off all of the food, and it's gone.'

In (12-155) the long transitive verb *laba-tani/laba-taqi* 'spoil, damage, harm, affect sb., st. in a bad way' occurs without *teqefau* and has a direct object. The transitive suffix occurs in the *-tani* form:

(12-155) *Tei   n=e   laba-tani-a   waqi   qoe?*
          who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   damage-TR-3.OBJ   basket   2SG
          'Who damaged your basket.?'

On the other hand, in (12-156) the verb 'make' occurs in a *teqefau* compound. The verb carries the *-taqi* variant of the transitive suffix, and the patient participants are expressed as an oblique object:

(12-156) *... ka   laba-taqi   teqefau   qani kera.*
               3SG.SEQ   harm-TR   every.one   GENP 3PL
          '... (and) it [a cyclone] harmed them [people] all.'

Finally, example (12-157) shows the use of the combining form of the transitive verb *qani* 'eat' in a *teqefau* compound (rather than the intransitive verb 'eat', *fanga*, which is used in the first position of [verb verb] compounds). The compound is followed by the additive and the assertive postverbal particles.

(12-157)   *Ma   doo   baa   ka   qani   teqefau   laqu   boqo*
            and   thing   that   3SG.SEQ   eat   all.of.it   ADD   ASRT

               qani-a   fasi   keeroqa.
               GENP-3SG.OBJ   ABL   3DU
               'And that thing [an ogre] again ate all of it (taking the food) from them.'

12.7.   Minor compounding types

Besides the major types of compound discussed so far, there are also various minor types that are severely restricted in their application and individual compounds that do not fit any pattern.

There are several types of compound that have to do with kinship terms. In one, a kinship term is compounded with the numeral *rua* 'two'. The reference, extension of the compound term is narrower than that of the simple kinship term, and is included in the latter. For example:

(12-158)   *maka-rua*
            father-two
            'father's brother'

Compare *maka* 'father', 'father's brother'.

(12-159)   *wai-waena-rua*
            LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex-two
            'cousin of opposite sex'

Compare *wai-waena* 'sibling of opposite sex', 'cousin of opposite sex'.

There are a few more such compounds.

The term *kookoqo*, which means, among other things, 'member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending' occurs with modifiers that themselves are compounds to specify more closely the generation:

(12-160)   *kookoqo[-teqe-fau]*
            kookoqo-one-stone
            'grandparent', 'grandchild'

(This use of *teqe-fau* is different from its use in *teqefau* compounds that are intransitive verbs, discussed in section 12.6.)

(12-161)   *kookoqo[-roo-fau]*
            kookoqo-two-stone
            'great-grandchild' (not: *'great grandparent')

(There is an alternative term for 'great-grandchild', *kookoqo-rua*.)
    Kookoqo-ulu-fau (*ulu* 'three') is only marginally acceptable for 'great-great-granchild'.
    Fungao 'son-in-law', etc. combines with *kini* 'woman' as *kini fungao* 'daughter-in-law', etc.; see table 8.2 in section 8.1.5. Note that in [noun noun] compounds where *kini* signals female gender it occurs after the other noun: *wela kini* 'girl', 'daughter' (*wela* 'child') (section 12.2).
    Finally, kinship terms can compound with the third person plural pronoun *kera* to form plural forms of address:

(12-162)   *Si   faqa-rongo-a   taqaa   neri,   doqora   kera.*
            PRTT CAUS-hear-DVN   be.bad   NPAST.HERE   sibling   3PL
            'This is bad news, brothers.'

    The noun *koqo* is synonymous with *kookoqo* 'member of second generation and beyond, ascending or descending' (see further above), but it can also be used as a form of address to people who are not one's relatives, as if they were:

(12-163)   *Nee, koqo   kera, moro   ngali-a   ma=ta*
            hey! "friend" 3PL   2DU.NFUT   carry-3.OBJ   VENT=some

            thaqaro?
            possum
            'Hey, friends, did you bring a possum?'

    There are two compounds that consist of a verb and a preposition. Both compounds have synonymous syntactic counterparts. The compounds consist of the intransitive verb *ade* 'do', 'act, behave' and either the verb-like ablative preposition *fasi* (section 10.3.3) or the verb-like prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4). The first two examples show *ade* with oblique objects, prolative and ablative, respectively. In both cases there is a postverbal particle that comes between the verb and the oblique object. With a prolative oblique object the meaning is 'obey X', literally 'act/behave along X', while with an ablative oblique object the meaning is 'disobey X', literally 'act/behave away from X', where X designates the person who is obeyed or disobeyed, respectively:

(12-164)   *Wela e   ade   ba-na   suli-a*
            child 3SG.NFUT   act   LIM-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ

> *thaina-na.*
> mother-3SG.PERS
> 'The child just obeyed (lit.: acted along) his mother.'

(12-165)   *Ma   nia   qe   ade   fasi-a   maka   nia*
            and   3SG   3SG.NFUT   act   ABL-3.OBJ   father   3SG

> *bia   thaina-na ....*
> and   mother-3SG.PERS
> 'And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother ....'

Alternatively, the verb 'act' and the prepositions may form compounds, the result being Class 1 transitive verbs. The direct object corresponds to the oblique object of the simple verb *ade*. Postverbal particles come between the compound verb and its lexical direct objects.

(12-166)   *Wela e   ade-suli-a   ba-na*
            child 3SG.NFUT   act-PROL-3.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS

> *thaina-na.*
> mother-3SG.PERS
> 'The child just obeyed his mother.'

(12-167)   *Wela e   ade-fasi-a   ba-na   maka   nia.*
            child 3SG.NFUT   act-ABL-3.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS   father   3SG
            'The child simply disobeyed his father.'

The sentence in (12-168) also contains the compound *ade-fasi* 'disobey'. There it is followed by the combination of the intensifying postverbal particles *qasia* and *naqa*:

(12-168)   *... ku   manta   suli-a   kwa   ade-fasi-a*
             1SG.NFUT   think   PROL-3.OBJ   1SG.SEQ   act-ABL-3.OBJ

> *qasia naqa thaina-ku   bia   maka   nau ....*
> INTS INTS mother-1SG.PERS   and   father   1SG
> '[When I was bigger and still lived with my parents,] I (often) thought about how I would/could disobey my mother and father ....'

However, the verb-preposition compounds can only be used with lexical direct objects. They cannot be used with pronominal objects. If the person

obeyed or disobeyed is expressed by means of a pronoun, only the syntactic construction is available:

(12-169) a.   *Ade   naqa suli   nau!*
                act   PRF   PROL 1SG
                'Obey me now!'

          b.   **Ade-suli   nau   naqa.*
                act-PROL   1SG   PRF
                ('Obey me now.')

By way of conclusion, one can mention two compounds that are formally highly idiosyncratic, at least in the present-day language. One of them is *qaba-rua*, which consists of the noun *qaba* 'hand, arm' and the numeral 'two'. The compound is an intransitive verb 'be busy, occupied with sb., a task, work'. The other one is *kwalo-ano*, which consists of the noun *kwalo* 'runner of a plant, slip of a sweet-potato plant' and which also occurs in the (compound) names of a number of vines, and the noun *ano* 'ground, earth'. *Kwalo-ano* is an intransitive verb and a Class 2 transitive verb with the meaning 'clean a yam or a pana-yam tuber of the soil after it has been dug out from the ground, by scraping it against a piece of vine stretched taut'.

12.8.   Lexicalized phrases

Lexicalized phrases are endocentric. They can be headed either by a noun or by a verb, and the modifier may be either a prepositional phrase or a "ligature phrase". The term "ligature phrase" designates constructions where the modifier is joined to the head by means of the ligature *ni*. Like compounds, lexicalized phrases do not admit internal modifiers. Any modifiers can occur only on the outside of lexicalized phrases, and they have the whole phrase in their scope. For example, in (12-170) *wela qi laa sukulu* 'school child', lit. 'child in school' is a lexicalized phrase. It is in the scope of the plural marker *ki*, which follows the phrase.

(12-170)   *[wela   qi   laa   sukulu] ki*
           child   LOC   IN   school   PL
           'school children'

On the other hand, (12-171) contains not a lexicalized phrase but a noun phrase that contains a prepositional phrase as a modifier. The head noun *toqa* 'people' is modified by a demonstrative and the plural marker, and the preposi-

tional phrase follows. (See [6-3] in section 6.1 for the structure of the basic lexical noun phrase.)

(12-171)   *toqa   naqi ki qi   laa   toaa   naqi*
            people   this PL LOC in   village   this
            'these people in this village'

And in (12-172) the lexicalized phrase *doo ni kasi luma* 'house-building material' occurs in the possessum position of a bare possessive construction. The whole possessive construction is in the scope of the plural marker:

(12-172)   *[doo ni   kasi   luma]   kamiliqa   ki*
            thing LIG   build.house house   1PL(EXCL)   PL
            'our house-building materials' (lit.: 'our things for building houses')

The various subtypes of lexicalized phrases will now be discussed in turn, starting with those headed by nouns. Modification by prepositional phrases is discussed first. Within noun phrases, there are two types of modification by prepositional phrases: direct and relative (section 6.13). In direct modification, a noun is modified by a prepositional phrase. In relative modification, the modifying prepositional phrase is introduced by the relative marker *na* (also used to introduce relative clauses). Both types of modification are found in lexicalized phrases. In the first two examples below, the modification is of the direct type:

(12-173)   *wane qana firu-a   ki*
            man   GENP fight-DVN   PL
            'warriors, soldiers'

In (12-174) below, the modifying prepositional phrase has an adverb phrase as its complement. The phrase type X *qi fei* has the meaning 'X of/from where?'. The phrase *wane qi fei* is in the scope of the demonstrative *baa* (realized as *ba=* in [12-174]):

(12-174)   *[Wane   qi   fei]   ba=ku   riki-a   bii*
            man   LOC where?   that=1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ   COM

            qoe   qi   roqo?
            2SG   LOC yesterday
            'Where is the man I saw with you yesterday from?' (Lit.: 'That man from where I saw him with you yesterday?')

Instead of the general locative proposition *qi*, the ablative preposition *fasi* can be used: *wane fasi fei?* 'man/person from where?' (see [10-88] in section 10.3.3).

For another example of direct prepositional-phrase modification, see the 'school children' example in (12-170) further above.

The next three examples illustrate relative prepositional-phrase modification. There only the general locative preposition *qi* is possible. In (12-175) the lexicalized noun phrase is preceded by a classifier and followed by the plural marker:

(12-175)   *fa*   *qai*   *na=i*   *faqalita*   *ki*
           CLF   stick   REL=LOC   side.of.house   PL
           'beams in a house that rest on top of the posts in the side of the house', 'beams on top of the side posts'

In the next two examples the lexicalized phrases function as possessums in suffixing possessive noun phrases. In (12-176) the lexicalized phrase is *wela na=i maa*, lit. 'child (that is) in the eye':

(12-176)   *wela*   *na=i*   *maa-na*   *imole*
           child   REL=LOC   eye-3.PERS   person
           'the pupil of/in a person's eye'

And in (12-177) the lexicalized phrase is *wane na=i ruuruqu*, lit.: 'person (that is) in the chest':

(12-177)   *wane*   *na=i*   *ruuruqu-na*   *wane*
           person   REL=LOC   chest-3.PERS   person
           'one's inner voice; one's conscience' (conceived of as a homunculus inside a person's chest; it tells the person what to do or not to do)

(12-178)   *Wane*   *na=i*   *ruuruqu-ku*   *qe*
           person   REL=LOC   chest-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

           sore   *nau*   *uri-a*   *ku*   *garo.*
           speak.strongly.to   1SG   REAS-3.OBJ   1SG.NFUT   be.wrong
           'My conscience tells me I was wrong.' (Lit.: 'My conscience is speaking strongly to me because I was wrong.')

Lexicalized phrases headed by nouns that are modified by ligature phrases are discussed next. The modifying phrase is headed either by a verb, a nominalization, or a true noun. The modifier typically expresses the purpose or func-

tion that the type of entity designated by the lexicalized phrase as a whole serves. In the first four examples, the modifying phrases contain verbs:

(12-179)   *doo   ni   firu   ki*
            thing LIG   fight   PL
            'weapons'

(12-180)   *tiitiu   ni   kuqu*
            coconut.shell.half   LIG   drink
            'half of a coconut shell used as a drinking cup'

In (12-181) and (12-182) the modifying verbs are object-incorporating compounds:

(12-181)   *kini   ni   nanaqi   wela*
            woman   LIG   look.after child
            'nanny'

In (12-182) the lexicalized phrase occurs in the possessum position of a bare possessive construction:

(12-182)   ... *[doo ni   toda   malefo] kamiliqa   ki*
                 thing LIG   earn.money   money   1PL(EXCL)   PL

            mena   ka   taqaa   teqefau.
            FADD   3SG.NFUT   be.bad   every.one
            '… (and) all of our money-earning things too were no good (lit.: were bad) [destroyed or damaged in a cyclone].' ('Money-earning things' refers to crops, such as coconuts for copra and cocoa beans, which are the main sources of cash.)

In the next two examples, the modifiers are nominalizations.

(12-183)   *luma   ni   naqare-laa*
            house   LIG   roast/cook-NMLZ
            'cook-house', 'kitchen'

In (12-184) the nominalization has an oblique object. The phrase was used creatively to refer to a water pistol (children's toy):

(12-184)   *doo   ni   basi-laa   qana kafo*
            thing LIG   shoot-NMLZ   GENP water
            'thing for shooting water'

In the next three examples the modifying noun phrases contain nouns: deverbal nouns in the first two and a simple noun in the third one.

(12-185)   *fa   bongi   ni   mamalo-a*
            CLF   day   LIG   rest-DVN
            'day of rest' (such as Sunday)

The deverbal noun in (12-186) is formed from an object-incorporating compound:

(12-186)   *kula   ni   alu-wane-a*
            place   LIG   bury-person-DVN
            'burial place', 'cemetery'

In the lexicalized phrase in (12-187) the notion of purpose or function is only implied:

(12-187)   *nini   ni   kata*
            knife LIG   k.o.pudding
            'kind of knife for (cutting) *kata* pudding'

There are not many lexicalized phrases headed by verbs. With some exceptions, the modifier is a ligature phrase with a noun, usually a deverbal noun. This type of lexicalized phrase is semantically heterogenous and often idiosyncratic. A few examples are given below.

(12-188)   *fita   ni   mae-a*
            run   LIG   die-DVN
            'run for one's life (lit.: death)'

With the verb *quu* 'beat a drum' the modifier signifies the purpose of the drum-beating:

(12-189)   *quu   ni   keeketo-a*
            beat.drum LIG   demand.compensation-DVN
            'beat a drum to demand compensation' (the deverbal noun *keeketo-a* signifies compensation for a wrong done)

(12-190)   *quu   ni   kwaa-kwala-a*
            beat.drum   LIG   RDP-swear-DVN
            'beat a drum in order to swear, to vent one's anger (possibly but not
            necessarily directed at a specific person)'

Lexicalized phrases that consist of the verb *too* and a ligature phrase have
the meaning 'be ready/about to do what the modifier designates'. *Too* has a
variety of senses, which include 'stay' and 'be in a certain condition'.

(12-191)   *too   ni   lae-a*
            stay   LIG   go-DVN
            'be ready, about to go'

(12-192)   *Wane   e   too   ni   biinga-a   ba-na*
            man   3SG.NFUT   stay   LIG   sleep-DVN   LIM-3SG.PERS

            qa=fa   thato.
            GENP=CLF   daytime
            'The man spends his days just sleeping.' (I.e., he does not do any
            work.) (Lit.: 'The man is just ready to sleep in the daytime.')

Too can also be accompanied by a modifying intransitive lexicalized phrase
that is semantically different from the pattern mentioned above:

(12-193)   a.   *too   ni   kelowane-qa*
                  stay   LIG   humble.man-PROP
                  'of a man: be a humble kind of person'

            b.   *too   ni   kelaqafe-qa*
                  stay   LIG   humble.woman-PROP
                  'of a woman: be a humble kind of person'

There are also lexicalized phrases that do not fit any of the patterns dis-
cussed above. In a few cases, a verb can be modified by a prepositional phrase,
in a kind of prepositional-phrase incorporation. The resulting form functions as
an intransitive verb. The prepositional phrase *mala afa* 'like an eagle' can be
incorporated with certain verbs of motion to signify a soaring movement. *Mala*
is the equative bare preposition (section 10.2.5); its complement *afa* 'eagle' is
non-referential. In (12-194) the postverbal ventive particle follows the [verb
prepositional-phrase] sequence:

(12-194)   *Faka loo-lofo qe   lofo mala afa   mai.*
          ship RDP-fly 3SG.NFUT   fly   EQT eagle VENT
          'Airplanes (lit.: flying ships) soared in the sky (coming) this way.'

Stative intransitive verbs can modify nouns (section 6.10). The verb *kwasi* 'of animals: be wild, not domestic; of plants: grow wild' is used as the second member of [verb verb] compounds to signify that the action denoted by the first verb is performed unusually frequently, highly intensively, immoderately, or to excess; see examples (12-129) and (12-136) in section 12.5. In (12-195) below, a [verb *kwasi*] compound has an oblique object that corresponds to the direct object of the first verb, 'drink':

(12-195)   *Wane   qe   kuqu kwasi   qana kofe.*
          man   3SG.SEQ drink be.wild GENP coffee
          'The man drinks coffee frequently, a lot, too much.'

And in (12-196) the whole phrase *kuqu kwasi qana kofe* functions as a noun modifier. The prepositional phrase has been incorporated together with the compound *kuqu kwasi*, and the *kuqu kwasi qana kafo* combination functions as a complex intransitive verb:

(12-196)   *wane kuqu kwasi   qana kofe*
          man   drink be.wild GENP cofee
          'man who is a frequent, inveterate drinker of coffee'

A few more idiosyncratic lexicalized phrases are given below:

(12-197)   *mafo-i-kilu*
          heal-LOC-hole
          'chronic ulcer, sore' (it only heals in the hole, that is, in the person's grave)

(12-198)   *moqosu-i-luma*
          sleep-LOC-family.house
          'of a married couple: sleep together (and have sex) in the family house (not normally done in traditional times)'

For the stress pattern of *moqosu-i-luma* see (2-55) in section 2.3, where some more examples of lexicalized phrases are given.

In (12-199) the lexicalized phrase is an associative noun phrase:

(12-199)   *thaka-le-qe*   *thaqaro*
           flee/go.into.hiding-NMLZ-ASSOC   possum
           'place where possums stay, where they can be usually found'

The form *nau*, whose basic function is as the first person singular pronoun, can also function as a verb with ligature modifiers that contain either the nominalization *leqa-laa* 'being good' or the deverbal noun *baqita-a*, 'bigness'. The meaning these constructions carry is 'be, feel self-important, conceited':

(12-200)   *nau*   *ni*   *leqa-laa*
           be.self.important/conceited LIG   be.good-NMLZ
           'be, feel self-important, conceited'

(12-201)   *Wane*   *e*   *nau*   *ni*   *baqita-a.*
           man   3SG.NFUT   be.self.important   LIG   be.big-DVN
           'The man is self-important.' 'He is a self-important man.'

Chapter 13
The demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs

13.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a rich set of forms that have demonstrative functions. There are several demonstrative systems in the language, whose members belong in different morphosyntactic categories and have different syntactic properties and different functions. There are four basic categories that need to be distinguished: determiner demonstratives, qualifying demonstratives, locative demonstrative adverbs, and situational demonstrative adverbs. There are various links — formal as well as functional — among the four systems. It is for this reason that the demonstrative adverbs are discussed together with the demonstratives. For convenience, the term "demonstrative forms" is used to refer collectively to the demonstratives and the demonstrative adverbs.

All the demonstrative forms are set out in table 13.1. The table is intended to show the formal links, without going into detail about the functions of the four sets and their members.

Table 13.1. Demonstrative forms

determiner demonstratives	qualifying demonstratives	locative demonstrative adverbs		situational demonstrative adverbs
		presentative	general	
naqi/neqe		*neqe*		
qeri				*neri*
qena		*nena*		*nena*
baa				*nabaa*
labaa		*labaqa*	*labaa/libaa*	
lakoo/lokoo		*lakoqo/lokoqo*	*lakoo/lokoo/likoo*	
	loo	*loqo*	*loori*, *taqabaa*	
	fuu	*fuqu*	*fuuri*, *fuubaa*	

A few of the demonstrative forms listed in the table also form parts of the reiterative demonstrative pronominals (section 13.8).

Some of the demonstrative forms occur in more than one system: *neqe*, *nena*, *labaa* and *lakoo/lokoo*. There are various more or less transparent formal relations across the systems; for example *qeri* and *neri*; *qena* and *nena*; *fuu*, *fuqu*, *funia*, *fuuri*, and *fuubaa*. In spite of the formal relations that exist between some of the elements, all the demonstratives are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. The relations are due to some by now obscured developments in the history of Toqabaqita and are of no overriding significance today. However, some comments on the (historical) composition of the elements are made in the appropriate places.

There are two central semantic/pragmatic factors that, often in conjunction with others, are crucial to the use of the demonstrative forms: the speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere. These are discussed next.

13.2. The speaker's sphere and the addressee's sphere

The notion of the speaker's sphere subsumes the following: relative physical proximity to the speaker; part-whole relations with the speaker as the whole, including body parts, body liquids, bodily excretions/secretions; the speaker's location or an area that includes the speaker's location; a state of affairs characterized by the speaker's involvement; and the time of the speech act, time that includes the time of the speech act, or time that is proximal to the time of the speech act. An entity, location, point in time or period of time, or a state of affairs is in the speaker's sphere if one or more criteria just listed apply to it; otherwise, it is not in the speaker's sphere. The addressee's sphere includes: relative physical proximity to the addressee; part-whole relations with the addressee as the whole, including body parts, body liquids, bodily excretions/secretions; the addressee's location or an area that includes the addressee's location; and a state of affairs characterized by the addressee's involvement. An entity, location, point in time or period of time, or a state of affairs is in the addressee's sphere if one or more of those criteria apply to it; otherwise, it is not in the addressee's sphere. It should be borne in mind, however, that speakers have some flexibility when it comes to encoding something as being in their sphere, in the addressee's sphere, or in neither. Not infrequently, an entity, a location, etc. is presented as being in the speaker's sphere even though, objectively, it is not proximal to the speaker or to the time of the speech act.

The demonstrative forms that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are in the speaker's sphere are referred to as "speaker-proximal"; those that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are in the addressee's sphere are referred to as "addressee-proximal"; and those that serve to encode entities, locations, etc. that are neither in the speaker's sphere nor in the addressee's sphere are

referred to as "distal". To distinguish between the addressee-proximal and the distal forms, the former are glossed with '(2)' (for the second person) and the latter with '(3)' (for the third person) where there exists a contrast between them; for example 'that(2)' and 'that(3)', respectively. A few examples will illustrate the notion of the spheres. In (13-1) the speaker-proximal determiner demonstrative *naqi* is used because the basket is with the speaker:

(13-1) *Qi   fei   na   kwai   alu-a   waqi   naqi*
        LOC where? FOC   1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ basket this

        i   ei?
        LOC   LOCPRO
        'Where shall/should I put this basket?

In the situation expressed in (13-2) the taros are closer to the addressee than to the speaker. They are in the addressee's sphere, and so it is the addressee-proximal determiner *qena* that is used:

(13-2) *Ngali-a   mai   alo   qena   ki.*
        carry-3.OBJ VENT taro that(2) PL
        'Bring the/those taros.'

An in the situation expressed in (13-3) the entity inquired about is neither in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere, because it is distant from both, and it is the distal locative demonstrative adverb *lakoqo* that is used:

(13-3) *Taa   lakoqo?*
        what?   there(3)
        'What's (that) over there?'

The four systems of demonstrative forms will now be discussed in turn.

13.3.   The determiner demonstratives

13.3.1. Introduction

The determiner demonstratives are listed in table 13.2.

Table 13.2. Determiner demonstratives

naqi, *neqe*	speaker-proximal: 'this'
qeri	speaker-proximal: 'this'; also used endophorically
qena	addressee-proximal: 'that(2)'
lakoo, *lokoo*, *labaa*	distal: 'that(3)'
baa	absent from speaker's sphere: 'that'; also used endophorically

The determiner demonstratives are modifiers within noun phrases. For their position in noun phrases see (6-3) in section 6.1. All of them function exophorically, and two of them also function endophorically. The endophoric functions are discussed in section 13.5.

13.3.2.   The exophoric functions of the determiner demonstratives

13.3.2.1.   *The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives*

There are three speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives: *naqi*, *neqe*, and *qeri*. Of these, *qeri* is the least common, except with the two nouns that mean 'time', where it is the norm. *Naqi* and *neqe* are phonological variants of each other, the former being more common. *Naqi* and *neqe* are discussed and exemplified first; a few examples of *qeri* will be given subsequently.

The speaker-proximal determiners may signal physical proximity to the speaker:

(13-4)   *Nau   kwai   qono-toqo-na   fasi   sea   naqi.*
           1SG   1SG.FUT   sit-TEST-3.OBJ   PREC   chair   this
           'I am going to try sitting in this chair now.' 'I am going to test this chair now by sitting in it.'

They are also used with noun phrases referring to parts of the speaker's body or to his/her whole body:

(13-5)   *Teqe si   qai   qe   toqe-a   qae nau naqi.*
        one   PRTT wood 3SG.NFUT   prick-3.OBJ foot 1SG   this
        'My foot, this one, got pricked on a stick.' (Lit.: 'A stick pricked
        this foot of mine'.)

They are used in noun phrases that refer to the speaker's location or to an area that includes the speaker's location:

(13-6)   *Si   ku=neqe   e   faqa-mamagu.*
        PRTT place=this   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-consider.disgusting
        'This place is disgusting.'

The speaker-proximal determiner demonstratives are also used in expressing states of affairs that involve the speaker or that obtain in the speaker's vicinity:

(13-7)   *Kulu   faqa-aqi-a   taqaa-laa   naqi.*
        PL(INCL).NFUT CAUS-not.exist-3.OBJ be.bad-NMLZ   this
        'Let's put an end to this unpleasantness (lit.: badness).'

(13-8)   *Tha   wela e   loke-a*
        PERSMKR   guy   3SG.NFUT   work.determinedly.on-3.OBJ

        raa   neqe, ….
        work this
        'The guy rushed through this job, ...'

The speaker-proximal determiners can also be used in forms of address, although the addressee-proximal determiner is more common there; see section 13.3.2.2.

(13-9)   *Wela naqi, qoko   too   ngado!*
        child this   2SG.SEQ be.in.certain.condition   be.still
        'Child, stay put!'

Although *naqi* and *neqe* are mostly used when reference is being made to entities, locations, or states of affairs that are in the speaker's sphere at the time of the speech act, they may be used with respect to states of affairs that obtained before the time of the speech act and to entities and locations involved in them. By using *naqi* or *neqe* in such cases, the speaker makes the account more vivid, *as if* the state of affairs did obtain at the time of speaking. In some cases, the state of affairs is one that was in the speaker's sphere when it obtained. In

(13-10) the speaker is recounting the fate of the musical group of which he used to be a member and which does not exist any more.

(13-10)   *Kera   nii   i   laal-a   si   raa*
          3PL.NFUT   be.located   LOC   inside-3.PERS   PRTT   activity

          naqi, ma   keka   raqu-a   si   raa   naqi.
          this   and   3PL.SEQ hold-3.OBJ PRTT work this
          'They were (involved) in this activity [the musical group], and they held onto this activity [they did not let it disintegrate].'

The speaker had mentioned the musical group before and so could have used one of the endophoric demonstratives, rather than *naqi*. However, the use of *naqi* not only signals to the addressee identifiability of the referent, it also brings the past situation into the context of the speech act.

The speaker-proximal demonstratives can be used contrastively to oppose something that is "near" compared to something that is "over there", or to oppose "this side" to the "other side". This is possible even if the location or the side in question is not, objectively, near the speaker; but it is treated, metaphorically, as if it were. In the next example, the speaker uses *neqe* with this contrastive function, even though he himself was not involved in the situation being described (the text is a traditional story). The deictic centre is the speaker and his audience, and the two sides are being spoken of as if they were nearer to and farther from them, respectively.

(13-11)   *Roo wela baa ki,   ta   wela qi   bali lakoo,*
          two   child that   PL   some child LOC   side   that(3)

          ta   wela qi   bali neqe, keka   ngali-a
          some child LOC   side   this   3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ

          ifu-na   qaburu baa ....
          hair-3.PERS ogre   that
          'The two children, one child on that side, the other child on this side, they took the ogre's hair ....'

Naqi and *neqe* can be used with temporal noun phrases to signify a time period that includes the time of the speech act. Included here are the nouns for 'day', parts of day, 'week', 'month', 'year'. For example:

(13-12)   *Qi   laa   fa   thaqulafia naqi, kamiliqa   sore*
          LOC   IN   CLF   evening   this   1PL(EXCL)   speak

leqa	*uri-a*	*n=o*		*fale-a*	*si*
be.good	REAS-3.OBJ	COMPL=2SG.NFUT		give-3.OBJ	PRTT

fanga	*ma*	*si*	*kafo* ….
food	and	PRTT	water

'This evening, we give thanks (lit.: we speak well) because you [God] give [us] food and water ….'

The temporal reference may be future, provided the time is viewed as being in the speaker's sphere, that is, as part of the same temporal frame that includes the time of the speech act. In (13-13) the temporal frame is the current week and the Wednesday is included in that frame: the Wednesday of this week.

(13-13) | *Felouship* | *na* | *muki* | *ili-a* | *qana* | *Unsde* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fellowship | REL | 2PL.FUT | do-3SG.OBJ | GENP | Wednesday |

naqi,	*nia*	*bo=naqa*	*neri.*
this	3SG	ASRT=INTS	NPAST.HERE

'The (Christian) fellowship that you will hold this (coming) Wednesday, it will be like this.'

The qualifying elevational demonstrative *loo* 'upward' can also be used with future temporal reference, but in that case the relevant time is outside the speaker's sphere; see section 13.4.

Even though *naqi* and *neqe* are used with nouns that signify periods of time, only rarely are they used with the nouns *manga* and *kada* 'time'. There the third speaker-proximal demonstrative *qeri* is normally used; see (13-15) and (13-16) further below. This demonstrative is considered next.

Qeri has the same spatial significance as *naqi* and *neqe*, but it is used in this way relatively infrequently, and it is more likely to be used by older speakers than by younger ones. Example (13-14) shows *qeri* in its spatial use and its being equivalent to *naqi*. The speaker asked several people, one by one, if they knew a woman shown in a photograph and sometimes he used *qeri* and sometimes *naqi*.

(13-14) | *Qo* | *thaitoqoma-na* | *kini* | *{qeri /* | *naqi?}* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.FUT | know-3.OBJ | woman | this / | this |

'Do you know this woman?'

Much more common is temporal use of *qeri*, with *manga* and with *kada*, both of which mean 'time', to signal that a situation obtains at the time of the

speech act, or that the temporal frame includes the time of the speech act: '(at) this time, now'. The usual noun for 'time' is *manga*; *kada* is relatively rare.

(13-15)   *uni-qi   wane   na=i   manga   qeri*
           generation-ASSOC person   REL=LOC   time   this
           'present-day generation of people'

A reduplicated form of *manga* 'time', *maa-manga*, serves to emphasize the immediacy:

(13-16)   *Lae   bo=naqa   si   maa-manga qeri!*
           go   ASRT=INTS PRTT   RDP-time   this
           'Go right now!' Go this very moment!'

Qeri is also occasionally used with other temporal nouns, and here too it has the same significance as *naqi*/*neqe*. In (13-17) the temporal reference is future, but the time is viewed as being in the speaker's sphere, because the Sunday is in the same week as the day of the speech act:

(13-17)   *fa   Sandee   {naqi /   qeri} mai*
           CLF   Sunday   this /   this   VENT
           'this coming Sunday'

When *qeri* is immediately followed by the plural marker *ki*, the two fuse together as *qe=ki*:

(13-18)   *... moka   qani-a   fanga   qe=ki.*
               2DU.SEQ eat-3.OBJ   food   this=PL
               '[When you and your friend have finished talking,] you two will eat
               this food (lit.: these foods).'

Qeri, but not *naqi* or *neqe*, also functions endophorically

13.3.2.2.   *The addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative*

There is one determiner whose core function is to identify referents that are in the addressee's sphere, *qena*. Usually, although not necessarily, the referent is spatially closer to the addressee than to the speaker at the time of the speech act. For example:

(13-19)   *Taa   n=o   loge-tani-a   i   laa*
        what   FOC=2SG.NFUT   rummage.for-TR-3SG.OBJ   LOC   IN

        waqi   qena?
        basket   that(2)
        'What are you rummaging in that basket for?'

Qena is also used when the relevant referent is part of the addressee's body, his/her whole body, or an excretion issuing out of the addresse's body:

(13-20)   *Losi-a   gwango   qena.*
        remove.nasal.mucus-3.OBJ   nasal.mucus   that(2)
        'Get rid of your snot.' (Said to a child with a snotty nose.)

And *qena* is used to refer to the addressee's location:

(13-21)   *Oli   mai fasi-a   laa   maaqufi qena.*
        return   VENT ABL-3.OBJ   IN   cave   that(2)
        'Come back out of the cave!'

While relative proximity of the referent to the addressee at the time of the speech act normally occasions the use of *qena*, it is not a necessary condition. *Qena* is not infrequently used when the referent is not any closer to the addressee than he/she/it is to the speaker, if the speaker takes the referent to be in the addressee's sphere: it is the addressee rather than the speaker that is, or is to be, involved with the entity; for example, handling it, dealing with it. This kind of use of *qena* is common in imperatives. In the situation expressed in the next example, both the speaker and the addressee were next to a water tap, but the speaker's hands were full and he wanted the addressee to turn the tap on:

(13-22)   *Qifi-ni-a   kafo   qena.*
        be.open-TR-3.OBJ   water   that(2)
        'Turn the water on.'

And in the situation expressed in the next example, both the speaker and the addressees are in the same area. (The ventive particle marks distance from the deictic centre here, not ventive directionality.)

(13-23)   *Lae   muka   soe   kaakali   si   mai*
        go   2PL.SEQ ask   move.around.place   PREC   VENT

> *qi   laa   fanu   qena.*
> LOC   IN   place that(2)
> 'Go now and ask around the place.'

Qena is also used in the expression of address *kale qena*, lit. 'that mate'. This is a common form of address, used regardless of sex and age of the addressee; it is used even between spouses. For example:

(13-24)   A: *Kale   qena,   fale=qa-ku   ta*
              mate   that(2) give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS   some

              si   suka.
              PRTT   sugar

          B: *Kale   qena,   si   suka neqe qe   faqekwa*
              mate   that(2) PRTT   sugar this 3SG.NFUT   be.little

              qasia boqo.
              INTS   INTS
          A: 'Friend, give me some sugar.'
          B: 'Friend, I have very little sugar.' (Lit.: 'Friend, this sugar is very little.')

Qena can also be used with other nouns in address forms:

(13-25)   *Wela qena!   Fusi ma=i   ano!*
           child that(2) jump VENT=LOC   ground
           'Child! Jump (down) to the ground!'

However, if the addressee is quite close to the speaker, he or she may be treated as being in the speaker's sphere, even with respect to imperatives; see example (13-9) in section 13.3.2.1.

Qena is also used when the referent of the noun phrase is not literally in the addressee's sphere. It is so used when speaking about something that took place before the time of the speech act, a situation which was in the speaker's, but not the addressee's, sphere at that time. This use of *qena* is not very common. It serves to make what is being spoken about closer, more vivid to the addressee, as if he/she had been present. In (13-26) the person is speaking about people at a meeting that he, but not the addressees, had attended:

(13-26) *Nia   e   toqe-a   toq=qena   sui   bana.*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT   oppose-3.OBJ   people=that(2) EXHST   LIM
         'He opposed everybody.' 'He disagreed with everybody.' 'He op-
         posed all the people.'

And in (13-27) a possum hunter talks about what happens during a possum hunt, a kind of activity that the addressee does not engage in. The possums and the trees where the possums jump are referred to by means of the addressee-proximal determiner:

(13-27)   *... tai   si   manga   **thaqaro qena**   ka*
              some.PL PRTT   time   possum   that(2)   3SG.SEQ

          thada   mai; tai   si   manga   ka   thaka
          fall.down   VENT some.PL PRTT time   3SG.SEQ escape

          na-na;   akaqu   laqu ba-na   i
          PRF-3SG.PERS   take.step   ADD   LIM-3SG.PERS   LOC

          *gwau-na   **qai   qena   ki**.*
          top-3.PERS   tree   that(2)   PL
          '...sometimes, [after being poked with a pole] the possum falls down; sometimes it escapes [and] jumps (lit.: take steps) again in the tops of the trees.'

13.3.2.3.   *The distal determiner demonstratives*

There are three determiner demonstratives that signify that the referent of the noun phrase is neither in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere, and that the entity, the location, or the state of affairs is not significantly displaced vertically with respect to the deictic centre, neither higher nor lower: *lakoo*, *lokoo*, and *labaa*. *Lakoo* and *lokoo* are phonological variants of each other. Some Toqabaqita speakers feel that *lakoo* and *lokoo* ought to be used when the distance is not very great, whereas *labaa* ought to be used for relatively great distances, but for all practical purposes *lakoo*/*lokoo* and *labaa* are interchangeable. Of the three forms, *lakoo* is the most common one.

(13-28)   *Ada laa-lae fuufusi lakoo   ka   laba-taqi   nia.*
          TIM   RDP-go   ant   that(3) 3SG.SEQ harm-TR   3SG
          '(I am worried) the ants over there might harm [here: sting] him [a baby].'

(13-29)   *Wane   lokoo   ki   keki   fanga   qa-da.*
           person   that(3)   PL   3PL.IPFV   eat   SBEN-3PL.PERS
           'Those people are eating.'

(13-30)   *Koro   kasi-a   qai   labaa.*
           DU(INCL).NFUT   cut-3.OBJ   tree   that(3)
           'Let's cut (down) that tree over there.'

In the situation expressed in (13-31), the deictic centre is not the speaker but a ship that a group of people had decided to stay away from:

(13-31)   *Ma   keka   tee-teo   i   kula   lakoo   ka*
           and   3PL.SEQ   RDP-lie   LOC   place   that(3)   3SG.SEQ

           dani   naqa, ….
           be.daytime   PRF
           'But (lit.: and) they lay (sleeping) at that place [away from a ship]
           until it was daytime, ….'

The distal demonstratives can be used contrastively to designate a location that is thought of as being away, or as being the other, more distant side, relative to a location thought of as being "near", or relative to the "near" side, respectively; see example (13-11) in section 13.3.2.1, where what is thought of as the far side is in contrast with what is thought of as the near side.

13.3.2.4.   *The determiner demonstrative of absence*

Toqabaqita has a determiner demonstrative that in its exophoric function signals that the referent of the noun phrase is absent from the speaker's sphere. The form of the demonstrative is *baa*. Unlike the other exophoric determiners, *baa* signals not the current location of an entity, but its absence from the speaker's sphere. The entity used to be in the speaker's sphere but no longer is, or it should be in the speaker's sphere but is not. *Baa* is commonly used in questions to ask about the whereabouts of someone or something, for example, when looking for him/her/it.

(13-32)   *Qo   alu-a   naifa nau baa qi fei?*
           2SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   knife 1SG that LOC where?
           'Where did you put my knife?' 'Where did you put that knife of mine? (The speaker is looking for the knife.)

In (13-33) *baa* has fused with the following subject marker and has the form *ba=*:

(13-33)   *Wela   ba=e   ni=i   fei?*
         child   that=3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC   where?
         'Where is the child?'

Commonly, to ask about the whereabouts of someone or something, only the relevant noun phrase is used, without a predicate, and frequently, although not always, the interrogative is introduced by *ma* 'and'. (See also section 19.3.7.)

(13-34)   *Ma   sofu   baa?*
         and   soap   that
         'And (where is) the soap?'

(13-35)   *Arekwao   baa?*
         white.man   that
         '(Where is) the white man?'

In the situation expressed in (13-36) the speaker wants the child to come. By using *baa* he is signalling that the child should have been present already:

(13-36)   *Qai-li-a   mai   wela   baa.*
         call-TR-3.OBJ   VENT child that
         'Call the child (to come) here.'

And in (13-37) the noun phrase *kale baa* 'that guy' could refer to a person that is no longer in the speaker's sphere, for example because he has gone to live somewhere else or because he has died:

(13-37)   *doo   kale   baa*
         thing guy   that
         'that guy's thing'

Baa is used not only with spatial significance but also with temporal significance, to designate time before the time of reference, as a temporal counterpart of the qualifying demonstrative *loo* 'upward' (section 13.4):

(13-38)   *si   manga   baa*
         PRTT time   that
         '(at) that time in the past'

With temporal nouns that signify a point in time or a period of time, *baa* normally signals the last such preceding time or time period:

(13-39) *Fa   ngali baa, karangi-a   sa   kwai   mae*
         CLF   year that be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT die

         bo=naqa   qana   malaria.
         ASRT=INTS GENP   malaria
         'Last year, I nearly died of malaria.'

(13-40) *Qo   lae   Honiara qana wiki baa?*
         2SG.NFUT   go   Honiara GENP week that
         'Did you go to Honiara last week?'

(13-41) *fa   Sandee   baa   (kau)*
         CLF   Sunday that   AND
         'last Sunday'

13.4.   The qualifying demonstratives

There are two qualifying demonstratives. They are listed in table 13.3.

Table 13.3. Qualifying demonstratives

loo	distal and higher than deictic centre: 'upward'
fuu	distal and lower than deictic centre: 'downward'; also used endophorically

The qualifying demonstratives are elevational: in their core functions they signal vertical displacement of an entity or a location from the deictic centre. *Loo* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is at a higher location than the deictic centre, while *fuu* signals that the referent of the noun phrase is at a lower location than the deictic centre. (Although *loo* and *fuu* are usually best translated as 'up there' and 'down there', respectively, they are glossed 'upward' and 'downward', respectively, in order to distinguish them from the locative demonstrative adverbs 'up there' and 'down there', discussed in section 13.6.)

Like the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying ones occur in noun phrases (see [6-3] in section 6.1); and there are some semantic links between the two sets, but there are also some major differences, not just semantic but

formal as well. The qualifying demonstratives are distal. They are used when the entity in question is neither in the speaker's nor in the addressee's sphere. They are elevational counterparts of the distal (non-elevational) determiner demonstratives *lakoo/lokoo* and *labaa* (section 13.3.2.3).

Unlike the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying ones can occur with heads that are (third person) pronouns:

(13-42) *Nia   lo=e   teo   qa-na   loqo.*
         3SG   upward=3SG.NFUT   lie   SBEN-3SG.PERS up.there
         'He up there (He who was upward) was lying up there.'

And unlike the determiner demonstratives, the qualifying demonstratives can occur in indefinite (but referential) noun phrases:

(13-43) *Kale!,   teqe   doo   fuu   qe*
         man!   one   thing downward   3SG.NFUT

         qoto   fuuri,   quri-a   ta   kafo
         (water)be.stagnant   down.there be.like-3.OBJ   some   water

         fu=nia.
         downward=3SG
         'Man! Something down there is stagnant down there; it looks like water, that (thing) down there.'

(13-44) *Teqe   qerofulae   lo=e   tatha   naq=i*
         one   airplane   upward=3SG.NFUT   pass.by   PRF=LOC

         mangaa.
         air.space
         'An airplane up there is passing by in the sky (lit.: in the air space).'

The determiner demonstratives can only occur in definite noun phrases. On the other hand, the qualifying demonstratives do not have a definiteness value of their own. They can be used in indefinite noun phrases; but when a noun phrase is not specified as indefinite, the qualifying demonstratives carry a definiteness value.

The qualifying demonstratives can cooccur with the determiner demonstratives used anaphorically (section 13.5), modifying the same head noun. The anaphoric demonstratives come first, and the qualifying demonstratives follow (see 6-3 in section 6.1). In (13-45) *loo* 'upward' cooccurs with anaphoric *qeri*:

(13-45)   *Wane   qeri   loo   kai   gau*
man   that   upward   3SG.IPFV   pick.fruit.with.crook

keekene.
breadruit
'The (aforementioned) man up there [in a tree] is picking breadfruit
(hooking them with a crook and breaking them off).'

In (13-46) it is *fuu* (in its reduced form *fu=*) 'downward' that cooccurs with
qeri:

(13-46)   *Thaqaro qeri   fu=e   thada   kau.*
possum   that   downward=3SG.NFUT fall.down   AND
'The possum down there fell/had fallen down there.'

And in (13-47) *loo* 'upward' cooccurs with anaphoric *baa*:

(13-47)   *Ma   qaburu   baa   lo=e   teo   qa-na ....*
and   ogre   that   upward=3SG.NFUT   lie   SBEN-3SG.PERS
'And the ogre up there [in a tree] was lying (asleep) ….'

More examples of the qualifying demonstratives follow. The first two illus-
trate *loo* 'upward':

(13-48)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   lae   uri   kula   loo.*
1SG   1SG.NFUT   UNDES   go   ALL   place   upward
'I don't like going to the place up there.'

The expression *araqi loo* literally 'the mature man upward' is used to refer
to the Christian God:

(13-49)   *Kamiliqa   mika   tango-a   araqi*
1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).SEQ praise-3.OBJ   mature.man

loo ....
upward
'We praised the Lord ....'

The next pair of examples illustrate the use of *fuu* 'downward'.

(13-50)   *Teqe doo   e   qisu i   kula fuu.*
          one   thing 3SG.NFUT   move LOC   place downward
          'There is something moving down there.'

In (13-51) the demonstrative has fused with the following preposition:

(13-51)   *... meka   fula   mai   i   aa,*
              1DU(EXCL).SEQ   arrive   VENT   LOC   place.up

          meka   lio   toli   faafi-a   toaasusu
          1DU(EXCL).SEQ   look descend CONF-3.OBJ   city

          fu=i   ano.
          downward=LOC   ground
          '...we arrived up [to the top floor of a skyscraper] and looked down
          at the city down on the ground.'

There is a convention in the Toqabaqita area such that locations that are to
one's right along the coast when one is facing the sea are "up" and those to
one's left are "down":

(13-52)   *Mika   fafualianga uri-a   bali loo*
          1PL(ECXL).SEQ listen   ALL-3.OBJ   side upward

          qana qiist ma   bali fuu   qana west
          GENP east   and   side downward   GENP west

          ka   taqaa   teqefau   laqu boqo.
          3SG.SEQ be.bad   all.of.it ADD   ASRT
          'We listened [to the radio for news about a cyclone] to hear about
          [places] up in the east and down in the west, and there too it was bad
          everywhere.'

In the area where the speaker of (13-52) was, the direction to one's right
when one is facing the sea is approximately eastward and the direction to one's
left is approximately westward. (In a parallel manner, verbal expressions 'move
up' and 'move down', respectively, are used for movements in those direc-
tions.)
    Locations out in the sea but not very far are considered to be up when the
deictic centre is down on the coast. (When the deictic centre is up in the hills
and mountains, locations in the sea are down.)

(13-53)   ... *keka   nii   naq=i   qamali,   qi   laa*
　　　　　　3PL.SEQ   reside   PRF=LOC   sea   LOC   IN

　　　　　　aququa   loo   i   asi ....
　　　　　　island   upward   LOC   sea
　　　　　　'... they settled (to live) at sea, on that island up in the sea ....'

On the other hand, locations far across the sea are considered to be down. In (13-54a) *fuu* is used to refer to the women of New Zealand when the speaker is on Malaita, while in (13-54b) it is used to refer to the women of Malaita when the speaker is in New Zealand. (Unless specified otherwise, *bara* refers collectively to women.)

(13-54)   a.   *bara   fu=i   Niu   Siland*
　　　　　　　　woman.group   downward=LOC   New   Zealand
　　　　　　　　'(all) the women in New Zealand' (the speaker is on Malaita)

　　　　　　b.   *bara   fu=i   Malaqita*
　　　　　　　　woman.group   downward=LOC   Malaita
　　　　　　　　'(all) the women on Malaita' (the speaker is in New Zealand)

As is the case with the determiner demonstratives, with *loo* and *fuu* also the deictic centre need not be the speaker. In the situation expressed in the next sentence, the deictic centre is some of the people building a house, the ones on the ground, and they do not include the speaker.

(13-55)   *Tai   wane ki keka   fale   thao   uri-a*
　　　　　　some.PL   man   PL 3PL.SEQ   hand   thatching   ALL-3.OBJ

　　　　　　fafo-na   biqu   loo ....
　　　　　　top-3.PERS   house   upward
　　　　　　'Some of the men [on the ground] pass thatching to the top of the house [i.e., to the people on top of the house] ....'

In the next sentence, from an account of a possum hunt, the man on the ground is characterized as being down in relation to another man, up in a tree. The man up in the tree is mentioned in the first clause in (13-56), and represents the current point of reference.

(13-56)   ... *ma   nia   ka   quu,   ma   nia   ka   toqo*
　　　　　　and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   shoot   and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   bang

>*naqa,   ma   wane fuu   ka   raqu-a*
>PRF   and   man downward 3SG.SEQ   grab-3SG.OBJ
>
>*naqa ....*
>PRF
>'... and he [the man up in the tree] shoots, and it [a possum] bangs down (to the ground), and the man down there grabs it ....'

Loo is used not only with spatial significance but also with temporal significance, to signal time later than the time of reference. Future time is conceptualized as being up (and as moving towards the time of reference; see section 7.11).

(13-57)   *si   manga*   loo
   PRTT time   upward
   'future time'

Loo is also used with temporal nouns that signify a point in time or a period of time, in which case it mostly signals the first such time or time period after the time of reference (but see further below). The time referred to is not in the speaker's sphere; that is, it is not viewed as being inside a temporal frame that includes the time of the speech act. (Compare the use of the speaker-proximal forms *naqi/neqe* and *qeri*, as discussed in section 13.3.2.1.) The month referred to in (13-58) was to come after the month in which the sentence was uttered:

(13-58)   *Lumaqaa   naqi qana madami loo.*
   wedding   this GENP month   upward
   'The (lit.: this) wedding (will be) next month.'

In (13-59) the reference time is a time in the past, several decades before the time of the speech act, and *loo* is used to signify the following year, also in the past:

(13-59)   *... fa   ngali loo   kiki   fula, kiki   thau-ngi*
    CLF   year upward 3PL.FUT arrive 3PL.FUT hit-TR

   Solomon Aylen.
   Solomon Island
   '[They sent a message saying that] the following year they would come and attack the Solomon Islands.'

With the days of the week, *loo* signals the day after the coming one:

(13-60)   *fa   Sandee   loo   (mai)*
           CLF   Sunday   upward   VENT
           'the Sunday after next'

The temporal counterpart of *loo*, signalling time before the time of reference, is not *fuu* 'downward', but the determiner demonstrative *baa* (section 13.3.2.4). However, *fuu* does have another function, that of an anaphoric determiner; see section 13.5.1.

13.5.   The endophoric functions of the demonstratives

Three demonstratives, the determiner ones *qeri* and *baa*, and the qualifying one *fuu*, also function as endophoric determiners in addition to their exophoric functions. One of them, *qeri*, has both an anaphoric and a cataphoric function.

13.5.1.   The anaphoric functions of *qeri*, *baa*, and *fuu*

Fuu is used anaphorically only rarely, and in that function is equivalent to *baa*. Examples of its use will be given towards the end of the section. The anaphoric functions of *qeri* and *baa* are discussed in detail in Lichtenberk (1988b), and here only a synopsis is given. The notion that underlies the anaphoric uses of *qeri* and *baa* is that of assumed familiarity (Prince 1981): the speaker assumes that the addressee is in some way familiar with the referent of the noun phrase, and this is signalled by the use of *qeri* or *baa*. Frequently, the referent of a noun phrase may be assumed to be familiar to the addressee because of prior mention. In (13-61) a garden is mentioned for the first time in the first clause, and it is subsequently referred to twice by lexical noun phrases using *qeri*. *Qeri* is also used with the noun *faa-fanga-a* 'feast' in the last clause. The feast was mentioned before; it is for this feast that the food in the garden was grown.

(13-61)   *Keka   kilu-a   teqe   oqola,   oqola   qeri*
           3PL.SEQ plant.taro.in-3.OBJ   one   garden   garden   that

           ka   taqe   naqa, qana Unsde   qana fa   wiki
           3SG.SEQ   grow   PRF   GENP Wednesday   GENP CLF   week

           naqi   keki   kwaqi-a   oqola   qeri
           this   3PL.FUT harvest.taro.in-3.OBJ garden   that

uri-a	*faa-fanga-a*	*qeri.*
PURP-3.OBJ	RDP-eat-DVN	that

'They planted taros in a garden; the (food in the) garden has grown; on Wednesday of this week they will harvest the taros in the garden for the feast.'

And in (13-62) *baa* is used in a noun phrase to refer back to people mentioned previously:

(13-62)	... *keka*	*ngali-a*	*sikwa*	*noniqi*	*wane*	*baa*	*ki,* ....
	3PL.SEQ	take-3.OBJ	nine	CLF	man	that	PL

'... they took those nine men, ...'

An anaphoric mention using *qeri* or *baa* need not be lexically identical to the previous mention. In (13-63) the man and the woman are first referred to as the child's father and mother, but in the subsequent, anaphoric mention they are referred to as a married couple:

(13-63)	*Maka*	*nia*	*bia*	*thaina-na*	*keko*	*sore-a*
	father	3SG	and	mother-3SG.PERS	3DU.SEQ	tell-3.OBJ

	wela	*qeri*	*ma*	*roo*	*ai*	*baa*	*ki*	*keka*	*lae*
	child	that	and	two	spouse	that	PL	3PL.SEQ	go

	naqa ....
	PRF

'The child's father and mother told him .... (lit.: His father and mother told the child ....) and the husband and wife (lit.: the two spouses) went (away) ....'

The referent of a noun phrase may be treated as familiar to the addressee even though it has not been explicitly mentioned before, provided that something in the preceding context entails or at least evokes it. In (13-64), the work can be assumed to be familiar because of the prior mention of the activity of working by means of a verb:

(13-64)	*Nau*	*ku*	*raa-raa,*	*raa*	*qeri*	*ka*
	1SG	1SG.NFUT	RDP-work	work	that	3SG.SEQ

	faqa-feda	*nau*	*qasia*	*naqa.*
	CAUS-be.tired	1SG	INTS	INTS

'I worked and worked, and the work made me very tired.'

In (13-65) a fence is presented as familiar owing to the prior mention of a prison cell.

(13-65) *Keko tataqe mai, maa-na qolofolo qana*
        3DU.SEQ stand.up VENT door-3.PERS doorway GENP

        sela qeri mena ka qifi. Keeroqa keko
        cell that FADD 3SG.SEQ open 3DU 3DU.SEQ

        kotho bo=na=i maa .... keko
        go.through ASRT=PRF=LOC outside 3DU.SEQ

        kotho ba-daroqa i
        go.through LIM-3DU.PERS LOC

        maatonga-na **fenisi qeri** *mada i*
        mid.of.vertical.object-3.PERS fence that or LOC

        qaaqae-na **fenisi qeri** *toqo.*
        base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS fence that perhaps
        'They stood up, (and) the door (lit.: the door of the doorway) of the (prison) cell too opened. The two of them went outside. [After they had gone outside,] they went simply through the middle of the fence or perhaps at [i.e. under] the bottom of the fence [and escaped from the prison].'

An anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri* or *baa* can also be used "summatively", its antecedent being part or all of the preceding discourse. In (13-66) the anaphoric noun phrase *quna baa* 'that manner, that way' has as its antecedent a number of clauses that describe what the man shouted. (It does not designate the way the man shouted.) The noun phrase *manga b[aa]* 'that time' refers back to the time he shouted.

(13-66) *... manga b=e qai quna baa ....*
        time that=3SG.NFUT shout manner that
        '… (at) that time he shouted (like) that ….'

Although this is not common, *qeri* and *baa* can be used anaphorically even if the antecedent is non-referential. The antecedent mentions a type of entity rather than a specific entity, but this may be sufficient for the speaker to assume familiarity on the part of the addressee. In (13-67) the first mention of possums is non-referential, and the verb 'hunt' and the noun 'possum' form an object-

incorporating compound (section 12.4.2). The next time possums are mentioned, it is by means of an anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri*, there in its reduced, combining form *qe=*, to which the plural marker *ki* is fused:

(13-67)   *Qan=teqe*   *fa*   *bongi,*   *roo*   *wela* *qe=ki*
           GENP=one   CLF   day   two   child that=PL

              kero   *lae,*   *keko*   **raqa** **futa**   *qa-daroqa,*
              3DU.NFUT go   3DU.SEQ hunt possum   SBEN-3DU.PERS

              laalae, *ka*   *fula*   *karangi-a*   *fanua*
              RDP-go 3SG.SEQ arrive   be.near.to-3.OBJ   place

              kai   *rodo.*   *Keeroqa*   *keko*   *ngali-a*   *mai*
              3SG.FUT be.night 3DU   3DU.SEQ carry-3.OBJ VENT

              futa   **keeroqa** *qe=ki*, ...
              possum   3DU   that=PL
              'One day, the two children went to hunt possums; they hunted and hunted until it was about to get dark. They gathered (lit.: brought) those possums of theirs, ...'

Even though both *qeri* and *baa* are used anaphorically, they are not equivalent. As discussed in Lichtenberk (1988b), the choice between the two anaphoric elements is sensitive to the degree of accessibility of the referent of an anaphoric noun phrase, that is, to "the degree to which the referent of an anaphoric NP is accessible to the participants in the speech act" (Lichtenberk 1988b: 326), following Givón's (1983) notion of accessibility. *Qeri* is used when the degree of accessibility is relatively high, and *baa* is used when the degree of accessibility is relatively low. One factor having to do with the degree of accesibility is anaphoric distance, in terms of the number of clause boundaries, between the current anaphoric mention and the most recent antecedent.[33] All other things being equal (see further below), the shorter the anaphoric distance, the more likely the use of *qeri*; and the longer the distance, the more likely the use of *baa*. An anaphoric noun phrase with *qeri* or *baa* and its antecedent cannot occur in the same clause, which means that the anaphoric distance must be at least one clause boundary. Example (13-68) illustrates the difference between *qeri* and *baa*. There are two anaphoric mentions of one and the same place (*kula* 'place'). The first noun phrase contains *baa* (in its combining form *ba=*), because the most recent mention of that place was much earlier in the text. The anaphoric distance is very long, over 50 clauses. The noun phrase *kula baa* not only refers back; it also functions as the antecedent of

the next mention of the place. Here, the anaphoric distance is short, only three clause boundaries. And in the second anaphoric noun phrase it is *qeri* that is used.

(13-68) *Wane   baa   ka   lae,   qe   lae   ura*
        man   that   3SG.SEG   go   3SG.NFUT   go   ALL

        ***kula ba**=nia   toda-a   thaari   baa   ma   keeroqa*
        place that=3SG   meet-3.OBJ   girl   that   and   3DU

        keko   qolo   qi   ei   keki   kwai-toda=i
        3DU.SEQ arrange   LOC   LOCPRO   3DU.FUT   LIP-meet=LOC

        ***kula qeri**.*
        place that
        'The man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had arranged to meet (at that place).'

Anaphoric distance is a matter of degree. Over very long distances, it is *baa* that is clearly preferred, while over very short distances, all other things being equal, it is *qeri* that is clearly preferred. But there are also cases where the anaphoric distance is neither particularly long nor particularly short, and in such cases either *baa* or *qeri* can be used.

There is one kind of environment where it is *qeri* that is used exclusively: when a new, salient participant is introduced into discourse and is immediately referred to again by means of a lexical noun phrase, it is always *qeri* that is used in the second mention. This is a strategy commonly used to refer to newly introduced participants. In (13-69) a new participant, a woman, is introduced in the first clause, and is referred to immediately again in the next clause. In the second mention the noun phrase contains *qeri*. The woman is a highly salient participant (she became the speaker's wife) and is referred to again subsequently. Only the first of the later mentions is included here.

(13-69) *... keko   soe-toqo-na   naqa teqe kini   qi*
          3DU.SEQ ask.about-TEST-3.OBJ PRF one woman   LOC

        laa   sukulu   naqa. Keka   foqe-a
        IN   church   PRF   3PL.SEQ   pay.bride.price.for-3.OBJ

        ***kini   qeri*   *qi   fa-ku.*   ***Kini   qeri**,*
        woman   that   LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS   woman   that

keka	*kwaa*	*suli*	*nia*	*qana*	*teqe*
3PL.SEQ	set.bride.price	PROL	3SG	GENP	one

kobi-qi	*malefo*	*ma*	*teqe*	*malefo.*
tensome-ASSOC	shell.money	and	one	shell.money

'... they [the speaker's parents] inquired about a woman who was already a Christian (lit.: already in the church). They paid the bride price for the woman for me. The woman, they [the woman's family] set the bride price for her as 11 sets of shell money.'

For more examples of introduction of new participants and subsequent mentions by means of noun phrases with *qeri* see section 38.8.

There is another factor that has to do with the degree of accessibility that is relevant to the use of *qeri* and *baa*, at least in narrative discourse, and that is presence of direct speech intervening between segments of the narrative portion of the text. There are two possibilities: (i) the direct speech intervenes between the antecedent and the anaphoric mentions; or (ii) the antecedent mention is in the direct speech and the anaphoric mention is in a later narrative portion.[34] In both types of case, the degree of accessibility of the participant in the anaphoric mention is relatively low, and *baa* tends to be used even over short anaphoric distances. In (13-70) the antecedent is in the direct speech, and the anaphoric noun phrase is in the narrative portion of the text. *Baa* is used in the anaphoric mention even though the anaphoric distance is minimal: one clause boundary. The antecedent of *roo wela baa ki* 'the two children' is the first person dual exclusive pronoun *kamareqa* in the direct speech:

(13-70)	*"Qe*	*aqi.*	*Kamareqa*	*laa-lae*	*meki*
	3SG.NFUT	not.be.so	1DU(EXCL)	RDP-go	1DU(EXCL).FUT

riki-a	*boqo."*	*Roo*	*wela*	*baa*	*ki,*	*rake-da*
see-3SG.OBJ	ASRT	two	child	that	PL	belly-3PL.PERS

ka	*qiri; ....*
3SG.SEQ	be.angry

'[The two children said:] "No. We *will* (go and) see it." The two children, they were angry (lit.: their bellies were angry.); ....'

The anaphoric demonstratives are sometimes not used with possessive constructions when the referent is uniquely identifiable. In (13-71) there is a first mention of Bariqi's arms and legs, followed some sentences later by a second mention, but the second mention has no anaphoric determiners. It is clearly

Bariqi's arms and legs that are being referred to; the third person pronoun *nia* functioning as a possessor phrase provides the anaphoric link:

(13-71)   ... *ma   toqa   nia   ki kiku   kani-a   roo   qaba*
         and   people   3SG   PL 3PL.SEQ tie-3.OBJ two   arm

        nia   ki ma   roo   qae   nia   ki .... Wela baa   ki
        3SG   PL and   two   leg   3SG   PL   child that   PL

        *keka   luke-a   naqa, tha   Bariqi,   **roo***
        3PL.SEQ untie-3SG.OBJ PRF   PERSMKR   Bariqi   two

        qaba nia ki,   roo   qae   nia   ki.
        arm 3SG PL   two   leg   3SG   PL
        '... and his [another man's, not Bariqi's] people tied both of his [Bariqi's] arms and both of his legs .... The children untied him, Bariqi, both of his arms and both of his legs.'

Similarly in (13-72) neither *qeri* nor *baa* is used with the kinship terms 'father' and 'mother', even though both individuals have been mentioned — several times — earlier. Here too the anaphoric link is by means of the expressions of the possessor.

(13-72)   *Ma   nia   qe   ade   fasi-a   maka   nia*
        and   3SG   3SG.NFUT   act   ABL-3.OBJ   father   3SG

        bia   thaina-na ....
        and   mother-3SG.PERS
        'And he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother ....'

However, if an anaphoric link is to be emphasized, *qeri* or *baa* are used even in the presence of an anaphoric possessor phrase. In (13-73) there is a possessor pronoun, but the use of *qeri* makes it clear that the individual being talked about is the one mentioned previously and none other:

(13-73)   *Iu,   ka   thare-a   teqe wane,   thata-na*
        yes   3SG.SEQ beget-3.OBJ one   man   name-3SG.PERS

        tha   Moomoli   laqu boqo.   Kwaqengara
        PERSMKR   Moomoli   ADD   ASRT   Kwaqengara

qe	*qalangi-a*	***kookoqo***	***nia***	***qeri***
3SG.NFUT	name-3.OBJ	grandchild	3SG	that

qana	*thata-na*	*maka*	*nia.*
GENP	name-3.PERS	father	3SG

'Yes, and he begot a man; his name too was Moomoli [same as Moomoli's great-grandfather's name.]. Kwaqengara [Moomoli's grandfather] bestowed his own father's name on that grandchild of his.'

On the whole, *qeri* is used more commonly than *baa*. In six traditional Toqabaqita narratives studied in Lichtenberk (1988b), there were 389 instances of *qeri* and *baa* altogether. Of these, approximately 69 percent were occurrences of *qeri* and approximately 31 percent were occurrences of *baa*. This reflects a tendency of texts to exhibit a relatively high degree of continuity with respect to the participants. The distances between repeated mentions of entities, especially relatively salient ones, tend to be short; and this is where *qeri* is more likely to be used than *baa*.

There is a link between the endophoric and the exophoric functions of *qeri* and *baa*. Exophorically, *qeri* is speaker-proximal and endophorically it is used over relatively short anaphoric distances. On the other hand, *baa* is used exophorically to signal spatial absence, removal, and temporal distance into the past, that is, absence of proximity; and endophorically it is usually used over relatively long anaphoric distances.

The third anaphoric demonstrative, *fuu*, is not common (although it is common as an elevational demonstrative), and it is the equivalent of *baa*. In (13-74) *fuu* occurs three times. The ogre, the children, and the door have all been mentioned before.

(13-74)	*Qaburu*	*fuu,*	*tootoo*	*qe*	*rodo*	*mai,*	*taqe*
	ogre	that	later	3SG.NFUT	be.dark	VENT	ascend

mai,	*lae*	*mai*	*ura*	*roo*	*wela*	*fuu*	*ki,*	*fula,*
VENT	go	VENT	ALL	two	child	that	PL	arrive

qe	*qigi-ni-toqo-na*	*maa*	*fuu*	*quna*	*qeri,*
3SG.NFUT	shake-TR-TEST-3.OBJ	door	that	manner	this

> *ma   ka   aqi   si   qifi.*
> and   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG open
> 'The ogre, later (when) it got dark, went up and came up to the two
> children, (and when) he arrived (there), he tried to shake the door
> like this [the speaker demonstrates], but (lit.: and) it wouldn't open.'

The first instance of *fuu* could also be interpreted as elevational: the ogre is
originally located lower than the children, as shown by the use of the verb *taqe*
'ascend'. However, when the children are referred to, *fuu* is used there too; and
it is also used when reference is made to the door of the house where the chil-
dren are. Even after reaching the two children, the ogre is referred in the re-
mainder of the story by means of noun phrases with *fuu*. Those uses of *fuu* are
not elevational.

The anaphoric uses of *fuu* too may be motivated by its exophoric functions,
although in the absence of historical evidence one can only speculate. In its
elevational use, *fuu* 'downward' is the counterpart of *loo* 'upward'. *Loo* is also
used temporally to signal time later than the time of reference. One might, then,
expect *fuu* to signal time before the time of reference; however, there it is *baa*
that is used, not *fuu*. And *baa* is used anaphorically over relatively long ana-
phoric distances. It is conceivable that at some time in the history of Toqa-
baqita, *fuu* was used exophorically to signal time before the time of reference,
the way *baa* functions now, and that that usage motivated the development of
its anaphoric use over relatively long anaphoric distances, again the way *baa* is
used now. Later, *fuu* was replaced by *baa*, completely in its temporal function
and nearly completely in its anaphoric function.

13.5.2.   The cataphoric function of *qeri*

Qeri is the only demonstrative that can be used cataphorically, pointing forward
in text. It is so used in a re-ranked noun phrase headed by *quna* 'manner, way'.
The noun phrase *quna qeri* '(in) this manner; thus' functions as a "pseudo-
verb" to introduce direct speech (section 4.7):

(13-75) *Ma   tha   baastoo ka   quna   qeri,   "Nau,*
         and   PERSMKR   pastor   3SG.SEQ   manner this   I

         sios   naqi, ku   ili-toqo-na   qono-laa   i
         church   this   1SG.NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ   sit-NMLZ   LOC

> *ei   qa=fa   thato,   ka   taqaa."*
> LOCPRO GENP=CLF   daytime 3SG.SEQ be.bad
> 'And the Pastor said, "I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the
> day, but it was no good.".' (People outside the church were making
> too much noise.)

(13-76)   *Thaari   baa   ka   quna   qeri,   "Qe   leqa*
          girl   that 3SG.SEQ manner   this   3SG.NFUT be.good

          ba-na,   koki   fanga."
          LIM-3SG.PERS   DU(INCL).FUT   eat
          'The girl said, "That's fine; we'll eat.".'

For more examples see (4-224) in section 4.7 and section 37.4.
However, *qeri* can also be used anaphorically with *quna* as its head:

(13-77)   *Nau   kwa   taqaa   qasia na=i   a-ku*
          1SG   1SG.SEQ   be.bad   INTS INTS=LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS

          manga   n=e   ngata   quna   qeri.
          time   REL=3SG.NFUT   speak   manner   that
          'I felt very bad when he was talking like that.' (Lit.: 'I was bad for
          myself at the time he spoke like that.') (Referring back to what an-
          other person had said.)

13.6.   The locative demonstrative adverbs

13.6.1. Introduction

The central function of the locative demonstrative adverbs is to specify, iden-
tify the location of an entity in space, or the presence, existence of an entity at a
location. There are two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs: presentative[35]
and general locative. To the extent that the relevant forms exist, the locative
demonstrative adverbs make the same distinctions in terms of the speaker's
sphere, the addressee's sphere, and elevation as do the determiner and the
qualifying demonstratives. The two sets of locative demonstrative adverbs are
set out in Table 13.4.

Table 13.4. Locative demonstrative adverbs

presentative adverbs	general locative adverbs	
neqe		speaker-proximal: 'here'
nena		addressee-proximal: 'there(2)'
lakoqo, lokoqo, labaqa	*lakoo, lokoo, likoo, labaa, libaa*	distal, non-elevational: 'there(3)'
loqo	*loori*, *taqabaa*	distal and higher than deictic centre: 'up there'
fuqu	*fuuri*, *fuubaa*	distal and lower than deictic centre: 'down there'

As can be seen from table 13.4, there no general speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal locative demonstrative adverbs. A possible explanation for this is offered in section 13.6.3.

13.6.2. The presentative locative demonstrative adverbs

The presentative demonstrative adverbs are used when the entity in question is visible at that location and can be pointed at or pointed out (as when a speaker is holding it in his or her hands). Syntactically, they can function as part of the predicate (see [4-1] in section 4.1), or they can form the predicate. They tend to be said emphatically, with relatively strong stress and on higher pitch, especially when they alone form the predicate. With the exception of the addressee-proximal form *nena*, all the others end in a syllable that consists of a glottal stop and a vowel that is identical to the vowel in the preceding syllable: *neqe*, *lakoqo*, *fuqu*, etc. More often than not, the final vowel is deleted (see section 2.2.1): *neq*, *lakoq*, *fuq*, etc. Adverb phrases that contain a presentative adverb do not function as complements of prepositions.

The first set of examples contains verbless sentences with the presentative demonstratives forming the predicate. In this function the adverbs are used in presentational identificational sentences (section 27.2.2.2).

(13-78)   *Fanga   kamaroqa   neq.*
           food   2DU   here
           'Here is your food.' (Lit.: 'Your food (is) here.') (Said when presenting food to the addressees. This is a casual, "modern" way of speaking. To speak more formally and politely, an indirect locution would be used, such as 'Look at that thing.'.)

In (13-79) speaker A uses the speaker-proximal form and speaker B the addressee-proximal form:

(13-79)   A: *Qoo,   teqe   thaqaro   neqe.*
     oh,   one   possum   here

    B: *Thaqaro   taa nena?*
     possum   what? there(2)
    A: 'Oh, there is a possum here.'
    B: 'What kind of possum is it there?' (Male or female?)

The non-elevational distal forms *lakoqo* and *lokoqo* are phonological variants of each other, the former being more common. The third distal form *labaqa* is synonymous with *lakoqo/lokoqo*.

(13-80)   *...   lio   qoko   riki-a   fasi,   thate-qe taa*
     look   2SG.SEQ   see-3SG.OBJ PREC   name-ASSOC what?

    lakoq?   Tei   na   keekeda-la-na?
    there(3)   who?   FOC   write-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
    'Take a look at it; what (kind of) name is it over there? Whose writing is it?' (The speaker is asking about the name of a Japanese ship written in Japanese.)

(13-81)   *Maka nau   labaqa.*
    father 1SG   there(3)
    'My father is over there.'

The next two examples contain the elevational forms:

(13-82)   *Teqe   faka   fuq.*
    one   ship   down.there
    'There is a ship down there.' (The speaker is up on a hill. Compare [13-89] further below.)

(13-83)   *Wane na mili   ngata suli-a*
    man   REL 1PL(EXCL).NFUT speak PROL-3SG.OBJ

    loq.
    up.there
    'The man we spoke about is up there.'

In the next set of examples the locative demonstratives occur as part of predicates headed by verbs:

(13-84)   *Bauta   kera   na   mili   qaba-a*
           boat   3PL   REL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   pull-3SG.OBJ

           ka   teo   ba-na   neq.
           3SG.SEQ   lie   LIM-3SG.PERS   here
           'The boat of theirs, which we had pulled (out), came to rest (lit.: lie) here.'

(13-85)   *Kafa   qoe   kai   teo   ba-n=i*
           comb   2SG   3SG.IPFV   lie   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

           sa-mu   nena.
           ADJC-2SG.PERS   there(2)
           'Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.'

(13-86)   *Maka   nau   qe   nii   labaqa.*
           father   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.located   there(3)
           'My father is over there.'

See the synonymous verbless sentence in (13-81) further above.

(13-87)   A: *Lifuna   ni=i   fei?*
              Lifuna   be.located=LOC   where?

           B: *Nia   na   kai   takwe   fuq.*
              3SG   FOC   3SG.IPFV   stand   down.there
           A: 'Where is Lifuna?'
           B: '*There* she is, standing down there.' 'That's her, standing down there.' (Lit.: 'It is her who is standing down there.')

In (13-88) the position of the fire up from the deictic centre is signalled both by the qualifying demonstrative and by the locative demonstrative adverb:

(13-88)   *Tei   n=e   soqoni-a   kasi   era*
           who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   light.fire-3.OBJ small   fire

           loo   na   kai   tharu   loqo?
           upward   REL   3SG.IPFV   burn   up.there
           'Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?'

And in (13-89) *loq* is used about a location out in the sea. Such locations, are spoken of as being "up", unless the speaker is high up in the hills, mountains (cf. [13-82]):

(13-89) *Teqe faka n=e   tatha   loq.*
        one   ship   REL=3SG.NFUT pass.by   up.there
        'There is a ship passing by out there.'

In all the examples of the presentative adverbs in predicates with verbs given above, it is the location of the entity expressed as the subject that is identified, but as the next set of examples shows, this is not a grammatical requirement. In (13-90) the addressee-proximal adverb identifies the location of the clothes, expressed as a possessor phrase. The possessor phrase contains the addressee-proximal determiner demonstrative.

(13-90) *Kwa   riki-a   biikok   na   kuki*
        1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   peacock REL   PL(INCL).IPFV

        rii-riki-a   nuu-na   i   seqe-na
        RDP-see-3.OBJ picture-3SG.PERS LOC   body-3.PERS

        kaleko   qena   ki   nena, ….
        clothes   that(2) PL   there(2)
        '[In the zoo] I saw peacocks, which we (only) see pictures of on those clothes there (lit.: on the body of those clothes there; here: wraparounds, which often have colourful patterns) …' (The speaker points at the designs on some of the addressees' clothes.)

In (13-91), on the other hand, the addressee-proximal adverb has the whole possessive construction in the direct-object position in its scope:

(13-91) *Ngali-a   mai kaleko   wela nena.*
        carry-3.OBJ VENT clothes   child there(2)
        'Bring the child's clothes, (those) there.'

And in (13-92) the presentative adverb has an oblique object in its scope:

(13-92) *Oli   faafi-a   naifa wane n=o*
        return   CONF-3.OBJ knife man   REL=2SG.NFUT

> *bili-a   mai   nena.*
> steal-3.OBJ   VENT there(2)
> 'Take back (lit.: return with) the man's knife that you stole (and brought), (the one) there (by you).'

The speaker-proximal form *neqe/neq* has one additional function, which, however, is not locative in the sense discussed thus far. It is used as a kind of emphatic marker, showing the speaker's emotional involvement, such as surprise, elation, indignation at, subjective evaluation of, an entity or the overall situation. The emotional involvement need not be very heavy; *neqe/neq* serves to express the speaker's subjectifying input, "vividness to the mind of the speaker" (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 278). The state of affairs is something that concerns or is of interest to the speaker, and in that sense can be seen as being in his/her sphere, but its primary function is one of vividness. In the vividness function, *neqe* occurs clause finally.

The sentence in (13-93) is about the addressee; by using *neq*, the speaker makes plain his negative attitude to what the addressee does:

(13-93)   *Qoe   boqo   n=o   redu   baqe-a*
          2SG   ASRT   FOC=2SG.NFUT turn.inside.out speak-DVN

          qasia naqa neq.
          INTS   INTS VIVID
          'It's *you* who repeats the same thing over and over again (lit.: turns speech inside out).'

And the sentence in (13-94) is about a third person who is not even on the scene:

(13-94)   *Wane   qe   aqi   si   thaitoqoma-na*
          man   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   know-3.OBJ

          biibirangaa   kulu   neq.
          custom   PL(INCL)   VIVID
          'The man doesn't know our customs, I'm telling you.'

And although the state of affairs expressed in (13-95) does involve the speaker, *neqe* expresses, emphasizes her fear. In that sentence, *neqe* occurs after the clause-level epistemic particle *takona* 'certainly' (section 18.5.2).

(13-95)   *Nau ai   kwai   mae   bo=naqa   takona   neqe.*
            1SG woman 1SG.FUT be.dead ASRT=INTS certainly VIVID
            'I am a dead woman.' 'I will certainly die.' (Lit.: 'I am a woman
            who will certainly die.')

13.6.3. The general locative demonstrative adverbs

The general locative demonstrative adverbs are not used to point at or point out
an entity or a location. For example, they may be used when the entity or loca-
tion in question is not visible. They may be used if the entity or location is visi-
ble, but in that case it is normally not pointed at.

   There are a number of non-elevational distal forms, some of which are pho-
nological variants of each other: *lakoo*, *lokoo*, *likoo*; and *labaa*, *libaa*. The
members of the two sets are semantically equivalent. *Lakoo* is the commonest
form, while *likoo* and *libaa* are rare.

   There is no speaker-proximal form and no addressee-proximal form (table
13.4 in section 13.6.1), which is most likely due to the functions of the general
locative adverbs. These adverbs are commonly used when the entity or location
is not visible. However, when an entity or a location is proximal to the speaker
or to the addressee, it is normally visible and can be pointed at or shown, and
this obviates the need for dedicated speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal
general locative adverbs. How locations in the speaker's sphere or in the ad-
dressee's sphere can be referred too is mentioned further below.

   Adverb phrases that contain the elevational forms *loori* 'up there' or *fuuri*
'down there' normally occur as complements of the general locative preposition
qi. These are the only types of adverb phrase with a general locative adverb that
do.

   Examples with the general locative adverbs are given below.

(13-96)   B: *Too   ba-na   lokoo.*
               be.at.place LIM-3SG.PERS   there(3)
            [A: 'Where is he?']
            B: 'He is over there (in that direction).'

(13-97)   *Nau ku   riki   nia   mai labaa.*
            1SG 1SG.NFUT   see   3SG   VENT there(3)
            'I saw him over there.'

   The next two examples contain the elevational forms *loori* 'up there' and
fuuri 'down there', respectively, in prepositional phrases:

(13-98)   *Teqe   doo   qe   qisuqisu   qi*
          one   thing 3SG.NFUT   move.rapidly.back.and.forth   LOC

          loori.
          up.there
          'There is something moving rapidly back and forth up there.'

(13-99)   *Tei   n=e   ngata   i   fuuri   nabaa?*
          who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   talk   LOC   down.there PAST.THEN
          'Who was it talking down there?'

Occasionally, those two elevational forms occur without the locative prepo-
sition:

(13-100) *Kale!,   teqe   doo   fuu   qe*
          man!   one   thing downward   3SG.NFUT

          qoto   fuuri,   quri-a   ta   kafo
          (water)be.stagnant   down.there   be.like-3.OBJ   some   water

          fu=nia.
          downward=3SG
          'Man! Something down there is stagnant down there; it looks like
          water, that (thing) down there.'

Adverb phrases that contain the rare elevational forms *taqabaa* 'up there' or
fuubaa 'down there' do not occur as complements in prepositional phrases. The
form *taqabaa* probably has some historical connection to the verb *taqe* 'move,
go up; ascend'.

(13-101) *Biqu   nau   e   nii   mai   taqabaa.*
          house   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.located   VENT up.there
          'My house is up there, in that direction.'

Instead of the general locative demonstrative adverbs, it is possible to use a
noun phrase headed by the noun *kula* 'place' with the appropriate determiner or
qualifying demonstrative. This strategy is, in fact, quite common:

(13-102) *Ma   keka   tee-teo   i   kula lakoo   ka*
          and   3PL.SEQ   RDP-lie   LOC   place that(3)   3SG.SEQ

> *dani   naqa, ...*
> be.daytime PRF
> 'But (lit.: and) they lay (sleeping) at that place until it was daytime, ...'

As there are no speaker-proximal and addressee-proximal general locative demonstrative adverbs, this is the strategy to designate locations in the speaker's and in the addressee's spheres. The determiner demonstratives *naqi* and *neqe* 'this' usually fuse with the noun *kula* as *ku=naqi* and *ku=neqe*, respectively.

(13-103) *Muka   too   qa-muluqa   qi   ku=naqi,   nau*
          2PL.SEQ stay   SBEN-2PL.PERS LOC   place=this   1SG

          kwai   lae ....
          1SG.FUT   go
          'You stay here; I'll go (and) ....'

(13-104) *Qe   aqi   qosi   quu   taqerau i*
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG   throw   rubbish   LOC

          kula   qena.
          place   that(2)
          'Don't throw rubbish there.'

13.7.   The situational demonstrative adverbs

There are three demonstrative adverbs with a combined spatial/temporal-deictic and a kind of emphatic-identifying function: *neri*, *nena* and *nabaa*. All three are, historically at least, morphologically complex, but in present-day Toqabaqita they are best regarded as unitary. All three are fusions of the perfect-aspect marker/intensifier *naqa* and the determiner demonstratives *qeri*, *qena* and *baa,* respectively. Evidence for this will be provided later in this section. In their deictic functions, the situational demonstratives have both temporal and locative meaning.

The situational demonstratives are clause-level constituents and occur clause finally. The verb phrases in which they occur are never complements of prepositions. In declarative and imperative verbal clauses they identify, usually in a slightly emphatic manner, the state of affairs expressed in the clause as indeed being such and such. In questions they make the request for information slightly more emphatic than would be the case otherwise.

The choice among the three situational adverbs is determined partly by temporal and partly by locative factors. There is a temporal contrast between *neri* and *nena* on the one hand and *nabaa* on the other; and a locative contrast between *neri* and *nena*, defined primarily by the notion of the speaker's sphere. *Neri* and *nena* have non-past relevance, mostly the time of reference, but occasionally also time after the time of reference. *Nabaa* has past relevance, before the time of reference, with, usually implicit, reference to some specific time in the past. The categories non-past and past have a relative significance: non-past as not before the time of reference (which itself may be in the past), and past as before the time of reference. (The determiner demonstrative *qeri* is used to designate present time [section 13.3.2.1], and the determiner *baa* is used with past-time reference [section 13.3.2.4].)

As far as the contrast between *neri* and *nena* is concerned, *neri* identifies a state of affairs as being within the speaker's sphere, while *nena* identifies a state of affairs as not being within the speaker's sphere, often, but not necessarily, in the addressee's sphere. The speaker's sphere is pragmatically unmarked: a sphere is the speaker's (identified so by means of *neri*), unless it is specifically identified (by means of *nena*) as not being so. This is illustrated with examples further below. The notion of the speaker's sphere is not relevant to *nabaa*. *Nabaa* is used about states of affairs located at a time before reference time, regardless of whether or not they were in the speaker's sphere.

Neri, *nena*, and *nabaa* are glossed, respectively, 'NPAST.HERE', 'NPAST.THERE' and 'PAST.THEN'. 'THEN' is equivalent to 'at that time', not to 'later, afterwards'.

The contrast between *neri* and *nena* is discussed and illustrated first. Sentence (13-105) is about what the speaker is doing, and so it is *neri* that is used:

(13-105) *Kwai   qani-a   keekene   neri.*
          1SG.IPFV   eat-3.OBJ   breadfruit   NPAST.HERE
          'I am eating the breadfruit (that is what I am doing).'

In the next example, *neri* serves to emphasize that the person spoken about was present at that time, because he had not been there earlier:

(13-106) *Nia   kai   too   ba-n=i*
          3SG   3SG.IPFV   be.at.place   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

          sa-ku   neri.
          ADJC-1SG.PERS NPAST.HERE
          'He is with me here now.'

Neri is used in a formulaic expression that serves to conclude an account of something, such as at the end of a speech, a story, or a letter:

(13-107)   *Nia   bo=naqa   neri.*
        3SG   ASRT=PRF   NPAST.HERE
        'That's all (I have to say).' 'That's it.' 'That's the way it is/was.'

The sentence in (13-111) is a question about what the addressee is doing, and so it is *nena* that is used:

(13-108)   *Qo   kafara   nena?*
        2SG.NFUT   make.copra   NPAST.THERE
        'Are you making copra (is that what you are doing)?'

In the next example, there is alternation between *neri* and *nena*. The person first tells the addressee that she is waiting for him, and uses *neri*. After waiting in vain for a while, she changes her mind, and tells the addressee to wait for her; she will go over to him. And in that sentence she uses *nena*.

(13-109)   *Nau   ku   maqasi   qoe   neri.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   wait.for   2SG   NPAST.HERE

        [After a while.]   *Maqasi   nau   nena.*
                               wait.for   1SG   NPAST.THERE
        'I'm waiting for you here.' [After a while.] 'Wait for me there.'

The notion of the speaker's sphere is extendible to states of affairs where there is no specific location: the world as a whole is viewed as being in the speaker's sphere. In (13-110) the speaker is inquiring about time:

(13-110)   *Manga   taa   neri?*
        time   what? NPAST.HERE
        'What time is it now?'

In (13-111) there is no implication that the man is present on the scene and that he is singing at the moment. The statement is about a general, timeless state of affairs:

(13-111)   *Wane nguu-la-n=e   leqa   neri.*
        man   sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.good NPAST.HERE
        'The man does sing well.' (Lit.: 'The man, his singing is good.')

Even situations brought about by the addressee can be presented as being in the speaker's sphere. This may be because of locative proximity, or perceived locative proximity, between the two of them, or because the situation does, in some relevant way, concern the speaker. In the next example, from a telephone conversation, the speaker and the addressee are physically in very distant places, but because they are directly and immediately communicating with each other, the addressee and those with him can be treated as being in the speaker's sphere:

(13-112) *Qoo, kamuluqa   muki   fanga   neri?*
          oh,   2PL   2PL.IPFV   eat   NPAST.HERE
          'Oh, are you eating (is that what you are doing)?'

And in (13-113) the speaker, a mother, prohibits her children from doing again what they have done before, because that would place all of them (including her) in danger:

(13-113) *Mosi   ili-li-a   naq=i   buri*
          2DU.NEG   do-RDP-3SG.OBJ   PRF=LOC   later.time

          neri!
          NPAST.HERE
          'Don't you ever do that again!'

On the other hand, the speaker may choose to present an event that he or she is performing or will perform as being outside of his or her sphere, for example, because it has or will have a significant effect on another entity, and/or because it will take place at another location. Both of these factors are present in the next example: the situation will significantly affect the addressee and will, of necessity, take place at the addressee's location. The time of the event is future.

(13-114) *Kwai   kwaqe-a   foko-mu   nena!*
          1SG.FUT   hit-3.OBJ   mouth-2SG.PERS   NPAST.THERE
          'I'll smack your face!'

(Normally, it is rude to refer directly to another person's mouth, and this kind of threat is usually directed at children.)

When the speaker and the addressee are together in one location and a state of affairs holds at some other location, either *neri* or *nena* may be used. When the distance is relatively small, *neri* is more likely than *nena*: the situation is in the speaker's sphere. In the situation expressed in (13-115), two people hear a noise nearby. Person A uses *neri* in his question, and B uses *neri* in his reply:

(13-115) A: *Taa   na   kai   fai   karukaru*
              what? FOC   3SG.IPFV   scrape   make.scratching.noise

              neri?
              NPAST.HERE

          B: *Qasufa ni   toqo   neri.*
              rat   LIG   probably   NPAST.HERE
          A: 'What is it that's making the scraping, scratching noise?'
          B: 'Probably a rat.'

See also (13-134) further below.

On the other hand, if a state of affairs is located a relatively long distance away both from the speaker and from the addressee, it is *nena* that is more likely to be used: the situation is not in the speaker's sphere. In the situation expressed in (13-116), the possums are some distance away from the speaker and the addressee, who are together; note the ventive directional *mai*, which signifies distance from the deictic centre, and the locative demonstrative *fuuri* 'down there', which too signals distance from the deictic centre:

(13-116)   *Kera   ii   quu   ma=i   fuuri*
               3PL.NFUT be.located ANTCONT   VENT=LOC down.there

               nena.   Koro   oli   laqu uri-da.
               NPAST.THERE DU(INCL).NFUT   return   ADD PURP-3PL.OBJ
               'They [possums] are still down there (that's where they are). Let's go back to get them (lit.: for them).'

More will be said about *neri* and *nena* further below. At this point, the third situational demonstrative, *nabaa*, is discussed and its use illustrated. *Nabaa* has past significance, and the concepts of the speaker's and the addressee's spheres are not relevant. The state of affairs obtained before the time of reference. The time is usually not expressed; the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what time is intended.

(13-117) A: *Wane   baa   qe   qafae   nia qasia*
              man   that   3SG.NFUT get.in.bad.mood 3SG INTS

              naqa nabaa.
              INTS   PAST.THEN

B: *Qe   aqi   si   kaakale   nabaa;*
   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   play.game   PAST.THEN

   ruuruqu-na   e   taqaa   nabaa.
   chest-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.bad   PAST.THEN
A: 'The man got into a really foul mood (at that point).'
B: 'He wasn't kidding; he was (really) feeling bad (lit.: his chest
   was bad then).'

(*Qafae* 'be, get in a bad mood' is a transitive verb that takes direct objects
coreferential with the subject.)

In the next sentence, even though it was the addressee who had performed
the event, it is *nabaa*, not *nena*, that is used, because the time of the event was
in the past:

(13-118)   *Qo   bili   nabaa?*
           2SG.NFUT   steal   PAST.THEN
           'Did you steal then (is that what you did?)?'

In (13-119) the speaker is not asking for identification of an entity; rather,
he is asking about what happened. Such a sentence can be used, for example, if
a person did not hear well what somebody has just said:

(13-119)   *Taa   nabaa?*
           what?   PAST.THEN
           'What was that?' ('What did you say?')

In (13-120), although the verb has a future-tense subject marker, it is future
in the past that is being expressed. The time of reference is expressed in the
preceding clause:

(13-120)   *... uri-a   ni=e   sore-qa,   laalae   ku*
                REAS-3.OBJ   3SG=3SG.NFUT   say-DETR   when   1SG.NFUT

           oli   kau,   ma   kai   maqasi   nau   nabaa.
           return   AND   and   3SG.FUT   wait.for 1SG   PAST.THEN
           '... because she said that when I returned, she would wait for me
           then.'

(For the pleonastic use of *ma* 'and' after temporal clauses see section 28.2.1.)

On the other hand, in (13-121) the situation is a future one, but it will have taken place by a certain future time, as signalled by the perfect marker *naqa*. It is past with respect to that time.

(13-121) *Kwai   oli   bo=na=kau   qana naba*
          1SG.FUT return   ASRT=PRF=AND   GENP number

          footeni   nabaa.
          fourteen PAST.THEN
          'I will have gone back on/by the 14th.' (Lit.: 'I will have gone back on/by number 14.')

The exchange in (13-122) illustrates the temporal contrast between *neri* and *nabaa*. A noise is heard, and one person wonders what it is that is making the noise. He uses *neri*. The other person goes to investigate and then informs the former what it was that had made the noise, using *nabaa*:

(13-122) A: *Kui   neri?*
             dog   NPAST.HERE

          B: *Nga   kusi   nabaa.*
             IDENT   cat   PAST.THEN
          A: '(Is that) a dog?'
          B: '(That was) a cat.'

The situational demonstratives are historically fusions of the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa* and the determiner demonstratives *qeri*, *qena*, and *baa*, respectively. This is evidenced by the following facts. First, the core function of *naqa* as a perfect-aspect marker is to signify a new state of affairs at the time of reference (section 15.3). And all three situational demonstratives may be used in this function as well, highlighting the newness of a state of affairs. In (13-123) the second clause has *naqa*, and the next clause has *neri*. Both signal new states of affairs:

(13-123) [A: ....]

          B: *Too   ba-na.   Qe   baqita   naqa.*
             stay   LIM-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.big   PRF

             Ni=e   lae   sukulu   neri.
             3SG.NFUT   go   attend.school   NPAST.HERE
          [A: 'How is she?']

> B: '(She's) fine (Lit.: '[She] just stays.'). She's big now. She goes to
>   school now.'

Second, the perfect-aspect marker is used in imperatives to demand or to suggest that a given state of affairs take place immediately (section 15.3), and so is *nena*. (Since the event is not in the past, and since it crucially involves the addressee, *nena* is the expected form.) The sentence in (13-124) contains the perfect marker, and the one in (13-125) the situational adverb:

(13-124)   *Sifo!   Sifo   naqa!*
           descend descend PRF
           'Get down! Get down *now*! (Ordering a little boy to climb down
           from a tree.)

(13-125)   *Qo   lae   mai   nena!*
           2SG.NFUT   go   VENT   NPAST.THERE
           'You come here *now*!' (An exasperated mother calling her little
           child, after unsuccessfully calling her several times before.)

Third, *naqa* is used to intensify negation (section 17.5), and so are the situational adverbs *neri* and *nena*; compare (13-126) on the one hand, and (13-127) and (13-128) on the other.

(13-126)   *Qe   aqi   naqa.*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   PRF
           'Not at all.' 'No way.'

(13-127)   *Qe   aqi   neri.*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   NPAST.HERE
           'No (and that's the way it is).'

In the situation expressed in (13-128), one person is looking for something, and another one, some distance away, tells him the thing is not there, and uses the form *nena*:

(13-128)   *Qe   aqi   nena!*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   NPAST.THERE
           'Not there!' (Don't look there.)

Fourth, *naqa* is used together with *qasia* to form a complex intensifying expression within verb phrases (sections 5.2.6 and 5.2.12), but *qasia* may also combine with a situational adverb; see (13-129) and (13-130) respectively.

(13-129) *Luma*   *kamiliqa*   *qe*   *faqekwa* *qasia*   *naqa.*
        house   1PL(EXCL)   3SG.NFUT   be.small INTS   INTS
        'Our house is very/too small.'

In the situation expressed in (13-130), two people are standing together. One of them is about to hand a piece of rope to the other, and the latter says:

(13-130) *Tekwa*   *qasia*   *nena.*
        be.long   INTS   NPAST.THERE
        '[It's] too long.'

Even though historically the three situational demonstrative adverbs contain the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa*, it is possible for them to cooccur with *naqa* in a clause, although they are not co-constituents. *Naqa* is a constituent of the particle group inside a verb phrase, while the situational adverbs are clause-level constituents.

(13-131) [A: ....]

        B: *Qe*   *noro*   *naqa neri.*
          3SG.NFUT   be.ripe   PRF   NPAST.HERE
        [A: 'Are the canarium nuts ripe now?']
        B: 'They are ripe now (that's right).'

(13-132) *Sa*   *maqe*   *maala*   *neq=e*   *mafo naqa*
        IRR   CLF   sore   this=3SG.NFUT heal PRF

        nabaa, ...
        PAST.THEN
        'It looked like the (lit.: this) sore had healed then, (but it turned out later that it had not).'

In (13-133) *naqa* forms an intensifying expression with *qasia*, and the combination of the intensifiers cooccurs with *nena*:

(13-133) *Qoe*   *n=o*   *thaitoqoma-na* *qasia*   *naqa*
        2SG   FOC=2SG.NFUT know-3SG.OBJ INTS   INTS

        nena ....
        NPAST.THERE
        'It's you who knows very well (about) it ....'

A situational adverb may also cooccur in a clause with *naqa* when the latter functions as a focus marker in a noun phrase.

(13-134)   A: *Tei   naqa   neri?*
          who?   PRF   NPAST.HERE

       B: *Qoe   naqa   neri.*
          2SG   PRF   NPAST.HERE
       A: 'Whose turn is it now? (Lit.: 'Who now?') (When playing
          cards.)
       B: 'Your turn.' (Lit.: 'You now.')

The situational adverb *neri* has two other functions. First, it is used as a kind of vividness marker. In this function it is used when the reference is to a state of affairs in the past. *Neri* makes that state of affairs more immediate, as if it obtained at the time of reference. In saying the sentences in (13-135) a young man is telling his mother what happened to him:

(13-135)   *Qoo,   thaina-ka   qae, nau   ku*
          oh   mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC   1SG   1SG.NFUT

          laa-lae neri,   kwa,   kwa   toda-a   mai
          RDP-go   VIVID   1SG.SEQ 1SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ   VENT

          teqe thaari. Kwa   riki-a   thaari qeri.
          one   girl   1SG.SEQ   look.at-3.OBJ   girl   that
          'Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the girl.'
          'Oh, mother, I am walking and I, I meet a girl. I look(ed) at the girl.'

In (13-136) it is the man's answering negatively that is made vivid by means of *neri*:

(13-136)   *Nau   ku   so=sa   tha   weleqi kiiluqa,*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   PERSMKR   guy   3PL

          sui   ku   soe-toqo=tha   weleqi,
          but   1SG.NFUT   ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR   guy

          ka   tofe   neri.
          3SG.NFUT   answer."no"   VIVID
          'I thought [it was going to be] their guy, but I asked the guy, (and)
          he answered/answers "no".'

And *neri* can also be used as a kind of loose clause/sentence linker: 'yes', 'OK', 'right', 'all right'. In that function it precedes the clause it connects to the preceding discourse. See example (27-57) in section 27.3.2.

13.8.   The reiterative demonstrative pronominals

The reiterative demonstrative pronominals are binomial expressions that consist of a demonstrative form and the third person singular independent personal pronoun *nia*. The demostratives that occur in these pronominals are some of the determiner demonstratives, the two elevational qualifying demonstratives, and one of the general locative demonstrative adverbs. The reiterative demonstrative pronominals are listed in table 13.5.

Table 13.5. Reiterative demonstrative pronominals

naqi nia, but normally *na=nia;* *neqe nia*	speaker-proximal: 'this one'; also as a default pronominal
lakoo nia; *labaa nia*	distal, non-elevational: 'that(3) one'
loo nia, but normally *lo=nia*	distal, elevational: 'that one up'
fuu nia, but normally *fu=nia;* *fuubaa nia*	distal, elevational: 'that one down'

The demonstrative pronominals are clause-level constituents. They either form non-verbal predicates, or occur clause-finally in clauses with verbal predicates. They are mutually exclusive with the situational demonstrative adverbs.

The demonstrative pronominals have two functions. In one, they reiterate, re-identify a participant and its role in a state of affairs. The reiteration may be emphatic to various degrees. In this function the pronominals must have an antecedent in the clause. They themselves do not instantiate arguments, and they do not bear thematic relations of their own. The antecedent noun phrase may function as the subject, the direct object or an oblique object. The pronominal contains the third person singular pronoun even if the antecedent is not human and even if it is not singular.

In the other function, the pronominals reiterate, in a slightly emphatic way, the state of affairs expressed in the clause. Of course, there are one or more participants involved in such a state of affairs, but the pronominals function primarily to reiterate the overall state of affairs rather than one of the participants. The two functions are closely related and not always clearly distinguishable.

There is no addressee-proximal reiterative demonstrative pronominal. (The expected form would be *qena nia*.) The situational demonstrative adverb *nena* NPAST.THERE is used instead.

The fused forms *na=nia* 'this one', *lo=nia* 'that one up', and *fu=nia* 'that one down" are considerably more common than the full forms *naqi nia*, *loo nia*, and *fuu nia*, respectively. Of the two speaker-proximal forms, *neqe nia* is used only rarely, *naqi nia*/*na=nia* being the usual form.

The speaker-proximal pronominal *naqi nia*/*na=nia* also functions as the default one: it is used when none of the other pronominals is appropriate. It is the most commonly occurring demonstrative pronominal.

Often it is only the reiterative demonstrative pronominal that signals the location of the referent of its antecedent and/or that of the state of affairs.

The function of reiterating participants is discussed and illustrated first. In (13-137) the speaker emphasizes that that particular thing (a share of food) is for him, after he has distributed food to others. It is only the pronominal that signals proximity to the speaker. The pronominal forms the predicate of a pre-sentational identificational sentence (section 27.2.2.2).

(13-137)   *Si   doo   thata-ku   naqa na=nia.*
           PRTT thing name-1SG.PERS   PRF   this=3SG
           'Here is mine now.' (Lit.: 'Thing of my name now, this one.')

(See section 8.1.4 for the use of *thata* 'name' in possessive constructions.)

(13-138)   *Koro   kasi-a   niu   na=nia.*
           DU(INCL).NFUT   cut.down-3.OBJ   coconut this=3SG
           'Let's cut down the coconut tree, this one.'

(13-139)   *Qoo, ma   doo   na   toqa   neqe ki keki*
           oh   and thing REL   people this   PL 3PL.IPFV

           fii-firu   ki qani-a   takona   na=nia,....
           RDP-fight   PL INS-3SG.OBJ   most.likely this=3SG
           'Oh, these must be the things [weapons] that the (lit.: these) people used to fight with, these ones here ....'

In (13-140) the demonstrative pronominal has the third person plural pro-noun as its antecedent in a presentational identificational sentence:

(13-140)   *Ni   kera na=nia.*
           PROFORE   3PL   this=3SG
           'They are the ones, these ones.' (Lit.: 'They, this one.')

In the situation expressed in (13-141), the speaker is holding a bird in his hand and asks what kind of bird it is. He uses the proximal pronominal, while the other person uses the situational demonstrative adverb *nena* in his response:

(13-141) A: *Thaqaro taa   na=nia?*
              bird   what?   this=3SG

          B: *Kiro   nena.*
              female.eclectus.parrot.   NPAST.THERE
          A: 'What kind of bird (is it), this one?'
          B: 'That's a female Eclectus Parrot.'

The distal non-elevational forms *lakoo nia* and *labaa nia* are synonymous.

(13-142) *Qoo, ma   nia   bana takona   lakoo   nia.*
           oh   and   3SG   LIM most.likely that(3)   3SG
           'Oh, that just must be it, that one.' (When pursuing a possum.)

In (13-143) *labaa nia* forms the predicate of a presentational identificational sentence:

(13-143) *Nia   labaa   nia.*
           3SG   that(3)   3SG
           'That's it, the one over there.'

The antecedents of the reiterative presentational pronominals are usually definite, but indefinite ones are possible also:

(13-144) *Teqe wane lakoo   nia.*
           one   man that(3)   3SG
           'That's a man over there, that one.'

See also (12-148) further below.

The next set of examples contains the elevational forms. The sentence in (13-145) contains not only the reiterative pronominal 'that one up', but also the qualifying demonstrative 'upward' in the subject phrase:

(13-145) *Thaqaro baa   lo=e   tatha bo=naqa*
           possum   that   upward=3SG.NFUT   pass ASRT=INTS

> *lo=nia.*
> upward=3SG
> 'The possum up there is running (lit.: passing), that one up there.'

The sentence in (13-146) contains the full form *loo nia*:

(13-146) *Qai   qeri   loo   nia.*
           tree   that   upward   3SG
           'That tree, the one up there.'

In (13-147) the speaker is inquiring about the identity of something down from him:

(13-147) *Taa   fu=nia?*
           what?   that.down=3SG
           'What is it, that down there?'

For another example of *fu=nia* see (13-100) in section 13.6.3.
The other elevational pronominal for 'that down', *fuubaa nia*, is rare:

(13-148) *Teqe faka fuubaa   nia.*
           one   ship down.there 3SG
           'There is a ship down there, that (thing) down there.' (The speaker
           is up on a hill.)

The other function of the demonstrative pronominals, that of re-identifying a state of affairs, is discussed next. Examples (13-149) and (13-150) contain the elevational forms *lo=nia* and *fu=nia*, respectively. It is only the pronominals that signal that the events took place up and down from the deictic centers, respectively. The pronominals function not to re-identify the participants, but to highlight that that was what indeed happened up/down there.

Even though the sentences in (13-149) are an account of a historical event in which the speaker and his audience were not involved, they took place high up in the air, and so they can be conceptualized as having been up from them.

(13-149) *Nia   ka   qui-a   qana masigan.*
           3SG   3SG.SEQ shoot.at-3SG.OBJ   INS   machine.gun

           Masigan   qe   aqi   si   fula
           machine.gun   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3SG.NEG arrive

> *boq=i*   *sa-na.*   *Nia*   *e*
> ASRT=LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS   3SG   3SG.NFUT
>
> *qui-a*   *lo=nia.*
> shoot.at-3SG.OBJ   upward=3SG
> 'He [one of two pilots] shot at him [the other pilot] with a machine
> gun. (But) the [shots from the] machine gun did not hit him (lit.: did
> not arrive at him). He shot at him up there, he did/that's what he
> did.'

(13-150) *Kero*   *lae*   *naqa*   *fu=nia.*
          3DU.NFUT   go   PRF   downward=3SG
          'They have gone down (there), they did.'

The final two examples below contain the proximal demonstrative pronominal *naqi* in its reduced and full forms, respectively. In (13-151) the proximal pronominal is used even though the (potential) event did not materialize. However, if it had taken place, it would have crucially involved the speaker.

(13-151) *Nau*   *ku*   *thaitoqoma-na*   *qaburu*   *baa,*   *doo,*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   ogre   that   thing

          laala=e   *mai,*   *kai*   *thau-ngi*   *nau*   *bo=naqa*
          if=3SG.NFUT   VENT   3SG.FUT   kill-TR   1SG   ASRT=INTS

          na=nia,   *suli-a*   *teqe*   *nau*   *na*   *ku*   *too.*
          this=3SG   REAS-3.OBJ   sole   1SG   FOC   1SG.NFUT   stay
          'I knew that the ogre, if he had come, he would have killed me, he
          would have, because I stayed/was left (here) all by myself.'

(*Doo* 'thing' functions as a kind of filler in 13-151.)
    And in (13-152) the proximal pronominal is used to emphasize what the child did, not to identify or re-identify any of the participants. The example comes from a traditional story, and the events recounted are not in any spatial relation to the speaker. The proximal pronominal functions here as the default form; none of the other pronominals is applicable.

(13-152) *Ma*   *wela*   *buri*   *baa*   *ka*   *raa*   *uri-a*
          and   child   later.time   that   3SG.SEQ   reach   ALL-3.OBJ

          gwa   *qaululu*   *baa*   *keki*   *thaa-thau-ngi*   *kumu*
          CLF   pounder   that   3PL.IPFV   RDP-pound-TR   k.o.pudding

qani-a   naqi   nia ....
INS-3SG.OBJ   this   3SG
'And the younger child (lit.: the child of later time) reached for the pounder they used to pound *kumu* pudding with, he did/that's what he did, ….'

Chapter 14
Constructions with inclusory pronominals

14.1.   Two basic types

Inclusory pronominals are pronominals that denote a set of participants, larger than one, a subset of which is denoted by a separate lexical noun phrase. The term "pronominals" is used here as a cover term for independent personal pronouns and various "dependent" pronominal forms, namely the subject markers, the object-indexing suffixes, and the personal suffixes. Inclusory pronominals are defined by their function; they are not special pronominal forms distinct from other independent pronouns and dependent pronominals. (And "inclusory" is not the same as "inclusive".)

In (14-1) the first person dual exclusive independent pronoun functions as an inclusory pronominal/pronoun. It denotes a set of two individuals, one of whom is denoted by the following noun phrase *doqora-ku* 'my sibling':

(14-1)   *Kamareqa   doqora-ku   meki   lae*
          1DU(EXCL)   sibling-1SG.PERS   1DU(EXCL).FUT   go

          ma=i   qusungadi.
          VENT=LOC   tomorrow
          'I and my brother will come tomorrow.' (Lit.: 'The two of us my brother, we two will come tomorrow.')

Following Singer (2001), the total set of participants is referred to as the "superset". In (14-1) the superset consists of two people, the speaker and his brother. The noun phrase that denotes a subset of the superset is referred to as the "included noun phrase", *doqora-ku* 'my sibling' in (14-1). As discussed in section 14.2.1, in constructions such as the one in (14-1) the inclusory pronominal, which encodes the superset, and the included NP form a noun phrase. Such inclusory constructions are referred to as "phrasal".

A different type of inclusory construction occurs in (14-2). In that sentence there is no independent personal pronoun with an inclusory function. Rather, it is the dual subject marker that functions as an inclusory pronominal and denotes the superset.

(14-2)   *Doqora-ku*   *meki*   *lae*   *ma=i*
          sibling-1SG.PERS   1DU(EXCL).FUT   go   VENT=LOC

          qusungadi.
          tomorrow
          'My brother and I will come tomorrow.'

In (14-2) the included NP and the inclusory subject marker do not form a phrase. The included NP is the subject, whereas the subject marker is part of the verb phrase. Inclusory constructions where the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase are referred to as "split". Note that in the context of split inclusory constructions, the term "construction" does not signify a syntactic phrase.

In the split construction in (14-2) there is no agreement in person and number between the subject noun phrase, which is third person singular, and the subject marker, which is first person dual exclusive. This is discussed in section 14.3.2.

In some syntactic positions, both phrasal and split inclusory constructions are possible. In (14-1) and (14-2) the two types of construction occur in subject position. In some other positions, only the phrasal type of inclusory construction is possible.

The inclusory constructions are not used where the inclusory pronominal would be inclusive. The referential range of the inclusive forms includes the addressee(s). The speaker-addressee dyad is the basic unit of linguistic interaction (see, for example, Brown and Levinson [1987]), and in such cases there is no need for an included NP to specify a subset of the superset. The included NP would denote the addressee. It is possible for one or more other persons, besides the speaker and the addressee, to form a set to which a state of affairs applies: 'X and you and me'.[36] Nevertheless, in such cases the inclusory construction is not used either. This is probably due to an extension of the ban on inclusory constructions with inclusive pronominals from the basic dyadic condition.

The inclusory constructions are used only with reference to human participants.

The Toqabaqita inclusory constructions are discussed in a cross-linguistic context in Lichtenberk (2000a). Following the terminology employed there, they are of the "implicit" kind: there is no overt marking of the inclusory relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP.

Phrasal inclusory constructions are discussed first, and split constructions subsequently.

14.2.   **Phrasal inclusory constructions**

14.2.1. The structure

In a phrasal inclusory construction there is an independent personal pronoun that has the inclusory function and the included NP, and the two form a syntactic phrase. Under certain conditions, discussed in the subsequent sections, the two elements can occur in either order. (See also section 14.2.7 for discussion of the function of the variable ordering where it is permitted.) In (14-1) further above, it is the inclusory pronoun that comes first, while in broadly synonymous (14-3) it is the included NP that comes first:

(14-3)   *Doqora-ku*   *kamareqa*   *meki*   *lae*
          sibling-1SG.PERS   1DU(EXCL)   1DU(EXCL).FUT   go

          ma=i   *qusungadi.*
          VENT=LOC   tomorrow
          'My brother and I will come tomorrow.'

In focusing and topicalization it is the inclusory construction as a whole that is fronted. The inclusory pronoun and the included NP together form a noun phrase. Example (14-4) contains a focused inclusory construction:

(14-4)   *Qedata*   *kera*   *na*   *kera*   *ngali-a*   *mai*   *iqa*
          Qedata   3PL   FOC   3PL.NFUT   carry-3.OBJ   VENT   fish

          naqi.
          this
          'It was Qedata with/and the others that brought this fish.'

For an example of a topicalized phrasal inclusory construction see (14-24) in section 14.2.4.

Phrasal inclusory constructions are headed, and it is the inclusory pronoun that is the head. First, when a phrasal inclusory construction occurs in the subject position of a verbal clause, it is the pronoun that determines the person, number and exclusivity categories of the subject marker. The subject marker agrees with the inclusory pronoun, regardless of the order of the inclusory pronoun and the included NP. Both in (14-1), where the inclusory pronoun comes first, and in (14-3), where it comes second, the subject markers are first person dual exclusive. See also examples (14-6) and (14-7) in section 14.2.2. For evidence of the head status of the inclusory pronoun in verbless sentences see (14-8) – (14-10), also in section 14.2.2.

And second, the inclusory pronoun is the head of a phrasal inclusory construction on semantic grounds, with the included NP a modifier. The pronoun denotes the superset, of which the included NP denotes a subset.

The included NP may be coordinate. In (14-5) there are two inclusory constructions. In B's sentence the included NP is *tei* 'who?'. And in the second of A's sentences, the included NP is coordinate: 'Demesi and Dioni'.

(14-5)   A: *Kamiliqa   mili   sifo   naqa.*
           1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT descend PRF

        B: *Tei   kamuluqa?*
          who? 2PL

        A: *Kamiliqa   tha   Demesi   ma   tha   Dioni.*
          1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR Demesi and PERSMKR Dioni
        A: 'We are going down [to the coast] now.'
        B: 'You and who?' (Lit.: 'You [plural] including who?')
        A: 'I and/with Demesi and Dioni.' (Lit.: 'We, including Demesi and Dioni.')

Phrasal inclusory constructions occur in the subject position, in the direct-object position, in oblique-object positions, and in the possessor position, but they do not have identical properties in all these positions.

14.2.2. In the subject position

In phrasal inclusory constructions in the subject position, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in in either order; see (14-1) and (14-3) further above, and (14-6) and (14-7) below.

(14-6)   *Kamiliqa   tha   Gerea   miki   lae*
        1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR Gerea 1PL(EXCL).FUT go

        ma=i   qusungadi, miki   riki   qoe.
        VENT=LOC tomorrow   1PL(EXCL).FUT see   2SG
        'We, including Gerea, will come tomorrow to see you (lit.: we will see you.)'

(14-7)   *Tha   Gerea   kera   keki   lae   ma=i*
        PERSMKR Gerea 3PL   3PL.FUT go   VENT=LOC

>   *qusungadi   keki   rik=kulu.*
>   tomorrow   3PL.FUT   see=PL(INCL)
>   'Gerea and the others/Gerea 'n them will come to see us tomorrow.'

Phrasal inclusory constructions can also function as the subjects of verbless clauses (chapter 27):

(14-8)   *Kamareqa   tha   Reni   teqe   futa-a   boqo.*
          1DU(EXCL) PERSMKR   Reni one   be.born-DVN   ASRT
          'I and Reni are one and the same family line.'

It is the head, the inclusory pronoun *kamareqa* 'we two,' that sanctions the presence of the predicate phrase *teqe futa-a boqo* 'one and the same family line.' If the pronoun were to be omitted, the result would be incongruous, which is indicated by "#":

(14-9)   *#Tha   Reni   teqe   futa-a   boqo.*
          PERSMKR   Reni one   be.born-DVN   ASRT
          #'Reni is one and the same family line.'

On the other hand, the absence of the included NP does not affect the acceptability of the sentence:

(14-10)   *Kamareqa   teqe   futa-a   boqo.*
          1DU(EXCL) one   be.born-DVN   ASRT
          'The two of us are one and the same family line.'

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

Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions have object-indexing suffixes only for the third person. Objects other than third person are encoded by independent personal pronouns, which are not indexed on the verb or on the preposition. For simplicity, most of the discussion that follows deals with Class 1 transitive verbs, but the same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the verb-like prepositions.

When phrasal inclusory constructions function as direct objects of Class 1 transitive verbs and as objects of the verb-like prepositions, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in either order. Examples (14-11) and (14-12) illustrate this for Class I transitive verbs, and (14-13) and (14-14) for the verb-like prepositions:

(14-11)   *Wane e   laba-taqi   kamareqa   maka   nau.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR   1DU(EXCL) father   1SG
          'The man harmed me and my father.'

(14-12)   *Wane e   laba-tani-a   maka   nau   kamareqa.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR-3.OBJ   father   1SG   1DU(EXCL)
          'The man harmed my father and me.'

(14-13)   *Toqa   loo   kera   ngata   taqaa   suli*
          people upward 3PL.NFUT   speak   be.bad   PROL

          kamareqa   wela nau.
          1DU(EXCL)   child 1SG
          'The people up there speak badly about me and my child.'

(14-14)   *Toqa   loo   kera   ngata   taqaa   suli-a*
          people upward 3PL.NFUT   speak   be.bad   PROL-3.OBJ

          wela nau   kamareqa.
          child 1SG   1DU(EXCL)
          'The people up there speak badly about my child and me.'

When the inclusory pronominal comes first, there is no object indexing on the verb or on the preposition ([14-11] and [14-13]), and furthermore, when the verb is a long transitive one, it takes the -C*aqi* variant of the transitive suffix, as in (14-11). This is the situation with pronouns as objects elsewhere. On the other hand, when the included NP comes first, the verb or the preposition carries the object suffix -*a* ([14-12] and [14-14]); and when the verb is long transitive, it takes the -C*ani* variant of the transitive suffix, as in (14-12).

As discussed in section 14.2.1, it is the inclusory pronominal that is the head in phrasal inclusory constructions. The constructions in (14-11) and (14-13) are compatible with this, because there it is the inclusory pronominal that determines the absence of the object suffix on the verb or on the preposition. However, the constructions in (14-12) and (14-14) are not compatible with the headedness of phrasal inclusory constructions, because there it is the included NP that determines the presence of the object suffix.

One possibility is that in object positions the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase, that it is only the element closer to the verb that is the object, the other element being an adjunct of some sort. However, there is evidence that the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do form a phrase, even in object positions. The evidence comes from constructions with postverbal particles. Postverbal particles follow pronouns as direct objects and

precede lexical objects (see [4-1] in section 4.1). When an included NP comes first and there is a postverbal particle present, the particle comes before the included NP. In (14-15) the postverbal particle is the perfect marker *naqa*.

(14-15)   *Wane*   *e*   *laba-tani-a*   *naqa* *maka* *nau*
          man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR-3.OBJ PRF   father 1SG

          kamareqa.
          1DU(EXCL)
          'The man has harmed my father and me.'

However, if the inclusory pronoun comes first, no postverbal particle can be present, regardless of whether it would come after the pronoun or after the included NP:

(14-16)   **Wane*   *e*   *laba-taqi*   *kamareqa*   *naqa*   *maka*
          man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR   1DU(EXCL)   PRF   father

          nau.
          1SG
          ('The man has harmed me and my father.')

(14-17)   **Wane*   *e*   *laba-taqi*   *kamareqa*   *maka*   *nau*
          man   3SG.NFUT   harm-TR   1DU(EXCL)   father   1SG

          naqa.
          PRF
          ('The man has harmed me and my father.')

A postverbal particle must come before a lexical noun phrase object. That explains the ungrammaticality of (14-17), where the perfect marker comes after the included NP.

However, in (14-16) the perfect marker comes after the (inclusory) pronoun and before the included NP, which are the positions in which postverbal particles occur with respect to pronominal and lexical objects. Nevertheless, (14-16) is ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of (14-16) is due to the fact that the postverbal particle comes *between* the inclusory pronoun and the included NP. That is, the inclusory pronoun and the included NP do form a phrase.

The presence and absence of object marking on Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions with phrasal inclusory constructions in the object positions is determined by a "proximity principle": it is the constituent that is closer to the verb or to the preposition that determines whether or not there is

object marking on the verb or on the preposition, regardless of whether that element is the head of the inclusory construction or not.

The proximity principle is also partially relevant to the positioning of post-verbal particles. When it is the included NP that is closer to the verb, postverbal particles come before it, as they do with lexical objects in general. If it is the inclusory pronoun that is closer to the verb, postverbal particles should come directly after it, the way they do with pronominal objects, but that would place the particles inside the inclusory construction, which would result in ungrammaticality.

The proximity principle is relevant in other cases of inclusory constructions.

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

What all these positions have in common is the fact that elsewhere the heads of the constructions carry the same type of suffix to index the object or the possessor, called "object" suffixes when they occur on verbs, and "personal" suffixes when they occur on the noun-like prepositions and on possessum nouns. Class 2 transitive verbs, the noun-like prepositions, and the possessum nouns in suffixing possessive constructions must carry an object/personal suffix, and they can have only lexical objects/possessors.

With Class 2 transitive verbs, the noun-like prepositions, and suffixing possessive constructions, only one order of the constituents in phrasal inclusory constructions is possible: the included NP must come first and the inclusory pronoun second. In (14-18) the inclusory construction functions as the direct object of the verb. The verb carries the third person "singular" object suffix, used elsewhere with lexical objects. The proximity principle applies here.

(14-18) *Kera*   *thaitoqoma-na wela nau   kamareqa.*
         3PL.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   child 1SG   1DU(EXCL)
         'They know my child and me.'

If the order were *kamareqa wela nau* 'me and my child', with the inlusory pronominal coming first, the construction would be ungrammatical. The ungrammaticality of inclusory constructions where it is the inclusory pronoun that comes next to the verb can be explained by appeal to the proximity principle. A Class 2 transitive verb must carry an object suffix and cannot have a pronoun as its direct object. If the inclusory pronoun occurred next to the verb, there would be a clash between the object suffix and the object pronoun: **thaitoqoma-mareqa kamareqa wela nau* 'know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ 1DU(EXCL) child 1SG'. The

same kind of clash would exist in the case of the noun-like prepositions and their objects, and between possessum nouns and the possessor phrases. For the clash between a personal suffix on a possessum noun and a pronoun in the possessor position see (14-20) further below.

Examples (14-19) and (14-20) below contain inclusory constructions in the possessor position. In (14-19) the included NP comes before the inclusory pronoun, and the construction is grammatical. The possessum noun *manta* 'thought' carries the third person "singular" personal suffix, used elsewhere in the suffixing possessive construction when the possessor is lexical. That is, the proximity principle applies here.

(14-19)   *Manta-na   maka   nau   kamareqa   qe*
          thought-3.PERS father   1SG   1DU(EXCL)   3SG.NFUT

          quna   qeri.
          manner   that
          'The thinking of my father and me is like that.' 'That is what my father and I think.'

On the other hand, in (14-20) the inclusory pronoun comes first, before the included NP, and the construction is ungrammatical. The possessum is the locational noun *buria* 'behind' (section 10.8.3).

(14-20)   **Lae ma=i   buria-mareqa   kamareqa*
          go   VENT=LOC   behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS   1DU(EXCL)

          ni   Saelifiqa.
          PERSMKR   Saelifiqa
          ('Follow me and Saelifiqa.' [Lit.: 'Go behind me and Saelifiqa.'])

Inclusory constructions where the order is [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] cannot function as objects of Class 2 transitive verbs and the noun-like preposition, or as possessors in suffixing possessive constructions. However, if they have been "displaced" from those positions, such sentences are grammatical. One way in which an inclusory construction may be displaced is by being placed in a later position, as a kind of "afterthought", for example for clarification. The verb, the preposition, or the possessum noun carries an object/possessor suffix that denotes the superset, and the later inclusory construction provides more detail by specifying the subset. Typically, there is a slight pause between the displaced inclusory construction and the preceding material, indicated by a comma in the examples below. While (14-20) above, with an inclusory construction in the possessor position, is ungrammatical, (14-21)

below, with the inclusory construction outside, after the possessor position, is grammatical:

(14-21)   *Lae   ma=i   buria-mareqa,   kamareqa*
           go   VENT=LOC   behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS 1DU(EXCL)

           ni   Saelifiqa.
           PERSMKR   Saelifiqa
           'Follow the two of us, me and Saelifiqa.'

Similarly, (14-22) is grammatical even though the order of the constituents in the inclusory construction is [inclusory-pronoun included-NP], because the inclusory construction does not function as the direct object of the Class 2 transitive verb:

(14-22)   *Kera   thaitoqoma-mareqa,   kamareqa   wela   nau.*
           3PL.NFUT   know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ   1DU(EXCL) child 1SG
           'They know the two of us, me and my child.'

See (14-18) further above and the accompanying discussion.

An inclusory construction can be displaced into the topic position, and there too the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is grammatical. In (14-23) below, the inclusory construction occurs in the possessor position, and the order can only be [included-NP inclusory-pronoun]. (The person marker *tha* has fused with the possessum noun, and so the third person personal suffix *-na* is absent.)

(14-23)   *Nuu=tha   Uluta   kamaroqa   qe*
           picture:3.PERS=PERSMKR   Uluta   2DU   3SG.NFUT

           leqa   qasia naqa.
           be.nice   INTS   INTS
           'The picture of Uluta and you is very nice.'

In (14-24) the inclusory construction occurs in the topic position, and there the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is possible:

(14-24)   *Kamaroqa   tha   Uluta,   nuu-maroqa*
           2DU   PERSMKR   Uluta   picture-2DU.PERS

> *qe   leqa   qasia naqa.*
> 3SG.NFUT   be.nice   INTS INTS
> 'You and Uluta, the picture of the two of you is very nice.'

And in (14-25) the inclusory construction has been displaced to the right, and there too the order [inclusory-pronoun included-NP] is possible:

(14-25)   *Nuu-maroqa,   kamaroqa tha   Uluta,*
        picture-2DU.PERS 2DU   PERSMKR   Uluta

        qe   leqa   qasia naqa.
        3SG.NFUT   be.nice   INTS INTS
        'The picture of you two, you and Uluta, is very nice.'

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

The bare prepositions do not index their complements, and similarly the possessum nouns of bare possessive constructions do not index the possessor phrases. When a phrasal inclusory construction functions as the complement of a bare preposition or as the possessor phrase in a bare possessive construction, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP can occur in either order. The examples in (14-26) and (14-27) illustrate this for the equative preposition *mala*, and those in (14-28) and (14-29) for possessive constructions:

(14-26)   *Roo wane naqi ki qe   aqi kesi   raa*
        two   man   this   PL 3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3DU.NEG   work

        suukwaqi   mala kamaroqa tha   Ulufaalu.
        work.hard   EQT 2DU   PERSMKR   Ulufaalu
        'These two men do not work as hard as you and Ulufaalu.'

(14-27)   *Toqa   naqi qe   aqi   kesi   nguu mala*
        people   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3PL.NEG sing   EQT

        tha   Ulufaalu   kera.
        PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3PL
        'These people do not (play and) sing (as well) as Ulufaalu 'n them [Ulufaalu and his band].'

(14-28)   *Fanga   kamaroqa   ni   Fiona   neq.*
          food   2DU   PERSMKR   Fiona   here
          'Here is your and Fiona's food.'

(14-29)   *Fanga   ni   Fiona   kamaroqa   neq.*
          food   PERSMKR   Fiona   2DU   here
          'Here is Fiona's and your food.'

14.2.6.   The proximity principle

The proximity principle determines whether or not there is indexing of a phrasal inclusory construction on the head of which the inclusory construction is a dependent. The head element may be a Class 1 or a Class 2 transitive verb, of which the inclusory construction is the direct object; it may be a verb-like or a noun-like preposition, of which the inclusory construction is the object; and it may be the possessum noun in a suffixing possessive construction, of which the inclusory construction is the possessor modifier.

The proximity principle applies only within phrases: verb phrases, two types of prepositional phrases, and one type of noun phrase. It does not apply in the subject position in relation to the subject markers, where the two elements do not occur together in a phrase, subject markers being constituents in the verb phrase.

It is that constituent of a phrasal inclusory construction that is nearer the governing head that determines whether there will be indexing on the head or not, and the kind of indexing. In all such cases, the included NP can come first: the head element carries indexing that applies to lexical objects and to lexical possessors (see examples [14-12], [14-14], [14-18], and [14-19]). When an inclusory construction functions as the object of a Class 1 transitive verb or a verb-like preposition, the inclusory pronoun may come first, in which case there is no indexing on the verb or on the preposition ([14-11] and [14-13]).

The proximity principle is given in a summary form in (14-30) (Lichtenberk 2000a: 20):

(14-30)   *The proximity principle*: In a phrasal inclusory construction, it is the constituent nearer the element that governs the inclusory construction that is relevant to the relation between the inclusory construction and the element that governs it, regardless of whether that constituent is or is not the head of the inclusory construction. The domain of application of the proximity principle is a phrase: a verb phrase, a prepositional phrase, or a possessive noun phrase.

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

The inclusory pronoun denotes the superset, and the included NP denotes, overtly, a proper subset. There is another proper subset, but this one does not receive overt expression. This latter, covert subset is complementary to the one denoted by the included NP. For example, in the inclusory construction in (14-31), the included NP *wela nau ki* 'my children' overtly denotes one subset, while the complementary subset, which consists of the speaker and possibly other individuals (such as the speaker's wife) are denoted only covertly:

(14-31)   ... *ma   wela nau   ki kamiliqa   misi   fii*
            and   child 1SG   PL 1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NEG expect

           qoe   boqo qoki   fula   i   sa-miliqa.
           2SG   ASRT 2SG.FUT arrive   LOC   GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS
           '… and my children and I/we did not expect you at all to come to
           us.'

   As shown in some of the preceding sections, in certain syntactic positions the inclusory pronoun and the included NP can occur in either order. There is a pragmatic difference between the two orderings, specifically the relative degrees of discourse salience of the participants encoded overtly and those denoted only covertly. If the participants encoded overtly by the included NP are more salient, the included NP comes first, before the inclusory pronoun. On the other hand, if it is the superset or the covertly denoted subset that is relatively salient, the inclusory pronoun comes first.
   Discourse salience has to do, partly, with whether or not the relevant entity is the centre of attention at the moment. An entity that is the centre of attention has higher discourse salience than one that is not. Being in the centre of attention includes being the current topic, being in focus, and being in contrast. Second, salience has to do with participation in the speech act. Participants in the speech act are more salient than non-participants.
   The next few examples illustrate the effect of discourse salience on the ordering of the two constituents of phrasal inclusory constructions. In (14-32) speaker A asks about a third person. That person is the current discourse topic; in B's response the inclusory pronoun, which covertly denotes that person, comes first:

(14-32)   A: *Teqe nia   bana   n=e   lae?*
            sole   3SG   LIM   FOC=3SG.NFUT   go

B: *Keeroqa   kukeqe   nia.*
    3DU   wife   3SG
A. 'Was it just him (lit.: sole him) who went?'
B: 'He and his wife.'

On the other hand in (14-33) it is the included NP that comes first. The speaker is inquiring about the whereabouts of Ulufaalu and some other people. Those people are identified as being associated with Ulufaalu. It is Ulufaalu who is the centre of attention.

(14-33)   *Ma   Ulufaalu kera?*
           and   Ulufaalu 3PL
           'And (where are) Ulufaalu 'n them?'

The next example shows interplay of focus and topicality. In the part of the conversation that preceded the exchange in (14-34), person A asked B about the whereabouts of a child. B responded by saying that the child was with another person. The conversation then followed with the sentences in (14-34):

(14-34)   A: *Tei   keeroqa?*
           who? 3DU

           B: *Keeroqa Qaisik.*
               3DU   Aisik
           A: 'Who (is he) with?'
           B: '(He is) with Aisik.'

In A's sentence it is the focal element, *tei* 'who?' that comes first, before the inclusory pronoun. However, in B's speech, the superset has become topical, and there the inclusory pronoun comes first.

In (14-35) below there is a conflict in salience. The participant inquired about by means of *tei* 'who?' is in focus and so salient. However, the participant denoted covertly, the addressee, is also salient, by virtue of being a discourse participant. In the conversation that preceded the sentence in (14-35), one person, A, asked another person, B, for two cups of tea. B assumes that one of the cups is for A and inquires who the other one is for:

(14-35)   *Tii   kamaroqa   ni   tei?*
           tea   2DU   PERSMKR   who?
           'Tea for (lit.: of) you and who?'

While *tei* 'who?' denotes the focal participant, person B is a speech-act participant, the addressee, and furthermore it is the current topic. These two factors outweigh the focal status of the third person, and so the inclusory pronoun comes first.

14.3.   Split inclusory constructions

14.3.1.   Positions of occurrence

In split inclusory constructions, the inclusory pronominal and the included NP do not form a phrase together. There is no independent inclusory pronoun; rather, the superset is encoded by means of a dependent pronominal: a subject marker, an object suffix, or a personal suffix. Split inclusory constructions cannot occur where there is no dependent pronominal to index the superset. In the discussion that follows, the syntactic position of a split inclusory construction — subject, object, possessor — is identified by the position of the included NP.

Split inclusory constructions cannot occur in the subject position of verbless clauses, because there are no subject markers there. They cannot occur as objects of the bare prepositions or in the possessor position of bare possessive noun phrases, because there are no personal suffixes on the prepositions and on the possessum nouns. They cannot occur as direct objects of Class 1 transitive verbs and as objects of the verb-like prepositions. There are no object suffixes for persons other than third. Even though there are object suffixes for the third person, split inclusory constructions are not grammatical there.

Split inclusory constructions are grammatical as the subjects of verbal clauses. They are also grammatical as the direct objects of Class 2 transitive verbs, as the objects of the noun-like prepositions, and in the possessor position of suffixing possessive noun phrases. However, in the latter three types of position, split inclusory constructions are possible only if the inclusory suffix is not third person.

That is, within phrases — verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and possessor noun phrases — split inclusory constructions are not possible when the inclusory suffix would be third person, even though there are third-person object-indexing or possessor-indexing suffixes available. This will be discussed further below. On the other hand, an included NP in subject position of a verbal clause and the subject marker are not within the same phrase, and there are no restrictions on split inclusory constructions there.

In split inclusory constructions, there is a mismatch in the number, person, and exclusivity features between the dependent inclusory pronominal and the included NP. For example, the included NP in the subject position may be singular but the subject marker is dual or plural, and need not even be third per-

son; see (14-36) and (14-37) below. Or the included NP may be in an object position, and the object-indexing suffix is first or second person, dual or plural; see, for example, (14-38) further below.

Examples of split inclusory constructions in various syntactic positions follow.

In the subject position of verbal clauses:

(14-36)   *Si   manga   na   ruana   qoe   moro   ngata,*
           PRTT time   REL   friend   2SG   2DU.NFUT   talk

           moro   ngaa-ngata qe   sui,   moka
           2DU.NFUT   RDP-talk   3SG.NFUT   be.finished 2DU.SEQ

           qani-a   fanga   qe=ki.
           eat-3.OBJ   food   that=PL
           'When your friend and you are talking (to each other), (when) you have finished talking, you two will eat this food (lit.: these foods).'

(14-37)   *Fiona   kesi   fula   quu?*
           Fiona   3PL.NEG arrive   ANTCONT
           'Haven't Fiona 'n them arrived yet?'

In the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verbs where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

(14-38)   *Kera   thaitoqoma-mareqa   wela nau.*
           3PL.NFUT   know-1DU(EXCL).OBJ   child 1SG
           'They know me and my child.'

In the object position with a noun-like preposition where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

(14-39)   *Qoki   takwe   i   naqofa-mareqa   tha*
           2SG.FUT stand   LOC   front-1DU(EXCL).PERS   PERSMKR

           Bita.
           Bita
           'Stand between me and Bita.'

In the possessor position of a suffixing possessive construction where the inclusory pronominal is not third person:

(14-40)   *Nuu-maroqa*   *tha*   *Uluta*   *qe*   *leqa*
          picture-2DU.PERS   PERSMKR   Uluta   3SG.NFUT   be.nice

          qasia naqa.
          INTS   INTS
          'The picture of you and Uluta is very nice.'

The included NP may be focused or topicalized; see (14-41) and (14-42), respectively:

(14-41)   *Tha*   *Uluta,*   *nuu-maroqa*   *qe*   *leqa*
          PERSMKR   Uluta   picture-2DU.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.nice

          qasia naqa.
          INTS   INTS
          'Uluta, the picture of him and you is very nice.'

(14-42)   *Tha*   *Ulufaalu*   *na*   *mere*   *raa*
          PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   FOC   1DU(EXCL).NFUT   work

          qa=si   *doo*   *naqi.*
          GENP=PRTT   thing   this
          'It was Ulufaalu that I worked on this thing with.' (Lit.: 'It was Ulu-
          faalu that we two worked on this thing.')

It is also possible for an included NP to function as the head noun of a relative clause, with the inclusory pronominal inside the relative clause:

(14-43)   *... ai*   *na*   *mere*   *raa*   *ofu*
          woman   REL   1DU(EXCL).NFUT   work   be.together

          qe   *oli*   *naqa*   *uri-a*   *Japan.*
          3SG.NFUT   return   PRF   ALL-3.OBJ   Japan
          '... the woman I worked together with (lit.: the woman that we
          worked together) has returned to Japan.'

(14-44)   *Wane*   *qi*   *fei*   *ba=ku*   *rik=kamaroqa*   *qi*
          man   LOC   where?   that=1SG.NFUT   see=2DU   LOC

> *roqo?*
> yesterday
> 'Where was the man from that I saw with you yesterday?' (Lit.:
> 'Man from where I saw you two yesterday?')

Split inclusory constructions are not grammatical in those cases where the inclusory suffix on a verb, a preposition, or a possessum noun would be third person. This is illustrated for Class 1 and Class 2 transitive verbs in (14-45) and (14-46), respectively.

(14-45)   *Nau ku   riki-da   doqora-mu.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3PL.OBJ   sibling-2SG.PERS
           ('I saw them, including your brother.')

(14-46)   *Nau   ku   fulatoqo-da   toq=qe=ki   sulutala.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   meet-3PL.OBJ   people=that=PL   on.road
           ('I met them, including those people, on the road.')

In those cases where inclusory constructions can occur within phrases, there is always a mismatch in the person features. The included NP is necessarily third person, and the inclusory suffix may be first person exclusive or second person, dual or plural. In those cases where a split inclusory construction is ungrammatical, there would be no mismatch in the person features: both the included NP and the inclusory suffix would be third person. There is then a general condition on split inclusory constructions inside phrases such that the included NP and the inclusory suffix must not share the person feature. This restriction on the person feature does not apply to split inclusory constructions in the subject position, where the included NP and the inclusory subject marker do not occur in the same immediate phrase. This is another respect in which inclusory constructions within phrases have different properties from those in the subject position.[37]

14.3.2. Mismatch in features

Split inclusory constructions are characterized by a mismatch in the person, number and exclusivity features between the included NP and the dependent inclusory pronominal. In (14-47) there is a mismatch in number:

(14-47)   *Tha   Ulufaalu   keki   nguu qa=fa   Sandee*
           PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3PL.FUT   sing GENP=CLF   Sunday

> *loo.*
> upward
> 'Ulufaalu 'n them [i.e. Ulufaalu and the band he leads] will (play
> and) sing next Sunday.'

In (14-48) there is a mismatch in the number, person, and exclusivity features:

(14-48)   *Lae*   *ma=i*   *buria-mareqa*   *ni*
          go   VENT=LOC   behind-1DU(EXCL).PERS   PERSMKR

          Saelifiqa.
          Saelifiqa
          'Follow me and Saelifiqa.'

In fact, it is the mismatch, disagreement in features that identifies a construction as inclusory. That is, the disagreement is functional. The inclusory pronominals do not "copy" the relevant features of the included NP. They themselves are meaningful. They are the ones that identify the superset. Both the inclusory pronominals and the included NP serve to denote the referents, but they are not referentially equivalent.

As discussed in section 4.9, there can be disagreement in the number feature between the subject noun phrase and the subject marker, and in some cases that kind of disagreement is functional too, allowing for different conceptualizations of the referents, as individuated or not individuated.

In that kind of feature disagreement, the disagreeing dependent pronominal supplies certain information that is not supplied by the relevant noun phrase. This is also the case in split inclusory constructions.[38]

Notes

1. Ray (1926: 479, fn 16) gives the year of publication as 1823, but that should be 1923.
2. I am grateful to Phil Quick (pers. comm., June 2006) for bringing Pike and Simons' study to my attention.
3. In Hoava (spoken in the western Solomon Islands), also an Oceanic language but only distantly related to Toqabaqita, the word for 'monkey' is *maqe*, where orthographic *q* represents [ŋg] (Davis 2003).
4. As Christine Foris put it very aptly some years ago when she, David Foris, and I had a conversation on the subject of the use of the apostrophe for the glottal stop in various languages: "The apostrophe is an insult to the consonants."
5. Strictly speaking, the label 'exclusive' is then not necessary; for example, 1PL could only signify traditional 1PL(EXCL). However, it has been retained here for the sake of transparency.
6. The terms "syntactically-extended intransitive verbs" and "syntactically-extended transitive verbs" (section 4.2.3.1) are used here to distinguish such verbs from extended (Class 1) long transitive verbs, which contain the stem-extender morpheme (section 4.2.3.2.2).
7. Cf. note 6.
8. Pawley (1973) has reconstructed *-aki(ni) as the long transitive suffix(es) in Proto Oceanic. The evidence for the variant *-akini came from languages that are close relatives of Toqabaqita. The Toqabaqita evidence suggests that the form of the suffix was *-aki and that the form -C*ani*, with accretion of thematic consonants, was a later development. Accretion of thematic consonants also took place in the Toqabaqita variant -C*aqi*. Evans (2003), following Clark (1973), treats *-akini as bimorphemic, *-akin-i, where the *-i is the short transitive suffix.
9. Such morphologically extended long transitive verbs need to be distinguished from syntactically-extended intransitive verbs (section 4.2.2.1) and syntactically-extended transitive verbs (section 4.2.3.1).
10. A few Class 2 transitive verbs and a few nouns undergo metathesis of the consonant and the vowel of the last syllable that results in those stems ending in a consonant. The metathesis is conditioned partly phonologically and partly morphologically; see sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 8.1.2 respectively. However, the basic forms of all such verbs and nouns end in a vowel.
11. Some such tendencies have been identified for other Oceanic languages; see Arms (1974), Clark (1977), Geraghty (1983), and Lichtenberk (1978, 2001).
12. This was discussed in a broader Oceanic perspective in Lichtenberk (1993).
13. The Kwara'ae language, a close relative of Toqabaqita, has a verb *sai* 'know' (Deck 1934), of which Toqabaqita *thai* is a cognate.

14. An association of short transitive verbs of movement and posture with direct objects that refer to goals and locations has been identified by Pawley (1973) for various Oceanic languages.

15. Marching Rule, or rather Maasina Rule, was a political-social-cultural movement that existed from the mid 1940s to the early 1950s (Laracy 1983). Here the common, even though inaccurate label "Marching Rule" is used, because it corresponds more closely to how the name is rendered in Toqabaqita in the examples given in this grammar: *Maasin Ruul*, rather than *Maasina Ruul*. The double *a* in *Maasin* and the double *uu* in *Ruul* represent long vowels. This is also the way the name of the movement is normally pronounced when Toqabaqita people are speaking in Solomon Islands Pijin.

16. There is also a form *soe-qe*, found in the object-incorporating compound *soe-qe kini* 'of a man: have illicit sex with a woman'; cf. *soe* (tr.) 'ask about a potential bride; ask whether a girl is available for marriage (asking the girl's parents, not the girl herself)' (the direct object refers to the potential bride); *kini* 'woman', 'wife'.

17. The term "anterior-continuing" is taken from Bybee *et al.* (1994). There, however, "anterior" is synonymous with "perfect". In this grammar, on the other hand, the terms "anterior" and "perfect" designate different functions.

18. A distinction is usually made between a restitutive and a repetitive function; see, e.g., Pittner (2003) and Jäger and Blutner (2003). However, for Toqabaqita the label "repetitive" is not satisfactory because, as will be demonstrated, *laqu* is often used when, strictly speaking, there is not an exact repetition of a states of affairs.

19. In Lichtenberk (2002) a distinction was made between possessor-beneficiaries and recipients. Those two categories have been reanalyzed here as one category of recipient-benefactives.

20. Crosslinguistically, links between partitives and diminutives are quite common; see Jurafsky (1996).

21. Cognates of Toqabaqita *maa* in various Oceanic languages also tend to have large semantic ranges (Chowning 1996).

22. Pawley (1972) has reconstructed *mata-qi as a kind of numeral classifier for Proto-Eastern Oceanic, based on *mata 'eye' (see also Hooper 1985). Toqabaqita *maa* is a regular reflex of *mata, and *ma-qe* is a regular reflex of *mata-qi, with some secondary developments (the reduction of *maa* to *ma* and the change of *-qi *to -qe* after a non-high vowel [section 8.2.1]).

23. *Noni* 'body' is found in, e.g., Baelelea (Tryon and Hackman 1983), Lau (Fox 1974) and Kwaio (Keesing 1975).

24. As discussed by Ross (1998a, b), modification of nouns by verbs is not unusual in Oceanic.

25. Both *thaama* and *thaina* continue Proto Oceanic etyma, *tama 'father' and *tina 'mother' (Lichtenberk 1988a), respectively. In fact, both etyma, with these meanings, go as far back as Proto Austronesian.

26. The same etymon is also found, in a different phonological form again, in the noun for 'son', *kaluwani*, where *wani* is related to *wane* 'man'.

27. For a view of possessive constructions in Oceanic as being sensitive to the nature of the relation between the possessum and the possessor, and for some other views, see Lichtenberk (to appear).

28. The Toqabaqita associative suffix is a reflex of Proto Oceanic *-qi (Hooper 1985) or *qi (Ross 1998b), the *-qe* variant being a later development. For some reason, the vowel of the suffix has failed to assimilate in *weleqi*.

29. Crosslinguistically, it is common for action nominals to exhibit both nominal and verbal properties (Comrie and Thompson 1985).

30. The term "confective" is adopted from Arms (1974), although his interpretation of the confective category is broader than that adopted here.

31. The name of the town is usually pronounced [ʔáɔkɛ], but the speaker who said sentence (10-199) pronounced it [ʔə́ʊkɪ], which corresponds to the Solomon Islands Pijin pronunciation.

32. For the term "coordinand" see Haspelmath (2004).

33. What is called anaphoric distance in Lichtenberk (1988b) corresponds to Givón's (1983) notion of referential distance.

34. The third possibility, the antecedent in the narrative portion of a text and the anaphoric mention in a subsequent direct speech, does not seem to occur. That is, while a narrator has referential access both to the narrative portion of the text and to direct speech by characters in that text, a character in a text does not have referential access to the narrative portion of that text.

35. The term "presentative demonstrative adverbs" has been modelled on Anderson and Keenan's (1985) category of presentative demonstratives.

36. I am grateful to Bernard Comrie for pointing this out to me.

37. A different explanation for the avoidance of split inclusory constructions where the inclusory suffix would be third person was proposed in Lichtenberk (2000a). It was suggested there that such constructions would look like ungrammatical counterparts of non-inclusory constructions. That analysis is superseded by the one presented here.

38. See Barlow (1992) for a view of agreement as ultimately a discourse notion.

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A Grammar of Toqabaqita

Volume 2

by

Frantisek Lichtenberk

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Abbreviations and conventions

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 15
Tense and aspect

The categories treated in this chapter are those of tense, aspect and the perfect, the latter being neither purely a tense nor purely an aspect.

15.1.   The tenses

15.1.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a basic tense opposition of future vs. nonfuture, expressed by the respective sets of subject-tense markers (section 4.8). Within both categories further distinctions can be made by means of additional elements and constructions. There is also a kind of past-in-the-past, which is not uniquely associated with the nonfuture subject markers.

   The tenses are relative: the reference time may be the time of the speech act or the time of another situation. If the reference time is other than the time of speech, it is usually, although not always, signalled in another clause. The future-tense subject markers are used when the situation time is after the time of reference. The nonfuture-tense subject markers are used when the situation time is before the time of reference both for states and for dynamic situations, and at reference time for states. They are also used to express general states and gnomic situations. (They can also be used to express habitual states of affairs.) For dynamic situations, when the situation time is at the time of reference, the event is in progress.

   Semantically, the future-nonfuture contrast is rather complex, and there is no simple correlation between the tenses as grammatical categories and situation times. Both sets of subject markers are used not only to mark tense but also with other functions. The nonfuture markers are used to encode not only past and present situations, but occasionally also future situations, especially situations that are imminent, about to obtain. And they are also used in positive imperatives. The future markers are used to encode future situations, but they also function, jointly with another particle, to encode counterfactual past situations. Furthermore, the same set of subject-tense markers that signals future tense is also used to express the imperfective aspect: habitual and general events, and events in progress, including such events in the past. That is, imperfectivity

overrides tense. However, events in progress, and habitual and general situations are also commonly encoded by the nonfuture subject markers. There are circumstances where only the future/imperfective markers can occur, and there are circumstances where only the nonfuture markers can, but there are also circumstances where members of either set can be used. This is especially true of the imperfective domain. Furthermore, the sequential subject markers (chapter 16) too can be used with past-time or future-time reference.

The grammatical future-nonfuture contrast holds only in positive clauses. With one type of exception that, grammatically, does not concern the tenses, the contrast is suspended in negative clauses, where the same set of negative subject markers is used regardless of the time of a state of affairs.

15.1.2. The future tense

15.1.2.1.   (General) future

What, for simplicity, will be called here "future" tense would more appropriately be called "general future" tense. Besides the general future, there are also more specific immediate and near futures. The general future is unmarked with respect to the more specific futures in two senses. It is unmarked semantically, in the sense that its range of uses subsumes those of the more specific futures. And it is also simple/unmarked formally: it is expressed only by the subject markers, whereas the specific futures require additional marking.

The future-tense subject markers signal that the situation time is later in relation to the time of reference. In (15-1) the event is future relative to the time of the speech act:

(15-1)   *Ngali-a   mai, kwai   tyunim.*
          carry-3SG.OBJ   VENT 1SG.FUT   tune
          'Bring it [a guitar] here; I'll tune it.'

In (15-2) the relevant situation is subsequent to a past event, although past with respect to the time of speech:

(15-2)   *Wane qe   lole   ba-na.   Qe*
          man   3SG.NFUT   tell.lie   LIM-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

          sore-qe   kai   raa, ma   ka   aqi   si
          say-DETR   3SG.FUT   work and 3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

> *raa   laqu.*
> work ADD
> 'The man just lied. He said he would work, but he didn't work at all.'

The future subject markers are not used in commands or exhortations. However, they can be used to (try to) manipulate other people's behaviour, but then they normally signal an expectation or suggestion on the part of the speaker, or an obligation on the part of the addressee that a state of affairs obtain. For example, (15-3) is a request for compliance:

(15-3)   *Qoki   takwe   i   naqofa-mareqa.*
          2SG.FUT stand   LOC   front-1DU(EXCL).PERS
          'You will/should stand in front of us.'

And by using (15-4) the speaker is asking, exhorting everyone to sing:

(15-4)   *Kulu   sui   boqo   kuki   nguu.*
          PL(INCL)   EXHST   ASRT   PL(INCL).FUT   sing
          'All of us will sing.' 'All of us should sing.' 'Let's all sing.'

Future-tense marking is required or is an option in certain syntactic environments that involve irrealis contexts; for example, in complement clauses embedded under certain verbs, such as 'want'; in clauses expressing purpose; in the apodoses of conditional sentences; and in clauses encoding unfulfilled past situations.

15.1.2.2. Immediate future

There are two ways in which immediate future can be expressed, the fact or expectation that a state of affairs will obtain very soon after the time of reference: the state of affairs is just about to occur, it is just about on its way. Both constructions employ the future-tense subject markers. In one construction, one of the preverbal immediate-future/immediate-past particles is used: *biqi*, *mala*, *maka* or *makeqe* (section 5.1.2):

(15-5)   *Maqasi nau, nau kwai   biqi fanga boqo neri.*
          wait.for 1SG   1SG   1SG.FUT IMM   eat   ASRT NPAST.HERE
          'Wait for me; I am just about to eat.'

However, this strategy is not very common. The usual way to signal immediate future is by means of the postverbal perfect particle *naqa* (section 15.3):

(15-6)   *Nau   kwai   lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.FUT   go   PRF
          'I'll be going now.' (Said by a person getting up to go.)

In (15-7) the immediate future is in the past; the clause with the future subject marker is a purpose one:

(15-7)   *Keko   fula   qa=si   manga   na   fasi*
          3DU.SEQ   arrive   GENP=PRTT   time   REL   PURP

          keeroqa   keki   nofi   naqa,….
          3DU   3DU.FUT   die   PRF
          'They reached (lit.: arrived at) the time (which was) for them to die;
          ….' (Speaking about two prisoners who were about to be hanged.)

Since the set of subject markers that marks future tense also marks the imperfective aspect (section 15.2.2), including events in progress at the time of reference, a combination of one of these subject markers and the perfect marker may express immediate future or a new state of affairs; see (15-8) and (15-9), respectively:

(15-8)   *Keki   toli   naqa.*
          3PL.FUT   share.out   PRF
          'They are going to share out [the food] now.'

(15-9)   *Keki   ukuuka   naqa.*
          3PL.IPFV divide.into.shares PRF
          'They are now/already dividing [the food at a feast] into shares.'

Both in (15-8) and in (15-9) the tense and aspect values could be the other way around, imperfective/progressive rather than immediate future in the former and immediate future rather than imperfective/progressive in the latter.

15.1.2.3.   Near future

15.1.2.3.1.   Introduction

In pragmatic terms, there is no clear dividing line between immediate future and near future, but the near-future construction is used when the speaker does not conceptualize the relevant state of affairs as being about to obtain immediately, but at a somewhat later time, which, however, can be quite close to the time of reference. It is the speaker's decision to encode a situation as being located in immediate future or in near future, rather than some absolute time measure.

On formal and semantic grounds, two types of near future need to be distinguished in Toqabaqita: open near future, where the relative state of affairs is predicted, expected to obtain; and counterfactual near future in the past, where a state of affairs that looked as if it was about to happen did not in fact happen.

To express both types of near future, the future-tense subject markers must be used, but the clause that encodes the near-future event is in construction with another, higher clause, and it is the verb of the higher clause that expresses the nearness of the future. There is more than one such construction, but they all use related higher verbs. The constructions that encode open near future are discussed first. The term "event clause" refers to the clause encoding the state of affairs predicted or expected to obtain.

15.1.2.3.2.   Open near future

The commonest open near-future construction uses the Class 1 transitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close to', shown with its spatial meaning in (15-10):

(15-10)   *Biqu tha   weleqi   qe   nii*
           house PERSMKR   guy   3SG.NFUT   be.located

           karangi-a   qamali.
           be.near.to-3.OBJ   sea
           'The guy's house is near the sea.'

There is also an intransitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close':

(15-11)   *Kera   fula   karangi.*
           3PL.NFUT   arrive   be.near
           'They arrived near/nearer.' 'They approached.'

While the existence of the intransitive and the transitive variants show the forms *karangi* to be verbs, they are unusual as verbs in that they tend to occur in combinations with other verbs in verb serializing compounds (section 12.5). This is the case in both of the examples above. This will be of relevance in the discussion of the near-future marking function of transitive *karangi*.

To express open near future, the transitive verb *karangi* is used as a higher verb that takes as its direct object the event clause. The complement clause is indexed on the verb *karangi* with the object suffix *-a*, which indexes lexical direct objects and also complement clauses (section 29.2.1). However, while *karangi* as a near-future marker has the verbal property of taking the object-indexing suffix *-a*, in another respect it does not behave the way other verbs (transitive or intransitive) do: it normally does not have a subject-tense marker. The event clause usually contains the perfect marker *naqa*. For a sentence without *naqa* in the event clause see (15-15) further below. The event clause may have a subject phrase, or there may be a corresponding noun phrase preceding the near-future marking *karangi-a*, as in (15-12) and (15-13), respectively.

(15-12)   *Karangi-a   madami kai   arakwa   naqa.*
           be.near.to-3.OBJ   moon   3SG.FUT   (moon)be.full   PRF
           'It is nearly full moon.' 'It will be full moon soon.'

(15-13)   *Madami karangi-a   kai   arakwa   naqa.*
           moon   be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   (moon)be.full   PRF
           'It is nearly full moon.' 'It will be full moon soon.' 'The moon is nearly full.'

However, while both alternatives are possible, the one with the subject inside the event clause is not common. If there is any noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause, the norm is for it to occur before *karangi-a*, as in (15-13) above and in (15-14) and (15-15) below.

(15-14)   *Nau karangi-a   kwai   fanga   naqa.*
           1SG   be.near.to-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   eat   PRF
           'I am about to eat.'

In (15-15) the near future is in the past. (For another example with near future in the past see [15-16].)

(15-15)   *Si   manga   na   kera   lae   naqa uri qamali,*
           PRTT time   REL   3PL.NFUT   go   PRF   ALL   sea

> *teqe kini   karangi-a   kai   faqa-futa.*
> one   woman be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT CAUS-be.born
> 'When they were (already) going towards the sea, a woman was about to give birth.'

It is, of course, possible, for no "subject" noun phrase to occur, for example because the referent is recoverable from context or because the verb frequently occurs without a subject noun phrase. For example, the verb *dani* 'be daytime' often occurs without a subject. (Alternatively, it may take *fanua* 'place' as its subject.)

(15-16) *Nau ku   lae   mai   qana kada rodo,*
          1SG 1SG.NFUT   go   VENT GENP time night

        karangi-a   kai   dani   naqa.
        be.near.to-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.daytime PRF
        'I arrived at the time of night (when) it was almost daytime/when it was going to be daytime soon.'

When a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause precedes *karangi-a*, what is its syntactic status? One possibility is that it is the subject of the embedded clause that has been "raised"; that is, while it thematically belongs in the embedded clause, it is realized syntactically in the main clause, as the subject of *karangi-a*. Another possibility is that it is a true, thematic subject of *karangi-a*. And still another possibility is that it is a topic. A close look at the evidence suggests two things. First, while *karangi-a* does have some verbal properties, it is unlike typical verbs in certain other respects. And second, which is related to the first point, the syntactic status of the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a* is not unitary: in some cases, it is a topic without being a subject, while in other cases, much more rarely, it is the subject of *karangi-a*, and by virtue of that it is also the topic. The evidence is reviewed in what follows. The conclusions reached apply to both of the near-future marking functions of *karangi-a*, marking open near future and countefactual near future in the past.

First, in the near-future marking function, *karangi-a* normally does not have its own subject-tense marker. While subject markers are occasionally missing with any verb (section 4.8), the norm is for them to be present (except in second-person singular imperatives). In contrast, for *karangi-a* the norm is not to have a subject marker, as in all the examples above. However, constructions where *karangi-a* has its own subject marker are not ungrammatical:

(15-17)   *Kera   too-too,   tha   Boranigao ka*
           3PL.NFUT   RDP-stay   PERSMKR   Boranigao 3SG.SEQ

           karangi-a   kai   nofi naqa.
           be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT die   PRF
           'They stayed (like that for some time), and then (came a time when)
           Boranigao was close to dying/to being dead.'

In (15-17) *karangi-a* has its own third person singular sequential subject
marker, which indexes the noun phrase *tha Boranigao*.

There are, in fact, several options with respect to *karangi-a* and the expres-
sion of the (notional) subject of the event clause. These are shown in (15-18a),
(15-18b), and (15-18c). All three sentences could be used to describe the same
situation. In the first variant, *karangi-a* has its own subject and subject marker:

(15-18)   a.   *Nau ku   karangi-a   kwai*
                 1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.near.to-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

                 sui   naqa.
                 be.finished   PRF
                 'I am almost finished (with what I am doing).' 'I am going to
                 be finished soon.'

This type of construction is not very common.

In the second variant, *karangi-a* has a third-person singular subject marker.
Karangi-a is preceded by a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the
event clause and is not an argument of *karangi-a*. In (15-18b) the noun phrase
that precedes *karangi-a* consists of the first person singular pronoun, which is
not indexed by the subject marker of *karangi-a*.

(15-18)   b.   *Nau qe   karangi-a   kwai*
                 1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.near.to-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

                 sui   naqa.
                 be.finished   PRF
                 'I am almost finished.' 'I am going to be finished soon.'

In (15-18b) the first-person singular pronoun functions as a topic: 'As for me, it
is near (to) that I will be finished.' This kind of construction is not very com-
mon either.

Most commonly, *karangi-a* occurs without its own subject marker, and the
notional subject of the event clause precedes it:

(15-18) c. *Nau* *karangi-a*   *kwai*   *sui*   *naqa.*
              1SG   be.near.to-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT be.finished PRF
              'I am almost finished.' 'I am going to be finished soon.'

Here too the noun phrase that precedes *karangi-a* is the topic.

The topic status of the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a* without a subject marker can be seen in the next example, where that noun phrase is in the scope of the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* (section 28.6): the two people spoken about are being compared to others, mentioned previously.

(15-19) *Kamareqa* *mena*   *karangi-a*   *meki*
         1DU(EXCL) FADD   be.near.to-3.OBJ   1DU(EXCL).FUT

         fanga   *laqu* *boqo* *neri.*
         eat   ADD   ASRT   NPAST.HERE
         '(Like you,) the two of us are about to eat too.'

It is also possible for the event clause to have its own subject that is not coreferential with the noun phrase preceding *karangi-a*. In (15-20) *karangi-a* is preceded by the first person singular pronoun, but in the embedded clause the subject is *gwau-ku* 'my head'. The pronoun that precedes *karangi-a* encodes the "possessor" of the referent of the subject of the event clause. This is a kind of possessor topicalization (section 38.3.4).

(15-20) *Nau* *karangi-a*   *gwau-ku*   *kai*   *falai*
         1SG   be.near.to-3.OBJ   head-1SG.PERS 3SG.FUT be.bald

         naqa.
         PRF
         'Me, my head is almost bald.' 'Me, my head will be bald soon.' 'I
         will be bald before long.'

In fact, it is possible for there to be a double topic before *karangi-a*, as in (15-23) further below. (See section 38.6 for double topicalization.)

Constructions with a topic phrase before *karangi-a* are common, but also common are constructions where *karangi-a* has no subject marker and is not preceded by a topic phrase either:

(15-21) *Karangi-a*   *keki*   *lae*   *na=mai.*
         be.near.to-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT go   PRF=VENT
         'They are about to come.'

(15-22)   *Karangi-a   kai   sui   naqa.*
    be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   be.finished   PRF
    'It's almost finished.' (Speaking about wall panels being made.)

 See also (15-16) further above.

Karangi-a may be negated to express the fact that the relevant state of affairs will not obtain in the near future: it is expected, predicted that the state of affairs will obtain, but not in the near future. This is shown in B's speech in (15-23). In A's sentence, there are two topic noun phrases preceding *karangi-a*, 'you (pl.)' and 'your work'.

(15-23)   A: *Kamuluqa,   raa   kamuluqa   ki   karangi-a*
     2PL   work   2PL   PL   be.near.to-3.OBJ

     kai   sui   naqa?
     3SG.FUT   be.finished   PRF

    B: *Qe   aqi.   Raa   kamiliqa   ki*
     3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   work   1PL(EXCL)   PL

     qe   aqi   si   karangi-a   quu
     3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.near.to-3.OBJ   ANTCONT

     kai   sui.
     3SG.FUT   be.finished
    A: 'You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?'
    B: 'No. Our work is not yet close to being finished.'

 Being a verb, near-future marking *karangi-a* can take particles that occur in the verb complex. In B's response in (15-23) it is accompanied by the anterior-continuing postverbal particle *quu*. See also (15-25) further below.

 Near-future marking *karangi-a* can be reduplicated to express the fact that the temporal gap between the time of reference and the time of the future state of affairs is relatively short, although such reduplication is not very common:

(15-24)   *Butete   naqi   kaa-karangi-a   kai*
    sweet.potato   this   RDP-be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT

    qako   bo=naqa.
    be.cooked   ASRT=PRF
    'These sweet potatoes are very nearly done.' 'These sweet potatoes will be done very soon.'

Finally, it is possible for a clause with near-future marking *karangi-a* to form an utterance by itself, without a complement, event clause, and without a subject marker. In (15-25) *karangi-a* occurs with the perfect marker:

(15-25) A: *Qo   sui   naqa?*
             2SG.NFUT   be.finished   PRF

         B: *Karangi-a   naqa.*
             be.near.to-3.OBJ   PRF
         A: 'Are you finished (with what you are doing)?'
         B: 'Almost now.' 'Soon now.'

To summarize the evidence: *Karangi-a* has some verbal properties. First, like Class 1 transitive verbs, it takes the object-indexing suffix *-a* (but so do the verb-like prepositions). Second, it can have its own subject marker, which may but need not be referential. When it is referential, there may be, in addition, a subject noun phrase. Third, it is negated the way verbs are. And fourth, it may be accompanied by particles that are part of the verb complex. On the other hand, unlike verbs, *karangi-a* typically has no subject marker and no subject argument. While near-future marking *karangi-a* has a preponderance of verbal properties, it is not a typical verb.

There are other forms used to signal near future, but all of them are much less common than transitive *karangi-a*. First, *karangi-a* has a rare phonological variant *karafi-a*, which too functions as a Class 1 transitive verb with the spatial meaning 'be near/close to'. There is also a rarely used intransitive verb *karafi* 'be near/close'. Example (15-26) shows *karafi-a* in its function of marking near future, as a variant of *karangi-a*:

(15-26) *{Karangi-a   /   karafi-a}   kai   dani*
          be.near.to-3.OBJ   /   be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   be.daytime

         naqa.
         PRF
         'It is almost daytime/daylight.' 'It will be daylight soon.'

Instead of the transitive forms *karangi-a* and *karafi-a*, near future can also be expressed by the intransitive verbs *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi*, which are historically depatientive forms derived from the transitive forms *karangi* and *karafi*, respectively. (Depatientive verbs are discussed in section 21.4.) However, since in the present-day language they do not function depatientively, they are treated here as unanalyzed wholes. Both *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* are also used as intransitive verbs with the spatial meaning 'be near/close' with the

implication of having become near, having approached. (The intransitive verbs *karangi* and *karafi* have no such necessary implication.)

Since *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* are intransitive verbs, the event clauses are not their objects. The event clause is joined to the *kwaikarangi* or the *kwaikarafi* clause paratactically. The *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* clause comes first. Neither *kwaikarangi* nor *kwaikarafi* is common as a near-future marker, with the latter one possible but not really used. *Kwaikarangi* (and, presumably, *kwaikarafi* as well) seems more likely to occur with its own subject marker than is the case with *karangi-a* (and *karafi-a*), but because of the paucity of examples of the former, it is difficult to be certain about this. When there is a subject marker in the *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* clause, it is third-person singular, regardless of the subject of the event clause. That is, the subject marker does not index a participant. *Kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi* may be preceded by a noun phrase that is a topic, not their subject. In (15-27) the topic is first person singular. When there is a topic phrase before *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi*, the third person singular subject marker is normally present:

(15-27) *Nau qe   {kwaikarangi / kwaikarafi} kwai*
         1SG 3SG.NFUT be.near   / be.near   1SG.FUT

        mae   naqa
        die/be.dead PRF.
        'I will die soon.' 'I am near death.' (Lit.: 'I, it is near, I will die/will be dead.')

When there is no topic phrase before *kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi*, there is usually no subject marker either:

(15-28) *(Qe)   kwaikarangi wane kai   oli   naqa.*
         3SG.NFUT be.near   man   3SG.FUT return PRF
         'The man will return soon.'

Kwaikarangi/kwaikarafi can be negated the way verbs are to signal that the relevant state of affairs will not obtain in the near future (but at some more distant future time). In (15-29) *kwaikarangi* occurs in B's response.

(15-29) A: *Kamuluqa, raa   kamuluqa ki karangi-a*
         2PL   work 2PL   PL be.near.to-3.OBJ

        kai   sui   naqa?
        3SG.FUT be.finished PRF

B: *Qe   aqi.   Raa   kamiliqa   ki*
   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   work   1PL(EXCL)   PL

   qe   aqi   si   kwaikarangi   quu
   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3SG.NEG   be.near   ANTCONT

   kai   sui.
   3SG.FUT   be.finished
A: 'You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?'
B: 'No. Our work is not yet close to being finished.'

In (15-29) *kwaikarangi* cooccurs with the anterior-continuing postverbal particle *quu*. Compare the synonymous example (15-23) with *karangi-a* in B's response.

Finally, as is the case with *karangi-a* (and *karafi-a*), a clause with *kwai-karangi* (or with *kwaikarafi*) may form an utterance, without an event clause. This is so in (15-30), where *kwaikarangi* occurs with the perfect-marker:

(15-30)   A: *Qo   sui   naqa?*
             2SG.NFUT   be.finished PRF

          B: *Kwaikarangi   naqa.*
             be.near   PRF
          A: 'Are you finished (with what you are doing)?'
          B: 'Almost now.' 'Soon now.'

Compare the synonymous sentence with *karangi-a* in (15-25) above.

15.1.2.3.3.   *Counterfactual near future in the past: avertive*

The two transitive verbs that function to signal open near future, *karangi-a* and *karafi-a*, can also serve to express the fact that a state of affairs nearly obtained in the past but did not. The event clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* (sections 18.2 and 18.3), which precedes the subject marker. If the event clase is grammatically positive, the subject marker is future-tense. Negative event clauses have a negative subject marker; see (15-33) further below. Apart from the presence of the irrealis marker in the event clause, all the other grammatical properties of the constructions are the same as those expressing open near future.

As discussed in section 5.1.7 there is a preverbal avertive particle *ota*, which too signals that a state of affairs nearly obtained in the past but in the end did

not. However, this particle is used only rarely. Much more commonly it is the near future construction with *karangi-a* (or *karafi-a*) in the higher clause and the irrealis marker in the event clause that expresses the avertive meaning. As with the open near future construction, the form *karafi-a* is used only rarely to express the avertive meaning, *karangi-a* being the usual form. The intransitive verbs *kwaikarangi* and *kwaikarafi* do not serve to express the avertive meaning.

A few examples of sentences with the avertive meaning are given below.

(15-31)   *Manga   na   ku   kasi-a   qaba-ku,   qoo,*
           time   REL   1SG.NFUT   cut-3.OBJ   arm-1SG.PERS   oh

          qabu ka   tafa   qasia   naqa.   Laa-lae,
          blood 3SG.SEQ   emerge   INTS   INTS   RDP-go

          karangi-a   sa   kwai   nofi.
          be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT   die
          'When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out. On and on (it kept gushing out), and/until I nearly died.'

(15-32)   *... ka   naqo-fi kamiliqa   mai, laa-lae mai,*
               3SG.SEQ face-TR 1PL(EXCL)   VENT RDP-go   VENT

          karangi-a   sa   kai   tara qi
          be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   3SG.FUT   reach LOC

          sa-miliqa.
          GOAL-1PL(EXCL).PERS
          '... it [a cyclone] turned towards us (lit.: faced us), it kept coming and nearly reached us.'

The event clause may be negative, in which case its subject marker is negative. What is counterfactual in (15-33) is the person's not going; that is, he nearly did not go.

(15-33)   A: *Qo   lae   Honiara qana wiki baa?*
              2SG.NFUT   go   Honiara GENP week that

          B: *Nau ku   lae   boqo, sui   nau   ku*
              1SG 1SG.NFUT   go   ASRT but   1SG   1SG.NFUT

> *mataqi, karangi-a   sa   kwasi   lae.*
> be.sick   be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR 1SG.NEG go
> A: 'Did you go to Honiara last week?'
> B: 'I *did* (go), but I was sick and almost did not go.'

Karangi-a may be reduplicated to express the fact that the state of affairs very nearly obtained. However, such reduplication is not common.

(15-34)   *Nau   kaa-karangi-a   sa   kwai   qaru bo=naqa*
           1SG   RDP-be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT fall   ASRT=PRF

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

The next example shows the rare form *karafi-a* in free variation with *karangi-a*:

(15-35)   *{Karangi-a   /   karafi-a}   sa   kwai   qaru.*
           be.near.to-3.OBJ /   be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT fall
           'I nearly fell down.'

And (15-36a) and (15-36b) show the synonymy of the *karangi* construction and the avertive particle *ota*, the former being the usual way of expressing the avertive meaning.

(15-36)   a.   *Nau   ku   mataqi, karangi-a   sa*
               1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR

               kwai   mae.
               1SG.FUT   die
               'I was sick and nearly died.'

           b.   *Nau   ku   mataqi, sa   kwai   ota   mae.*
               1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick IRR   1SG.FUT AVRT die
               'I was sick and nearly died.'

15.1.3. The nonfuture tense

The nonfuture-tense subject markers too have several functions. First, they serve to encode states that obtain at the time of reference or obtained before the

time of reference, and dynamic situations that took place before the time of reference. The first three examples express states. In the first two, the states hold at the time of reference, the time of the speech act and the time of another situation, respectively:

(15-37) *Qo*   *mataqi*   *nena?*
         2SG.NFUT   be.sick   NPAST.THERE
         'Are you sick?

In (15-38) the state of the fish smelling obtained at the time of the person's eating the fish:

(15-38) *Nau*   *ku*   *qani-a*   *iqa*   *e*   *makwa* ….
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   eat-3.OBJ   fish   3SG.NFUT   smell
         'I ate fish that smelled (and that made me feel no good).'

In the situation expressed in (15-39) the state held before the time of the speech act:

(15-39) *Nau*   *ku*   *mataqi,* *karangi-a*   *sa*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick   be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR

         kwai   *mae.*
         1SG.FUT   die
         'I was sick and nearly died.'

The next two examples encode dynamic situations that preceded the time of reference, the time of the speech act and the time of another past event, respectively:

(15-40) *Kera*   *uufi-a*   *agaa*   *qi*   *roqo.*
         3PL.NFUT   blow-3.OBJ   panpipes   LOC   yesterday
         'They played (the) panpipes yesterday.'

(15-41) *Nia*   *ka*   *sore-qa,*   *tha*   *Nori*   *ka*
         3SG   3SG.SEQ   say-DETR   PERSMKR   Nori   3SG.SEQ

         sore-qa,   *nia*   *e*   *ngali-a*   *qi*   *sa-na*
         say-DETR   3SG   3SG.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ   LOC   ADJC-3.PERS

> *teqe   wane   qi   Merika.*
> one   man   LOC   America
> 'He said, [i.e.,] Nori said, he had gotten (lit.: taken) it [an idea] from
> (lit.: at) a man from America.'

The preverbal immediate-past/immediate-future particles *biqi*, *mala*, *maka*,
and *makeqe* (section (5.1.2) in combination with a nonfuture subject marker
express immediate past:

(15-42)   *Nau   ku   biqi   fula   boqo.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   IMM   arrive   ASRT
        'I have just arrived.'

The nonfuture subject markers can also be used to express events that are in
progress at the time of reference, or habitual situations, but such situations are
also expressed by means of the imperfective subject markers (section 15.2.2).

(15-43)   *Taa   n=o   qani-a?*
        what   FOC=2SG.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
        'What are you eating?' (The addressee was eating at the moment.)

(15-44)   *Wane naqi   qe   kafara   qa=fa   thato ki*
        man   this   3SG.NFUT   make.copra GENP=CLF   day   PL

        sui   bana.
        EXHST   LIM
        'This man makes copra every day.'

The nonfuture subject markers also serve to express general states that cha-
tracterize entities:

(15-45)   *Wane   qaba-n=e   mauli.*
        man   arm-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.on.left.side
        'The man is left-handed.' (Lit.: 'The man, his arm is on the left
        side.')

And they also serve to encode gnomic situations, which Bybee *et al.* (1994:
126) characterize as states of affairs "that apply to generic subjects and basi-
cally hold for all time":

(15-46)   *Unuunu   foko-na   e*
        halfbeak.fish   mouth-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

taatare.
be.of.uneven.length
'Halfbeak fish have jaws that are not the same length.' (Lit.: 'Half-beak fish, their mouths are of uneven length.')

(15-47) *Qae-qe   ngasi   e   gwaagwari-qa.*
bottom.part-ASSOC   sugarcane   3SG.NFUT   be.sweet-PROP
'The bottom parts of sugar-cane plants are (particularly) sweet.'

The nonfuture subject markers are also used in certain irrealis contexts: the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1), under certain conditions in temporal adverbial clauses expressing 'time when' even when the time is future (section 35.2.2), and in imperatives (section 20.2.1).

15.1.4. Past-in-the-past

Toqabaqita has a grammatical strategy to signal explicitly the fact that a past situation took place before another past situation, or that a situation, had it taken place, would have obtained before another past situation. This past-in-the-past tense is expressed by verb reduplication. The range of uses of reduplication to express past-in-the-past is relatively restricted. It is not used in complement clauses that express a situation that preceded the situation expressed in the higher clause; see example (15-41) further above. And it is not used when two clauses are in a coordinating or adverbial subordinating relationship to each other, even if the second clause expresses a past situation that preceded another past situation and was completed by the time of the latter.

(15-48) *Mili   fula   mena   kau, kera*
1PL(EXCL).NFUT   arrive   CONC   AND   3PL.NFUT

lae   naqa.
go   PRF
'When we arrived there, they had already (and unexpectedly) gone.'
'They had gone by the time we arrived there.' (That is, the speaker and his group arrived too late.) (Lit.: 'Even though we arrived there, they had already gone.')

The function of the past-in-the-past reduplication is to signal "reversed result". The term "reversed result" comes from Squartini (1999: 57): "[t]he usage of the Pluperfect [here: past-in-the-past; F.L.] in these cases stresses that the result of a past action is no longer valid ....." In Toqabaqita, the past-in-the-past

reversed result construction signals that the result of a past situation is not valid at reference time, the implication being that it ceased to be valid at some earlier time in the past, before other situations took place. In some cases, the result, outcome of an earlier past situation was undone by a later past situation. Such later past situations are often not expressed; but see (15-53) and (15-55) further below. In the state of affairs expressed in (15-49), the person had hung his personal basket at that place, went away, and when he returned, the basket was not there. And now he is reporting on that:

(15-49) *Waqi* *nau* *baa* *qe* *taa-taru* *ku=neqe.*
         basket   1SG   that   3SG.NFUT   RDP-hang   place=this
         'My basket had hung here.' (But when I got back, it was not here.)

In the overall situation expressed in (15-50) the speaker bought the radio at some time in the past; the radio ceased to work at a later time in the past, and is not working now:

(15-50) *Nau* *ku* *uusi-si-a* *teqe* *redio ka*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   buy-RDP-3.OBJ   one   radio   3SG.SEQ

         taqaa *naqa.*
         be.bad   PRF
         'I bought a radio (some time ago, then it broke), and now it's no good.'

It was not the case that the radio ceased to work just before the time of speaking.

Similarly in the overall situation expressed in the next example, where the speaker had had money in the past, spent it in the past, and now has none:

(15-51) *Seleni* *nau* *ku* *alu-lu-a* *ku*
         money   1SG   1SG.NFUT   have-RDP-3SG.OBJ   1SG.NFUT

         qaru-a *sui* *naqa.*
         spend-3SG.OBJ   EXHST   PRF
         'The money I used to have, I spent it all.'

In (15-52) the speaker is asking the other person where he had gone to and had come back from when he saw him the day before:

(15-52)   *Qo   laa-lae fe=i   roqo?*
        2SG.NFUT RDP-go where?=LOC yesterday
        'Where had you gone to [and come back from] yesterday [when I
        saw you]?'

Verb reduplication to express reversed result is also used in relative clauses: the situation expressed in the relative clause preceded one or more other past situations. In the state of affairs expressed in (15-53) the speaker discovered at some time before the time of speaking that the bananas he had brought earlier had disappeared, presumably because somebody had eaten them, and now is asking about it. The result of the speaker's having brought the bananas was undone later by somebody taking and eating them. Here the event that undid the earlier one of the bananas being brought is expressed: somebody's eating them.

(15-53)   *Tei   n=e   qani-a   baqu   baa   ki na*
        who? FOC=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ   banana that PL REL

        ku   ngaa-ngali-da   ma=i   roqo?
        1SG.NFUT   RDP-carry-3PL.OBJ   VENT=LOC yesterday
        'Who ate the bananas I (had) brought yesterday?'

For another example with a relative clause see (15-51).

The subject markers in clauses expressing past-in-the-past states of affairs are usually nonfuture, but may be sequential. (The sequential subject markers are commonly used to encode past states of affairs; see examples in section 16.1.) In other words, it is primarily the reduplication of the verb rather than the subject marker that signals past-in-the past. In (15-54) below, the second of the two verbs reduplicated for past-in-the-past has a sequential subject marker. The men who had gone to (secondary) school and had thought that that would give them an opportunity to travel overseas later, had never in fact succeeded in that, and they were envious of the speaker. (The fact that the men had not gone overseas is signalled by the verb *aqi* 'not be so' and also by the irrealis marker *sa* in the clause that is a complement of the verb 'think'; see section 18.3.)

(15-54)   *Tai   wane ki na   kera   **too-too**   i   laa*
        some.PL man PL REL 3PL.NFUT RDP-stay LOC   IN

        *skul,   keka   **maa-manta-toqo-na**   sa   keki*
        school   3PL.SEQ RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   3PL.FUT

baas	*qaut*	*keki*	*lae*	*mai*	*qana*	*ofasii*	*ma*
pass	out	3PL.FUT	go	VENT	GENP	overseas	and

ka	*aqi*	*ki, ma*	*keka*	*sore-qe*	*ba-da,*
3SG.SEQ	not.be.so	PL and	3PL.SEQ	say-DETR	LIM-3PL

"...."

'Some of the men who had been to (lit.: had stayed at) school and had thought they would graduate (lit.: pass out) and go (lit.: come) overseas but never had, they just said (all they did was say), ("You, you are lucky, you have seen that place that is so difficult to get into.").'

Reversed result may also apply the other way, from something which had not been the case at an earlier time in the past but became so at a later past time. In the situation expressed in (15-55) the reversed result is the speaker's catching (and seeing) a fish he had not seen in any of his previous fishing activities:

(15-55)	*Nau*	*ku*	*deedee,*	*kwa*	*dee-toqo-na*
	1SG	1SG.NFUT	fish	1SG.SEQ	catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ

teqe	*iqa*	*qeeqeta*	*qana,*	*iqa*	*kwasi*
one	fish	be.strange	INTS	fish	1SG.NEG

rii-riki-a.
RDP-see-3SG.OBJ

'I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had not seen (before).'

In (15-55) the event that led to the reversed result is specified: the person's catching the fish.

Speakers of Toqabaqita sometimes say that what here is analyzed as past-in-the-past indicates past time a long time back. Most likely the reason why reduplication is perceived as expressing remote past is that it expresses situations that are further back in the past than other past situations, expressed or implied. The relevance of reversed result rather than remoteness in the past is evident from the next example. In the situations that preceded those expressed in (15-56), the boy's parents had gone to the market to buy fish for their son. However, their son was killed while they were away, and when they came back with the fish, they could not find him. There are two relative clauses modifying the noun 'fish' in (15-56) and both expresss earlier past events. However, while the

second verb is reduplicated, the first one is not. It is the situation expressed in the second clause, with the reduplicated verb, that the notion of reversed result applies to. It applies to the parents' thinking of giving the fish to their son, because the son had disappeared, not to their bringing the fish. The irrealis marker *sa* with the verb 'give' signals that the intended past event of giving did not take place.

(15-56)   … *iqa   qe=ki   na   kero   ngali-a   mai*
           fish   that=PL   REL   3DU.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ   VENT

       na   kero   maa-manta-toqo-na   sa   keki
       REL   3DU.NFUT   RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   3DU.FUT

       fale-a   qana   wela qeri ka
       give-3SG.OBJ   GENP   child that   3SG.NFUT

       aqi   naqa.
       not.be.so   PRF
       '… the fish that they had brought (and) that they had thought they would give to their (lit. that) child but never did.'

Reduplication of verbs to express past-in-the past is sometimes, but not always, used in the protases of counterfactual conditional sentences. Counterfactual conditionals are used when an imagined, possible situation could have, should have, might have obtained in the past, in which case it would have been followed by another situation; but, in fact, it did not eventuate. In (15-57) the verb 'eat' occurs reduplicated in two clauses. In the first one, which is not a protasis, the verb expresses past-in-the-past with an implied reversed result: the addressee had not eaten and later got hungry. The next occurrence of the reduplicated verb 'eat' is in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional:

(15-57)   *Ura   taa   na   qosi   faa-fanga   quu   boqo*
           REAS   what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   RDP-eat   ANT   ASRT

       qi   quuqusungadia?   Ma=sa   qo   faa-fanga
       LOC   morning   or=IRR   2SG.NFUT   RDP-eat

       qa-muqa,   sa   qoko   thaofa
       SBEN-2SG.PERS   IRR   2SG.SEQ   be.hungry

qe=aqi.
3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
'Why hadn't you eaten in the morning? If you had eaten, you would
not have been hungry (later).'

15.2.   The aspects

15.2.1. Introduction

As with the tense categories, Toqabaqita aspects are expressed by a diversity of
morphosyntactic means. A meaning is considered here to be aspectual only if a
grammatical or at least partially grammaticalized element or construction is
used to express it. It is not considered aspectual if it is expressed strictly by
lexical means. The morphosyntactic means include one set of subject markers,
verb reduplication, and a bi-clausal structure with a certain verb in one of the
clauses. On formal grounds, the following aspects are distinguished here: im-
perfective, which subsumes progressive and habitual; continuative/iterative;
and frequentative. On the borderline between what is inside and what is outside
the aspectual category is the notion of completedness of event, expressed by the
postverbal particles *sui* and, less commonly, *danga*; see section 5.2.4.

15.2.2. The imperfective aspect

As the term "imperfective aspect" is used here, the imperfective category sub-
sumes the progressive aspect and the habitual aspect. Following Bybee *et al.*
(1994), the progressive aspect is characterized as expressing dynamic situations
that are "ongoing at reference time" (p. 126); and the habitual aspect as ex-
pressing situations that "are customarily repeated on different occasions" (p.
127), although not normally very frequently. (See also Comrie 1976 for the two
aspects.)
    In Toqabaqita, the imperfective aspect is expressed by means of the same set
of subject markers that also serve to express future tense (table 4.5 in section
4.8). The first two examples below illustrate the progressive aspect.

(15-58)   *Kali   doo   baa   kai   angi.*
          little.SG thing that 3SG.IPFV   cry
          'The little one [a baby] is crying.'

(15-59)   *Teqe wane ka   rake-qiri   manga   na   kwai*
          one   man   3SG.SEQ belly-be.angry time   REL   1SG.IPFV

uqunu   quna   qeri.
narrate   manner   that
'One man was/got angry when I was talking like that/when I was saying that.'

Verbs are reduplicated to express temporally extended situations, either ongoing states or activities, or iteratively occurring or iteratively performed events (section 35.3.2.3). Reduplicated verbs can occur with an imperfective subject marker to encode events in progress, specifically when an event has/had been in progress for some time and is/was still in progress at reference time:

(15-60)   *Doo,   kusi   taqaa   qena,   kai   tee-teo*
thing   cat   be.bad   that(2)   3SG.IPFV   RDP-lie

ba-n=i   fafo-na   nena,
LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC   top-3SG.PERS   NPAST.THERE

kai   laa-ladafi-a   nena.
3SG.IPFV   RDP-roll.around.on-3SG.OBJ   NPAST.THERE
'The thing, the no-good cat, has just been lying on top of it [timber] there, rolling around on top of it.'

(15-61)   *Ni   tei   ba=qoki   ngata-ngata bii-a?*
PROFORE   who?   that=2SG.IPFV   RDP-speak   COM-3SG.OBJ
'Who was that you were/had been talking with?'

In the next three examples the imperfective subject markers serve to encode habitual situations. When it is habitualness that is being expressed, the verb is often, but not necessarily, reduplicated. The verb is not reduplicated in the first example, but those in the next two are.

(15-62)   *Kamiliqa   miki   qaru-toqo-na   karoalo*
1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).IPFV   fall-TEST-3.OBJ   creeper.sp

qana   qafu-la-na   maamae.
GENP   wrap-NMLZ-3.PERS   sore
'We use (juice from the leaves of) the *karoalo* creeper to bandage sores.' (That is, juice from *karoalo* leaves is squeezed onto sores which are then bandaged.)

(15-63)   *Basi   na   maka nau   kai   baa-basi   futa*
bow   REL   father 1SG   3SG.IPFV   RDP-shoot   possum

> *qani-a*   *manga*   *na=i*   *dini*   *neq.*
> INS-3SG.OBJ time   REL=LOC   relatively.distant.past here
> 'Here is the bow my father used to shoot possums with in the old
> days.'

Events in progress and habitual situations are often expressed by means of
the imperfective subject markers, but not obligatorily. As mentioned in section
15.1.3, both can also be expressed by means of the nonfuture subject markers.
Here two more examples are given. In the situation expressed in (15-64), the
addressee was on his way down to the coast at the moment; note also the presence
of the situational demonstrative adverb *nena* used to express current (or
future) situations (section 13.7):

(15-64) *Qo*   *sifo*   *nena?*
         2SG.NFUT   descend NPAST.THERE
         'Are you going down [in the direction of the coast]?'

And in the next example the first nonfuture subject marker is employed to
express a habitual situation and the second one an ongoing situation:

(15-65) *Ma*   *si*   *manga*   *qeri*   *lio,*   *keka*   *riki-a*   *roo*
         and   PRTT time   that   look   3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ   two

         subi   *na*   *toq=qe=ki*   ***kera***   *fii-firu*
         k.o.war.club REL   people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-fight

         qani-a   *n=**e***   *teo*   *qi*   *laa*   *fuli*
         INS-3SG.OBJ   REL=3SG.NFUT lie   LOC   IN   house.site

         biqu   *qeri.*
         house   that
         'And at that time (they) looked (and) saw two *subi* clubs that those
         people [their ancestors] used to fight with (i.e. that they used as
         weapons) (and) that were lying (there) at the (old) house site.'

The verb *teo* 'lie', which has a nonfuture subject marker in (15-65), is a
nonstative verb, and as such can occur with an imperfective subject marker:

(15-66) *Kafa qoe baa kai*   *teo*   *ba-na*   *qi*
         comb 2SG that 3SG.IPFV lie   LIM-3SG.PERS LOC

       kula   qena.
       place   that(2)
       'Your comb is lying just there, near you.'

See also (15-67) below.

The distinction between the nonfuture and the future/imperfective categories is neutralized in negation, where there is only one set of subject markers (table 4.5 in section 4.8). There is no explicit coding of the imperfective aspect in negative clauses. In (15-67) the main clause contains the second person singular negative subject marker in the main clause and the third person singular imperfective subject marker in the relative clause. In both cases it is habitual situations that are expressed. (For the use of prepositional phrases with the inessive preposition *laa* in the direct-object position see section 10.2.3).

(15-67)   *Qe*   *aqi*   *qosi*   *riki-a*   *laa* *thamataqia*
         3SG.NFUT NEGV   2SG.NEG see-3.OBJ IN   bed

          nia,   kula   na   kai   *teo*   *i*   *ei.*
          3SG   place REL   3SG.IPFV   lie/sleep LOC   LOCPRO
          '(In the old days) you would not see (you were not allowed to see) her bed [the bed of another man's wife], the place where she (habitually) lay/slept [i.e. the place that was her sleeping place].'

15.2.3. The continuative/iterative aspect

Bybee *et al.* (1994: 127) define the continuative aspect as specifying "that a dynamic situation is ongoing — and additionally ... that the agent of the action is deliberately keeping the action going". Here, a somewhat looser interpretation of the term "continuative" has been adopted: a situation is characterized as having a relatively long temporal extension within a relevant time frame, but there is no requirement that there be a deliberately acting agent. And Bybee *et al.* (1994: 127) define the iterative aspect as specifying that an event "is repeated on a particular occasion". Here the term "iterative" is intended to signify multiple iteration. While there is no absolute measure of what constitutes multiple iteration, if an event is repeated only once on a given occasion, this does not count as iteration and the grammatical means discussed below are not employed. Although the continuative and the iterative are, in principle, two different aspects, in Toqabaqita they are not formally distinguished: the same formal means are used regardless of whether a situation is a continuing, extended one or an iterated/iterating one. Nevertheless, the glosses CONT(inuative) and ITER(ative) are used as appropriate.

To express the continuative/iterative aspect, the verb is reduplicated. However, if a verb already contains reduplication due to a derivational process, it does not undergo further reduplication to express the continuative/iterative aspect. (For example, some intransitive verbs are formed from transitive verbs by reduplication; see section 4.2.2.2.) Consequently, there is no overt marking of the continuative/iterative aspect with such verbs.

The continuative–iterative distinction has to do with the type of state of affairs: continuativity applies to non-punctual situations, while iterativity applies to punctual events. Below are given a few examples of the continuative/iterative aspect.

Continuative:

(15-68)   *Nau   ku   ul-ulafu   kwa   feda   naqa.*
              1SG   1SG.NFUT   RDP-work.hard 1SG.SEQ be.tired   PRF
              'I worked and worked hard, and now I am tired.'

(15-69)   *Soldia   ka   roo-rofe   ka   aqi*
              policeman   3SG.SEQ RDP-search   3SG.SEQ NEGV

              kesi   rik=kera   qi   kula qeri.
              3PL.NEG see=3PL   LOC   place that
              'The police unit kept on searching (but) did not see them at that place.'

Iterative:

(15-70)   *Kuukururua   e   bina-bina.*
              lightning   3SG.NFUT   RDP-flash
              'There were multiple flashes of lightning (in rapid sequence).'

(15-71)   *... ma   kera   kwaa-kwaqe-a qaburu baa.*
               and   3PL.NFUT   RDP-hit-3.OBJ ogre   that
              '[Two children came close,] and they kept hitting the ogre.'

The time frame during which an event has been iterated or during which it has continued may be relatively long. The iteration of an event need not happen in rapid sequence. In the situation described in (15-72) the acts of stealing need not have occurred immediately one after another.

(15-72)   *Qasai   nau   lakoo   ki,   kere   bii-bili-a,*
              mango   1SG   that(3)   PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-steal-3SG.OBJ

> | *ta* | *qasai* | *si* | *aqi.* |
> |------|---------|------|--------|
> | some | mango | 3SG.NEG | not.exist |
>
> 'Those mangoes of mine (on a tree), they have been stealing them (and) there are no mangoes (left).'

In the overall situation expressed in the next example, the period of rain may have been quite long (as during the rainy season). This example also shows that an event may be characterized as continuing over time without there being a deliberately acting agent:

(15-73) | *Dani* | *e* | *qaa-qaru* | *si* | *thato* | *naqa.* |
|--------|-----|-----------|------|---------|---------|
| rain | 3SG.NFUT | RDP-fall | 3SG.NEG | be.sunny | PRF |

'It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny).'

There is a construction that serves to express extended states of affairs — continuing or iterating — that culminate, result in a new state of affairs or that come to an end because of another state of affairs; see section 35.3.2.3. That construction uses the reduplicated verb 'go'. The verb encoding the extended situation may also be reduplicated.

Verbs are often reduplicated for the continuative/iterative aspect in negative imperatives (section 20.3.1) when the speaker is telling, ordering the adressee to stop doing what they have been doing:

(15-74) | *Qosi* | *kwaa-kwaqe-a* | *wela* | *qena.* |
|--------|----------------|--------|--------|
| 2SG.NEG | RDP-beat-3.OBJ | child | that(2) |

'Stop beating the child.'

(15-75) | *Qosi* | *faa-faqa-ulafu-a* | *kini* | *qeri.* |
|--------|---------------------|--------|--------|
| 2SG.NEG | RDP-CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ | woman | that |

'Stop making the woman work (so) hard.'

To emphasize the temporal extent of a continuing or iterating event, additional strategies are used. They appear to be restricted to those consonant-initial verbs with which it is the first syllable that is reduplicated and the vowel is doubled (section 2.4). The additional vowel in such reduplicants is longer than the first vowel (section 2.1.3), but to emphasize continuativity or iterativity, the vowel length may be exaggerated, which is indicated by means of ":".

(15-76)   *Waa:-waela.*
RDP-laugh
'[He] laughed and laughed and laughed.'

Another strategy is multiple reduplication, in which case the second vowels in each reduplicant may also be lengthened beyond the usual extent of lengthening. In both examples below, the verbs are triply reduplicated, and the second vowels in the reduplicant are considerably lengthened. The normal reduplications of the verbs are *qii-qisu* and *taa-taqe*, respectively.

(15-77) *Ma   qaburu   baa   qe   qii:-qii:-qii:-qisu-a*
        and   ogre   that   3SG.NFUT RDP-RDP-RDP-shake-3.OBJ

        gwau-na   quna   qeri   ma   ka   aqi
        head-3SG.PERS   manner   that   and   3SG.SEQ   not.be.so

        naqa,   ifu-n=e   katu.
        INTS   hair-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.hindered.from.movement
        'And the ogre kept shaking his head like that [to free himself], but (lit.: and) no way; his hair held fast.' (The ogre's hair was tied down.)

(15-78) *Ma   keko   taqe   bo=naqa,   taa:-taa:-taa:-taqe,*
        and   3DU.SEQ ascend   ASRT=INTS RDP-RDP-RDP-ascend

        keka   fula   qi   laa   biqu ....
        3PL.SEQ arrive LOC   IN   house
        'And they went up [a mountain], went up and up and up and up, and arrived at the house ....'

With the verb *lae* 'go', 'walk' lengthening of the second vowel in the reduplicant may also take place, but there is another favourite strategy. It involves lengthening of the *l* of the base, indicated by ":", instead of, or in addition to, lengthening of the vowel in the reduplicant(s) (see also section 35.3.2.3):

(15-79) *Kero   lae   laqu   boqo, kero   laa:-lae,*
        3DU.NFUT walk   ADD   ASRT 3DU.NFUT   RDP-walk

        kero   fula   laqu boqo qa=ta   kula, ...
        3DU.NFUT   arrive ADD   ASRT GENP=some place
        'They walked again, they walked on and on (and) arrived at another place ....'

(15-80) *Kero   laa-l:ae,   kero   fula   qi   kula qeri ....*
        3DU.NFUT RDP-walk   3DU.NFUT   arrive LOC   place that
        'They kept walking, on and on, and arrived at that place ....'

15.2.4. The frequentative aspect

Following Bybee *et al.* (1994), the frequentative aspect can be characterized as signifying that a situation is characteristic of the relevant time frame and that it occurs frequently during that time frame. Note that the time frame need not be explicitly delimited in any way. In Toqabaqita, expression of the frequentative aspect requires a bi-clausal structure: the first clause expresses the relevant event, and the second clause signals its frequent occurrence. Although the structure is bi-clausal, the second clause is not a fully-fledged clause because it exhibits some grammatical restrictions.

   The clause that signals frequent occurrence of the situation expressed in the event clause is a "mini-clause". Normally it contains the verb *too* 'stay, remain', or, rarely, the verb *lado* 'be joined end to end'. *Too* or *lado* may be reduplicated, although this is not very common. The verb always takes the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*, regardless of the subject marker in the event clause, and is followed by the limiter *ba-* (section 5.2.11), which always carries the third person singular personal suffix. No other elements occur in that clause. The basic structure of the bi-clausal construction is given in (15-81):

(15-81)   [event.clause] [*ka {too/lado} ba-na*].

   The subject marker in the event clause is not imperfective.
   Before the grammatical properties of the clauses expressing the frequentative aspect are considered, here are a few examples. The first one illustrates free variation between the verbs *too* 'stay, remain' and *lado* 'be joined end to end', and the second one contains reduplicated *too*:

(15-82)   *Qi   laa   roo   madami qe=ki,   dani   qe   qaru*
           LOC   IN   two   month   this=PL   rain   3SG.NFUT   fall

           qasia naqa   ka   {too   /   lado}   ba-na.
           INTS   INTS   3SG.SEQ stay   /   be.joined   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'During these (last) two months, it has rained hard very often.'

(15-83)   *Wane naqi bia   thaari   naqi kero   qonionga*
           man   this   and   girl   this   3DU.NFUT   tease

           uri   keeroqa ka   too-too   ba-na.
           ALL   3DU   3SG.SEQ RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'This boy (lit.: man) and this girl are always teasing each other.'

Because the verb *lado* is quite rare in expressions of the frequentative aspect, it will be disregarded in the subsequent discussion. Reduplication of *too* serves to underscore the high frequency of occurrence of the relevant situation, and examples both of simple and of reduplicated *too* are given in what follows.

The mini-clause that expresses the frequentative aspect exhibits a number of grammatical restrictions. First, as mentioned above, the subject marker must be third person singular sequential *ka*, regardless of the subject marker of the event clause. In (15-83) above, the subject marker of the event clause is third person dual nonfuture *kero*, but the frequentative-aspect clause contains *ka*. In the next example, the event clause has the first person singular nonfuture subject marker *ku*:

(15-84) *Nau   ku   mataqi   ka   too   ba-na.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick   3SG.SEQ stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
         'I am often sick.' 'I am always sick.'

That is, the third person sequential subject marker in the frequentative-aspect clause indexes the proposition expressed in the event clause; for example, for (15-84) literally 'I am sick (and) it just stays.'.

The frequentative clause *must* contain the subject marker *ka*:

(15-85) **Nau ku   mataqi   too   ba-na.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.sick   stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
         ('I am often sick.' 'I am always sick.')

This shows that *too* can only be a verb and not a postverbal particle associated with the preceding verb.

The presence of the third person singular subject marker in the frequentative-aspect mini-clause is evidence that *too* and the preceding verb do not form a serializing [verb verb] compound.

Second, the frequentative-aspect mini-clause normally falls under one intonation contour with the event clause. And finally, it is possible for a frequentative-aspect clause to be followed by material that semantically belongs to the event clause. Such material is postposed to after the frequentative-aspect mini-clause, although only adjuncts can be so postposed. In the next two pairs of examples, the (a) sentences have the adjuncts in the event clauses, while in the (b) sentences the adjuncts have been placed after the mini- clauses.

(15-86) a.   *Toq=qe=ki   kera   bili-a   fanga*
              people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ food

> *fasi kamiliqa ka too ba-na.*
> ABL 1PL(EXCL) 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
> 'Those people keep stealing food from us.' 'Those people are always stealing food from us.'

b. *Toq=qe=ki kera bili-a fanga*
 people=that=PL 3PL.NFUT steal-3.OBJ food

 ka too ba-na fasi kamiliqa.
 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS ABL 1PL(EXCL)
 'Those people keep stealing food from us.' 'Those people are always stealing food from us.'

In the next pair of sentences, the extended-state-of-afffairs marker *laa-lae* (section 35.3.2.3) and reduplication of the verb in the frequentative-aspect mini-clause jointly emphasize the long extent of the time in which the events have been frequently taking place:

(15-87) a. *Mili fale fanga qi fa-da*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food LOC REC-3PL.PERS

 ka too-too ba-na, laa-lae, mika
 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

 feda naqa.
 be.tired PRF
 'We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired (of it) now.'

b. *Mili fale fanga ka too-too ba-na*
 1PL(EXCL).NFUT give food 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay LIM-3SG.PERS

 qi fa-da, laa-lae, mika feda naqa.
 LOC REC-3PL.PERS RDP-go 1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.tired PRF
 'We are always giving them food, again and again, and we are tired (of it) now.'

Only adjuncts can be postposed in this way; other elements, such as direct objects cannot. Sentence (15-88a), with the direct object in the event clause, is fine, but (15-88b), with the direct object postposed, is ungrammatical:

(15-88) a. *Teqe wane qe   bili-a   niu*
one   man   3SG.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ   coconut

nau   ki ka   too-too   ba-na.
1SG   PL 3SG.SEQ RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
'A (certain) man keeps stealing my coconuts.'

b. **Teqe   wane   qe   bili-a   ka*
one   man   3SG.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

too-too   ba-na   niu   nau ki.
RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS   coconut 1SG PL
('A [certain] man keeps stealing my coconuts.')

While the frequentative-aspect construction is normally used to express frequent occurrence of a situation, it may also be used about situations that are literally always taking place, or are meant to be always taking place. (One could perhaps say they are so frequent that there is no time when they are not taking place.) The following sentence is about the electricity generator in Honiara, which is always running (barring breakdowns):

(15-89) *Enjin   qe   raa ka   too   ba-na.*
engine   3SG.NFUT   work 3SG.SEQ stay LIM-3SG.PERS
'The engine is always working/running.' 'The engine works/runs non-stop.'

15.3.   The perfect

The perfect is expressed by means of the postverbal particle *naqa* or its reduced, combining form *na=* (section 5.2.12). *Naqa* and *na=* are also used with a perfect-marking function in noun phrases. This is discussed in section 7.8. (See those two sections for the use of the combining form *na=*.) Here the focus is on the perfect marker in relation to propositions, rather than to participants. (*Naqa* also functions as an intensifier, both in verb phrases and in noun phrases.)

The core function of the Toqabaqita perfect is to signal a new state of affairs at the time of reference. The time of reference may be the time of the speech act or some other time. Several functions of the perfect may be further distinguished, but, with one exception, they all have to do with the notion of a new state of affairs.

In its core function, the perfect signals the fact that a state of affairs obtains at the time of reference that did not obtain before the time of reference. The notion of a new state of affairs is related to what is sometimes referred to as the "perfect of result", which Comrie (1976: 56) characterizes thus: "a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation". This definition does apply to Toqabaqita in some cases, but not to all. In some cases, the clause in which the perfect marker occurs does encode an earlier event which is still relevant, through its consequences, at reference time.

(15-90)   *Era   neqe qe   mae naqa fasi   nau.*
           fire   this 3SG.NFUT   die   PRF   ABL   1SG
           'The fire has died on me.' (The fire is dead now.)

(15-91)   *Araqi-a   e   fula-toqo-ku   naqa.*
           be.old.man-DVN   3SG.NFUT   arrive-TEST-1SG.OBJ   PRF
           'Old age has caught up with me.' (A man speaking.)

The time of reference may be earlier or later than the time of speaking:

(15-92)   *Ma   kera   lio,   kera   riki-a   biqu qeri*
           and   3PL.NFUT   look   3PL.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   house that

           mena   qe   fura naqa, ….
           FADD   3SG.NFUT   rot   PRF
           'And they looked and saw that the house too had rotted, ….'

(15-93)   *Iu,   manga na   ku   mae sui   naqa,*
           OK   time   REL   1SG.NFUT   die   COMPL   PRF

           kamaroqa   moka   qolo-toqo   suli   nau ….
           2DU   2DU.SEQ   arrange-TEST   PROL   1SG
           [A dying man speaking.] 'OK, when I have died, you will measure me (lit.: measure along me) [so that the addressees could dig a grave of the right size] ….'

The perfect marker frequently accompanies the completive marker *sui* (section 5.2.4) to signal that a state of affairs has reached completion by the time of reference. See (15-93) above and (15-94) below:

(15-94)   *Nau   ku   fula   ka=i   biqu   kera,*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive AND=LOC house   3PL

> *kera   fanga   sui   naqa.*
> 3PL.NFUT   eat   COMPL   PRF
> 'I arrived at their house, (and) they had already finished eating.'
> 'When I arrived at their house, they had already finished eating.'

The perfect marker is incompatible with the immediate-past/immediate-future preverbal particles (section 5.1.2), when it is immediate past that is being expressed:

(15-95)   *Kera   biqi   lae   na=kau.*
          3PL.NFUT   IMM   go   PRF=AND
          ('They have just left.)

However, those particles and the perfect marker can combine when it is immediate future that is being expressed; see (15-119) further below.

The new state of affairs need not be a real one. The state of affairs in (15-96) is an imagined one, and it had not, in fact, taken place:

(15-96)   *Nau   ku   manta-i-a   s=o   lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TR-3.OBJ IRR=2SG.NFUT go   PRF
          'I thought you had gone/left.'

In the situation expressed in (15-97) the new state of affairs will obtain in the future:

(15-97)   *Nau   kwai   oli   naqa qana naba   ten.*
          1SG   1SG.FUT return   PRF GENP number ten
          'I will go back on the tenth.' 'I will have gone back on the tenth.'

The Toqabaqita perfect may function as "experiential perfect" (see, e.g., Anderson 1982). This too can be seen as signalling a new state of affairs: the relevant entity has had a certain kind of experience by the time of reference.

(15-98)   *Qo   lae-toqo-na   qerofulae   qi   naqo?*
          2SG.NFUT   go-TEST-3.OBJ airplane   LOC   earlier.time
          'Have you gone on an airplane before?'

The sentence in (15-99) expresses the fact that the speaker has had the experience, twice in fact, of visiting Honiara.

(15-99)   *Nau   ku   fula   naqa qi   Honiara roo   si*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF LOC Honiara two   PRTT

> *manga   boqo.*
> time   ASRT
> 'I have been to Honiara twice.' (Lit. 'I have arrived in Honiara two times.')

In another function, the perfect marker is used to express not an earlier event that has led to a new state of affairs, but the new state of affairs itself. The implication is that there has been a change: the state of affairs that exists now did not exist before, in a relevant time frame.

While it gets dark every day, what is relevant in (15-100) is that late evening/night had arrived on that day:

(15-100) *Fanua   e   rodo   naqa.*
          place   3SG.NFUT   be.dark PRF
          'It is dark now.' 'It has gotten dark.'

Similarly, the speaker of (15-101) had been a "home girl" before she took up a job in town; what is relevant here is that she is a home girl again, not having the job any more. In (15-101) and also in (15-102), Solomon Islands Pijin noun phrases have been re-ranked as verbs (section 4.7).

(15-101) *Nau   ku   home   girl   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   home   girl   PRF
          'I am a home girl now (again).'

And (15-102) is a question about whether the time is such and such:

(15-102) *Qe   seven   klok   naqa?*
          3SG.NFUT   seven   o'clock   PRF
          'Is it seven o'clock now/already?'

The three examples above overtly express or inquire about only the new states of affairs, not the events that led to them. In the next two examples, the events that resulted in the new states of affairs are expressed in the clauses preceding those expressing the new, resulting states of affairs:

(15-103) *Nau   ku   ul-ulafu   kwa   feda   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   RDP-work.hard 1SG.SEQ be.tired PRF
          'I worked and worked hard, and now I am tired.'

In (15-104) the extended-state-of-affairs marker *laa-lae* signals that a prolonged event resulted, culminated in a new state of affairs (section 35.3.2.3): the mother's crying for a long time resulted in her body being/becoming numb:

(15-104)   *Thaina-da   qe   angi-ngi,   laa-lae,   ka*
           mother-3PL.PERS   3SG.NFUT   cry-RDP   RDP-go   3SG.SEQ

           tatai   naqa.
           be.numb   PRF
           'Their mother kept crying until her body (lit.: she) became numb.'

The perfect marker is one of the postverbal particles that can accompany verbs that modify nouns (section 6.10). In (15-105) it coocurs with the verb *baqita* 'be big'. The property of being big is a new one compared to an earlier time:

(15-105)   *... ta   fai,   ta   lima   wane biqi   baqita   bii*
               some four   some five   man   IMM   be.big   COM

           kamiliqa,   ta   fai   wane baqita   naqa.
           1PL(EXCL)   some four   man   be.big   PRF
           '[There came a time when just a few of us remained doing the work,] some four or five adolescent men (lit.: men just/recently big), (together) with us, some [i.e., approximately] four men already grown up.'

The perfect may also be used when one dynamic event is followed by another dynamic event, the later event being the result of, or a development from, the first one. In the situation expressed in (15-106) the man's taking the head was a development following the earlier event of his running to where the head was. The earlier event of his running to the place was an enabling one.

(15-106)   *Teqe wane ka   fita,   ka   lafu-a*
           one   man   3SG.SEQ   run   3SG.SEQ   take.away-3.OBJ

           naqa nga   gu-qi   doo   baa, ...
           PRF   IDENT   head-ASSOC   thing   that
           'One man ran and took the head (lit.: the head thing), ...'

In the situation expressed in the next example, the boy's not arriving leads to, results in, his parents' searching for him. There are two occurrences of the

perfect marker there, one of them in a negative clause. The function of the perfect marker in negative clauses will be discussed subsequently

(15-107) *Toqa   baa   ki kera   lii-lio,   tha   wela*
          people   that PL 3PL.NFUT   RDP-look   PERSMKR   child

          baa   si   fula   naqa, keka   rofe   naqa.
          that   3SG.NEG arrive   PRF   3PL.SEQ search   PRF
          'The people [the boy's parents] looked and looked (around), (but)
          the boy had not arrived, (and so) they searched (for him)/(and so)
          they began to search (for him).'

The fact that the core function of the perfect is to signal a new state of affairs is also evident from its use in negative clauses. There it signifies that the relevant state of affairs has not materialized by the time of reference and, importantly, that it is not expected any more to materialize in the relevant time frame. In the situation expressed in (15-107) above, the child had not arrived, and his parents ceased to expect him to arrive (by himself) and so began to search for him.

Similarly in the next example. Two possum hunters have been unsuccessful in their hunt. They have been listening for sounds of possums in the trees, but have not heard anything and so give up and decide to go back. They no longer expect to come across any possums. There are a number of instances of the perfect marker in the sentences. The one that is relevant here and the clause it occurs in are in bold.

(15-108) *Aqaa,   ma   kera   roo-rongo-a   laa*
          yes   and   3PL.NFUT   RDP-listen.to-3.OBJ   IN

          kade-qe   kula qeri na   kero   fula
          block-ASSOC   place that REL 3DU.NFUT   arrive

          i   ei,   ma   nia   ka   eno   naqa, ma
          LOC   LOCPRO   and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   be.quiet   PRF   and

          ka   aqi   kesi   rongo-a   naqa ta   doo.
          3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3DU.NEG   hear-3.OBJ PRF some thing

          Laa-lae   ka   "Qoo,   ma   thaqaro qe=ki   qe
          RDP-go   3SG.SEQ   oh   and   possum   this=PL   3SG.NFUT

> *qafetaqi*   *naqa neri.*   *Ma*   *koro*
> be.difficult   PRF   NPAST.HERE   and   DU(INCL)
>
> *koki*   *oli*   *na-karoqa."*
> DU(INCL).FUT   return   PRF-DU(INCL).PERS
> 'Yes, and they kept listening in (lit.: to) that area (of the bush) that
> they had arrived in, but (lit.: and) it had become quiet, and they did
> not hear a thing. After some time (of listening), (one of them said),
> "Oh, these possums are difficult (to hunt). We'll go back now.".'

In the last sentence of (15-108) the perfect marker, in its reduced form *na-*, occurs in the presence of a future subject marker. This is discussed further below.

In (15-109) the perfect marker in the negative clause signals not that the speaker does not expect it ever to be sunny again but that it won't be sunny in the foreseeable future:

(15-109)   *Dani*   *e*   *qaa-qaru*   *si*   *thato*   *naqa.*
            rain   3SG.NFUT   RDP-fall   3SG.NEG be.sunny   PRF
            'It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny) (And it is likely to be like that for some time yet.)

The perfect marker is ungrammatical in negative clauses when the state of affairs that has not materialized by the time of reference is still expected to (possibly) materialize. Compare the next two examples. The perfect marker in (15-110) signals that the man is no longer expected to come:

(15-110)   *Wane*   *baa*   *qe=aqi*   *si*   *fula*   *naqa.*
            man   that   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive   PRF
            'The man has not arrived.' (And he is no longer expected to arrive.)

On the other hand, in (15-111) the anterior-continuing particle *quu* (section 5.2.3) signals that by the time of speaking the man has not yet arrived, but it is still expected, hoped that he will. There the perfect marker is ungrammatical.

(15-111)   *Wane*   *baa*   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*   *fula*
            man   that   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive
            quu   *(*naqa).*
            ANTCONT   PRF
            'The man has not arrived yet.'

However, the anterior-continuing and the perfect markers can combine in positive clauses; see examples (15-123) – (15-125) further below.

There is one more subtype of a new state of affairs that is expressed by means of the perfect: situations that are on the verge of happening or are even beginning to happen at the time of reference. That is, *naqa* has a kind of prospective/immediate-future marking function: a new state of affairs is just about to obtain or is beginning to take place. In sentences other than commands and exhortations, the verb usually has a future-tense subject marker, but a nonfuture-tense subject marker is possible, provided the context makes it clear that the meaning is prospective.

(15-112)   *Qoo, kamiliqa   miki   mae   naqa! Kamiliqa*
        oh!   1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).FUT die   PRF   1PL(EXCL)

        miki   mae!
        1PL(EXCL).FUT die
        [Prisoners held in the lower deck of a ship and wanting to get out shouted.] 'Oh! We'are dying!/We are about to die! We will die!'

(15-113)   *Fanua   kai   rodo   naqa.*
        place   3SG.FUT   be.dark   PRF
        'It's getting dark.' 'It is going to be dark.'

(15-114)   *Nau   kwai   lae   naqa.*
        1SG   1SG.FUT go   PRF
        'I'll be going now.' (Said by a person getting up to go.)

In (15-115) below, which can express the same kind of situation as (15-114), it is the nonfuture subject marker that is used. Clearly, the person has not gone yet.

(15-115)   *Nau   ku   lae   naqa.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   go   PRF
        'I'm going now.'

In (15-116) also the subject marker is nonfuture. There the perfect marker and the precedentive particle *si* (section 5.2.2) jointly signal that the event is just about to happen:

(15-116)   *Kamareqa mere   lae   si*
        1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT go   PREC

na-mareqa.
PRF-1DU(EXCL).PERS
'We'll be going now.' 'We're going now.' (Said by one of two people on the point of departure.)

In (15-117) there are two occurrences of the perfect marker. The first one signals an earlier event, and the second one an event about to take place:

(15-117)   *Kera*   *kwaqi-a*   *naqa gwalu   baa,*
          3PL.NFUT   weigh.anchor-3.OBJ   PRF   anchor   that

          kera   *kwai-thathai   keki   lae   naqa.*
          3PL.NFUT   LIP-ready   3PL.FUT   go   PRF
          'They have raised the anchor; they are ready to go now (lit.: they are ready they will go now).'

The perfect occurs frequently in event clauses in the construction that expresses open near future (section 15.1.2.3.2):

(15-118)   *Dani karangi-a*   *kai*   *qaru naqa.*
          rain   be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT fall   PRF
          'It's about to rain.'

The perfect marker can combine with the immediate-past/immediate-future preverbal particles, but only when it is immediate future that is being expressed:

(15-119)   *Nau kwai   {mala/   maka /   makeqe} lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.FUT IMM / IMM / IMM   go   PRF
          'I am just about to go.'

The perfect is also used with the immediate-future/prospective function in imperatives to demand or to suggest that a given situation obtain immediately:

(15-120)   *Sifo!   Sifo   naqa!*
          descend descend PRF
          'Get down! Get down *now*! (Ordering a little boy to climb down from a tree.)

(15-121)   *Weleqi, qoko   mamalo naqa.*
          man!   2SG.SEQ rest   PRF
          'Man! Take a rest now.'

(15-122)   *Qoo, kulu   oli   na-kaluqa, ….*
   oh   PL(INCL).NFUT   return   PRF-PL(INCL).PERS
   'Oh, let's go back now, ….' 'Oh, let's be going back now, ….'

The anterior-continuing particle *quu* and the perfect marker cannot be combined in negative clauses; see (15-111) further above. However, *quu* and the perfect marker can cooccur in a clause when *quu* has the anterior function; that is, when it signals that the state of affairs obtained before some other situations or before some other time that preceded the time of reference. Sometimes, this implies that the temporal distance between the time of reference and that state of affairs is relatively great. *Naqa* expresses the fact that that state of affairs still holds.

(15-123)   *Qe   lae   quu   naqa qi   baare.*
   3SG.NFUT   go   ANT   PRF   LOC   earlier.today
   'He left some time ago today.' 'He left earlier today.' (And he has not come back.)

However, the perfect marker can also combine with *quu* in its anterior-continuing function and also with the ventive particle *mai*, one of whose functions is to express the fact that a state of affairs began before the time of reference and has continued until then. In such cases, the perfect marker does not signal that a new state of affairs obtains at the time of reference. Rather, it emphasizes, in combination with the other two particles, that a given state of affairs that began and obtained at an earlier time still obtains at the time of reference.

(15-124)   *Qe   raa   quu   na=mai.*
   3SG.NFUT   work   ANTCONT   PRF=VENT
   'It is still working.' 'It has been working until now.' (Speaking about a relatively old watch.)

(15-125)   *Si   manta-a   qeri   ku   manta-i-a*
   PRTT think-DVN   that 1SG.NFUT   think-TR-3SG.OBJ

   quu   na=mai.
   ANTCONT   PRF=VENT
   'This thought I have had (lit.: thought) for some time now.'

Chapter 16
The sequential subject markers

16.1. The central function

The sequential subject markers are listed in table 4.5 in section 4.8. These subject markers are used in a number of ways, but their central function is to signal a simple temporal sequence of onsets of situations: the onset of the situation of their own clause temporally follows the onset of the situation expressed in a preceding clause. This function is central in the sense that it is the most common one and also in the sense that most of the other uses of the sequential subject markers can be seen as fairly direct extensions from it. And the temporal sequence is "simple", because it is only sequentiality that is expressed. With one type of exception, the sequential subject markers are only used in grammatically positive clauses. Their use in negation is discussed in section 16.3. It is the central function that is considered first.

In the central function of the sequential subject markers, clauses that contain them have no time reference of their own; rather, they receive their time reference from another, earlier clause. There may be a number of clauses with sequential subject markers, one after another, such that the onset of the situation of one follows the onset of the situation expressed in the previous clause. But there is always an earlier clause that grounds the time of reference. For convenience, such a clause is referred to here as the "grounding clause", and a clause with a sequential subject marker as a "sequential clause". The time reference of a sequential clause is the same as that of the grounding clause. The grounding clause may have a non-future or a future tense subject marker, which may have any of its temporal or aspectual values (chapter 15), with the understandable exception of cases where the event of the grounding clause is in progress at reference time.

Because of the thematic continuity characteristic of much of discourse, the subject of the grounding clause and that/those of the following sequential clause(s) are frequently identical, but there is no grammatical prohibition against switch subjects with the sequential subject markers. A sequential clause and its grounding clause are often in the same sentence, but they need not be; for the latter type of case see (16-5) further below.

Below are given a few examples of various time-reference and aspectual values of the grounding and the sequential clauses. (See also section 35.3.2,

which deals with sequential relations between states of affairs.) In (16-1) and (16-2) the grounding clauses have past time reference. In (16-1) there is identity of subjects:

(16-1)   ... **kero**   fula   qi   fanu   keeroqa, **keko**
          3DU.NFUT   arrive   LOC   home.place 3DU   3DU.SEQ

          soqoni-a   *era,*   **keko**   *qaru-a*   *fau*   *i*
          light.fire-3.OBJ fire   3DU.SEQ drop-3.OBJ   stone   LOC

          ei,   **keko**   *bii-a*   *qa-da*
          LOCPRO   3DU.SEQ cook.in.stone.oven-3.OBJ   SBEN-3PL.PERS

          futa   *keeroqa* *ki.*
          possum   3DU   PL
          '... they arrived at their home (place), lit a fire, put (lit.: dropped) stones in it, and cooked their possums (in the stone oven).'

    In (16-2) there is multiple switching of subjects: third person singular in the grounding clause, then first person singular, then different third person singular, back to first person singular, and then yet another third person singular:

(16-2)   *Qaaqae-ku*   *e*   *ubu,* **kwa**   *lae*   *qi*
          leg-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   swell 1SG.SEQ go   LOC

          sa-na   *doketa,* **ka**   *fale-a*   *meresina*
          GOAL-3.PERS   doctor   3SG.SEQ give-3.OBJ   medicine

          qi   *a-ku,*   **kwa**   *kuqu-fi-a,*   **ka**
          LOC   REC-1SG.PERS 1SG.SEQ drink-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ

          faqa-gwari-a   *bo=naqa*   *qaaqae-ku.*
          CAUS-be.cool-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS leg-1SG.PERS
          'My leg was/got swollen, I went to the doctor, he gave me medicine, I drank it, (and) it relieved (the pain in) my leg.'

    In (16-3) and (16-4) the grounding clauses have future-time reference, although in the latter the subject marker is nonfuture:

(16-3)   *Nau* **kwai**   *teo*   *naqa,*   *qusungadi* *naqa*
          1SG   1SG.FUT lie.down   PRF   tomorrow   PRF

>*kwa*   *oli.*
>1SG.SEQ return
>'I am going to lie down now (to sleep); (when it is) *tomorrow* I will go back.'

(16-4) ***Moro***   *ngali-a*   *fanga*   *naqi ki, **moka***
>2DU.NFUT take-3.OBJ food   this   PL 2DU.SEQ

>*alu-a*   *qi   laa   rau.*
>put-3SG.OBJ   LOC   IN   leaf
>'Take the food (lit.: foods) (and) put it on (lit.: in) the leaves.' (The food is to be served at a feast.)

In the next example, the grounding and the sequential clauses express habitual events in the past. The grounding clause has an imperfective subject marker. The second sequential clause and its grounding clause do not occur in the same sentence.

(16-5) *Nau* ***kwai*** *alu-a*   *ba-kuq=i*   *thaqegano*
>1SG   1SG.IPFV put-3SG.OBJ LIM-1SG.PERS=LOC   ground

>***kwa***   *quna*   *qeri,   "Si   doo   qeri   neri."*
>1SG.SEQ manner this   PRTT thing this   NPAST.HERE

>*Nia*   *naqa* ***ka***   *gwee-a.*
>3SG   PRF   3SG.SEQ pick.up-3SG.OBJ
>'[In the old days, if I wanted to give an object to a woman that was the wife of another man, I would not put it in her hand.] I would just put it on the ground and say, "Here is the thing.". (And) *she* would pick it up.'

In the central function, a sequential clause is in asymmetric coordination with its grounding clause or another, preceding sequential clause that expresses an earlier situation. The coordination may be by simple juxtaposition, as in all of the examples above, or the two clauses/sentences may be conjoined with the coordinating conjunction *ma* 'and' (or, rarely, the conjunction *bia*/*bii* 'and'), as illustrated below. More commonly, there is no conjunction, as in all of the examples thus far. However, the use of *ma* 'and' is by no means unusual. In (16-6) there is both asyndetic and syndetic coordination.

(16-6) *Kero*   *oli*   *kau, keko   raqa   mai, ma*
>3DU.NFUT return   AND 3DU.SEQ climb   VENT and

> *keko   fula-toqo-na   naqa   ta   thaqaro.*
> 3DU.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ PRF   some possum
> 'They went back, climbed (again to the top of a tree), and came across a possum.'

In (16-7) there is coordination of sequential clauses without 'and' in the first sentence, and then coordination of sentences, first without 'and' and then with 'and':

(16-7) *Toqa   baa   ki keka   fita   mai, keka   fula,*
        people   that   PL 3PL.SEQ run   VENT 3PL.SEQ arrive

        keka   soe-toqo-na,   "Qo   riki-a   wane baa
        3PL.SEQ ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ 2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ   man   that

        qe   thaka   mai?" Kini   baa   ka
        3SG.NFUT escape   VENT   woman   that   3SG.SEQ

        tofe-a,   "Qe   aqi kwasi riki-a."   Ma
        deny-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ and

        keka   sore-qe,   "Qoki   lole   nena,   nia
        3PL.SEQ say-DETR   2SG.IPFV tell.lie   NPAST.THERE   3SG

        e   lae   na=mai."
        3SG.NFUT   go   PRF=VENT
        'The people came running [to a woman], they arrived (and) asked her, "Have you seen the man who escaped this way?". The woman denied it (saying), "I haven't seen him.". And they said, "You are lying; he has come here.".'

There is no correlation between the presence and absence of 'and' with sequential clauses and identity or non-identity of subjects.

While in their central function the sequential markers signal temporal sequencing of the onsets of situations, there is often an implication that the situation of the sequential clause is a development from, the result or consequence of, an earlier situation, expressed in the grounding clause or another, preceding sequential clause. In some cases, the two situations are in strict temporal order: the situation of the first clause takes place first, and when it is completed, the situation of the sequential clause does. For example:

(16-8) *Nau ku kuqu kwa ooleta baqita.*
        1SG 1SG.NFUT drink 1SG.SEQ burp be.big
        'I had a drink and gave a big burp.'

(16-9) *Si manga na mak=keeroqa qe nofi naqa,*
        PRTT time REL father=3DU 3SG.NFUT die PRF

        keko ngali-a, ...
        3DU.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
        'When/after their father died, they took him, ...'

However, in other cases it is only the onset of the first situation that precedes the (onset of) the following situation; the first situation still continues. In the situation expressed in (16-10) the speaker's fishing results in his catching a fish; he had not finished fishing before catching it:

(16-10) *Nau ku deedee, kwa dee-toqo-na*
         1SG 1SG.NFUT fish 1SG.SEQ catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ

         teqe iqa qeeqeta qana, iqa kwasi
         one fish be.strange INTS fish 1SG.NEG

         rii-riki-a.
         RDP-see-3SG.OBJ
         'I was fishing and caught a really strange fish, a (kind of) fish I had not seen (before).'

In the situation expressed in (16-11) it was not the case that the speaker's arm had stopped itching before he scratched it:

(16-11) *Seqe-na qaba-ku e mamale,*
         body-3SG.PERS arm-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT itch

         kwa kame-a.
         1SG.SEQ scratch-3SG.OBJ
         'My arm itched and (so) I scratched it.'

Looking (usually) results in seeing, but it does not end before the seeing.

(16-12) *Kamiliqa mili lio, mika*
         1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

> *riki-a*   *teqe*   *wane.*
> see-3.OBJ   one   man
> 'We looked and saw a man.'

It is, then, temporal sequentiality of the onsets of situations rather than sequentiality of whole situations that the sequential subject markers signal in their central function.

Clauses with sequential subject markers normally receive their time reference from the grounding clause. However, this is not necessarily the case. In (16-13) the grounding clause expresses an event that preceded the time of speaking, while the sequential clauses expresses a state of affairs that obtains at the time of speaking. The latter state of affairs is the result of the earlier event.

(16-13)   *Araqi*   *qeri*   *bana*   *n=e*   *oli*   *mai*
           mature.man   that   LIM   FOC=3SG.NFUT   return   VENT

           qana   *wane*   *kiloko.*   *Qi*   *manga*   *qeri*
           GENP   one   o'clock   LOC   time   this

           meka   *qono*   *neri.*
           1DU(EXCL).SEQ   sit   NPAST.HERE
           'It was only the old man who came back at one o'clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.'

In extended discourse, such as a narrative, relatively long strings of clauses with sequential subject markers are not uncommon. Such sequential clauses are characteristic of the foreground portion of discourse, where sequences of events are recounted, but they can occur in background portions of discourse as well (see further below). In (16-14) the first clause, with a nonfuture subject marker, establishes the temporal setting and is then followed by a string of sequential clauses. In the first clause of (16-14), *thaina-na* 'his mother' is a topic, not the subject.

(16-14)   *Thaina-na,*   **qe**   *fula*   *qa=fa*   *thato*
           mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   arrive   LOC=CLF   day

           baa, **ka**   *naqare-a*   *alo*   *baa*   *ki,*   *naqare-a,*
           that   3SG.SEQ   roast-3.OBJ   taro   that   PL   roast-3SG.OBJ

           ka   *bee-beta-a*   *seqe-na*   **ka**
           3SG.SEQ   RDP-handle.with.care-3.OBJ   body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ

sui,	***ka***	*kesi-a*	*seqe-na*	***ka***
be.finished	3SG.SEQ	scrape-3.OBJ	body-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ

faalu	*teqefau,*	*sui,*	*nia*	***ka***	*ngali-a*
be.clean	every.one	be.finished	3SG	3SG.SEQ	take-3SG.OBJ

ka	*alu-a*	*laa*	*teqe*	*kaufa,*	***ka***
3SG.SEQ	put-3SG.OBJ	IN	one	mat	3SG.SEQ

kosu-a,	***ka***	*fale-a*	*qana*	*kaluwani*
fold-3SG.OBJ	3SG.SEQ	give-3SG.OBJ	GENP	son

nia,	***ka***	*ngali-a.*
3SG	3SG.SEQ	take-3SG.OBJ

'His mother, when the day arrived (lit.: it arrived at that day), roasted the taros, roasted them, handled them (lit. their bodies) carefully until they were done, scraped them until they were all clean, (then) she took them and put them in a mat, folded it and gave it to her son, (and) he took it.'

Clauses that encode situations that are not part of the foreground sequence of events often, but not necessarily, have subject markers other than sequential. Out-of-sequence earlier situations do not receive sequential marking. In (16-15) the last clause encodes an out-of-sequence situation and has a nonfuture subject marker.

(16-15)	*Kera*	*lio,*	*keka*	*riki-a*	*qaburu*	*fuu*
	3PL.NFUT	look	3PL.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	ogre	that

	qe	*mae*	*naqa.*
	3SG.NFUT	die	PRF

'They looked and saw that the ogre had died.'

In (16-16) the clause embedded under the verb *thathami* 'want' is not part of the foreground, and it contains a future subject marker (see section 29.4.4 for complementation with the verb 'want').

(16-16)	*Nia*	*ka*	*riki-a*	*ma*	*ka*	*thathami-a*
	3SG	3SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	and	3SG.SEQ	want-3.OBJ

> | *kai* | *lae* | *bii* | *keeroqa.* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | 3SG.FUT | go | COM | 3DU |
>
> 'He saw it [that his parents were about to go away] and wanted to go with them.'

The material inside relative clauses too is not part of the foreground. In (16-17) the relative clause contains a nonfuture subject marker. The clause after the relative one is part of the foreground again, and it has a sequential subject marker.

(16-17)

Kini	*qeri*	*ka*	*lae*	*mai,*	*ka*	*takwe*	*i*
woman	that	3SG.SEQ	go	VENT	3SG.SEQ	stand	LOC

fafo-na	*kafo*	*qeri*	*na*	*tale-qe*	*baru*	*baa*
top-3.PERS	river	that	REL	set-ASSOC	canoe	that

qe	*tatha*	*suli-a,*	*nia*	***ka***	*qai, "...."*
3SG.NFUT	pass.by	PROL-3SG.OBJ	3SG	3SG.SEQ	shout

'The woman came and stood on the bank of the river where the fleet of canoes was passing by, and shouted, "....".'

However, there may be sequentiality in the background portion of a discourse, in which case sequential markers are used there. In (16-18) there are two relative clauses modifying the same head noun. The first one has a nonfuture subject marker. The second one encodes a state of affairs that followed from the event of the first relative clause, and that clause has a sequential subject marker. The first relative clause serves as the grounding clause for the second relative clause.

(16-18)

Ma	*ka*	*tatha*	*kau,*	*ka*	*riki-a*	*teqe*
and	3SG.SEQ	walk	AND	3SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	one

ngali	*na*	*wane*	*qeri*	***qe***
canarium.nut	REL	man	that	3SG.NFUT

uru	*qi*	*maatonga-na*
place.sole.of.foot	LOC	mid.of.vertical.object-3SG.PERS

> *ma*   ***ka***   *kefu.*
> and   3SG.SEQ   fall.over
> 'And he walked on and saw a canarium-nut (tree), the (mid part of the) trunk of which that man had pushed with the sole of his foot and that had fallen over (as a result).'

The sequential subject markers are used, optionally or obligatorily, in a number of constructions that express relations between situations that are closely related to the central function. Such constructions also express situations where the onset of a situation temporally follows the onset of another situation, but in those cases there is more to the relations between the situations than just temporal sequentiality of their onsets. They are used in the apodoses of conditional sentences (although future subject markers can be used there instead), in purpose clauses (also in free variation with the future markers), and in the periphrastic causative construction in the clause encoding the caused situation. They can also be used in the protases of conditional sentences if the situation expressed in the protasis follows the onset of another situation, expressed or implied. These constructions are discussed in the relevant sections. The third person singular subject marker is used with the verbs *too* 'stay' and *lado* 'be joined end to end' to express the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4).

There are other uses of the sequential subject markers that represent greater departures from the central function. These are discussed in the next section.

16.2.   Other uses of the sequential markers in positive clauses

In their central function the sequential subject markers signal that the onset of the situation of their clause follows the onset of the situation expressed in a preceding clause. This also appears to be the case in the next example, although most likely it is not. There the speaker recounts his visit to a zoo and uses a number of sequential clauses. The visit had taken place a number of years previously, and it is highly unlikely that the order of the clauses corresponds exactly to the order in which he had seen the animals. Rather, the order of the clauses reflects the order in which the speaker's recollection unfolds.

(16-19)   *Nau*   *ku*   *riki-a*   *qanamola*   *qoro*
    1SG   1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   animal   be.many

    qeeqeta   *ki qana n=e*   *ni=i*
    be.exceptional   PL INTS   REL=3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC

> *laa   suu   na=i   Niu   Silan.   **Kwa***
> IN   ZOO   REL=LOC   New   Zealand 1SG.SEQ
>
> *riki-a   kamel,   **kwa**   riki-a   layon,   **kwa***
> see-3.OBJ   camel   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   lion   1SG.SEQ
>
> *riki-a   nga   [pause] gorila,   **kwa**   riki-a*
> see-3.OBJ   IDENT   gorilla   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ
>
> *magi,   **kwa**   riki-a   biikok,   **kwa**   riki-a*
> monkey 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   peacock 1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ
>
> *qelefen; ….*
> elephant
> 'I saw lots and lots of (different) animals (lit.: exceptionally many animals) in the zoo in New Zealand. I saw camels, I saw lions, I saw, um, gorillas, I saw monkeys, I saw peacocks, I saw elephants; ….'

The speaker did see the various animals in sequence as he was walking through the zoo, although the sequence of the clauses is unlikely to mirror the sequence of the events.

Evidence that sometimes the use of the sequential subject markers mirrors the order in which the speaker thinks of the situations also comes from cases where there is no sequentiality or no necessary sequentiality at all. For example, by saying (16-20) the speaker assigns different places to the women and to the men. There is no indication that he wants first the women to stand in one place and then the men in another place.

(16-20) *Kini   ki kera   takwe   ofu   i*
         woman   PL 3PL.NFUT   stand   be.together LOC

         ku=naqi,   wane ki keka   takwe   ofu   i
         place=this   man PL 3PL.SEQ stand   be.together LOC

         kula   loo.
         place upward
         'The women (to) stand together here, (and) the men (to) stand together up there.'

In (16-21) also the speaker uses the sequential markers, even though there is no reason to assume that he began to recognize his father before he began to recognize his mother. Rather, both began to be the case when he, as a baby, had

grown older. In this sentence the two "sequential" clauses are joined by the conjunction *bii*, which only rarely conjoins clauses (section 28.2.3).

(16-21) | *Laalae* | *ku* | | *baqita* | *naqa, kwa* | *riki* |
         | when | 1SG.NFUT | | be.big | PRF 1SG.SEQ | see |

       | *thaitoqoma-na* | *maka* | *nau, bii* | *kwa* | *riki* |
         | know-3.OBJ | father | 1SG and | 1SG.SEQ | see |

       | *thaitoqoma-na* | *thaina-ku.* |
         | know-3.OBJ | mother-1SG.PERS |

'When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.'

And there is clearly no sequentiality in the situation expressed in (16-22): the speaker was hungry as well as thirsty at the time of speaking.

(16-22) | *Nau* | *ku* | *thaofa,* | *kwa* | *mae-li* | *kuqu* |
         | 1SG | 1SG.NFUT | be.hungry | 1SG.SEQ | die-TR | drink |

       | *laqu* | *boqo.* |
         | ADD | ASRT |

'I'm hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.'

The sequential subject markers are also used when a preceding clause expresses a potential, contemplated, expected, or attempted situation that did not, in fact, materialize. There is no sequentiality because the first situation did not obtain; nevertheless, the second clause contains a sequential subject marker. The second clause usually provides a comment concerning some relevant circumstances having to do with the non-occurrence of the potential/contemplated/expected/attempted situation. Even though the relevant situation did not materialize, the clause that expresses it is grammatically positive. The situation's non-occurrence is signalled by the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3).

(16-23) | *Kera* | *ade* | *uri-a* | *sa* | *keki* | *raqu-a,* |
         | 3PL.NFUT | do | PURP-3.OBJ | IRR | 3PL.FUT | catch-3SG.OBJ |

       | *ma* | *ka* | *qafetaqi.* |
         | and | 3SG.SEQ | be.difficult |

'They attempted to catch it [a bird] (lit.: they did in order to catch it), but (lit.: and) it was (too) difficult [they did not succeed].'

As discussed in section 16.3, one of the sequential subject markers is used in clauses that are grammatically negative or that contain the verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case', where the "sequential" clause makes it explicit that a potential state of affairs did not, in fact, materialize.

Different kinds of departure from the central function of the sequential subject markers are found in constructions where there is no grounding clause. That is, such constructions can be used without any prior relevant discourse. The sequential subject markers are obligatory in the expression of the timitive mood (section 18.6):

(16-24)　*Ada　qoko　mataqi.*
　　　　　TIM　2SG.SEQ　be.sick
　　　　　'You might be sick.'

Historically the timitive construction was biclausal, the present-day timitive marker being originally a verb with the meanings 'see', 'look out, watch out' (Lichtenberk 1995).

The sequential subject markers may be used in imperatives to soften their force (section 20.2.3):

(16-25)　*Qoko　fanga　faqekwa.*
　　　　　2SG.SEQ　eat　　be.small
　　　　　'Eat slowly/in small pieces.' 'You should eat slowly/in small pieces.'

And the sequential subject markers are also used in one type of negative construction, where they occur together with the irrealis marker *sa*. The clause is grammatically positive, and it comes before the clause that expresses the negation. This construction signals that a potential situation will or should not obtain because of some disabling conditions (section 17.6):

(16-26)　*Kini　ki　sa　keka　raa　qana　oqola　baa　qi*
　　　　　woman　PL　IRR　3PL.SEQ　work　GENP　garden　that　LOC

　　　　　qusungadi　qe=aqi.
　　　　　tomorrow　3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
　　　　　'The women will not (be able to) work in the garden tomorrow.'

16.3.   Sequential clauses of negation

The use of the sequential subject markers in clauses of negation represents yet another kind of departure from the central function. "Clauses of negation" is a cover term for clauses that are grammatically negative and for clauses that contain the semantically negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case'. (*Aqi* also functions as part of a negative construction. For more detail on negation see chapter 17.) And a "sequential clause of negation" is a clause of negation that contain a sequential subject marker. The subject marker in a sequential clause of negation must be the third person singular marker *ka*. Here the sequential subject marker does not signal sequentiality of the onsets of situations. Rather, sequential clauses of negation express unfulfilled expectation: an expected, projected, attempted, desired situation did not materialize. The situation that was expected, projected, attempted, or desired is expressed or implied in preceding discourse. Obviously, this is not sequentiality of the onsets of situations in a strict sense, because the relevant situation did not obtain, although one might argue that there is sequentiality in the sense that the expectation, etc. of a situation was followed by the situation's non-occurrence.

Usually, a sequential clause of negation is joined to the preceding clause by the conjunction *ma* 'and', although this is not required. For an example without the conjunction see (16-31) further below. Sometimes, a clause that precedes a sequential clause of negation does explicitly express the expected, projected, attempted, or desired situation. In such cases the clause of negation may, but need not, be in construction with a subsequent clause that expresses the non-occurring situation. The latter is, in fact, more common; see (16-27), and (16-28) and (16-29), respectively.

(16-27)   … *qe*   *thathami-a   sa*   *kwai*   *kwala,*   *ma*
           3SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT   swear   and

           ka   *aqi*   *kwasi*   *kwala.*
           3SG.SEQ   NEGV   1SG.NEG   swear
           '… he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.'

More commonly, the situation is not encoded in a sequential clause of negation. In such cases, *aqi* functions as a fully-fledged verb 'not be so, not be the case':

(16-28)   *Dani sa   kai   qaru, ma   ka   aqi.*
           rain   IRR   3SG.FUT fall   and   3SG.SEQ not.be.so
           'It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn't.'

(16-29)   *Kera   ili-toqo-na   sa   keki   qono, ma*
              3PL.NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   3PL.FUT   sit   and

              ka   aqi ….
              3SG.SEQ   not.be.so
              'They tried to sit, but no (they couldn't), ….'

Commonly, it is only a sequential clause of negation that explicitly expresses the expected/projected/attempted/desired situation that did not obtain, that situation being only implied in preceding discourse.

(16-30)   *Nau   ku   fasi-toqo-na,   ma*
              1SG   1SG.NFUT   plant-TEST-3SG.OBJ   and

              ka   aqi   si   taqe.
              3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG   grow
              'I tried planting it (thinking/hoping it would grow), but it did not grow.'

(16-31)   *Kere   ngata   qani   nia,   ka   aqi*
              3PL.NFUT   speak   GENP   3SG   3SG.SEQ   NEGV

              si   ruqu.
              3SG.NEG   obey
              'They spoke to him [telling him not to do such and such and expecting him to obey], but he did not obey.'

Sometimes, the non-occurrence of the relevant situation does temporally follow the situations expressed in the preceding clauses; for example, wanting a person to swear but that person not swearing ([16-27] further above), planting something but it not growing ([16-30] above). But it is also possible for the situation expressed in a sequential clause of negation not to have been realized at, or by, the time of the situation(s) expressed in the preceding clause(s). Nevertheless, there is still an unfulfilled prior expectation. In (16-32) the hoped-for situation had not materialized by the time of the situation expressed in the preceding clause. The perfect marker in the sequential clause signals that that event was no longer expected to take place (section 15.3).

(16-32)   *Si   manga   na   wela baa   ki   kere   lio   ma*
              PRTT   time   REL   child that   PL   3PL.NFUT   look   and

tha	*Bariqi*	*ka*	*aqi*	*si*	*fula*
PERSMKR	Bariqi	3SG.SEQ	NEGV	3SG.NEG	arrive

naqa, keka		*thaitoqoma-na*	*na*	*tha*
PRF	3PL.SEQ	know-3.OBJ	COMP	PERSMKR

Bariqi	*qe*	*thaka.*
Bariqi	3SG.NFUT	escape

'When the children looked and Bariqi had not arrived, they knew/realized Bariqi had escaped.'

And in the situation expressed in (16-33) the pre-existing general expectation that if a person wants to buy something they will have money is not fulfilled.

(16-33)

Wane	*e*	*thathami-a*	*kai*	*ngali-a*
man	3SG.NFUT	want-3.OBJ	3SG.FUT	take-3.OBJ

karasina,	*ma*	*ka*	*aqi*	*si*	*alu-a*
kerosene	and	3SG.SEQ	NEGV	3SG.NEG	have-3.OBJ

ta	*seleni.*
some	money

'The man wanted to get (lit.: take) kerosene, but (lit.: and) he did not have any money.'

Chapter 17
Negation

17.1.   Introduction

Toqabaqita has only a small number of types of elements used to express nega-
tion. In the present-day language there are only two types commonly used:
negative subject markers and a negative verb. There is also a set of archaic
dehortative markers (section 20.3.2). Negation concerning (types of) partici-
pants is also achieved by means of negative existential sentences (section
26.1.2.2). In spite of the relative paucity of the types of negative elements (or
perhaps because of it), the area of negation is rather complex.

   With one exception (see [17-4] further below), negation in Toqabaqita can
be characterized as predicate negation, for the following reasons. First, the
negative subject markers occur inside the verb phrase. And second, the negative
verb heads a predicate, even though clauses that contain the negative verb are
not always fully-fledged clauses.

   There are three basic negative strategies in Toqabaqita: (i) a simple negative
construction, where negation is expressed by means of the negative subject
markers alone; (ii) a lexical negative verb 'not be so, not be the case', 'not ex-
ist', 'not be available'; and (iii) a double negative construction, which consists
of a negative event clause preceded by a "mini-clause" that contains the nega-
tive verb. These strategies are exemplified in (17-1), (17-2), and (17-3), respec-
tively:

(17-1)   *Keeroqa kesi   fula.*
         3DU   3DU.NEG   arrive
         'The two of them did not arrive.'

(17-2)   A: *Qo   riki-a   naqa?*
             2SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ   PRF

         B: *Qe=aqi.*
             3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
         A: 'Have you seen it?'
         B: 'No.'

(17-3)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   rongo   qoe.*
            1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG hear   2SG
            'I didn't hear you.'

There is one construction where the negation is not of the predicate type: when a verb with the third-person singular negative subject marker serves as a noun modifier (section 6.10):

(17-4)   *Wane baa   wane   si   maqu.*
            man that   man   NEG   be.afraid
            'That man (is) a man (who is) not afraid.' 'That man is a man without fear.'

17.2.   The simple negative construction

In the simple negative construction, negation is achieved solely by means of the negative subject markers. These are listed in table 4.5 in section 4.8. The negative subject markers both express negation and index the subject. With one exception they are bimorphemic: the first element encodes the subject, and the second element the negation.

(17-5)   *Kamiliqa   mi-si   ngata   uri   keeroqa.*
            1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL)-NEG   speak   ALL   3DU
            'We did not speak to the two of them.'

The third-person singular negative subject marker consists only of the negative element *si*:

(17-6)   *... tha   wela baa   si   fula   naqa, ...*
               PERSMKR   child that   3SG.NEG arrive   PRF
            '[The people looked and looked (around),] (but) the boy had not arrived, ...'

The negative marker *si* is glossed 3SG.NEG when it occurs in predicate negation, when the subject is third person (singular). And even though all of the other negative subject markers are decomposable into two elements, for the sake of simplicity they are treated as unanalyzed wholes in the examples; for instance, *misi* 1PL(EXCL).NEG, rather than *mi-si* 1PL(EXCL)-NEG (see [17-5] above).

There is only one set of negative subject markers, and so the future-nonfuture tense distinction found in grammatically positive clauses (section

15.1) is neutralized in negative clauses. The next pair of examples illustrates the use of the negative subject markers in clauses with future-time reference and past-time reference, respectively.

(17-7)   *Nga*   *wane baa   ki kesi   lae   bo=mai   i*
      IDENT   man   that   PL 3PL.NEG go   ASRT=VENT LOC

      qusungadi.
      tomorrow
      'The men will not come tomorrow.'

(17-8)   *Nga*   *wane baa   ki kesi   fula   boqo   i   roqo.*
      IDENT   man   that   PL 3PL.NEG arrive ASRT   LOC   yesterday
      'The men did not arrive yesterday.'

And in negative clauses there is no explicit marking of the imperfective aspect, which in positive clauses uses the same set of subject markers that also signal future tense (although, as discussed in sections 15.1.3 and 15.2.2, the imperfective subject markers are not obligatory in expressions of the imperfective aspect).

The negative subject markers are also used in negative imperatives (section 20.3.1):

(17-9)   *Qosi*   *waela   qani nau.*
      2SG.NEG laugh   GENP 1SG
      'Don't laugh at me.'

While the simple negative construction is not at all uncommon, it is more common to use the double negative construction, discussed in section 17.4. The double construction is especially common when the event clause has a third person singular subject. There the simple strategy, using only the subject marker, is quite rare, with two types of exception. That is, sentences like the one in (17-10) are not particularly common.

(17-10)   *Fanga   naqi si   qako   leqa.*
      food   this   3SG.NEG be.cooked   be.good
      'This food is not cooked well.'

See also (17-6) further above.

In one type of construction only simple negation is possible, not double negation. This is the case in non-predicate negation, where the verb complex functions as a modifier of a noun:

(17-11)   *fanua   si   rodo*
          place   NEG   be.dark
          'place (that is) not dark', 'place without darkness' (referring to
          Christian heaven)

For another example see (17-4) above.

The other type of construction in which the third-person negative subject marker is normally used in the simple negative strategy expresses "negative additiveness". In negative additiveness, one state of affairs is characterized as not being accompanied by one or more other states of affairs, usually contrary to expectation, contrary to what is normally the case. The first clause is positive, while the following clause or clauses is/are negative. The first clause expresses a situation that obtains, and the second, negated clause asserts that another situation that might or should have obtained prior to it, simultaneously with it, or instead of it, is, in fact, not taking place or did not, in fact, take place. With one type of exception (see further below), the subjects of the two clauses must be the same, but the negative clause/clauses does/do not contain a subject phrase. The clauses are normally in asyndetic coordination.

(17-12)   *Nia   e   lae   na-na   si   baqe   laqu.*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   go   PRF-3SG.PERS   3SG.NEG speak   ADD
          'He went (away) without saying anything (lit.: he did not also
          speak).'

(17-13)   *Ma   botho   fuu   qe   teo   qa-na,*
          and   pig   downward   3SG.SEQ lie   SBEN-3SG.PERS

          si   ngora,   si   qisu.
          3SG.NEG grunt   3SG.NEG   move
          'And the pig down there lay (there), without grunting, without moving.'

In (17-14) the subject is second person singular:

(17-14)   *Uri-a   taa   qoko   atabubu qa-muqa,*
          REAS-3.OBJ what?   2SG.SEQ stare   SBEN-2SG.PERS

          qosi   raa?
          2SG.NEG work
          'Why are you (just) staring, without/instead of working?'

The exception to identity of subjects concerns meteorological verbs. In (17-15) the subject of the first verb is *dani* 'rain', while the second verb *thato* 'be sunny' takes *fanua* 'place' as its subject elsewhere, or occurs without a subject. When expressing negative additiveness, a clause with a meteorological verb occurs without a subject even if its (notional) subject is different from the subject of the preceding clause.

(17-15)   *Dani e   qaa-qaru, si   thato   naqa.*
            rain   3SG.NFUT   RDP-fall   3SG.NEG   be.sunny   PRF
            'It has been raining and raining, without any sun (lit.: it has not become sunny).'

Compare (17-16), with optional *fanua* 'place' in the subject position in an independent clause:

(17-16)   *(Fanua) qe   thato   naqa.*
            place   3SG.NFUT   be.sunny   PRF
            'It is sunny now.' 'It has become sunny.'

17.3.   The negative verb

Toqabaqita has a negative verb *aqi*, whose senses are 'not be so, not be the case', 'not exist', and 'not be available'. *Aqi* is a negative verb in two senses: because of its meanings as a lexical verb, and because it also has a grammatical function in the double negative construction, discussed in detail in section 17.4. When it functions as a lexical verb, it is glossed according to its meaning: 'not be so', 'not be the case', 'not exist', or 'not be available'. When it is employed in the grammatical function, it is glossed NEGV. In this section the focus is on *aqi* as a lexical verb. *Aqi* has all the characteristics of verbs, with two exceptions: it is used only with third person singular subject markers, and, apart from negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2), it does not take subject noun phrases. A few examples of *aqi* as a lexical verb are given below.

In (17-17) it occurs with two postverbal particles:

(17-17)   A: *Qo   siisiu   sui   naqa?*
               2SG.NFUT   bathe   COMPL   PRF
               'Have you bathed?'

B: *Qe   aqi   quu   boqo.*
  3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   ANTCONT   ASRT
A: 'Have you bathed?'
B: 'Not yet.'

In (17-18) *aqi* has the third person singular future subject marker *kai*. The future-tense subject marker is not grammatical when *aqi* occurs in the double negative construction. In (17-18) the speaker is commenting on the occurrence of full prayer services at the meetings of a church committee: one Sunday there will be none, next Sunday there will be one:

(17-18)   *... teqe fa   Sandee kai   aqi,   rua-na*
          one   CLF   Sunday 3SG.FUT not.be.so two-3.PERS

          fa   Sandee ka   faa-faqa-rongo-a   boqo
          CLF   Sunday 3SG.SEQ RDP-CAUS-hear-3.OBJ ASRT

          tha   Rongoomea   kai   ngali ....
          PERSMKR   Rongoomea   3SG.FUT take.church.service
          '… one Sunday there will be nothing, the following (lit.: second) Sunday he will tell Rongoomea to take the service ....'

In (17-19) *aqi* functions as a negative existential verb and has a subject noun phrase (which follows the verb). Even though the subject is plural and human, the subject marker must be singular:

(17-19)   *Qe   aqi   tai   toqa   qi   laa*
          3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some.PL   people   LOC   IN

          aququa   naqi.
          island   this
          'There are no people (living) on (lit.: in) this island.'

Aqi is used to express non-occurrence of expected, projected, attempted, or desired situations, in which case it takes the third person singular sequential subject marker (section 16.3):

(17-20)   *Dani sa   kai   qaru, ma   ka   aqi.*
          rain IRR   3SG.FUT fall   and   3SG.SEQ   not.be.so
          'It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn't.'

Aqi can be nominalized:

(17-21) A: *Kale   qena,   fale=qa-ku   ta*
          mate   that(2)   give:3.OBJ=RECBEN-1SG.PERS   some

          si   suka.
          PRTT   sugar

      B: *Kale qena,   si   suka neqe qe   faqekwa*
          mate   that(2)   PRTT   sugar this   3SG.NFUT   be.little

          qasia boqo.
          INTS   INTS

      A: *Leqa   ba-na,   ma   aqi-laa*
          be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   and   not.be.available-NMLZ

          qasia   naqa n=e   taqaa.
          INTS   INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT   be.bad
      A: 'Friend, give me some sugar.'
      B: 'Friend, I have very little sugar.' (Lit.: 'Friend, this sugar is very little.')
      A: 'That's OK. It's when there is none at all that it's (really) bad.' (Lit.: '(That's) fine; it's there not being any at all that is bad.')

Aqi can serve as the input into a causative derivation: *faqa-aqi* 'finish, bring to an end, put an end to', 'cancel (a planned event)':

(17-22)   *Kulu   faqa-aqi-a   taqaa-laa   naqi.*
          PL(INCL).NFUT   CAUS-not.exist-3.OBJ   be.bad-NMLZ   this
          'Let's put an end to this unpleasantness (lit.: badness).'

And *aqi* itself can be negated. There are two occurrences of *aqi* in (17-23): one, in the final clause, as a lexical verb, and one, in the preceding clause, as a grammatical marker of negation (see section 17.4).

(17-23)   *Nau kwai   lae   mai, kwai   riki   qoe   laqu*
          1SG   1SG.FUT go   VENT 1SG.FUT see   2SG   ADD

          qa=fa   Sandee loo,   qe=aqi
          GENP=CLF   Sunday upward   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

> *si   aqi.*
> 3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case
> 'I'll come and see you again next Sunday, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).'

The lexical verb *aqi* is used in a bi-clausal construction to signal that a potential situation will/should not obtain because of some disabling conditions (section 17.6). It is also used in negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences, and to negate fragments of clauses from which the verb complex has been omitted; see section 27.2.5.

Occasionally, although only relatively rarely, the final vowel of *aqi* is realized as [ε]. This may happen when the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe* and *aqi* fuse together as one phonological word, in particular as a negative answer to a question: [ʔέaʔε] 'No'. (For fusion of *qe* and *aqi* see further below in the next section.)

17.4.   The double negative construction

A clause may be negated grammatically solely by means of a negative subject marker. There is, however, also a complex, double negative construction that consists of an event clause negated by means of a negative subject marker preceded by a "mini-clause" that consists of the negative verb *aqi* and a third person singular subject marker. Furthermore, the *aqi* mini-clause may be preceded by a noun phrase that corresponds to the subject of the event clause. The event clause cannot contain a subject phrase. Two subtypes of the double negative construction need to be distinguished, depending on the subject marker in the *aqi* mini-clause. In one, the subject marker is the third person singular nonfuture form *qe*. For convenience, this construction will be referred to as the "general" double negative construction. Its structure is shown schematically in (17-24):

(17-24)   (NP) [*qe aqi*] [negative.event.clause]

For example:

(17-25)   *[Qe   aqi]   [kwasi   riki-a].*
           3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG see-SG.OBJ
           'I haven't seen him.'

(17-26)   *... nau [e=aqi]   [kwasi   thamo   i*
                1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG touch   LOC

> *qaba-na]*.
> hand-3SG.PERS
> '[In the old days, when a woman who was the wife of another man asked me to give her something,] I would not hand it to her directly (lit.: I would not touch her hand[s]).' (I would put it on the ground and she would pick it up.)

In the other subtype, the subject marker in the *aqi* mini-clause is the third person singular sequential form *ka*. This type of negative construction is joined to a preceding clause or sentence, with or without the coordinating construction *ma* 'and'. This construction is used to express unfulfilled expectation: a situation expressed or implied in preceding discourse did/does not obtain. For convenience, this kind of construction will be referred to as the "sequential" double negative construction. Its structure is shown schematically in (17-27):

(17-27)   … *(ma)* (NP) [*ka aqi*] ([negative.event.clause])

For example:

(17-28)   *Kamiliqa   mili   lio,   ka   aqi*
          1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   look   3SG.SEQ NEGV

          misi   riki-a   ta   wane.
          1PL(EXCL).NEG   see-3.OBJ   some person
          'We looked (but) did not see anybody.'

(17-29)   *Nau   ku   soe-toqo-na   boqo, ma*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ   ASRT   and

          ka   aqi   si   oli-si   nau.
          3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG   return-TR   1SG
          'I did ask him, but (lit.: and) he did not answer me.'

The sequential negative construction is discussed in section 16.3, where more examples can be found. As also shown there, in clauses expressing unfulfilled expectations *aqi* also functions as a lexical verb when there is no negative event clause:

(17-30)   *Sa   keki   lae   mai, ma   ka   aqi.*
          IRR   3PL.FUT go   VENT and 3SG.SEQ not.be.so
          'They should have come but did not.' 'They were expected to come but did not.'

In general, negation expresses denial of a presupposition or contradiction (Givón 1984), which in itself does not distinguish between the general negative construction and the sequential one. However, there are several types of difference between the two. First, the two constructions use different third person singular subject markers in the *aqi* mini-clause: nonfuture and sequential, respectively. Second, the sequential construction is usually structurally closely integrated with the preceding discourse. More often than not, it and the preceding clause(s) are part of the same sentence. On the other hand, there is often no such integration in the case of the general negative construction. Sentences with the general construction may be used without any prior relevant discourse:

(17-31) *Qe   aqi   qosi   thaofa?*
         3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG   be.hungry
         'Aren't you hungry?'

(For the use of negative polar interrogatives see section 19.2.1.)

Third, in the case of the sequential negative construction, the expected situation is either explicitly expressed or strongly implied in a preceding clause, while the presupposition denied or contradicted by the general construction need not be. For one thing, there need not be any directly relevant preceding discourse. Fourth, the general double negative construction has a simple counterpart, where negation is achieved by the negative subject markers alone. The sequential negative construction has no such counterpart. And finally, there are also prosodic differences between the two constructions. These are discussed further below.

With the exception of non-predicate negation, where the verb complex functions as a noun modifier, the general double negative strategy is available wherever the simple strategy is. The double negative construction is strongly preferred over the simple one if the subject of the negative event clause is third-person singular. In (17-32) the double construction is used in the first part of the sentence, where the event clause has a third-person singular subject, and the simple construction is used in the final clause, which has a first-person singular subject:

(17-32) *Nia   e=aqi   si   naqo-fi   nau,   nau*
         3SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   face-TR   1SG   1SG

         kwasi   naqo-fi-a.
         1SG.NEG   front-TR-3.OBJ
         'She would not face me, (and) I would not face her.' (In earlier times, this was the proper way for a man and a woman who were not husband and wife to be positioned when speaking to each other.)

The double construction may be used when the negation is to be made somewhat emphatic. For example, a person is more likely to use (17-33a) rather than (17-33b) if he or she wants to emphasize that they are not hungry:

(17-33)   a.   *Nau   qe=aqi   kwasi   thaofa.*
                1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   be.hungry
                'I am not hungry.'

           b.   *Nau   kwasi   thaofa.*
                1SG   1SG.NEG   be.hungry
                'I am not hungry.'

However, the double construction is also commonly used in non-emphatic negation.

There is one grammatical difference between the simple and the general double negative constructions that concerns the expression of the subject. In the simple construction, the event clause may have a subject noun phrase, lexical or pronominal, in addition to the negative subject marker:

(17-34)   *Toqa   baa   kesi   fula.*
           people   that   3PL.NEG   arrive
           'The people did not arrive.'

(17-35)   *Nau   kwasi   thaofa.*
           1SG   1SG.NEG   be.hungry
           'I am not hungry.'

On the other hand, in the double construction, no subject noun phrase is possible in the event clause. The only way the relevant participant may be encoded by a noun phrase is as a topic preceding the mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi*:

(17-36)
   NP(TOPIC)$_i$ [subject.marker *aqi*] [negative.subject.marker$_i$ verb ...]

This is illustrated by the grammaticality of (17-37a) and the ungrammaticality of (17-37b):

(17-37)   a. *Nau   qe=aqi   kwasi   thaofa.*
               1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   be.hungry
               'I am not hungry.'

b. **Qe=aqi   nau   kwasi   thaofa.*
   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG   1SG.NEG be.hungry
   ('I am not hungry.')

Compare the ungrammatical (17-37b), with the subject pronoun in the event clause, and the grammatical (17-35), with the subject in the simple negative construction.

Topic noun phrases are not obligatory with the double negative construction, as illustrated in (17-38), which is synonymous with (17-37a) (and with [17-35]):

(17-38)   *Qe=aqi   kwasi   thaofa.*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG be.hungry
          'I am not hungry.'

The noun phrase that precedes the *aqi* mini-clause is not its subject; it is a topic phrase. The subject marker of *aqi* can only be third-person singular, regardless of the grammatical person and number of the preceding noun phrase. In (17-37a) further above, that noun phrase is first person singular, and in (17-39) below it is first person plural exclusive.

(17-39)   *Kamiliqa   qe   aqi   misi   riki-a*
          1PL(EXCL)   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG   see-3.OBJ

          wela   qeri.
          child that
          'We did not see the child.'

In the sequential double negative construction too there is a prohibition against a subject phrase in the event clause. The relevant participant can only be expressed in the topic position. This is the case in (17-40). There the topic pronominal noun phrase is third person plural, but the sequential subject marker in the *aqi* clause can only be third person singular.

(17-40)   *Gavman   ka   kwaqe-da,   ka   kwaqe-da*
          government 3SG.SEQ   punish-3PL.OBJ 3SG.SEQ   punish-3PL.OBJ

          qasia   naqa, kera ka   aqi   kesi   maqu
          INTS   INTS 3PL 3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3PL.NEG be.afraid

> *boqo; ….*
> ASRT
> 'The Government punished them, punished them hard, (but) they
> were not afraid; ….'

Although the double negative constructions are composed of an event clause
and a mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi*, and although the noun phrase (if
there is one) coreferential with the subject marker of the event clause is a topic,
not a subject, the facts of the matter are not quite straightforward. First, the
subject marker of *aqi* can only be third-person singular and it does not have a
referent. And second, there is prosodic evidence that argues against full clausal
status of the *aqi* "clause". Some of the evidence concerns both the general and
the sequential constructions, while other evidence concerns only the former.
The prosodic evidence is as follows.

First, in the general double negative construction the nonfuture subject
marker *qe* and the negative verb *aqi* typically fuse phonologically into one
word, and, as is the case with words, stress falls on the first syllable: [ʔɛ́əʔɪ].
Such fusion and stress shift also sometimes take place when *aqi* functions as a
lexical verb, in particular in simple negative responses to questions, where *qe
aqi* alone (or possibly with a postverbal particle) constitues the response: 'No';
see (17-2) in section 17.1 for an example. On the other hand, although the se-
quential subject marker *ka* may cliticize onto the verb *aqi* in the sequential
negative construction, the stress is retained on the first syllable of the verb:
[kaə́ʔɪ]. The fusion of *qe* and *aqi* as [ʔɛ́əʔɪ] is indicated in the examples. This is
the only type of fusion that does not involves shortening of one or both of the
elements that is indicated, because it may be indicative of a major change in
progress (see further below).

Second, neither in the general nor in the sequential negative construction
does the *aqi* mini-clause have its own intonation contour, while this is often the
case with the first of two conjoined clauses elsewhere (section 28.1). Rather,
the mini-clause and the event clause fall intonationally together under one con-
tour.

Third, neither in the general nor in the sequential constructions, if there is a
topic noun phrase preceding the *aqi* clause, does the topic normally receive its
own intonation contour nor is it normally separated from the *aqi* mini-clause by
a pause, while both are often the case with topics elsewhere (section 38.2).

And fourth, the tight structural link between an *aqi* mini-clause and the fol-
lowing event clause is evidenced by the fact that in relativization on a constitu-
ent of the event clause the *aqi* mini-clause is included in the relative construc-
tion together with the event clause. In (17-41) in relativization on the direct
object of the event clause, the relative clause marker *na* (realized as *n=* because
of fusion) comes before the *aqi* mini-clause:

(17-41) *Tha*   *wela* *qeri* *mena*   *ka*   *tataqe*
       PERSMKR   guy   that   FADD   3SG.SEQ   come.up.with.idea

       mai   *faafi-a*   *teqe* *si*   *manta-a*
       VENT   CONF-3.OBJ   one   PRTT   think-DVN

       n=e=aqi   *mesi*
       REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1DU(EXCL).NEG

       thaitoqoma-na   *leqa*   *ba-mareqa.*
       understand-3SG.OBJ   be.good LIM-1DU(EXCL).PERS
       'That guy had come up with an idea that we just did not understand
       well.'

The prosodic evidence and the evidence from relativization show that in the double negative construction the *aqi* mini-clause is not a fully-fledged clause. And the prosodic evidence and the restriction on the subject markers (only the nonfuture and the sequential subject markers are possible) jointly show that *aqi* is not a fully-fledged verb there. It is conceivable that what we see here is a stage in Jespersen's cycle (Jespersen 1917), whereby the simple negative construction, which uses only the negative subject markers, was at some point in history "strengthened" by the addition of a negative, *aqi* mini-clause, whose clausal status is now being eroded. The fact that the double negative construction serves to express somewhat more emphatic negation but is not necessarily emphatic is consistent with this scenario. And the less-than-full status of the "topic" phrase before the *aqi* clause may be evidence of that position becoming a subject position, as the originally bi-clausal structure is turning into a mono-clausal one. And if indeed this kind of development is taking place, it has progressed further in the general negative construction than in the sequential one: *qe=aqi* is further on its way to becoming reanalyzed as a unitary negation marker than *ka aqi* is.

17.5.   Emphatic negation

In Toqabaqita, predicate negation can be made stronger, more emphatic in one of several ways. The double negative construction can, but need not, carry relatively light emphatic force; see (17-33a) and (17-33b) in the preceding section. Commonly, negation is (further) strengthened by means of the postverbal assertive/intensifying particle *boqo* (section 5.2.8). In (17-42) *boqo* is used in a simple negative construction, in (17-43) in a double negative construction, and in (17-44) with *aqi*, which functions as a lexical verb there:

(17-42)   *Kwasi   riki-a.   Kwasi   riki-a   boqo.*
        1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ   1SG.NEG see-3SG.OBJ   ASRT
        'I don't see it. I *do not* see it.' (Unsuccessfully looking for soap.)

(17-43)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   kuqu   meresina   boqo,*
        1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG drink   medicine   ASRT

        ku   tala   qakwaa   ba-kuqa.
        1SG.NFUT   SELFC   be.cured   LIM-1SG.PERS
        'I didn't drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.'

(17-44)   A: *Taa   n=o   thathami-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ

        B: *Qe   aqi   boqo.*
          3SG.NFUT   not.exist ASRT
        A: 'What do you want?'
        B: 'Nothing (at all).' ('There is nothing [that I want].')

(For negative answers to open questions see section 19.4.3.)

    Negation using the verb *aqi* as a lexical verb 'not be so, not be the case', 'not exist', 'not be available' can be made more emphatic by means of the perfect marker/intensifier *naqa* (sections 5.2.12 and 15.3). This strategy is not available to the simple or the double negative constructions. Sometimes, *naqa* does mark the perfect with *aqi*:

(17-45)   *Maala   b=e   tharu-fi   nau*
        sore   that=3SG.NFUT (sore)afflict-TR   1SG

        qe=aqi   naqa! Maala   baa   e
        3SG.NFUT=not.exist   PRF   sore   that   3SG.NFUT

        mafo   naqa!
        (sore)heal   PRF
        'The sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me) is no more! The sore has healed!'

    However, frequently some degree of emphasis is present in addition to the perfect:

(17-46)   *Nau   wane ku   rii-riki-qi   doo, manga*
        1SG   man   1SG.NFUT   RDP-see-DETR   thing time

> qeri   qe   aqi   naqa.
> this   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   PRF/INTS
> 'I used to be rich (lit.: I used to see things), (but) this time no
> more/not at all.' 'I used to be a man who was rich; this time no
> more/not at all.'

But it is possible for *naqa* to express strong negation, without any sense of the perfect. The three expressions in (17-47) can all function as answers to polar interrogatives. The one in (a) is neutral, the one in (b) relatively emphatic, and the one in (c) highly emphatic:

(17-47)   a.   *Qe   aqi.*
                 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
                 'No.'

           b.   *Qe   aqi   boqo.*
                 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   ASRT
                 'No.'

           c.   *Qe   aqi   naqa.*
                 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   INTS
                 'Not at all.' 'No way.'

The situational demonstrative adverbs *neri* and *nena*, which are historically fusions of the perfect-marker/intensifier *naqa* and the demonstratives *qeri* and *qena*, respectively, can alo be used to make negation more emphatic (section 13.7)

(17-48)   *Qe   aqi   nena!*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   NPAST.THERE
           'Not there!' (Don't look there.)

Negation by means of *aqi* as a lexical verb and by means of the double negative construction can be made emphatic by means of either the Class 1 transitive verb *dolo-fi* 'smooth, make smooth' or the related intransitive proprietive verb *doodolo-qa* 'be smooth'. The first two examples show the two verbs in their basic meanings:

(17-49)   *Nau   kwai   dolo-fi-a   fasi   qaaqae-na   matau*
           1SG   1SG.FUT smooth-TR-3.OBJ   PREC   handle-3.PERS axe

>   *nau.*
>   1SG
>   'I am going to smooth the handle of my axe now.'

(17-50)   *Tala   qe   doodolo-qa.*
          path   3SG.NFUT   be.smooth-PROP
          'The path is smooth, level (without bumps).'

Both *dolo-fi* and *doodolo-qa* can be used in [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5) with *aqi* as a lexical verb. *Aqi* comes first. The negation is strongly emphatic.

(17-51)   A: *Qo   alu-a   ta   fa   qota?*
              2SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   some   CLF   areca.nut

          B: *Qe=aqi   dolo-fi-a.*
              3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   smooth-TR-3SG.OBJ
          A: 'Do you have any areca nuts?'
          B: 'None whatsoever.'

And using *doodolo-qa:*

(17-52)   *Qe=aqi   doodolo-qa.*
          3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   be.smooth-PROP
          'Not at all.' 'None/nothing whatsoever.'

In fact, both *dolo-fi* and *doodolo-qa* can form negative answers by themselves, without *aqi*, in which case they normally occur without a subject marker:

(17-53)   A: *Qo   thaofa?*
              2SG.NFUT   be.hungry

          B: {*Dolo-fi-a.*   /   *Doodolo-qa.*}
              smooth-TR-3SG.OBJ   /   be.smooth-PROP
          A: 'Are you hungry?'
          B: 'Not at all.'

The verb *doodolo-qa* can occur in a bi-clausal structure. Here too it forms a compound with *aqi*, and that clause is followed by an event clause whose proposition is negated by the clause with *aqi doodolo-qa*. Unlike in the double

negative construction, here the event clause is grammatically positive and must have the third person singular sequential subject marker.

(17-54)   *Wane*   *naqi,* *ngata-la-na*   *qe*   *quri-a*
             man   this   talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ

             wane   *qe*   *thaitoqome-qe* *doo,* *sui*   *taa*
             man   3SG.NFUT   know-DETR   thing but   but

             qe=aqi   *doodolo-qa*   *ka*
             3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   be.smooth-PROP   3SG.SEQ

             thaitoqoma-na *ta*   *si*   *doo.*
             know-3.OBJ   some PRTT thing
             'This man talks like someone who knows a lot, but he doesn't know a thing.' (Lit.: 'This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, but he does not know anything at all.')

On the whole, emphatic negation by means of *dolo-fi* or *doodolo-qa* is not common.

17.6.   Negation and disabling conditions

Negation by means of the subject markers, whether in the simple or in the double negative construction, neutralizes the future-nonfuture tense distinction. There is, however, another type of negative construction that asserts that a potential, contemplated, expected situation will not obtain, or should not obtain, because of some disabling conditions. A state of affairs would obtain were it not for some disabling conditions. The disabling conditions may but need not be expressed. This type of negative construction is bi-clausal. The first clause is the event one; it expresses the potential, contemplated, expected situation. The event clause is grammatically positive. It must contain the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.2) and the subject marker must be sequential. The second clause is a mini-clause that consists of the lexical negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case' with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*. The basic structure of this construction is shown schematically in (17-55):

(17-55)   [… *sa* sequential.subject.marker verb ...] [*qe aqi*]

The disabling conditions may be physical, including environmental ones.

(17-56)   *Kulu   sa   kuka   biinga   qa=fa   rodo*
          PL(INCL) IRR   PL(INCL).SEQ sleep   GENP=CLF   night

        qeri   qe=aqi.
        this   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
        'We will not be able to sleep (well) tonight.' (There are too many mosquitoes around.) (Lit.: 'We would sleep tonight; it is not.')

In the situation expressed in (17-57) the speaker and the addressee won't be able to see their mother any more because of her death:

(17-57)   *Qosi   angi-ngi-si-a   thaina-karoqa,*
          2SG.NEG   cry-RDP-TR-3.OBJ   mother-DU(INCL).PERS

        e   mae naqa,   koro   sa   koka
        3SG.NFUT   die PRF   DU(INCL)   IRR   DU(INCL).SEQ

        riki-a   naqa qe=aqi.
        see-3SG.OBJ   PRF   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
        'Stop crying for our mother; she has died; you and I won't (be able to) see her anymore.'

The proverb in (17-58) expresses the inability of the sun to change: the contemplated change of state will not, cannot take place because of the nature of the sun:

(17-58)   *Tarufula-a   suli-a   thato neri:*
          quote.proverb-DVN   PROL-3.OBJ   sun   NPAST.HERE

        Sa   ka   taatala laqu qe=aqi.
        IRR   3SG.SEQ   change   ADD 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
        'The proverb about the sun (goes like this): It will never change.' (It will always rise in the same place. That is, some things never change.)

Disabling conditions may be of a disallowing kind, such as social norms and obligations that may or should prevent a situation from coming about, although there is, of course, no guarantee that they will. For example, telling lies is contrary to social norms:

(17-59)   *Kaala   wela   naqi ki sa   keka   lole*
            little.PL child   this PL IRR   3PL.SEQ tell.lie.to

            kulu   qe   aqi.
            PL(INCL) 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
            'The little children will/shall/must not lie to us.'

In the situation expressed in (17-60) two men are in prison expecting to be executed for a murder. However, the police captain tells them they will not die because they had voluntarily given themselves up rather than trying to escape. Their giving themselves up stops the police captain from ordering their execution.

(17-60)   *Qoo, kamaroqa   sa   moka   mae   e   aqi,*
            oh   2DU   IRR   2DU.SEQ die   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

            uri-a   e=aqi   mosi
            REAS-3.OBJ   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2DU.NEG

            faqa-ulafu-a   qasia naqa soldia   nau   ki, ...
            CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ   INTS INTS soldier   1SG   PL
            'Oh, the two of you won't die, because you did not make my policemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing you).'

The disabling conditions are not necessarily known, and some such conditions can only be assumed, as in the situation expressed in (17-61):

(17-61)   *Nau   ku   toqomatafa-na   tha   weleqi*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   guy

            sa   ka   fula   qe=aqi.
            IRR   3SG.SEQ   arrive   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
            'I have a feeling the guy won't (be able to) come (because something will prevent/has prevented him from coming).'

Chapter 18
Mood

18.1.   Introduction

By "mood" are here intended expressions of modality that are not purely lexical. That is, under mood are included constructions that use grammatical elements (various particles) or constructions that show some degree of grammaticalization. The kinds of modality included here are almost exclusively of the "propositional" kind (Palmer 2001): epistemic modality and evidential modality. One of the constructions that expresses epistemic possibility can also express obligation. Some types of modality are expressed by means of verbs that take complement clauses (chapter 29). Interrogatives are discussed in chapter 19, and imperatives in chapter 20.

18.2.   Relatively high degrees of irrealis

There is a particle *sa* used in a variety of irrealis contexts. For convenience, *sa* is referred to as the irrealis marker. However, *sa* is not an across-the-board irrealis marker, because there are irrealis contexts where it is not used, such as the future tense. Rather, *sa* is used when the degree of irrealis is relatively high, compared to parallel cases with a lower degree of irrealis, where *sa* is not used.[39] Most commonly, *sa* functions as a verb-phrase constituent, immediately before the subject marker (see [4-1] in section 4.1), but it may occur at the beginning of a clause it has in its scope, before the subject, or it may precede a noun phrase which it has in its scope. Depending on the function of the irrealis marker or on the meaning being expressed, the subject marker may be future, nonfuture, sequential, or negative. The irrealis marker has two variants, *sa*, which is the usual form, and *so*, which is relatively rare. In the discussion that follows, the form *sa* represents the irrealis marker, but *so* does appear in a few examples. The irrealis marker may fuse with the following second person singular nonfuture subject marker *qo* and with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe* as *s=o* and *s=e*, respectively. And it may fuse with certain preceding verbs, which are reduced in their forms.

   The irrealis marker is used in a variety of constructions. Some of these are discussed in other parts of the grammar and so are mentioned here only briefly.

It is used in the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1), where it cooccurs with *mada* 'or'. Unreality conditionals are higher in irrealis than assertions/predictions about future situations: in addition to futurity (prediction), there is also less-than-full certainty that the situation will obtain. Compare (18-1), without *sa*, which is an assertion/prediction about the future, and (18-2), with *sa*, which is a conditional.

(18-1)   *Kwai   lae   i   Qaoke   qi   qusungadi.*
         1SG.FUT go   LOC   Auki   LOC   tomorrow
         'I'll go to Auki tomorrow.'

(18-2)   *Mada   sa   ku   lae   i   Qaoke   qi*
         or   IRR   1SG.NFUT go   LOC   Auki   LOC

         qusungadi, kwai   rofe   aniani   mai   qi
         tomorrow   1SG.FUT   look.for onion   VENT   LOC

         laa   uusi-a   lakoo.
         IN   buy-DVN   that(3)
         'If I go to Auki tomorrow, I'll look for onions at the market there (to bring back).'

Note that the degree of irrealis is not in direct correlation with the subject markers. In (18-1), which is a statement about a future event, it is the future subject marker that is used, while in the protasis of (18-2), which expresses a hypothesized future event and so is higher in irrealis, it is the nonfuture subject marker that is used.

The irrealis marker is also used in the protases of past counterfactual conditional sentences. Here too there is a high degree of irrealis because of counterfactuality: a hypothetical situation did not eventuate. In (18-3) the irrealis marker has the form *so*.

(18-3)   *Uri-a   taa   na   qosi   lae   mai   i*
         REAS-3.OBJ what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   go   VENT   LOC

         roqo?   Mada so   qo   fula,   koka
         yesterday or   IRR   2SG.NFUT   arrive   DU(INCL).SEQ

         lae,   koka   quu   ngede-ngali
         go   DU(INCL).SEQ shoot   pluck-canarium.nut

qa-karoqa.
SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
'Why didn't you come yesterday? If you had come, we would have
gone pigeon-shooting.'

(*Ngede-ngali* 'pluck'-'canarium.nut' is one of the names for the native pigeon,
bola; see section 12.4.4.)

The irrealis marker is used in event clauses conjoined with a negative mini-
clause to express the fact that a potential, contemplated, expected situation will
not obtain, or should not obtain, because of some disabling conditions (section
17.6). Here too there is a relatively high degree of irrealis: a potential situation
will not/should not eventuate.

(18-4)   *Kini   ki sa   keka   raa   qana oqola   baa   qi*
          woman   PL IRR   3PL.SEQ work GENP garden   that LOC

          qusungadi   qe=aqi.
          tomorrow   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
          'The women won't (be able to) work in the garden tomorrow.'

The irrealis marker is also used in other contexts to signal counterfactuality
of potential situations, and also a relatively low degree of expectation that a
situation will obtain, as discussed in the sections that follow.

18.3.   Low degree of expectation and counterfactuality

The irrealis marker is used in clauses embedded under certain transitive verbs
and in clauses paratactically adjoined to another one. It signals that the situation
expressed in the complement clause is not particularly strongly expected to
eventuate or that it did not eventuate in the past, in spite of its being desired,
attempted or assumed. Here too the presence of the irrealis marker expresses a
relatively high degree of irrealis, compared to its absence: either the desired,
attempted situation is less likely to eventuate, or it did not, in fact, eventuate.

Some of the complement-taking verbs are irrealis oriented, for example *that-
hami* 'want' and *ili-toqo* 'try'. And there are verbs with the meaning 'think
(that)' that may take clauses with the irrealis marker as their complements:
manata-toqo and *sore-qe*. The verb *thathami* 'want' is discussed first. In non-
past contexts, the irrealis marker in a clause embeded under *thathami* signals
that there is no particularly strong expectation that the desired situation
will/might indeed eventuate. Compare the next pair of examples. In (18-5) the
clause embedded under *thathami* does not contain the irrealis marker. The

speaker has no reason to assume that the desired event will not eventuate (even though, of course, it need not eventuate).

(18-5)   *Ku*   *thathami-a* *wela* *nau*   *kai*   *oli*
     1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ child 1SG   3SG.FUT return

     na=mai   *fasi-a*   *qi*   *Honiara.*
     PRF=VENT   ABL-3.OBJ   LOC   Honiara
     'I want my child to come back from Honiara now/straightaway.'

The sentence in (18-5) could be used when the speaker expects his child to come back, for example because he has asked him to. There is an expectation that the event will take place.

On the other hand, if a person wishes that a state of affairs obtain but there is no particularly strong expectation that it will, the irrealis marker is used in the embedded clause, as in (18-6). The speaker has no high expectation that his child will come back from Honiara any time soon, perhaps because he has not communicated his wish to him/her.

(18-6)   *Ku*   *thathami-a* *wela* *nau*   *sa*   *kai*   *oli*
     1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ child 1SG   IRR   3SG.FUT return

     na=mai   *fasi-a*   *qi*   *Honiara.*
     PRF=VENT   ABL-3.OBJ   LOC   Honiara
     'I wish my child would come back from Honiara now/straightaway.'

In (18-6) there is a higher degree of irrealis compared to (18-5), because the event of the embedded clause is perceived as being less likely to come about.

In past contexts, the irrealis marker is used in clauses embedded under 'want' when the desired situation did not eventuate. Compare (18-7) and (18-8) below. In (18-7) the embedded clause does not contain the irrealis marker. The speaker does not see any reason why the event of the embedded clause should not happen:

(18-7)   *Nau*   *ku*   *thathami-a* *kwai*   *lae*   *naqa.*
     1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT go   PRF
     'I want to go now.'

On the other hand, in (18-8) the desired event did not take place, which is made explicit by the final clause. The embedded clause, which encodes the desired event, contains the irrealis marker:

(18-8)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a   sa   kwai   lae,   keka*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT go   3PL.SEQ

           lufi   nau.
           prevent   1SG
           'I wanted to go, (but) they prevented me.'

As far as the verb *ili-toqo* 'try' is concerned, when there is no reason to ex-
pect that the attempt to bring a situation about will not be successful, *ili-toqo*
takes a nominalization as its object that expresses the relevant situation, and the
irrealis marker is not present.

(18-9)   *Koro   ili-toqo-na   qidu-la-na*
           DU(INCL).NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ   move-NMLZ-3.PERS

           fau   naqi.
           rock   this
           'Let's try to move this rock.' (Lit.: 'Let's try moving of this rock.')

On the other hand, when an attempt to bring a situation about is unsuccess-
luf, *ili-toqo* takes a finite clause as its complement, and the clause contains the
irrealis marker:

(18-10)   *Ku   ili-toqo-na   sa   kwai   lafu-a   maqa*
            1SG.NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT lift-3.OBJ   CL

            fau   neqe, ma   ka   kuluqa   qasia naqa.
            stone   this   and 3SG.SEQ   be.heavy   INTS INTS
            'I tried to lift the stone, but (lit.: and) it was too heavy.' (That is, the
            speaker was not able to lift the stone.)

Similarly, the irrealis marker is used in purpose clauses that express at-
tempted events when the attempt is unsuccessful (see examples [33-42] and
[33-43] in section 33.3.2).
   Complement clauses of the verbs 'think (that such and such is/was/will be
the case), assume (such and such to be/have been the case)' also can contain the
irrealis marker. Here too *sa* signals a relatively low degree of certainty that the
situation in question is or will be the case in non-past contexts, and counterfac-
tuality in the past. *Sore-qe* (which also means 'say'), with the detransitivizing
suffix *-qe*, is one such verb. The clause encoding a possible event is joined to
the *sore-qe* clause paratactically. Not infrequently, when *sore-qe* is to be di-
rectly followed by the irrealis marker in the next clause, the two fuse together

as *so=sa* or as *so=so*. The first example expresses a low degree of certainty about a potential future event, and the second one counterfactuality in the past:

(18-11) *Nau   ku   so=so   kwai   lae   qana*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   1SG.FUT go   GENP

        uusi-a   qi   qusungadi.
        buy-DVN   LOC   tomorrow
        'I think I might possibly go to the market tomorrow.' 'I am thinking of possibly going to the market tomorrow.'

(18-12) *Nau   ku   so=so   qo   lae   naqa.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   2SG.NFUT   go   PRF
        'I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).'

Another verb with the meaning 'think (that), assume (that)' is *manata-toqo* (often pronounced *mantatoqo*), a Class 2 transitive verb. The clause that encodes the potential event functions as the direct object of *manata-toqo*. In the example below, the irrealis marker signals counterfactuality in the past. The non-occurrence of the event is made explicit in the final clause.

(18-13) *Nau   ku   manta-toqo-na   wane baa   sa*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST-3.OBJ   man   that   IRR

        kai   fula, ma   ka   aqi   si   fula
        3SG.FUT arrive and   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive

        ba-na.
        LIM-3SG.PERS
        'I had thought the man would come, but (lit.: and) he simply did not come.'

Further examples of the use of the irrealis marker in complement clauses are given in section 29.4.

There are also two types of avertive construction, both of which employ the irrealis marker to signal counterfactuality in the past, specifically counterfactual near future in the past: a state of affairs nearly obtained but did not. In one construction the clause that expresses the counterfactual state of affairs is embedded under the transitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close to' (or, rarely, its phonological variant *karafi*). This construction and its open-near-future counterpart are discussed in section 15.1.2.3, and here only one example is given:

(18-14)   *Thaina-ku*   *e*   *kwala-fi*   *nau,*
           mother-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   give.birth-TR   1SG

           karangi-a   *sa*   *kai*   *mae.*
           be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   3SG.FUT   die
           '(When) my mother gave birth to me, she nearly died.'

The other avertive construction is mono-clausal. It uses the preverbal aver-tive particle *ota*. It is rare compared to the bi-clausal construction with *karangi-a* 'be near/close to'. Examples are given in sections 5.1.7 and 15.1.2.3.3.

18.4.   Evidential hedges and related counterfactuals

18.4.1. Introduction

The irrealis marker is also used in several other constructions, with two func-tions. First, it signals that the speaker does not fully commit himself/herself to the truth status of what he/she is saying: the situation is possible rather than certain; there is some evidence that it might obtain or might have obtained; the circumstances are such that it might come about, but there is no guarantee that it will. And second, those same constructions are also used to express counter-factuality, typically with respect to the past: a possible, likely, contemplated or expected situation did not, in fact, occur. In these constructions too the irrealis marker is associated with relatively high degrees of irrealis.

18.4.2. The simplest construction

First the more common type of construction is considered, where the irrealis marker occurs directly before the subject marker. The formally simplest such construction has the basic structure shown in (18-15):

(18-15)   (subject) *sa* future.subject.marker verb …

Compare the next pair of examples. The first one, without the irrealis marker, is a future-oriented assertion, an unqualified prediction:

(18-16)   *Dani kai   qaru.*
           rain   3SG.FUT   fall
           'It will rain.'

The second one below, with the irrealis marker, may be a hedge about a possible, likely or conceivable situation in the future (meaning a), or it may be a statement of counterfactuality about a possible, conceivable situation in the past that did not eventuate (meaning b):

(18-17)   *Dani   sa   kai   qaru.*
          rain   IRR   3SG.FUT   fall
          a. 'It may/might rain.' 'It looks like it might rain.'
          b. 'It looked like it would/might rain (but it did not).'

The counterfactuality may be made explicit by means of a sequential negative clause (section 16.3):

(18-18)   *Dani   sa   kai   qaru, ma   ka   aqi.*
          rain   IRR   3SG.FUT   fall   and   3SG.SEQ   not.be.so
          'It looked like it would/might rain, but (lit.: and) it didn't.'

In fact, this formally simplest strategy is used primarily in encoding past counterfactual situations. To encode possible, conceivable future situations, other, more complex strategies are preferred. Below are given a few more examples of the simple strategy to encode past counterfactual situations.

In the situation expressed in (18-19) the people would have run out of their house during a cyclone, but the weather conditions prevented them:

(18-19)   *Keka   fita   oli-li   ba-da   qi   laa*
          3PL.SEQ   run   return-RDP   LIM-3PL.PERS   LOC   IN

          luma kamiliqa,   ma   keka   dora   qana kula
          house 1PL(EXCL)   and   3PL.SEQ   not.know   GENP place

          na   keki   thaka   qi   ei,   sa   keki   thaka
          REL   3PL.FUT   escape   LOC   LOCPRO   IRR   3PL.FUT   escape

          uri   maa,   ma   kuburu   ka   baqita,   dani
          ALL   outside   and   storm   3SG.SEQ   be.big   rain

          ka   qaru.
          3SG.SEQ   fall
          'They just kept running back and forth inside our house and didn't know where to escape to (lit.: they didn't know the place which to escape to). They would have run (lit.: escaped) outside, but (lit.: and) the storm was heavy and it rained.'

This construction can also encode unfulfilled past obligations: obligations raise expectations that situations will be brought about.

(18-20) *Toqa   baa   ki sa   keki   lae   mai (ma   ka*
people   that PL IRR   3PL.FUT go   VENT and   3SG.SEQ

aqi).
not.be.so
'The people should have come (but did not).'

In (18-21) the obligation is made explicit: the clause expressing the unful-filled obligation is in a paratactic relation to the preceding clause, which con-tains the manipulative complement-taking verb *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (to do st.)':

(18-21) *Nau   ku   faqa-rongo nia   sa   kai   too*
1SG   1SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear 3SG   IRR   3SG.FUT stay

qa-na.   Nia   ka   ade   fasi   nau,
SBEN-3SG.PERS 3SG   3SG.SEQ act   ABL   1SG

ade-de-a,   nia   ka   mae   bo=naqa.
do-RDP-3SG.OBJ   3SG   3SG.SEQ be.dead ASRT=INTS
'I told him he should stay. He disobeyed me, kept doing it [going away], and now he is dead.'

Less commonly, the irrealis marker occurs before the subject:

(18-22)   *sa* subject subject.marker …

The subject marker is future when the situation is possible: there is some evidence that it might obtain.

(18-23) *Ma=ni   koro   bo=naqa, sa   doo qeri*
and=PROFORE   DU(INCL)   ASRT=INTS IRR   thing that

kai   thafa   thau-ngi   koro   qa-na
3SG.FUT ATTN   kill-TR   DU(INCL)   SBEN-3SG.PERS

neri.
NPAST.HERE
'And us, it looks like that thing [an ogre] will slowly kill us.'

The subject marker is nonfuture when there is counterfactuality: a state of affairs that seemed to obtain later turned out not to have obtained.

(18-24)   *Sa   maqe   maala   neq=e   mafo naqa nabaa, ...*
          IRR   CLF   sore   this=3SG.NFUT heal PRF   PAST.THEN
          'It looked like the (lit.: this) sore had healed then, (but it turned out later that it had not).'

18.4.3. Using the verb *quri* 'look like'

The Class 1 transitive verb *quri*, whose basic meaning is 'resemble, look like, be like', can be used as a hedge to attenuate the epistemic force of a proposition. The event clause, that is, the clause that expresses a proposition about whose truth value the speaker is less than fully certain, functions as the direct object of *quri*: *quri-a* X 'it looks like/it seems that X is/was/will be the case', 'it looked like/it seemed that X was/would be the case (but in the end was not)', 'X seems/seemed to ....', 'X seemed to ... (but in the end did not)'. In its basic meaning, *quri* can take non-clausal direct objects:

(18-25)   *Wane   e   quri-a   fa   kiikidukome.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ   CLF   willy.wagtail
          'The man is like a willy-wagtail.' (Said about active, energetic, enthusiastic people.)

When *quri* functions as a hedging element, it behaves unlike fully-fledged verbs, in the sense that it commonly occurs without a subject marker. On the other hand, *quri* is sometimes, although not commonly, accompanied by the self-benefactive marker *qa-* (section 5.2.10.2).

There are two basic types of construction in which *quri* is used in hedging. In one, to be dicussed first, *quri* takes as its subject the nominalization of the verb *riki* 'look at' (also 'see'), which carries the appropriate personal suffix (for which see further below): *riki-la*-pers.suff 'X's appearance', that is the way X appears, seems to be to somebody, literally 'X's looking-at'.[40] Since the subject of *quri* is a nominalization, the subject marker is third-person singular. However, the subject marker is commonly omitted. The basic structures of this type of construction is shown in (18-26):

(18-26)   *riki-la*-PERS (3sg.subject.marker) *quri-a* [event.clause]

The personal suffix on the nominalization of 'look at' can index the participant about whom or about which a hedged statement is being made ('X looks

like/X seems ....'), or it may index the situation as a whole, in which case it can only be third-person singular ('it looks like/it seems that ....'). The two possibilities are illustrated in (18-27a) and (18-27b), respectively, which are paraphrases of each other. In (18-27a) the nominalization carries the third-person plural personal suffix, which indexes the topic noun phrase 'the people', while in (18-27b) the nominalization carries the third-person singular personal suffix, which indexes the situation as a whole:

(18-27)   a.   *Toqa   lakoo,   riki-la-da   qe*
               people   that(3)   look.at-NMLZ-3PL.PERS   3SG.NFUT

               quri-a   keki   firu.
               look.like-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT fight
               'The people look like they will fight.' (Lit.: 'The people, their looking-at looks like they will fight.')

          b.   *Toqa   lakoo,   riki-la-na   qe*
               people   that(3)   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

               quri-a   keki   firu.
               look.like-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT   fight
               'The people, it looks like they will fight.' (Lit.: 'The people, its [i.e. the situation's] looking-at looks like they will fight.')

In (18-28) the personal suffix on the nominalization indexes the person about whom the hedged statement is being made:

(18-28)   *Riki-la-mu   qe   quri-a   qo*
          look.at-NMLZ-2SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   look.like-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT

          mataqi.
          be.sick
          'You look like you're sick.' 'You seem to be sick.'

If the relevant participant is encoded by a noun phrase, either that noun phrase is in the topic position before the nominalization of *riki* 'look at', as in (18-27a) further above, or it is the subject of the complement, event clause, as in (18-29):

(18-29)   *Riki-la-na   quri-a   dani kai   qaru.*
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ rain 3SG.FUT fall
          'It looks like it will rain.'

The event clause may contain the irrealis marker *sa*. The irrealis marker is used with two functions there. In one, it signals a relatively low degree of certainty on the part of the speaker concerning the factual status of the proposition, relative to a parallel construction without the irrealis marker in the event clause. In both cases, the statements are hedged, but those with the irrealis marker are more of a hedge than those without it. Compare (18-29) above, without the irrealis marker, and (18-30) below, with the irrealis marker, meaning (a). And second, the irrealis marker can signal counterfactuality of a possible, likely, anticipated situation in the past, as in (18-30), meaning (b).

(18-30) *Riki-la-na*   *quri-a*   *dani sa*
         look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ   rain   IRR

         kai   *qaru.*
         3SG.FUT fall
         a. 'It looks like it might rain.'
         b. 'It looked like it would/might rain (but it did not).'

In (18-31) the non-occurrence of a past situation that seemed possible is made explicit by a negative clause:

(18-31) *Riki-la-na*   *quri-a*   *dani sa*
         look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ   rain   IRR

         kai   *qaru, ma   ka   aqi.*
         3SG.FUT fall   and   3SG.SEQ not.be.so
         'It looked like it was going to rain, but it didn't.'

In (18-32) the event clause is negative: the hedged statement is about possible non-occurrence of the event in question by reference time. The irrealis marker signals a high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker:

(18-32) *Toqa*   *loo,*   *riki-la-na*   *qe*
         people   upward   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

         quri-a   *sa*   *kesi*   *lae*   *quu.*
         look.like-3.OBJ IRR   3PL.NEG go   ANTCONT
         'It looks like the people (from) up there may not have gone yet.'

In the hedging/counterfactuality construction just discussed, the verb *quri* 'look like' has as its subject the nominalization of *riki* 'look at'. There is another type of construction, also with the verb *quri*, where *quri* has no subject,

although it may have a third person singular subject marker that functions impersonally. However, it is more common for *quri* to have no subject marker. Here too the complement of *quri* is the event clause. This construction usually expresses either a quite low degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition or counterfactuality, in which case the event clause contains the irrealis marker *sa*. *Quri* may be preceded by a topic phrase, which usually, but not necessarily (see [18-36] further below), corresponds to the subject of the event clause. The basic structure of this construction is shown in (18-33):

(18-33)   (topic$_{i/j}$) (3sg.subject.marker$_i$) *quri-a* [event.clause]

In (18-34a) *quri* has the nominalization of *riki* 'look at' as its subject, while in the synonymous (18-34b) it has no subject. In both sentences *thaari naqi* 'this girl' is the topic that corresponds to the subject of the event clause:

(18-34)   a.   *Thaari   naqi,   riki-la-na   quri-a*
                  girl   this   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ

                 so=e   iana   neqe.
                 IRR=3SG.NFUT   be.pregnant   VIVID
                 'This girl, she looks like she might be pregnant.'

           b.   *Thaari   naqi,   quri-a   so=e*
                  girl   this   look.like-3.OBJ   IRR=3SG.NFUT

                 iana   neqe.
                 be.pregnant   VIVID
                 'This girl, it looks like she might be pregnant.'

In the next example, there are two occurrences of *quri*. In both cases *quri* has an impersonal subject marker.

(18-35)   *Nau   kwa   too   mena,   e   quri-a*
           1SG   1SG.SEQ   stay   CONC   3SG.NFUT   look.like-3.OBJ

           sa   kwai   too   ba-kuqa   bii   qoe,
           IRR   1SG.FUT   stay   LIM-1SG.PERS   COM   2SG

           e   quri-a   sa   qo   too
           3SG.NFUT   look.like-3.OBJ   IRR   2SG.NFUT   stay

> *ba-muqa   i   laa   maa-ku.*
> LIM-2SG.PERS   LOC   IN   eye-1SG.PERS
> 'Even though I stay [here, where you are not], it looks like I might
> (be able to) stay with you, it looks/is as if you were in my sight (lit.:
> in my eyes).'

It is possible for the irrealis marker to come before the subject in the event
clause embedded under *quri*. This is so in the next two examples. In (18-36) the
verb *quri* has no subject and no subject marker. It is preceded by a topic phrase.
The topic corresponds to the direct object of the event clause. Even though the
event clause is ostensibly about malaria and its possibly affecting the speaker,
in reality the speaker is making a hedged statement about himself.

(18-36)   *Nau boqo,   quri-a   sa   malaria qe*
          1SG   ASRT   look.like-3.OBJ   IRR   malaria 3SG.NFUT

          thau-ngi   nau.
          afflict-TR   1SG
          'Me, it looks like I may have malaria.' (Lit.: 'Me, it looks like ma-
          laria may have afflicted me.')

In the next example, the event clause is negative. The verb *quri* has the
nominalization of *riki* 'look at' as its subject.

(18-37)   *Riki-la-na   quri-a   sa   toq=qe=ki*
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ IRR   people=that=PL

          qe   aqi   kesi   fula   quu   mai.
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV 3PL.NEG arrive   ANTCONT   VENT
          'It looks like the people may not have arrived yet.'

There is one more type of construction where the irrealis marker signals
counterfactuality in a construction with the verb *quri* 'resemble, look like, be
like'. This construction is mono-clausal, and the irrealis marker has a noun
phrase, rather than a clause in its scope. The noun phrase is the direct object of
quri. As illustrated in (18-25) further above, *quri* can take non-clausal direct
objects: X *quri-a* Y 'X resembles/looks like/is like Y'. The sentence in (18-38)
is another example. (The quantifier *ta* has fused with the verb and so the object
suffix *-a* is not present.)

(18-38)   *Faar-a   daadaku   qeri ka*
          underneath-3.PERS   Calophyllum.sp   that   3SG.SEQ

> *quri=ta*   *biqu.*
> be.like:3.OBJ=some   house
> 'The (space) underneath (of) the *daadaku* tree (*Calophyllum ino-phyllum*) (which was bent down) was like a house.' (That is, being under the tree was like being inside a house.)

A speaker may place the direct object of *quri* in the scope of the irrealis marker (which directly precedes the noun phrase) to signal that the similarity between the entity expressed in the subject phrase to the type of entity designated by the direct object is only superficial, not real: *as if* the referent of the subject were of the type designated by the direct object. By using the sentence in (18-38) above, without the irrealis marker, the speaker asserts that the space was indeed like (the inside of) a house. For example, like a house it could serve as a shelter, and that was, in fact, how the space was used by a character in the text the sentence is from. On the other hand, (18-39) below contains the irrealis marker: the carvings only looked like sharks; they looked *as if* they were sharks, when, of course, they were nothing of the sort. In (18-39) the clause that contains *quri* is a deranked subordinate clause (chapter 36).

(18-39)   *Qi*   *laa*   *abu*   *laungi-a*   *kera*
          LOC   IN   sacred.house   decorate-3.OBJ   3PL.NFUT

            thau-ngani-a   *nuu-na*   *doo*   *ki,*   *quri-a*
            make-TR-3.OBJ   likeness-3.PERS   thing   PL   look.like-3.OBJ

            qa-na   *sa*   *tai*   *baqekwa*   *qana*
            SBEN-3SG.PERS   IRR   some.PL   shark   GENP

            beta-na   *abu*   *qeri.*
            post-3.PERS   sacred.house   that
            'Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks on the posts of that sacred house.' (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

In the next example an earlier practice of bestowing a name on a little boy a few years after his birth is likened to "dedication" of children in Christian religion, that is, to baptism. The speaker says that what people did in those days looked like baptism, but, in his view it was, of course, not at all like baptism because it was part of traditional, pre-Christian religion.

(18-40)   *Keka*   *faqameemengo-a*   *wela*   *qeri,*   *doo*
          3PL.SEQ   bestow.name.on-3.OBJ   child   that   thing

quri-a	*qa-na*	*sa*	*dedikeyshin, ...*
be.like-3.OBJ	SBEN-3SG.PERS	IRR	dedication

'They gave the child a name; the thing was as if it were a dedication/baptism ....'

While in the case of (18-39) the superficial similarity of the carvings to real sharks was, presumably, perceived as such by the people in those times, in the case of (18-40) the evaluation of the similarity as only superficial, not real, is the speaker's *post hoc* comment, because the custom of bestowing names on boys predated the arrival of Christianity and baptism in the Toqabaqita area.

Up to a point perhaps, it is up to the speaker to view a similarity of an entity to a certain type as real or not. In (18-41) below, from the same text as (18-40), the traditional (and no longer normally practiced) procedure of spraying a person who has been possessed by an ancestral spirit with chewed-up betel quid is likened to casting out the devil in Christianity, but here the speaker did not use the irrealis marker. While to an outsider chewing up a betel quid and spitting it in a spraying fashion at a person affected by an ancestral spirit may seem quite different from casting out the devil, to the speaker of (18-41) they apparently are not.

(18-41)

Doo	*quri-a*	*qa-n=ta*	*kasiaut*
thing	be.like-3.OBJ	SBEN-3.PERS=some	cast.out

neri	*na*	*kera*	*tari-a*	*qana*
NPAST.HERE	REL	3PL.NFUT	chase-3SG.OBJ	GENP

akalo	*n=e*	*thau-ngi-a*	*wane.*
spirit	REL=3SG.NFUT	affect-TR-3.OBJ	man

[Using a chewed-up betel mixture to treat a man who had been made sick by a spirit: They chewed up the betel mixture, they spat it at the man's face, at his chest and lower back. In this way they removed the spirit that had affected the man, and the spirit went away] 'The thing [that they did] was like casting out, with which they chased away the spirit that had affected the man.'

(In (18-41) instrument inversion has taken place; see section 10.7, where this example appears as [10-238].)

In the preceding discussion a connection has been made in several places between the use of a clause with the verb *quri* 'look like' with past-time reference and counterfactuality: a possible, anticipated, contemplated state of affairs did not materialize. However, while such counterfactuality is the usual case, it is not necessary. Whether there is counterfactuality or not depends on the van-

tage point. It is only after a potential situation has failed to eventuate that it can be seen as counterfactual. So, for example, in the situation expressed in (18-42) below, it is only at some time after the morning that the possible situation of it being sunny in the morning can be seen as counterfactual.

(18-42) *Quuqusungadia*   *riki-la-na*   *quri-a*   *sa*
         morning   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ IRR

         kai   *thato,*   *sui*   *ma*   *dani*   *ka*   *qaru* *laqu*
         3SG.FUT be.sunny but   and   rain   3SG.SEQ fall   ADD

         ba-na.
         LIM-3SG.PERS
         'The morning looked like it would be sunny, but (then) it just rained again.'

However, the speaker can adopt a different vantage point, a time in the past when a given situation looked possible, at which point the relevant person did not know whether it would eventuate or not. This is illustrated in the next example, where the person is speaking about how at a time in the past it was uncertain whether an activity he was involved in would cease or continue. He overtly mentions both possibilites: 'it looked as if it might cease' and 'it did not look as if it might cease', and, of course, only one of the possibilities could ultimately be counterfactual. The speaker does not characterize, with hindsight, which of the two possibilities was counterfactual; rather, he says how the situation appeared to him at the time in the past. In the first clause, *quri* and the irrealis marker have fused as *qu=sa*. The first *quri* clause is grammatically positive, while the second one is negative ('it did not look like ....').

(18-43) *Tai*   *si*   *manga,*   *laa-lae,*   *raa*   *neqe*
         some.PL PRTT time   RDP-go   work   this

         qu=sa   *kai*   *teo,*   *ma*   *sui*   *mena*
         look.like:3.OBJ=IRR   3SG.FUT cease   and   but   but

         riki-la-na   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*
         look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

         quri=qa-na   *sa*   *kai*   *teo,* ....
         look.like:3.OBJ=SBEN-3SG.PERS   IRR   3SG.FUT cease
         'At times it looked like this work might cease, but then (at other times) it did not look like it might cease, ...'

And just as *sa* need not signal counterfactuality when the vantage point is in the past, so the absence of *sa* is not incompatible with counterfactuality, if the counterfactuality is not known to the relevant person, even though it may be known to somebody else, such as the speaker. This is shown in the next example, where the being that the man thought was a girl because of the way she looked was, in fact, not a girl, as the following clause makes clear. The narrator knows the being was not a girl, but the character in the text, the man, did not know it at the time (although he learned that later). To the man, that being *was* the girl, because she looked like her.

(18-44) *Riki-la-na*   *quri-a*   *bo=naqa*   *ta*
       look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS look.like-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS some

       thaari   *mamana* *quu*   *boqo,*   *sui*   *taa*
       girl   be.real   ANTCONT   ASRT   but   but

       m=akalo   *ni*   *bana* *n=e*
       and=ancestral.spirit   LIG   LIM   REL=3SG.NFUT

       bulasi   *mai*   *qana*   *thaari.*
       transform.os.   VENT   GENP   girl
       'She still looked just like a real girl [i.e. the girl the man had met earlier], but (she was) just an ancestral spirit that had changed herself into a girl.'

There was counterfactuality in the situation expressed in (18-44), but that was not known to the relevant character, only to the omniscient narrator.

18.5.   Other expressions of uncertainty

Toqabaqita has several other means to express speaker's less-than-full certainty, or indeed uncertainty, about the factual status of a proposition. Two of these are clause-level particles, one involves the conjunction 'or' in positive or negative clauses, and two are sentence pro-forms.

18.5.1. *Toqo* 'perhaps', 'probably', 'possibly', 'I think', 'I guess'

Toqo is a clause-level particle that may have a whole clause in its scope or just a constituent within the clause, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase. When *toqo* has a phrase in its scope, it immediately follows it, except that it can be

linked to it by means of the ligature *ni*. When *toqo* has a whole clause in its scope, it occurs at or near the end of the clause: only a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb (sections 13.6.2 and 13.7, respectively) can follow it.

In the first three examples, *toqo* has the (rest of the) clauses in its scope:

(18-45)   *Gwau-ku   qe   fii   faa-faqekwa,*
           head-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   ache RDP-be.of.little.extent

           kwai   mataqi   toqo.
           1SG.FUT be.sick   I.think
           'My head aches just a little; I think I'll be sick/I may be getting sick.'

(18-46)   *Too   ba-d=i   sa-muluqa   toqo*
           stay   LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC   ADJC-2PL.PERS I.guess

           neri.
           NPAST.HERE
           'I guess [they] are staying with you (are they?).'

In (18-47) *toqo* coocurs, twice, with another strategy that also signals uncertainty, one that employs *mada* 'or' (see section 18.5.3):

(18-47)   *Nau   kwasi   thaitoqoma-na ta   thau-ngaqi-laa*
           1SG   1SG.NEG know-3.OBJ   some make-TR-NMLZ

           qufita,   mada ka   ngali-a   ura   laa   banga
           be.how? or   3SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ   ALL   IN   bank

           toqo,   mada ka   diposit qani-a   toqo ....
           perhaps or   3SG.SEQ deposit GENP-3SG.OBJ perhaps
           'I don't know how it was done (lit.: I don't know some making how); perhaps he took it [money] to the bank, (and) perhaps he deposited it [there] ....'

In the next three sentences *toqo* has noun phrases in its scope. In (18-48) too *toqo* coocurs with the strategy that uses *mada* 'or':

(18-48)   *Mad=e   aqi   nau toqo   na   keki*
           or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   1SG   possibly FOC   3PL.IPFV

	fuqaro-ngaqi	*nau*	*neri.*
	whisper-TR	1SG	NPAST.HERE

[On seeing/hearing people whispering.] 'It could possibly be me they are whispering about.' (Lit.: 'Or is it not me they are possibly whispering about?')

In (18-49) the noun phrase and *toqo* are connected by the ligature *ni*:

(18-49)   A: *Taa   na   kai   fai   karukaru*
              what?   FOC   3SG.IPFV   scrape   make.scratching.noise

neri?
NPAST.HERE

B: *Qasufa   ni   toqo   neri.*
   rat   LIG   probably   NPAST.HERE
A: 'What is it that's making the scraping, scratching noise?'
B: 'Probably a rat.'

With noun phrases that contain a numerical expression, *toqo* may express uncertainty about the exact quantity, or an approximation to that quantity. The indefinite quantifier *ta* 'some' (section 6.8.6) is normally used in such cases as well.

(18-50)   *... mili   raqu   faafi-a   fulinga-na*
              1PL(EXCL).NFUT   possess   CONF-3.OBJ   amount-3.PERS

ta   tri   handred   dolas   toqo.
some three hundred   dollar   perhaps
'... we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.'

When *toqo* occurs in clause-final or near-clause-final position, there may be ambiguity as to its scope: the whole clause or the preceding phrase, as in (18-51), where *toqo* may have just the prepositional phrase *i qusungadi* '(at) tomorrow' in its scope:

(18-51)   *Nau   ku   manta-i-a   wane qeri kai*
              1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TR-3.OBJ   man   that   3SG.FUT

> *lae   ma=i   qusungadi   toqo.*
> go   VENT=LOC   tomorrow   possibly
> a. 'I think the man *might* come tomorrow.' (The speaker is not certain about the man's coming.)
> b. 'I think the man might come *tomorrow*.' (The speaker is not certain whether it will be tomorrow that the man will come.)

Toqo also functions as a particle in the verb complex to express obligation (section 5.2.7).

18.5.2.   *Takona* 'most likely', 'certainly'; surprise

Like *toqo*, *takona* is a clause level particle, and the two are mutually exclusive. And like *toqo*, *takona* may have a whole clause or the preceding phrase in its scope. *Takona* has two main functions. In one, it expresses a relatively high degree of certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition. Given the evidence, a state of affairs most likely holds. In the first three examples, *takona* has the clauses in its scope.

(18-52)   *Wela naqi e   mataqi   takona.*
          child this   3SG.NFUT   be.sick   most.likely
          'This child is most likely sick.' 'The child must be sick.' (Judging from the way she looks.)

In (18-53) *takona* is followed by the vividness marker *neqe* (section 13.6.2):

(18-53)   *Nau   ai   kwai   mae   bo=naqa   takona   neqe.*
          1SG   woman   1SG.FUT   be.dead   ASRT=INTS   certainly   VIVID
          'I am a dead woman.' 'I will certainly die.' (Lit.: 'I am a woman who will certainly die.')

However, *takona* can also be used if the speaker knows that a proposition is true, but acknowledges that only under the weight of some evidence.

(18-54)   *Qoo, doo   mamana neri.   Nau   ku   lole*
          oh,   thing   be.true   NPAST.HERE   1SG   1SG.NFUT   tell.lie

          takona.
          most.likely
          'Oh, it is true (lit.: true thing). I guess I did lie./I must have lied.' (Admitting to lying when challenged with evidence.)

When *takona* has a phrase in its scope, it signals the speaker's relatively high degree of certainty that the referent is the one to which the proposition applies.

(18-55) *Ma   ku=naqi   takona   na   thaqaro qe*
        and   place=this   most.likely FOC   possum 3SG.NFUT

        qoro   i   ei.
        be.many   LOC   LOCPRO
        'And it is most likely at this place/here that there are many possums.' 'And it must be this place where there are many possums.'

In the other function, *takona* is used even if there is no uncertainty about the situation, or about an entity, but when the situation or an entity occasions a surprise by its unexpectedness, especially by the unexpected presence or appearance of someone or something. Here too *takona* can have the whole clause or just a phrase in its scope

(18-56) *Iiqee,   keekero   nau   baa   qe*
        oh,   yellow.bibbed.lory   1SG   that   3SG.NFUT

        fula   mai   takona!
        arrive VENT   SURPR
        'Oh, my dear one has arrived!' (Can be said when unexpectedly seeing the person.)

(The word for the Yellow-bibbed Lory, *keekero*, is also used as a term of endearment, affection, mainly by women to children.)

(18-57) *Qoe takona   qo   too   ba-muqa!*
        2SG   SURPR   2SG.NFUT   be.present   LIM-2SG.PERS
        'You are here!' (I did not expect to see you here.)

(18-58) *Bariqi   ka   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   ma   tha*
        Bariqi   3SG.SEQ   manner this oh   and   PERSMKR

        Suriaoa takona, e   rofe   nau   na
        Suriaoa SURPR   3SG.NFUT   look.for 1SG   FOC

> *ka   lae   mai."*
> 3SG.SEQ go   VENT
> 'Bariqi said (to himself) (on unexpectedly seeing Suriaoa, his pet bird), "Oh, that is Suriaoa! It's because he's been looking for me that he has come.".'

18.5.3.   *Mada* 'or'

Less-than-full certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of a proposition can be signalled by means of the form *mada* 'or', which also functions as a disjunctive coordinator for phrases and sentences (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4, respectively), and together with the irrealis marker *sa* introduces the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1). When it marks epistemic possibility, *mada* does not necessarily conjoin clauses or sentences. In this function, *mada* can occur in a grammatically positive or a grammatically negative construction, the latter being more common. The constructions with 'or' signal a relatively low degree of certainty on the part of the speaker about the factual status of the proposition. They function as suggestions concerning what a given state of affairs might be.

In a grammatically positive construction, *mada* occurs initially in the event clause, unless a constituent has been topicalized (see [18-60b] further below):

(18-59)   *Mada kera   fula   naqa neri.*
           or   3PL.NFUT arrive   PRF   NPAST.HERE
           'They may have arrived already.'

Grammatically positive sentences with *mada* 'or' are sometimes given the intonation of polar interrogatives, with a rise in the intonation at the end of the sentence (section 19.2.1), which expresses a relatively high degree of uncertainty. This is the case in (18-60a) and (18-60b). In (18-60b) the subject noun phrase has been topicalized.

(18-60)   a.   *Mada   wela naqi e   mataqi?*
                or   child this 3SG.NFUT   be.sick
                'Might/could the (lit.: this) child be sick?' 'Or is the child perhaps sick?'

          b.   *Wela naqi mad=e   mataqi?*
                child this   or=3SG.NFUT   be.sick
                'The child, might/could he be sick?' 'The child, is he perhaps sick?'

The negative construction is bi-clausal. The first clause is a mini-clause that consists of *mada*, the verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case', and the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*. The second clause is the event clause, which is grammatically positive. The basic structure of the construction is shown in (18-61):

(18-61)   [*mada qe aqi*] [event.clause]

Mada 'or' and the subject marker *qe* frequently fuse together as *mad=e*.
    The sentence in (18-62), with the negative construction, is synonymous with the sentence in (18-59) further above, without negation:

(18-62)   *Mad=e*   *aqi*   *kera*   *fula*   *naqa*
           or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   3PL.NFUT   arrive   PRF

           neri.
           NPAST.HERE
           'They may have arrived already.'

    The next two examples too contain the negative construction:

(18-63)   *Fanu e*   *qaru thaa-thato,*   *mad=e*
           place 3SG.NFUT   fall   RDP-be.sunny   or=3SG.NFUT

           aqi   *ta*   *wane*   *kai*   *mae neq.*
           not.be.so   some person 3SG.FUT die   VIVID
           'There is a sunshower (lit.: place [i.e. rain] is falling (and) it is sunny); somebody will possibly die.' (Sunshowers are interpreted as a sign of somebody about to die.)

(18-64)   *Fanga*   *naqi*   *e*   *unuuna*   *ba-na,*
           food   this   3SG.NFUT   be.not.plentiful   LIM-3SG.PERS

           mad=e   *aqi*   *kuki*   *ore.*
           or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   PL(INCL).FUT   miss.out
           'There is not plenty of food; we might miss out.'

    The strategy using *mada* 'or' can be combined with the epistemic particle *toqo* (section 18.5.1) in the event clause:

(18-65)   A: *Nau*   *seqe-ku*   *e*   *oo.*
              1SG   body-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   feel.very.cold

B: *Mada qe   aqi   qoki   mataqi toqo*
   or   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   2SG.FUT be.sick probably

   neri.
   NPAST.HERE
A: 'I feel cold to the bone.' (Lit.: 'I, my body feels very cold.')
B: 'You may be getting sick.'

Usually it is the whole proposition expressed in the event clause that the speaker is less than fully certain about. However, it is possible to make it explicit that it is only part of the proposition that the uncertainty relates to. In (18-66) the *mada* strategy is combined with the particle *toqo*, and the latter has only the focused first person singular pronoun in its scope. The speaker is uncertain not about the event of the people whispering but about who or what they are whispering about:

(18-66)   *Mad=e   aqi   nau toqo   na   keki*
          or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   1SG possibly FOC 3PL.IPFV

          fuqaro-ngaqi   nau   neri.
          whisper-TR   1SG   NPAST.HERE
          [On seeing/hearing people whispering.] 'It could possibly be me they are whispering about.' (Lit.: 'Or is it not me they are possibly whispering about?')

In (18-67) too the relevant part of the proposition ('tomorrow') is in focus. Here *toqo* is not used.

(18-67)   *Qoe, kali   fa   wasi   qoe baa, mad=e*
          2SG   little(SG) CLF watch   2SG that or=3SG.NFUT

          aqi   qusungadi naqa na   meki
          not.be.so   tomorrow   PRF FOC 1DU(EXCL).FUT

          uusi-a.
          buy-3SG.OBJ
          'You, that little watch of yours [the watch that we want to get for you], it may be tomorrow that we will buy it.'

18.5.4. *Botaena*, *botaqana* 'perhaps', 'possibly', 'don't know'

These two forms are sentence pro-forms that signal a relatively high level of uncertainty about the factual status of a proposition, or even complete lack of knowledge with respect to a proposition. They occur clause-initially, unless another element has been fronted, for example in topicalization. They can also form utterances by themselves.

   Botaena and *botaqana* are mutually interchangeable, the former being somewhat more common. In one function, they are often used in uncertain replies to questions. If the reply is clausal with a verb, the verb takes the appropriate sequential subject marker.

(18-68)   A: *Faka ba=e   fula   mad=e   aqi?*
              ship   that=3SG.NFUT arrive   or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

          B: *Botaena ka   fula, mada   ka   aqi.*
              perhaps 3SG.SEQ arrive or   3SG.SEQ not.be.so
          A: 'Did the ship arrive or not?'
          B: '(I don't know.) Perhaps it did arrive, or (perhaps) not.'

(18-69)   A: *Kamuluqa   sui   boqo, muki   kafara   qi*
              2PL   EXHST   ASRT 2PL.FUT make.copra   LOC

             qusungadi?
              tomorrow

          B: *Botaena.*
              possibly
          A: 'You all, will you make copra tomorrow?'
          B: 'Possibly.'

   In (18-70) *botaqana* follows a topicalized noun phrase:

(18-70)   *Thaqaro naqi, botaqana   si   kula n=e*
           possum   this   perhaps   PRTT place FOC=3SG.NFUT

           ni=i   ei   na=nia.
           be.located=LOC   LOCPRO   this=3SG
           '[A possum hunter has been looking for a possum, but cannot see it,
           and says to himself,] This possum, perhaps this is the place where it
           is, this (place) here.'

In their other function, *botaena* and *botaqana* express complete lack of knowledge:

(18-71)   A: *Ma   wela   baa?*
                and   child that

           B: *Botaqana.*
                don't.know
           A: 'And (where is) the child?'
           B: 'Who knows.' '*I* don't know.'

18.6.   The timitive mood

18.6.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has a category of mood that, following Palmer (2001), is referred to here as "timitive". (Palmer mentions "timitive" as a possible label, but he himself does not adopt it.) For an earlier discussion of the Toqabaqita timitive in a broader cross-linguistic context see Lichtenberk (1995), where the mood is referred to as "apprehensional epistemic".

The timitive mood is marked by the particle *ada*, which normally occurs clause initially. Exceptionally, a purpose marker may occur in a clause in the timitive mood, and it comes before *ada*; see (18-85) and (18-86) in section 18.6.3. *Ada* derives historically from a verb, whose meanings were 'see', 'look out, watch out', but in the present-day language it functions only as a timitive particle. The verb of a positive timitive clause must have a sequential subject marker, regardless of the temporal status of the proposition expressed, which may be past, present or future. The basic structure of positive clauses in the timitive mood is shown in (18-72):

(18-72)   *ada* (subject) sequential.subject.marker verb ...

If a clause in the timitive mood is negative, the simple or the double negating constructions can be used (sections 17.2 and 17.4, respectively), except that in the double negative construction the negative verb *aqi* must have the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*, not the nonfuture subject marker. The basic structures of the negative timitive constructions are shown in (18-73a) and (18-73b). In the former, the negative construction is of the simple type; and in the latter it is of the double type. In (18-73b) the optional noun phrase before the negative verb is a topic, coreferential with the subject marker

of the event clause. The negative event clause in the double negative construction cannot have a subject phrase.

(18-73)   a. *ada* (subject) negative.subject.marker verb …

         b. *ada* (topic) [*ka aqi*] [negative.event.clause]

A clause in the timitive mood may be joined asyndetically to a preceding clause, or it may form a sentence on its own, as in (18-74) and (18-75) respectively, with positive timitive clauses:

(18-74)   *Bibi*   *faafi-a*   *kaufa ada   thauthau   ka*
           weigh.down   CONF-3.OBJ mat   TIM   wind   3SG.SEQ

           ngali-a.
           take-3SG.OBJ
           'Weigh down the mat (with something); the wind might take it.'
           'Weigh down the mat so that the wind may not take it.' 'Weigh
           down the mat lest the wind take it.'

(18-75)   *Ada   keka   fanga   sui   naqa.*
           TIM   3PL.SEQ eat   COMPL   PRF
           'They may have finished eating.'

In the next two examples, the timitive clauses are negative. In (18-76) the negative construction is of the double type, and in (18-77) of the simple type:

(18-76)   *Ada   bii   naqi ka   aqi   si*
           TIM   food.in.stone.oven this   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG

           qako   ba-na.
           be.cooked   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'The food (in the stone oven) may/might not be done yet.'

(18-77)   *Ada   toqa   baa   ki kesi   fula   ba-da.*
           TIM   people   that PL 3PL.NEG arrive   LIM-3PL.PERS
           a. 'The people may simply not have arrived.'
           b. 'The people may simply not arrive.'

A clause in the timitive mood can contain the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.2), but this is somewhat rare. The irrealis marker signals a relatively low degree of likelihood of the situation obtaining.

(18-78)   *Ada   sa   keka   lae   mai, keka   thau-ngi*
           TIM   IRR   3PL.SEQ   go   VENT   3PL.SEQ   kill-TR

           kulu   ba-da.
           PL(INCL)   LIM-3PL.PERS
           'They might just possibly come and kill us.' 'They might just possibly come to kill us.' 'They might just possibly come, in which case they would kill us.'

It is only the proposition expressed in the first clause in (18-78) that the timitive and the irrealis markers have in their scope: the people's coming. The second event, their killing the speaker and his group is seen as something that would (automatically) follow.

However, it is possible for the scope of the timitive marker to extend beyond the clause in which it occurs. In (18-79) it has not only its own clause in its scope but also the following, disjunctively coordinated clause:

(18-79)   *Kaala   wela   qe=ki   bana   na   kera   alu-da.*
           little.PL   child   that=PL   LIM   FOC   3PL.NFUT   put-3PL.OBJ

           Keka   too   kali-a   tha   Bariqi   ada
           3PL.SEQ   stay   surround-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Bariqi   TIM

           ta   wane   fula   ka   luke-a,   mada
           some   person   arrive   3SG.SEQ   release-3SG.OBJ   or

           ka   thaka.
           3SG.SEQ   escape
           'It was only the little children that they put [there to watch Bariqi]. They [the children] stayed around Bariqi in case somebody might come and free him or so that he might not escape (by himself).'

The timitive mood expresses a kind of mixed modality (von Wright 1951): two types of modality are present simultaneously. First, *ada* functions to express epistemic possibility: the situation expressed in a timitive clause is viewed as a potential, possible one, rather than one whose occurrence is asserted. And second, *ada* is used only when the potential situation encoded in the clause is undesirable. The undesirability of a situation may be signalled by *ada* alone, or it may also be expressed in another clause. The timitive mood is highly subjective: the speaker's less-than-full certainty is combined with his or her view of the potential situation as undesirable. Most commonly, the temporal status of the proposition is future relative to the time of the speech act, as in

(18-74) further above and in many of the examples below, but it may be present, as in (18-76) above, or past, as in (18-75).

Ada is used in several types of contexts and functions: "fear", "precautionary", and "apprehensional-epistemic". These will now be discussed in turn; however, as will be seen, the semantic/pragmatic distinctions between some of the uses are not always clear-cut.

18.6.2. Fear contexts

In fear contexts, a timitive clause follows a clause that contains a verb of fearing: a potential situation expressed in a timitive clause is undesirable for, and feared by, the referent of the subject of the verb of fearing.

(18-80)   *Nau   ku   maqu   ada   qoko   qaru.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.afraid   TIM   2SG.SEQ fall
          'I'm afraid you might fall down.'

(18-81)   *... mika   maqu   qana tai   qai*
              1PL(EXCL).SEQ be.afraid   GENP some.PL   tree

          n=e   ni=i   ninima-na   luma
          REL=3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC   beside-3.PERS house

          kamiliqa,   ada   ka   thau-ngi kamiliqa, ...
          1PL(EXCL)   TIM   3SG.SEQ   kill-TR   1PL(EXCL)
          '... we were afraid that some of the trees that stood next to our house
          might (fall over and) kill us, ...' '... we were afraid lest some of the
          trees that stood next to our house (fall over and) kill us, ...' (Lit.: '...
          we were afraid of some of the trees that were next to our house that
          they might kill us, ...')

(18-82)   *Nau   ku   mamathaa suli-a   wela naqi, ada*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.worried PROL-3.OBJ child this   TIM

          matau   ka   toqe-a.
          axe   3SG.SEQ   cut-3SG.OBJ
          'I'm worried that the child might cut himself on the axe.' (Lit.: 'I am
          worried about the child; the axe might cut him.')

18.6.3. Precautionary contexts

Here a timitive clause is preceded by a clause that expresses the situation brought about in view of the potential undesirable situation of the timitive clause. The situation expressed in the first clause is precautionary: it is (to be) brought about either to prevent the potential situation from coming about or at least to counteract it in some way in case it does come about. Consequently, one can speak of "preventive"[41] and "in-case" subtypes of precautionary situations.

   In the preventive subtype, the situation of the first clause serves to prevent the situation of the timitive clause from coming about. The timitive mood expresses negative purpose here. As discussed in section 33.3.4, negative purpose may alternatively be expressed by means of the purpose marker *fasi*, but *fasi* is used primarily to express positive purpose. Negative purpose is normally expressed by the timitive mood, but *fasi* can be used in timitive clauses; see further below. Even though a timitive clause may express negative purpose, it is grammatically positive.

(18-83)   *Nau   ku   agwa qi   buir-a   fau,   ada*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   hide LOC   behind-3.PERS   rock   TIM

          ka   riki   nau.
          3SG.SEQ   see   1SG
          'I hid behind the rock so that he would not see me.' 'I hid behind the rock lest he see me.'

(18-84)   *Qoko   beta   qoe   ba-muqa,   ada*
          2SG.SEQ   take.care.of   2SG   LIM-2SG.PERS   TIM

          maruki-la-mu   ka   too   qi   laa
          live-NMLZ-2SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   be.located   LOC   IN

          qafetaqi-a   or   danger.
          be.difficult-DVN   or   danger
          'Take care of yourself so that your life may not get into hardship/difficulty or danger.' 'Take care of yourself lest your life get into hardship/difficulty or danger.'

   In expressions of negative purpose, a clause in the timitive mood may function as the complement of one of the two purpose markers *fasi* or *uri*, but this is quite rare, and the purpose markers are never obligatory. While *fasi* can be used without *ada* to express negative purpose (see section 33.3.4 for examples), *uri*

can be used in this function only in a timitive clause. In (18-85) the purpose marker is *fasi*:

(18-85) *Ngali-a   kaleko   qaaqako,   fasi-a   ada   qoko*
         take-3.OBJ   clothes   be.warm   PURP-3.OBJ   TIM   2SG.SEQ

        gwagwari   qa=fa   rodo.
        feel.cold   GENP=CLF   night
        'Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.'

Compare the synonymous example (18-87) further below without the purpose marker.

In (18-86) the timitive clause is the complement of the purpose marker *uri*:

(18-86) *Nau   ku   kani-a   botho naqi   qana maqe*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   tie-3.OBJ   pig   this   GENP CLF

        qai   naqi, uri-a   ada   ka   thaka.
        wood   this   PURP-3.OBJ   TIM   3SG.SEQ   run.away
        'I tied the (lit.: this) pig to the post so that it might not run away.'

In the in-case subtype of precautionary situations, the state of affairs expressed in the clause preceding the timitive clause does not serve to prevent the undesirable situation from coming about. Rather, that clause expresses what could/should be done in case the undesirable situation does take place. That situation will not be prevented, but some counteracting measures may be taken. In some cases, the counteracting measure will alleviate the effects of the undesirable situation. Compare the next two examples. The first one is of the preventive type: the speaker is telling the addressee to take warm clothes *in order that* he (the addressee) may not feel cold:

(18-87) *Ngali-a   kaleko   qaaqako ada   qoko   gwagwari*
         take-3.OBJ   clothes   be.warm TIM   2SG.SEQ   feel.cold

        qa=fa   rodo.
        GENP=CLF   night
        'Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.'

The second example is of the in-case type: here too the speaker is telling the addressee to take warm clothes, but even if the latter does take some, that will not prevent the night from being cold. However, it will alleviate the effects of the cold on the addressee:

(18-88)   *Ngali-a   kaleko   qaaqako   ada   fanu qeri   ka*
        take-3.OBJ   clothes   be.warm   TIM   place this   3SG.SEQ

        gwagwari-la   ba-na   qa=fa   rodo.
        (weather)be.cold-PROP   LIM-3SG.PERS   GENP=CLF   night
        'Take (some) warm clothes in case it is cold tonight (lit.: in case this
        place is cold tonight).' 'Take (some) warm clothes (because) it may
        be cold tonight.'

In the situation expressed in the next example, looking under the timber will
not prevent ants from being there, but if there are ants there, the addressee can
take a counteracting measure, such as cleaning the board before using it or not
using it at all:

(18-89)   *Lio   fas=i   faar-a   ada   ta   fuufusi*
        look   PREC=LOC   underneath-3SG.PERS   TIM   some ant

        ka   too-too   qani-a.
        3SG.SEQ RDP-be.present   GENP-3SG.OBJ
        'Look first underneath [the piece of timber], in case there are ants
        there.'

While the preventive and the in-case subtypes are in principle different from
each other semantically, a sentence may be ambiguous between the two inter-
pretations. In the next example either interpretation is possible: the person's
looking out for the enemy may prevent the enemy's coming and doing some-
thing; or the enemy might come and do something regardless, but some action
in anticipation of that may be taken to alleviate the possible effects.

(18-90)   *... wane kai   too   i   laal-a,   kai*
          man   3SG.FUT stay LOC   inside-3SG.PERS   3SG.FUT

        lio   maqasi-a   maqalimae, ada   ka   lae   mai
        look   wait.for-3.OBJ enemy   TIM   3SG.SEQ go   VENT

        ka   ili-a   ta   si   doo.
        3SG.SEQ do-3.OBJ some PRTT   thing
        a. '… a man would stay inside [a sentry post] and look out for (lit.:
            look waiting for) the enemy so that he [the enemy] might not
            come and do something.'
        b. '… a man would stay inside and look out for the enemy in case
            he should come and do something.'

18.6.4. The apprehensional-epistemic function

In this function, *ada* alone carries the meaning of a potential situation being undesirable. There need not be any preceding clause or sentence, or if there is one it does not contain a verb of fearing nor does it express a precautionary situation. The first example below expresses the speaker's concern that it might rain:

(18-91)   *Ada   dani   ka   qaru.*
        TIM   rain   3SG.SEQ fall
        'It might/may rain.'

    The speaker is less-than-fully certain that it will rain, and, importantly, the rain would be undesirable for him/her. The timitive mood would not be used if the speaker were hoping for rain, such as after a period of drought. Below are given two more examples of timitive sentences:

(18-92)   *Ada   qoko   mataqi.*
        TIM   2SG.SEQ   be.sick
        'You might be sick.' (The addressee is showing signs of being sick.)

(18-93)   *Ada   bii   naqi   ka   aqi   si*
        TIM   food.in.stone.oven this   3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

        qako   ba-na.
        be.cooked   LIM-3SG.PERS
        'The food (in the stone oven) may/might not be done yet.' (Opening and closing a stone oven are laborious processes, and the speaker is concerned about it being opened prematurely.)

    A timitive clause may be preceded by another clause, but the first clause need not expresses fear about the potential situation of the timitive clause, and it need not encode a situation that may prevent or counteract it either. For example, the preceding clause may express a situation that is seen as potentially leading to, resulting in, an undesirable situation, expressed in the timitive clause:

(18-94)   *Qoe, qe   aqi   qosi   lae   bii   nau, uri*
        2SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG go   COM   1SG   REAS

        qoe   kwai-na   wane   ramo,   nau
        2SG   spouse-3.PERS man   professional.killer 1SG

> *wane teqe nau, ada ka   ala-si   nau.*
> man sole 1SG   TIM 3SG.SEQ attack.to.kill-TR 1SG
> 'You, don't come with me, because you are the wife of a profes-
> sional killer (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me), (and) he
> might attack and kill me.'

(18-95) *Thaama-ka   qae!, teqe kui   mai*
       father-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC one   dog   VENT

       nena,   ada ka   qale kulu.
       there(2) TIM 3SG.SEQ bite PL(INCL)
       'Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.'

(*Thaama-ka*, lit.: 'our father', is an exclamative form expressing surprise,
shock, reproach, indignation, not necessarily directed at one's father; see also
section 8.1.2).

In (18-96) the first clause expresses what may be the symptom of the possi-
ble undesirable situation:

(18-96) *Nau ku   feda   qasia naqa, ada kwa*
       1SG 1SG.NFUT be.tired INTS INTS TIM 1SG.SEQ

       mataqi   ba-kuqa.
       be.sick   LIM-1SG.PERS
       'I feel very tired; I may just be (getting) sick.'

And in (18-97) the first clause expresses the temporal circumstance of the
potential undesirable event:

(18-97) *Laalae qoki   biinga naqa, ada qoko   lio-dora*
       when   2SG.FUT sleep   PRF TIM 2SG.SEQ mind-forget

       qana kwaqe-mae-li-la-na   laeta.
       GENP hit-die-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS light
       'When you are about to (go to) sleep, (I am afraid) you might forget
       to put out the light (so make sure you do put it out).' 'When you're
       about to (go to) sleep, don't forget to put out the light.'

The distinction between expressions of apprehensional-epistemic meanings
and negative purpose is not always clear cut. The sentence in 18-98) is inter-
pretable either way. The speaker may be relatively less or more certain that the

undesirable event might/will come about; see the (a) and (b) translations, respectively:

(18-98) *Qe=aqi*   *qosi*   *fale-a*   *iqa*   *qi*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2SG.NEG   give-3.OBJ   fish   LOC

         fa-na   *wela* *qena*   *ada*   *ka*   *lola*
         REC-3.PERS child that(2)   TIM   3SG.SEQ choke

         qani-a.
         GENP-3SG.OBJ
         a. 'Don't give the fish to the (little) child; he might choke on it.'
         b. 'Don't give the fish to the (little) child, so that he doesn't choke
            on it.'

Chapter 19
Interrogatives

19.1. Introduction

Toqabaqita has two basic interrogative sentence types: (a) closed interrogatives and (b) open interrogatives. The closed-open distinction has been adopted here from Huddleston (1994: 419): "[c]losed and open interrogatives are characteristically used to express questions where the set of answers is respectively closed and open". In Toqabaqita, there are subtypes of interrogatives within both the closed and the open categories. Also following Huddleston (1994), the term "interrogative" is used here to designate certain sentence types, whereas the term "question" is used to designate the central illocutionary force of interrogative sentences, which is to ask for information. In parallel to closed and open interrogatives (and their subtypes), one can distinguish closed and open questions (and their subtypes). Although interrogatives are used primarily to ask for information, they have other functions as well, such as asking for confirmation or in phatic communion. Different subtypes of interrogatives may be combined in "complex interrogatives". And there are also dependent interrogatives that are complement clauses.

19.2. Closed interrogatives

Two basic subtypes of closed interrogatives exist in Toqabaqita: polar and alternative.

19.2.1. Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives express questions that can be answered by 'yes' or 'no', although other answers are possible as well, such as 'maybe' or 'I don't know'. However, 'no' answers are not defining of polar questions in Toqabaqita, because questions asked by means of open interrogatives also can be answered with 'no'. It is 'yes' and 'maybe' answers that are unique to polar questions. (See section 19.4 for answers to questions.)

The structure of polar interrogatives is no different from the structure of (simple) declarative sentences. The only difference is in the intonation. While in declaratives there is normally a fall in intonation towards the end of the sentence, in polar interrogatives there is a rise in intonation towards the end. The sentence in (19-1) with falling intonation at the end is declarative, while structuraly identical (19-2) with a rise in intonation at the end is interrogative:

(19-1) *Qe   qako   naqa.*
        3SG.NFUT   be.cooked   PRF
        'It [food] is cooked/done now.'

(19-2) *Qe   qako   naqa?*
        3SG.NFUT   be.cooked   PRF
        'Is it cooked/done now?'

Polar interrogatives can be elliptical sentence fragments:

(19-3) *Qa-muqa?*
        POSS-2SG.PERS
        'Yours?' (Asking about food.)

A polar interrogative may contain a topicalized, fronted element:

(19-4) *Wela baa ki,   qo   riki-da?*
        child that PL   2SG.NFUT   see-3PL.OBJ
        'The children, did you see them?'

A polar interrogative can be joined with a non-interrogative clause in a complex sentence. In (19-5) the interrogative clause is coordinated with a declarative clause :

(19-5) *Nau ku   lae naqa, ma ni   kamuluqa?*
        1SG 1SG.NFUT   go   PRF and PROFORE   2PL
        'I am going now, and (how about) you?'

And in (19-6) the interrogative clause forms the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

(19-6) *Mada   sa   mika   fula   qi   qusungadi,*
        or   IRR   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   arrive   LOC   tomorrow

> *ka   leqa   ba-na?*
> 3SG.SEQ be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
> 'If we come tomorrow, will that be all right? (lit.: will that only be good?)' 'If we came tomorrow, would that be good?'

Without any formal difference, positive polar interrogatives may express neutral questions, where the speaker has no particular expectations about whether the answer will be positive or negative, or they can express biased questions, where the speaker has an expectation that the answer will be positive. The question expressed in (19-7) is neutral:

(19-7)   *Qo   riki-a   faela baa?*
         2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   file   that
         'Have you seen the file [a tool]?'

On the other hand, the question expressed in (19-8) is biased. The question is directed at a person who is getting ready to leave. The speaker expects the answer to be positive and seeks confirmation:

(19-8)   *Qoki   lae   naqa neri?*
         2SG.FUT   go   PRF   NPAST.HERE
         'Are you going now?'

Sometimes the speaker is fully certain that the state of affairs is indeed such and such and is seeking neither information nor confirmation. Rather a positive polar interrogative serves a phatic communion function. Quite commonly, people when seeing that a state of affairs is such and such will use a polar interrogative as if they were inquiring about that state of affairs. Such interrogatives typically serve as a way to initiate conversation or as a greeting. The sentence in (19-9) was addressed to a man who was clearly making copra:

(19-9)   *Qo   kafara   nena?*
         2SG.NFUT   make.copra   NPAST.THERE
         'Are you making copra?'

And the interrogative in (19-10) was addressed to a person who was passing by on his way down (towards the coast) and was intended as a greeting:

(19-10) *Qo   sifo   nena?*
         2SG.NFUT   descend NPAST.THERE
         'Are you going down?'

Positive polar interrogatives are also used when the speaker is not seeking information from the addressee because he/she does not expect the addressee to have the information. Rather, the speaker is contemplating the possibility that such and such may be the case or is wondering whether such and such might be the case. Such interrogatives function to express a relatively high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker about a state of affairs. They employ the element *mada* 'or', which elsewhere functions as a conjunction and also to introduce the protases of conditional sentences, and they may also contain the particle *toqo* 'perhaps', 'probably', 'possibly' (section 18.5.1). In (19-11) *toqo* is present:

(19-11) *Mada   e   sifo   toqo?*
         or   3SG.NFUT   descend   perhaps
         'Did he perhaps go down [to the coast]?'

For a pair of examples without *toqo* see (18-60a) and (18-60b) in section 18.5.3.

In contrast to positive polar interrogatives, negative polar interrogatives are normally used to seek confirmation. A negative state of affairs is unexpected or unusual, and the speaker wishes to have it confirmed that the situation is indeed such and such. For example, on arriving at a household in the morning and not seeing Ulufaalu (a man) around, the person surmises that Ulufaalu is still asleep and asks:

(19-12) *Ulufaalu   qe=aqi   si   tharaqi?*
         Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.awake
         'Ulufaalu is not awake?'

By saying (19-13), the speaker expresses her surprise at not seeing Fiona and the others around:

(19-13) *Fiona   kesi   fula   quu?*
         Fiona   3PL.NEG arrive   ANTCONT
         'Haven't Fiona 'n them arrived yet?'

19.2.2. Alternative interrogatives

Alternative interrogatives express questions that "provide a list from which, the speaker suggests, the right answer might be drawn" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). In Toqabaqita, the alternatives in such a list are joined by means of the conjunction *mada* 'or' (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4). There is normally a fall in

intonation at the end of an alternative interrogative. The alternatives may be clausal, where it is clauses that are joined by *mada*, or subclausal, where clause constituents are joined rather than whole clauses. In the first example below the alternatives are expressed in noun phrases:

(19-14)   *Qo   thathami-a alo   mada kai?*
           2SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ taro   or   yam
           'Do you want the taro or the yam?'

As far as clausal alternatives are concerned, two main subtypes can be distinguished. In one, the clauses encode independent alternative propositions, while in the other type the proposition of the second clause is a negation of the proposition of the first clause. The subtype with independent alternatives is illustrated in (19-15):

(19-15)   *Qo   raa   mada   qoki   biinga   ba-muqa?*
           2SG.NFUT   work or   2SG.IPFV sleep   LIM-2SG.PERS
           'Did you work or were you just asleep?'

If the second alternative is a negation of the first one, that alternative is normally expressed only by means of the negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case' (section 17.3):

(19-16)   *Faka ba=e   fula   mad=e   aqi?*
           ship   that=3SG.NFUT arrive   or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
           'Did the ship arrive or not?'

If the second alternative is assumed by the speaker to be obvious, it need not be expressed at all, but the conjunction *mada* 'or' is still present. In fact, it is the presence of *mada* that implies the existence of an alternative.

(19-17)   *Qoki   too   ba-muqa   mada?*
           2SG.FUT stay   LIM-2SG.PERS   or
           'Are you staying or (are you coming with us)?' 'Are you staying or (not)?'

19.3.   Open interrogatives

19.3.1. Introduction

Open interrogatives contain a phrase that serves to seek a specific type of information. Such phrases are referred to here as "interrogative phrases". An interrogative phrase contains an interrogative word that designates the kind of information sought.

The interrogative words of Toqabaqita, together with their glosses and parts of speech are listed in table 19.1. In some cases the glosses are only approximate; more detail is given in the appropriate sections.

Table 19.1. Interrogative words

tei	'who?'	noun
taa	'what?', 'which?'	noun
qufita	'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?	verb (intr.)
qufita-a	'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?'	verb (tr.)
fita	'how many?, how much?'	quantifier (cardinal)
fita-na	'how manieth?'	quantifier noun (ordinal)
fei	'where?'	adverb
fania, *fana*	'where?', 'how?'	particle
angita	'when?'	adverb
tafa	'which part of person's or animal's body?	noun

Some of the interrogative words are also used to form conditional-concessive clauses, in unrestricted-choice constructions (section 24.2).

19.3.2. Fronting and non-fronting of interrogative phrases, and other properties of open interrogatives

With some exceptions, interrogative phrases may occur *in situ*, where the corresponding non-interrogative phrase would occur in a declarative sentence, or they can be fronted into the focus position (see [39-2] in section 39.1). In (19-18) the interrogative phrase *taa* 'what?' occurs *in situ*, while in (19-19), it has been fronted and is in focus. (The focus marker *na* and the subject marker have fused as *n=o*).

(19-18)   *Qo   riki-a   taa?*
            2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   what?
            'What did you see?' 'You saw what?'

(19-19)   *Taa   n=o   riki-a?*
            what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
            'What did you see?'

Similarly in the next pair of examples. In (19-20) the possessive interrogative phrase is *in situ*, while in (19-21) it has been fronted and is in focus:

(19-20)   *Kera   kwaqi-a   rake=ni   tei?*
            3PL.NFUT   cut-3.OBJ   belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR   who?
            'Whose belly did they cut (open) (in a surgical operation)?'

(19-21)   *Rake=ni   tei   na   kera   kwaqi-a?*
            belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR   who?   FOC   3PL.NFUT   cut-3SG.OBJ
            'Whose belly did they cut (open)?'

Predicate interrogative noun phrases too can be fronted and focused:

(19-22)   *Tei   na   wane lakoo?*
            who?   FOC   man   that(3)
            'Who is that man?'

Compare (19-23) with 'who?' in the predicate of a verbless sentence:

(19-23)   *Thata-mu   ni   tei?*
            name-2SG.PERS   PERSMKR   who?
            'What is your name?' (Lit.: 'Your name is who?')

See section 27.2.3 for grammatically positive verbless ascriptive sentences.

Occasionally, a fronted interrogative phrase occurs without the focus marker:

(19-24)   *Tei   kera   b=o   ngata   bii   kera   qi*
            who?   3PL   that=2SG.NFUT speak   COM   3PL   LOC

            quuqusungadia?
            morning
            'Who (plural) did you speak with in the morning?'

For another example see (19-148) in section 19.3.11. This, however, is rare.

The focus marker is sometimes absent when the interrogative phrase contains the perfect marker *naqa*; see (19-114) in section 19.3.6. This is also the case in non-interrogative clauses (section 39.2).

The two options — fronting with focusing and no fronting — do not exist for all types of open interrogatives. When they do, the type with the interrogative phrase in *in situ* sometimes, but by no means always, expresses an echo question in reaction to more or less immediately preceding linguistic context. This type of question may be used when a person did not hear well part of what has just been said and wants to have it repeated or elaborated upon. By using the interrogative in (19-25) the person is asking his interlocutor to repeat who he had spoken to, because he did not hear well what the interlocutor said:

(19-25)   *Qo*   *ngata*   *bii*   *ni*   *tei?*
           2SG.NFUT   speak   COM   PERSMKR   who?
           'You spoke with who?'

Echo questions are also used because of the unexpectedness of what has just been said, and the hearer wants to have it confirmed. In such cases the interrogative word is usually uttered with greater-than-normal intensity, including a sharp rise in intonation. This is indicated by bolding in the next example.

(19-26)   A: *Nau*   *ku*   *riki-a*   *teqe*   *lo=i*
              1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   one   snake=LOC

              faar-a   *biqu*   *naqi.*
              under-3.PERS   house   this

           B: *Qo*   *riki-a*   **taa**   *qi*
              2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   what?   LOC

              faar-a   *biqu*   *qena?*
              underneath-3.PERS   house   that(2)
           A: 'I saw a snake under this house.'
           B: 'You saw *what* under the house?'

Interrogatives with interrogative phrases in focus tend to be used, although not exclusively, when there is no immediately preceding linguistic context that demands repetition, confirmation, or elaboration. For example, when seeing somebody eat something, one could ask the question in (19-27):

(19-27)   *Taa   n=o   qani-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ
          'What are you eating?' 'What is it you are eating?'

However, the distinction between open interrogatives with the interrogative phrase *in situ* and those with fronted interrogative phrases in terms of their use is not categorical. For example, interrogatives with fronted interrogative phrases can also be used to ask for repetition, elaboration, or confirmation. In (19-28) the speaker is asking for repetition, elaboration after not hearing well what piece of the other person's property had been damaged:

(19-28)   *Taa   qoe   na   kera   laba-tani-a?*
          what?   2SG   FOC   3PL.NFUT   damage-TR-3SG.OBJ
          'What of yours did they damage?'

Both types of interrogative, with and without fronting, can be used in response to very much the same extra-linguistic context. For example, when seeing somebody look for something, either type is possible and common:

(19-29)   *Taa   n=o   rofe-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   look.for-3SG.OBJ
          'What are you looking for?'

(19-30)   *Kera   rofe-a   taa?*
          3PL.NFUT   look.for-3.OBJ   what?
          'What are they looking for?'

However, there are syntactic environments where the interrogative phrase must be fronted. This is true of interrogative phrases that correspond to the subject of the sentence, although with one type of exception. Thus, where (19-31a) with a fronted and focused *tei* 'who?' interrogative phrase is grammatical, (19-31b) without fronting/focusing is not:

(19-31)   a.   *Tei   n=e   lae   mai?*
               who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   go   VENT
               'Who came?'

          b.   **Tei   e   lae   mai?*
               who? 3SG.NFUT   go   VENT
               ('Who came?')

Similarly in (19-32a) and (19-32b) with *taa* 'what?' in the interrogative phrase:

(19-32) a. *Taa   n=e   thada?*
             what?   FOC=3SG.NFUT fall
             'What fell?' 'What was it that fell?'

         b. **Taa e   thada?*
             what 3SG.NFUT   fall
             ('What fell?')

However, interrogative subjects of verbless sentences with a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb forming the predicate are not in focus; see (19-33) and (19-34), respectively:

(19-33) *Tei   nena?*
         who?   there(2)
         'Who is that (over) there?

(19-34) *Taa   neri?*
         what?   NPAST.HERE
         'What is this?'

With one type of exception to be discussed in section 19.3.4, interrogative prepositional phrases headed by a verb-like preposition or by a noun-like preposition cannot be fronted. Only the complement of the preposition is fronted and the preposition is stranded behind (section 10.6):

(19-35) *Wela taa   n=e   ngali-a   fanga   qeri*
         child which? FOC=3SG.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   food   that

         fasi-a?
         ABL-3SG.OBJ
         'Which child did he take the food from?'

(19-36) *Tei   n=o   fale-a   lole   qeri   qi*
         who? FOC=2SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   candy   that   LOC

         a-na?
         REC-3SG.PERS
         'Who did you give the candy to?'

Fronting of an interrogative phrase into focus must be distinguished from a type of interrogative sentence where the verb together with an interrogative phrase precede the subject. This order occurs in one subtype of locational interrogative sentences: a locative verb followed by one of the forms for 'where?' precedes the subject:

(19-37)   [locative.verb 'where?'] subject

For example:

(19-38)   *Nii   fei   naifa nau   baa?*
           be.located   where?   knife 1SG   that
           'Where is my knife?' 'Where is that knife of mine?'

Although the verb phrase precedes the subject, it is not in the focus position. First, the focus marker *na* cannot occur here. Second, a locative prepositional phrase that contains *fei* can be fronted by itself and be in focus. In such cases a prepositional phrase that consists of the general locative preposition *qi* and the locative pro-form *ei* (section 10.2.2) must appear at the extraction site. In (19-39) the locative interrogative phrase *i fei* '(at) where?' is in focus, and there is a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form after the locative verb:

(19-39)   *Nee, ma   i   fei   na   qaburu   naqi qe*
           hey   and LOC   where?   FOC   ogre   this 3SG.NFUT

           ni=i   ei?
           be.located=LOC   LOCPRO
           'Hey, where is this ogre [we have been talking about]?'

On the other hand, the locative pro-form is not used in the inverted word order; see (19-38).

And third, as discussed in section 19.3.11, certain intensifying particles can be used inside interrogative phrases to express emphatic questions, but only if the interrogative phrase is in focus. In (19-40) the intensifier is *qana*:

(19-40)   *Ni   tei   qana n=o   ngata*
           PERSMKR   who?   INTS FOC=2SG.NFUT   speak

           bii-a?
           COM-3SG.OBJ
           '*Who* was it that you spoke with?'

The intensifying particles cannot be used in the inverted structure.

The inverted word order is not obligatory, and locational interrogatives with the verb phrase in the canonical position do not necessarily express echo questions:

(19-41)   *Naifa   nau   ba=e   nii   fei?*
          knife   1SG   that=3SG.NFUT be.located   where?
          'Where is my knife?'

With the exception of the type of interrogative with inverted, [verb.phrase subject] order and one other type of sentence where the verb comes before the subject (negative existential sentences, discussed in section 26.1.2.2), verbs cannot occur before their subjects, whether in interrogatives or elsewhere, and the interrogative verbs *qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?' and its transitive counterpart *qufita-a* 'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?' can only occur *in situ*:

(19-42)   *Era   ba=e   qufita   naqa?*
          fire   that=3SG.NFUT be.how? PRF
          'How is the fire now?' 'How is the fire doing now?' (Is it burning well now?)

The distinction between open interrogatives with the interrogative phrase *in situ* on the one hand and ones where the interrogative phrase has been fronted and focused or where the order is [verb.phrase subject] on the other is, then, not categorical, either in terms of their use or in the syntactic conditions under which the constructions occur. For this reason no separate type of echo interrogatives is recognized for Toqabaqita.

Only one interrogative phrase is possible in a clause, regardless of whether both of them were to be *in situ* or one of them were to be fronted.

(19-43)   **Qo   riki-a   taa   qi   fei?*
          2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   what?   LOC   where?
          ('You saw what where?')

(19-44)   **Tei n=e   laba-tani-a   taa   qoe?*
          who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   damage-TR-3.OBJ   what 2SG
          ('Who damaged what of yours?')

An open interrogative can be an elliptical sentence fragment which may consists of just an interrogative phrase:

(19-45)   *Fita   fa   doo?*
      how.many? CLF   thing
      'How many (of them)?' (Asking about the quantity of breadfruit picked.)

The various interrogative words and phrases will now be discussed in turn.

19.3.3. *Tei* 'who?'

Tei is an interrogative noun, specifically a personal interrogative noun. In one respect it behaves grammatically like a personal name: it optionally takes the person marker *ni* (section 6.4).

(19-46)   *Ni   tei   n=o   riki-a?*
      PERSMKR   who? FOC=2SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ
      'Who did you see?'

While *ni* is specifically a feminine person marker with names, with *tei* it has no gender value. It is used even if the speaker has an expectation that the person being inquired about is male. As discussed in section 6.3, there is another particle *ni*, which functions as a foregrounder with the independent personal pronouns. That particle too has no gender value. There is, however, strong evidence that *tei* is a personal noun and not a pronoun. First, when a *tei* phrase functions as the direct object of a Class 1 transitive verb or as the object of a verb-like preposition, it is indexed on the verb or on the preposition by means of the object suffix *-a* (unless the person marker *ni* has cliticized onto the verb or the preposition):

(19-47)   *Qo   riki-a   ni   tei?*
      2SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   who?
      'Who did you see?' 'You saw who?'

Similarly, objects headed by personal names are indexed on verbs and the verb-like prepositions; see, for example, (6-96) and (6-97) in section 6.4. On the other hand, pronominal objects are not indexed in either object position (sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 10.3.1).

Second, like phrases headed by personal names, *tei* phrases can function as direct objects of Class 2 transitive verbs, as objects of the noun-like prepositions, and as possessor phrases in the suffixing possessive construction. In (19-48) the *tei* phrase is a direct object:

(19-48)   *Qo*   *fula-toqo-na*   *ni*   *tei?*
      2SG.NFUT   arrive-TEST-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   who?
      'Who did you meet?' 'You met who?'

On the other hand, the independent personal pronouns cannot occur in any of those positions (sections 4.2.3.3.1, 10.4.1, and 8.1.2).

Like lexical direct objects, *tei* direct-object phrases follow postverbal particles, while pronominal objects precede postverbal particles (see [4-1] in section 4.1).

(19-49)   *Qo*   *tole-a*   *ma=ni*   *tei?*
      2SG.NFUT   lead-3.OBJ   VENT=PERSMKR   who?
      'Who did you bring (lit.: lead) here?'

More evidence of the nominal, rather than pronominal, status of *tei* comes from the patterns of the presence and absence of the two particles *ni* in the (direct) object position and in the possessor position. With *tei* there is a strong tendency for the person marker *ni* to be present in the object positions both with Class 1 and with Class 2 transitive verbs, and with the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions; see (19-47) and (19-48) for *tei* in the direct-object position with a Class 1 and a Class 2 transitive verb, respectively. Similarly *ni* is commonly used with personal names in these positions. As far as the personal pronouns are concerned, they do not normally take the pronominal foregrounder *ni* in the direct-object position with Class 1 transitive verbs and the verb-like prepositions (and they are ungrammatical in the direct-object position with Class 2 transitive verb and as objects of the noun-like prepositions).

Tei phrases, phrases headed by personal names, and phrases headed by personal pronouns can all occur in the possessor position in bare possessive constructions. However, while there is a strong tendency for *tei* and personal names to occur with the person marker *ni*, there is an equally strong tendency for personal pronouns to occur without the pronominal foregrounder. These preferential patterns are illustrated in (19-50), (19-51), and (19-52):

(19-50)   *fanga*   *ni*   *tei?*
      food   PERSMKR   who?
      'whose food?'

(19-51)   *fanga*   *ni*   *Fiona*
      food   PERSMKR   Fiona
      'Fiona's food'

(19-52)   *fanga   nia*
          food   3SG
          'his/her   food'

There is one characteristic that the person marker when used with *tei* and the pronominal foregrounder do share (other than their phonological shape): they are both gender neutral. However, this is not necessarily of any significance. The personal pronouns simply do not make a gender distinction, and the foregrounder is more often absent than present. And in the case of *tei*, the gender of the person inquired about is often not known.

Just as *tei* is neutral with respect to gender, it is also neutral with respect to number. That is, the number of persons inquired about may be one or more, or, of course, the speaker may not know. However, when the speaker knows or at least assumes that the number of persons involved is more than one, *tei* can be used in a phrasal inclusory construction (section 14.2) with a third person independent personal pronoun, the dual one or the plural one. These constructions are used when the people in question form some kind of grouping, permanent or transitory.

(19-53)   *Ni   tei   keeroqa na   kero   fula   mai*
          PERSMKR   who? 3DU   FOC   3DU.NFUT arrive   VENT

          neri?
          NPAST.HERE
          'Who (two) have arrived?

(19-54)   A: *Kamiliqa   mili   sifo   naqa.*
            1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   descend PRF

          B: *Tei   kamuluqa?*
            who? 2PL

          A: *Kamiliqa   tha   Demesi ma   tha   Dioni.*
            1PL(EXCL) PERSMKR   Demesi and   PERSMKR   Dioni
          A: 'We are going down [to the coast] now.'
          B: 'You and who?' (Lit.: 'You (plural) including who?')
          A: 'I and/with Demesi and Dioni.' (Lit.: 'We, including Demesi and Dioni.')

When an object *tei* phrase that has dual or plural reference is fronted, the dual or the plural number is normally signalled by the appropriate object suffix on the verb or on the preposition:

(19-55) *Tei   na   qoki   lae   bii-da?*
who?   FOC   2SG.FUT   go   COM-3PL.OBJ
'Who will you go with (lit.: with them)?'

We can now consider the use of *tei* noun phrases in different sentence positions. With two types of exception, the person marker is not infrequently absent. It is usually present in the possessor position; see (19-60) and (19-62) further below. And it is always present when *tei* heads the predicate of a verbless clause; see (19-64). The presence of the person marker in positions other than possessor and predicate tends to make the query about the identity of the person(s) somewhat more emphatic, insistent. The person marker is always present in emphatic interrogatives (section 19.3.11).

As mentioned in section 19.3.2, a subject *tei* phrase must be fronted and focused, with the exception of verbless clauses whose predicate consists of a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or a situational demonstrative adverb (see [19-33] in section 19.3.2 for an example of the former).

(19-56) *Tei   n=e   ngata   i   fuuri   nabaa?*
who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   talk   LOC   down.there   PAST.THEN
'Who was it talking down there?'

In (19-57) there is both focusing of the *tei* subject phrase and topicalization of the direct object:

(19-57) *Fanga   naqi,   ni   tei   n=e*
food   this   PERSMKR   who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT

naqare-a?
cook-3SG.OBJ
'This food, who cooked it?'

In positions other than subject, *tei* phrases may be fronted or they may occur *in situ*, see (19-58) and (19-59), respectively:

(19-58) *Qo   riki-a   ni   tei?*
2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   who?
'Who did you see?' 'You saw who?'

In (19-59) the *tei* phrase has been fronted and the comitative preposition has been stranded:

(19-59)   *Tei   na   qoki   lae   bii-a?*
        who? FOC   2SG.FUT go   COM-3SG.OBJ
        'Who will you go with?'

Possessive noun phrases with *tei* in the possessor position can be fronted, or alternatively, only the possessor phrase is fronted and a resumptive expression of the possessor occurs in the possessive noun phrase, which remains *in situ*. If the possessive construction is of the bare type, the resumptive expression of the possessor is a personal pronoun, as in (19-61).

(19-60)   *Maka   ni   tei   n=e   mae?*
        father   PERSMKR   who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   die
        'Whose father (was it that) died?'

(19-61)   *Ni   tei   na   maka   nia   e   mae?*
        PERSMKR   who? FOC   father   3SG   3SG.NFUT   die
        'Who was it that his/her father died?'

If the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the resumptive expression of the possessor is a personal suffix on the possessum noun, as in (19-63). (In [19-62] the possessum noun *rake* 'belly' and the person marker have fused, and consequently the third person singular personal suffix *-na* is absent.)

(19-62)   *Rake=ni   tei   na   kera   kwaqi-a?*
        belly:3.PERS=PERSMKR   who? FOC   3PL.NFUT   cut-3SG.OBJ
        'Whose belly did they cut (open) (in a surgical operation)?'

(19-63)   *Ni   tei   na   kera   kwaqi-a*
        PERSMKR   who? FOC   3PL.NFUT   cut-3.OBJ

        rake-na?
        belly-3SG.PERS
        'Who was it that they cut (open) his/her belly?'

Tei is used to ask about people's names:

(19-64)   *Thata-mu   ni   tei?*
        name-2SG.PERS   PERSMKR   who?
        'What (lit.: who) is your name?'

19.3.4.   *Taa* 'what?', 'which?'

Taa is a common noun. Objects headed by *taa* are indexed on verbs and on the verb-like and the noun-like prepositions, whether they are fronted or occur in *situ*. Example (19-65) shows *taa* indexed on the verb when the interrogative direct object occurs in *situ*, and (19-66) shows it indexed on a stranded verb-like proposition:

(19-65)   *Qo   rofe-a   taa?*
           2SG.NFUT   look.for-3.OBJ   what?
           'What are you looking for?' 'You are looking for what?'

(19-66)   *Taa   n=o   rake-qiri   uri-a?*
           what   FOC=2SG.NFUT   belly-be.angry   REAS-3SG.OBJ
           'What are you angry about?'

    Taa phrases can occur as complements of the reduced variants of the verb-like prepositions; see (19-79) further below.
    Taa phrases can occur in the possessum position of a possessive construction:

(19-67)   *Taa   qoe   na   kera   laba-tani-a?*
           what?   2SG   FOC   3PL.NFUT   damage-TR-3SG.OBJ
           'What of yours did they damage?'

    Taa is used in two basic types of interrogative noun phrase. In one it forms the head of the interrogative phrase, while in the other it functions as a modifier of the head noun. The former type of construction is considered first. When *taa* is the head of an interrogative phrase, it most often occurs by itself, but it may be accompanied by some of the noun-phrase internal particles, such as the plural marker *ki* (see [19-68] below), the partitive marker *si* ([19-69] and [19-73]), the identifier *nga* (19-70), the additive marker *laqu* (19-71), the perfect marker *naqa* (19-72), or by one of the intensifiers (19-73).

(19-68)   *Taa   ki   neri?*
           what?   PL   NPAST.HERE
           'What are these?'

    The meaning of the partitive marker with *taa* is something like 'which one of the potential candidates is involved?':

(19-69)   *Si   taa   na   toqa   neqe keki*
          PRTT what? FOC   people this 3PL.IPFV

          fuqaro-tani-a   neq?
          whisper-TR-3SG.OBJ   VIVID
          'What are these people whispering about?' 'Which thing are these
          people whispering about?'

The presence of the identifier *nga* gives more intensity to the query about
the identity of the entity:

(19-70)   *Nga   taa   n=e   ni=i   laa*
          IDENT   what?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC   IN

          waqi   qena   nena?
          basket   that(2)   NPAST.THERE
          '*What* is it that's inside that basket there?'

In (19-71) *taa* is accompanied by the additive marker *laqu*:

(19-71)   *Taa   laqu?*
          what?   ADD
          'What else?' (A shop assistant asking a customer: 'What else do you
          want to buy?'.)

In the next two examples, the particles are joined to *taa* by means of the
ligature *ni* (section 7.1). In (19-72) it is the perfect marker *naqa* that is present.

(19-72)   *Taa   ni   naqa na   wela kai   qani-a?*
          what?   LIG   PRF   FOC   child 3SG.IPFV eat-3SG.OBJ
          'What's the child eating now?' 'What is it now that the child is eat-
          ing?'

And in (19-73) the interrogative phrase contains the intensifier *boqo* as well
as the partitive particle *si*:

(19-73)   *Si   taa   ni   boqo na   koki*
          PRTT what?   LIG   INTS FOC   DU(INCL).FUT

          ili-a?
          do-3SG.OBJ
          '*What* will/shall we do?'

In cases other than instrument inversion (section 10.7), when a *taa* phrase is the object of a verb-like preposition and is fronted, the preposition must be stranded behind, with one exception. Example (19-74) shows preposition stranding:

(19-74)   *Taa   na   kera   qoga   qani-a?*
         what?   FOC   3PL.NFUT   be.busy   GENP-3SG.OBJ
         'What are they busy with?'

Exceptionally, preposition-stranding need not take place when a *taa* phrase is the complement of the purpose/reason verb-like preposition *uri* (section 10.3.2). The whole prepositional phrase may be fronted. There are three grammatical possibilities: fronting of the *taa* phrase alone; no fronting at all; and fronting of the whole prepositional phrase. However, these options are not all fully equivalent semantically. When only the *taa* phrase is fronted and the preposition is stranded behind, the meaning expressed may be that of purpose or cause/reason. The question may inquire about the identity of an object with respect to which the event takes place, as in (19-75) below, or it may inquire about the overall purpose of the event or about its cause/reason, as in (19-76) and (19-77), respectively. However, the two different types of purpose are not always clearly distinguishable. In the context of (19-75) the speaker assumes that the third person had come to look for something, and the addressee identifies the object:

(19-75)   A: *Taa   na   wane   ba=e   laa-lae*
             what?   FOC   man   that=3SG.NFUT   RDP-go

             m=uri-a?
             VENT=PURP-3SG.OBJ

       B: *Qe   lae   mai   uri-a   naifa   nia   qe*
             3SG.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ   knife   3SG   3SG.NFUT

             qakwasi-a   kau   qi   roqo.
             leave.behind-3SG.OBJ   AND   LOC   yesterday
       A: 'What did the man come for?'
       B: 'He came for his knife that he left behind yesterday.'

In principle, the question in (19-75) could instead inquire about the overall purpose of the man's coming: 'Why did the man come?' On the other hand, the sentence in (19-76) can only function as an inquiry about the purpose of the overall event.

(19-76)   *Taa*   *n=o*   *fele-si*   *nau*   *uri-a?*
      what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   press-TR   1SG   PURP-3SG.OBJ
      'What did you "press" me for?' 'Why did you "press" me?'

(*Fele-si* designates the action of one person gently and discretely pressing part of another person's body to attract their attention, for example, for a private conversation.)

The question in (19-77) is about the cause of, the reason for, the addressee's anger:

(19-77)   *Taa*   *n=o*   *rake-qiri*   *uri-a?*
      what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   belly-be.angry   REAS-3SG.OBJ
      'What are you angry about?'

The same range of meanings can be expressed with the *taa* phrase *in situ*. Thus, (19-78) can be a purpose inquiry about a specific entity or about the overall event, while (19-79) expresses a question about the cause/reason.

(19-78)   *Qo*   *lae*   *mai*   *uri-a*   *taa?*
      2SG.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ   what?
      'What have you come for?' 'You have come for what?' 'Why have you come?'

(19-79)   *Qo*   *lio*   *rake-qiri*   *ura*   *taa?*
      2SG.NFUT   look   belly-be.angry   REAS   what?
      'What are you looking (so) angry for?' 'Why are you looking (so) angry?'

The third option is for the whole prepositional phrase with the *taa* phrase as complement to be fronted. This construction can only be used to inquire about the cause or reason of an event, not about the purpose. While it is not always possible to clearly distinguish cause/reason from purpose, all the available examples with a fronted prepositional phrase are either clearly queries about reason/cause, or at least are interpretable as such. Since the *taa* complement is adjacent to the preposition, the preposition may have the full form *uri-a*, with the object-indexing suffix, or the reduced form *ura*, as in (19-80) and (19-81), respectively:

(19-80)   *Uri-a*   *taa*   *na*   *qosi*   *lae*   *mai*   *i*   *roqo?*
      REAS-3.OBJ   what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   go   VENT   LOC   yesterday
      'Why didn't you come yesterday?

(19-81) *Ura   taa   na   qosi   qani-a   ta   si   doo?*
          REAS what?   FOC   2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ   some PRTT thing
          'Why didn't you eat anything?'

In fact, when a whole prepositional phrase is fronted, and only then, it is also possible for the preposition to have the form *uri* without the object suffix, although this is not common:

(19-82) *Uri   taa   na   qosi   qani-a   tai   sii*
          REAS what?   FOC   2SG.NEG eat-3.OBJ   some.PL   piece

          qana fanga   neqe?
          GENP   food   this
          'Why aren't you eating any (lit.: some pieces) of this food?'

Fronted cause/reason interrogative prepositional phrases exhibit several properties that make them different from the other constructions with the cause/reason and purpose preposition and from other types of fronted interrogative phrases. First, unlike the construction where only the *taa* phrase is fronted and unlike the construction where no fronting at all takes place, a fronted prepositional phrase can express only cause/reason, not purpose. Second, this is the only type of case where a verb-like preposition is fronted with its object; elsewhere, the preposition must be stranded behind. And third, the *taa* phrase need not be indexed on the preposition, even if the preposition has the form *uri*. All this suggests that a grammaticalization process may be in progress: the range of the meanings expressed is smaller than in the other constructions; the preposition and its complement are fronted together; and *taa* need not be a fully-fledged common noun.

The other basic type of construction in which *taa* occurs is one where it functions as a modifier of a head noun, specifically as the possessor phrase in a bare possessive construction. The basic structure of this construction is [X *taa*]$_{NP}$, where X is the head, possessum noun. The meaning of this construction is 'what X?', 'what type/kind of X?', 'which X?', 'which type/kind of X?', literally 'X of what?'. A query using this construction may request selection from an unspecified set, 'what X?, 'what type/kind of X?', or from a restricted, predetermined set, 'which X?', 'which type/kind of X?'. The glosses 'what?' and 'which?' are used as appropriate.

(19-83) *Faka taa   loqo?*
          ship what?   up.there
          'What ship is it out (lit. up) there?' (The ship is out at sea.)

(19-84)   *Naba   taa   i   taraqena?*
number   what?   LOC   today
'What date (lit.: number) is it today?'

(19-85)   *Iqa   taa   ki neri?*
fish   what?   PL NPAST.HERE
'What kind(s) of fish are these?'

(19-86)   *Fiona   taa?*
Fiona   which?
'Which Fiona?' (Big Fiona or little Fiona?)

(19-87)   *Thala   taa   n=o   thathami-a?   Thala*
cloth   which?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ   cloth

meemenaqa mada   thala kwaakwaoqa?
be.red   or   cloth be.white
'Which cloth do you want? The red cloth or the white cloth?'

To ask about the time of occurrence of a situation or, more recently, with the introduction of watches and clocks, about clock time, one of the nouns meaning 'time' is modified by *taa*. Most commonly *manga* 'time' is used, as in (19-88) and (19-89), but there are other possibilities, as in (19-90) and (19-91).

(19-88)   *Manga   taa   n=o   futa?*
time   what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   be.born
'When were you born?'

(19-89)   *Manga   taa   naqa neri?*
time   what?   PRF   NPAST.HERE
'What time is it now?'

In (19-90) the much less common word for 'time' *kada* is used, and in (19-91) Solomon Islands Pijin *taym* 'time' is used in code-mixing:

(19-90)   *Qe   nofi qi   kada taa?*
3SG.NFUT   die   LOC   time   what?
'When did he die?'

(19-91)   *Taym taa   neri?*
time   what?   NPAST.HERE
'What time is it?'

Alternatively, to inquire about the time of a situation the adverb *angita* 'when?' (section 19.3.9) can be used, but this is not common.

Taa is also used as a non-interrogative interjection used to express surprise, amazement at something occurring unexpectedly, out of the blue, or to emphasize a sudden change: 'lo!', 'behold!'.

(19-92)   *Kukeqe*   *baa*   *kai*   *too*   *qa-na,*
          mature.woman   that   3SG.IPFV   stay   SBEN-3SG.PERS

          taa!,   *qe*   *rongo-a*   *linge-qe*   *oqo*   *bulu*
          lo!   3SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   sound-ASSOC   drum   be.dark

          baa ....
          that
          'The woman had been [there for some time], when, lo!, she heard the sound of the deep-sounding (lit. dark) drum ....'

19.3.5. *Qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?'; *qufita-a* 'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?'

Qufita and *qufita-a* are interrogative verbs, intransitive and Class 1 transitive, respectively. As verbs, they take subject-tense markers, but not the negative subject markers. That is, the verbs are not used to inquire about how someone or something is not, what someone is not doing, or how someone is not doing something. The verbs always occur *in situ*. The intransitive verb *qufita* has a variant *qifita*, which, however, is not normally used. (There is no evidence of a transitive form *qifita-a*.) The intransitive verb is much more common and is discussed first.

The exact meaning of the intransitive verb *qufita* is highly context-dependent, but, by and large, it is used to ask about the following: the state of a person or another kind of entity, or the state of affairs: 'be how?'; what someone is doing: 'do what?'; and the manner in which someone does something: 'do how?'. Examples (19-93) – (19-108) illustrate some of the range of the possible uses of *qufita*, but it should be kept in mind that the meaning of *qufita* depends greatly on the context.

Qufita may be used to inquire about a person's state of being. The same interrogative sentence can also function as a greeting. The example in (19-93) shows both the usual form *qufita* and the rare variant *qifita*:

(19-93)   *Qo   {qufita / qifita}?*
            2SG.NFUT   be.how? /   be.how?
            'How are you?' 'How are you doing?'

In (19-94) the speaker is asking about the state of a fire:

(19-94)   *Era   ba=e   qufita   naqa?*
            fire   that=3SG.NFUT be.how? PRF
            'How is the fire now?' 'How is the fire doing now?' (Is it burning
            well now?)

Rather than inquiring about an entity, *qufita* may inquire about a state of
affairs. In saying (19-95), the speaker is wondering about how the practice of
holding Christian fellowship sessions will work:

(19-95)   *Kuki   raa   ba-kaluqa   qana*
            PL(INCL).FUT   work LIM-PL(INCL).PERS   GENP

            felouship-laa   qena,   ka   qufita   nena?
            hold.fellowship-NMLZ   that(2) 3SG.SEQ be.how? NPAST.THERE
            'We will hold fellowship meetings (lit.: we will work on holding
            fellowship meetings); what will that be like?/how will that work?'

The sentence in (19-96) can function as a question about a state of affairs or
as a greeting:

(19-96)   *Qe   qufita?*
            3SG.NFUT   be.how?
            'How is it?' 'How are things?'

Qufita may be used to ask a previous speaker to repeat or explain what
he/she has just said when the other person did not hear or did not hear well.
Here the norm is for *qufita* to occur without a subject marker:

(19-97)   *Qufita?*
            be.how?
            'What (did you say)?' (Lit.: 'How was it?')

Qufita is also used to inquire about what somebody is doing, did or will do:

(19-98)   *Nau   kwai   saqu kuki   qa-kuqa.   Ma*
            1SG   1SG.IPFV wash saucepan SBEN-1SG.PERS   and

ni	*qoe*	*qoki*	*qufita*	*qa-muqa?*
PROFORE	2SG	2SG.IPFV	do.what?	SBEN-2SG.PERS

'I'm washing pots. And what are you doing?'

To inquire about the manner in which an event is performed, a serializing [verb verb] compound is used in which *qufita* follows the verb that encodes the relevant event:

(19-99)
Kuki	*naqare*	*qufita*	*qana*	*iqa*	*naqi?*
PL(INCL).FUT	cook	do.how?	GENP	fish	this

'How will we cook this fish?'

(19-100)
Qo	*lae*	*qufita*	*mai?*
2SG.NFUT	go	do.how?	VENT

'How did you come here?' 'Which way did you come?'

The same verbal combination *lae qufita* 'go do.how?' is commonly used to inquire about the destination of someone's going:

(19-101)
Qo	*lae*	*qufita*	*naqa*	*neri?*
2SG.NFUT	go	do.how?	PRF	NPAST.HERE

'Where are you going?'

Qufita is also used to inquire about how a certain event was brought about through an earlier, causing event. This is closely related to inquiring about the manner in which an action is performed, except that instead of one event proceeding in a certain manner, there are two events, the first one of which enables, causes, brings about, or results in, the second event. *Qufita* is used to inquire about how the second event was brought about, about what was done or what happened that brought the second event about. There are two constructions available, both of which consist of two clauses. The first clause inquires about the causing or enabling event, and it contains *qufita*. The second clause encodes the caused, resulting event; its verb has the appropriate sequential subject marker. In both constructions, the first clause is usually in grammatical focus when cause or reason is being expressed.

In one of the two constructions, *qufita* occurs as the second element in a serializing [verb verb] compound where the first verb is *ade* 'do': *ade qufita* 'do do.what?'. (*Ade* is also used to form the periphrastic causative construction; see section 29.4.9.1.) The subject of the verbal compound encodes the actor.

(19-102)
Qo	*ade*	*qufita*	*na*	*qaba-mu*	*ka*
2SG.NFUT	do	do.what?	FOC	arm-2SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ

> *qoo?*
> break
> 'What did you do to break your arm?' 'How did you break your arm?' 'How did your arm get broken?'

The sentence in (19-102) contains a focused reason clause: *qo ade qufita?* 'what did you do?, 'how did you do (it)?'. Focused reason clauses are discussed in section 33.2.2.

In the next example the relation between the two events is one of purpose, rather than cause or reason, and the clause that contains *qufita* is not in focus. The kind of event inquired about is to serve to bring about a subsequent event:

(19-103) *Kuki   ade   qufita   fasi   kuka*
          PL(INCL).FUT   do   do.what?   PURP   PL(INCL).SEQ

          soqoni-a   ta   era?
          light.fire-3.OBJ some   fire
          'What will we do to light a fire?' 'How will we light a fire?'

In the other type of construction, *qufita* is not part of a [verb verb] compound. There can be no subject noun phrase. The subject marker is third person singular and is non-referential. This construction usually expresses a surprise that the event of the second clause does or does not take place. The first clause, with *qufita*, inquires about the enabling, causing or inhibiting factor:

(19-104) *Qe   qufita   na   qoko   dee-a   iqa*
          3SG.NFUT   be.how?   FOC   2SG.SEQ catch.fish-3.OBJ   fish

          qoro?
          be.many
          'How did you (manage to) catch (so) many fish?'

(19-105) *Qe   qufita   na   qosi   fanga?*
          3SG.NFUT   be.how?   FOC   2SG.NEG eat
          'How come you are not eating?' 'How/Why is it that you are not eating?'

Qufita is an intransitive stative verb (in spite of its sometimes being glossed as 'do what?' or 'do how?'), and as such can modify nouns (section 6.10). In this function it serves to inquire about some properties of the referent of the noun phrase. In (19-106) *qufita* is used to ask for a description of what a certain cup looks like:

(19-106) A: *Nau   qa-kuqa   teqe   banikeni.*
          1SG   POSS-1SG.PERS   one   cup

      B: *Banikeni   qufita?*
          cup   be.how?

      A: *Banikeni   nau   qeri qe   ilingi-a*
          cup   1SG   that 3SG.NFUT   be.just.like-3.OBJ

         banikeni   naqi.
         cup   this
      A: 'I have a cup.' (Lit.: 'I, of mine there is one cup.')
      B: 'What (kind of) cup?' 'What is the cup like?'
      A: 'My cup (lit.: that cup of mine) is/looks just like this cup.'

And in (19-107) *qufita* is used to ask for a description of a child:

(19-107) *Qo   fale-a   lole   qeri qana wela qufita?*
        2SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   candy   that GENP child be.how?
        'What child did you give the candy to?' 'What was the child that
        you gave the candy to like?' 'What did the child that you gave the
        candy to look like?'

Qufita can modify a noun with the meaning 'time' to inquire about clock time:

(19-108) *Manga   qufita   neri?*
        time   be.how?   NPAST.HERE
        'What time is it now?'

Qufita interrogative clauses are also used to introduce other closed interrogatives in complex interrogative structures; see section 19.5.

The transitive verb *qufita-a* 'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?', always with the third person (singular) object suffix, is used to inquire about what is being done to something, how it is manipulated, treated, processed. It is used only rarely.

(19-109) A: *Qo   qufita-a   fanga   baa?*
         2SG.NFUT   do.what?.to-3.OBJ   food   that

B: *Nau   ku   bii-a.*
   1SG   1SG.NFUT   bake.in.stone.oven-3SG.OBJ
A: 'What did you do with the food?' (Here: How did you cook it?)
B: 'I baked it in a stone oven.'

19.3.6. *Fita* 'how many?, how much?', *fita-na* 'how manieth?'

Both *fita* and *fita-na* function as noun phrase constituents, the former as a
modifier and the latter as the head. *Fita* is a cardinal quantifier used with count
as well as mass nouns: 'how many?, how much?'. *Fita-na* has an ordinal quan-
tifying function and is a noun. Grammatically it functions as the head of suffix-
ing possessive noun phrases and contains the third personal (singular) personal
suffix *-na*. Both *fita* and *fita-na* are also discussed in section 6.8.5. (For evi-
dence of the nominal status of the ordinal numerals see section 6.8.4.) Exam-
ples (19-110) – (9-112) contain the cardinal form *fita*.

(19-110)   *Fita   wane   n=e   fula?*
           how.many   person   FOC=3SG.NFUT arrive
           'How many people arrived?'

(19-111)   *Fita   si   kafo   n=o   kuqu-fi-a?*
           how.much? PRTT   water   FOC=2SG.NFUT drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
           'How much of the water did you drink?'

   In the next example, the interrogative noun phrase occurs in a verbless pos-
sessive sentence (section 26.2.1.1):

(19-112)   *Qoe   qa-muqa   fita   wela?*
           2SG   POSS-2SG.PERS   how.many? child
           'How many children do you have?' (Lit.: 'You, of yours how many
           children?')

   The next two examples illustrate the ordinal form *fita-na*.

(19-113)   *Fita-na   si   manga   neri?*
           how.many?-3.PERS   PRTT   time   NPAST.HERE
           'What time is it now?' (Lit.: 'How manieth of time now?')

   The question in (19-113) is about clock time. For other ways to ask about
clock time see examples (19-89) and (19-91) in section 19.3.4, and (19-108) in
section 19.3.5.

Fita-na can be in the scope of the perfect marker *naqa*.

(19-114)   *Qoe, fita-na*   *naqa si   manga   qo*
       2SG   how.many?-3.PERS   PRF   PRTT time   2SG.NFUT

       fula   i   Solomoni   neri?
       arrive   LOC   Solomons   NPAST.HERE
       You, how many times have you been to the Solomons now?' (Lit.:
       'You, how manieth now of time you have arrived in the Solomons?')

19.3.7. *Fei*, *fania*, *fana* 'where?'

The three interrogative words *fei*, *fania*, and *fana* are all used to inquire about locations, but the latter two also have one other function (discussed in section 19.3.8). *Fei* is a locative adverb (section 4.11). It is the commonest locative interrogative word and occurs in several constructions. *Fania* and *fana* are particles. They are emphatic forms, and their locative use is restricted to one type of construction.

It is necessary to distinguish locational-sentence interrogatives and other interrogatives concerning locations. Locational-sentence interrogatives correspond to locational declaratives (section 26.1), and their function is to ask questions 'Where is X?'. They employ the locative verbs *nii* 'be located' or, much less commonly, *ii* 'be located'. Locational-sentence interrogatives are discussed first, starting with those using *fei*.

There are three basic strategies for forming locational-sentence interrogatives using *fei*. In one, both the *fei* phrase and the locative verb are *in situ*, with *fei* following the verb. No preposition is used with *fei*. In another strategy *fei* is fronted and it is the complement of the locative preposition *qi*. In the third strategy the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject. No preposition is used with *fei*. The first two examples below contain interrogatives with both the verb and *fei in situ*. This type of construction is by no means uncommon and need not express an echo question.

(19-115)   *Thaina-ka,   maka   kamareqa   qe   nii*
       mother-VOC   father   1DU(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT   be.located

       fei?
       where?
       'Mother, where is our father?'

In (19-116) the locative verb is accompanied by the ventive directional *mai* to signal that the location inquired about is assumed to be some distance away. (See section 5.2.14.7 for this function of the directional.)

(19-116)   *Nee, ma   qaburu naqi qe   nii   mai fei?*
          hey   and   ogre   this   3SG.NFUT   be.located   VENT where?
          'Hey, this ogre [that we have been talking about] is where?'

The next example illustrates the strategy where *fei* alone is fronted. In that case it must be the complement of the locative preposition *qi*. The locative pro-form *ei*, also as a complement of the locative preposition, must be present in the extraction site. The fronted prepositional phrase with *fei* is placed in focus.

(19-117)   *Nee, ma   i   fei   na   qaburu naqi qe*
          hey   and   LOC   where?   FOC   ogre   this   3SG.NFUT

          ni=i   ei?
          be.located=LOC   LOCPRO
          'Hey, where is this ogre [we have been talking about]?'

This is the least common of the three types of locational-sentence interrogatives. This may be owing to its relative complexity, because in addition to the fronted interrogative prepositional phrase with *fei* another prepositional phrase, with the locative pro-form *ei,* is required.

In the third strategy, the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject: *nii/ii fei* X, X being the subject, 'where is X?', literally 'is located where X?'; see also (19-37) in section 19.3.2. As discussed in that section, even though the locative verb and *fei* precede the subject, they are not in the focus position. Locational interrogative sentences with inverted, [verb.phrase subject] order are used commonly.

(19-118)   *Nii   fei   ni   Safina?*
          be.located   where?   PERSMKR   Safina
          'Where is Safina?'

(19-119)   *Nii   fei   bakosi   baa   ku*
          be.located   where?   box   that   1SG.NFUT

          alu-a   fanga   baa   i   ei?
          put-3.OBJ   food   that   LOC   LOCPRO
          'Where is the box where I put the food?'

It is only when the order is inverted, that the two emphatic locative interrogative particles *fania* or *fana* can be used in place of *fei*. *Fania* and *fana* are synonymous. The difference in form between them is reminiscent of the difference between the full and the reduced forms of the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3.1), for example the ablative forms *fasi-a* (with the third person singular object suffix *-a*) and *fasa*. However, in present-day Toqabaqita at least, *fania* and *fana* do not function as prepositions, and there is no evidence of *fania* being morphologically complex (*fani-a).

In (19-120) variant (b), with *fania*, expresses a more emphatic, insistent question about the location than variant (a), with *fei*, does.

(19-120) a. *Nii*   *fei*   *biqu na*   *maka*   *kamiliqa*
              be.located   where?   house REL   father   1PL(EXCL)

              ki kero   *too-too*   *qi*   *ei?*
              PL 3DU.NFUT   RDP-reside   LOC   LOCPRO
              'Where is the house where our fathers used to live?'

        b. *Nii*   *fania*   *biqu na*   *maka*   *kamiliqa*
              be.located   where?   house REL   father   1PL(EXCL)

              ki kero   *too-too*   *qi*   *ei?*
              PL 3DU.NFUT   RDP-reside   LOC   LOCPRO
              '*Where* is the house where our fathers used to live?' '[We really want to know,] where is the house where our fathers used to live?' 'Where exactly is the house where our fathers used to live?'

In (19-121) all three variants show the possibility of using either the verb *nii* or *ii* 'be located' (the latter not being common), and the (b) and (c) variants also show the possibility of using either *fania* or *fani* as the emphatic interrogative form:

(19-121) a. *{Nii*   */ Ii}*   *fei*   *naifa nau   baa?*
              be.located /   be.located   where?   knife 1SG   that
              'Where is my knife?'

        b. *{Nii*   */ Ii}*   *fania*   *naifa nau   baa?*
              be.located /   be.located   where?   knife 1SG   that
              'Where on earth is that knife of mine?'

c. *{Nii   /   Ii}   fana   naifa nau   baa?*
    be.located / be.located where? knife 1SG that
    'Where on earth is that knife of mine?'

The constructions *nii fania* and *nii fana* have another, non-locative use, which is discussed in section 19.3.8.

The next example contains the less common locative verb *ii* in an elliptical interrogative:

(19-122)   *Ii   fei?*
    be.located   where?
    'Where (is it)?'

There is one other way to ask about the location of somebody or something, which, however, involves neither an interrogative locative form nor a locative or any other verb. Such sentences consist of a noun phrase where the noun is modified by the determiner demonstrative of absence *baa* (section 13.3.2.4). Frequently, such reduced sentences are introduced by the conjunction *ma* 'and'. There is a rise in intonation at the end of the utterance. Although such questions are ostensibly non-specific queries about the relevant entity, they are normally used when the speaker is looking for someone or something that is not where he/she expects him/her/it to be.

(19-123)   *Ma   waqi   nau   baa?*
    and   basket 1SG   that
    'And (where is) my basket?'

(19-124)   *Suti   baa?*
    flashlight   that
    '(Where is) the flashlight?'

For more examples see section 13.3.2.4.

We can now consider interrogatives concerning locations that are not of the locational-sentence type. There only *fei* is available as the interrogative word, and usually, although not always, it is the complement of a preposition. The *fei* phrase normally occurs *in situ*. The following prepositions can govern *fei*: locative *qi*, used for locations and locative goals; allative *uri* for locative goals; and ablative *fasi* for locative sources. Being an adverb, *fei* is not indexed on the two verb-like prepositions *uri* and *fasi*.

The first example expresses a question about a location:

(19-125)   *Qo*   *riki-a*   *loi*   *qeri* *qi*   *fei?*
             2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   snake   that LOC where?
             'Where did you see the snake?'

The sentences in (19-126) – (19-129) express questions about locative goals. With some verbs, either the locative or the allative preposition is possible in the interrogative phrase. For example:

(19-126)   *Koki*   *sifo*   *qi*   *fei?*
             DU(INCL).FUT descend LOC   where?
             'Where should we go down to?'

(19-127)   *Kuki*   *thaka*   *uri*   *fei?*
             PL(INCL).FUT run.away   ALL   where?
             'Where should we run away to?'

On the other hand, a given verb may require a certain preposition in its locative complements. For example, *alu* 'put' requires the general locative preposition *qi*:

(19-128)   *Qo*   *alu-a*   *naifa nau baa qi*   *fei?*
             2SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   knife 1SG   that   LOC   where?
             'Where did you put my knife?' 'Where did you put that knife of mine?'

With the verb *lae* 'go', it is relatively common for *fei* to occur neither with the locative nor with the allative preposition:

(19-129)   *Thaina-mu*   *bia*   *maka*   *qoe*   *kera*   *lae*
             mother-2SG.PERS and   father   2SG   3PL.NFUT   go

             fei?
             where?
             'Where did your mother and father go?'

The sentence in (19-130) expresses a question about a locative source, and *fei* occurs with the ablative preposition:

(19-130) *Qo   lae   mai   fasi fei?*
          2SG.NFUT go   VENT   ABL   where?
          'Where did you come from?'

Interrogative locative prepositional phrases headed by the general locative preposition *qi* can be fronted and focused, although this is relatively rare. Such phrases can inquire about a location or about a locative goal. A prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* must occur at the extraction site. Interrogative prepositional phrases headed by the allative or the ablative preposition cannot be fronted.

(19-131) *Qi   fei   n=o   uusi-a   kofe   naqi*
          LOC   where?   FOC=2SG.NFUT buy-3.OBJ coffee   this

          qi   ei?
          LOC   LOCPRO
          'Where did you buy this coffee?' 'Where was it that you bought this coffee?'

(19-132) *Qi   fei   na   kwai   alu-a   waqi   naqi*
          LOC   where?   FOC   1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ basket   this

          i   ei?
          LOC   LOCPRO
          'Where shall/should I put this basket?'

Here too it may be the relative complexity of the construction — an interrogative prepositional phrase in the focus position and another locative phrase at the extraction site — that makes it dispreferred.

Prepositional phrases with *fei* in their complement can function as noun modifiers, the way other prepositional phrases can (section 6.13):

(19-133) *Wane   fasi fei?*
          man   ABL   where?
          'A man from where?' (That is, where is the man under discussion from?)

19.3.8. *Nii fania ade-la-na*, *nii fana ade-la-na* 'how come?'

As discussed in the preceding section, the emphatic locative particles *fania* and *fana* occur in locational-sentence interrogatives with the locative verb *nii* 'be

located' in the inverted, [verb.phrase subject] structure. There is another type of construction with the inverted structure, where the verb *nii* takes as its subject the nominalization of the Class 1 transitive verb *ade* 'do', which carries the third person (singular) personal suffix *-na*: 'its doing', 'doing of it'. (The other locative verb *ii* 'be located' does not function in this way.) That clause is followed by another, event clause. The basic structure of the construction is given in (19-134):

(19-134)   *[nii {fania/fana} ade-la-na]* [event.clause]

    The event clause can only be grammatically positive, and its verb must have the appropriate sequential subject marker.
    This construction is used with a non-locative meaning to inquire about what led to the state of affairs expressed in the event clause, usually with some implication of surprise, wonder: 'How come such and such happened/is the case?', literally 'Where is its doing (that) such and such is/was the case?'.

(19-135)   *Nii*   *fania*   *ade-la-na*   *qoko*
           be.located   where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   2SG.SEQ

           dee-a   *iqa*   *qoro?*
           catch.fish-3.OBJ   fish   be.many
           'How come you caught (so) many fish?' 'How did you manage to catch (so) many fish?'

(19-136)   *Nii*   *fana*   *ade-la-na*   *naifa nau*
           be.located   where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   knife 1SG

           ka   *qoo?*
           3SG.SEQ be.broken
           'How come my knife is broken?'

(19-137)   *Nii*   *fania*   *ade-la-na*   *qoko*
           be.located   where? do-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   2SG.SEQ

           rake-qiri?
           belly-be.angry
           'How come you are angry?'

    What is historically a nominalization of *ade* 'do' also functions as a consequence marker (chapter 34).

19.3.9. *Angita* 'when?'

Angita is a temporal adverb, used to inquire about the time of occurrence of situations. It is not used to ask about clock time ('What time is it?'). *Angita* phrases function as complements of the general locative preposition *qi*.

(19-138)   *Qi   angita   n=o   fula?*
           LOC   when?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   arrive
           'When did you arrive?'

In (19-139) the prepositional phrase with *angita* forms the predicate:

(19-139)   *Lae-laa   baa   i   angita?*
           go-NMLZ   that   LOC   when?
           'When is the time to go?' (Lit.: 'The going [discussed earlier] [is] when?')

However, *angita* is used only infrequently. To inquire about the time of occurrence of a situation, a possessive noun phrase with one of the two nouns for 'time' in the possessum position and *taa* 'what?' in the possessor position is normally used. Usually, the temporal noun used is *manga* 'time'.

(19-140)   *Manga   taa   na   toqa   baa   ki   keki   fula?*
           time   what?   FOC   people   that   PL   3PL.FUT   arrive
           'When will those people arrive?'

For more examples see (19-88) and (19-90) in section 19.3.4.

19.3.10.   *Tafa* 'which part of person's or animal's body?'

Tafa is an interrogative noun used to inquire about which part of a person's or an animal's body is involved in the relevant state of affairs. It functions as the head of the suffixing possessive noun phrase where the "possessor" refers to the person or the animal. In (19-141) the *tafa* phrase, which corresponds to the subject, has been fronted and is in focus:

(19-141)   *Tafa-mu   n=e   fii?*
           which.part.of.body?-2SG.PERS   FOC=3SG.NFUT   hurt
           'Which part of your body hurts?' 'Where (in your body) does it hurt?'

In (19-142) the *tafa* phrase functions as an oblique object and is *in situ*:

(19-142) *Gafa*   *qeri* *qe*   *toqo* *qi*
         triple.tip.arrow   that   3SG.NFUT   bang   LOC

          tafa-na?
          which.part.of.body?-3SG.PERS
          'Which part of its [a possum's] body did the arrow bang into?'
          'Which part of its body did the arrow hit?'

Tafa is a reflex of Proto Oceanic *sapa 'what?' (Lynch *et al.* 2002), also 'which?'. *Sapa took possessive suffixes to inquire about body parts and kinship relations, and possibly also about subsets (Lichtenberk 2007a).

19.3.11.   Emphatic open interrogatives

With some exceptions, open questions can be made more emphatic, more insistent by means of one of several intensifying particles, *qana*, *feteqi*, or *boqo*. These particles occur inside the interrogative phrases. All three particles can occur in interrogative noun phrases; *qana* can also occur in an adverb phrase with *fei* 'where?'. All three particles also occur in phrases other than interrogative. For their positions in noun phrases see table 7.1 in section 7.1. The particles may be joined to the head interrogative word by means of the ligature *ni*, although this is not very common.

In emphatic questions with any of these particles, the interrogative phrase is always in the focus position. Since the interrogative verbs *qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?' and *qufita-a* 'do what? to/with (st.)', 'do st. how?' cannot be fronted (section 19.3.5), the emphatic particles are not available with them. Nor are they used in the inverted [verb.phrase subject] structure (sections 19.3.7 and 19.3.8), because the verb phrase is not in focus.

The three particles may serve to highlight the kind of information requested; to insist on an accurate, detailed or elaborate answer; to emphatically demand an answer; or more generally to express some kind of emotional involvement on the part of the speaker.

Of the three particles, *qana* is the most common one in interrogatives. Four examples follow.

(19-143) *Ni*   *tei*   *qana* *n=e*   *lae*   *mai?*
         PERSMKR   who?   INTS   FOC=3SG.NFUT   go   VENT
         '*Who* came?' 'Who was it that came?'

(19-144)   *Taa   ni   qana   n=o   thathami-a?*
what? LIG   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ
'What is it you want?' 'What exactly do you want?'

(19-145)   *Fita   fa   seleni   qana   n=o*
how.many? CLF   money   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT

ngali-a   mai?
carry-3SG.OBJ   VENT
'Exactly how much money did you bring?'

In (19-146) *qana* occurs in an adverb phrase with *fei* 'where?':

(19-146)   *Qi   fei   qana   n=o   alu-a   naifa*
LOC   where?   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT put-3.OBJ   knife

nau   qi   ei?
1SG   LOC   LOCPRO
'Exactly where did you put my knife?'

For another example of *qana* see (7-66) in section 7.10.

The other two intensifying particles, *feteqi* and *boqo*, are relatively rare in interrogative noun phrases. In (19-147) *feteqi* is joined to the interrogative word with the ligature *ni*:

(19-147)   *Taa   ni   feteqi   na   koki   ade-a?*
what?   LIG   INTS   FOC   DU(INCL).FUT   do-3SG.OBJ
'What on earth shall we do?' (Expressing frustration about not knowing how to avoid a certain kind of situation that has occurred previously and could occur again.)

For another example, without the ligature, see (7-65) in section 7.9.

And in (19-148) the intensifying particle is *boqo*. The interrogative noun phrase is in the focus position, but, exceptionally, the focus marker is absent. The interrogative phrase in focus is preceded by a topic phrase. The interrogative clause is in asyndetic coordination with a purpose clause.

(19-148)   *Koro   taa   ni   boqo   koki   ade-a,*
DU(INCL)   what?   LIG   INTS   DU(INCL).FUT   do-3SG.OBJ

fasi   koro   koka   thau-ngi-a   qaburu
PURP   DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).SEQ   kill-TR-3.OBJ   ogre

naqi?
this
'You and I, what on earth shall we do to kill this ogre?'

19.4.   Answers to questions

19.4.1. Answers to polar questions

With respect to polar questions, Toqabaqita has an agree/disagree answer sys-
tem, sometimes in combination with an echo system (Sadock and Zwicky
1985). A positive (agree) answer pro-sentence element is used when the polar-
ity of the answer agrees with the polarity of the question, and a negative con-
struction is used when the polarity of the answer disagrees with the polarity of
the question. In a pure echo system, "… no special answer words are used at
all. Simple positive and negative responses to questions involve repeating the
verb of the question, with or without additional material ...." (Sadock and
Zwicky 1985: 191). In Toqabaqita, pro-sentence answer elements are some-
times combined with echo answers; alternatively, an echo answer may occur by
itself, without a pro-sentence element.

There are four "agree" pro-sentence lexemes and one "disagree" type con-
struction. For convenience, the agree lexemes are glossed 'yes' and the disagree
construction is glossed 'no', '(it is) not', but these glosses do not fully corre-
spond to the meanings of *yes* and *no* (because the English system is not of the
agree/disagree type). The gloss 'yes' will be in double quotes ("yes") when the
agree elements occur in sentences that are answers to negative-polarity ques-
tions. The agree elements are listed in (19-149):

(19-149)   agree pro-sentence lexemes: *iu, aqaa*, *mania*, *uaqa*

Of these, *iu* and *aqaa* are most common, with *iu* somewhat more common
than *aqaa*, while *uaqa* is least common. (All four all also used to express ac-
knowledgement with what somebody else is saying, and *iu*, *aqaa* and *mania* are
also used to link sentences; see examples [27-55] and [27-56] in section
27.3.2.)

The disagree construction consists of the negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be
the case' (section 17.3) with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker.
The subject marker and the verb normally form one phonological word, with
the stress falling on the subject marker (section 2.5).

(19-150)   disagree construction: *qe=aqi*
3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
'no', 'it is not so', 'it is not the case'

However, as will be discussed further below, the disagree construction is used only in replies to positive-polarity questions.

Answers to positive-polarity questions are discussed and illustrated first. In the next set of examples, the first four illustrate the four agree lexemes:

(19-151)   A: *Qo   alu-a   ta   malefo?*
2SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   some   money

B: *Iu.*
yes
A: 'Do you have any money?'
B: 'Yes.'

(19-152)   A: *Oli   naqa?*
return   PRF

B: *Aqaa.*
yes
A: '(Are you) going back now?'
B: 'Yes.'

(19-153)   A: *Rosina   kai   too   ba-na?*
Rosina   3SG.IPFV   be.at.home   LIM-3SG.PERS

B: *Mania.*
yes
A: 'Is Rosina at home?'
B: 'Yes.'

(19-154)   A: *Qoki   lae?*
2SG.FUT go

B: *Uaqa.*
yes
A: 'Will you go?'
B: 'Yes.'

In (19-155) and (19-156) the answers are of the disagree type. Not infrequently, the assertive particle *boqo* is present with the negative verb:

(19-155)   A: *Qo   riki-a   naqa?*
                  2SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ   PRF

        B: *Qe=aqi.*
          3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
        A: 'Have you seen it?'
        B: 'No.'

(19-156)   A: *Qo   riki-a   faela baa?*
                  2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   file   that

        B: *Qe=aqi   boqo.*
          3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   ASRT
        A: 'Have you seen the file [a tool]?'
        B: 'No.' 'Not at all.'

Sentences that express agree-type and disagree-type answers can contain, in addition to the pro-sentence elements or in addition to the negative construction, echoes of the interrogatives, with the appropriate adjustments in pronouns and other deictic elements, and possibly with some additional material.

(19-157)   A: *Qo   thaofa?*
                  2SG.NFUT   be.hungry

        B: *Iu,   nau   ku   thaofa.*
          yes   1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry
        A: 'Are you hungry?'
        B: 'Yes, I am hungry.'

(19-158)   A: *Wela naqi ki keki   fanga?*
                  child this   PL 3PL.IPFV   eat

        B: *Qe=aqi   kesi   fanga.*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3PL.NEG eat
        A: 'Are the children eating?'
        B: 'No, they are not eating.'

In (19-159) the completive/exhaustive particle *sui*, not present in the interrogative sentence, is inserted into the echo part of the answer; and in (19-160)

the anterior-continuing and the assertive particles, not present in the interroga-
tive sentence, are inserted in the echo part of the answer:

(19-159)   A: *Wane ba=e   duqu   naqa?*
              man   that=3SG.NFUT repay.debt   PRF

           B: *Iu,   ni=e   duqu   sui   naqa.*
              yes   3SG=3SG.NFUT   repay.debt   COMPL/EXHST   PRF
           A: 'Has the man repaid the debt?'
           B: 'Yes, he has repaid (all of) the debt.'

(19-160)   A: *Qo   siisiu   sui   naqa?*
              2SG.NFUT   bathe   COMPL   PRF

           B: *Qe=aqi   quu   boqo.*
              3SG.NFUT=not.be.so ANTCONT   ASRT
           A: 'Have you bathed?'
           B: 'Not yet.'

An answer to a yes/no question may consist of just a (partial) echo, without
a pro-sentence element:

(19-161)   A: *Mista   Fanis,   kai   too   quu*
              Mister   Fanis   3SG.IPFV   be.around   ANTCONT

              ba-na?
              LIM-3SG.PERS

           B: *Kai   too   ba-na.*
              3SG.IPFV   be.around   LIM-3SG.PERS
           A: 'Mr Fanis, is he still around?' (*Be around* in the sense of 'be
              alive'.)
           B: 'He is around.'

Replies to negative-polarity polar questions are discussed next. In sentences
that are replies to negative-polarity questions, echoing of the interrogative is
more common than in sentences that are replies to positive-polarity questions,
especially when the reply is of the disagree type. When the reply is of the agree
type, an agree element may occur by itself, or an echo may occur by itself, or an
agree element and an echo may be combined. In (19-162) only an agree lexeme
is used.

(19-162)   A: *Ulufaalu*   *qe=aqi*   *si*   *tharaqi?*
            Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG be.awake

          B: *Aqaa.*
            "yes"
          A: 'Ulufaalu is not awake?'
          B: 'No (he is not awake).'

When a sentence that is a reply to a negative-polarity polar question contains an echo, the echo is grammatically negative, as is the question. The echo is grammatically negative not because the answer is of the disagree type but because it is an echo of a negative interrogative. A negative echo and an agree pro-sentence element can cooccur, as in (19-163):

(19-163)   A: *Qosi*   *rongo-a?*
            2SG.NEG   hear-3SG.OBJ

          B: *Iu,*   *qe=aqi*   *kwasi*   *rongo-a.*
            "yes"   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   hear-3SG.OBJ
          A: 'Didn't you hear it?'
          B: 'No, I didn't hear it.'

In (19-164) only the echo is present:

(19-164)   A: *Qosi*   *thaofa?*
            2SG.NEG   be.hungry

          B: *Nau*   *kwasi*   *thaofa.*
            1SG   1SG.NEG be.hungry
          A: 'Are you not hungry?'
          B: '(No,) I am not hungry.'

To express disagree-type replies to negative-polarity questions, only positive echo-type answers are used. The disagree construction *qe aqi* is not used, with or without an echo.

(19-165)   A: *Qe*   *aqi*   *qosi*   *thaofa?*
            3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG   be.hungry

B: *(*Qe=aqi)*   *nau   ku   thaofa.*
　 3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry
A: 'Are you not hungry?'
B: 'I *am* hungry.'

Of course, responses to polar questions are not restricted to agree-type or disagree-type answers. For example, the respondent may not know the answer:

(19-166)   A: *Qoki   lae   qana uusi-a   qi   qusungadi?*
　　　　　　 2SG.FUT go   GENP buy-DVN LOC   tomorrow

B: *Botaena kwa   lae,   mada ka   aqi.*
　 perhaps 1SG.SEQ go   or   3SG.SEQ not.be.so
　 'Perhaps I will go, or (perhaps) not.'

A response may contradict or correct the expectation implied in a question:

(19-167)   A: *Kui   neri?*
　　　　　　 dog   NPAST.HERE

B: *Nga   kusi   nabaa.*
　 IDENT   cat   PAST.THEN
A: (On hearing a noise.) '(Is that) a dog?'
B: (After investigating.)'(That was) a cat.'

19.4.2. Answers to alternative questions

The default answer to an alternative question picks up one of the alternatives. The interrogative sentence in (19-168) is a "complex" one (section 19.5), expressing a polar question ('did you go?') followed by an alternative one where the second alternative is a negation of the first alternative ('did you bring a possum or not?'). The answer is an agree-type echo to the polar question and it picks the negative alternative:

(19-168)   A: *Qoo, koqo   kera, kamaroqa   moro   laa-lae,*
　　　　　　 oh   friend   3PL   2DU   2DU.NFUT   RDP-go

moka   ngali-a   ma=ta   thaqaro, mada
2DU.SEQ take-3.OBJ   VENT=some   possum   or

> *qe   aqi?*
> 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

> B: *Qoo, kamareqa   mere   laa-lae,*
>   oh   1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).NFUT   RDP-go

> *ka   aqi   boqo,   koqo.*
> 3SG.SEQ not.be.so   ASRT   friend

A: 'Oh, friends, did you go [hunting], (and) did you bring back a possum or not?'

B: 'Oh, (yes,) we did go, (but) no [we didn't bring back any possums], friend.'

It is, of course, possible for the person to whom an alternative question is addressed to not know the answer or to not be certain about what the relevant state of affairs is:

(19-169)   A: *Faka ba=e   fula   mad=e   aqi?*
                ship that=3SG.NFUT arrive   or=3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

> B: *Botaena ka   fula, mada   ka   aqi.*
>   perhaps 3SG.SEQ arrive or   3SG.SEQ not.be.so

A: 'Did the ship arrive or not?'

B: '(I don't know.) Perhaps it did arrive, or (perhaps) not.'

19.4.3. Answers to open questions

Here the expected answer relates to the interrogative phrase. Positive responses are discussed and illustrated first. The response may be a complete sentence or a fragment. In (19-170) the response is a complete sentence:

(19-170)   A: *Thaina-mu   bia   maka   qoe   kera   lae*
                mother-2SG.PERS   and   father   2SG 3PL.NFUT   go

> *fei?*
> where?

> B: *Thaina-ku   bia   maka   nau   kera   lae*
>   mother-1SG.PERS   and   father   1SG   3PL.NFUT   go

               qana   uusi-a.
               GENP buy-DVN
    A: 'Where did you mother and father go?'
    B: 'My mother and father went to the market.'

   More often than not the response is just a sentence fragment:

(19-171) A: *Taa   na   kuki   qani-a   qa=fa*
                what?   FOC   PL(INCL).FUT eat-3SG.OBJ GENP=CLF

               rodo naqi?
               night this

    B: *Sofusofu.*
       soup
    A: 'What will we eat tonight?'
    B: 'Soup.'

   Negative responses to open questions can be complete sentences, as in (19-172):

(19-172) A: *Fita   fa   lae-laa   n=o   lae*
                how.many? CLF   go-NMLZ   FOC=2SG.NFUT go

               qani-a   uri   Honiara?
               INS-3SG.OBJ   ALL   Honiara

    B: *Qe=aqi   kwasi lae   quu   boqo.*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG go   ANTCONT ASRT
    A: 'How many times have you been to Honiara?' (Lit.: 'How many goings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?')
    B: 'I haven't been (lit.: gone) yet.'

   A minimal negative response to an open question is expressed by means of the negative verb *aqi* 'not exist' with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. Quite commonly, the assertive particle *boqo* is present as well.

(19-173) A: *Qo   laa-lae qi   fei?*
             2SG.NFUT   RDP-go LOC where?

B: *Qe=aqi.*
   3SG.NFUT=not.exist
A: 'Where did you go?'
B: 'Nowhere.' (Lit.: 'There was not [any such place].')

(19-174)   A: *Taa   n=o   qani-a?*
              what   FOC=2SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ

           B: *Qe=aqi   boqo.*
              3SG.NFUT=not.exist   ASRT
           A: 'What are you eating?'
           B: 'Nothing.' (Lit.: 'There is not [any such thing].')

   That is, the same negative construction can be used to express a disagree-type answer to an open question and as a negative answer to a polar question. The only difference is that in responses to polar questions the negative verb has the sense 'not be so, not be the case', while in responses to open questions the negative verb has the negative existential sense 'not exist'. (Negative existential sentences are discussed 26.1.2.2.) The fact that in responses to open questions the negative verb functions as an existential one can be seen from (19-175a), where the verb occurs in the predicate position of a negative existential sentence with an overt subject phrase. In (19-175b) only the verb occurs with the subject marker and the assertive marker:

(19-175)   a.   A: *Taa   n=o   thathami-a?*
                   what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ

                B: *Qe   aqi   boqo ta   si   doo.*
                   3SG.NFUT   not.exist ASRT some PRTT thing
                A: 'What do you want?'
                B: 'Nothing (at all).' ('There is nothing [that I want].')

           b.   A: *Taa   n=o   thathami-a?*
                   what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ

                B: *Qe   aqi   boqo.*
                   3SG.NFUT   not.exist ASRT
                A: 'What do you want?'
                B: 'Nothing (at all).' ('There is nothing [that I want].')

   A minimal negative-response clause can be followed by another clause or a phrase that provides additional information:

(19-176) A: *Qo*   *lae*   *mai*   *bi=ni*   *tei?*
          2SG.NFUT   go   VENT COM=PERSMKR   who?

          B: *Qe=aqi*   *boqo,*   *ku*   *lae*
          3SG.NFUT=not.be.so   ASRT   1SG.NFUT   go

          bo=ma-ku   *teqe*   *nau.*
          ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS   sole   1SG
          A: 'With whom did you come?'
          B: 'No one (at all); I came alone.'

And, of course, the addressee may not know the answer to an open question:

(19-177) A: *Ma*   *wela* *baa?*
          and   child   that

          B: *Botaqana.*
          don't.know
          A: 'And (where is) the child?'
          B: 'Who knows.' '*I* don't know.'

19.5.   Complex interrogatives

The term "complex interrogatives" is used here to refer to cases where two
different types of interrogative are combined in some way, by juxtaposition of
sentences, or by coordination or embedding of clauses. In such cases normally
only one of the interrogatives expresses a true question, that is a question to
which an answer is being sought.
    One type of complex interrogative consists of an open interrogative sentence
with the intransitive interrogative verb *qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?'
(section 19.3.5), followed by a closed interrogative sentence. It is the closed
interrogative that expresses the question to which an answer is requested. The
qufita interrogative merely serves to introduce the closed interrogative. It con-
sists of the verb *qufita* and its subject marker, which is the third person singular
nonfuture one, *qe*:

(19-178) *Qe*   *qufita?* *Koki*   *lae,*   *mada*
          3SG.NFUT   be.how? DU(INCL).FUT   go   or

> *koki   too   ba-karoqa?*
> DU(INCL).FUT stay LIM-DU(INCL).PERS
> 'So (how)? Shall we go or shall we (just) stay?'

A complex interrogative structure may consist of what otherwise would be an open interrogative followed by a fragment of an alternative interrogative that narrows down the options of the former, and the answer is expected to be selected from that set:

(19-179) *Tei   na   qoki   lae   bii-da,   kamiliqa   mada*
          who? FOC 2SG.FUT go   COM-3PL.OBJ   1PL(EXCL)   or

          kini   qena   ki?
          woman   that(2) PL
          'Who will you go with, us or the women?'

(19-180) *Subuni   taa   qana roo   doo   neqe ki na*
          spoon   which?   GENP two   thing this PL FOC

          subuni   qoe? Doo neqe mada   doo   lokoo?
          spoon   2SG thing this or   thing that(3)
          'Which of these two spoons is yours? This one or that one?' (Lit.: 'Which spoon of these two things is your spoon? This thing or that thing?')

And a complex interrogative may consist of a dependent interrogative (section 19.6) that is the complement of a higher verb, also in an interrogative clause. In (19-181) the complement interrogative is of the closed, alternative type, and in (19-182) of the open type. The complex interrogatives express polar questions.

(19-181) *Qo   thaitoqoma-na wane qeri kai   lae*
          2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   man that 3SG.FUT go

          ma=i   qusungadi mada   qe   aqi?
          VENT=LOC   tomorrow   or   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
          'Do you know if the man will come tomorrow or not?'

(19-182) *Qo   thaitoqoma-na fita   fa   seleni*
          2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   how.many?   CLF   money

> *qana kisi   miti?*
> GENP carton   meat
> 'Do you know how much money [it is] for a carton of (tinned) meat?'

For another example see (19-186) in the next section.

Interrogative clauses that function as complements within complex interrogatives are a special case of dependent interrogatives, discussed next.

19.6.   Dependent interrogatives

Dependent interrogatives are interrogatives that are complements of higher verbs. Both closed and open interrogatives can be dependent in Toqabaqita; however, neither type of dependent interrogative is particularly common. As mentioned in section 29.4.7, indirect speech is less common than direct speech in Toqabaqita, and this is also true of interrogatives, in particular closed interrogatives.

There are no internal structural differences between dependent and non-dependent interrogatives. However, dependent polar interrogatives do not exhibit a rise in intonation characteristic of non-dependent polar interrrogatives, unless they are embedded in a higher polar interrogative clause, such as is the case in (19-181) further above. In the latter type of case the intonation rise at the end of the sentence is due to the fact that the whole complex sentence is a polar interrogative.

Open dependent interrogatives are dealt with first. As discussed in section 19.3.2, subject to certain conditions, in non-dependent interrogatives the interrogative phrases can occur *in situ* or can be fronted and be in focus. The same is true of dependent interrogatives. In the first two examples, the interrogative phrases are *in situ*. The sentence in (19-183) contains the verb *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)'; the dependent interrogative clause functions as its (paratactic) complement (section 29.4.7).

(19-183) *Ka   lae   mai, ka   soe-toqo-na   tha*
          3SG.SEQ go   VENT 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ PERSMKR

          Nori qe,   qe   ngali-a   doo
          Nori 3SG.NFUT   3SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ thing

qeri   qi   fei.
that   LOC   where?
'It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government] came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.: taken) that thing.'

The next example contains the interrogative verb *qufita* 'be how?', 'do what?', 'do how?' in a serializing [verb verb] compound with *lae* 'go', which cannot be fronted (section 19.3.5). (With two types of exception, verbs cannot be fronted.)

(19-184) *Qoo, kulu,   qi   quuqusungadia   kuka*
oh   PL(INCL)   LOC   tomorrow   PL(INCL).SEQ

taqe,   kuka   rongo-a   fasi   toqa   loo
ascend   PL(INCL).SEQ   hear-3.OBJ   PREC   people   upward

keki   lae   qufita.
3PL.FUT   go   be.how?
'Oh, we, tomorrow, let's go up and hear first where those people up there will go.'

In the next two examples the interrogative phrases have been fronted in their clauses and are in focus.

(19-185) *Faa-tani-a   qi   fei   n=o   riki-a*
show-TR-3.OBJ   LOC   where?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ

loi   baa   qi   ei.
snake   that   LOC   LOCPRO
'Show (me) (the place) where you saw the snake.'

(19-186) *Qo   thaitoqoma-na   uri-a   taa   wane baa*
2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   REAS-3.OBJ   what?   man   that

ka   kwaqe-a   kwai-na?
3SG.SEQ   beat-3.OBJ   spouse-3SG.PERS
'Do you know why the man beat his wife?'

Closed dependent interrogatives are even less common than open dependent interrogatives. For an example see (19-181) in section 19.5.

Chapter 20
Imperatives

20.1. Introduction

Imperative sentences serve to express various kinds of directives (Lyons 1977; Searle 1979, 1983), such as orders, commands, demands, requests, advice, instructions, exhortations, persuasions, incitements, and invitations (Hamblin 1987). Most commonly, imperatives are used to get the addressee or addressees to do something, but they may be directed at individuals other than the addressee(s): at a third person or at the speaker himself/herself. This chapter is concerned with clausal structures, imperatives, that function to express various kinds of directives. In the present context the term "imperative" is used only with reference to clauses that function as main clauses, not to clauses embedded under higher verbs that signal the illocutionary force; that is, with reference to sentences such as the one in (20-1), but not sentences such as the one in (20-2).

(20-1)   *Qadomi nau.*
           help   1SG
           'Help me.'

(20-2)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a qoki   qadomi   nau.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT help   1SG
           'I want you to help me.'

   Toqabaqita has a variety of grammatical means to form imperatives. However, as will be seen in what follows, in almost all cases the grammatical elements used to form imperatives have other functions as well. These include the subject markers: nonfuture, future, sequential, negative, dehortative, and, in two cases, imperative. In the discussion that follows, a basic division is made between positive and negative imperatives, and within both categories various subtypes are distinguished.
   Imperatives are normally directed at people, but they may be directed at other entities as well. By using (20-3) the speaker is sicking a dog:

(20-3)   *Tari-a!*
           chase-3SG.OBJ
           'Chase it [a pig] (away)!'

   In imperatives, the second person dual subject markers can be used with plural reference; see examples (20-12) – (20-14) in section 20.2.1.4 and (20-29) in section 20.2.3.

20.2.   Positive imperatives

Several positive imperative strategies exist in Toqabaqita, distinguished by the type of subject marker, and in one case by the absence of any subject marker. There are three types of subject marker used in positive imperatives: nonfuture, sequential, and future. The nonfuture set also includes two imperative subject markers.

20.2.1. Positive imperatives with nonfuture subject markers or no subject
        marker

20.2.1.1.   *Introduction*

This is the commonest type of positive imperative. On the basis of the subject (expressed or not), two basic subtypes can be distinguished: second-person imperatives, where the person or persons (or occasionally another entity) directed to bring about a state of affairs is/are the addressee(s), and inclusive imperatives, where the speaker includes himself/herself with the addressee(s). The discussion starts with second-person addressee imperatives, and as there are various kinds of difference between imperatives with singular, dual and plural addressees, they are discussed individually.

20.2.1.2.   *Second-person singular imperatives*

The commonest way to form a second-person singular imperative is for there to be no subject marker with the verb:

(20-4)   *Lae   i   maqa   fera.*
           go   LOC   CLF   house
           'Go home.' (A parent ordering his child.)

(20-5)   *Kuqu-fi-a   roo   fa   doo.*
          drink-TR-3.OBJ two   CLF   thing
          'Take (lit.: drink) two of them [malaria pills].' (Giving advice.)

(20-6)   *Beta   nia   fasa   mataqi-a,   feda-laa,*
          protect   3SG   ABL   be.sick-DVN   be.tired-NMLZ

          taqaa-laa.
          be.bad-NMLZ
          'Protect her from sickness, tiredness (lit.: being tired) and wicked-
          ness [i.e., from being wicked, bad].' (Asking, entreating God in a
          prayer.)

It is possible to use the second-person singular nonfuture subject marker, but
this strategy is not common.

(20-7)   *Qo   lae   mai.*
          2SG.NFUT   go   VENT
          'Come here.' (A request.)

There is also a special second-person singular imperative subject marker;
see section 20.2.2.

20.2.1.3. *Second-person dual imperatives*

In second-person dual imperatives there must be a subject marker, except that
the subject marker is usually omitted in clauses that contain the verb 'go' and
occur as the first clause in purpose imperatives (section 20.4.3). Most com-
monly, the subject marker is the second-person dual nonfuture one, *moro*:

(20-8)   *Moro   kefu-a   i   manga   qeri.*
          2DU.NFUT   open.stone.oven-3SG.OBJ   LOC   time   this
          'Open it [a stone oven] now.' (An ogre ordering two children.)

(20-9)   *Moro   lae   ka-maroqa.*
          2DU.NFUT   go   AND-2DU.PERS
          '(OK), you two go (now).' (Parting formula addressed to people
          leaving.)

There is also a second-person dual imperative subject marker (section
20.2.2).

20.2.1.4. *Second-person plural imperatives*

In second-person plural imperatives too there must be a subject marker, except for clauses that contain the verb 'go' and occur as the first clause in purpose imperatives (section 20.4.3), where it is frequently absent. Normally, it is the second-person plural nonfuture subject marker *mulu* that is used:

(20-10) *Mulu*   *lae*   *uri*   *Da'i, .…*
            2PL.NFUT   go   ALL   Da'i
            'Go to Da'i (Island), .…' (Commanding the addressees.)

(20-11) *Mulu*   *ngali-a*   *mai*   *alo*   *qena*   *ki.*
            2PL.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   VENT   taro   that(2)   PL
            'Bring the taros.' (A request.)

However, rather than the plural nonfuture subject marker, it is possible to use the nonfuture marker *moro*, which also has a specifically dual interpretation (section 20.2.1.3). In the next two examples, *moro* is used with plural rather than dual reference.

(20-12) *Moro*   *thafarau*   *taal-a*   *kata.*
            2DU.NFUT   lay.out.leaves   sake-3.PERS   k.o.pudding
            'Lay out leaves (on the ground) for (lit.: for the sake of) the *kata* pudding.' (Exhorting the addressees. At feasts, large leaves are laid out on the ground and the food is placed on them.)

(20-13) *Moro*   *loke-a*
            2DU.NFUT   get.stuck.into.work-3.OBJ

            bii-la-na   *botho*   *qena.*
            cook.in.stone.oven-NMLZ-3.PERS   pig   that(2)
            'Get stuck into cooking the pig.' (Meaning: 'Get stuck into getting the stone oven ready to cook the pig.') (Encouraging, exhorting the addressees.)

There is an interjection *roo-wane*, lit. 'two men/people', to express amazement or exhortation, regardless of the number of addressees. (See also [27-48] in section 27.3.2.) In the context of the sentence in (20-14), the number of addressees is more than two:

(20-14)   *Roo-wane,   moro   durufi-a   botho   naqi!*
two-man/person   2DU.NFUT   surround-3.OBJ   pig   this
'Hey, you guys, get around the pig!' (Exhorting several men to surround a pig in order to catch it.)

20.2.1.5.   Dual and plural inclusive imperatives

Here the speaker includes himself or herself among those exhorted to bring a state of affairs about. To express dual and plural exhortations, the inclusive nonfuture subject markers are normally used, *koro* dual and *kulu* plural, respectively:

(20-15)   *Qoo, koro   lae   qa-karoqa.*
OK   DU(INCL).NFUT   go   SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
'OK, let's go.'

(20-16)   *Kulu   foqa   fasi*.
PL(INCL).NFUT   pray   PREC
'Let's pray now.'

In the next example it is only the event of the second clause that will be performed by both participants. The event of the first clause, breaking up the taro, will be done only by the speaker, but he includes the addressee in an expression of personal closeness. (See section 4.10 for the integrative use of the inclusive forms.)

(20-17)   *Koro   fidu-a   alo   naqi, koro*
DU(INCL).NFUT break-3.OBJ   taro   this   DU(INCL).NFUT

qani-a.
eat-3SG.OBJ
'Let's break this taro and (let's) eat it.'

First-person exhortations directed at more than two people, including the speaker himself/herself, may also be expressed by means of the nonfuture subject marker *moro*, discussed in sections 20.2.1.3 and 20.2.1.4. Although overtly it is only the people other than the speaker that are addressed, this construction is also used when the speaker does include himself/herself:

(20-18) *Moro   oqotataqi, fanua   kai   rodo   naqa.*
2DU.NFUT hurry.up   place   3SG.FUT be.dark PRF
'Let's hurry up; it's getting dark.'

The sentence in (20-18) could also be a command or a request directed at two or more other people, excluding the speaker: 'Hurry up; it's getting dark.'

(20-19) *Moro   uu-a   baqu   i*
2DU.NFUT lift.at.one.end-3.OBJ   banana   LOC

mae-la-na.
die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
'Let's avenge his death.' (Lit.: 'Let's lift a banana tree [i.e. a spear] at his dying.')

20.2.2. Positive imperatives with imperative subject markers

There are special imperative subject markers for the second person singular and dual, *qoi* and *mori*, respectively. There are no imperative subject markers for any of the other grammatical persons and numbers. The imperative subject markers are used relatively infrequently, especially the dual one. Imperatives with these subject markers correspond in their use to those with the nonfuture subject markers and to the absence of a subject marker in the case of second-person singular imperatives. (They are listed together with the nonfuture subject markers in table 4.5 in section 4.8.)

(20-20) *Qoi   ade   suli   nau.*
2SG.IMP do   PROL 1SG
'Obey me.' (Lit.: 'Do along me.') (A command.)

(20-21) *Qoi   masi-a!*
2SG.IMP eat-3SG.OBJ
'Choke on it!' (Said in anger when giving something [not necessarily food] to the addressee, especially a child, who has been pestering the speaker for it. *Masi* is a vulgar word for 'eat'.)

For another example with *qoi* see (20-51) in section 20.4.1.

(20-22) *Mori   fanga.*
2DU.IMP eat
'Eat (you two).' (Inviting, encouraging the addressees.)

20.2.3. Positive imperatives with sequential subject markers

Imperatives with sequential subject markers are typically second-person. First-person imperatives are not common; on the other hand, unlike imperatives with nonfuture subject markers those with sequential subject markers can also be third-person. They tend to be attenuated in their force. Often they express encouragement, suggestion, or expectation about what the addressee(s) should do:

(20-23)   *Qoko   rongo-a   sista   qoe.*
          2SG.SEQ listen.to-3.OBJ sister 2SG
          'Listen to your sister.' 'You should listen to your sister.'

(20-24)   *Moko   raqu   ngado.*
          2SG.SEQ hold   be.steady
          'Hold on tight.' (Advising two children up in a tree.)

The sentence in (20-25) is a traditional, polite way of offering food to somebody:

(20-25)   *Qoko   suukwaqi   qa=si   fanga   qeri.*
          2SG.SEQ be.strong   GENP=DIM   food   this
          'Have this little bit of food.' (Lit.: 'Be strong with this little food.')

The sentence in (20-26) is a plural inclusive exhortation:

(20-26)   *Kuka   qadomi   kulu   kwailiu.*
          PL(INCL).SEQ   help   PL(INCL)   RECP
          'Let's help each other.' 'We should help each other.'

Imperatives with sequential subject markers are also used to express implorations, entreaties, polite requests.

(20-27)   *Dear qae, qoko   manata-lube   nau   please, ...*
          dear VOC 2SG.SEQ mind-be.untied   1SG   please
          'Dear, forgive me please, ...'

(*Manata-lube* 'mind'-'be untied' is a subject-incorporating compound [section 12.3.2] that functions as a transitive verb with the meaning 'forgive'.)

In (20-28) the speaker is addressing God:

(20-28) *Araqi*   *loo,*   *qoko*   *tatakomi*   *kamiliqa*
      mature.man upward   2SG.SEQ have.mercy.on 1PL(EXCL)

      mai.
      VENT
      'Lord, have mercy on us.'

In (20-29) it is the dual subject marker *moka* that is used, but its intented reference is not restricted to two people. The speaker, who had had a sore, climbed to the top of a tree and shouted to let everybody in the area know that his sore had healed. (The interjection *roo-wane*, lit. 'two men/people' is used regardless of the number of addressees; see section 20.2.1.4.)

(20-29) *Roo-wane!,*   *ta*   *imole*   *ka*   *too*
      two-man/person   some   person   3SG.SEQ   reside

      i   *fe=i*   *laa*   *kada*   *taafoloa*   *neqe,*
      LOC   where=LOC   IN   block   district   this

      nau, *tha*   *Liliqa,*   *na*   *ku*   *qai*
      1SG   PERSMKR   Liliqa   FOC   1SG.NFUT   shout

      neri!   **Moka**   *rongo*   *suli-a*   *maala*
      NPAST.HERE   2DU.SEQ   hear   PROL-3.OBJ   sore

      b=e   *thau-ngi*   *nau! Maala*   *b=e*
      that=3SG.NFUT afflict-TR   1SG   sore   that=3SG.NFUT

      tharu-fi   *nau*   *qe=aqi*   *naqa!* ....
      (sore)afflict-TR   1SG   3SG.NFUT=not.exist   PRF
      '[This is what he shouted,] Hey, anybody, wherever you may live (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district, it's me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that afflicted me)! The sore that I had is no more! ....'

The subject of an imperative with a sequential subject marker may be third person. The speaker expresses a wish that such and such a state of affairs obtain. It may be the referent of the subject who is the one that is, indirectly, entreated, exhorted or requested to bring the state of affairs about:

(20-30)   *Araqi   loo   ka   qadomi   qoe.*
           mature.man upward   3SG.SEQ help   2SG
           'God bless you.' (Lit.: '(May) God help you.')

Compare (20-29) further above, where God is not only the entity implored, but also the addressee.

Sentences with third-person sequential subject markers can also be used as implicit imperatives where it is the addressee(s) that is/are indirectly being told to bring a state of affairs about. In the context of (20-31) below, the speaker wants the fight to stop. In the first clause he is is indirectly telling the fighters that the fight should stop. The fighters are then directly addressed in the second clause, by means of a negative imperative (section 20.3):

(20-31)   *Oomea naqi ka   teo,   qe   aqi*
           fight   this 3SG.SEQ cease 3SG.NFUT   NEGV

           musi   firu!
           2PL.NEG fight
           'This fight must end; don't fight!' 'Let this fight end; don't fight/stop fighting!'

In the situation expressed in the next example, the responsibility for the event occurring rests partly with the addressee and partly with the referent of the subject: the addressee is to make sure that the children are given food and the children are to eat it. (In the second clause, the third-person plural sequential subject marker occurs in the timitive-mood construction [section 18.6], not in an imperative.)

(20-32)   *Wela naqi ki keka   fanga   ada   keka   biinga.*
           child this PL 3PL.SEQ eat   TIM 3PL.SEQ sleep
           'The children should/must eat; they might fall asleep (hungry).'
           'The children should/must eat so that they don't fall asleep (hungry).'

What the speaker intends to convey is 'Make sure that the children eat before they fall asleep.

20.2.4. Imperatives with future subject markers

While the future subject markers normally serve to express an expectation or prediction that a certain state of affairs will obtain, they may also be used in

clauses whose illocutionary force is that of a relatively strong, insistent command, demand, or exhortation. While they are most common as second-person imperatives, they may also have first-person and third-person subjects. The first two examples are second-person imperatives.

(20-33) *Qoki   lae   si   mai!*
        2SG.FUT go   PREC VENT
        'Come here first/now!' 'You will come here first/now!'

(20-34) *Nia   naqa moki   riki   nia.*
        3SG   PRF   2DU.FUT see   3SG
        '(It's) her now you should (go and) see.'

The next two examples are intended as first-person exhortations:

(20-35) *Nau   kwai   beta   bo=naqa   suli   nau   ada*
        1SG   1SG.FUT take.care.of ASRT=INTS PROL   1SG   TIM

        kwa   mataqi.
        1SG.SEQ be.ill
        'I will/should/must look after myself so that I don't fall ill.'

(20-36) *Qoo, ma   si   manga qeri koro   koki*
        oh   and   PRTT time   this DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT

        fanga.
        eat
        'Oh, and now we'll eat.' 'Oh, and now let's eat.'

And the sentence in (20-37) is intended as a third-person imperative:

(20-37) *Wela   naqi ki keki   fanga.*
        child   this PL 3PL.FUT eat
        'The children will/should/must eat.'

20.3. Negative imperatives

There are two basic grammatical strategies to express negative imperatives, but only one is normally used in present-day Toqabaqita; the other one is archaic. The latter type of construction is referred to as "dehortative".

20.3.1. Negative imperatives in present-day Toqabaqita

In the present-day language, negative imperatives are expressed by means of the same negative strategies used in declarative sentences, using the negative subject markers (chapter 17). Both the simple and the double negative constructions, the latter employing the negative verb *aqi*, occur in imperatives. The double negative strategy is somewhat more emphatic than the simple strategy. The next two examples illustrate the simple and the double constructions, respectively:

(20-38)   *Qosi   waela   qani   nau.*
          2SG.NEG laugh   GENP 1SG
          'Don't laugh at me.'

(20-39)   *Qe=aqi   mosi   kwai-talami.*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG   LIP-interrupt
          'Don't interrupt each other.'

   Negative imperatives too can be used with a variety of illocutionary forces, such as orders and commands (as in the two examples just above), advice, warnings, requests, entreaties, dehortations, and dissuasions. They can be used either to prevent a new state of affairs from coming about or to stop a state of affairs that already exists or that has existed previously. In the latter type of case, the verb is often reduplicated when the state of affairs has existed for a relatively extended period of time or when it has occurred on multiple occasions previously. (Reduplication of verbs serves to express the continuative/iterative aspect; see section 15.2.3.) Like positive imperatives, negative imperatives are most common with second-person subjects, but subjects of other grammatical persons are possible as well. Examples (20-40) – (20-44) have second-person subjects.

(20-40)   *Qe=aqi   qosi   sua-na   kuki   naqi.*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG touch-3.OBJ saucepan   this

          Qe   qaaqako.
          3SG.NFUT   be.hot
          'Don't touch this saucepan. It's hot.' (Advice.)

(20-41)   *Qe   aqi qosi   luka-taqi   nau.*
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV 2SG.NEG abandon-TR 1SG
          'Don't abandon me.' (Request, entreaty.)

In the next two examples, the verbs are reduplicated in negative imperatives that request the addressees to stop doing what they have been doing.

(20-42)   *Qe=aqi*   *musi*   *fii-fita-li-a*   *laa*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2PL.NEG   RPL-run-TR-3.OBJ   IN

          dani   qena!
          rain   that(2)
          'Stop running around in the rain!' 'Don't keep running around in the rain!' (Ordering little children. Running around in rain is little children's favourite amusement. The Class 1 transitive verb *fita-li* designates this kind of activity.)

(20-43)   *Qosi*   *kwaa-kwaqe-a*   *wela   qena.*
          2SG.NEG   RDP-beat-3.OBJ   child   that(2)
          'Stop beating the child.' (Dissuasion.)

In the situation expressed in (20-44) the addressees were not on their way at the moment, but they had done so on previous occasions, and the speaker is ordering them not to do that any more. The first sentence is a positive imperative, and the second one a negative imperative.

(20-44)   *Moro*   *too*   *ba-maroqa.*   *Mosi*   *laa-lae*   *daa.*
          2DU.NFUT   stay   LIM-2DU.PERS   2DU.NEG   RDP-go   be.far
          'Just stay (nearby), you two. Don't go far (any more).'

In (20-45) the negative imperative has a first person singular subject. The first sentence is a negative imperative/dehortative, while the second one is a positive imperative/hortative:

(20-45)   *Nau   kwasi   too,   tona   qono. Kwai   ili-a   boqo*
          1SG   1SG.NEG stay   RESTR   sit   1SG.FUT do-3.OBJ   ASRT

          ta   si   raa.
          some   PRTT   work
          'I shouldn't/mustn't stay (here) just sitting. I should/must do some work.' ('Let me not just stay (here) sitting; let me do some work.')

And the negative imperative in (20-46) has a third-person subject:

(20-46)   *Qe   aqi   si   alilifeo.*
           3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   make.noise.RDP
           'He should not be making noise.' 'He must/should stop making
           noise.'

(*Alilifeo* is a reduplicated form of *alifeo* 'make noise', but neither *ali* nor *feo*
exist in present-day Toqabaqita.)

20.3.2.   Archaic dehortatives

Toqabaqita has a complete set of dehortative subject markers, which are listed
in table 4.5 in section 4.8. With one exception, they are bimorphemic: the first
element encodes the subject and the second element the dehortation; for exam-
ple, *qo-to* 2SG-DEHORT. The third-person singular subject marker consists only
of the dehortative element *ta*. (In most of the subject markers the dehortative
element has the form *ta*; in two of them it has the form *to*.) For the sake of sim-
plicity, the dehortative subject markers are treated as unanalyzed wholes; for
example *qoto* 2SG.DEHORT.

The dehortative subject markers are archaic. They are not used in the pre-
sent-day language. The only spontaneous instance of a dehortative recorded is
the one in (20-47) below. Today it is the negative-imperative constructions
discussed in the preceding section that are used to express dehortation. The
sentence in (20-47) is a customary moral saying (*tarafulaa/tarufulaa*). It is
used, even today, to people who get carried away and prematurely announce
success.

(20-47)   *Weleqi!, qoto   ade-de   mala   tha   Liliqa.*
           man!   2SG.DEHORT   act-RDP   EQT   PERSMKR   Liliqa.
           'Man!, don't act like Liliqa.'

In the story from which this saying comes, Liliqa was a man who had been
suffering from yaws. At one point he thought his yaws sores had healed, and so
he climbed to the top of a tree and announced loudly that his sores had healed.
As he was climbing down the tree, he accidentally broke the scars from the
sores, the wounds bled profusely, and he died. The meaning of the saying is
something like: 'Don't count your chickens before they are hatched'. See text 2
in the Appendix.

Following are a few more examples of the dehortative construction. In all
cases the negative construction would be used in today's language.

(20-48) *{Kwata   /   kwasi}   alilifeo   ba-kuqa.*
1SG.DEHORT   /   1SG.NEG make.noise.RDP   LIM-1SG.PERS
'I should not be making noise.'

(20-49) *Kota   qoo-qono   ba-karoqa.*
DU(INCL).DEHORT RDP-sit   LIM-DU(INCL).PERS
'Let's not just sit (here any longer).' (This could be said after wait-
ing for somebody for a long time, without the person turning up:
'Let's not wait any longer; let's go.')

(20-50) *Ta   loo-lole   ba-na.*
3SG.DEHORT   RDP-tell.lie   LIM-3SG.PERS
'He shouln't/mustn't lie!'. 'Let him stop telling lies.'

All the examples of the dehortative construction that have been elicited con-
tain the limiter *ba-*, while the only spontaneous example does not. As the dehor-
tative construction is not in current use, the function of the limiter here is not
clear.

20.4.   Other properties of imperatives

Here some additional properties of imperatives, formal as well as seman-
tic/pragmatic, are discussed.

20.4.1. Terms of address

Second-person imperatives may contain a term of address. These usually, but
not necessarily, come sentence initially.

(20-51) *Maeori, qoi   riki-a   si   kasi qai   qeri.*
Maeori 2SG.IMP look.at-3.OBJ   PRTT small wood   this
'Maeori, take a look at this small stick.'

(20-52) *Beta-a   botho   qoe, Qolofia!*
look.after-3.OBJ   pig   2SG   Olofia
'Look after your pig, Olofia!'

In (20-53) a personal pronoun serves as a term of address:

(20-53)   *Qoe, qe   aqi   qosi   lae   bii   nau, uri*
          2SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG go   COM   1SG   REAS

          qoe   kwai-na   wane   ramo,   nau
          2SG   spouse-3.PERS   man   professional.killer 1SG

          wane teqe nau, ada   ka   ala-si   nau.
          man   sole 1SG   TIM   3SG.SEQ   attack.to.kill-TR   1SG
          'You, don't come (lit.: go) with me, because you are the wife of a
          professional killer, (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me),
          (and) he might attack and kill me.'

For an example of a term of address in a dehortative, see (20-47) in section
20.3.2.

20.4.2. Immediate imperatives

Immediate imperatives are imperatives used when the speaker expects the state
of affairs to be brought about immediately, or to be discontinued immediately.
Immediate imperatives employ the perfect marker *naqa* (section 15.3), which is
also used to express immediate future (section 15.1.2.2). The perfect marker is
used both in positive and in negative imperatives. In positive imperatives it is
used regardless of the type of the subject marker present, and also when there is
no subject marker.

(20-54)   *Sifo!   Sifo   naqa!*
          descend descend PRF
          'Get down! Get down *now*! (Ordering a little boy to climb down
          from a tree.)

(20-55)   *Koro   lae   na-karoqa!*
          DU(INCL).NFUT   go   PRF-DU(INCL).PERS
          'Let's go now.'

In (20-56) the first sentence is a positive imperative, and the second sen-
tence a negative imperative. Both contain the perfect marker. In the negative
imperative the perfect marker signals that the addressees should no longer en-
gage in the activity, effective immediately.

(20-56)   *Oomea   naqi   ka   sui   naqa!*
           fight   this   3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF

           Qe=aqi   musi   firu   naqa!
           3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2PL.NEG   fight   PRF
           'This fight is to finish now! Don't fight any more, now!'

Compare the similar example (20-31) in section 20.2.3, from the same text as (20-56), which does not contain the perfect marker.

For more examples of the use of the perfect marker in imperatives see (15-121) and (15-122) in section 15.3.

20.4.3. Purpose imperatives with the verb *lae* 'go' in the first clause

As discussed in section 33.3.3, clauses with the verb *lae* 'go' as the first clause in a construction that expresses or implies purpose ('go in order to X') often lack a subject marker. This is also the case in positive imperatives that express purpose where the first imperative clause contains *lae*, regardless of the grammatical person and number of the subject. It is the second clause, if any, that contains a subject marker.

(20-57)   *Lae   moro   fanga   naqa.*
           go   2DU.NFUT   eat   PRF
           'Go eat now (you two).'

(20-58)   *Lae   kulu   qili   nguda.*
           go   PL(INCL).NFUT   dig   crab
           'Let's go digging for crabs.' 'Let's go crab-digging.'

In (20-59) the addressee is singular, and neither clause has a subject marker:

(20-59)   *Lae   biinga   naqa!*
           go   sleep   PRF
           'Go sleep now!'

However, as in non-imperative purpose constructions, the first clause with the verb *lae* 'go' may contain a subject marker:

(20-60)   *Eri,   kulu   lae,   kulu   riki-a   fasi.*
           hey   PL(INCL).NFUT   go   PL(INCL).NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ   PREC
           'Hey, let's go (and let's) see it first.'

20.4.4. Verbless imperatives

Imperatives normally contain a verb, but verbless imperatives are possible. One type of verbless imperative consists of an independent personal pronoun that encodes the addressee(s) and a directional particle in the predicate. Only the direction of the motion is encoded, not the manner in which the motion is to take place.

(20-61)   *Kulu   kau.*
           PL(INCL) AND
           'Let's be off.'

In the next example, the first sentence is a verbless imperative, while the second one is an imperative with a verb:

(20-62)   *Kamuluqa   mai! Mulu   lau-a   firu-a*
           2PL   VENT 2PL.NFUT   stop.fight-3.OBJ fight-DVN

           naqi!
           this
           'You, (come) here! Stop the fight!'

Instead of a (true) verb, an imperative may contain a pseudo-verb, a phrase that has been re-ranked to function like a verb (section 4.7). The sentences in (20-63) and (20-64) are imperatives, positive and negative, respectively, that contain pseudo-verbs. The predicate of the positive imperative in (20-63) consists of the noun phrase *rodo leqa* 'good night' and a sequential subject marker. The expression *qoko rodo leqa* is a parting formula.

(20-63)   *Qoko   rodo leqa,   wane nau.*
           2SG.SEQ night be.good man 1SG
           'Good night (to you), my man.' (Lit.: 'You be good-night, my man.')

And in the negative imperative below, the predicate consists of the noun phrase *quna qeri* 'this manner' and the second-person singular negative subject marker:

(20-64)   *Qosi   quna   qeri.*
           2SG.NEG manner this
           'Not like this.' 'Don't do (it) like this.' 'Don't do (it) this/that way.'

20.4.5. Indirect imperatives

Indirect imperatives are imperatives that express directives, without being overtly, in terms of their structure, directed at one or more addressees. Their interpretion as having a directive force is highly context-dependent. The sentence in (20-65) with the negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case' (section 17.3) is intended to express admonishment coupled with dissuasion. The speaker is admonishing the addressee who was about to take two malaria pills at one time.

(20-65)   *Roo si   doo   qe=aqi!*
           two   PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
           'Not two of them!' (Lit.: 'Two things, it is not the case.')

Utterances whose function is to direct other people's behaviour may consist of a verb phrase or a noun phrase that expresses the state of affairs that the speaker objects to and wants stopped. The sentence in (20-66) consists of a verb alone. This is not a positive imperative addressed to a single addressee. It is an exclamation directed at a group of children who were making loud, annoying noise. The speaker is signalling to them that he wants the noise stopped or at least lessened.

(20-66)   *Alifeo!*
           make.noise
           'Making (too much) noise!' '(Yes,) make noise!' (Sarcastically.)

And nominalizations can be used with a "stance" function (section 9.1.3) to express disapproval with a state of affairs, sometimes expressing one's wish that that state of affairs not take place any longer.

(20-67)   *Qaa! Ngata-laa sula doo qoro   qeri!*
           hey! talk-NMLZ PROL thing be.many that
           'Hey! All this talking about the things!' 'Hey! Too much talking about the things!' (Lit.: 'Hey! Talking about those many things!')

For another example see (9-76) in section 9.1.3.

Chapter 21
Low-individuation-of participants derivations

21.1. Two low-individuation-of-participants prefixes

Toqabaqita has two derivational prefixes, *kwai-* and *wai-*, which, in spite of some differences between them, are linked semantically, and there is evidence that historically they derive from a common source. *Kwai-* is typically added to transitive verbs, and the result is a (syntactically) intransitive verb. *Wai-*, on the other hand, is added to certain nouns, nearly all of which are kinship terms, and the result is another noun, again nearly always with some kinship meaning. In some cases, *kwai-* is accompanied by the suffix *-i*; and *wai-* is in some cases accompanied by what used to be the third-person singular personal (or possessive) suffix, *-na* or, in one instance, *-a*. The erstwhile suffixes *-na* and *-a* are not isolated as separate morphemes in the examples (see section 21.6).

There is comparative evidence that the two prefixes continue a common earlier form, albeit with an irregular development. Toqabaqita *kw* reflects earlier *w; that is, *kwai-* reflects earlier *wai-. At a later stage, *wai- split into two forms: *kwai-* with a regular development of *w into *kw*, and *wai-*, where the sound change failed to take place (Lichtenberk 2007b).

21.2. Low individuation of participants

Both prefixes express a relatively low (degree of) individuation of participants. The notion of low individuation of participants (LIP) is taken, and adapted, from Langacker (1976), Hopper and Thompson (1980), and Kemmer (1993). (The latter speaks of "low distinguishability of participants"; see also Lichtenberk 2000b). In the present context, a participant is considered to have a relatively low degree of individuation if it is not expressed separately from another participant, which includes not being expressed at all. This may be because the participant plays the same roles as another participant; because it is a member of a collectivity; or because its identity is irrelevant. Verbs derived by means of *kwai-* are used either to encode reciprocal situations or they are used depatientively. In reciprocal situations the participants acting on each other have a low degree of individuation because they play the same pair of roles vis-à-vis each

other. Furthermore, in this construction such participants are encoded only
once, in the subject position:

(21-1)   *Roo   wela   kera   kwai-nalu-fi.*
          two   child   3PL.NFUT   LIP-splash-TR
          'The two children splashed each other (with water).'

A verb is used depatientively when one participant has the role of an initia-
tor/actor (agent, experiencer) with respect to an endpoint/undergoer (patient,
theme, stimulus) participant or a type of participant, but the latter is not ex-
pressed (Lichtenberk 1991c):

(21-2)   *Wane   qe   kwai-laba-taqi.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   LIP-affect.negatively-TR
          'The man harms (people), damages (things).'

With reciprocals the undergoer role of the participants is backgrounded,
because the participants are not encoded as undergoers. They are encoded only
as actors. And with depatientives the undergoer (type of) participants are back-
grounded by not being expressed at all. Reciprocal and depatientive verbs are
syntactically intransitive: they do not take direct objects. Nevertheless, if the
base verb contains a transitive suffix, the suffix is retained in the reciprocal or
the depatientive form. This is the case in the two examples above and is further
discussed in section 21.3.

A reciprocal situation consists of more than one relation of a certain kind: A
stands in a certain relation to B, and B stands in the same relation to A. And as
discussed in section 21.4, depatientive verbs are typically used to express ha-
bitual, general situations rather than specific ones. The type of event, etc. de-
noted by a depatientive verb is directed at participants of a certain kind, and so
there is plurality of actor-undergoer relations.

The notion of low individuation of participants also connects recipro-
cal/depatientive verbs and nouns derived from kinship terms by means of *wai-*.
Most such derived nouns designate collectivities and so plurality of relations.
For example:

(21-3)   *roo   wai-kwaina*
          two   LIP-spouse
          'married couple'

(The word for 'spouse' is *kwai*. The final *na* in *wai-kwaina* reflects the erst-
while third person singular personal/possessive suffix -*na*.)

In (21-3) there is low indviduation of the two participants because they are encoded as members of one and the same set in which they stand in identical relations to each other.

Verbs with the LIP affix(es) (see the next section) are not the only means to express reciprocal situations; this is discussed in section 22.2. Depatientive verbs are discussed in section 21.4, after the formal properties of verbal LIP derivations have been considered in the next section. There are also verbs that contain the prefix *kwai-* but are (at present) idiosyncratic in various ways. Those are discussed in section 21.5. Nouns formed by LIP derivation are discussed in section 21.6.

21.3.   The formal properties of verbal LIP derivations

Verbal LIP derivations consist in adding the prefix *kwai-* and under certain conditions also the suffix *-i* (also glossed LIP) to the base. Normally, the base is a transitive verb, and the result is a syntactically intransitive verb, even though the derived verb retains the transitive morphology of the source verb, if there is any. That is, if the source verb carries a transitive suffix — short or long — the suffix is retained in the derived verb even though that verb does not take direct objects. There is no direct-object marking on such verbs. Only Class 1 transitive verbs function as inputs into LIP derivations. With long transitive verbs, which have two basic variants of the transitive suffix, *-Cani* and *-Caqi* (section 4.2.3.2.2), it is the *-Caqi* variant that enters into LIP derivations. The examples in (21-4) illustrate derivations based on short transitives, and those in (21-5) derivations based on long transitives. None of the derived forms in (21-4) and (21-5) carries the suffix *-i*.

(21-4) a.   *kwai-bubu-ngi* (recp) 'stare at each other'; cf. *bubu-ngi* (tr.) 'stare at', *bubu* (intr.) 'look, observe'

      b.   *kwai-suqu-si* (depat.) 'ban people from a place '; cf. *suqu-si* (tr.) 'stop, restrain, prevent sb. (from doing st.)', *suu-suqu* (intr., with reduplication) 'be insistent, persistent'

(21-5) a.   *kwai-ili-faqi* (recp) 'imitate each other'; cf. *ili-fani/ili-faqi* (tr.) 'imitate', *ili* (tr.) 'do'

      b.   *kwai-ila-ma-taqi* (recp, depat.) 'be unfriendly, hostile to each other', 'be unfriendly, hostile to others'; cf. *ila-ma-tani/ila-ma-taqi* (tr., with the stem extender *-ma*) 'be unfriendly, hostile to', *ila* (intr.) 'behave in an unfriendly, hostile manner'

With some exceptions, the suffix *-i* is used, in addition to *kwai-*, only if the base is disyllabic, which means only with verbs that do not carry a transitive suffix; in other words, only with bare transitive verbs. A few examples are given in (21-6):

(21-6) a. *kwai-feto-i* (recp) 'pinch each other'; cf. *feto* (tr.) 'pinch st. off', 'pinch sb.'

  b. *kwai-gili-i* (recp) 'tickle each other'; cf. *gili* (tr.) 'tickle'

  c. *kwai-toda-i* (recp) 'meet (each other)'; cf. *toda* (tr.) 'meet sb.', *toda* (intr.) 'come across sb.'

  d. *kwai-tole-i* (depat.) 'lead others; be a leader'; cf. *tole* (tr.) 'lead sb. or an animal'

The suffix *-i* is also used when the base is a verb of more than two syllables provided it contains a disyllabic root and does not carry a transitive suffix. For example, *kwai-tako-fale-i* (depat.) 'rely on others for st. to get done' contains the suffix *-i* even though the base has four syllables: *tako-fale* (tr.) 'ask or hire sb. to do a job for one'. However, *tako-fale* is a compound that contains two disyllabic roots: *tako* (intr.) 'consider sb. responsible (for st.)' and *fale* (tr.) 'give'. Similarly, *kwai-faqa-maqu-i* 'be frightening' contains the suffix *-i* even though the base *faqa-maqu* 'frigthen' contains more than two syllables. However, *faqa-maqu* contains a disyllabic root *maqu* 'be afraid' and the causative prefix *faqa-*.

Monomorphemic bases that contain more than two syllables do not take the suffix *-i* even if they do not carry a transitive suffix; for example, *kwai-amasi* (depat.) 'call (people) for help'; cf. *amasi* 'call sb. for help'. There is no related form **ama* in present-day Toqabaqita.

There are a few forms that do meet the conditions for the presence of the suffix *-i* but do not take it. However, all such forms have other peculiarities, which may have something to do with the absence of the suffix. For example, *kwai-qala* 'bite each other' does not take the suffix *-i* even though the base is disyllabic. However, *kwai-qala* is, exceptionally, based on the intransitive verb *qala* 'bite', rather than on the transitive verb *qale* 'bite sb., st.'. Another such exceptional form is *kwaisuli* (historically *kwai-suli*), a particle that serves to express "chaining" situations (section 22.3). There is no corresponding verb, although there is a prolative preposition *suli* (section 10.3.4), which derives from an earlier verb **suli* 'follow' (Lichtenberk 1991b). And there is *kwailiu*/*kwai-liu*, based on the intransitive verb *liu* 'walk', 'pass, pass by',

which is a particle (not a verb) used to express reciprocal and dispersive situations (sections 22.2.1 and 22.3, respectively).

Other irregularities in verbs that contain (synchronically or diachronically) the prefix *kwai-* are discussed in section 21.5.

The number of verbs formed by means of LIP derivation is not very large. And whether a derived verb will function reciprocally or depatientively is a lexical matter: most verbs are reciprocal only, some are depatientive only, and very few can function either way. Some exclusively reciprocal verbs are: *kwai-ato-mi* 'hit each other with the soles of feet'; *kwai-ili-faqi* 'imitate each other'; *kwai-kumu-i* 'punch each other'. Some exclusively depatientive verbs are: *kwai-qatoqi* 'be in need (of things, etc.), need (things, etc.)'; *kwai-faqa-manata-i* 'teach, instruct (people) about what is right and what is wrong'; *kwai-laba-taqi* 'affect sb. or st. negatively, in a bad way: harm (people), damage (things), etc.'. And the following verbs are some of those that can be used with a reciprocal as well as with a depatientive meaning: *kwai-qolo-fi* 'deceive each other', 'deceive others'; *kwai-ila-ma-taqi* 'be unfriendly, hostile to each other','be unfriendly, hostile to others'.

21.4.   Depatientive verbs

Depatientive verbs encode situations in which there is a unidirectional (i.e. non-reciprocal) relation between an actor and an undergoer (most often a patient); however, the undergoer is not expressed in the clause. The transitive verbs from which the corresponding depatientive verbs are derived require, or at least permit, overt expression of both core participants, the actor as subject and the undergoer as direct object. The corresponding depatientive verbs, on the other hand, allow expression of only one core participant, the actor, as the subject. That is, the subject of a depatientive verb corresponds to the subject of the base transitive verb. Although no undergoer participant is expressed, some such participants or type of participants are implied.

Typically, depatientive verbs serve to express habitual situations or types of situation. The activity expressed by a depatientive verb is directed not at a specific participant but at a certain type of entity. A sentence with a depatientive verb is primarily about the actor: it characterizes the actor and/or attributes a certain property to him, her, or it. The other participant, the undergoer, is backgrounded by not being expressed.

And since depatientive verbs are typically used to express habitual situations, they share the property of plurality of relations with reciprocals: there is plurality of (types of) undergoers. However, while verbs used with reciprocal meaning cannot have semantically singular subjects, depatientive verbs can;

see, for instance, the first example in the next set. A few examples with depatientive verbs are given below. See also (21-2) in section 21.2.

(21-7)   *Nau   ku   kwai-suqu-si   fasi-a   alata*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-prevent-TR   ABL-3.OBJ fishing.area

          nau.
          1SG
          'I banned people from (entering, fishing in) my fishing area.'

(21-8)   *Oomea qeri qe   kwai-faqa-maqu-i   qasia naqa.*
          enemy   that 3SG.NFUT   LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP INTS INTS
          'The enemy is very frightening.' ('The enemy frighten[s] [people]
          greatly.')

(21-9)   *Kwaifiiqi-laa   qe   kwai-tao-faqi.*
          be.envious-NMLZ   3SG.NFUT   LIP-cause.trouble.among-TR
          'Envy (lit.: being envious) causes trouble (among people).'

The verb *kwaifiiqi* 'be envious, jealous' may itself originally have been depatientive, although at present there is no verb **fiiqi* (see also example (21-19 in section 21.5).

   Example (21-10) contains the deverbal noun *kwai-qadomi-a* 'help', based on the depatientive verb *kwai-qadomi* 'help (people, others)', based on the transitive verb *qadomi* 'help sb.' (*Kwai-qadomi* can also function as a reciprocal verb.)

(21-10)   *Qi   laa kwai-qadomi-a   na,   Good,   qo*
          LOC   IN   LIP-help-DVN   REL   God   2SG.NFUT

          ili-a   i   a-miliqa ....
          do-3SG.OBJ LOC   BEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS
          'In the help that, (you) God, give us (lit.: that you do for us) ....'

   Since depatientive verbs are (syntactically) intransitive and serve to make statements about actors or to ascribe a characteristic to them, they can be used as noun modifiers to characterize the referent of the noun phrase as a habitual performer of a certain kind of activity or as having a certain characteristic (section 6.10):

(21-11)   *wane   kwai-faqa-maqu-i*
            man   LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
            'frightening man'

In the next two examples the depatientive verbs occur in lexicalized phrases where the head nouns are modified by ligature phrases (section 12.8):

(21-12)   *wane   ni   kwai-faqa-maruki*
            man   LIG   LIP-CAUS-be.alive
            'person who saves lives', i.e. 'doctor'; also Saviour (Christ)

(21-13)   *wane   ni   kwai-qolo-fi*
            man   LIG   LIP-deceive-TR
            'person who often deceives others (e.g., by making false promises)'

21.5.   Irregular instances of derivation by means of *kwai-* ... (*-i*)

Besides regular reciprocal and/or depatientive verbs, there are also a number of verbs that contain one or both of the LIP affixes, but that are irregular in various ways, formally and/or semantically. While verbs with the prefix *kwai-* are normally syntactically intransitive, there are a few transitive verbs. These are most likely the result of an earlier depatientive or reciprocal verb coming to be used as a transitive one. For example:

(21-14)   *kwai-ara-ngani-a   toqa*
            LIP-shout-TR-3.OBJ   people
            'reward people with food and drink (especially for work done)'

There is a related intransitive verb *ara* 'of a group of people: give out a loud shout', and there is also a deverbal noun *kwai-ara-a* 'food, drinks given as reward to workers'.[42]
    Another transitive verb that contains the prefix *kwai-* is *kwai-kodo* 'carry two loads on a stick on one's shoulder: one load hangs from the front end of the stick, and the other from the rear end':

(21-15)   *kwai-kodo-a   roo baeke-qe koukou*
            LIP-stick-3.OBJ two bag-ASSOC cocoa
            'carry two bags of cocoa (beans) on a stick over one's shoulder, one
            bag suspended in the front, and the other in the back'

There is a noun *kodo* 'stick', and also a transitive verb that is a reduplication of *kodo*, *koo-kodo* 'carry st. on a stick over one's shoulder: the load hangs from the rear end of the stick'.

Neither *kwai-ara-ngani* 'reward people with food or drink' nor *kwai-kodo* 'carry two loads on a stick on one's shoulder …' are depatientive verbs, because the undergoer participants are expressed.

Depatientive verbs are normally used to express habitual, general types of situation, but there is at least one depatientive verb that can be used to refer to specific situations, *kwai-amasi* 'call (people) for help':

(21-16) *Nau ku   kwai-amasi,   qe   aqi*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT LIP-call.for.help 3SG.NFUT not.exist

         ta   wane   si   fula.
         some   person 3SG.NEG arrive
         'I called (people) for help, (but) nobody came.'

Even though the sentence in (21-16) refers to a specific event, *kwai-amasi* is a depatientive verb. Compare (21-17), with the transitive verb *amasi*:

(21-17) *Nau ku   am-amasi-a   doqora-ku ....*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT RDP-call.sb.for.help-3.OBJ sibling-1SG.PERS
         'I kept calling my brother for help, ….'

With *kwai-amasi* in (21-16) the undergoer participant is not expressed: the calling for help was not directed at a specific person but at anybody. Here only the low degree of individuation of the undergoer participant is relevant, not plurality of relations.

There are intransitive verbs with the prefix *kwai-* that are not depatientive and whose meanings are not transparently related to the meanings of the sources. For example:

(21-18)   a.   *kwai-luka-taqi* 'be dying, be close to death'; cf. *luka-tani*/*luka-taqi* (tr.) and *luka-si* (tr.) 'let go of, release', 'abandon', *luka* (intr.) 'let go of, release', 'abandon, leave behind'

             b.   *kwai-kulu-faqi* 'of an old person: be infirm', 'of weather: be overcast'; cf. *kulu-fani*/*kulu-faqi* (tr.) 'hang, suspend', *kulu* (intr.) 'hang, be suspended'

c.   *kwai-maqasi* 'be ready (to do st.)'; cf. *maqasi* (tr.) 'wait for'

See also section 22.3.

And there are verbs that may have started their life as depatientive (or reciprocal) verbs but that are not (fully) analyzable in present-day Toqabaqita.

(21-19)   *Wane   qe   kwaifiiqi qana   kwai-na.*
man   3SG.NFUT be.jealous GENP   spouse-3SG.PERS
'The man is jealous of his wife.'

There is no verb **fiiqi*, although there is an intransitive verb *fii* 'hurt, be painful', and also a transitive verb *fii* 'hurt sb.', 'cause pain in'. (See also [21-9] in section 21.4.)

And while there is no form **kona* or **konai*, there is a verb *kwaikonai*:

(21-20)   *Nau ku   kwaikonai qana   wela qeri.*
1SG   1SG.NFUT not.know   GENP   child that
'I don't know the child.'

21.6.   Noun derivations by means of the prefix *wai-*

The prefix *wai-* is used with a number of kinship-term nouns to derive other nouns, mostly also with kinship meaning. Also included in this category is the term for 'trading partner', 'friend'. The semantic contribution of *wai-* is not constant across the derivations. In fact, in a few cases the contribution is nil: the base form and the derived form are synonymous. In some cases, the prefix *wai-* is accompanied by what historically is the third-person singular personal suffix *-na*, or, in one case, *-a*. These erstwhile suffixes are frozen in the derived forms. They are not functional there. First, they do not contrast here with any of the other personal suffixes. Second, as examples (21-21) and (21-22) below demonstrate, they do not encode a possessor. Because the erstwhile suffixes *-na* and *-a* are not functional in the nouns discussed here, they are not isolated in the examples

In (21-21) there is no possessor:

(21-21)   *Roo wai-kwaina   ki   kero   firu-firu.*
two   LIP-spouse   PL   3DU.NFUT   RDP-fight
'The married couple fight (often).' Not: **His/her married couple fight (often).'

Compare *kwai* 'spouse'.

In (21-22) it is the first person singular independent pronoun that encodes the possessor, not the final *a* in *wai-waena*:

(21-22)   *wai-waena*   *nau*
           LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex   1SG
           'my sister (man speaking), my brother (woman speaking'), also 'my cousin of opposite sex'

Compare *wane* 'man'. See section 8.1.2 for comments on the formal aspects of the history of *wai-waena*.

In most cases, nouns that contain the prefix *wai-* designate collectivities of people that are in certain kinship relations to each other. There is thus plurality of relations and a low degree of individuation. In some cases the relations are symmetrical:

(21-23)   *roo   wai-kwaina*
           two   LIP-spouse
           'married couple'

Similarly in (21-24) – (21-26). With the terms for each other's siblings, the prefix *wai-* is optional:

(21-24)   (*wai-*)*doqorana*
           LIP-sibling
           '(each other's) siblings'

The word for 'sibling' is *doqora*.

(21-25)   *wai-thaulana*
           LIP-wife's.sister's.husband/husband's.brother's.wife
           'men married to women who are sisters', 'women married to men who are brothers'

Besides *wai-thaulana*, there is also synonymous *wai-thaula*. The word for 'wife's sister's husband/husband's brother's wife' is *thaula*.

(21-26)   *wai-ruana*
           LIP-trading.partner/friend
           a. '(each other's) trading partners'
           b. 'friends'

Ruana 'trading partner', 'friend' is the same etymon as the ordinal numeral *rua-na* 'second' (section 6.8.4).

With terms that denote symmetrical relations, *wai-* bears a particularly close relation to the reciprocal use of the prefix *kwai-* (section 22.2). In both types of case, entity A stands in a certain relation to entity B, and B stands in the same relation to A.

With two kinship terms, *wai-* derives nouns that refer to collectivities where the relations are not symmetrical: one of the members is the one designated by the source form, and the other(s) stand(s) in a converse relation to him or her. However, only one of the relations is expressed explicitly; the other one(s) is/are backgrounded, implied. This is not unlike the backgrounding of the undergoer with depatientive verbs. The two asymmetrical-relation, collective terms are based on the nouns *maka* 'father' and *tina* 'mother', respectively. The relevant relations are: father-child and mother-child, respectively, but only the father status in the former and the mother status in the latter are expressed overtly:

(21-27)   *wai-makana*
          LIP-father
          'group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their father(s), and possibly also their mother(s)'

(21-28)   *wai-thainana*
          LIP-mother
          'group of people (e.g., going somewhere) that consists of one or more children and their mother(s), but not the father(s)'

A few kinship terms with the prefix *wai-* are synonymous with the bases from which they are derived. They do not designate collectivities.

(21-29)   *(wai-)diqi*
          'cross-cousin'

(21-30)   *(wai-)funga*
          'parent-in-law', 'parent-in-law's sibling'

(21-31)   *(wai-)kale*
          'wife's.brother/wife's.sister/husband's.brother'

The semantically opaque term for 'classificatory sibling of opposite sex' *wai-waena* does not designate a collectivity either; see (21-22) further above.

And neither does a compound based on it: *wai-waena-rua* 'cousin of opposite sex' (*rua* 'two'); see (12-159) in section 12.7.

Chapter 22
Reciprocal and related situation types

22.1. Introduction

One morphological means that serves to encode reciprocal situations, that is situations where one participant, A, stands in a certain relation to another participant, B, and B stands in the same relation to A, is discussed in section 21.3, the prefix *kwai-*, sometimes together with the suffix *-i*. In that section the focus is primarily on the formal properties of the construction. Here the construction is discussed primarily from a semantic perspective, and it is also compared with other constructions that function to express reciprocal situations. The prefix is also used in constructions that encode situation types other than reciprocal. Those are discussed in section 22.3.

The bulk of the discussion deals with reciprocal situations. The depatientive use of *kwai-* (… *-i*) is discussed is section 21.4. This is not to claim that the reciprocal function of *kwai-* (… *-i*) is historically primary, the other functions being later extension from it. In fact, there is evidence that the polysemy of the historical source of *kwai-* goes back a long way (Pawley 1973, Lichtenberk 2000b). Rather, among the functions concerned, the reciprocal and the depatientive ones are the ones most commonly expressed in the language. The other functions are more restricted in various ways.[43]

Some verbs, by virtue of their meaning, can express reciprocal situations without any overt marking. For example, there is an intransitive verb *toqo* 'bang (into, against st.)', which can express a reciprocal situation, provided the subject is not singular:

(22-1)　　*Roo　tarake　kere　　　toqo.*
　　　　　two　truck　3PL.NFUT　bang
　　　　　'Two trucks collided (with each other).'

Another such verb is *oqe* 'copulate (with), have sex (with)', which can function as a Class 1 transitive verb or as an intransitive verb:

(22-2)　　*Wane　e　　　　oqe-a　　　　　　kini.*
　　　　　man　3SG.NFUT　have.sex.with-3.OBJ　woman
　　　　　'The man had sex with the woman.'

(22-3)   *Wane   e   oqe   faafi-a*
           man   3SG.NFUT have.sex   CONF-3.OBJ

           kwai-na.
           spouse-3SG.PERS
           'The man committed adultery against his wife.'

Oqe can also be used intransitively with a non-singular subject to express a reciprocal situation:

(22-4)   *Keeroqa   kero   oqe.*
           3DU   3DU.NFUT have.sex
           'The two of them had sex (with each other).'

Even though (22-4) could in principle express a non-reciprocal situation (each of the two people having sex with some other person[s]), the default interpretation is reciprocal.

Another verb that can express reciprocal situations without overt marking is *firu* 'fight': see (22-7) in section 22.2.1. The fact that it expresses a reciprocal situation there is evidenced by the reciprocal form of the verb *kwaqe* 'hit' in the following clause.

There are not many verbs whose default interpretation with non-singular subjects is reciprocal, and in some cases both reciprocal and non-reciprocal interpretations are readily available. The next example is vague as to whether the situation is a reciprocal or a non-reciprocal one:

(22-5)   *Roo wane   kere   ngalungalu.*
           two   man   3PL.NFUT speak.angrily
           'The two men spoke angrily.'

Compare the related transitive verb *ngalu-fi* 'berate, scold' in (22-6) in section 22.2.1, where it occurs in a reciprocal construction.

Purely lexical means to express reciprocal situations are not discussed here, with one type of exception which involves a serializing [verb verb] compound. Otherwise, only grammatical means to encode reciprocal and related types of situation are considered.

22.2.   **Reciprocal situations**

22.2.1. LIP reciprocals and pronominal reciprocals

There are two basic types of grammatical construction to encode reciprocal situations. These will be referred to as the LIP and the pronominal constructions, respectively. The LIP construction employs the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-*, sometimes jointly with the suffix *-i*, as discussed in section 21.3.

(22-6)   *Roo   wane   kere   kwai-ngalu-fi.*
          two   men   3PL.NFUT   LIP-speak-TR
          'The two men berated each other.'

(The transitive verb *ngalu-fi* has the meanings 'berate, scold'.)

(22-7)   *Toqa   fuu   kera   firu,   keka*
          people   downward   3PL.NFUT   fight   3PL.SEQ

          kwai-kwaqe-i.
          LIP-hit-LIP
          'The people down there are fighting, (they are) hitting each other.'

The LIP construction is used not only with non-symmetrical predicates, as in the examples above, but also with symmetrical predicates, such as with the verb 'meet':

(22-8)   *... mika   kwai-toda-i   laqu   qi   laa   fa*
              1PL(EXCL).SEQ   LIP-meet-LIP   ADD   LOC   IN   CLF

          thaqulafia   naqi.
          evening   this
          '[…he has returned and] we have met again this evening.'

The LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs.

The pronominal construction employs a pronominal form in a non-subject position co-referential with the subject. There are three basic subtypes of the construction, depending on the kind of pronominal form involved: an independent personal pronoun, an object suffix, or a personal suffix. With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, non-lexical direct objects can be encoded by means of the independent personal pronouns or the object suffixes (sections 4.2.3.2.1 and 10.3.1, respectively). However, in expressing reciprocal

situations it is the pronouns that are normally used; see (22-9) and (22-11) below. As is the case with the LIP construction, the pronominal constructions need not exclusively encode reciprocal situations; see the discussion after (22-9).

The sentence in (22-9) contains the third-person dual independent pronoun in the direct-object position. The object pronoun is co-referential with the subject:

(22-9)   *Keeroqa keko*   *thathami*   *keeroqa qa=fa*   *bongi*
           3DU   3DU.SEQ like   3DU   LOC=CLF   day

           qeri.
           that
           'The two of them liked each other on that day.'

The intended interpretation of (22-9) is reciprocal. However, the sentence could also be given a reflexive interpretation, 'The two of them liked themselves on that day', or the subject and the direct object could have disjoint reference: 'The two of them$_i$ liked them$_j$ on that day.' All of the examples in (22-10) – (22-13) below could also express situations other than reciprocal.

In (22-10) the transitive verb carries an object suffix coreferential with with the subject. *Thaitoqoma* 'know' is a Class 2 transitive verb; see discussion of Class 2 transitive verbs further below.

(22-10)   *Roo*   *wela nau*   *ki kera*   *thaitoqoma-daroqa.*
           two   child 1SG   PL 3PL.NFUT   know-3DU.OBJ
           'The two children of mine know each other (well).'

The pronominal constructions are not restricted in their use to transitive verbs. In (22-11) the verb is intransitive, and the pronoun coreferential with the subject is the object of the allative preposition *uri*:

(22-11)   *Wane naqi bia*   *thaari*   *naqi kero*   *qonionga*
           man   this   and   girl   this   3DU.NFUT   tease

           uri   *keeroqa ka*   *too-too*   *ba-na.*
           ALL   3DU   3SG.SEQ RDP-stay   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'This boy (lit.: man) and this girl are always teasing each other.'

In the next two examples, the relevant participants are encoded, in addition to the subject position, by means of personal suffixes. In (22-12) the personal suffix occurs on the noun-like recipient preposition:

(22-12)   *Roo   kini   kero   tona   fale   i*
          two   woman   3DU.NFUT   RESTR   give   LOC

          a-daroqa.
          REC-3DU.PERS
          'The two women simply give (unsolicited) things/presents to each other.'

And in (22-13) the personal suffix occurs on the possessum noun in the direct object position:

(22-13)   *Kero   musu-a   babali-daroqa.*
          3DU.NFUT   kiss-3.OBJ   cheek-3DU.PERS
          'They kissed each other on the cheek.' (Lit.: 'They$_i$ kissed their$_i$ cheeks.')

The LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs, and only with Class 1 transitive verbs. In the LIP construction, no object-indexing suffix occurs on the verb. However, Class 2 transitive verbs can never occur without an object suffix: unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they retain object suffixes even in nominalizations (section 9.1.1); and unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they must have an object-indexing suffix even with non-referential objects (section 12.4.1). And unlike Class 1 transitive verbs, they cannot have independent personal pronouns as direct objects (section 4.2.3.3.1). As a consequence, they cannot occur in the pronominal reciprocal construction with a direct-object pronoun. They can express reciprocal situations only by means of direct-object suffixes.

In the next three examples, from the same text and concerning the same two characters, two different verbs are used with the sense 'meet sb.'. In the first example, the verb is Class 1 transitive, *toda*, and there the pronominal construction is used with a pronoun in the direct-object position:

(22-14)   *Ma   si   manga   na   kero   qolo-a*
          and   PRTT   time   REL   3DU.NFUT   agree.on-3.OBJ

          *na   keki   **toda keeroqa**, ...*
          COMP   3DU.FUT meet 3DU
          'And when they agreed to meet, ...'

In the immediately following sentence in the text, the speaker uses the Class 2 transitive verb *fula-toqo*, and there only the direct-object suffix can be used:

(22-15)   ... *kero*   *qolo*   *keeroqa na   tootoo*
               3DU.NFUT   have.agreement.with   3DU   COMP later

           keki   ***fula-toqo-daroqa***   *qi*   *kula   qeri.*
           3DU.FUT arrive-TEST-3DU.OBJ   LOC   place   that
           '… they agreed to meet later at that place.' (Lit.: '… they had an
           agreement with each other that later they would meet at that
           place.')

Later on, the speaker reverts to the verb *toda*, but now uses it in the LIP
construction:

(22-16)   *Ma*   *wane baa*   *ka*   *lae,*   *qe*   *lae*   *ura*
           and   man   that   3SG.SEG go   3SG.NFUT   go   ALL

           kula *ba=nia*   *toda-a*   *thaari*   *baa*   *ma*   *keeroqa*
           place that=3SG   meet-3.OBJ girl   that   and   3DU

           keko   *qolo*   *qi*   *ei*   *keki*   ***kwai-toda=i***
           3DU.SEQ arrange LOC   LOCPRO   3DU.FUT LIP-meet-LOC

           kula qeri.
           place that
           'And the man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl
           and where they had agreed to meet (at that place).'

For another example of a Class 2 transitive verb encoding a reciprocal situa-
tion see (22-10) further above.

The LIP construction is lexically restricted (section 21.3). On the other
hand, the pronominal constructions are freely available to the verbs of the ap-
propriate types. (For example, only transitive verbs can have a direct-object
pronoun coreferential with the subject.) And as examples (22-14) and (22-16)
above demonstrate, one and the same Class 1 transitive verb can occur in the
pronominal construction or in the LIP construction.

There is one type of construction where the LIP strategy and a pronominal
strategy are combined. When a LIP reciprocal verb is the first (non-final) verb
in a serializing [verb verb] compound and the second verb is intransitive, the
participant that would elsewhere be realized as the direct object of the transitive
verb can only be realized as an oblique object of the comound. Even if the first
verb is Class 1 transitive outside of a [verb verb] compound, the compound
cannot have a direct object if the second verb is intransitive. It can only have an

oblique object. This is discussed in section 12.5. For example, *qadomi* 'help' is a Class 1 transitive verb:

(22-17)   *Koro   koki   qadomi   keeroqa.*
          DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT   help   3DU
          'You and I will help them.'

In (22-18) below, *qadomi* occurs in the LIP reciprocal form *kwai-qadomi* as the first member of a [verb verb] compound. The second verb *ngado* 'be still, settled, firm' signifies that the event expressed by the first verb is performed often and/or solidly. The participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded as the subject and as an oblique object:

(22-18)   *Kera   kwai-qadomi   ngado   ba-daroqa*
          3PL.NFUT   LIP-help   be.firm/settled   LIM-3DU.PERS

          qani   keeroqa.
          GENP   3DU
          'They often help each other.'

The construction in (22-18) is not a counterexample to the rule that the LIP construction is used only with transitive verbs. The oblique object is there not because the verb *qadomi* is intransitive but because the compound as a whole is.

In some cases, a pronominal construction may be ambiguous between a reciprocal interpretation and one or more non-reciprocal interpretations. To make it explicit that the intended interpretation of a pronominal construction is reciprocal rather than any other, a clause-level reciprocal marker of the form *kwailiu* is used. *Kwailiu* is bimorphemic: it consists of the verb *liu* 'walk', 'pass, pass by' and the LIP prefix *kwai-*. However, *kwailiu* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed RECP. The periphrastic reciprocal marker is normally used only in association with the independent personal pronouns, not with the personal suffixes. And it is not used with Class 2 transitive verbs, which carry object suffixes. The reciprocal marker directly follows the phrase, a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, that contains the pronoun.

Kwailiu makes it explicit that the situation is reciprocal. The sentences in (22-19) and in (22-21) below are not open to reflexive or disjoint-reference interpretations, the way pronominal constructions are, or may be, in the absence of *kwailiu*.

(22-19) *Roo wela kera   qui   keeroqa kwailiu qana fau.*
         two   child 3PL.NFUT   pelt 3DU   RECP   INS   stone
         'The two children threw stones at each other.' 'The two children
         pelted each other with stones.'

Compare the parallel sentence without *kwailiu* in (22-20), which is open to more than one interpretation:

(22-20) *Roo wela kera   qui   keeroqa qana fau.*
         two   child 3PL.NFUT   pelt 3DU   INS   stone
         a. 'The two children threw stones at each other.' 'The two children
            pelted each other with stones.'
         b. 'The two children$_i$ threw stones at them$_j$.' 'The two children$_i$
            pelted them$_j$ with stones.'

(22-21) *Roo kini   kere   rake-qiri   uri   keeroqa*
         two   woman 3PL.NFUT   belly-be.angry ALL   3DU

         kwailiu.
         RECP
         'The two women are angry with each other.' (Not: *'The two
         women$_i$ are angry with the two of them$_j$.')

22.2.2. *The uses of the reciprocal constructions*

The LIP construction on the one hand and the pronominal constructions, with or without the periphrastic reciprocal marker, on the other differ from each other in the following respect. In the former the participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded only once, in the subject position.

(22-22) *Toqa   kere   kwai-qaba-i.*
         people   3PL.NFUT   LIP-pull-LIP
         'The people are competing in tug-of-war.' (Lit.: 'The [two groups
         of] people are pulling each other.')

In the pronominal construction, on the other hand, the participants that are in a reciprocal relation to each other are encoded twice, once in the subject position and once in a non-subject position:

(22-23)   *Kere   gatha   uri   keeroqa kwailiu.*
           3PL.NFUT   be.in.love   ALL   3DU   RECP
           'They are in love with each other.'

The LIP construction, where the participants are encoded only once, is motivated by the fact that the participants are relatively non-distinct from each other because they play identical pairs of roles vis-à-vis each other. On the other hand, the pronominal construction is motivated by the fact that an overall reciprocal macro-situation consists of a pair of relations, and that in each relation the two participants play two roles. The two (sets of) participants in a reciprocal situation can be viewed from two different perspectives: as playing the same pair of roles in the overall situation, which motivates single encoding; or as playing two distinct roles in the relations that constitute the macro-situation, which motivates double encoding. (For more detailed discussion of the motivatedness of the two types of reciprocal construction in Toqabaqita and in general see Lichtenberk 1991c and 1994b, respectively.) The LIP construction can be used only with verbs that are transitive outside of the reciprocal construction, and the participants correspond to the subject and the direct object of the transitive verb. The pronominal construction can be used with transitive as well as with intransitive verbs, with one of the participants corresponding to the subject of the verb and the other one corresponding to the direct object or to an oblique object. It is the double encoding of the participants that gives the pronominal construction greater flexibility relative to the LIP construction.

The LIP construction is lexically restricted, and with those verbs that do not have a derived reciprocal form the pronominal construction is required. For example, there is no reciprocal form **kwai-laba-taqi* 'harm each other' (although *kwai-laba-taqi* does exist as a depatientive verb 'affect sb. or st. negatively, in a bad way: harm (people), damage (things), etc.'; see example [21-2] in section 21.2). *Laba-taqi* requires the pronominal construction to express a reciprocal situation:

(22-24)   *Roo   wane   kero   {laba-taqi   keeroqa /*
           two   man   3DU.NFUT affect.negatively-TR   3DU   /

           *kwai-laba-taqi}.
           LIP-affect.negatively-TR
           'The two men harm each other.'

With some verbs both the LIP construction and the pronominal construction are available without any obvious semantic difference, in the absence of the periphrastic reciprocal marker *kwailiu* with the latter. This is the case in (22-14) and (22-16) above. The verb *toda* 'meet' is used in the pronominal construction

in the former and in the LIP construction in the latter. However, the two constructions may be semantically different because the pronominal construction, but not the LIP construction, can be combined with the periphrastic reciprocal marker *kwailiu*.

Kwailiu may be used with the pronominal construction to emphasize the reciprocal nature of the situation. Sometimes this is done for disambiguation (when a non-reciprocal interpretation would be available as well), but sometimes purely to underscore the reciprocalness, as in (22-25) below. There a reciprocal situation is expressed three times in three different ways: first by means of two separate clauses, each one encoding one of the relations that constitute the overall situation, followed by a pronominal construction without the periphrastic reciprocal marker, which is then followed by a pronominal construction together with the reciprocal marker:

(22-25) | *Thaari* | *qeri* | *ka* | *thathami-a* | *tha* | | *wela* | *qeri,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| girl | that | 3SG.SEQ | like-3.OBJ | PERSMKR | | child | that |

ma	*wela*	*qeri*	*mena*	*ka*	*thathami-a*	*laqu*	*boqo*
and	child	that	FADD	3SG.SEQ	like-3.OBJ	ADD	INTS

thaari	*qeri.*	*Keeroqa*	*keko*	**thathami**	**keeroqa**
girl	that	3DU	3DU.SEQ	like	3DU

qa=fa	*bongi*	*qeri.*	*Keeroqa*	*keko*	*kani-a*
GENP=CLF	day	that	3DU	3DU.SEQ	tie-3.OBJ

ruana-a.	*Keko*	**thathami**	**keeroqa**	**kwailiu**.
be.friends-DVN	3DU.SEQ	like	3DU	RECP

'The girl liked the boy (lit.: child), and the boy, too, liked the girl. They liked each other on that day. They formed (lit.: tied) a friendship. They liked each other.'

However, *kwailiu* has one other function. It may be used to signal that the relations that make up a reciprocal situation are sequential rather than (more-or-less) simultaneous. On the other hand, the LIP construction is normally used when the relations are (more-or-less) simultaneous, or when their temporal configuration is not relevant. For example, the construction with *kwailiu* in (22-26) would be used if at first person A embraced person B and then B embraced A, while the LIP construction in (22-27) would be used if there were one mutual embrace:

(22-26)   *Kera   qoli   keeroqa kwailiu.*
          3PL.NFUT   embrace 3DU   RECP
          'They embraced each other.'

(22-27)   *Kera   kwai-qoli-i.*
          3PL.NFUT   LIP-embrace-LIP
          'They embraced.'

Similarly, the periphrastic reciprocal marker in (22-28) suggests that first one child hit the other and then the latter hit the former:

(22-28)   *Roo wela kera   kwaqe   keeroqa kwailiu.*
          two   child 3DU.NFUT   hit   3DU   RECP
          'The two children hit each other.'

On the other hand, in (22-29), with the LIP construction, there is no indication of the temporal configuration of the instances of hitting. Even though the blows are more likely to be sequential than simultaneous, the overall situation is presented as a unified whole:

(22-29)   *Roo wela kera   kwai-kwaqe-i.*
          two   child 3PL.NFUT   LIP-hit-LIP
          'The two children fought, exchanged punches, blows.'

When the subevents that make up an overall reciprocal situation are sequential and there are multiple occurrences of the subevents, this may be expressed by means of a pronominal reciprocal construction and a verb that is a serializing [verb verb] compound. The first verb in the compound designates the type of event, and the second verb signals the repeated, back-and-forth occurrences of those events. One of the verbs that is used to express the multiple, back-and-forth reciprocalness is *oli-li*, a reduplicated form of the intransitive verb *oli* 'go back, come back, move back, return':

(22-30)   *Roo kini   kero   fale oli-li   qani keeroqa.*
          two   woman 3DU.NFUT   give return-RDP GENP 3DU
          'The two women (frequently) give [things] to each other, back and forth.'

The other verb is *kwai-liu*, which is the same etymon as the reciprocal marker *kwailiu*. Both are based on the verb *liu* 'walk', 'pass, pass by', and contain the LIP prefix *kwai-*. However, while *kwailiu* occurs after the phrase that contains the pronoun coreferential with the subject (see, for example, [22-19] in

section 22.2.1 and [22-23] in section 22.2.2), *kwai-liu* forms a compound with the preceding verb.

(20-31)   *Roo   kini   kere   faqa-rake-qiri   kwai-liu*
          two   woman   3PL.NFUT   CAUS-belly-be.angry   LIP-pass

          qani   keeroqa.
          GENP   3DU
          'The two women make each other angry.'

(Although *faqa-rake-qiri* 'make [sb.] angry' contains the causative prefix *faqa-*, it is an intransitive verb. The person made angry is expressed as an oblique object.)

As discussed in the next section, *kwai-liu* is also used to express distributed situations. Further evidence that *kwai-liu* forms a compound with the preceding verb is given there.

22.3.   Other situation types

The prefix *kwai-*, which serves to encode reciprocal situations, is used with some other functions. It (sometimes in conjunction with -i) may derive depatientive verbs (section 21.4). It occurs in the form *kwai-liu*, discussed just above, to express repeated occurrence of events that make up a reciprocal macro-situation. *Kwai-liu* also serves to express "distributed" situations. Distributed situations consist of several subevents characterized by multiple different directionalities. (See Lichtenberk 2000b and further below for more detail.) *Kwai-liu* occurs as the final member of a [verb verb] compound where the first verb designates the events of different directionalities.

One subtype of distributed situation that *kwai-liu* can express is dispersive situations, "where the subevents disperse from a common point" (Lichtenberk 2000b: 39):

(22-32)   *Kulu   oli   kwai-liu   qa-kuluqa.*
          PL(INCL).NFUT   return   LIP-pass   SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS
          'Let's go back to our respective places/homes.' (Each person is to go back to his/her own place/home).

In (22-32) the self-benefactive marker *qa-* with the personal suffix follows *oli* and *kwai-liu*, which is evidence of the unitary lexical status of the two verbs. On the other hand, *kwailiu* as a reciprocal marker follows the phrase that con-

tains the pronominal element coreferential with the subject; see (22-19) in section 22.2.1 and (22-23) in section 22.2.2.

And in (22-33) the combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles *bo=naq=* follows the two verbs *ngali* 'take' and *kwai-liu*. Furthermore, the theme participant, the panpipes, is expressed as an oblique rather than a direct object, as is the case with compounds that have a Class 1 transitive verb in the first position and an intransitive verb in the second position. The two particles and the prepositional phrase have all fused together.

(22-33) *Doo   kera   ngali-a   ma=i   Daadanitalau.*
         thing 3PL.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ VENT=LOC   Daadanitalau.

        Toq=qe=ki   sui   bana keka   ngali kwai-liu
        people=that=PL EXHST   LIM 3PL.SEQ take LIP-pass

        bo=naq=qani-a   *uri=si*   *kula kera ki*
        ASRT=INTS=GENP-3SG.OBJ   ALL:3.OBJ=PRTT   place 3PL   PL

        na   kera   nii   ki i   ei.
        REL   3PL.NFUT   reside   PL LOC   LOCPRO
        'It [panpipes] was a thing they had brought from Daadanitalau [a place]. Everybody (lit. all the people] took them to their respective places, the places where they lived.'

Another subtype of distributed situation that *kwai-liu* can express is one where the subevents have unspecified different directionalities, not from a common point of origin. In (22-34) *kwai-liu* occurs together with the verb *liiliu* 'roam', which is derived by reduplication from *liu* 'walk', 'pass, pass by', on which *kwai-liu* is based:

(22-34) *Qosi   liiliu kwai-liu.*
         2SG.NEG roam LIP-pass
         'Stop roaming all about.'

(22-35) *Qosi   quu   kwai-liu qana taqerau qena.*
         2SG.SEQ throw   LIP-pass GENP rubbish   that(2)
         'Don't throw the rubbish all about.'

Kwai-liu is used metaphorically in a compound with the verb *ngata* 'speak, talk': *ngata kwai-liu* 'speak all about, not in an orderly, focused manner'.

There is a form *kwaisuli*, which is used to encode chaining situations: "[i]n a chaining situation, participant A stands in a certain relation to participant B, B

stands in the same relation to C, C to D, etc." (Lichtenberk 2000b: 35), like the links in a chain. The end participants are characterized by only one relation, for example A to B. *Kwaisuli* derives historically from a transitive verb *suli 'follow' and the LIP prefix *kwai-*. Toqabaqita has a reflex of *suli, *suli*, which functions as the prolative preposition, not as a verb. Because *suli* is not a verb in the present-day language, *kwaisuli* is treated as an unanalyzed whole, and is glossed CHAIN. *Kwaisuli* forms a compound with the preceding verb.

Kwaisuli can signify a spatial configuration of entities or a temporal sequence of subevents, as in (22-36) and (22-37), and in (22-38), respectively:

(22-36)   *Alu-a   doo   naqi ki ka   teo   kwaisuli.*
   put-3.OBJ   thing this   PL 3SG.SEQ lie   CHAIN
   'Lay these things down next to each other.' (Lit.: 'Put these things [down], it [i.e. they] will lie next to each other.')

(22-37)   *Tini-na   kofe   e   too   kwaisuli.*
   tin-3.PERS   coffee   3SG.NFUT   be.located   CHAIN
   '(All) the tins of coffee are lined up next to each other and/or stacked on top of each other.'

(22-38)   *Wela kera   futa   kwaisuli.*
   child 3PL.NFUT   be.born   CHAIN
   'The children (siblings) were born in quick succession, one after another.' (This could be said about children born to the same parents in successive years.)

What links the reciprocal, depatientive, distributed, and chaining uses of *kwai-* is plurality of relations: A to B and B to A (reciprocal), A (habitually) to Bs of a certain kind (depatientive), A(s) acting in multiple directions (distributed), and A to B, B to C, C to D, etc. (chaining).

There are also a few cases of verbs that contain the LIP prefix but whose meanings do not necessarily involve plurality of relations. Rather, their semantics is of, loosely speaking, the "middle" type. For example, there is a transitive verb *karangi* 'be near/close to', 'move near/close to, approach':

(22-39)   *Kera   fula   karangi-a   maa-na   kilu*
   3PL.NFUT   arrive   be.close.to-3.OBJ   opening-3.PERS   hole

   qeri, ...
   that
   'They arrived near the mouth of the hole, ...'

And there is an intransitive verb *kwai-karangi* 'move near/close, approach':

(22-40)   *Kera   kwai-karangi   na=mai.*
           3PL.NFUT   LIP-approach   PRF=VENT
           'They have moved close/closer.'

Kwai-karangi can also serve to express near future, but *karangi-a* is considerably more common in that function (section 15.1.2.3.2).

There is a transitive verb *thathai* 'be ready for st., to do st.', 'ready st. for sb., make st. ready for sb.', which may take the theme or the beneficiary as its direct object (see [4-191a] and [4-191b] in section 4.3.3). Example (22-41) illustrates the latter:

(22-41)   *Nau ku   thathai-a   wela nau   qana malefo.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   make.ready-3.OBJ child 1SG   GENP money
           'I made money ready for my child.' (Lit.: 'I readied my child with money.')

There is an intransitive verb *kwai-thathai* 'be ready (for st., to do st.)' ('make oneself ready'?), 'be about to do st.':

(22-42)   *Nau ku   kwai-thathai kwai   lae   naqa.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-ready   1SG.FUT go   PRF
           'I am ready to go now.'

The meaning 'be ready for st., to do st.' can also be expressed by means of the intransitive verb *kwai-maqasi*, which is based on the transitive verb *maqasi* 'wait for':

(22-43)   *Nau ku   kwai-maqasi   kwai   lae   naqa.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-wait   1SG.FUT go   PRF
           'I am ready to go now.'

Compare:

(22-44)   *Maqasi nau.*
           wait.for 1SG
           'Wait for me.'

In this case the semantic link between the base verb and the derived verb is not obvious ('wait for oneself'?).

Two more examples of semantically opaque derivations are *kwai-luka-taqi* 'be dying, be close death' ('abandon oneself'?), based on *luka-tani/luka-taqi* (tr.) 'let go of, release', 'abandon'; and *kwai-kulu-faqi*, 'of an old person: be infirm' ('suspend oneself'?), 'of weather: be overcast', based on *kulu-fani/kulu-faqi* (tr.) 'hang, suspend'.

Chapter 23
Self-contained situations

23.1.   Types of self-contained situations

Toqabaqita has two lexically related constructions that serve to emphasize what may be called the "self-containedness" of situations. The term "self-contained situations" is intended as a cover term for the following notions:

(i)   self-generated, spontaneous situations, that is situations not attributed to an outside cause or agency;

(ii) self-directed, reflexive situations, where one and the same participant has the roles both of actor and of undergoer or some other non-actor role;

(iii) emphasis on the entity to which the situation applies, normally in contrast (implicit or explicit) to other entities to which that situation also applies or might apply.

In a way, the first two uses of the constructions too can be seen as providing emphasis on the identity of the relevant participant. With self-generated, spontaneous situations the emphasis is on the fact that it is that participant rather than someone or something else that brings about the situation, the latter types of case being usual or more common. And with self-directed, reflexive situations, the emphasis is on the fact that, contrary to what is the usual or more common case, there is identity of the participants in the actor and the undergoer or some other non-actor roles.

There are two basic types of construction that serve to express self-contained situations, but there are no unique pairings between the constructions and the functions they serve. Both constructions employ the element *tala,* which is the same etymon as the noun *tala* 'path, track, road', 'way, means of doing st.'. Example (23-1) shows the noun *tala* in its meaning 'path, track, road', and (23-2) in its meaning 'way, means of doing st.':

(23-1)   *... kera   liu   qana   kade-qe   tala   qeri ....*
              3SG.NFUT walk GENP   piece-ASSOC   path   that
          '…they walked on that stretch of the path ….'

(23-2)   *… m=e   thau-ngani-a   tala   quna   qeri*
             and=3SG.NFUT make-TR-3.OBJ   way   manner that

         fasi   qaburu qeri ka   kwai-mangosi qana
         PURP   ogre   that 3SG.SEQ LIP-be.unable GEN

         lae-laa   mai.
         go-NMLZ   VENT
         '… and she realized, put into practice that kind of way [mentioned previously] to prevent the ogre from coming.' '… and that's what she did in order to prevent the ogre from coming.' (Lit.: '… and she made a way like that, so that the ogre would be incapable of coming.') (That is, the woman followed up on the ideas she had about how to prevent the ogre from coming.)

Tala is also related to the verb *talaqa*, which expresses ability, possibility, and permission (section 29.4.2).

There are two forms *tala*, either of which can be used to express self-contained situations. One is a preverbal particle (sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.6):

(23-3)   subject.marker *tala* verb

The other is a noun *tala*, which functions as the head of a noun phrase that is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.1). In the noun phrase, *tala* is accompanied by the possessive marker *qa-*, which takes personal suffixes that index the relevant participant (section 26.2.1) . This possessive marker *qa-* is historically the same element as the self-benefactive/recipient-benefactive postverbal particle *qa-* (section 5.2.10). The basic structure of the construction is shown in (23-4):

(23-4)   *qi* [*tala qa-*PERS]

The prepositional phrase functions as an adjunct at the clausal level.

Even though *tala* is a noun in the self-containedness construction in (23-4), it is glossed SELFC, the way preverbal *tala* is, in order to highlight its function.

Both constructions that characterize situations as self-contained are grammatically optional. They are used when the speaker wishes to emphasize the self-contained nature of the situation in question.

23.2.   Self-generated, spontaneous situations

Here the emphasis is on the fact that the state of affairs in question is not attrib-
uted to an external cause or agency. The cause or agency resides in the relevant
entity itself, which is encoded as the subject. Such emphasis on the absence of
external cause or agency is usually resorted to in cases where it may seem un-
usual, perhaps because of the nature of the relevant entity or because of the
nature of the situation. Absence of outside cause or agency is normally encoded
by means of the preverbal particle *tala*. Besides *tala*, the clause also normally
contains the postverbal limiter particle *ba-*, which carries a personal suffix that
indexes the subject participant (section 5.2.11). The limiter further emphasizes
the unique involvement of the subject participant. In (23-5), what is emphasized
is that that particular type of edible-greens plant grows by itself, without being
planted by humans (whereas other kinds of greens are planted and cultivated):

(23-5)   *Kabisi   naqi   qe   aqi   misi*
          greens   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG

          fasi-a.   Doo   e   tala   taqe
          plant-3SG.OBJ   thing 3SG.NFUT   SELFC   grow

          ba-na   i   laa   tolo, doo   kwasi.
          LIM-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   bush   thing be.wild
          'This (kind of) greens we don't plant; it (lit.: the thing) just grows
          by itself in the bush; it's wild (lit.: a wild thing).'

The subject in a clause encoding a self-generated event need not be inani-
mate. In (23-6) the subject is human, but its referent did not bring the event
about; the state of being cured is conceptualized as having happened of its own
accord:

(23-6)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   kuqu   meresina   boqo,*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV 1SG.NEG drink medicine   ASRT

          ku   tala   qakwaa   ba-kuqa.
          1SG.NFUT   SELFC   be.cured   LIM-1SG.PERS
          'I didn't drink any medicine; I got cured/well (all) by myself.'

Instead of the preverbal particle *tala*, it is possible to use the prepositional-
phrase construction with the noun *tala* in its complement. This is the case in
(23-7), which is a negative sentence. What is emphasized there is the fact that
that kind of event, which appears to be self-generated, without being caused by

something or someone outside humans, does in fact have an outside agency. The apparent self-generatedness is being denied. The sentence comes from a prayer where the speaker is addressing God, acknowledging to him that humans do not act of their own accord, that it is He that makes them act.

(23-7) *Misi*   *qisu*   *qi*   *tala*
        1PL(EXCL).NEG   move   LOC   SELFC

        qa-miliqa,   *misi*   *baqe*   *qi*   *tala*
        SBEN-1PL(EXCL).PERS   1PL(EXCL).NEG   speak   LOC   SELFC

        qa-miliqa.
        SBEN-1PL(ECXL).PERS
        'We do not move of our own accord, (and) we do not speak of our own accord.'

23.3.   Self-directed, reflexive situations

In a self-directed, reflexive situation one and the same participant is both actor and non-actor (often undergoer). Such situations can also be viewed as not attributable to an outside agency or cause, because the actor is the same entity as the non-actor. To emphasize the self-directed nature of a situation, the construction with the noun *tala* is used, not the preverbal particle *tala*. While a self-containedness construction may be used to emphasize the self-directed, reflexive nature of a situation, it is not necessary. Before the use of the self-containedness construction is discussed, it is necessary to consider encoding of self-directed situations in general.

In Toqabaqita the same sets of pronouns, object-indexing suffixes and personal suffixes are used regardless of whether or not there is coreferentiality between the pronoun or the suffix and another element in the clause. There is a general condition on clauses encoding self-directed, reflexive situations such that in a clause the antecedent must precede the anaphoric element. The sentence in (23-8), where the lexical noun phrase precedes the pronoun, can, but does not have to, encode a reflexive situation:

(23-8) *Wane$_i$*   *e*   *ngata*   *suli*   *nia$_{i, j}$ ....*
        man   3SG.NFUT   speak   PROL   3SG
        a. 'The man spoke about himself ....'
        b. 'The man spoke about him/her ....'

On the other hand, the sentence in (23-9), where the order of the lexical and the pronominal noun phrases is reversed, cannot encode a reflexive situation:

(23-9)   *Nia$_i$ e   ngata   suli-a   wane$_j$ ….*
          3SG 3SG.NFUT speak   PROL-3.OBJ   man
          'He/she spoke about the man ….'

In the next example a reflexive interpretation is strongly preferred over a non-reflexive one, for pragmatic reasons:

(23-10)   *Loi   qeri e   fiku   nia.*
          snake   that 3SG.NFUT coil.up   3SG
          'The snake coiled itself up.'

On the other hand, (23-11), with the pronoun in the subject position and the lexical noun phrase in the direct-object position, cannot express a reflexive situation:

(23-11)   *Nia   e   fiku-a   loi   qeri.*
          3SG 3SG.NFUT coil.up-3.OBJ snake   that
          'He/she coiled up the snake.'

In clauses expressing self-directed situations, there is coreferentiality between the subject (expressed or not) and the direct object or an oblique object. The antecedent may be a subject noun phrase and the corresponding subject marker, a subject marker alone, or there may be no overt expression of the antecedent, as is often the case in second-person singular imperatives. The anaphoric element can be an independent personal pronoun, an object suffix or a personal suffix. The anaphoric uses of the pronouns, the object suffixes and the personal suffixes are governed by the same basic rules as when those elements are used non-anaphorically. (See section 4.2.3.2.1 for Class 1 transitive verbs, section 4.2.3.3.1 for Class 2 transitive verbs, section 8.1.2 for the possessum nouns in the suffixing possessive noun phrase, section 10.3.1 for the verb-like prepositions, and section 10.4.1 for the noun-like prepositions.) With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, both the independent personal pronouns in an object position and the object-indexing suffixes are grammatically sanctioned in the third person. However, in expressions of reflexive situations it is normally the pronoun rather than the suffix that is used, although the animacy status of a participant plays a role too, as discussed further below. Examples (23-12) – (23-21) illustrate the various possibilities.

In (23-12) the relevant participant is the speaker, the verb is Class 1 transitive, and there only the pronoun option is grammatically available:

(23-12)   ... *nau   ku   lukasi   nau   qi   lofo-na*
                  1SG   1SG.NFUT   let.go.of 1SG   LOC   concave.side-3.PERS

qaba-mu.
hand-2SG.PERS
'... I leave myself (lit.: I let go of myself) in the palm of your hand.'
(That is, I entrust myself to your protection.)

In (23-13) the relevant participant is the addressee, encoded as an oblique object with the general verb-like preposition *qani*. Here too only the pronoun option is available. The sentence is an imperative, and there is no overt expression of the subject.

(23-13)   *Fusi   qani   qoe   qi   ano!*
                  jump   GENP   2SG   LOC   ground
                  'Jump off down to the ground.'

(The intransitive verb *fusi* 'jump, fly' optionally takes an oblique object coreferential with the subject to signify jumping away/off.)

With Class 1 transitive verbs and with the verb-like prepositions, third person objects can be expressed either by means of the independent personal pronouns or by means of the object suffixes. In non-reflexive contexts the personal pronouns tend to be used primarily with human referents, although not exclusively. In reflexive contexts, the personal pronouns are commonly used even with reference to non-human animate participants; see examples (23-10) further above and (23-14) below.

(23-14)   *Kui   e   tataqi   nia.*
                  dog   3SG.NFUT   shake   3SG
                  'The dog shook itself (rapidly, to shake water off its body).'

As a transitive verb, *tataqi* is obligatorily reflexive. (There is also an intransitive verb *tataqi* 'move in a rapidly shaking, fluttering manner' [such as a firefly].)

Example (23-8) further above shows an oblique object with a human referent coreferential with the subject, and (23-15) shows coreferentiality between the direct object and the subject, also with a human referent:

(23-15)   *Qolofia   e   kasi   nia.*
                  Olofia   3SG.NFUT   cut   3SG
                  'Olofia cut himself (on a knife, accidentally).'

In those relatively uncommon cases where the relevant participant is inanimate, it is the object suffix that is used. There is a transitive verb *qasi* 'fall (accidentally or deliberately)', whose object can be coreferential with the subject. (It is also possible for *qasi* to take the third person singular object suffix *-a*, regardless of the grammatical person of the subject.) The verb can take inanimate subjects, in which case it takes an object suffix:

(23-16)   *Teqe fau   e   qasi-a   ka   ririi.*
          one   rock 3SG.NFUT   fall-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ roll
          'A rock fell down and rolled (on the ground).'

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (23-17) the participant that might fall down is human and is encoded by means of the pronoun in the direct-object position:

(23-17)   *Ada   ka   qasi   nia.*
          TIM   3SG.SEQ   fall   3SG
          '(Careful), she might fall down.' (Speaking about a little girl.)

With Class 2 transitive verbs and with the noun-like prepositions, the objects can be realized only by means of the object suffixes and the personal suffixes, respectively, even in reflexive contexts, even if they are third person, and regardless of the animacy status of the participant. See (23-18) and (23-19).

(23-18)   *Qo   uqunaqo-mu   qasia naqa.*
          2SG.NFUT   boast-2SG.OBJ INTS INTS
          'You boast too much.'

Uqunaqo 'boast' is an obligatorily reflexive verb. Its object must be coreferential with the subject.

(23-19)   *Kini   e   muutaqia   naq=i   a-na.*
          woman   3SG.NFUT   be.abandoned   PRF=LOC   BEN-3SG.PERS
          'The woman has been abandoned (by her husband/family).' (Lit.:
          'The woman has been abandoned "on" her.')

In possessive noun phrases too the same constructions are used in non-reflexive and reflexive contexts. In (23-20) the possessive construction is of the suffixing type with a personal suffix on the possessum noun:

(23-20) *Keka   gwai-a   seqe-da   qana qoel.*
         3PL.SEQ apply.oil.to-3.OBJ body-3PL.PERS   INS oil
         'They put oil on their (own) bodies.' 'They oiled their (own) bod-
         ies.'

The situation expressed in (23-21) is not self-directed, but there is coreferen-
tiality between the third person dual pronoun in the possessor position of a bare
possessive construction and the subject. (Even though the subject marker is
plural rather than dual, the intended reference is to two people; see section 4.9
for the use of the plural forms when the intended reference is dual.)

(23-21) *Kera   too-too   i   sa-na   maka   keeroqa,*
         3PL.NFUT   RDP-stay   LOC   ADJC-3.PERS father   3DU

         ….
         'They stayed with their (own) father, ….'

There are a few intransitive verbs that signify self-directed actions without
there being a non-subject noun phrase coreferential with the subject. Some, but
not all, of these are "grooming" verbs (Kemmer 1993: 16). One such grooming
verb is *sufi* 'shave (oneself)':

(23-22) *Nau lae kwai   sufi   fasi.*
         1SG go 1SG.FUT shave   PREC
         'I'll go and shave now.'

Sufi can also function as a transitive verb, 'shave body part (sb. else's or
one's own):

(23-23) *Nau kwai   lae kwai   sufi-a   fasi*
         1SG 1SG.FUT go 1SG.FUT shave-3.OBJ   PREC

         thaathate-ku.
         chin.and.jaws-1SG.PERS
         'I will go now and shave my face.'

(*Thaathate* designates the chin and jaw region of the face up to the cheek
bones.)
    Some other such verbs are *kafa* 'comb (one's own hair)', *siiisu* 'bathe (os.),
wash (os.)', and also *thuu* 'cover (os.) (with st.)'.
    We can now turn to the use of one of the self-containedness constructions in
encoding self-directed, reflexive situations. The construction in question is the

prepositional phrase whose complement is a noun phrase that consists of *tala* modified by the possessive marker; see (23-4) in section 23.1. The *tala* prepositional phrase makes explicit or emphasizes the self-directed, reflexive nature of a situation that is otherwise more likely not to be self-directed. (See Haiman [1983: 803] for the notion of "extroverted verbs".) It follows the non-subject noun phrase it has in its scope, except that if any postverbal particles that are part of the verb complex are present, they directly follow the direct object pronoun. In (23-24) the *tala* construction is separated from the direct object by the combination of the intensifiers *qasia* and *naqa*:

(23-24) *Kini   naqi qe   thathami   nia   qasia naqa*
       woman   this   3SG.NFUT   like   3SG   INTS INTS

       qi   tala   qa-na.
       LOC   SELFC   POSS-3SG.PERS
       'This woman likes herself very/too much.'

In the next example, two self-directed events are expressed, killing oneself and throwing oneself to the ground, but only the former is explicitly identified as self-directed. It is more natural, common for people to kill something or someone other than themselves. There is a good reason for emphasizing the self-directedness of the latter kind of act. However, once the idea of the self-directed event of killing oneself has been established, it is no longer necessary to emphasize the self-directedness of the action by means of which suicide is committed.

(23-25) *Kamiliqa, tai   wane   kera   thau-ngi   kera*
       1PL(EXCL) some.PL person 3PL.NFUT   kill-TR   3PL

       qi   tala   qa-da   quna   qeri: tai
       LOC   SELFC   POSS-3PL.PERS   manner this   some.PL

       si   manga keka   raqa-fi-a   qai   tekwa   ki,
       PRTT   time   3PL.SEQ climb-TR-3.OBJ tree   be.tall PL

       keka   quu   qani kera qi   thaqegano.
       3PL.SEQ throw   GENP 3PL LOC ground
       '(As for) us, some people kill themselves like this: they climb a tall tree (lit.: tall trees) (and) throw themselves (down) to the ground.'

(*Quu* 'throw' is an intransitive verb; the entity thrown is expressed as an oblique object.)

The *tala* construction may be used when the self-directed nature of the situation in question is obvious. In such cases the construction does not make the self-directedness explicit; rather, it emphasizes it. In (23-26) the relevant participant is the addressee, and the situation expressed there can only be self-directed. Societal norms require that one think of others as much as, or even more than, one thinks of oneself. By using the *tala* construction the speaker emphasizes that (under certain circumstances) the addressee should think of himself rather than of others. In (23-26) the *tala* construction has an oblique object in its scope.

(23-26) *Qoko   manata suli qoe qi   tala   qa-mu.*
         2SG.SEQ think   PROL 2SG LOC SELFC   POSS-2SG.PERS
         'You should think about yourself.'

The self-containedness construction is not used when the self-directed nature of the situation is obvious or is not unusual, and need not be emphasized. For the former type of case (the situation is clearly self-directed) see the final clause in (23-25) further above, and for the latter type of case (it is not unusual for a type of situation to be self-directed) see (23-27) below. The sentence in (23-27) was meant as an explanation for why white, Caucasian women tend to live longer than white men. It is not unusual for people (women in particular?) to take care of themselves.

(23-27) *Kera   beta   kera qa-da.*
         3PL.NFUT   take.care.of 3PL   SBEN-3PL.PERS
         'They take (good) care of themselves.'

And second, the construction is not normally used if the situation is unintentional, accidental, rather than intentional. Even though the actor and the undergoer are one and the same entity, the situation is not seen as self-directed because it is unintentional. Thus, the self-containedness construction is not used in (23-28), even though the event of cutting is much more likely to be directed at something else than at oneself:

(23-28) *Qolofia e   kasi nia.*
         Olofia 3SG.NFUT   cut   3SG
         'Olofia cut himself (on a knife, accidentally).'

There is a close link between self-generated and self-directed situations, which is the lack of external agency or cause. This link can also be seen from the fact that a situation can be encoded simultaneously by means of the prever-

bal particle *tala* and a prepositional phrase with a *tala* noun phrase as its complement, as in (23-29):

(23-29)   *Thaari   qeri   qe   tala   thau-ngi   nia*
          girl   that   3SG.NFUT   SELFC   kill-TR   3SG

          ba-n=i   tala   qa-na.
          LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC   SELFC   POSS-3SG.PERS
          'The girl killed herself (of her own accord).' 'The girl committed suicide.'

Self-directed situations are also self-generated. (But not every self-generated situation is self-directed.) The simultaneous use of the two self-containedness constructions emphasizes both the self-directed and the self-generated natures of the situation.

23.4.   Emphasizing the identity of a participant in situations other than self-generated and self-directed

The prepositional self-containedness construction is also used to emphasize the fact that the situation applies to the relevant participant, although that does not necessarily mean that it applies only to that participant. That participant is currently the focus of attention, typically in comparison with, or in contrast to, some others. Here the construction does not express or emphasize either self-directedness or self-generatedness. Here too the prepositional phrase with a *tala* noun phrase as its complement follows the noun phrase in its scope, but in this function it can have even subject noun phrases and fronted non-subject noun phrases in its scope.

The first example comes from a prayer. After asking God to protect various members of his family, the speaker then asks for protection for himself. The noun phrase that is in the scope of the *tala* construction functions as the direct object.

(23-30)   *Thuu-fi   nau   qi   tala   qa-ku.*
          protect-TR   1SG   LOC   SELFC   POSS-1SG.PERS
          '(And) protect me (as well).'

In (23-31), from the same prayer, the *tala* construction has a topicalized prepositional phrase in its scope:

(23-31) *Laa   mango-ku   qi   tala   qa-ku,*   *Olmaiti*
         IN   soul-1SG.PERS LOC SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS   Almighty

         Good,   qo   lio   qi   ei, ...
         God   2SG.NFUT   look LOC   LOCPRO
         'In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there (and you
         see some of whatever is poisonous [and] that is exceedingly bad that
         the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart).'

(See example [24-4] in section 24.2 for the rest of the sentence.)

In the final two examples the *tala* construction has in its scope noun phrases
that correspond to the subjects. In (23-32) the subject has been topicalized.
What is emphasized in that sentence is the fact that it is the speaker, rather than
anybody else, that will perfom the action. Furthermore, the limiter *bana* (real-
ized as *ban=*) specifies that the speaker will perform it alone.

(23-32) *Nau   ban=i   tala   qa-ku*   *laa-lae*
         1SG   LIM=LOC   SELFC POSS-1SG.PERS   RDP-go

         kwai   ili-a   si   doo   naqi.
         1SG.FUT   do-3.OBJ   PRTT thing this
         'I myself will do this (thing) (sometime) later.'

In (23-33) the subject noun phrase is in the focus position:

(23-33) *Nia   bo=naq=i   tala   qa-na*
         3SG   ASRT=INTS=LOC   SELFC   POSS-3SG.PERS

         n=e   fafaleqa-a   wane   qeri.
         FOC=3SG.NFUT   praise-3.OBJ   man   that
         'It's him himself who praises that man.'

Chapter 24
Unrestricted choice

24.1.   Introduction

Toqabaqita has two types of construction to signal that any member of a given class satisfies the proposition expressed in a clause, or conversely, that a proposition expressed in a clause applies equally to any member of a given class of entities. One of the constructions employs lexical items that function elsewhere as interrogative words in open interrogatives (section 19.3). The other one uses either the form *mamalana* 'any one' or *qatona* 'any one' in a noun phrase.

24.2.   Unrestricted choice expressed by means of interrogative words

In this type of construction, an interrogative word, such as *tei* 'who' and *fei* 'where', serves as the head of the construction, a noun phrase or an adverb phrase. Usually, although not necessarily, the head is accompanied by one or more modifiers that serve to identify more closely the class of the entities to which the proposition applies. Such noun phrases often contain a relative clause, and the limiter *bana* not infrequently occurs as well. In the next three examples, the interrogative word is *tei* 'who'.

(24-1)   *Ni*   *tei*   *n=e*   *thathami-a*   *nga*
         PERSMKR   who   REL=3SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   IDENT

         ifi   *nono-m-a*   *neqe, doo* *ni*
         bundle   rub.with.healing.leaves-TR-DVN   this   thing LIG

         faqa-maruki,   *ka*   *suusuu*   *uri-a.*
         CAUSE-be.alive   3SG.SEQ   pay   PURP-3SG.OBJ
         'Whoever wants this bundle of healing leaves, (this) thing for making/keeping people alive, should pay for it.'

   In the next two examples the phrases with the interrogative words have been topicalized.

(24-2)   *Tei   bana na   qoki   ngata   bii-a,*
      who   LIM   REL   2SG.IPFV   speak   COM-3SG.OBJ

      qoko   ngata   leqa   bii-a.
      2SG.SEQ   speak   be.nice   COM-3SG.OBJ
      'Whoever you speak with, you should speak nicely with them.'

In (24-3) there are two instances of the unrestricted choice construction in two coordinate clauses:

(24-3)   *... nau ku   thathami-a kwai   sulumabo-a*
       1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT mention.again-3SG.OBJ

      laqu uri-a   kai   too   faataqi
      ADD PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT be.in.certain.condition   be.clear

      *fasi. Ni   **tei**   n=e   aqi   si*
      PREC PERSMKR   who   REL=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

      *rongo-a   quu   ma   n=**tei***
      hear-3SG.OBJ   ANTCONT   and   PERSMKR=who

      n=e   aqi   si   thaitoqoma-na
      REL=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   know-3SG.OBJ

      quu,   nau   ku   thathami-a   nia kai
      ANTCONT   1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   3SG 3SG.FUT

      rongo-a   ma   kai   thaitoqoma-na.
      hear-3SG.OBJ   and   3SG.FUT   know-3SG.OBJ
      'I want to talk about it again so that it may be clear now. Whoever has not heard (about) it yet and whoever does not know (about) it yet, I want him/her to hear (about) it and to know (about) it.'

In (24-4) the interrogative word is *taa* 'what', modified by a verb and two relative clauses.

(24-4)   *Laa mango-ku   qi   tala   qa-ku,   Olmaiti*
      IN   soul-1SG.PERS LOC   SELFC   POSS-1SG.PERS   Almighty

      Good, qo   lio   qi   ei,   qoko   riki-a
      God   2SG.NFUT   look   LOC   LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

tai	*si*	**taa**	*buubula*	*n=e*	*taqaa*
some.PL	PRTT	what	be.poisonous	REL=3SG.NFUT	be.bad

ka	*tatha*	*na*	*maqalimae*	*n=e*
3SG.SEQ	pass.by	REL	enemy	REL=3SG.NFUT

ngali-a	*mai*	*ka*	*afu-si-a*	*qi*
take-3SG.OBJ	VENT	3SG.SEQ	scatter-TR-3SG.OBJ	LOC

ruuruqu-ku.
chest-1SG.PERS
'In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there and you see some of whatever is poisonous (and) that is exceedingly bad that the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart.'

(*Ruuruqu* designates the chest and also the locus of mental states and emotions. For the use of *tatha* to express a relatively high degree of a property or a characteristic see chapter 25.)

In (24-5) there are two instances of the unrestricted-choice construction that contain the locative interrogative adverb *fei* 'where'. In the first case, *fei* is modified by a prepositional phrase; in the second, *fei* has no modifier.

(24-5)

Roo-wane!,	*ta*	*imole*	*ka*	*too*
two-man/person	some	person	3SG.SEQ	reside

i	**fe**=*i*	*laa*	*kada*	*taafoloa*	*neqe,*	*nau,*
LOC	where=LOC	IN	block	district	this	1SG

tha	*Liliqa,*	*na*	*ku*	*qai*	*neri!*
PERSMKR	Liliqa	FOC	1SG.NFUT	shout	NPAST.HERE

Moka	*rongo*	*suli-a*	*maala*	*b=e*
2DU.SEQ	hear	PROL-3.OBJ	sore	that=3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi	*nau!*	*Maala*	*b=e*	*tharu-fi*
afflict-TR	1SG	sore	that=3SG.NFUT	(sore)afflict-TR

nau	*qe=aqi*	*naqa!*	*Maala*	*baa*	*e*
1SG	3SG.NFUT=not.exist	PRF	sore	that	3SG.NFUT

mafo	*naqa!*	*Ta*	*imole*	*qoko*	*too*
(sore)heal	PRF	some	person	2SG.SEQ	reside

> *i* ***fei****,*   *qoko*   *too*   *qa=ta*   *kula,*
> LOC where   2SG.SEQ   reside   GENP=some   place
>
> *qoko*   *rongo-a*   *mai:*   *Maala*   *ba=e*
> 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3SG.OBJ   VENT   sore   that-3SG.NFUT
>
> *aqi*   *naqa!*
> not.exist   PRF
> '[This is what he shouted:] Hey, anybody, wherever you may live
> (lit.: some person wherever you live) in this section of the district,
> it's me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had (lit.: that af-
> flicted me)! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed!
> Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen
> to this (lit.: listen to it hither): The sore is no more!'

24.3.   Unrestricted choice expressed by means of *mamalana* or *qatona*

The other type of unrestricted-choice construction is a possessive noun phrase
either with *mamalana* 'any one' or with *qatona* 'any one' as the possessum
nouns. Both nouns are restricted to this construction; they are not used else-
where. *Mamalana* may historically be a nominalization of a verb *mama, with
the third person singular personal suffix *-na, that is, *mama-la-na, but there is
no evidence of such a verb. Alternatively, *mamala* may have some historical
connection to the equative preposition *mala* 'like, as' (section 10.2.4), also with
the suffix *-na.[44] And it is likely that *qatona* is historically *qato-na, also with
the third person singular personal suffix *-na. As there is no evidence of *mama-
lana* or *qatona* having an internal structure in the present-day language, both
are treated here as unanalyzed wholes.

   Both *mamalana* and *bana* are accompanied in the possesum phrase by the
limiter *bana* (section 7.7.). The basic structure of the construction is given in
(24-6):

(24-6)   [*mamalana*/*qatona* *bana*]   [possessor.NP]
          any.one/any.one   LIM

   The possessor noun phrase is non-referential. It designates the class of enti-
ties any member of which satisfies the proposition expressed in the clause. The
possessor noun phrase often also contains the indefinite quantifier *ta* (section
6.8.6), especially if it is *qatona* that occurs in the possessum phrase.

Although *mamalana* and *qatona* occur in the same construction expressing the same meaning, their uses are not identical. *Qatona* tends to be used in replies to questions, while *mamalana* is not normally used in replies.

Examples (24-7) – (24-11) contain *mamalana*.

(24-7)   *Mamalana bana ta   wane   qe   lae*
        any.one   LIM   some person 3SG.NFUT   go

        ma=i   biqu nau, nau kwai   fale-a   fanga
        VENT=LOC house 1SG   1SG   1SG.FUT/IPFV give-3.OBJ food

        i   a-na.
        LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
        '(If) anyone comes to my house, I'll give food to him/her.' 'Anyone who comes to my house, I give food to him/her.' 'Whoever comes to my house, I give food to him/her.'

(24-8)   *Kera   fasi-a   mamalana bana qai*
        3PL.NFUT   plant-3.OBJ   any.one   LIM   tree

        kaa-kali-a   biqu   kera.
        RDP-surround-3.OBJ house   3PL
        'They plant any kind of tree around (lit.: surrounding) their house.' 'They plant all kinds of trees around their house.'

Noun phrases with *mamalana* are frequently fronted into the topic position, as in (24-9) and (24-10):

(24-9)   *Nau   ku   kwai-maqasi ba-kuqa.   Mamalana*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-wait.for   LIM-1SG.PERS any.one

        bana   si   manga kwai   lae.
        LIM   PRTT time   1SG.FUT   go
        'I am ready to go any time.' (Lit.: 'I am ready. Any time I will go.')

(For *kwai-maqasi* 'be ready for st., to do st.' see near the end of section 22.3.)

(24-10) *Wane   qeri qe   mataqi. Mamalana bana si*
        man   that 3SG.NFUT   be.sick any.one   LIM   PRTT

        fanga   ku   fale-a   i   a-na,
        food   1SG.NFUT   give-3SG.OBJ LOC   REC-3SG.PERS

> *ka   aqi   si   qani-a.*
> 3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG   eat-3SG.OBJ
> 'The man is sick. No matter what food I give him, he won't eat it.'
> 'The man is sick. Any food that I give him, he won't eat it.'

In (24-11) the possessor noun phrase does not, by itself, uniquely identify the relevant class: it is not any child that cries or screams, but any crying or screaming child that is present at the time:

(24-11)   *Kuki   uqunu   sui   ba-kuluqa.*
           PL(INCL).FUT   converse   COMPL   LIM-PL(INCL).PERS

           Mamalana bana ta   wela ka   angi mada   ta
           any.one   LIM   some child 3SG.SEQ cry   or   some

           wela ka   gaa-gafu,   kuki   rongo-a
           child 3SG.SEQ RDP-scream   PL(INCL).FUT   hear-3SG.OBJ

           ba-kuluqa   qi   ei.
           LIM-PL(INCL).PERS   LOC   LOCPRO
           'Let's finish just talking. [I.e., let's stop talking all about and let's do the recording.] Any child that cries or any child that keeps screaming, we'll hear him/her on it [a recording cassette].'

For another example with *mamalana* see (6-75) in section 6.3.2.
The next three examples contain *qatona*:

(24-12)   A: *Taa   na   kuki   qani-a?*
               what?   FOC   PL(INCL).FUT   eat-3SG.OBJ

           B: *Qatona   bana ta   si   fanga.*
               any.one   LIM   some PRTT food
           A: 'What will we eat?'
           B: 'Just anything.' 'Just any food.'

(24-13)   A: *Qi   fei   na   kwai   alu-a   waqi   naqi*
               LOC   where   FOC   1SG.FUT put-3.OBJ   basket   this

               i   ei?
               LOC   LOCPRO

B: *Qatona   bana   ta   si   kula.*
   any.one LIM   some PRTT place
A: 'Where should I put this basket?'
B: 'Just anywhere.' 'Any old place.'

(24-14)   [A: ....]

B: *Qatona   bana   ta   wane.*
   any.one LIM   some person
[A: 'Who do you want to come?']
B: 'Just anyone.'

The *mamalana/qatona* unrestricted-choice construction may be more specific than the construction that uses interrogative words because it may identify more closely the class to any member of which the proposition applies, depending on the meaning of the possessor noun phrase. For example, in (24-11) further above, the possessive noun phrase *mamalana bana ta wela* restricts the class of referents to children, whereas using the interrogative-word construction with *ni tei* 'whoever' would not. Similarly, *mamalana bana qai* in (24-8) narrows down the class of entities to trees, compared to *taa* 'whatever.'

Mamalana has another function, in which it occurs as the subject of a (verbless) equational sentence (section 27.2.2.1). It is optionally accompanied by the limiter *bana*. The predicate is a noun phrase. The basic structure of the construction is shown in (24-15):

(24-15)   [*mamalana (bana)*] [predicate.NP]

This construction serves to express the fact that it is the choice, preference of the referent of the predicate NP rather than anybody else's whether he/she/it will bring about a given state of affairs, that it is solely up to them to bring it about or not. For example, when a person is asked whether they will go somewhere, he or she might respond in this way:

(24-16)   *Mamalana ni   nau.*
         any.one   PROFORE   1SG
        'I'll see.' 'I'll decide.' 'It's up to me.' ('Whoever it is, it is me.')

In the next example it is asserted that it is strictly up to God to decide whether people die or live:

(24-17)   *Mamalana bana araqi   loo.   Mada   sa*
           any.one   LIM   mature.man   upward or   IRR

           ka   ala-ma-tani-a   kuki   mae naqa,
           3SG.SEQ let.happen-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   PL(INCL).FUT die   PRF

           ma   nia   bo=naqa   na   kai   sore-a,   mada
           and   3SG   ASRT=INTS FOC   3SG.FUT   say-3SG.OBJ   or

           ka   sore-a   kuki   too   quu,
           3SG.SEQ say-3SG.OBJ   PL(INCL).FUT be.around   ANTCONT

           nia   laqu boqo na   kai   sore-a.
           3SG   ADD INTS FOC   3SG.FUT   say-3SG.OBJ
           'It is solely up to God. If he lets it happen that we die now, it is him
           alone who will say (i.e., decide on) that; or (if) he says/decides that
           we are still to be around [i.e. alive], it's him again who will say
           that.'

Chapter 25
Comparison of inequality

As discussed in section 10.2.4, comparison of equality is expressed by means of the equative preposition *mala*. In this chapter the focus is on comparison of inequality. The Toqabaqita comparative constructions that serve to express comparison of inequality are of the "action schema" type in the terminology of Heine (1994: 58). Two verbs are used in this function, *tatha* 'pass, pass by' or *talu* 'pass by', 'surpass'.

Tatha 'pass, pass by' is an intransitive verb. In the physical-motion sense it may occur with or without an oblique object encoding the location that someone or something passes by or along:

(25-1)   *Teqe toqa   kera   tatha   suli-a   tala.*
         one   people 3PL.NFUT pass.by PROL-3.OBJ   path

         Qo   thaitoqoma-da?
         2SG.NFUT   know-3PL.OBJ
         'There is a group of people passing by on the path. Do you know them?'

(25-2)   *Faka baa   e   tatha   naqa.*
         ship that 3SG.NFUT   pass.by PRF
         'The ship has passed/gone by.'

Talu 'pass by', 'surpass' is a Class 1 transitive verb. When *talu* is used in the motion sense 'pass by', its direct object encodes the location passed by.

(25-3)   *Faka e   talu-a   aququa.*
         ship 3SG.NFUT   pass.by-3.OBJ   island
         'The ship passed/went by the island.'

There are several types of constructions of comparison of inequality, depending partly on the degree of expliciteness of the comparison and partly on the verb, *talu* or *tatha*, used. There is a fully explicit construction, where both the property or characteristic with respect to which some entities are compared, as well as the standard of comparison are expressed. Such constructions are biclausal. The first clause expresses a proposition that is compared to some standard of comparison. It contains an expression of the comparee and a com-

parative predicate. The comparee is encoded in the subject position. The second clause, the clause of comparison, contains either *talu* or *tatha* as its verb and an expression of the standard of comparison.[45] With *talu* the standard of comparison is encoded as the direct object. With *tatha* the standard of comparison is expressed as an oblique object with the general preposition *qani*. The subject marker in the clause of comparison is always third person singular sequential, regardless of the subject of the first clause. That is, the subject marker of the clause of comparison indexes the proposition of the preceding clause.

In the first two examples below, the clause of comparison contains the transitive verb *talu*. In (25-4) the clause that contains the comparative predicate has a first person singular subject.

(25-4) *Nau   ku   thare-a   botho   qoro   ki*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   keep.animal-3.OBJ   pig   be.many   PL

        ka   talu-a   wane   naqi.
        3SG.SEQ   surpass-3.OBJ man   this
        'I keep/have more pigs than this man.' (Lit.: 'I keep many pigs; it surpasses this man.')

(25-5) *Nia   qe   baqita   ka   talu   nau.*
        3SG   3SG.NFUT   be.big   3SG.SEQ   surpass 1SG
        'He is bigger than me.'

The next two examples contain the intransitive verb *tatha* in the clause of comparison:

(25-6) *Qo   suukwaqi   ka   tatha   qani   nau.*
        2SG.NFUT   be.strong 3SG.SEQ pass.by GENP   1SG
        'You are stronger than me.'

(25-7) *Naifa   nau   naqi   qe   ngari   ka   tatha*
        knife   1SG   this   3SG.NFUT   be.sharp 3SG.SEQ   pass.by

        qana   naifa   qoe   qena.
        GENP   knife   2SG   that(2)
        'My knife (lit.: this knife of mine) is sharper than your knife (lit.: that knife of yours).'

The following pair of synonymous sentences shows the syntactic differences between the two constructions. This pair and example (25-9), which follows, show that the same comparative construction may signal the fact that the com-

paree has a higher degree of the relevant property, characteristic, etc. in question than any other relevant candidate, the highest degree of all candidates. The standard of comparison is the set of the candidates.

(25-8)   a.   *Biqu   nau   qe   baqita   ka*
                house   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.big   3SG.SEQ

              talu-a   biqu   toqa   na=i   laa
              surpass-3.OBJ   house   people   REL=LOC   IN

              toaa   nau.
              village   1SG
              'My house is the biggest one of (all) the houses of the people in my village.' That is, 'My house is the biggest one in my village.' (Lit.: 'My house is big; it surpasses the houses of the people in my village.')

          b.   *Biqu   nau   qe   baqita   ka*
                house   1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.big   3SG.SEQ

              tatha   qana   biqu   toqa   na=i   laa
              pass.by   GENP   house   people   REL=LOC   IN

              toaa   nau.
              village   1SG
              'My house is the biggest of (all) the houses of the people in my village.' 'My house is the biggest one in my village.'

(25-9)   *Wane   e   taqaa   ka   tatha   qana   wane*
          man   3SG.NFUT   be.bad   3SG.SEQ   pass.by   GENP   man

          ki   sui   bana.
          PL   EXHST   LIM
          'The man is worse than any other.' 'The man is the worst of them all.' ('The man is worse than all [the] men.')

The comparative use of *tatha* 'pass by' with an oblique object expressing the standard of comparison must be distinguished from another use of this verb, also with an oblique object introduced by the general preposition. In the latter use, *tatha qani/qana* X has the meaning 'especially X', 'X in particular' (section 10.3.7):

(25-10)   *… kera   thau-ngani-a   qana imole,   tatha*
           3PL.NFUT   make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person   pass.by

           qani-a   wela kini.
           GENP-3.OBJ child female
           '… they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people,
           especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.'

In a sense, this construction expresses an implicit kind of comparison: 'especially for girls (compared to other people)'.

There is another type of comparative construction. It has the same basic biclausal structure as the first construction discussed, except that there is no expression of a standard of comparison in the clause of comparison. In this construction, only the intransitive verb *tatha* 'pass, pass by' is possible, not the transitive verb *talu* 'pass by', 'surpass'. As shown in (25-2) further above, in its physical-motion sense *tatha* does not require an oblique object expressing the location passed by: 'The ship has passed/gone by'. (On the other hand, *talu*, being a transitive verb, requires a direct object.) This type of construction signifies that the comparee has a relatively or considerably high degree of the property or characteristic in question, higher than what the (implicit) norm is.

(25-11)   *Botho   e   baqita   ka   tatha.*
           pig   3SG.NFUT be.big   3SG.SEQ   pass.by
           'The pig is very big (compared to other pigs).'

In the next example, *tatha* occurs in a [verb verb] compound with *sukani* 'be of little quantity, degree, extent' (section 12.5). The compound designates a not particularly high degree of a property, although still higher than the norm:

(25-12)   *Botho   e   baqita   ka   sukani*
           pig   3SG.NFUT be.big   3SG.NFUT   be.of.little.degree

           tatha.
           pass.by
           'The pig is biggish/somewhat big/relatively big (compared to other pigs).'

Although the comparative constructions, with or without the standard of comparison expressed, are biclausal, there is a tight syntactic bond between the two clauses and in a way the two clauses may function as a unit. In (25-13) below, the two clauses of the comparative construction function jointly as a complex relative-clause modifier: the comparative construction as a whole

modifies the head noun *taa* 'what', which expresses unrestricted choice here
(section 24.2):

(25-13) *Laa   mango-ku   qi   tala   qa-ku,   Olmaiti*
        IN   soul-1SG.PERS LOC SELFC   POSS-1SG.PERS   Almighty

        Good,   qo   lio   qi   ei,   qoko   riki-a
        God   2SG.NFUT   look LOC LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ

        tai   si   taa   buubula   n=e   taqaa
        some.PL PRTT what be.poisonous REL=3SG.NFUT   be.bad

        ka   tatha ....
        3SG.SEQ   pass.by
        'In(side) my own soul, Almighty God, you look in there and you see
        some of whatever is poisonous (and) that is exceedingly bad (that
        the enemy [Satan] who had brought it scattered in my heart).'

(See [24-4] in section 24.2 for the rest of the sentence.)

    Similarly in (25-14) the biclausal comparative construction functions as a
complex relative-clause modifier. There the standard of comparison is ex-
pressed in the clause of comparison.

(25-14) *Toqa   naqi ki   na   ku   thare-a*
        people   this PL   REL   1SG.NFUT   keep.animal-3.OBJ

        botho   qoro   ki   ka   talu-da   sui
        pig   be.many   PL   3SG.SEQ   surpass-3PL.OBJ EXHST

        boqo,   kera   ngata   buri   qani nau.
        INTS   3PL.NFUT   speak   behind   GENP 1SG
        'These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them,
        speak (badly) about me behind my back.' (Lit.: 'These people, who I
        keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind
        my back.')

    See section 30.4 for discussion of relative-clause "macro-constructions".
    There is another type of less-than-fully explicit comparative construction.
There the standard of comparison is expressed, but there is no separate clause
with a comparative predicate. This construction is monoclausal, and either *talu*
or *tatha* can be used. This type of construction serves to express the fact that
the comparee, encoded as the subject, surpasses, is superior to, another entity,

encoded either as the direct object of *talu* or as an oblique object of *tatha*, in some respect. What the respect is is not expressed in that clause but is normally evident from broader context. In (25-15) two species of fish are compared, and the comparison has to do with their qualities as food.

(25-15) *Takwalaqo qe   talu-a   maua.*
          fish.sp.   3SG.NFUT   surpass-3.OBJ fish.sp.
          '*Takwalaqo* surpasses *maua*.' '*Takwalaqo* beats *maua*.' '*Takwalaqo*
          is better than *maua*.'

   In (25-16) one of the feasts in a series of mortuary feasts is compared to the other feasts in the series in terms of its size. The sentence contains two comparative constructions, both of which are less than fully explicit. There is a division of labour between them. The first one expresses the characteristic with respect to which the entities are compared, but not the standard of comparison; while the second one (in a relative clause) expresses the standard of comparison but not the characteristic with respect to which the feasts are compared.

(25-16) *Maama   e   baqita   ka   tatha*
          mortuary.feast   3SG.NFUT   be.big   3SG.SEQ pass.by

          laqu boqo neri,   maama   n=e
          ADD   ASRT VIVID   mortuary.feast   REL=3SG.NFUT

          tatha   bo=naqa   qana   maama   ki   sui
          pass.by   ASRT=INTS GENP   mortuary.feast   PL   EXHST

          bana.
          LIM
          'The mortuary feast [called *booa*] too is very big; (it is) a feast that is the biggest of all the mortuary feasts/that surpasses (lit.: passes by) all the (other) mortuary feasts.'

Chapter 26
Locational, existential, and possessive sentences

In Toqabaqita, locational, existential, and some subtypes of possessive sentences share certain structures and so the three types of sentence are best discussed together. Locational and existential sentences are discussed first, together. Possessive-sentence types, including those that are formally different from locational and existential sentences, are discussed subsequently.

26.1. Locational and existential sentences

26.1.1. Introduction

Locational sentences state (or inquire about) the location of an entity. Their subjects are definite. Existential sentences state (or inquire about) the existence or presence of an entity or a kind of entity, normally at a certain location and at a certain time. Their subjects are indefinite or generic. They are one of the ways to introduce new participants into discourse. Locational and existential sentences are of two basic types: verbal and verbless. As far as existential sentences are concerned, a distinction needs to be made between positive and negative sentences.

26.1.2. Verbal locational and existential sentences

26.1.2.1. *Grammatically positive locational and existential sentences*

The usual locative/existential verb is *nii* (intr.) 'be located', 'exist'. *Nii* has a synonymous alternative *ii* (intr.) 'be located', 'exist', which is not common. *Nii* and *ii* can be used with subjects of any animacy status. The location at which something is located or exists is most often expressed in a complement phrase, typically a prepositional phrase. In some cases a locative/existential verb occurs as the first member of a [verb verb] compound where the second verb gives some general information about the distance from a reference point ('be far', 'be near'; see [26-3] further below). Interrogative locational sentences are discussed in section 19.3.7, and here only one further example is given.

Examples (26-1) – (26-5) illustrate locational sentences.

(26-1)   *Wai-waena*   *nia,   ni*   *Feefelo, nia*
         LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex 3SG   PERSMKR   Feefelo 3SG

         e   ni=i   laa   bisi   qeri.
         3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC IN   menstrual.hut that
         'His sister, Feefelo, she was in the menstrual hut.'

The sentence in (26-2) contains the much less common locative verb *ii*:

(26-2)   *Qoo, ma   fai-susu   qe=ki   kera   ii   laqu*
         oh   and four-breast that=PL 3PL.NFUT   be.located ADD

         boqo   qa=ta   kula   neri.
         ASRT   GENP=some   place   NPAST.HERE
         'Oh, and those female possums are at some other place.' (Lit.: 'Oh,
         and those female possums are again some place.')

(*Fai-susu* 'four-breast' is a term for female possums.)
   In (26-3) the location is characterized as not being distant and as being near
by the second verbs in two [verb verb] compounds:

(26-3)   *Biqu   nau qe   aqi   si   nii   daa,*
         house   1SG   3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG be.located be.far

         qe   nii   karangi ba-na.
         3SG.NFUT   be.located   be.near   LIM-3SG.PERS
         'My house is not far; it's just nearby.'

The sentence in (26-4) is a query about a location:

(26-4)   *Ama   nau   ba=e   nii   fei?*
         hammer 1SG   that=3SG.NFUT be.located where?
         'Where is my hammer?' 'Where is that hammer of mine?'

A location may be metaphorical:

(26-5)   *... qo   nii   qasia   naqa i   laa*
         2SG.NFUT   be.located   INTS   INTS LOC   IN

        mango-ku ….
        soul-1SG.PERS
        '... you are very much in my heart (lit.: soul) ….'

Examples (26-6) – (26-8) contain existential sentences.

(26-6)   *Kere*   *thau-ngani-a*   *teqe* *doo*   *na,* *na*   *nga*
        3PL.NFUT build-TR-3.OBJ one thing REL REL HESIT

        iqa *e*   *ni=i*   *laal-a.*
        fish 3SG.NFUT exist=LOC inside-3SG.PERS
        'They had built a thing inside which [repetition and hesitation] there
        are fish.' (Speaking about an underground aquarium.)

(26-7)   *… roo* *kale-qe*   *doo* *ii*   *ba-n=i*
          two baby-ASSOC   thing exist LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

        ofi-na.
        marsupium-3SG.PERS
        '… (perhaps) there are two baby ones in its pouch.' (Wondering
        whether there are baby possums in an adult possum's marsupium.)

In (26-8) the location is metaphorical:

(26-8)   *Teqe*   *si*   *doo* *kwai-tao-faqi*   *qe*
        one   PRTT thing LIP-cause.strife.among-TR 3SG.NFUT

        ni=i   *maqaluta-kuluqa.*
        exist=LOC among-PL(INCL).PERS
        'There is something causing strife among us.' ('There is one strife-
        causing thing among us.')

There are also two posture verbs that can be used with locative or existential meanings, but only under certain circumstances. One of them is *teo*, whose core meaning is 'lie (prostrate), lie down', and the other one is *qono*, whose core meaning is 'sit, sit down'. *Teo* is discussed first. The next example shows *teo* used with its posture meaning:

(26-9)   *Teqe wane* *qe*   *teo* *qi* *faar-a*   *tarake.*
        one man   3SG.NFUT lie LOC under-3.PERS truck
        'There is a man lying under the truck.'

With respect to entities that can occupy a standing, sitting or some other posture different from lying, *teo* signifies a horizontal orientation. However, it is also used about animate or inanimate objects that are not characterized by a non-horizontal orientation. Such objects are said to 'lie' when they are in their normal orientation, but in some such cases, their exact orientation is not relevant.

(26-10) *Kafa   qoe   kai   teo   ba-n=i*
        comb   2SG   3SG.IPFV   lie   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

        sa-mu   nena.
        ADJC-2SG.PERS   there(2)
        'Your comb is (lying) just there, by you.'

(26-11) *Tai   fanga   e   teo   ba- na?*
        some.PL food   3SG.NFUT   lie   LIM-3SG.PERS
        'Is there any food (lit.: some foods) at all (left)?'

(26-12) *Iqa   qe   teo   mala qa=i   maa-na*
        fish   3SG.NFUT   lie   EQT   tree=LOC   point-3.PERS

        uusi-a   fu=i   taraqena.
        buy-DVN   downward=LOC   today
        'There were lots and lots of fish [for sale] down at the market today.' (Lit.: 'There were fish like trees lying at the market down there today.')

In (26-12) the noun *qai* 'tree(s)' is used to suggest a large quantity, not an upright orientation. (At markets, fish are normally exhibited lying on the mats or in baskets on the ground.)

The verb *qono*, whose core meaning is 'sit, sit down' is shown with its posture meaning in (26-13):

(26-13) *Kwai   qono ba-kuqa   qi   laa   tafe.*
        1SG.FUT sit   LIM-1SG.PERS LOC   IN   bench
        'I'll just sit on (lit.: in) the bench [rather than at the table].'

Qono can be used as a locative verb with reference to humans without any necessary implication of a sitting posture. The question expressed in (26-14) was intended as a query about the presence of the people at that location, not about their posture there:

(26-14)   *Keki   qono ba-da   nena?*
               3PL.FUT sit   LIM-3PL.PERS NPAST.THERE
               'Are they there (where you are)?'

And although one is quite likely to occupy a sitting position when at home, this is not necessarily so. The sentence in (26-15) is a statement about the speaker and his friend's being at home, not about their posture. (The sentence was uttered in a telephone conversation. The speaker and the addressee were at different locations, and it is unlikely that the former wished to be specific about his and his friend's postures at the moment.)

(26-15)   *Araqi   qeri bana n=e   oli   mai*
               mature.man   that LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT   return   VENT

               qana   wane   kiloko. Qi   manga qeri
               GENP   one   o'clock LOC time   this

               meka   qono   neri.
               1DU(EXCL).SEQ sit   NPAST.HERE
               'It was only the old man who came back at one o'clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.'

There is one type of possessive sentence that is a kind of positive existential sentence (section 26.2.1.1).

26.1.2.2.   *Grammatically negative locational and existential sentences*

Locational sentences with the verb *nii* (or *ii*) employ the usual negation strategies (chapter 17):

(26-16)   *Naifa   na   ku   lae   uri-a   qe*
               knife   REL   1SG.NFUT   go   PURP-3SG.OBJ   3SG.NFUT

               aqi   si   ni=i   kula   lakoo.
               NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.located=LOC place   that(3)
               'The knife I went for (The knife I went to get) was not there (lit.: at that place).'

For another example see the first clause of (26-3) in section 26.1.2.1. Negative locational sentences are not discussed any further. Rather, the focus is on negative existential sentences.

Negative existential sentences can express the fact that a certain type of entity does not exist or is not available, normally at a certain location and at a certain time, or that there is no entity of a certain type involved in a type of state of affairs. Negative existential sentences also serve to express lack of possession, which is grammatically treated as non-existence or non-availability with respect to a potential possessor. This is discussed in section 26.2.1.2.

Negative existential sentences employ the verb *aqi* 'not exist', 'not be available', also 'not be so, not be the case', which also serves to form negative constructions (sections 17.3 and 17.4). Negative existential sentences are unusual in that the verb, with its subject marker, comes before the subject. This is one of only two types of sentence where the verb precedes the subject (the other being one type of interrogative locational sentences; see section 19.3.7) (and also section 19.3.8). In negative existential sentences the subject marker must be third person singular, nonfuture, future, or sequential (not negative or dehorative). In addition, the verb *aqi* may be accompanied by one or more particles that belong in the verb complex (chapter 5). The basic structure of negative existential sentences is shown in (26-17):

(26-17)   [3sg.subject.marker *aqi*]   [subject.NP ...]
                               not.exist/not.be.available

The subject noun phrase is non-referential. It encodes the type of entity whose non-existence or non-availability is being expressed. The subject noun phrase contains an indefinite quantifier, either *ta* 'some' or, less commonly, *tai* 'some.PL' (section 6.8.6). *Tai* is used only with count nouns and has a plural value. *Ta* is used both with count nouns and with mass nouns. With count nouns *ta* is unspecified as to number (singular or plural). The location or the time characterized by the non-existence/non-availability of a type of entity may be expressed after the subject noun phrase, but frequently it is not expressed when it is determinable from context.

In (26-18) – (26-22) the subject noun phrases contain *ta*.

(26-18)   *Qe   aqi   ta   firu-a.*
                    3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   fight-DVN
                    'There was no war (going on at that time).'

(26-19)   *Nau ku   laa-lae i   maa-na   uusi-a*
                    1SG   1SG.NFUT   RDP-go   LOC   point-3.PERS   buy-DVN

                    sa   kwai   ngali-a   ta   gwa iqa, ma
                    IRR   1SG.FUT   take-3.OBJ   some   CLF   fish   and

> *ka*   *aqi*   *ta*   *iqa.*
> 3SG.SEQ   not.be.available   some   fish
> 'I went (lit.: had gone) to the market place to buy (lit.: take) fish, but (lit.: and) there weren't any.'

(26-20)   *Qe*   *aqi*   *ta*   *Taio.*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   Taiyo
           'There was no Taiyo.' In the given context: 'There was no Taiyo [a brand of tinned fish] (in the shop; that's why I didn't bring any).'

(26-21)   *Qe*   *aqi*   *ta*   *sofu.*
           3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   soap
           'There is no soap.' In the given context: 'There is no soap in the house.' 'We have no soap.' 'We are out of soap.'

In (26-22) the verb *aqi* is accompanied by the perfect marker:

(26-22)   *Keka*   *raa*   *qi*   *laal-a*   *si*   *kula*   *qe=ki,*
           3PL.SEQ   work   LOC   inside-3.PERS   PRTT   place   this=PL

           keka   *raa*   *reduredu*   *ba-d=i*
           3PL.SEQ   work   repeat.doing.st.   LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC

           ei,   *uri-a*   *n=e*   *aqi*
           LOCPRO   REAS-3.OBJ   COMP=3SG.NFUT   not.be.available

           naqa ta   *si*   *gano.*
           PRF   some   PRTT   ground
           'They work [here: make gardens] in those places, they work there over and over again, because there is no more ground [for new gardens].' (That is, because of shortage of land, people use the same pieces of land for gardens over and over again.)

In the next three examples, the subject noun phrases contain the plural quantifier *tai*. The subject marker with the verb *aqi* 'not exist', 'not be available' must be singular, even if the subject noun phrase designates humans, as in (26-23):

(26-23)   *Qe*   *aqi*   *tai*   *toqa*   *qi*   *laa*
           3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some.PL   people   LOC   IN

aququa   naqi.
island   this
'There are no people (living) on (lit.: in) this island.'

(26-24)   *Qe   aqi   laqu tai   si   doo*
          3SG.NFUT   not.exist   ADD some.PL PRTT thing

          qoro   suli-a, ...
          be.many   PROL-3SG.OBJ
          'There aren't many more things (to be said) about it, ...'

In (26-25) the locative noun phrase has been topicalized, and a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* occurs at the extraction site:

(26-25)   *Aququa naqi, qe=aqi   tai   toqa   qi*
          island   this 3SG.NFUT=not.exist some.PL   people   LOC

          ei.
          LOCPRO
          'This island, there are no people (living) there.'

Compare (26-23) further above with *aququa naqi* 'this island' *in situ*.

Negative existential sentences with topicalized "locations" are also used as a type of negative possessive sentence, where the possessor is treated as if he or she were a location. The possessor is an unlinked topic (section 38.5): no prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei* is used. There are no corresponding sentences with the expression of the possessor in a non-topic position. In (26-26) the possessor is first person singular, and the subject marker is third person singular. The first person singular pronoun is in the topic position, not in the subject position.

(26-26)   *Nau qe   aqi   ta   fa   qota.*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   CLF   areca.nut
          'I have no areca nuts.' ('With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.')

Negative possessive sentences are discussed in more detail in section 26.2.1.2.

The subject noun phrase in a negative existential clause may contain a relative clause that characterizes the type of entity designated by the noun phrase. However, relative clauses are used in this way only if the position relativized is other than subject, as in (26-27):

(26-27)   *Qe   aqi   ta   kula   na   kuki*
           3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   place   REL   PL(INCL).FUT

           agwa   qi   ei.
           hide   LOC   LOCPRO
           'There is no place for us to hide.' 'There is no place where we can/will hide.'

A different construction is used when the position relativized is subject. The verb of the relative clause has a negative subject marker, and the relative clause marker *na* is not used. For example:

(26-28)   *Wane   qe   naunau.   Qe   aqi*
           man   3SG.NFUT   be.egocentric   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

           ta   thaari   si   thathami-a.
           some   girl   3SG.NEG   like-3SG.OBJ
           'The man is egocentric. There is no girl that likes him./No girl likes him.'

(The verb *naunau* 'be egocentric' is a reduplication of the first person singular pronoun *nau*.)

Even though the relative clause has a negative subject marker, the modification is positive, not negative. That is, in (26-28) the meaning is not 'There is no girl that does not like him.' (The Toqabaqita counterpart of 'There is no girl that does not like him' would be 'Every girl/All girls like(s) him'.)

As discussed in section 17.4, one of the negating strategies of Toqabaqita is a double negative construction that employs a negative subject marker in the event clause, and in addition there is a "mini-clause" that consists of the negative everb *aqi* with its own subject marker. Even though the event clause has a negative subject marker, it does not negate the preceding negative mini-clause. In a similar fashion, in the construction discussed here, even though the modifying clause is grammatically negative, it does not have a negative force.

This construction serves to express the non-existence, non-availability of a certain type of participant in, or for, a certain type of situation.

The sentences in (26-29) and (26-30) also illustrate this construction:

(26-29)   *Nia   molo,   qe=aqi   ta   wane   si*
           3SG   AFFTOP   3SG.NFUT=not.exist   some   person   3SG.NEG

faara-na.
be.match.for-3SG.OBJ
'Him (I'm telling you), there is nobody that can match him.'

(26-30) *Fanua   kera fanua   thaathaoliaqa qasia   naqa.*
country 3PL   country be.clean   INTS   INTS

Qe   aqi   ta   fanua   si
3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   country 3SG.NEG

quri-a.
be.like-3SG.OBJ
 'Their country (is) a very clean country. There is no (other) country (that is) like it.'

If the subject of the relative clause is third person, the negative subject marker in the relative clause must be singular, even if the subject of the negative existential clause is plural and even if it has human referents. In (26-31) and (26-32) the subject phrases contain the plural quantifier *tai*; nevertheless, the subject markers in the relative clauses are (and must be) singular.

(26-31) *Qe   aqi   tai   wane   qoro   si*
3SG.NFUT   NEGV   some.PL person   be.many 3SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na uqunu   qeri.
know-3.OBJ   story   this
'There are not many people who know this story.' 'Not many people know this story.'

(26-32) *Qi   laa   aququa naqi, qe   aqi   tai*
LOC   IN   island   this 3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some.PL

toqa   si   too   i   ei.
people 3SG.NEG   reside   LOC LOCPRO
'On this island, nobody lives there.' (More literally: 'On this island, there is nobody who lives there.')

In (26-33) below, there is a mismatch in grammatical person. The subject of the negative clause is third person, but the negative subject marker in the relative clause is second person singular. The speaker addresses himself individually to each of the addressees.

(26-33)   *Nau ku   qoo   faafi-a   niu*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   place.taboo.sign CONF-3.OBJ   coconut

           nau naqi;   qe   aqi   ta   wane
           1SG   this   3SG.NFUT not.exist some   person

           qosi   raqa-fi-a.
           2SG.NEG   climb-TR-3SG.OBJ
           'I have put a taboo sign by this coconut (tree) of mine. None of you
           is to climb it.' (Lit.: '.... There is no person who you do not climb
           it.')

Characterization of the type of entity designated by the subject phrase can
also be achieved by means of a "relative purpose clause", that is a purpose
clauses that functions as a relative clause modifying nouns (section 33.3.2):

(26-34)   *Mere   garo,   qe   aqi*
           1DU(EXCL).NFUT   lose.way 3SG.NFUT not.exist

           ta   tala fasi meka   lae   suli-a.
           some path PURP 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go   PROL-3SG.OBJ
           'We had lost our way; there was no path for us to follow.' (Lit.: '…;
           there was no path so that we might walk along it.')

See also example (26-52) in section 26.2.1.2.

Negative existential sentences can be made emphatic by a second negative
existential clause. The additional negative existential clause is a mini-clause
that consists only of the verb *aqi* here with the sense 'not be so, not be the
case', which takes the third person singular sequential subject marker *ka*. This
clause follows the negative existential clause.

(26-35)   *Qe   aqi   boqo ta   wane   bulu*
           3SG.NFUT   not.exist ASRT some   person black.colour

           ka   aqi,   *araqi   kwao   ni*
           3SG.SEQ not.be.the.case mature.man   be.white   LIG

           sui   boqo.
           EXHST ASRT
           'There was no black person there, no; (they were) all white men.'
           (Lit.: 'There was no black person; it was not the case [that there was
           a black person]; ….')

(*Bulu* is a noun whose basic meaning is 'pig that is completely black'. It is also used as a modifier in a number of compounds to signify black or some other very dark colour.)

26.1.3. Verbless locational and existential sentences

Verbless locational and existential sentences contain one of the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs as the predicate.

(26-36)   *Nia   lakoq.*
           3SG   there(3)
           'He/she/it is over there.'

(26-37)   *Teqe keekero   loq.*
           one   yellow.bibbed.lory   up.there
           'There is a Yellow-bibbed Lory up there.'

   This type of sentences is discussed in section 13.6.2, which deals with the presentative locative demonstrative adverbs, and in section 27.2.2.2, which deals with presentational identificational sentences. More examples can be found in those places.

26.2.   Possessive sentences

Toqabaqita has several types of possessive sentences, that is sentential structures used to express possession (which does not necessarily mean possession in the sense of ownership). Some of these are verbal and one is verbless. Two subtypes are existential sentences.

26.2.1. Existential possessive sentences

In the case of existential possessive sentences, a distinction needs to be made between positive and negative sentences.

26.2.1.1.   *Grammatically positive existential possessive sentences*

As discussed in section 5.2.10, Toqabaqita has a self-benefactive/recipient-benefactive marker *qa-*, which occurs postverbally inside the verb complex:

(26-38)   *Keki   siisiu   qa-da.*
           3PL.IPFV   bathe   SBEN-3PL.PERS
           'They are bathing.'

In some cases, the referent of the subject benefits from his/her own action by becoming the possessor of something, such as when he or she makes something for himself/herself:

(26-39)   *Nau   kwai   faa-li-a   qa-kuqa*
           1SG   1SG.IPFV   weave-TR-3.OBJ   SBEN-1SG.PERS

           teeteru   nau.
           fan   1SG
           'I am weaving myself a fan (lit.: my fan).'

The same particle can also be used to encode recipients in a recipient-benefactive construction (section 5.2.10.3). Recipients are, of course, new possessors.

(26-40)   *Fale-a   qa-daroqa   ta   si   botho.*
           give-3.OBJ   RECBEN-3DU.PERS   some   PRTT pork
           'Give them some (of the) pork.'

What is historically the same element is also used to express possession pure and simple, without there necessarily being any suggestion of a self-benefactive action or of the possessor having been a recipient. It is, of course, possible for a possessor to be a beneficiary or a recipient, but the important point is that this is not encoded in the clause in which the possessor is referred to. The structure involved is a kind of verbless, and subjectless, existential sentence that consists of a predicate noun phrase:

(26-41)   [[*qa*-PERS NP]$_{NP}$]$_{Sent}$
           POSS

The personal suffix on the possessive marker *qa-* encodes the possessor, and the inner noun phrase the possessum. No possessor noun phrase can be present inside the construction, although there can be an expression of the possessor outside, in the topic position (see [26-44] further below). (The possessive marker also forms part of one of the self-containedness constructions; see [23-4] in section 23.1.) As is shown further below, the possessive marker with a personal suffix may be omitted under certain circumstances. Evidence that the

structure in (26-41) is a noun phrase is presented further below, after several examples of the construction have been given.

(26-42) *Qa-kuqa   roo   wela.*
         POSS-1SG.PERS two   child
         'I have two children.' (More literally: 'Of mine (there are) two children.')

(26-43) *Doqora-ku.   Qa-mareqa   teqe   thaina*
         sibling-1SG.PERS POSS-1DU(EXCL).PERS   one   mother

         ma   teqe   maka.
         and   one   father
         '(He is) my (true) brother. We have one mother and one father.'

In addition to a personal suffix on the possessive marker, the possessor can also be encoded by means of a topic noun phrase. In the exchange in (26-44), speaker A uses only a personal suffix on the possessive marker to encode the possessor, while speaker B uses both a personal suffix and a topic noun phrase:

(26-44) A: *Qa-muqa   fita   botho?*
            POSS-2SG.PERS   how.many? pig

         B: *Nau qa-kuqa   ulu   botho.*
            1SG   POSS-1SG.PERS three pig
         A: 'How many pigs do you have?'
         B: 'I, I have three pigs.'

When the possessor is expressed by means of a topic noun phrase, it is possible for the possessive marker to be omitted, the possessive relation being only implied. Thus, instead of (26-42) further above, with the possessive marker, one can say (26-45), without it:

(26-45) *Nau roo   wela.*
         1SG   two   child
         'I have two children.' (Lit.: 'I, [there are] two children.')

And it is possible to omit the noun phrase expressing the possessum, if the context makes it clear what that entity is:

(26-46)   *Qa-kuqa.*
           POSS-1SG.PERS
           '(It's) mine.' (Speaking about food.)

Evidence that the possessive structure [*qa*-PERS NP] forms a noun phrase comes from the fact that it can occur in noun-phrase positions in larger sentences. In (26-47) it occurs in the subject position:

(26-47)   *[Qa-na*   *teqe   qaba]*   *qe*   *qoo.*
           POSS-3SG.PERS one   arm   3SG.NFUT   be.broken
           'One of his arms is broken.' (Lit.: 'Of his one arm is broken.')

Such possessive phrases can also function as the subjects of grammatically negative existential possessive sentences; see section 26.2.1.2.

In (26-48) below, the possessive phrase occurs as the complement of the verb-like purpose preposition *uri*. The preposition carries the object-indexing suffix *-a*, which means that its complement must be a lexical noun phrase (section 10.3.1).

(26-48)   *Suusuqu-a qe*   *ni=i*   *laa   ruuruqu-ku*
           persist-DVN 3SG.NFUT   exist=LOC   IN   chest-1SG.PERS

           uri-a   qa-ku=ta   *biqu   kaba.*
           PURP-3.OBJ POSS-1SG.PERS=some   house   corrugated.iron
           'My mind is set on having a house with a corrugated-iron roof.'
           (Lit.: 'There is persistence in my chest for there to be of mine a corrugated-iron roof house.')

And in (26-49) the construction occurs after the conjunction *bia* 'and'. Since the form of the conjunction is *bia*, the coordinand to its right must be a lexical noun phrase (section 11.2.1.2). The noun phrase encoding the possessum consists of two noun phrases in apposition.

(26-49)   *Si   uqunu   qeri   qe*   *lae   suli-a   teqe*
           PRTT story   this   3SG.NFUT   go   PROL-3.OBJ one

           wane bia   kwai-na   *bia   qa-daroqa*
           man   and   spouse-3SG.PERS   and   POSS-3DU.PERS

> *teqe   wela, wela wane.*
> one   child child man
> 'This story is (lit.: goes) about a man and his wife and a child of theirs, a boy.'

When the possessive structure occurs inside a larger sentence, and only then, the order of the possessive marker and the possessum noun phrase can be reversed, with the possessive marker following the possessum noun phrase. However, this is possible only if the overall possessive noun phrase expresses a subset. The sentences in (26-50a) and (26-50b) below illustrate the alternative orderings of the possessive marker and the possessum noun phrase. The subject markers are singular, even though the subject phrases refer to two people. That is, the two children are treated grammatically as forming a (sub)set rather than being individuated (section 4.9). This could be the case, for example, if the children died at (more or less) the same time.

(26-50) a. *Qa-da   roo   wela e   mae.*
             POSS-3PL.PERS two   child 3SG.NFUT   die
             'Two of their children died.' (They had other children.)

         b. *Roo   wela qa-da   e   mae.*
             two   child POSS-3PL.PERS 3SG.NFUT   die
             'Two of their children died.' (They had other children.)

Similarly, instead of (26-47) further above, where the order inside the possessive noun phrase is [*qa*-PERS NP], the order could be [NP *qa*-PERS]:

(26-51) *Teqe qaba qa-na   qe   qoo.*
         one   arm POSS-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.broken
         'One of his arms is broken.'

26.2.1.2.   *Grammatically negative existential possessive sentences*

There are several ways in which negative counterparts of grammatically positive existential possessive sentences can be formed. The basic one is a negative existential sentence of the type discussed in section 26.1.2.2, with the negative existential verb *aqi* 'not exist', 'not be available' and its third person singular subject marker, occurring before the subject. The subject consists of a possessive noun phrase of the type discussed in the preceding section. In (26-52) the possessive noun phrase is in bold.

(26-52)   *Kulu   thaofa   naqa.   Qe*
           PL(INCL).NFUT be.hungry   PRF   3SG.NFUT

           aqi   naqa **qa-kuluqa**   **ta**   **fanga**
           not.be.available   PRF   POSS-PL(INCL).PERS   some   food

           qi   maqa   fera   fasi   kuka   qani-a.
           LOC   CLF   house   PURP   PL(INCL).SEQ   eat-3SG.OBJ
           'We are hungry now. We have no more food in the house to eat.'
           (Lit.: '.... There is no more of ours food in the house so that we
           might eat it.')

   Just as in positive existential possessive sentences, the possessor may be
encoded not only by means of a personal suffix on the possessive marker, but
also be means of a topic noun phrase, as in (26-53) and (26-54):

(26-53)   *Wela qe   aqi   qa-n=ta   maka.*
           child 3SG.NFUT   not.exist   POSS-3SG.PERS=some father
           'The child has no father.' (Lit.: 'The child, of his there is not a fa-
           ther.') (As a definition of the expression *wela oqori-a* 'child born
           out of wedlock': *wela* 'child'; *oqori* 'physically support a weak or ill
           person'; *-a* third person [singular] object suffix.)

(26-54)   *Tha   weleqi   qe   aqi*
           PERSMKR   guy   3SG.NFUT   not.be.available

           qa-na   ta   malefo, nau bana na   ku
           POSS-3SG.PERS some   money   1SG LIM   FOC   1SG.NFUT

           taqe   fasi-a   qana malefo   naqi.
           ascend   ABL-3SG.OBJ   INS   money   this
           'The guy had no money; it was only me who helped him out with
           the money (to pay compensation).'

(*Taqe fasi-a*, lit. 'ascend from sb.', has the idiomatic meaning 'help out sb. by
stepping in for them, by doing on their behalf what needs to be done'.)
   And just as in grammatically positive existential possessive sentences, the
possessive marker may be omitted if there is a topic noun phrase that encodes
the possessor:

(26-55)   *Nau   qe   aqi   ta   fa   qota.*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   CLF   areca.nut
          'I have no areca nuts.' ('With respect to me, there are no areca nuts
          available.')

And finally, again as in positive existential possessive sentences, there need
not be any expression of a possessor at all, the possessive relation being only
implied. Such sentences have the structure of ordinary negative existential sen-
tences (section 26.1.2.2).

(26-56)   *Qe   aqi   ta   botela.*
          3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   bottle
          'There is no bottle.' The intended meaning here is 'I don't have a
          bottle (to put kerosene in).'

26.2.2.   Verbal possessive sentences with the possessor in the subject posi-
          tion

Another way to form possessive sentences is to use one of three verbs whose
subject encodes the possessor. One of the verbs is *alu*, a Class 1 transitive verb,
which also has a physical-action meaning 'put (st./sb. somewhere)':

(26-57)   *Qo   alu-a   naifa   nau   baa   qi   fei?*
          2SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   knife   1SG   that LOC   where?
          'Where did you put my knife?'

When *alu* serves to express possession, the possessum is encoded as its di-
rect object. In its possessive function *alu* is glossed as 'have' or 'possess', but
here too the possessor – possessum relation need not be one of ownership.

(26-58)   *Qo   alu-a   ta   fa   qota?*
          2SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   some   CLF   areca.nut
          'Do you have any areca nuts?'

(26-59)   *Wane   e   alu-a   gwa   thaathate.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   CLF   beard
          'The man has a beard.'

(26-60)   *Iu,   ngori,   doo   qeri,   lae-la-n=e*
          OK   ngori   thing that   walk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

qaliqali, qe   alu-a   qa-na   fai   qae.
be.fast   3SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   SBEN-3SG.PERS   four   leg
'OK, the *ngori*, that (kind of) thing, it moved fast; it had four legs.'
(Lit.: 'OK, *ngori*, that thing, its walking was fast; it had for itself
four legs.') (*Ngori* is a kind of mythical animal mentioned in tradi-
tional recitations.)

(26-61)   *Kini   e   alu-a   qilu.*
woman   3SG.NFUT   possess-3.OBJ   k.o.magic
'The woman possessess *qilu* magic.' (*Qilu* magic allows its posses-
sor to affect other people's minds, to make them do whatever the
possessor of the magic desires.)

Another verb that can be used to express possession is *too*, an intransitive
verb whose range of senses includes 'live, reside, dwell at a place', 'be, stay,
remain (at a place)', 'remain, be left over', 'be at home', 'be present', 'be
around, be still alive (not having died)', 'be in a certain condition'. It is the
sense 'be, stay, remain (at a place)' that is relevant here. Example (26-62)
shows *too* used with the literal meaning 'stay (at a place)':

(26-62)   *Keka   taqe,   keka   too   naqa   qana   ua   qeri.*
3PL.SEQ ascend   3PL.SEQ stay   PRF   GENP   hill   that
'They went up and (then) stayed on that hill.'

When *too* is used to express possession, the possessum is encoded as a loca-
tion, as the object of the general preposition *qani*: 'possessor is at possessum'.
This type of construction tends to be used to express true ownership.

(26-63)   *Qo   too   qana ta   malefo?*
2SG.NFUT   be.at.place   LOC   some   money
'Do you have any money?' (Lit.: 'Are you with money?')

Compare the synonymous sentence in (26-64) with the verb *alu* 'have' in-
stead:

(26-64)   *Qo   alu-a   ta   malefo?*
2SG.NFUT   have-3.OBJ   some   money
'Do you have any money?'

Possessive sentences with *too* are uncommon compared to sentences with
alu. Here is one more example. The possessive clause functions as a relative
clause.

(26-65) | *Toqa* | *na* | *kere* | *too* | *qana* | *uni* | *qai,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| people | REL | 3PL.NFUT | be.at.place | GENP | collectivity | tree |

manga	*na*	*kere*	*riki-a*	*ngali*	*kera*
time	REL	3PL.NFUT	see-3.OBJ	canarium.nut	3PL

qe	*noro*	*naqa,*	*keka*	*lae,*	*keka*
3SG.NFUT	be.ripe	PRF	3PL.SEQ	go	3PL.SEQ

rofe-a	*mai*	*nail=i*	*sa-na*
look.for-3.OBJ	VENT	climbing.rope=LOC	ADJC-3.PERS

tai	*wane*	*ki*	*na*	*kere*	*thaitoqoma-na*
some.PL	person	PL	REL	3PL.NFUT	know-3.OBJ

thau-ngaqi-la-na	*naili, ...*
make-TR-NMLZ-3.PERS	climbing.rope

'People who have/own canarium nuts to harvest, when they see that their canarium nuts are ripe, they go and look for *naili* climbing ropes from (lit.: at) the men who know how to make climbing ropes, ...'

(*Uni qai*, literally 'collectivity of trees' has the meaning 'the canarium nuts of one harvest'.)

Possession can also be expressed by means of the intransitive verb *raqu*, whose basic senses are 'hold on', 'hold onto', 'hold, grab'. The possessum is expressed as an oblique object with the confective preposition *faafia*. This construction expresses true possession, ownership. Example (26-66) shows *raqu* with the meaning 'hold', and example (26-67) shows it with the meaning 'have, possess':

(26-66) | *Raqu* | *qana* | *qoko* | *qena.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| hold | GENP | rope | that(2) |

'Hold the rope.'

(26-67) | *... mili* | *raqu* | *faafi-a* | *fulinga-na* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL(EXCL).NFUT | possess | CONF-3.OBJ | amount-3.PERS |

ta	*tri*	*handred*	*dolas*	*toqo.*
some	three	hundred	dollar	perhaps

'… we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.'

Chapter 27
Verbless sentences

27.1.   Major and minor verbless sentence types

Two basic types of verbless sentences can be distinguished in Toqabaqita. For convenience, these are referred to as "major" and "minor", respectively. As the two terms are used here, the major verbless sentence types are those that have a predicate that consists of a complete phrase other than a verb phrase, while the minor sentence types are those that either have only a particle in the predicate, or the subject-predicate distinction does not apply at all.

27.2.   Major verbless sentence types

27.2.1. Introduction

With some exceptions, the Toqabaqita major verbless sentence types (minimally) consist of a subject and a verbless predicate. Verbless sentences without a subject are possible too. A predicate may consist of a noun phrase (which is the most common case), a prepositional phrase, an adverb phrase that contains a presentative locative demonstrative adverb, or a reiterative demonstrative pronominal phrase. Following Hengeveld (1992), Stassen (1997), and Pustet (2003), two basic types of major verbless sentences are distinguished here, partly on the basis of their forms and partly on the basis of their functions: identificational and ascriptive. Identificational sentences are of two subtypes: equational and presentational (Stassen 1997). Following Stassen (1997), definitions are included among (equational) identificational sentences.

Grammatically positive verbless sentences are discussed first; negative counterparts of positive verbless sentences are discussed in section 27.2.5.

27.2.2.   Grammatically positive identificational sentences

27.2.2.1.   Equational identificational sentences

With the exception of definitions, in equational sentences both the subject and the predicate are referential and "the assertion is that [the] two expressions refer to one and the same object" (Stassen 1997: 101). The predicate is a noun phrase. In (27-1) and (27-2) the subjects and the predicates are in square brackets.

(27-1)   *[Nau]   [tha   Reuel   Riianoa].*
           1SG   PERSMKR   Reuel   Riianoa
           'I am Reuel Riianoa.'

(27-2)   *[Oqola loo]   [oqola   toqa   fuu].*
           garden upward garden   people   downward
           'The garden up there is the garden of the people down there.'

In (27-3) there is, in addition to the subject and the predicate, a topicalized noun phrase, co-referential with the other two:

(27-3)   *Akalo   i   Rokasi, nia   tha   Feotoqoniwane.*
           ancestral.spirit   LOC Rokasi 3SG PERSMKR   Feotoqoniwane
            'The ancestral spirit at/of Rokasi [a place], he is Feotoqoniwane [name of the spirit].'

Not uncommonly, what would otherwise be the predicate noun phrase is placed in the focus position (section 39.1):

(27-4)   *Maka   kamiliqa   na   tha   Unagere.*
           father   1PL(EXCL) FOC   PERSMKR   Unagere
           'Unagere is our father [here: founding ancestor].' 'Our father, that's what Unagere is.' ('It is our father that Unagere is.')

(27-5)   *Marukita-ku   na   Goot.*
           sustenance-1SG.PERS   FOC   God
           'God is my sustenance.' ('It is my sustenance that God is.')

Definitions are included among equational sentences: the subject and the predicate designate the same type of entity.

(27-6)   *Doketa   wane   ni   kwai-faqa-maruki.*
               doctor   person   LIG   LIP-CAUS-be.alive
               'A doctor is a person who saves lives.' 'A doctor is a person who
               makes (people) live.' (Lit.: 'A doctor (is) a person of causing to be
               alive.')

In (27-7) the head noun in the predicate is modified by the (reduplicated) verb *too* 'stay':

(27-7)   *Maruki-a   tathaa   maruki-a   too-too,   si*
               be.alive-DVN   move.on   be.alive-DVN   RDP-stay   3SG.NEG

               sui.
               end
               'Eternal life is life that goes on without (ever) ending.' (Lit.: 'Eter-
               nal life is a staying life; it does not end.') (As an explanation of
               what *marukia tathaa* means.)

27.2.2.2. *Presentational identificational sentences*

Presentational identificational sentences serve "to make the identity of a refer-ent known to the hearer. ... [they] provide an object, or a class of objects, with a 'name', which may from now on be used by the hearer in referring to it." (Stas-sen 1997: 2001).

There are two subtypes of presentational identificational sentences in Toqa-baqita. Both are also discussed and illustrated in the chapter on demonstratives and demonstrative adverbs (chapter 13), and here they are mentioned only briefly. In one subtype the predicate is an adverb phrase that consists of a pre-sentative locative demonstrative adverb (section 13.6.2). This type of construc-tion is used when the entity in question is visible and can be pointed at or pointed out.

(27-8)   *Bii   qoe   neqe.*
               stone.oven.food   2SG   here
               'Here/This is your share of food (cooked in a stone oven.)'

(27-9)   *Bore-qe   botho   nena!*
               excrement-ASSOC   pig   there(2)
               '(Watch out), that's pig shit (where you are)!' (Lit.: 'Pig excrement
               there, by you.')

In the other subtype of presentational identificational sentences the predicate phrase consists of a reiterative demonstrative pronominal (section 13.8). This type of construction is used to re-identify, relatively emphatically, a participant.

(27-10)   *Biqu   nau   fu=nia.*
           house   1SG   that.down=3SG
           'That's my house, the one down there.'

(27-11)   *Teqe wane lakoo   nia.*
           one   man   that(3)   3SG
           'That's a man over there, that one.'

27.2.3. Grammatically positive ascriptive sentences

Ascriptive sentences, unlike identificational sentences, do not express identity of reference of two phrases. Rather, the predicate characterizes the referent or the type of referent of the subject in some way. Most often, the predicate is a noun phrase, but it may be a prepositional phrase. The subject noun phrase may be referential (which is the usual case) or generic. The referent or the type of referent of the subject may be characterized in a variety of ways, some of which are exemplified below. (The distinctions between some of the categories are not always clear-cut.) In the first two examples the subject and the predicate noun phrases are in square brackets.

Class membership, including provenance, ethnic-group membership, nationality:

(27-12)   *[Wane   naqi] [wane   ni   toqo   doo].*
           man   this   man   LIG   teach   thing
           'This man is a teacher.' (Lit.: 'This man (is) a man of teaching things.')

(27-13)   *[Nia]   [wane   i   Raenauta].*
           3SG   man   LOC   Raenauta
           'He was a man of/from Raenauta [a place].'

(27-14)   *Kamiliqa   Japan.*
           1PL(EXCL)   Japan(ese)
           [The speaker is relating an incident: A local man asked the crew of a ship: "What people are you?", and they answered:] 'We are Japanese.'

Personal characteristic, trait; name:

(27-15)   *Qoe kuri-maqu   ni   bana.*
2SG   dog-be.afraid   LIG   LIM
'You are just a coward.' (Lit.: 'You [are] a frightened dog.')

In (27-16) the ascriptive sentence is an open question:

(27-16)   *Thata-mu   ni   tei?*
name-2SG.PERS   PERSMKR   who?
'What is your name?' (Lit.: 'Your name [is] who?')

Life stage:

(27-17)   *Wela qeri kali   wela faqekwa ni   bana.*
child that   little.SG child be.little LIG   LIM
'He was just a very little child.' (Lit.: 'The child [was] just a very little child.')

Kinship relation:

(27-18)   *Kamareqa tha   Reni teqe futa-a   boqo.*
1DU(EXCL) PERSMKR   Reni one   be.born-DVN   ASRT
'I and Reni are one and the same family line.'

Function:

(27-19)   *Sadee   fa   bongi   ni   mamalo-a.*
Sunday   CLF   day   LIG   rest-DVN
'Sunday is a day of rest.

Size:

(27-20)   *Tekwa-la-na   si   qai   qeri lima*
be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS   PRTT wood   this   five

malafunu.
finger.span
'The length of this stick is five finger spans (from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger or another finger, with the fingers fully spread).'

Time. In (27-21) and (27-22) the predicates consist of prepositional phrases:

(27-21)   *Lumaqaa   naqi qana   madami loo.*
         wedding   this GENP   month   upward
         'The (lit.: this) wedding (will be) next month.'

(27-22)   *Lae-laa   baa   i   angita?*
         go-NMLZ   that LOC   when?
         'When is the time to go?' (Lit.: 'The going [discussed earlier] [is]
         when?')

In the next three examples the subject noun phrases are generic. In (27-23)
the predicate characterizes the type of referent of the subject in terms of its
function:

(27-23)   *Qulu   bala   doo   uri-a*
         fern.sp   white.colour   thing PURP-3.OBJ

         goo-la-na   maa-na   imole.
         perform.k.o.eye.cure-NMLZ-3.PERS   eye-3.PERS person
         'The (leaflets of the) *qulu bala* fern are a thing for performing the
         goo cure for people's eyes.' (Vapours from heated leaves or leaflets
         of certain plants are used to treat conjunctivitis.)

The sentences in (27-24) and (27-25) are traditional sayings. The predicates
express, metaphorically, (perceived) qualities, characteristics.

(27-24)   *Wane   nga   gweleqai.*
         man   IDENT   dancing.stick
         'A man is (like) a dancing stick.' (A man may be old, but all he
         needs is a little cleaning, "polishing" [for example, new clothes] to
         look good again.)

Women, on the other hand, do not fare as well in the saying about them:

(27-25)   *Kini   nga   ngoongotha-na   otoota.*
         woman   IDENT   new.leaf-3.PERS   plant.sp.
         'A woman is (like) a new leaf of an *otoota* plant.' (Intended mean-
         ing: A woman looks good, fresh only when young.)

A predicate noun phrase may contain a relative clause whose subject marker agrees with the subject of the ascriptive sentence. (See section 30.6 for discussion and more examples.)

(27-26)   *Qoe   wane   qo   uusulifaqa.*
          2SG   man   2SG.NFUT   be.jinxed
          'You are a bad-luck man.' 'You are a man who brings bad luck to others.' (Lit.: 'You (are) a man (who) you are jinxed.')

The predicate phrase of an ascriptive sentence can be fronted in focusing; see (27-27) and (27-28):

(27-27)   *Sikwa   fa   fale-qae-a   boqo na   tekwa-la-na*
          nine   CLF   give-leg-DVN   ASRT FOC   be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS

          biqu   naqi.
          house   this
          'Nine paces, that's what the length of this house is.'

Compare a similar example without focusing of the predicate in (27-20) further above.

In (27-28) the predicate noun phrase is focused in an open interrogative.

(27-28)   *Fita   fa   seleni   na   redio naqi?*
          how.much?   CLF   money   FOC   radio this
          'How much money is this radio?'

27.2.4. Absence of subjects in the major verbless sentence types

It is possible for a verbless sentences not to have a subject; only the predicate is present. This is true both of the identificational and of the ascriptive sentence types. However, subjects cannot be absent when the predicate consists of a presentative locative demonstrative adverb or of a reiterative demonstrative pronominal.

In most cases the subject is absent when the referent is recoverable from context, linguistic or extra-linguistic. Identificational sentences are frequently subjectless because the intended referent is obvious from the extra-linguistic context (and usually can even be pointed at). In the situation expressed in (27-29), person A, on seeing a bird, uses a subjectless verbless question and person B responds with a subjectless verbless answer. In both sentences the predicates contain the situational demonstrative adverb *neri*.

(27-29)   A: *Thaqaro   taa   neri?*
               bird   what?   NPAST.HERE

          B: *Fa   sobe   neri.*
               CLF   bird.sp   NPAST.HERE
          A: 'What's the bird?'
          B: 'A *sobe*.'

Subjectless verbless clauses can function as constituents of sentences. This is the case in the examples in (27-30) – (27-33), where the subjectless verbless clauses are ascriptive.

In (27-30) the subjectless verbless clause forms the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The referents of the ellipted subject are the pictures (the things that had been painted) mentioned in the first clause:

(27-30)   *Nau   kwa   riki-a   ba-kuqa   doo   kera*
           1SG   1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   LIM-1SG.PERS   thing 3PL.NFUT

           *keda-a,   mada   sa   ka   qisu,   **wane***
           paint-3SG.OBJ   or   IRR   3SG.SEQ   move   person

           ni   bo=naqa.
           LIG   ASRT=INTS
           '(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.' (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

In (27-31) the referent of the ellipted subject noun phrase is the content of the direct speech in the preceding sentence, what the man said:

(27-31)   *Wane   ni   thau   wane   qeri   ka   quna   qeri,*
           man   LIG   kill   person that   3SG.SEQ   manner   this

           "Qoo,   koqo   nau,   qoko
           oh   friend   1SG   2SG.SEQ   *lae   mai*
                                               go   VENT

           buria-ku,   nau   kwai   tole   qoe,   qoko
           behind-1SG.PERS   1SG   1SG.FUT   lead   2SG   2SG.SEQ

lae	*buria-na*	*thaina-mu*	*bia*	*maka*	*qoe."*
go	behind-3.PERS	mother-2SG.PERS	and	father	2SG

Wela	*qeri*	*ka*	*sore-qe*	***doo***	***mamana***.
child	that	3SG.SEQ	think-DETR	thing	be.true

'The man, a killer of people (lit.: the man of killing people), said, "Oh, my friend, follow me, (and) I'll lead you to (lit.: behind) your mother and father." The child thought that was true (Lit.: '… The child thought [it was] a true thing.')

Doo mamana 'true thing' is not the direct object of *sore-qe* 'think', because the verb occurs in its detransitivized form and takes paratactic complement clauses (sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8).

   The sentence in (27-32) contains a subjectless verbless relative clause:

(27-32)   … *mika*   *lio,* *mika*   *riki-a*   *iqa*
              1PL(EXCL).SEQ look 1PL(EXCL).SEQ see-3.OBJ   fish

          qe=ki   *na*   ***thaama-na***   ***baqekwa***   ***ki***….
          that=PL   REL   father-3.PERS   shark   PL
          '… we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks ….'

   For more examples of subjectless verbal clauses see (27-36) and (27-37) in section 27.2.5.

   There is one type of verbless sentence that is always subjectless. This is a type of positive possessive sentence that consists of a noun phrase that contains the possessive marker *qa-* with a personal suffix that encodes the possessor and a noun phrase that encodes the possessum:

(27-33)   *Qa-muqa*   *ta*   *ama?*
          POSS-2SG.PERS   some   hammer
          'Do you have a hammer?' (Lit.: '(Is there) of yours a hammer?')

   See section 26.2.1.1 for detail.

27.2.5. Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences

Negative counterparts of grammatically positive verbless sentences employ the negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case' (sections 17.3). The verb always has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. Only lexical subjects occur in this type of construction. In addition to the subject, there may be a

topic phrase. The basic structure of this type of construction is shown in (27-34):

(27-34)   (topic)   [subject *qe*   *aqi* …]
                             3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case

The topic phrase corresponds to the subject of a grammatically positive verbless sentence, and the subject phrase to the predicate. For example:

(27-35)   *[Raa   araqi   loo],   [raa   ta   wane*
          work   mature.man   upward   work   some   person

          qe   aqi   neri], ...
          3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   NPAST.HERE
          'God's work is not a person's work, ….' (Lit.: 'The work of the mature man up there, the work of a person is not the case, ….')

In (27-36) the topic of the clause with the negative verb *aqi* is present (*nga doo neqe* 'this thing'), but that noun phrase is absent from the subject position of the following verbless clause (*nga doo qeeqeta neqe* 'a different thing').

(27-36)   *Qee, nga   doo neqe, nga   imole   qe*
          hey! IDENT   thing this IDENT   human.being 3SG.NFUT

          aqi   neqe,   nga   doo qeeqeta   neqe.
          not.be.the.case   VIVID   IDENT   thing be.different   VIVID
          'Hey, this thing is not a human being; it is something else (lit.: a different thing).'

In (27-37) the topic of the clause with the negative verb *aqi* is expressed in the preceding clause (*teqe kini* 'a woman'), not in the topic position associated with the *aqi* clause. The clause after the *aqi* clause is grammatically positive and subjectless; the subject, if present, would refer to the woman.

(27-37)   *Wane   qe   riki-a   teqe kini,   sui   kini*
          man   3SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   one   woman   but   woman

          mamana   qe   aqi,   nafa   ni   bana.
          be.real   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   apparition   LIG   LIM
          'The man saw a woman, but (she was) not a real woman, (she was) just an apparition.'

The subject of an *aqi* clause can be extraposed to the right. This is the case in (27-38), where the phrase *toqa qi Toqabaqita* 'people at Toqabaqita' has been extraposed. The first person plural exclusive pronoun *kamiliqa* is in the topic position, and is in apposition to the preceding noun phrase *nau ma fulingana maka nau ki* 'I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers'. The negative verb is accompanied by the additive postverbal particle *laqu*.

(27-38) *Nau   ma   fulingana   maka   nau   ki,   kamiliqa*
        1SG   and   FILLER   father   1SG   PL   1PL(EXCL)

        qe   aqi   laqu toqa   qi   Toqabaqita.
        3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case   ADD people LOC Toqabaqita
        'I and, um, my [classificatory] fathers, we too are not Toqabaqita people.' (Lit.: '… we it is also not the case [are] people at Toqabaqita.')

Basically the same strategy is also used to express negation in the focus position, except that there is no topic constituent there; see section 39.2, examples (39-25) and (39-26).

And a similar strategy is used to negate verbless fragments of clauses from which the verb complex (the verb and the associated particles) has been omitted. The clause fragment functions as a topic; there is no subject phrase with the negative verb.

(27-39) *Qi   laa   kisin   qe=aqi.*
        LOC IN   kitchen 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
        'Not in the kitchen.' Here: 'It is not in the kitchen.' (Speaking to a person who was going to look for something, thinking it might be in the kitchen.)

(27-40) *Roo si   doo qe=aqi!*
        two   PRTT thing 3SG.NFUT=not.be.the.case
        'Not two of them!' (Lit.: 'Two things, it is not the case.') Here: 'Do not take two of them!' (Admonishing a person who was about to take two pieces of something rather than just one.)

27.3.   Minor verbless sentence types

Here two subtypes can be distinguished: in one there is a subject and a reduced predicate. In the other subtype, the subject-predicate distinction does not apply.

27.3.1. Verbless sentences with reduced predicates

Reduced predicates consist of one or more particles that elsewhere occur as part of the verb complex. Note that these are not cases of ellipsis due to preceding linguistic context. Such sentences can be uttered without prior linguistic context that would permit ellipsis. Such sentences must also be distinguished from constructions with pseudo-verbs, that is, with nonverbal elements or constructions that are treated as if they were verbs (section 4.7). Such pseudo-verbs take subject markers, the way verbs do. On the other hand, in the constructions with reduced predicates there is no element that plays the role of a verb and there is no subject marker. It is especially the directional particles that are used in this manner:

(27-41)   *Kulu*   *kau.*
           PL(INCL)   AND
           'Let's be off.'

(20-42)   *Kamuluqa mai! Mulu   lau-a   firu-a*
           2PL   VENT 2PL.NFUT   stop.fight-3.OBJ   fight-DVN

           naqi!
           this
           'You, (come) here! Stop the fight!'

As discussed in section 5.2.14.7, the ventive particle *mai* can also be used as a marker of distance from the deictic centre. This is the way it functions in the verbless sentence in (27-43):

(27-43)   *Thaama-ka*   *qae!, teqe kui   mai*
           father-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC one   dog   VENT

           nena,   ada   ka   qale kulu.
           there(2) TIM   3SG.SEQ bite   PL(INCL)
           'Oy!, there is a dog over there; it might bite us.'

(For the use of *thaama-ka*, lit.: 'our father', as an exlamation of surprise, shock, reproach, or indignation see section 8.1.2, where the example above appears as [8-25].)

There is a commonly used formula to signal the end of an account of something, or to express the fact that that is the way things are (as discussed previously). The subject is the third person singular pronoun *nia*, and the predicate consists of the assertive particle *boqo* and the perfect marker *naqa*, which fuse together as *bo=naqa*. The formula ends with the situational demonstrative *neri*.

(27-44)   *Nia   bo=naqa   neri.*
           3SG   ASRT=PRF   NPAST.HERE
           'That's all (I have to say).' 'That's it.' 'That's the way it is.'

27.3.2. Verbless utterances without a subject-predicate structure

Included here are address forms, interjections, greeting and leave-taking formulae, and several pro-sentence forms used in response or as a rejoinder to what has just been said. All of these may, but need not, form an utterance by themselves. For convenience, their use together with clauses is discussed as well, towards the end of the section.

Address forms may, but need not, be followed by the vocative particle *qae* (section 6.16).

(27-45)   *Kale   qena.*
           mate that(2)
           Commonly used as a general term of address, or when calling someone to get their attention, regardless of sex and age of the addressee. It is used even between spouses.

(27-46)   *Thaina-ka   qae.*
           mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC
           'Mother.' Addressing or calling one's (classificatory) mother.

Although *-ka* is an archaic plural inclusive personal suffix, used only by women in earlier times (section 8.1.2), *thaina-ka* is used nowadays regardless of the sex of the speaker, and it is the only form of address to one's (classificatory) mother. (See also [8-24] in section 8.1.2 and the paragraph before it.)

Proper names can function both as terms of reference and as terms of address:

(27-47)   *Fio   qae!*
           Fio   VOC
           'Fio!' (Calling a person. *Fio* is a shortened version of *Fiona*.)

Below are given examples of a few interjections:

(27-48)   *Roo-wane!*
           two-man/person
           Exclamation of amazement (at something good or bad) or exhorta-
           tion. Although etymologically *roo-wane* is 'two men' or 'two peo-
           ple', it is used regardless of the number of addressees, including sin-
           gular addressees.

(27-49)   *Iiqee!*
           Expression   of   admiration,   pleasant   or   unpleasant   sur-
           prise/astonishment, pity, wistfulness, feeling sorry. 'Alas!' (*Ii* is ut-
           tered on relatively high pitch and is normally extra-long; *qee* is ut-
           tered on a higher pitch yet and is usually lengthened.)

(27-50)   *Toko!*
           shit
           'Shit!' (Expletive of anger.)

Examples (27-51) – (27-53) contain some of the verbless greeting and leave-
taking formulae:

(27-51)   *Quuqusungadia   (leqa).*
           morning   be.good
           '(Good) morning.' (A greeting.)

(27-52)   *Laa   thato   (leqa).*
           IN   sun/daytime   be.good
           'Good day.' (A greeting used around the middle of the day.)

(27-53)   *Rodo leqa.*
           night be.good
           A leave-taking formula, used especially to mean 'Good night.', but
           it can be used in leave-taking at any time of the day: 'Good bye.'

Pro-sentence forms used in response or as a rejoinder to what has just been
said include *iu*, *aqaa*, *mania*, and *uaqa*. They are used as agree-type responses
to polar questions (section 19.4.1).

(27-54)   A: *Qo   lae   naqa?*
        2SG.NFUT   go   PRF

        B: *Aqaa.*
          yes
        A: 'Are you going now?
        B: 'Yes.'

They can also be used before a clause to express acknowledgement of what someone else is saying: 'yes', 'hmm', 'aha', 'OK', 'right':

(27-55)   A: *Kamareqa meki   baqo-a   alinga-mu.*
        1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).FUT   pierce-3.OBJ   ear-2SG.PERS

        B: *Iu,   qe   leqa.*
          OK   3SG.NFUT   be.good
        A: 'We will pierce your ears.'
        B: 'OK, that's good.'

And they can also provide a loose link between the clause or sentence they introduce and the preceding discourse: 'OK', 'right', 'all right'. This kind of linking function may also be performed by the form *neri*, which elsewhere functions as a situational demonstrative adverb 'nonpast here' (section 13.7). The first example below contains the pro-sentence form *mania*, and the second one *neri*.

(27-56)   *Mada   sa   moka   faqa-ulafu   kamiliqa,   qoo,*
        or   IRR   2DU.SEQ   CAUS-work.hard   1PL(EXLC)   oh,

        ma   ni   kamaroqa moki   mae bo=naqa.
        and   PROFORE   2DU   2DU.FUT die   ASRT=INTS

        Mania, *manga na   ku   arasi-a   soldia*
        right   time   REL   1SG.NFUT   send.sb.-3.OBJ policeman

        nau ki bii nau, mika   sifo   kau, kamaroqa
        1SG   PL COM 1SG   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   descend AND   2DU

        moka   lae   bo=ma-maroqa,   maqasi kamiliqa.
        2DU.SEQ   go   ASRT=VENT-2DU.PERS   wait.for 1PL(EXCL)
        'If you had made us work hard [when we were going to arrest you], oh, you would be about to die now. Right, (but) when I went with

my policemen (lit.: when I sent my policemen with me), we went down [to your area to look for you], (but) you just came, waiting for us.'

(27-57) *Qai-laa*   *n=e*   *qai*   *qani-a*
shout-NMLZ   REL=3SG.NFUT   shout   INS-3SG.OBJ

e   *quna*   *qeri, "...."*.   **Neri**,   *manga*
3SG.NFUT   manner   this   all.right   time

b=e   *qai*   *quna*   *baa*   *ka*   *sifo,*
that=3SG.NFUT   shout   manner   that   3SG.SEQ descend

qe   *sifo,*   *manga*   *n=e*   *sifo*
3SG.NFUT   descend   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   descend

suli-a   *qai*   *baa*   *ka*   *aqi*   *si*
PROL-3.OBJ   tree   that   3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

thaitoqoma-na   *na*   *teqe* *si*   *kuukusu*   *e*
know-3.OBJ   COMP   one   DIM   small.stick   3SG.NFUT

toqo   *faafi-a*   *kida* *baa.*
prick   CONF-3.OBJ   scar   that
'This is what he shouted, (lit.: the shouting that he shouted with was thus), ["Hey, anybody, wherever you may live in this section of the district, it's me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed! Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen to this: The sore is no more!"] All right, he shouted that at that time, (then) he went down [a tree], he went down, (but) as he was going down the tree, he did not know/notice that a small stick had pricked the scar [where a yaws sore had been].'

There are two pro-sentence elements that express uncertainty, lack of (certain) knowledge: *botaena* and *botaqana* 'perhaps', 'possibly'; 'don't know'. They are free variants of each other.

(27-58) A: *Kamuluqa* *sui*   *boqo,*   *muki*   *kafara*   *qi*
         2PL   EXHST   ASRT   2PL.FUT   make.copra   LOC

       qusungadi?
       tomorrow

    B: *Botaena.*
      possibly
    A: 'You all, will you make copra tomorrow?'
    B: 'Possibly.'

For more examples see section 18.5.4.

The various types of expressions that can form minor verbless sentences can combine with each other or with clauses. A few examples are given below.

(27-59)   *Ee, araqi   loo!*
          oh!   mature.man   upward
          'Oh, God! (For example, as an exclamation of fright, worry, panic.)

(27-60)   *Iiqee, maka   qae!*
          alas!   father   VOC
          'Alas!, Father! (For example, expressing astonishment; see [27-49] further above.)

(27-61)   *Rodo leqa,   wane   nau.*
          night be.good man   1SG
          'Good night/Good bye, my man.'

(27-62)   *Qoo, weleqi qae, fa   raranga neri.*
          hey! man!   VOC CLF fat   NPAST.HERE
          'Hey, man! (It's) a ball of fat.' (Responding to another possum hunter's question: "What's the baby one [a possum] like?".)

(27-63)   *Nee, koqo,   qe   qufita?*
          hey! friend   3SG.NFUT be.how
          'Hey, friend, how is it (going)?' 'Hey, friend, how are things?'

The interjections and the address forms tend to occur initially in clauses, but they can be postposed instead. In (27-64) there are three interjections, one before the verbal clause and two after it.

(27-64)   *Maa-gwari,   kuburu e   baqita qasia   naqa,*
          eye-be.cold   storm   3SG.NFUT be.big   INTS   INTS

      nee,   roo-wane!
      hey   two-man/person
      'Hey, the storm is really heavy (lit.: big), man!'

Maa-gwari, lit.: 'cold eye', serves as an interjection of surprise, amazement.

Chapter 28
Coordination of clauses

28.1.   Introduction

Coordination of clauses can be syndetic or asyndetic. Three sets of coordinating conjunctions can be distinguished in Toqabaqita on the basis of their functions: conjunctive *ma*, *bii*, and *bia*, with some functional extensions in the case of *ma*; disjunctive *mada*; and *sui*, *sui mena* and *sui taa*, whose core functions are to express contrast and unexpectedness.

When clauses are coordinated in any way, there is often a rise in intonation at the end of each non-final clause and there may be a slight pause before the next clause, and there is a fall in intonation at the end of the final clause, unless that clause is a polar question, in which case there is a rise in intonation at the end (section 19.2.1). Rise in intonation and pauses between clauses are indicated by commas.

Prosodically, the coordinators belong to the material to their right. The conjunctions occur clause and sentence initially, except that they may be preceded by an interjection or by an element that functions as a loose linker between that sentence and the preceding discourse ('OK, 'right, 'all right'; see examples (28-21) and (28-22) in section 28.2.2.

Syndetic coordination is discussed first; asyndetic coordination is discussed in section 28.5

Besides clausal coordination, linking of sentences is also discussed in this chapter.

28.2.   Conjunctive coordination

28.2.1. The coordinators

There are three forms used in conjunctive coordination of clauses: *ma*, *bii*, and *bia* 'and'. All three can conjoin noun phrases (section 11.2) and *ma* can also conjoin prepositional phrases (section 11.3). In clausal coordination, *ma* is the conjunction that is normally used, and most of the discussion deals with it. *Bii* and *bia* are used only rarely in clausal coordination.

28.2.2. *Ma*

The central function of *ma* is to express additiveness: the proposition expressed in the second clause holds in addition to, as well as, the one expressed in the first clause. However, not infrequently the relations between the propositions expressed in clauses conjoined with *ma* extend beyond simple additiveness. *Ma* can also be used jointly, pleonastically, with the contrast/unexpectedness conjunctions *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa*. And it can also be used pleonastically in subordination. Initially, the use of *ma* in connecting clauses is discussed, and subsequently its use in connecting sentences.

In some cases all that is expressed is simple additiveness, the fact that both propositions hold. In (28-1) both clauses are positive, and in (28-2) both are negative:

(28-1) *Ta   fai   noniqi   wane   keka   lae   uri-a*
some four CLF   man 3PL.SEQ go   PURP-3.OBJ

raraqe-laa,   ma   ta   fai   noniqi   wane
hunt.possum-NMLZ and   some four CLF   man

keka   lae   uri-a   nao-laa   qi   laa   kafo.
3PL.SEQ go   PURP-3.OBJ   bail-NMLZ LOC IN   stream
'Four of the [eight] men were going to go possum-hunting, and (the other) four men were going to go and bail water out of (lit.: in) the stream.'

(28-2) *Qe=aqi   kosi   sore-qe*
3SG.NFUT=NEGV   DU(INCL).NEG say-DETR

fanga-la-na   wane,   gwauliqi   wane,   ma
eat-NMLZ-3.PERS man   married.person man   and

kosi   sore-qe   fanga-la-na   gwauliqi
DU(INCL).NEG say-DETR   eat-NMLZ-3.PERS married.person

ai.
woman
[When offering food to others, polite language has to be used. This is what you or I do not do when we want to offer food to a married man or a married woman.] 'We don't say (this is) for the man, the married man, to eat, and we don't say (this is) for the married woman to eat.' (Lit.: 'We don't say the man's, the married man's,

eating, and we don't say the married woman's eating.') (That is, we don't say to a married man or to a married woman, "This is for you to eat.".)

The states of affairs expressed in clauses conjoined by *ma* may be (more or less) simultaneous or they may be sequential; see (28-3) and (28-4), respectively:

(28-3)   *Nau   ku   ngata   mena   bii   nia,   kwa   lio*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak   CONC   COM   3SG   1SG.SEQ   look

         qeeqeta   laqu   ba-kuqa,   ma   kwa   naqo
         be.different   ADD   LIM-1SG.PERS   and   1SG.SEQ   face

         qeeqeta   laqu   ba-kuqa.
         be.different   ADD   LIM-1SG.PERS
         'Even though I am speaking to her [the wife of another man], I am both looking in a different direction [not at her] and facing in a different direction [not facing her].'

(28-4)   *Kera   kotho   boqo qi   maa,   ma   botho*
         3PL.NFUT   go.through   ASRT LOC   outside   and   pig

         baa   ka   kotho ....
         that   3SG.SEQ   go.through
         'They went outside [out of a house], and (then) the pig went [outside] ....'

However, *ma* is also used commonly when there is not just simple additiveness between propositions. It is used when one state of affairs directly continues on from an earlier one, as its consequence or result, or when the first state of affairs is an enabling condition for the other one. This is not to say that *ma* explicitly marks such relations between states of affairs; rather, it is compatible with such relations and permits such interpretations. In the situation described in (28-5), the woman was alone as a result of the other people fleeing.

(28-5)   *Fanu   neqe,   toqa   na   kera   too-too   i*
         place   this   people   REL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-reside   LOC

         ei,   kera   thaka,   keka   nii   naq=i
         LOCPRO   3PL.NFUT   flee   3PL.SEQ   be.located   PRF=LOC

> *qamali, qi   laa   aququa loo   i   asi,   **ma***
> sea   LOC   IN   island upward LOC   sea   and
>
> *ni   nau   bana na   ku   too   qi*
> PROFORE   1SG   LIM   FOC 1SG.NFUT remain LOC
>
> *naqo-maroqa.*
> before-2DU.PERS
> 'This place, the people who used to live here, they fled and now are
> at sea, on the island out (lit.: up) there in the sea, and it was just me
> who remained (here) before you two (were born).' (The people who
> fled refused to take the woman along.)

And in the situation described in (28-6) it is the children's having grown big
that gives them the ability to fight.

(28-6)   *Roo wela baa ki   keka   baqita   bo=naqa,   ma*
          two   child that PL   3PL.SEQ be.big   ASRT=INTS and

          keka   talaqa-na naqa keka   firu.
          3PL.SEQ   fit-3.OBJ   PRF   3PL.SEQ fight
          'The two children had grown very big, and they were now able to
          fight.'

Ma can also join clauses when the relation between the propositions ex-
pressed is not just one of additiveness but also of contrast or unexpectedness.
Again, this is a matter of its compatibility with such relations between proposi-
tions rather than of explicit marking of such relations. As discussed in section
28.3, contrast and unexpectedness can be explicitly signalled by means of *sui*,
sui mena, and *sui taa*, and although *ma* and especially *sui* are interchangeable
in some contexts, there are, nevertheless, some differences between them. It is,
however, possible for *ma* to be used jointly with *sui* or another con-
trast/unexpectedness coordinator; see examples (28-32) – (28-34) in section
28.3. When the clause expressing a contrasting or an unexpected state of affairs
is grammatically negative, *ma* is particularly common.

There are two basic types of situation where *ma* is used to express contrast
or unexpectedness. In one, given a certain state of affairs, one would or might
expect that another state of affairs will (or will not) eventuate, but that turns out
not to be the case. Thus, in (28-7) the speaker issued a request, which, however,
was not obeyed:

(28-7)   *Nau   ku   faqa-rongo-a   wela kai*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   child 3SG.FUT

          soqoni-a   era, ma   ka   aqi   si
          light.fire-3.OBJ fire and 3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

          ade   suli-a.
          act   PROL-3SG.OBJ
          'I told the child to light a fire, and/but he didn't do it (lit.: he did not
          act along it).'

   In the situation described in (28-8), given the weather conditions, one would
expect rain to come, but it did not:

(28-8)   *Riki-la-na   quri-a   dani sa*
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ rain IRR

          kai   qaru, ma   ka   aqi.
          3SG.FUT   fall   and 3SG.SEQ   not.be.so
          'It looked like it was going to rain, but it didn't.'

   Ma is commonly used when the clause expressing the contrastive or unex-
pected state of affairs is grammatically negative, but as the next example
shows, the clause introduced by *ma* may be grammatically positive. It is the
second instance of *ma* that is relevant. The expectation was that the rock would
be heavy, but it turned out to be light.

(28-9)   *Nau, manga ku   riki-a   fau   naqi, kwa*
          1SG   time   1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ   rock this 1SG.SEQ

          sore-qe   doo   e   kuluqa,   ma   ni
          think-DETR thing 3SG.NFUT be.heavy   and PROFORE

          nau kwa   ili   uri-a   kwai   kwau-a,
          1SG   1SG.SEQ do   PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT lift-3SG.OBJ

          ***ma*   ka   thaathala   qasia   boqo.*
          and   3SG.SEQ   be.lightweight INTS   INTS
          'I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it
          (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.'

In (28-10) too the second clause is grammatically positive, although it contains a semantically negative verb: 'not like, dislike':

(28-10) *Qe*   *leqa*   *ba-na*   *uri-a*   *visit-laa,*
         3SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ   visit-NMLZ

         ma   *too-laa*   *molo*   *ku*   *lalakwa.*
         and   reside-NMLZ   AFFTOP   1SG.NFUT   not.like
         'It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but living (there) I do/would not like.'

Ma is also used when two propositions are in simple contrast, without there being a link of a cause, enablement, or expectation between them. Such cases are comparable to simple additiveness discussed further above, except that here the two states of affairs are in contrast: while one of them holds, the other one does not. What is in contrast in (28-11) is an imagined, potential state of affairs and its not obtaining:

(28-11) *Mada*   *sa*   *ku*   *thaofa,*   *doo* *kwai*   *fanga,*
         or   IRR   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry   thing 1SG.FUT   eat

         ma   *ni*   *nau* *qe*   *aqi*   *kwasi*
         and   PROFORE   1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG

         thaofa.
         be.hungry
          'If I were hungry, I would eat, but I am not hungry.'

(For the use of *doo* 'thing' in the apodoses of conditional sentences see section 31.1.1.)

Clauses coordinated by means of *ma* can function as complex subordinate constructions. In such cases, the two clauses are normally under one intonation contour. In (28-12) the two clauses connected by *ma* function jointly as a complex purpose-clause construction, as the complement of the purpose marker *fasi*. Both clauses have sequential subject markers, which are commonly (although not necessarily) used in purpose clauses introduced by *fasi* (section 33.3.2).

(28-12) *Qoki*   *rongo-a*   *si*   *doo* *qeri* *fasi* *qoko*
         2SG.FUT   listen.to-3.OBJ   PRTT   thing this   PURP   2SG.SEQ

> *ngali-a*   *ma   qoko   alu=i*
> take-3SG.OBJ   and   2SG.SEQ   put:3SG.OBJ=LOC
>
> *lio-mu.*
> mind-2SG.PERS
> 'Listen to this (thing), so that you may take it and put it in your
> mind.'

And in (28-13) the two coordinated clauses function jointly as a complex
relative-clause modifier of a noun.

(28-13)   ... *keka   rongo-a   wela qe=ki   na   keki*
              3PL.SEQ hear-3.OBJ child that=PL REL   3PL.IPFV

> *nao   ma   keki   alifeo ....*
> bail.water   and   3PL.IPFV   make.noise
> '... they heard the children who were bailing water [out of a stream]
> and were making noise ....'

Sometimes *ma* is used pleonastically. The relation between two propositions
is expressed explicitly elsewhere in a sentence. *Ma* makes no semantic contri-
bution, and its absence would not make any difference. This is sometimes the
case when the relation between the propositions is temporal: 'when X, (then)
Y' (section 35.2). *Ma* pleonastically introduces the clause that expresses the Y
proposition. In (28-14) such pleonastic use of *ma* occurs in the second sentence:

(28-14)   ... *ku   sifo   mai suli-a   qai   baa, ma*
              1SG.NFUT   descend   VENT PROL-3.OBJ   tree that and

> *teqe si   kuukusu   ka   toqo qi   ei.*
> one   DIM small.stick 3SG.SEQ   prick LOC LOCPRO
>
> *Manga   n=e   toqo qi   ei,   **ma** ka*
> time   REL=3SG.NFUT   prick LOC LOCPRO   and   3SG.SEQ
>
> *busu   feteqi   qana qabu.*
> burst   INTS   GENP blood
> '[I had shouted that the sore on my leg had healed, but] I was com-
> ing down the tree, and a small stick pricked (me) there [where the
> sore had been]. When it pricked (me) there, it [the old sore] burst
> (open) with a lot of blood.' (Lit.: '… The time that it pricked there,
> and it burst with a lot of blood.')

Similarly in the next example:

(28-15)   *... uri-a   ni=e   sore-qa,   laalae*
          REAS-3.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT   say-DETR   when

          *ku   oli   kau, **ma** kai   maqasi nau*
          1SG.NFUT   return   AND and   3SG.FUT   wait.for 1SG

          nabaa.
          PAST.THEN
          '... because she said that when I returned, she would wait for me
          then.'

Occasionally, *ma* is used pleonastically elsewhere. In (28-16) it is used, in the reduced form *m=*, in a main clause that follows a concessive clause (section 32.1)

(28-16)   *Wela baa qe   dee-dede-a   nga   iqa   qi*
          child that 3SG.NFUT   RDP-fill-3.OBJ IDENT   fish   LOC

          laa   rake-na,   tataqe   mai,   fula   mena,
          IN   belly-3SG.PERS   stand.up   VENT   arrive   CONC

          s=e   thamo   mena   ura kula   baa
          IRR=3SG.NFUT   reach   CONC   ALL place   that

          kai   alu-lu-a   gwau-na   qi   ei,
          3SG.IPFV   put-RDP-3.OBJ head-3SG.PERS   LOC   LOCPRO

          m=e   *aqi   naqa.*
          and=3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   PRF
          'The child kept filling his belly with fish (lit.: kept filling fish into
          his belly), (then) he stood up, (and) even though he arrived (at that
          place), (and) even though he reached out/tried to reach out towards
          the place where he always put his head (in order to retrieve it), it
          was not there.' (A boy used to take his head off, leave it hidden on
          the shore, walk into the sea, catch fish and put them into his belly.
          Having caught enough fish, he would walk back to the shore and put
          his head back on.)

In the pleonastic use, *ma* does not function as a clause connector. Its function is simply to introduce the clause that follows another clause. As discussed

further below, *ma* can be used sentence-initially without linking that sentence to a preceding one.

Ma is also used pleonastically when it is combined with one of the coordinators that express the relation of contrast, unexpectedness between propositions; see section 28.3.

Ma functions not only to join clauses in sentences, but also to link independent sentences to each other. The semantic/pragmatic relations between clauses joined by *ma* are also found between sentences linked by *ma*; that is, additiveness with or without the additional connotations of consequence/result or contrast/unexpectedness. And just as is the case with clauses connected by *ma*, none of these relations, including additiveness, need be present. The latter type of case is shown in (28-17) with the first instance of *ma*, where, in fact, the events expressed in the sentence introduced by *ma* had taken/should have taken place before the state of affairs expressed in the preceding sentence. There is another instance of sentence-initial *ma* in (28-17), and there the relation between the propositions is one of additiveness with contrast/unexpectedness.

(28-17) *Kero*   *lio-dila*   *qasia*   *naqa* *ka*   *taqaa*
         3DU.NFUT mind-slip   INTS   INTS   3SG.SEQ be.bad

         qasia   *naqa* *qani* *keeroqa.*   **Ma**   *wela* *qeri,* *mada*
         INTS   INTS   GENP   3DU   and   child   that   or

         sa   *ka*   *ade*   *ba-na*   *suli-a*
         IRR   3SG.SEQ act   LIM-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ

         thaina-na   *bia*   *maka*   *nia,*   *nia*   *sa*   *ka*
         mother-3SG.PERS and   father   3SG   3SG   IRR   3SG.SEQ

         toda-a   *mae-la-na*   *qa=fa*   *bongi*   *qeri*
         meet-3.OBJ   die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   GENP=CLF   day   that

         qe   *aqi.*   **Ma**   *nia*   *qe*   *ade*
         3SG.NFUT   not.be.so   and   3SG   3SG.NFUT   act

         fasi-a   *maka*   *nia*   *bia*   *thaina-na.*
         ABL-3.OBJ   father   3SG   and   mother-3SG.PERS
         'They [the child's parents] were heart-broken and felt very bad (lit.: it was very bad for them). And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death on that day. And/but he disobeyed (lit.: acted away from) his father and mother.'

Similarly in the next example. The relevant sentence in (28-18), expressing direct speech, is preceded by an introductory comment about how, when possum-hunting, one knows that there are possums at a certain place. The direct speech directly follows the introductory comment. There is no close semantic link between that sentence and the background material that precedes it. In fact, there is an abrupt switch from the background comments to the direct speech. Here too the event expressed in the sentence introduced by *ma* takes place before the events expressed in the preceding sentence. The conjunction itself is preceded by the interjection *qoo* (see further below).

(28-18)   ... *wane*   *na*   *kai*   *lae*   *uri-a*   *kai*
        man   REL   3SG.IPFV   go   PURP-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT

rofe-a   *uri-a*   *na*   *kai*   *ngali-a,*
look.for-3SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   COMP   3SG.FUT   take-3SG.OBJ

nia   *ka*   *lae,*   *laa:-lae,*   *fula*   *si*   *kula*
3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   RDP-go   arrive   PRTT   place

n=e   *i=i*   *ei,*   *nia*   *ka*
REL=3SG.NFUT   be.located-LOC   LOCPRO   3SG   3SG.SEQ

thaitoqoma-na   *n=e*   *riki-a*
know-3.OBJ   COMP=3SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ

n=e   *feqa*   *qi*   *kula*   *qeri.* "*Qoo,*
COMP=3SG.NFUT   defecate   LOC   place   that   oh

ma   *teqe*   *futa*   *n=e*   *feqa neqe.*"
and   one   possum   FOC=3SG.NFUT   shit   here
'A man who is going to look for it [a possum] in order to get (lit.: take) it, he walks and keeps walking [in the bush] until he arrives at a place where it [a possum] is. He knows it because he sees that it defecated there. (Lit.: He knows that he sees that it defecated at that place.) "Oh, a possum has shat here.".'

(In *laa:-lae* the second *a* in the reduplicant is greatly lengthened to signal that the walking continued for a long time; see sections 2.1.3, 2.4, 15.2.3, and 35.3.2.3.)

In fact, independent sentences can be introduced by *ma* without any preceding linguistic context. This is frequently the case with interrogative sentences

when one is inquiring about someone or something, what someone is doing, or where someone or something is (sections 13.3.2.4 and 19.3.7):

(28-19)   *Ma   sofu   baa?*
           and   soap   that
           'And the soap?' Here: 'Where is the soap?' (The speaker is looking for the soap. There was no immediately preceding exchange between him and the addressee.)

In saying (28-20) the speaker, on arriving and not seeing Ulufaalu (a person), is expecting confirmation:

(28-20)   *Ma   tha   Ulufaalu   qe   sifo?*
           and   PERSMKR   Ulufaalu   3SG.NFUT descend
           'Has Ulufaalu gone down [to the coast]?"

Ma may be preceded by an interjection, or by a pro-sentence form, such as *iu* 'yes', 'OK', also used to express agreement with, acknowledgement of, what somebody else has said (section 27.3.2). In B's sentence in (28-21) the coordinator has fused with the third person singular non-future subject marker:

(28-21)   A: *Ne=ma   qaburu   naqi qe   nii*
              hey!=and   ogre   this 3SG.NFUT   be.located

              ma=i   fei?
              VENT=LOC   where?

           B: *Qoo, m=e   nii   ma=i   laa   tolo.*
              oh   and=3SG.NFUT   be.located   VENT=LOC IN   bush
           A: 'Hey, and where is the (lit.: this) ogre?'
           B: 'Oh, (and) he's in the bush.'

In (28-22) *ma* is preceded by *iu*, which here functions to acknowledge what the other person has just said:

(28-22)   *"Ma ni   qoo qoko   baqita   naqa,   qe*
           and PROFORE   2SG 2SG.SEQ   be.big   PRF   3SG.NFUT

           faara-na   naqa qoki   uusi kini   naqa.   Si   doo
           fit-3.OBJ   PRF 2SG.FUT buy woman   PRF   PRTT thing

leqa	*neri.”*		*Wane*	*qeri*	*ka*	*quna*	*qeri,*
be.good	NPAST.HERE		man	that	3SG.SEQ	manner	this

"Iu,	*ma*	*thaari*	*qeri*	*nia*	*sore-qe*	*nau*	*kwai*
yes	and	girl	that	3SG	say-DETR	1SG	1SG.FUT

lae	*kwai*	*toda*	*nia*	*qi*	*fafone.”*
go	1SG.FUT	meet	3SG	LOC	day.after.tomorrow

'[The boy's mother said,] "(And) you are big now; it is now possible for you to get married (lit.: to buy a woman) now. (That's) a good thing." The man said, "Yes, and the girl, she said I should meet her the day after tomorrow".'

28.2.3. *Bii* and *bia*

Both *bii* and *bia* are commonly used to coordinate noun phrases (section 11.2.1). There the form *bii* is used if the coordinand to the right is a pronominal noun phrase, and *bia* is used if the coordinand to the right is a lexical noun phrase. *Bii* and *bia* can link clauses, but only under restricted circumstances. They cannot link sentences, nor can they introduce independent sentences the way *ma* can. They can only connect clauses when the relation between the propositions is simple additiveness, and it is not sequential. They cannot connect clauses when the relation is one of result/consequence or contrast/unexpectedness. But even in the additiveness function, *bii* and *bia* are extremely rare.[46]

The next two examples show *bii* and *bia*, respectively, in their clause-coordinating function. In the former, *bia* could be used in place of *bii*, and in the latter *bii* could be used in place of *bia*. And both forms could be replaced by *ma*.

(28-23)

Laalae	*ku*	*baqita*	*naqa,*	*kwa*	*riki*
when	1SG.NFUT	be.big	PRF	1SG.SEQ	see

thaitoqoma-na	*maka*	*nau,*	*bii*	*kwa*	*riki*
know-3.OBJ	father	1SG	and	1SG.SEQ	see

thaitoqoma-na	*thaina-ku.*
know-3.OBJ	mother-1SG.PERS

'When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.'

(28-24)   *Kada   ku   lae   kwa   too   naqa i*
           time   3SG.NFUT   go   1SG.SEQ stay PRF   LOC

   Yokohama   Rehabilitation Centre,   kwai   biqi
   Yokohama   Rehabilitation Centre   1SG.FUT   IMM

   thaitoqoma-na   qani-la-na   Japanese   food, bia
   know-3.OBJ   eat-NMLZ-3.PERS   Japanese   food and

   kwa   biqi biinga leqa   naqa.
   1SG.SEQ IMM sleep   be.good   PRF
   'When I went and stayed at the Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, I
   quickly learned (lit.: knew) to eat Japanese food and quickly was
   able to sleep well (lit.: quicky slept well).' (This after an initial pe-
   riod in Japan when the person could not eat Japanese food and could
   not sleep well.)

28.3.   Contrast, unexpectedness

There are three coordinators that make it explicit that the proposition of the
second clause is in contrast to the proposition of the first clause, or is in some
way unexpected given the proposition of the first clause: *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui
taa* 'but'. *Sui* is the same etymon as the completive/exhaustive particle *sui* (sec-
tion 5.2.4) and the intransitive verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished'. *Mena* also
functions as a foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6) and to form conces-
sive clauses (section 32.1). And *taa* also functions as the interrogative word
'what?' and as an interjection of surprise, amazement, or to emphasize a sudden
change: 'lo!', 'behold!' (section 19.3.4). When *mena* and *taa* are used with *sui*
to signal contrast or unexpectedness, they are glossed 'but'.

   As discussed in section 28.2.2, the conjunctive coordinator *ma* 'and' can
also be used when the relation between two propositions is one of contrast or
unexpectedness. The difference between *ma* on the one hand and *sui*, etc. on
the other is not always clear-cut when contrast or unexpectedness is involved,
and they are sometimes interchangeable, especially *ma* and *sui*. *Ma* can be
characterized as semantically neutral. Conjoining by *ma* simply expresses the
existence of two states of affairs, when the speaker does not wish to emphasize
the contrast. On the other hand, *sui*, etc. are typically used when the speaker has
some emotional stake in the contrast or unexpectedness, when the contrast or
unexpectedness is judged to be quite strong, and also when the clause they in-
troduce elaborates on what is expressed in the first clause, such as denying
what is said there.

Of the three forms, *sui*, *sui mena*, and *sui taa*, *sui* used by itself is the weakest signal of contrast/unexpectedness, and *sui taa* the strongest, but there are no clear-cut differences among the three forms. Examples (28-25) – (28-27) contain *sui* by itself. In (28-25) the clause introduced by *sui* corrects, significantly changes part of the proposition of the preceding clause. Note that *sui* is not a postverbal particle here, because it follows the lexical direct object. If it were a postverbal particle, it would precede the object (see [4-1] in section 4.1).

(28-25) *Wane* *qe* *riki-a* *teqe* *kini,* *sui* *kini*
        man 3SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ one woman but woman

        mamana *qe* *aqi,* *nafa* *ni* *bana.*
        be.real 3SG.NFUT not.be.so apparition LIG LIM
        'The man saw a woman, but (she was) not a real woman, (she was) just an apparition.'

In (28-26) the clause introduced by *sui* restates and so emphasizes the fact that even though the man was (physically) very big, he was still young.

(28-26) *Wane* *qeri* *wan=daraa* *n=naqa,*
        man that man=be.young.and.single LIG=PRF

        thaama-na *wane* *baqita* *naqa,* *sui* *nia*
        father-3.PERS man be.big PRF but 3SG

        wan=daraa.
        man=be.young.and.single
        'The man was already a *daraa* man, a very big man, but (still) only a *daraa* man.' (*Daraa* is used about males who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young and not yet married.)

In (28-27) there is a profound difference between the proposition expressed in the clause introduced by *sui* and the proposition of the preceding clause:

(28-27) *Keka* *lio,* *maqasi-a* *maqalimae* *uri-a*
        3PL.SEQ look wait.for-3.OBJ enemy PURP-3.OBJ

        gaetemu-la-na *figu-a* *kera* *ki,* *sui* *Merika*
        guide-NMLZ-3.PERS gather-DVN 3PL PL but America

> *qe=ki   kera   lio,   maqasi-a   maqalimae mamana.*
> that=PL 3PL.NFUT look wait.for-3.OBJ enemy   be.real
> '[During the Marching Rule movement] they [the adherents to the
> movement] watched (lit.: looked), waiting for an (imaginary) enemy
> in order to lead their groups (if some enemy should arrive),
> but/while/whereas the Americans had watched, waiting for a real
> enemy.'

What the speaker means in (28-27) is that all that the adherents to the Marching
Rule movement did was copy what the American army had done. They copied
the American sentries, as if they were expecting an enemy to arrive when there
was no enemy, whereas the Americans had been on guard against a real enemy,
the Japanese.

While *sui* is common in clausal coordination, it is not normally used to link
sentences.

The next two examples illustrate the use of *sui mena*. *Sui mena* can not only
join clauses, but also link sentences; as in (28-28) and (28-29), respectively. In
(28-28) there is a contrast between what the speaker believes is the case and his
lack of certain knowledge. There is both contrast and concessiveness. (For the
conceasiveness function of *mena* see chapter 32.)

(28-28) *Nau ku   dora   qana   wane   naqi, sui*
       1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know   GENP   man   this but

       mena nau ku   toqomatafa-na   wane
       but 1SG 1SG.NFUT have.feeling.that-3.OBJ man

       leqa   ni   bana.
       be.good LIG   LIM
       'I don't know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is)
       just a good man.' (There is nothing bad about him.)

In (28-29) there is a contrast between what the speaker would like to do and
what is possible. There is also an instance of *mena* there in its function as a
foregrounding additive marker (section 28.6).

(28-29) *Nau mena ku   thathami lae   laqu boqo!*
       1SG FADD 1SG.NFUT   DES   go   ADD ASRT

       Sui mena kwai   lae   ba-kuqa   bii   qoe
       but but   1SG.FUT go   LIM-1SG.PERS COM 2SG

qana	*foqa-a*	*nau.*
GENP	pray-DVN	1SG

'I too want to go! But I'll only go with you in my prayers [that is, not in reality].'

The next pair of examples illustrates *sui taa*. *Sui taa* too can link clauses and sentences; see (28-30) and (28-31), respectively. In (28-30) the relation between the second and the first propositions is one of unexpectedness:

(28-30)

Teqe	*wane*	*ka*	*rake-qiri,*	*wane*	*nau*	*ni*
one	man	3SG.SEQ	belly-be.angry	man	1SG	LIG

laqu	*bana*	*ka*	*rake-qiri*	*ka*	*quna*	*qeri,*
ADD	LIM	3SG.SEQ	belly-be.angry	3SG.SEQ	manner	this

"*Qo*	*laa-lae*	*neri,*	*sui*	*taa*	*qe*	*aqi*
2SG.NFUT	RDP-go	VIVID	but	but	3SG.NFUT	NEGV

qosi	*ngali-a*	*ma=ta*	*si*	*doo.*"
2SG.NEG	take-3.OBJ	VENT=some	PRTT	thing

'One man got angry, a man (also) from my family line (lit.: another of my men) got angry and said, "You went (lit.: had gone) [to that place], but you didn't bring anything back [as gifts]".'

In (28-31) both *sui taa* and *sui mena* are present:

(28-31)

Talaqa-na	*naqa*	*kuki*	*taatala,*	*tai*	*wane*
fit-3.OBJ	PRF	PL(INCL).FUT	exchange	some.PL	man

qan=toqa	*naqi*	*kere*	*rii-riki-a*	*wosap-laa*
GENP=people	this	3PL.NFUT	RDP-see-3.OBJ	worship-NMLZ

naqi,	*laa-lae,*	*keka*	*thaitoqoma-na*	*naqa.*	**Sui**
this	RDP-go	3PL.SEQ	know-3SG.OBJ	PRF	but

taa	*nau*	*ku*	*riki-a*	*thaitoqoma-na-laa*
but	1SG	1SG.NFUT	see-3.OBJ	know-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ

qena,	*toneqe*	*doo*	*nena,*	*ma*
that(2)	RESTR	thing	NPAST.THERE	and

*do=qena   doo   fale-laa   nena,   **sui   mena***
thing=that(2) thing give-NMLZ NPAST.THERE but   but

doo   kusi   oli   uri-a   neri.
thing PL(INCL).NEG return   ALL-3SG.OBJ   NPAST.HERE
'It is now possible for us take turns (lit.: exchange [each other]).
Some of these men have seen the (service of) worship (in church)
many times, and they now know (how to conduct) it. However, I
have seen this "knowledge" (and) it's not much (lit.: [it is] a thing of
little value); that (kind of) thing [being able to lead worship] is a gift
(lit.: thing of giving); but let's not go into that again [i.e., let's not
discuss it any more].'

There is sarcasm in one part of what the person says in (28-31): "However, I
have seen this so-called 'knowledge', and it's not much at all."

It is possible for the conjunctive coordinator *ma* to cooccur with *sui*, etc. *Ma*
can either follow or precede *sui*, etc., the former being more common. It is *sui*,
sui mena or *sui taa* that carries the semantic load, while *ma* is just pleonastic. In
(28-32) three options are illustrated : *sui* by itself, *sui* followed by *ma*, and *ma*
by itself, with *sui* and *sui ma* emphasizing the contrast.

(28-32)   *Quuqusungadia   riki-la-na   quri-a   sa*
          morning   look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ   IRR

          kai   thato   {sui / sui   ma   / ma} dani
          3SG.FUT   be.sunny   but / but   and / and rain

          ka   qaru laqu ba-na.
          3SG.SEQ   fall   ADD LIM-3SG.PERS
          'The morning looked like it would be sunny, but (then) it just rained
          again.'

In (28-33) *ma* co-occurs with *sui mena*. Here *ma* would not be appropriate
by itself because of the great contrast between the two states of affairs:

(28-33)   *Keka   kwaqe   nau   qana*
          3PL.SEQ beat   1SG   GENP

          faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa,   sui   mena
          CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ   but   but

ma	*ni*		*keeroqa*	*keka*	*liothau*	*qasia*	*naqa*
and	PROFORE		3DU	3PL.SEQ	love	INTS	INTS

qani	*nau ....*
GENP	1SG

'They [the speaker's parents] would give me whippings to straighten me [to make me behave], but they loved me very much ….'

And in (28-34) *ma* comes before *sui mena*:

(28-34)	*Tai*	*si*	*manga,*	*laa-lae,*	*raa*	*neqe*
	some.PL	PRTT	time	RDP-go	work	this

qu=sa	*kai*	*teo,*	*ma*	*sui*	*mena*
look.like:3.OBJ=IRR	3SG.FUT	cease	and	but	but

riki-la-na	*qe*	*aqi*	*si*
look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS	3SG.NFUT	NEGV	3SG.NEG

quri=qa-na	*sa*	*kai*	*teo,* ....
look.like:3.OBJ=SBEN-3SG.PERS	IRR	3SG.FUT	cease

'At times it looked like this work might cease, but then (at other times) it did not look like it might cease, ….'

28.4.   Disjunctive coordination

When the relation between two or more propositions is one of alternatives, the conjunction *mada* 'or' is used. *Mada* can also function as a noun-phrase coordinator and a prepositional-phrase coordinator. It is also used to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition (section 18.5.3), and together with the irrealis marker *sa* it introduces the protases of conditional sentences (section 31.1.1).

(28-35)	*Qoko*	*qai-thata-na*		*kwai-na*	*kini*	*qeri,*
	2SG.SEQ	call-name-3.OBJ		spouse-3.PERS	woman	that

nia	*naqa*	*na*	*kai*	*sore-qe,*	*ta*	*si*	*doo,*
3SG	PRF	FOC	3SG.FUT	say-DETR	some	PRTT	thing

"Kai	*too*	*ba-na.",*	*mada*	*ka*
3SG.IPFV	be.at.home	LIM-3SG.PERS	or	3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo qani-a,   "Ni=e   lae
CAUS-hear   GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG=3SG.NFUT   go

qa-na."
SBEN-3SG.PERS
[This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] 'You call out the woman's husband's name, (and) it's now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), "He is at home.", or she will say about him, "He's gone (out).".'

In (28-36) four alternatives are mentioned, all of them having to do with what is not to be done:

(28-36)   *Tooto=e   aqi   kosi   sore-qe*
           later=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   DU(INCL).NEG   say-DETR

           fanga-la-na,   mad=e   aqi   kosi
           eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   or=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   DU(INCL).NEG

           sore-qe,   "Fanga qoe ki neri",   mada
           say-DETR   food   2SG PL NPAST.HERE   or

           kosi   quna   qeri, "Qani-a   fanga   naqi ki.",
           DU(INCL).NEG manner this   eat-3.OBJ   food   this PL

           mada   kosi   quna   qeri, "Fanga qoe   ki neq."
           or   DU(INCL).NEG manner this   food   2SG   PL here
           '[When offering food to a man or to a woman, or even to a girl, you and I have to be polite.] You and I (then) don't say that it is his or hers (for) eating, and/or we don't say, "Your food (lit.: foods).", and/or we don't say "Eat this food.", and/or we don't say "Here is your food.".'

In (28-37) *mada* is used in an alternative interrogative (section 19.2.2):

(28-37)   *Qoki   too   ba-muqa,   mada   qoki   lae   mai*
           2SG.FUT stay LIM-2SG.PERS   or   2SG.FUT go   VENT

           bii   kamiliqa?
           COM   1PL(EXCL)
           'Are you staying, or are you coming with us?'

Clauses coordinated by *mada* may function jointly as complex constructions within larger structures. In (28-38) the two clauses linked by *mada* are, jointly, in the scope of the timitive marker *ada* that occurs in the first clause (section 18.6):

(28-38)   *Kaala   wela qe=ki   bana na   kera   alu-da.*
           little.PL child that=PL LIM   FOC   3PL.NFUT   put-3PL.OBJ

           Keka   too   kali-a   tha   Bariqi ada
           3PL.SEQ   stay surround-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Bariqi TIM

           ta   wane   fula   ka   luke-a,   mada
           some person arrive 3SG.SEQ   release-3SG.OBJ or

           ka   thaka.
           3SG.SEQ   escape
           'It was only the little children that they put [there to watch Bariqi].
           They [the children] stayed around Bariqi in case somebody might
           come and free him or so that he might not escape (by himself).'

28.5.   Asyndetic coordination

Clauses may be coordinated simply by juxtaposition, without any conjunction. Asyndetic coordination is used only when the relation between propositions is one of simple additiveness, consequence/result, or contrast, provided the contrast is not to be emphasized. That is, juxtaposition is found only where otherwise the conjunction *ma* (or marginally *bii* or *bia*) would be used. In the situations expressed in the first two examples, the states of affairs are simultaneous with each other:

(28-39)   *Ma   keka   maqu   faqa-maqu   qasia   naqa,*
           and 3PL.SEQ be.afraid CAUS-be.afraid INTS   INTS

           keka   qai   qasia   naqa.
           3PL.SEQ   shout INTS   INTS
           'And they were terribly scared and shouted loudly.'

(*Faqa-maqu*, CAUS-'be.afraid' is an intransitive verb with the meaning 'be in great quantity or degree' and it also functions as an intensifier in [verb verb] compounds.)

In (28-40) the additiveness is signalled overtly by the additive postverbal particle *laqu* in the second clause (section 5.2.5). The sequential marker in the second clause does not signify sequentiality here (section 16.2).

(28-40)   *Nau   ku   thaofa,   kwa   mae-li   kuqu*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hungry   1SG.SEQ   die-TR   drink

          laqu   boqo.
          ADD   ASRT
          'I'm hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.'

There is also negative additiveness, where one state of affairs is characterized as not being accompanied by one or more other states of affairs, usually contrary to expectation, contrary to what is normally the case; see section 17.2 for more detail and more examples.

(28-41)   *Kini   e   ngaa-ngata   si   feda.*
          woman   3SG.NFUT   RDP-talk   3SG.NEG   be.tired
          'The woman kept talking without getting tired.' (Lit.: 'The woman kept talking, she was not tired.')

Asyndetic coordination can also be used when the relations between situations are sequential, with or without the additional relation of consequence or result. In the next example, there are several juxtaposed clauses. In most cases the relations are of simple sequentiality, but the relation between the propositions expressed in the last two clauses involves a consequence/result as well:

(28-42)   *Qaaqae-ku   e   ubu, kwa   lae   qi*
          leg-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   swell   1SG.SEQ   go   LOC

          sa-na   doketa, ka   fale-a   meresina
          GOAL-3.PERS   doctor   3SG.SEQ   give-3.OBJ   medicine

          qi   a-ku,   kwa   kuqu-fi-a,   ka
          LOC   REC-1SG.PERS   1SG.SEQ   drink-TR-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ

          faqa-gwari-a   bo=naqa   qaaqae-ku.
          CAUS-be.cool-3SG.OBJ   ASRT=INTS   leg-1SG.PERS
          'My leg was/got swollen, I went to the doctor, he gave me medicine, I drank it, (and) it relieved (the pain in) my leg.'

For another example of result/consequence see (28-46) further below.

In (28-43) the relation between the two propositions is one of contrast/unexpectedness. There are two parallel pairs of clauses. In the first pair, the clauses are coordinated asyndetically, while in the second one they are connected by *ma* 'and'. The first pair is in bold.

(28-43) *Ma   nia,   gwagwari-a   ka   toqe-a   bo=naqa*
         and   3SG   feel.cold-DVN   3SG.SEQ   affect-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS

         *tha   wela qeri, ma   **ka**   **ili-toqo-na***
         PERSMKR   child that   and   3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ

         qono-laa,   ka   aqi   si   raraqu,   ma
         sit-NMLZ   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG be.at.rest   and

         ka   ili-toqo-na   teo-laa,   ma   ka   aqi
         3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ   lie-NMLZ   and   3SG.SEQ NEGV

         si   ngado.
         3SG.NEG be.still
         'And he, the boy, felt cold (lit.: and he, coldness affected the boy), and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down) but (lit.: and) could not stay still.'

The relation of contrast is also found in (28-44):

(28-44) *Nau ku   thathami-a sa   kwai   lae,   keka*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ IRR   1SG.FUT go   3PL.SEQ

         lufi   nau.
         prevent   1SG
         'I wanted to go, [but] they prevented me.'

There is no general rule for the use of syndetic or asyndetic coordination by means of *ma* 'and'. And when three or more clauses are coordinated, asyndetic coordination may occur before or after coordination by means of *ma*, as in (28-45) and (28-46), respectively:

(28-45) *Kero   oli   kau, keko   raqa mai, ma*
         3DU.NFUT   return   AND   3DU.SEQ climb VENT and

> keko   fula-toqo-na   naqa ta   thaqaro.
> 3DU.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ PRF   some possum
> 'They went back, climbed [trees] there [to look for possums], and
> came across a possum.'

(28-46) *Dani e   qaru,   ma   kafo ka*
         rain   3SG.NFUT   fall   and   water 3SG.SEQ

       luqu   *ka   dalafa-a   laa   toaa.*
       (water)run.in.strong.current 3SG.SEQ flood-3.OBJ IN   village
       'It rained, and the water ran in a strong current and flooded the vil-
       lage.'

There is also asyndetic coordination that involves a clause-level particle, discussed in the next section.

28.6.   Foregrounded additiveness

There is a clause-level particle *mena*, which has a foregrounding additive function. 'The term "foregrounding additive" marker is modelled on Quirk *et al.*'s (1985: 604) category of (focusing) additive subjuncts: "ADDITIVE subjuncts indicate that the utterance is *additionally* true in respect of the part focused" (original emphasis). The term "foregrounding additive" is used for two reasons: first, to distinguish *mena* from the additive particle *laqu*, which occurs in the verb complex (section 5.2.5) and in noun phrases (section 7.5); and second, because compared to *laqu*, *mena* emphasizes, highlights the additiveness.

Although *mena* is not a coordinator, discussion of it is included in this chapter because its use often involves two or more clauses, typically in asyndetic conjunctive coordination, or two sentences where the semantic link is the same as in conjunctive coordination. *Mena* also functions as concessive-clause marker (section 32.1), and together with *sui* as a clause coordinator to signal contrast or unexpectedness between propositions (section 28.3).

In its core function, *mena* emphasizes the fact that a type of event or state applies not only to a certain participant, as expressed in an earlier clause or sentence, but also to another one, the one expressed in the clause in which *mena* occurs. Furthermore, the fact that the event or state applies additionally may not be (fully) expected. *Mena* immediately follows the phrase — a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase — it has in its scope. It may be linked to the phrase with the ligature *ni*, although this is not common. For an example see (28-56) further below.

By using *mena* in (28-47) speaker B emphasizes that like the other person he too will bathe. *Mena* has a noun phrase in its scope.

(28-47)   A: *Nau   lae   kwai   siisiu   naqa   neri.*
             1SG   go   1SG.FUT   bathe   PRF   NPAST.HERE

           B: *Nau   mena.*
              1SG   FADD
           A: 'I'm going to bathe now.'
           B: 'Me too.'

In (28-48) *mena* has a prepositional phrase in its scope. The prepositional phrase has been topicalized.

(28-48)   A: *Dani qe   qaru baqita qasia   naqa qi*
             rain 3SG.NFUT   fall be.big INTS   INTS LOC

            roqo.
            yesterday

           B: *Qi   Qaoke   mena   qe   quna   qeri laqu*
              LOC   Auki   FADD   3SG.NFUT   manner   that ADD

            boqo.
            ASRT
           A: 'It rained a lot [here] yesterday.'
           B: 'In Auki it was like that too.' 'In Auki too it was like that.'

It is not uncommon for the foregrounding-additive marker *mena* and the postverbal additive particle *laqu* to cooccur in a clause. *Laqu* expresses the additional occurrence of a certain type of state of affairs, while *mena* emphasizes the additionality of a participant; see (28-48) above and (28-49) and (28-50) below.

(28-49)   *Thaari qeri ka   thathami-a tha   wela qeri,*
          girl   that 3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ PERSMKR   child that

          ma   wela qeri mena   ka   thathami-a laqu boqo
          and   child that FADD   3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD INTS

     thaari   qeri.
     girl   that
     'The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.'

In (28-50) there are two instances of cooccurrence of *mena* and *laqu*:

(28-50) *Moomoli   ka   quna   qeri, "Nau   kwa   tataqe*
           Moomoli   3SG.SEQ manner this   1SG   1SG.SEQ get.up

           *fasi-a   laa   biqu   naqi qi   Fuusai, qoe **mena***
           ABL-3.OBJ IN   house   this   LOC   Fuusai 2SG   FADD

           *qoki   lae   **laqu** boqo fasi-a   laa   biqu   naqi.*
           2SG.FUT go   ADD   ASRT ABL-3.OBJ IN   house   this

           *....Fa   bongi   na   kwai   lae, qoe **mena***
             CLF   day   REL   1SG.FUT   go   2SG   FADD

           *qoki   lae **laqu** boqo fasi-a."*
           2SG.FUT   go   ADD   ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ
           'Moomoli said, "I will get up (and go) away from this house at
           Fuusai, (and) you too will go away from this house. [You will not
           stay in this house any longer.] The day I go, you too will go away
           from it.".'

In negative clauses *mena* signals that the state of affairs additionally does not apply to the participant encoded there. The sentence in (28-51) was preceded by a number of clauses in which the speaker related how certain other people did not know how things would work out. And by using *mena* in (28-51) he emphasizes that he and those with him did not know either:

(28-51) *Kamiliqa   mena   qe=aqi   misi*
           1PL(EXCL) FADD   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1PL(EXCL).NEG

           thaitoqoma-na.
           know-3SG.OBJ
           'We too did not know (it).' 'We did not know (it) either.'

In (28-52) *mena* has a topic phrase in its scope. The clause is negative.

(28-52) *Qoo, baru   neqe mena,   qe   aqi   si*
           oh   canoe   this   FADD   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

talaqa-na	*qoki*	*lae*	*qi*	*ei.*
fit-3.OBJ	2SG.FUT	go	LOC	LOCPRO

'Oh, this canoe too, it is not possible for you to go in (it).' (After a number of passing canoes had refused to take the person on board.)

Foregrounding-additive *mena* is typically used when the state of affairs in which an additional participant is involved is of the same type as the one in which another participant is involved in the same way, as in all the examples above. However, the two states of affairs need not be of the same type, and the link between them may be more subtle and indirect. The last clause in (28-53) below contains a noun phrase in the scope of *mena*. The clause is about the door of a prison cell opening all by itself, making it possible for the prisoners to escape. However, there is no prior opening of anything. Rather, what had happened was that the handcuffs the prisoners had been wearing had miraculously fallen off (although, presumably, the handcuffs had unlocked themselves somehow). What connects the event of the cell door opening to that of the handcuffs falling off is the removal of restraints on the prisoners, which facilitated their eventual escape.

(28-53)

Roo	*anikaba*	*qe=ki*	*ka*	*thaka*	*bo=naqa*
two	handcuffs	that=PL	3SG.SEQ	fall.off	ASRT=INTS

fasi-a	*roo*	*qaba*	*keeroqa*	*ki*	*qa=si*	*manga*
ABL-3.OBJ	two	hand	3DU	PL	LOC=PRTT	time

qeri.	*Keko*	*tataqe*	*mai,*	*maa-na*	*qolofolo*
that	3DU.SEQ	stand.up	VENT	door-3.PERS	doorway

qana	*sela*	*qeri*	*mena*	*ka*	*qifi.*
GENP	cell	that	FADD	3SG.SEQ	open

'The two (pairs of) handcuffs fell off their hands at that time. They stood up, (and) the door of the cell too opened.'

Besides having a foregrounding-additive function, *mena* can also express unexpectedness: contrary to what one might expect, the type of event or state also applies to a certain participant. In (28-54) below, what is unexpected, and emphasized, is that even the top commander did not know the answer to a problem:

(28-54)

Gavman	*ka*	*lae*	*uri-a*	*kai*
government	3SG.SEQ	go	PURP-3.OBJ	3SG.FUT

fula-toqo-na   *qi*   *sa-na*   *wane*   *baqita*
arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ LOC ADJC-3.PERS man be.big

n=e   *qita*   *ma=i*   *Merika*
REL=3SG.NFUT originate VENT=LOC America

ka   *lae* *mai,*   *n=e*   *ni=i*
3SG.SEQ go VENT REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC

Hedson,   *ka*   *soe-toqo-na*   *maqaluta-na.*
Henderson 3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3.OBJ essence-3SG.PERS

Wane   **qeri** **mena**   *ka*   *dora*   *laqu*
man that FADD 3SG.SEQ not.know ADD

ba-na   *qani-a,*   *ka*   *sore-qe,*   *"Nau*
LIM-3SG.PERS GENP-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ say-DETR 1SG

kwasi   *thaitoqoma-na."*
1SG.NEG know-3SG.OBJ

'The Government went to (try to) determine it (the substance of certain claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and had come) and who was at Henderson [Henderson Airport in Honiara], and it [the Government] asked him for details (lit.: asked about its essence). Even that man did not know (anything) about it, and he said, "I don't know.".'

In (28-55) below, the emphasis is on the fact that what is being talked about applied in earlier times not only to adults but also to young girls, which the addressee, not having lived in those days, might not expect to have been the case. The noun phrase that contains *mena* is preceded by a noun phrase that contains *laqu*. Both particles have an additive function, but *mena* is more emphatic and expresses that which is less expected compared to what is expressed in the noun phrase with *laqu*: 'also to a (single) woman' (with *laqu*) and 'even a girl' (with *mena*).

(28-55)   *Si*   *faaraqi-laa*   *na*   *keki*
          PRTT use.respectul.language-NMLZ REL 3PL.IPFV

faaraqi   *qani-a*   *uri-a*   *roo*
use.respectful.language INS-3SG.OBJ   GOAL-3.OBJ   two

imole   *qe=ki,*   *gwauliqi*   *wane*   *bia*
person   that=PL   married.person   man   and

gwauliqi   *ai,*   *ma*   *kini*   *ni*   *laqu boqo,*
married.person   woman and   woman LIG   ADD   ASRT

ta   **thaari**   **mena**,   *nau*   *ku*   *thathami-a*
some   girl   FADD   1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ

kwai   *uqunu*   *suli-a*   *si*   *manga*   *qeri.*
1SG.FUT   narrate   PROL-3SG.OBJ PRTT time   this
'This respectful language that they [people in earlier times] used
(when speaking) to the two people, a married man and a married
woman, also to a (single) woman, even (to) a girl, I want to talk
about that at this time.'

In negative clauses *mena* emphasizes the fact that, contrary to what might be
expected, the given state of affairs does not apply to any entity or type of entity
designated by the noun phrase in the scope of *mena*. In (28-56) there are several
instances of *mena*. What is contrary to expectation in the state of affairs ex-
pressed there is the lack of the relevant instruments one needs when one wants
to form a musical group. In the final clause *mena* is connected to the head noun
with the ligature *ni*.

(28-56)   *Qe=aqi*   *misi*   *raqu*   *quu*   *boqo*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1PL(EXCL).NEG   possess ANTCONT   ASRT

          faafi-a   *ta*   *teqe kasi*   *qamplifae*   *mena,*
          CONF-3.OBJ   some   one small   amplifier   FADD

          mada   *ta*   *si*   *spika*   *mena,*   *mada*   *ta*
          or   some   DIM   speaker   FADD   or   some

          maekrofon   *mena,*   *ma*   *gita*   *ni*   *mena*
          microphone   FADD   and   guitar   LIG   FADD

> *ka   aqi.*
> 3SG.SEQ not.be.available
> 'We did not yet possess even a single small amplifier, or even a small speaker, or even a microphone; and there was not even a guitar.'

And in (28-57) the speaker uses *mena* to emphasize the fact that he had not seen anybody at all:

(28-57)   *Qe=aqi   kwasi   riki=ta   teqe   wane*
           3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG   see:3.OBJ=some   one   person

           mena.
           FADD
           'I did not see even a single person.'

Chapter 29
Complement clauses

29.1. Introduction

By complement clauses are here meant clauses that function as a complement of a verb, or in one type of case as a complement of a noun. Nominalizations too are included here, with some qualifications; see section 29.2.2. Not included here are constructions where clauses function as objects of verb-like prepositions in reason and purpose clauses; these are discussed in chapter 33.

The basic complementation types of Toqabaqita are listed in table 29.1.

Table 29.1. Basic complementation types

1.   Complement clauses
a. direct-object complement clauses
b. paratactic complement clauses
2.   Nominalizations

Direct-object complement clauses are clauses that occur in the direct-object position with certain transitive verbs. They occupy the position in which lexical direct objects occur, after the postverbal particles, as shown schematically in (29-1):

(29-1)   [V$_{tr}$ (postverbal particles) [complement.clause]$_{DO}$]$_{VP}$

See also (4-1) in section 4.1
In (29-2) the complement clause follows the perfect marker *naqa*:

(29-2)   *... qe   faara-na   naqa [qoki   uusi kini*
        3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   PRF   2SG.FUT   buy   woman

    naqa].
    PRF
    '[You are big now;] it is now possible for you to get married (lit.: to buy a woman) now.'

See also (29-223) in section 29.5

Paratactic complement clauses, as the term is used here, are clauses that occur in positions other than direct object (cf. Noonan 1985). With transitive verbs they occur in addition to, and following, the direct object. They also occur in intransitive verb phrases, and in noun phrases. See (29-3a), (29-3b), and (29-3c), respectively:

(29-3)   a.   [V$_{tr}$ … DO … [complement.clause]]$_{VP}$
         b.   [V$_{intr}$ … [complement.clause]]$_{VP}$
         c.   [N … [complement.clause]]$_{NP}$

The discussion of complementation is organized around the following main themes: the types of complements, the complementizer, and the types of complement-taking verbs. The bulk of the discussion has to do with complementation within verb phrases. The use of complement clauses in noun phrases is relatively rare and is discussed at the end of this chapter.

29.2.   Types of complements

29.2.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses can contain a verb or they can be verbless. All complement clauses that contain a verb (verbal complement clauses) are finite. A complement clause of either type could form a sentence by itself, with the proviso that in some cases there cannot be a subject noun phrase in a verbal complement clause; however, there is a subject marker there.

Direct-object clauses are indexed on the complement-taking verb in the same way that lexical direct objects are, by means of a third person object suffix, *-a* or *-na*, depending on the type of transitive verb, Class 1 or Class 2, respectively. Paratactic complement clauses are not indexed.

In direct-object complementation the two clauses may, but need not, share one or more arguments. In (29-4) there is argument sharing: the two clauses have identical subjects.

(29-4)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a kwai   lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT   go   PRF
          'I want to go now.'

Kwai lae naqa could form a sentence on its own: 'I will go now.'

In (29-5) there are no shared arguments between the two clauses:

(29-5) *Nau   ku   man-toqo-na   wane   baa   ki*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST-3.OBJ   man   that   PL

        keki   lae   ma=i   qusungadi.
        3PL.FUT   go   VENT=LOC   tomorrow
        'I think the people will come tomorrow.'

Wane baa ki keki lae ma=i qusungadi could form a sentence on its own: 'The men will come tomorrow.'

The object suffixes on complement-taking verbs index the complement clause, not a participant. For example, in (29-4) further above, the verb *that-hami* 'want' carries the third person object suffix *-a* even though the subject of the complement clause is first person singular and there is no other argument in that clause. And in (29-6) below, the Class 2 transitive verb *manata-toqo* 'think' with the object suffix *-na* is immediately followed by the third person singular independent pronoun *nia*. However, Class 2 transitive verbs cannot have the independent personal pronouns as their direct objects (section 4.2.3.3.1). (*Manata-toqo* is the full form of the verb 'think'; *man-toqo* in [29-5] above is a reduced variant; see also section 29.4.8.)

(29-6) *Nau   ku   manata-toqo-na   nia   sa   ka*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST-3.OBJ   3SG   IRR   3SG.SEQ

        fula   naqa   qe   aqi.
        arrive   PRF   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
        'I think he won't (be able to) come any more.'

In (29-7) the complement clause is verbless:

(29-7) *... nau   ku   riki-a   [si   doo   qeri   si*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   PRTT   thing that   PRTT

        doo   mamana] ....
        thing be.true
        '… I saw that the thing was true ….' (Lit.: 'I saw that the thing [was] a true thing ….')

Verbless complement clauses can occur in the same positions as verbal complement clauses. In the remainder of this chapter most of the discussion will

deal with verbal clauses, but it should be borne in mind that verbless clauses can occur in those positions as well.

In paratactic complementation, there is obligatory argument sharing between the complement and the matrix clauses in some types, but not in others. If there is obligatory argument sharing, the shared argument is always the subject of the complement clause. When the complement-taking verb is transitive, the shared argument is its direct object. For the position of paratactic complement clauses in verb phrases see (4-1) in section 4.1.

Sharing of arguments in paratactic complementation with transitive complement-taking verbs is found in, for example, the periphrastic causative construction (section 29.4.9.1). There the causative verb takes a direct object that encodes the causee. The causee is also expressed as the subject of the complement clause, but only by means of a subject marker. The direct-object status of the causee is evidenced by the presence or absence of an object-indexing suffix on the causative verb, depending on whether the causee is encoded by means of a lexical or a pronominal phrase (see section 4.2.3.2.1). In (29-7) there is a lexical causee phrase and the Class 1 causative verb *ade* 'do' carries the object suffix -*a*.

(29-8) *Meresina   qeri   qe   ade-a   wane   [ka*
       medicine   that   3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   man   3SG.SEQ

       qiiqida   qasia   naqa].
       sweat   INTS   INTS
       'The medicine made the man sweat a lot.' (Lit.: 'The medicine did the man, he sweated a lot.')

The clause *ka qiiqida qasia naqa* 'he sweated a lot' could, in principle, be a sentence in its own right.

In (29-9), on the other hand, there is a pronominal causee phrase, and the causative verb does not carry the object suffix:

(29-9) *Meresina   qeri   qe   ade   nau   [kwa   qiiqida*
       medicine   that   3SG.NFUT   do   1SG   1SG.SEQ   sweat

       qasia   naqa].
       INTS   INTS
       'The medicine made me sweat a lot.'

The presence of an object-indexing suffix on the causative verb when there is a lexical causee phrase and its absence when there is a pronominal causee phrase is evidence that it is the causee phrase and not the complement clause

that is the object of the causative verb. The complementation is of the paratactic type.

Similarly in the next case. *Liu-ngani/liu-ngaqi* 'ask sb. to accompany one' is a long Class 1 transitive verb, based on the intransitive verb *liu* 'walk'. Long transitive verbs exhibit alternation in the form of the (long) transitive suffix: -C*ani*, when an object-indexing suffix follows, and -C*aqi*, when there is no object suffix, which includes constructions with pronominal direct objects (section 4.2.3.2.2). In (29-10) the person asked to accompany someone is realized by means of a lexical noun phrase and the verb has the form *liu-ngani-a*:

(29-10)   *liu-ngani-a*   *wane*
          walk-TR-3.OBJ   man
          'ask a man to accompany one'

On the other hand, in (29-11) the person asked to accompany someone is realized by means of an independent personal pronoun and the verb has the form *liu-ngaqi*. This is evidence that the pronoun functions as the direct object of *liu-ngaqi*.

(29-11)   ... *keka*   *liu-ngaqi*   *nau*   *[kwa*   *lae*   *naqa*
              3PL.SEQ   walk-TR   1SG   1SG.SEQ   go   PRF

          bii   *kera]*.
          COM   3PL
          '... they asked me to accompany them, to go with them (and I did).'

When the complement-taking verb is intransitive, the shared argument typically, but not necessarily, is its subject. In (29-12), the shared argument is first person singular and it is the subject of the complement-taking verb:

(29-12)   *Nau*   *ku*   *kwai-thathai*   *[kwai*   *lae*   *naqa]*.
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-ready   1SG.FUT   go   PRF
          'I am ready to go now.'

When the complement-taking verb is intransitive, the shared element need not occur in an argument position. In (29-13) it occurs in the possessor position with the locational noun *buria* 'behind', 'after' as its head. The subject of the complement clause is expressed only by means of the subject marker, not by means of a subject noun phrase.

(29-13)   *Nau*   *ku*   *baqe*   *buria-na*   *tha*   *Makasi*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak   after-3.PERS   PERSMKR   Makasi

> *[kai   oli   mai].*
> 3SG.FUT   return   VENT
> 'I sent a word to (lit.: I spoke after) Makasi (asking him) to come back.'

See example (29-73) in section 29.4.4 for a shared argument in an oblique object position in the matrix clause.

It is possible in paratactic complementation for the two clauses not to share any arguments or other noun-phrase elements. In such cases, the complement-taking verb has a semantically empty third person singular subject marker. *Abu* 'be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed' and *leqa* 'be good, nice' are two such verbs; see (29-14) and (29-15), respectively. The sentence in (29-14) contains the complementizer *na* (section 29.3), which is evidence that the clause 'you will say you will come to her' is a complement clause.

(29-14) *Qe   abu   laqu boqo na   qo*
         3SG.NFUT   be.forbidden   ADD   ASRT COMP   2SG.NFUT

         sore-qe   qoki   lae   ma=i   sa-na.
         say-DETR   2SG.FUT go   VENT=LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS
         'It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.' (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

(29-15) *Qe   leqa   ba-na   kwai   lae*
         3SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   1SG.FUT   go

         qeeqeta   qi   laa   rodo.
         be.different   LOC   IN   night
         'It is fine/OK for me to go somewhere else at night.' (Lit.: 'It is just good (that) I will go differently at night.'

When an argument is shared between a matrix clause and its complement clause and that argument is the direct object of the higher verb and the subject of the verb in the complement clause, it is only expressed by means of a subject marker in the complement clause, not, in addition, by a subject noun phrase, lexical or pronominal. In some paratactic complementation, the shared argument may be expressed by means of a subject phrase; see (29-21) in section 29.2.3, where the third person dual pronoun *keeroqa* in the complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the higher verb *kwai-thathai* 'be ready'.

There may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of the matrix clause, and there may also be a slight pause between the matrix clause and the complement

clause. Neither an intonation rise nor a pause are always present, and both are relatively uncommon in paratactic complementation with shared arguments where the subject of the complement clause and the direct object of the matrix clause are coreferential, as, for example, in the periphrastic causative construction.

29.2.2. Nominalizations

Nominalizations can occur in any noun-phrase position.
Nominalizations as subjects:

(29-16)   *Lio-laa*   *suli-a*   *wela faqekwa*   *qe*
            look-NMLZ PROL-3.OBJ   child be.little   3SG.NFUT

            faqa-ulafu.
            CAUS-work.hard
            'Looking after a little child is hard work.'

In (29-17) the possessor of the nominalization in the subject position has been topicalized:

(29-17)   *Dim Riifs,*   *nguu-la-na*   *qe*   *leqa.*
            Jim Reeves sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT be.good
            'Jim Reeves, he sings well.' (Lit.: 'Jim Reeves, his singing is good.')

Nominalizations as direct objects:

(29-18)   *Bona,*   *qoko*   *rongo-a*   *ngata-laa!*
            be.quiet 2SG.SEQ listen.to-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ
            'Be quiet (and) listen to what is being said (lit.: listen to speaking).'

Nominalizations as oblique objects:

(29-19)   *Fanu=e*   *qafetaqi*   *qana*   *tatha-laa.*
            country=3SG.NFUT be.difficult   GENP   walk-NMLZ
            'The country is difficult to walk around in.' (Lit.: 'The country is difficult with respect to walking.')

Nominalizations as possessors (and possessums):

(29-20)   *Keda-la-na*   *ngata-la-miliqa*   *qe*
          write-NMLZ-3.PERS   speak-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS   3SG.NFUT

          sukani   *qafetaqi.*
          be.of.little.degree   be.difficult
          'Writing how we speak is a little difficult.' (Lit.: 'Writing of our
          speaking is a little difficult.')

For more detail on nominalizations see section 9.1. In this chapter the focus
is on the use of nominalizations with complement-taking verbs. In principle,
any verb can have a nominalization in the subject position, and such cases will
not be considered here, apart from a few exceptions. With one minor exception,
nominalizations in other positions will be discussed only when they are a strat-
egy in addition to complement clauses or when there is a significant difference
between structures with noun phrases that are not headed by a nominalization
and those that are.

29.2.3. Complex complementation structures

There are two ways in which structures that involve complementation may be
more complex than the examples given thus far. Both are elaborations on the
basic structures discussed above. One is stacked, recursive complementation. In
(29-21) the complement-taking verbs are in bold. The first verb has a comple-
ment clause as its direct object, and the verb in the complement clause has a
paratactic complement clause. The complement of the second verb is intro-
duced by the complementizer *na* (discussed in section 29.3).

(29-21)   ... *kali*   *wela*   *wane*   *qeri*   *lio*   *ka*   ***riki-a***
              little.SG child   man   that   look   3SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ

          thaina-na   *bia*   *maka*   *nia*   *kera*
          mother-3SG.PERS   and   father   3SG   3PL.NFUT

          kwai-thathai   *naqa*   *na*   *ni*   *keeroqa*   *sifo*
          LIP-ready   PRF   COMP   PROFORE   3DU   descend

<div style="margin-left: 2em">

qi   *maa-na*   *uusia.*
LOC   point-3.PERS   buy-DVN
'... the little boy looked and saw that his mother and father were ready to go down to the market place.'

</div>

See also (29-26) further below.

And second, a single verb may have more than one complement clause in coordination with each other. In (29-22) the verb 'think' has two coordinate complement clauses: 'they will graduate' ('pass out') and 'they will go overseas' in a complex coordinate structure. Those two complement clauses are also jointly in the scope of the following negating clause 'it was not so'. The counterfactuality is also signalled by the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3).

(29-22)   *Tai*   *wane ki na*   *kera*   *too-too*   *i*   *laa*
          some.PL man PL REL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-stay   LOC   IN

          skul,   *keka*   *maa-manta-toqo-na*   *sa*   *keki*
          school   3PL.SEQ RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   3PL.FUT

          baas qaut keki   *lae*   *mai*   *qana ofasii*   *ma*
          pass out 3PL.FUT go   VENT   GENP overseas   and

          ka   *aqi*   *ki, ma*   *keka*   *sore-qe*   *ba-da,*
          3SG.SEQ not.be.so   PL and   3PL.SEQ say-DETR   LIM-3PL

          "...."
          'Some of the men who had been to (lit.: had stayed at) school and had thought they would graduate (lit.: pass out) and go (lit.: come) overseas but never had, they just said (all they did was say), ("You, you are lucky, you have seen that place that is so difficult to get into.").'

However, rather than a single verb having two (or more) coordinate complement clauses, it is considerably more common for a main clause with a complement-taking verb to be repeated, each verb having its own, single complement clause:

(29-23)   *Toq=qe=ki*   *sui*   *bana*   *keka*   *ofu*   *mai,*
          people=that=PL   EXHST   LIM   3PL.SEQ gather   VENT

          keka   *thathami-a keki*   *riki-a,*   *ma*   *keka*
          3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT see-3SG.OBJ   and   3PL.SEQ

thathami-a keki   thaitoqoma-na.
want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT know-3SG.OBJ
'All the people gathered (there); they wanted to see them [panpipes],
and they wanted to know [how to play] them.'

29.3.   The complementizer

Certain types of complement clauses may be introduced by a complementizer.
The form of the complementizer is *na*, or *n=* when it fuses with the following
subject marker. This fusion takes place, optionally, with subject markers that
begin with *q*. For an example see (29-25) further below. This element also in-
troduces relative clauses (section 30.1), is used with relative prepositional
phrases (section 6.13.2), and functions as a focus marker (section 39.1). Where
the complementizer can occur, it is not obligatory, and its use is not very com-
mon. (It is also occasionally used with clauses that function as the object of
some of the verb-like prepositions; see section 33.1). It cannot be used with
paratactic complement clauses that share an argument with the matrix clause
where the shared argument is the direct object in the matrix clause, for example
in the periphrastic causative construction. The complementizer occurs in the
next three examples. In (29-24) there are two instances of *na*. The first *na* in-
troduces a relative clause, and the second one a direct-object complement
clause.

(29-24)   *Maka   nau   bia   thaina-ku,   manga   na*
           father   1SG   and   mother-1SG.PERS time   REL

           kera   riki-a   na   ni   nau   ku
           3PL.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   COMP   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT

           baqita   naqa,   keka   toda-a   qasia   naqa
           be.big   PRF   3PL.SEQ obtain.money-3.OBJ INTS   INTS

           malefo.
           money
           'My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they
           worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).'

In (29-25) the complementizer occurs in the reduced form *n=*:

(29-25) *Nau kwasi   thaitoqoma-na   n=o   mataqi.*
         1SG 1SG.NEG   know-3.OBJ   COMP=2SG.NFUT be.sick
         'I didn't know that you were sick.'

In (29-26) there is recursive complementation. The complementizer occurs only with the higher complement clause, which is of the paratactic type, but there is no argument sharing between the complement and the matrix clauses:

(29-26) *Qe   abu   laqu boqo na   qo*
         3SG.NFUT   be.forbidden   ADD ASRT COMP   2SG.NFUT

         sore-qe   qoki   lae   ma=i   sa-na.
         say-DETR   2SG.FUT go   VENT=LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS
         'It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.' (This is what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

Where the complementizer is permitted, it is more common for it to be absent than present. There is no complementizer in (29-27) below, and in most of the examples elsewhere.

(29-27) *Ku   sore-qe   sa   moro   mae naqa.*
         1SG.NFUT   think-DETR IRR   2DU.NFUT   die PRF
         'I thought you two had died.'

Compare (29-26), where the complement of the verb *sore-qe* is introduced by the complementizer. (*Sore-qe* has the meanings 'say (that)' and 'think (that)'; see sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8, respectively.)

In (29-28) the subject of the paratactic complement clause is coreferential with the direct object in the matrix clause and the complementizer cannot be used. (Here *n=* functions as a focus marker, not as a complementizer.)

(29-28) *Fanga neqe n=e   ade   nau kwa   moa.*
         food   this FOC=3SG.NFUT do   1SG 1SG.SEQ vomit
         'It was this food that made me vomit.'

29.4.   Complement-taking verbs

29.4.1. Introduction

Following Noonan (1985), a number of semantically-based classes of comple-
ment-taking verbs can be distinguished for Toqabaqita: modal, phasal, desidera-
tive, knowledge and acquisition-of-knowledge, immediate-perception, locution-
ary,[47] propositional-attitude, manipulative, achievement, pretence, and
commentative. There is also a transitive complement-taking verb that serves to
express near future, *karangi* 'be near/close to'. This verb is discussed in detail
(together with its rare variant *karafi*) in section 15.1.2.3, where it is shown that
is unlike typical verbs in some respects.
     Some complement-taking verbs fall in more than one category. For example
riki 'see' can be a verb of immediate perception or a verb of knowl-
edge/acquisition of knowledge. Such verbs are discussed under both categories.
     Nearly all classes of complement-taking verbs allow more than one com-
plementation type, but this does not mean that all members of a given class do
or that all members of a given class take the same types of complement. That is,
the distribution of the complementation types is to a large extent determined
lexically. Some verbs permit more that one complementation strategy, and
some exhibit further idiosyncratic properties with respect to complementation.
The set of complement-taking verbs discussed in the subsequent sections is
intended to be representative rather than exhaustive.

29.4.2. Modal verbs

Three verbs are included here. Two of them, both transitive, express physical
ability, agent-oriented possibility, and permission, and the third one, an intran-
sitive one, expresses prohibition, lack of permission.
     The transitive verbs that express physical ability, agent-oriented possibility,
and permission are discussed first. The verbs are *talaqa* and *faara* 'be able,
capable', 'be possible'. Both are Class 2 transitive verbs, and they are synony-
mous and interchangeable, although *talaqa* is more common than *faara*. *Talaqa*
is historically related to the noun *tala* 'path, track, road', 'way, means of doing
st.', which also expresses self-containedness of situations, and to the preverbal
particle *tala*, which too expresses self-containedness of situations (section
23.1). And *faara* is historically related to the noun *fara* 'space, area underneath,
below', which can also function as a locational noun 'below, under' (section
10.8.6). There is also a locational noun *faara* 'below, under.' Both verbs can
take non-clausal direct objects, in which case they have the senses 'fit sb., st.;

be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.', 'match sb., st.; be a match for sb.'. The first three examples shows the two verbs with objects other than clausal.

(29-29)   *Kaleko neqe e   talaqa-mu.*
           clothes this   3SG.NFUT   fit-2SG.OBJ
           'These clothes fit (are the right size for) you.'

(29-30)   *Malefo naqi qe   faara-na   bo=naqa   botho*
           money   this   3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS pig

           nau   naqi.
           1SG   this
           'This is the right price for my pig.' (Lit.: 'This money fits this pig of mine.')

(29-31)   *Qamali e   rake-qiri,   qe   aqi*
           sea   3SG.NFUT   belly-be.angry   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

           ta   wane   si   {faara-na   /   talaqa-na}.
           some   person 3SG.NEG match-3SG.OBJ /   match-3SG.OBJ
           'The sea is (too) rough; no one can deal with it/stand up to it (lit.: no one can match it).' (For example, no one can go out in a canoe.)

(*Rake-qiri* 'belly'-'be.angry' is a subject-incorporating compound [section 12.3.2]. Its basic meaning is 'be angry', but it can also designate the sea's being rough.)

When *talaqa* and *faara* function as modal verbs, they are glossed 'fit', regardless of the type of modality being expressed. In their modal function, the two verbs take either clauses or nominalizations as their direct objects. Clausal complements are considerably more common with the two verbs than nominalizations, and they are discussed first.

When the object is a clause and the clause is grammatically positive, its subject-tense marker is normally future, but it is possible for a sequential marker to be used instead. (The nonfuture-future distinction is suspended in negation; see section 17.2.) The subject of the modal verb can be either the same as that of the complement clause, or it can be semantically-empty, impersonal, third person singular, regardless of the subject of the complement clause. For convenience, the construction with an impersonal subject is referred to as "impersonal", while the construction with a semantically full subject is referred to as "personal". Not infrequently, however, the modal verbs occur without any subject marker (see further below). Examples (29-32) and (29-33) illustrate the personal and the impersonal constructions, respectively, for both verbs. In (29-

32) the subject markers of the matrix and the complement clauses are identical, second person singular. In (29-33) the complement clause has a second person singular subject marker while the main clause has a third person singular subject marker. The modalities in question are physical ability in (29-32) and root possibility in (29-33) (see further below for the distinction).

(29-32) *Qo*   *{talaqa-na / faara-na}* *qoki*   *ngali-a*
         2SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   /   fit-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ

         baeka   kafara?
         bag   copra
         'Can you carry a bag of copra?' 'Are you able to carry a bag of copra?'

(29-33) *Qe*   *{talaqa-na / faara-na}* *qoki*   *ngali-a*
         3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   /   fit-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ

         baeka   kafara?
         bag   copra
         'Is it (physically) possible for you to carry a bag of copra?'

   The examples in (29-34) and (29-35) below also show the personal and the impersonal constructions with both modal verbs, except that the modal verbs are negated. In (29-34) the noun phrase *kali wela* 'the little child' is a topic phrase (section 17.4) and is indexed in the complement clause by the subject marker, while in (29-35) that noun phrase is the subject of the complement clause.

(29-34) *Kali   wela qe=aqi   si*
         little.SG child 3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG

         {talaqa-na / faara-na} kai   raqa-a   qai.
         fit-3.OBJ   /   fit-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ   tree
         'The little child cannot climb the tree.'

(29-35) *Qe=aqi   si   {talaqa-na / faara-na}*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ   /   fit-3.OBJ

         kali   wela kai   raqa-a   qai.
         little.SG child 3SG.FUT climb-3.OBJ   tree
         'It is not possible for the little child to climb the tree.'

Talaqa and *faara* are used to express agent-oriented ability and root possi-
bility. Agent-oriented ability has to do with the "existence of internal enabling
conditions" (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 177) in the actor with respect to the state of
affairs expressed in the complement, while root possibility has to do with "gen-
eral enabling conditions and is not restricted to the internal conditions of abil-
ity, but also reports on general external conditions, such as social and physical
conditions" (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 178). Root possibility also includes the notion
of permission as socially or personally sanctioned behaviour; see (29-39) fur-
ther below. A few more examples of the two modalities are given below.

In (29-36) and (29-37) it is agent ability that is expressed, its presence and
absence, respectively. The first example also illustrates the less common use of
a sequential rather than a future-tense subject marker in the complement clause.

(29-36) *Roo wela baa ki   keka   baqita bo=naqa, ma*
         two   child that PL   3PL.SEQ be.big   ASRT=INTS and

         keka   talaqa-na naqa keka   firu.
         3PL.SEQ fit-3.OBJ   PRF   3PL.SEQ fight
         'The two children had grown very big and they were now able to
         fight.'

(29-37) *Nau ku   mataqi, qe=aqi   kwasi*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT be.sick 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

         faara-na   kwai   raa.
         fit-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   work
         'I'm sick (and) can't work.'

In the next two examples it is root possibility that is expressed, or rather its
absence. In the state of affairs described in (29-38) the conditions of the soil
make it impossible to plant (or rather, grow) taros there.

(29-38) *Laa gano   naqi qe   fau-la,*
         IN   soil   this 3SG.NFUT   stone-PROP

         qe=aqi   si   talaqa-na kuki
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ   PL(INCL).FUT

         kilu-a   qana   alo.
         plant.taro.in-3SG.OBJ   GENP   taro
         'This soil is stony. It is not possible for us to plant taros in it.'

And in the overall situation expressed in (29-39), the relevant state of affairs was not sanctioned by cultural factors and therefore could not take place. In earlier times, women who were close to giving birth were not permitted to be near men:

(29-39)   *Ma   toqa   baa   keka   quna   qeri,   "Qoo,*
        and   people   that   3PL.SEQ   manner   this   oh

        qe   aqi   si   talaqa-na   qoki   lae
        3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   go

        ma=i   laa   baru   neqe,   ada   qoko
        VENT=LOC   IN   canoe   this   TIM   2SG.SEQ

        faqa-futa   qi   ei."
        CAUS-be.born   LOC   LOCPRO
        'And the people said, "Oh, it's not possible for you to come into this canoe, because you might give birth (in) here.".'

It is not uncommon for *talaqa* or *faara* to occur without a subject marker. In (29-40) below, the complement clause contains the first person singular (future) subject marker. The modal verb has no subject marker, but it is accompanied by the limiter *ba-*, which carries the third person singular personal suffix. The personal suffix indexes the subject (sections 5.2.10.1 and 5.2.11); compare the limiter in the complement clause, where it carries the first person singular personal suffix. Since the personal suffix on the limiter with the modal verb is third person singular, the omitted subject marker would have been third person singular too. That is, the construction is of the impersonal type.

(29-40)   *Talaqa-na   ba-na   kwai   lae*
        fit-3.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS   1SG.FUT   go

        ba=ka-kuqa   bii   qoe?
        LIM=AND-1SG.PERS   COM   2SG
        'Is it possible for me to go with you?'

In other cases, however, there is no direct evidence whether the construction is of the impersonal or the personal type. In (29-41) the omitted subject marker could, in principle, be third person singular functioning non-referentially, or second person singular:

(29-41)   *Qoo, wane   kwaimaani qae, talaqa-na   qoki*
           oh   man   be.friendly VOC fit-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT

           kwethu   ba=ka-muqa   qi   naqo-ku, ...
           shine.torch LIM=AND-2SG.PERS   LOC   front-1SG.PERS
           'Oh, my friendly man, can you/is it possible for you to shine a torch
           in front of me (so that I can move in the dark) ....'

However, when there is evidence available, as in the case of (29-40) above, the construction is always of the impersonal type when the modal verb occurs without a subject marker.

Clauses as direct objects of the modal verbs can express states of affairs that obtain on specific occasions, or they can express generic, habitual (types of) states of affairs not restricted to a given occasion; see, for example, (29-37) and (29-36) above, respectively, for the personal construction, and (29-40) and (29-38), respectively, for the impersonal construction.

Both modal verbs, *talaqa* and *faara*, can also take nominalizations as their direct objects. However, nominalizations are much less common than complement clauses, and they can only be used in the personal type of construction. That is, the subject of the modal verb must be referential, expressing the actor participant in the state of affairs expressed by the nominalization. The nominalization construction is used when the state of affairs in question is a general, habitual one, rather than one that obtains on a specific occasion. In cases of generic, habitual situations, either a finite complement clause or a nominalization is possible, as in (29-42a) and (29-42b), respectively:

(29-42)   a.   *Nia   e   talaqa-na   kai*
               3SG   3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT

               qaru-toqo-na   kwanga.
               fall-TEST-3.OBJ   rifle
               'He can/may use a rifle.'

          b.   *Nia   e   talaqa-na*
               3SG   3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ

               qaru-toqo-na-la-na   kwanga.
               fall-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS rifle
               'He can/may use a rifle.'

(For nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs, of which *qaru-toqo* ('fall'-TEST) 'use' is one, see section 9.1.1.)

Either sentence in (29-42) could be used about a man applying for a licence to use a rifle: he is physically (and mentally) capable of using a rifle and (so) may use one.

The next two examples too contain nominalizations:

(29-43) *Kesi   talaqa-na   naqa raa-laa,   nau   naqa bia*
         3DU.NEG   fit-3.OBJ   PRF   work-NMLZ   1SG   PRF   and

         kukeqe   nau   na   mere   qadomi keeroqa
         wife   1SG   FOC   1DU(EXCL).NFUT help   3DU

         qa=si   fanga,   ma   si   qai, ...
         GENP=PRTT   food   and   PRTT   wood
         'They [the speaker's aged parents] were no longer able to work, (and) it was me then and my wife who helped them out with food, and (with) (fire)wood, ...'

In the overall state of affairs described in (29-44) the giving in question had happened on various occasions and similarly the contemplated reciprocating would have taken place more than once:

(29-44) *Nau   ma   wela nau   ki misi   talaqa-na   boqo*
         1SG   and   child 1SG   PL 1PL(EXCL).NEG   fit-3.OBJ   ASRT

         duqu-la-na   fale-la-mu.
         reciprocate-NMLZ-3.PERS   give-NMLZ-2SG.PERS
         'I and my children are not/will not be able to reciprocate concerning (all) the things you have given (to us).' (Lit.: 'I and my children are not/will not be a match for reciprocating your giving.')

Permission can also be expressed indirectly by means of the commentative verb *leqa* 'be good, nice'. That which is characterized as good is normally also permitted. See example (29-213) in section 29.4.12.

The third modal verb discussed here is *abu* 'be taboo, forbidden; not be allowed'. *Abu* is an intransitive verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The subject marker of *abu* is always third person singular, impersonal, semantically-empty. There are no restrictions on the tense/mood/sequentiality subject markers in its complement clauses.

(29-45) *Qe   abu   laqu boqo qoki   quna*
         3SG.NFUT   not.be.allowed   ADD ASRT 2SG.FUT   manner

> *qeri, "Araqi   qena,   fanga   qoe ki loq.*
> this   mature.man   that(2)   food   2SG PL up.there

> *Lae, qoko   fanga. Qani-a   fanga   naqi ki."*
> go   2SG.SEQ   eat   eat-3.OBJ food   this PL
> 'Neither is it allowed for you to say this [to a mature man when tell-
> ing him to have food], "Old man, up there is your food (lit.: foods).
> Go (and) eat. Eat this food.".' (Lit.: 'It is also not allowed you say,
> "....".')

In (29-46) the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*:

(29-46) *Qe   abu   laqu boqo na   qo*
         3SG.NFUT be.forbidden ADD ASRT COMP   2SG.NFUT

         sore-qe   qoki   lae   ma=i   sa-na.
         say-DETR   2SG.FUT go   VENT=LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS
         'It is also forbidden for you to say you will come to her.' (This is
         what a man should not do when speaking to a married woman who
         is inside her house and her husband is not present.)

Abu may simultaneously have a modal and a manipulative force: by telling
someone that something is forbidden, not allowed, one may (try to) manipulate
them into not doing it.

29.4.3. The phasal verb

There is (at least) one phasal complement-taking verb in Toqabaqita: *thafali*
'begin, start'. *Thafali* is a Class 1 transitive verb, and it can take non-clausal
direct objects:

(29-47) *Grup   qeri kera   thafali-a   ma=i*
         group   that 3PL.NFUT start-3SG.OBJ   VENT=LOC

         laal-a   figu-a   na=i   Irobuli ....
         inside-3.PERS   gather-DVN   REL=LOC   Irobuli
         'That [musical] group, they started it in the congregation at Irobuli
         [church] ....'

Thafali can take a clause or a nominalization as its direct object, but the two
constructions are not synonymous.

Thafali can have the meaning 'begin to do st.'. In such cases it takes complement clauses. There is also a preverbal inceptive particle of the same phonological form, which can be used with this meaning; see section 29.5. There must be identity of subjects between the complement clause and the *thafali* clause. The subject marker in the complement clause must be future-tense. The complement clause cannot contain a subject noun phrase. In (29-48) there are two instances of *thafali*. The first one has a clause as its direct object, and the second one has a non-clausal direct object:

(29-48)   *Manga   na   keki   thafali-a   keki   qani-a*
           time   REL   3PL.IPFV   begin-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT   eat-3.OBJ

           oqola   kera   qeri,   keka   lae   keka   thafali-a
           garden   3PL   that   3PL.SEQ   go   3PL.SEQ   start-3.OBJ

           laqu   boqo   ta   si   kula   faalu.
           ADD   ASRT   some   PRTT   place   be.new
           'When they begin to eat (food from) that garden of theirs, they go
           and start a new place (to make a garden there).'

Two more examples of *thafali* with complement clauses are given below. In the first one the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*.

(29-49)   *Nau   ku   thafali-a   na   kwai   uqunu*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   begin-3.OBJ   COMP   1SG.FUT   tell.story

           suli-a   tha   Bariqi.
           PROL-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Bariqi
           'I am beginning to tell the story about Bariqi.'

(29-50)   *Wane,   si   manga   n=e   thafali-a*
           man   PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   start-3.OBJ

           kai   raa   qana   oqola   nia,   nia   kai
           3SG.FUT   work   GENP   garden   3SG   3SG   3SG.FUT

           kwaqe   fasi   suli-a   oqola   qeri   tootoqonaqo, ...
           cut   PREC   PROL-3.OBJ   garden   that   earlier.time
           'A man, when he starts working on a (new) garden of his [that is,
           when he starts making a new garden], he will first of all cut down
           (the bush) along the perimeter of the garden (lit.: he will first of all
           cut along that garden).'

Thafali can also be used with the meaning 'begin, start by doing st.'. In that case it takes nominalizations as its direct object. The nominalization encodes the situation with which something is begun:

(29-51)   ... *keka*   *thafali-a*   *bo=naqa*   *kwae-laa*
          3PL.SEQ begin-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS   sing.in.choir-NMLZ

          ni   *bana* *ma*   *nguuli-la-na*   *fa*   *nguu* *ni*
          LIG   LIM   and   sing-NMLZ-3.PERS   CLF   song   LIG

          bana *qi*   *laa*   *sios.*
          LIM   LOC   IN   church
          '... they [a musical group] began by just singing choir-like and by singing songs in church.' (That is, that was all the group did in its initial stages.)

While complement clauses are used in Toqabaqita to encode the beginning of a state of affairs, there are no complement-clause structures to encode the end or continuation of a state of affairs. To express the end of a state of affairs, either the intransitive verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished' is used (section 35.3.2.2.3) or the postverbal completive particles *sui* or, rarely, *danga* (section 5.2.4). The notion of continuation of a state of affairs can be expressed by means of the postverbal anterior-continuing particle *quu* (section 5.2.3) or by reduplication of the verb (section 15.2.3).

29.4.4. Desiderative verbs

The following verbs are included here: *thathami* 'want', 'like', 'wish'; *lalakwa* 'not want', 'not like'; *manata-toqo* 'think of doing st.', 'want, intend to do st.'; *laloma* 'intend to do st.'; and *toqe* 'desire, intend to do st.' 'have one's mind set on doing st.'.
    Thathami 'want', 'like', 'wish' is a Class 1 transitive verb and can take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-52)   *Qo*   *thathami-a*   *alo*   *mada*   *kai?*
          2SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   taro   or   yam
          'Do you want the taro or the yam?'

Thathami takes complement clauses and nominalizations as its direct objects. There is also a preverbal desiderative particle *thathami* (section 29.5). Complementation using clauses is discussed first. This strategy can be used

regardless of whether or not there is identity of subjects between the comple-
ment clause and the *thathami* clause. Grammatically positive complement
clauses must contain the appropriate future-tense or sequential subject marker,
the former being more common. Grammatically negative complement clauses
contain the appropriate negative subject marker. The first four examples show
constructions where the subjects in the complement clause and in the *thathami*
clause are different. In the first three the complement clauses are grammatically
positive.

(29-53)   *Iu,   ma   ni   nau   ku   thathami-a*
           yes   and   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ

       kamaroqa   moki   baqo-a   alinga-ku ….
       2DU   2DU.FUT   pierce-3.OBJ   ear-1SG.PERS
       'Yes, and I want you two to pierce my ears ….' (Lit.: 'Yes, and I
       want [it] you two will pierce my ears ….')

The second person dual pronoun *kamaroqa* in (29-53) is the subject of the
complement clause, not the direct object of *thathami* 'want'. This is evidenced
by the presence of the third person object marker *-a* on *thathami*. See also sec-
tion 29.2.1 for discussion.

(29-54)   *Kamareqa   thathami-a   qoki   thau-ngani-a   si*
           1DU(EXCL)   want-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   make-TR-3.OBJ   PREC

       qa-mareqa   ta   roo   basi.
       RECBEN-1DU(EXCL).PERS   some   two   bow
       'We want you to make us two bows [for shooting arrows] first.'

The next example shows the free variation between a future-tense and a
sequential subject marker in the complement clause, but the use of the future-
tense subject marker is more common:

(29-55)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a   {muki   /   muka}   beta*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   2PL.FUT   /   2PL.SEQ   take.care

       leqa   suli-a.
       be.good   PROL-3SG.OBJ
       'I want you to take good care of him.' 'I want you to care well for
       him.'

In (29-56) the complement clause is grammatically negative:

(29-56) *Nau ku   thathami-a wela   nau   qe*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ child   1SG   3SG.NFUT

         aqi   si   ngata   bia   thaari   neqe.
         NEGV   3SG.NEG   speak   COM   girl   this
         'I want my son (lit.: child) not to speak with this girl.'

Negation in desiderative complementation is discussed in more detail further below.

In the next two examples the subjects of the complement clauses and the matrix clauses are identical.

(29-57) *Nau ku   thathami-a   kwai   rongo-a*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   hear-3.OBJ

         qa-kuqa   uqunu   fasi   qoe.
         SBEN-1SG.PERS   story   ABL   2SG
         'I want to hear (some) stories from you.'

(29-58) *Toq=qe=ki   sui   bana   keka   ofu   mai,*
         people=that=PL   EXHST   LIM   3PL.SEQ gather   VENT

         keka   thathami-a keki   riki-a,   ma   keka
         3PL.SEQ   want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT see-3SG.OBJ   and   3PL.SEQ

         thathami-a keki   thaitoqoma-na.
         want-3.OBJ 3PL.FUT know-3SG.OBJ
         'All the people gathered (there); they wanted to see them [panpipes],
         and they wanted to know [how to play] them.'

In all the examples of complement clauses of *thathami* 'want' presented thus far, the desired states of affairs are conceived of as ones that may occur, or are likely to occur, or at least there is no reason to think they will not occur (although it may turn out that a desired state of affairs did not materialize after all). To express the fact that a desired situation is not particularly strongly expected to take place or to express counterfactuality, that is, non-realization of a desired state of affairs, the irrealis marker *sa* is used in the complement clause.

(29-59) *Nau ku   thathami-a   wela nau ki   sa*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   child 1SG PL   IRR

keki	*qadomi*	*nau*	*faafi-a*		*raa*	*nau*	*ki.*
3PL.FUT	help	1SG	concerning -3.OBJ		work	1SG	PL

'I wish my children would help me with my work (lit.: works).'

For discussion and more examples see section 18.3.

A complement clause embedded under *thathami* 'want' can be negative.

(29-60) *Maka   qoe   qe   thathami-a qe   aqi*
         father   2SG   3SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT   NEGV

        qosi   sifo   uri   qamali.
        2SG.NEG   descend   ALL   sea

        'Your father wants you not to go down to the sea.'

For another example see (29-56) further above.

However, this way of negating desiderative constructions with complement clauses is not common. Instead, it is normally the main clause that is negative, grammatically and/or semantically. While it is true that 'want that X not be the case' and 'not want that X be the case' are not fully synonymous, the latter type of expression is the norm in Toqabaqita, while the former type is dispreferred. There are two ways in which negation of a want or wish can be expressed in the main clause. One is by negating *thathami* 'want', and the other is by using the verb *lalakwa* 'not want', 'not like' in a grammatically positive clause. Unlike *thathami*, *lalakwa* is an intransitive verb. It can take non-clausal oblique objects that express that which is not liked. The oblique object is governed by the general preposition *qani*.

(29-61) *Nau   ku   lalakwa qana   taumanga.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.like GENP   k.o.pudding

        'I don't like *taumanga* pudding.'

Lalakwa takes paratactic complement clauses. This type of construction can be used only when the subjects of the complement clause and the *lalakwa* clause are different. Grammatically positive complement clauses require the appropriate future-tense subject marker; in addition, there may a subject noun phrase.

Although *lalakwa* is synonymous with negated *thathami*, the privileges of occurrence of the two verbs are not identical. *Thathami* can take complement clauses regardless of whether or not the main and the complement clause have identical subjects. On the other hand, *lalakwa* can have a complement clause only if the subjects are not identical. There is a preverbal undesiderative particle, also of the form *lalakwa*, used when the person, etc. not wanting a state of

affairs to come about is the same person, etc. as the one who would otherwise bring it about or who may have to bring it about nevertheless; see section 29.5. The sentences in (29-62) and (29-63) show the alternative constructions with *lalakwa* and with negated *thathami*, respectively:

(29-62) *Maka   qoe   qe   lalakwa   qoki   sifo*
        father   2SG   3SG.NFUT   not.want   2SG.FUT descend

        uri   qamali.
        ALL   sea
        'Your father does not want you to go down to the sea.'

(29-63) *Maka   qoe   qe   aqi   si   thathami-a*
        father   2SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   want-3.OBJ

        qoki   sifo   uri   qamali.
        2SG.FUT   descend   ALL   sea
        'Your father does not want you to go down to the sea.'

Compare (29-63), with negation in the *thathami* clause, and (29-60), with negation in the complement clause.

Three more examples with *lalakwa* 'not want' are given in (29-64) – (29-66).

(29-64) *Nau   ku   lalakwa   qoki   sorry.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.want   2SG.FUT   be/feel.sad
        'I don't want you to be/feel sad.'

In (29-65) the complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*, and it has a subject noun phrase:

(29-65) *Nau   ku   lalakwa   na   wela nau kai*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.want   COMP   child 1SG   3SG.FUT

        ngata   bia   thaari   neqe.
        speak   COM girl   this
        'I don't want my son (lit.: child) to speak with this girl.'

Compare (29-56) further above with *thathami* 'want' in the matrix clause and a negated complement clause.

And in (29-66) the complement clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* (here reduced to *s=*), which may signal a feeling on the part of the speaker that the

undesirable situation may, in fact, take place; or it may signal counterfactuality: the undesirable event did take place (section 18.3).

(29-66)   *Ku   lalakwa   s=oki   sifo   uri   qamali.*
          1SG.NFUT   not.want   IRR=2SG.FUT descend   ALL   sea
          a. 'I wish you wouldn't go down to the sea.'
          b. 'I didn't want you to go down to the sea (but you did).'

The clausal complements both of *thathami* 'want' and of *lalakwa* 'not want' can be used when reference is made to specific situations or to generic, habitual (types of) situations; see, for example, (29-53) further above for *thathami* and (29-64) for *lalakwa*, respectively.

Both verbs can also take nominalizations as their complements: direct objects in the case of transitive *thathami*, and oblique objects introduced by the general preposition *qani* in the case of intransitive *lalakwa*. This kind of complementation strategy is used to express general, habitual states of affairs rather than ones that (would) obtain on a specific occasion.

(29-67)   *Keka   thathami-a   qasia   naqa   uqunu-laa.*
          3PL.SEQ   like-3.OBJ   INTS   INTS   converse-NMLZ
          'They liked conversing (with each other) a lot.' 'They liked very much to converse (with each other).'

(29-68)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   qana   qani-la-na   raisi*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.like GENP   eat-NMLZ-3.PERS rice

          raarangeqa   suli-a   bongi.
          (food)be.without.accompaniment   PROL-3.OBJ   day
          'I don't like eating plain rice (without meat or anything else) day after day (lit.: along days).'

See also (29-218) in section 29.5.

Another desiderative verb is *manata-toqo* 'think of doing st.', 'want, intend to do st.'. *Manata-toqo* can also function as a propositional-attitude verb (section 29.4.8.) *Manata-toqo* is a Class 2 transitive verb. It consists of *manata* 'think about sb, st.', 'think about doing st.' and the TEST suffix *-toqo* (section 4.2.3.3.2.2). (Intransitive *manata* does not take complement clauses. The potential event is expressed in a purpose clause or a purpose nominalization; see [32-8] in section 32.2 for an example of the former.) Not infrequently, *manata-toqo* is pronounced /mantatɔʔɔ/ or even /mantɔʔɔ/. *Manata-toqo* can take non-clausal direct objects, in which case it has the meaning 'think about sb., st.':

(29-69)   *Nau   ku   {manata-toqo-na   /*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think.about-TEST-3.OBJ /

          man-toqo-na}   wela nau.
          think.about-TEST-3.OBJ child 1SG
          'I am thinking about my child.'

As a desiderative verb, *manata-toqo* takes direct-object complement clauses. Its own subject and the subject of the complement clause must be coreferential (but see further below for the use of *manata-toqo* in one kind of [verb verb] compound), and the complement clause, if grammatically positive, must have the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

(29-70)   *Tootoo qi   laa teqe fa   thato wane   qeri bia*
          later   LOC   IN   one   CLF   day   man   that and

          kwai-na   keko   manata-toqo-na keki
          spouse-3SG.PERS   3DU.SEQ   think-TEST-3.OBJ 3DU.FUT

          sifo   qi   maa-na   uusi-a.
          descend   LOC   point-3.PERS buy-DVN
          'One day some time later, the man and his wife thought of going down to the market place.'

(29-71)   *Wane   e   manta-toqo-na   kai*
          man   3SG.NFUT think-TEST-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

          kasi-a   biqu   nia.
          build.house-3.OBJ   house   3SG
          'The man is thinking of building a house for himself (lit.: his house).'

Manata-toqo can be followed by the verb *ngado* 'be still, settled, firm' in a [verb verb] compound. The compound has the meaning 'hope, expect that such and such will be the case', 'have one's mind set on such and such'. The compound is an intransitive verb and takes paratactic clauses as its complements. (Exceptionally, *manata-toqo* is not a transitive verb in the compound, the way Class 2 transitive verbs normally are as the first members of [verb verb] compounds.) The complement clause, if grammatically positive, must have the appropriate future-tense marker. With the compound (unlike with *manata-toqo* alone) the subjects of the two clauses may be the same or different. In (29-72) they are identical:

(29-72)   *Nau   ku   manta-toqo   ngado,   tootoo   kwai*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST   be.firm   later   1SG.FUT

          thau-ngani-a   teqe   sitoa.
          make-TR-3.OBJ   one   store
          'I hope to have/open (lit.: make) a store one day.' 'I have my mind
          set on having/opening a store one day.'

If the subjects of the two clauses are different, the participant encoded as the
subject of the complement clause is also realized as an oblique object of the
compound, with the general preposition *qani*. In the complement clause it is
encoded only by means of a subject marker. In (29-73) the relevant participant
is the speaker's child:

(29-73)   *Nau   ku   manta-toqo   ngado   qana   wela nau*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST   be.firm GENP   child 1SG

          kai   qakwaa.
          3SG.FUT   be.cured
          'I hope my child will be cured.'

Manata-toqo can function not only as a desiderative verb but also as a pro-
positional-attitude verb 'think that, assume that' (section 29.4.8).

To express an intention or a plan to do something, it is also possible to use
laloma-toqo 'intend to do st.'. *Laloma-toqo* is a Class 2 transitive verb. It con-
sists of *laloma* 'think (about doing st.)' and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. *Laloma-toqo*
takes a complement clause as its direct object. Grammatically positive comple-
ment clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject marker. The subjects of
the complement clause and the matrix clause must be identical.

(29-74)   *Wane   e   laloma-toqo-na   kai*
          man   3SG.NFUT   intend-TEST-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

          kasi-a   biqu   nia.
          build.house-3.OBJ house   3SG
          'The man intends to build a house for himself (lit.: his house).'

Compare the semantically similar sentence in (29-71) further above with
manta-toqo 'think of doing st.'.

The last desiderative verb to be discussed is *toqe*, a Class 1 transitive verb. *Toqe* can take non-clausal direct objects. In that function it has a variety of senses having to do with physical actions: poking, pricking, hittting, bumping into:

(29-75) *Maa-ku   na   si   qai   e   toqe-a*
         eye-1SG.PERS REL PRTT wood   3SG.NFUT hit/poke-3SG.OBJ

         ka   fii.
         3SG.SEQ hurt
         'My eye that had been hit/poked by a stick (lit.: that a stick had hit/poked) hurt.'

Toqe can be used as a desiderative verb with the meaning 'desire, intend to do st.' 'have one's mind set on doing st.' (and also as a verb of immediate perception, 'glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of'; see section 29.4.6). In this function it takes as its subject a noun phrase headed either by the noun 'mind, thought' or by the noun 'body' in a suffixing possessive connstruction, where the possessor encodes the person who has the desire or intention. The complement is a clause that functions as the direct object. The subjects of the complement and the matrix clauses must be identical, and the complement clause, if grammatically positive, has the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

(29-76) *Manta-ku   e   toqe-a   kwai*
         mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   hit-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

         fasi-a   teqe bariki.
         plant-3.OBJ   one   coconut.grove
         'I intend to plant a coconut grove.' 'I have my mind set on planting a coconut grove.'

(29-77) *Nau seqe-ku   e   toqe-a   kwai   lae*
         1SG   body-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   hit-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   go

         naqa.
         PRF
         'I want/intend to go now.'

The construction with either 'mind, thought' or 'body' as the head of the subject phrase can also be used with non-clausal objects:

(29-78)   *Seqe-ku*   *e*   *toqe-a*   *malefo.*
        body-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   hit-3.OBJ   money
        'I want (to have) money.' 'I have my mind set on (having, getting) money.'

29.4.5. Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

Included here are the following verbs: *thaitoqoma* 'know (about) sb., st.', 'know that', 'realize that', 'know how'; *dora* 'not know (about) sb., st.', 'not know how'; *fula-toqo* 'conclude that', 'discover, determine that'; *riki* 'see that'; and *rongo* 'hear that'.

    Thaitoqoma 'know that', 'realize that', 'know how' consists historically of the verb *thai* 'know' (not found in the language today), the TEST suffix *-toqo*, and *-ma*, which may be the reduced variant of the ventive directional *-mai* (section 5.2.14.1). It is a Class 2 transitive verb and can take non-clausal direct objects. In that function it has the meaning 'know (about) sb., st.':

(29-79)   *Qo*   *thaitoqoma-na*   *kini*   *qeri.*
        2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   woman   this?
        'Do you know this woman?'

    Thaitoqoma can take clauses and nominalizations as its direct objects, but the two types of construction are not synonymous. Clausal complements are discussed first. They can encode states of affairs of any temporal status. The subjects of the complement and the matrix clauses may be identical or different.

(29-80)   *Manga* *n=e*$_i$ *thaitoqoma-na*   *nia*$_i$
        time   REL=3SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   3SG

        karangi-a   *kai*   *nofi naqa,*   *ka*$_i$
        be.near.to-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   die   PRF   3SG.SEQ

        baqe   *uri-a*   *tha*   *Walanifau ma*   *tha*
        speak   ALL-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Walanifau and   PERSMKR

        Bualigia,   *ka*$_i$ *quna*   *qeri, "...."*
        Bualigia   3SG.SEQ   manner   this
        'When he$_i$ knew he$_i$ was about to die, he$_i$ spoke to Walanifau and Bualigia and said, "....".'

(29-81)   *Nau   ku   thaitoqoma-na   araqi   loo*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   mature.man   upward

           e   qadomi   nau   ba-na.
           3SG.NFUT   help   1SG   LIM-3SG.PERS
           'I know that God just/simply helps me.'

In (29-82) the complement clause is negative and is introduced by the complementizer *na*. The 'know' clause with its complement clause is itself a direct-object complement of the desiderative verb 'want'.

(29-82)   *Keka   thathami-a   keki   thaitoqoma-na   na*
           3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT know-3.OBJ   COMP

           ni   nia   n=e   aqi   si
           PROFORE   3SG   FOC=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

           luka-taqi   kera, ...
           abandon-TR   3PL
           'They wanted to know that he [their ancestral spirit] had not abandoned them, ...'

In (29-82) it is the verb in the complement of *thaitoqoma* 'know' that is negated. Negation of *thaitoqoma* is discussed further below.

In (29-83) *thaitoqoma* is used to express acquisition of knowledge. The complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*:

(29-83)   *Si   manga   na   wela   baa   ki   kere   lio   ma*
           PRTT time   REL   child   that PL   3PL.NFUT look   and

           tha   Bariqi   ka   aqi   si   fula
           PERSMKR   Bariqi   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG   arrive

           naqa, keka   thaitoqoma-na   na   tha
           PRF   3PL.SEQ know-3.OBJ   COMP   PERSMKR

           Bariqi   qe   thaka.
           Bariqi   3SG.NFUT   escape
           'When the children looked and Bariqi had not arrived, they knew/realized Bariqi had escaped.'

Thaitoqoma is used not only with the sense 'know that' but also with the sense 'know how', to express knowledge how to do something, how to bring a state of affairs about. In such cases the direct object is not a clause but a nominalization.

(29-84)   *Qo   thaitoqoma-na   teqe-maqi-laa?*
   2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   one-TR-NMLZ
   'Do you know how to count?' 'Do you know how to read?'

(29-85)   *Thaari   naqi   qe   thaitoqoma-na   qasia   naqa*
   girl   this   3SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   INTS   INTS

   kuki-la-na   raisi.
   cook-NMLZ-3.PERS   rice
   'This girl knows very well how to cook rice.' (Lit.: 'This girl knows very much cooking of rice.')

To express lack of knowledge how to do something, there are two possibilities. One is to negate *thaitoqoma* 'know how':

(29-86)   *Qe   aqi   kwasi   thaitoqoma-na*
   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG   know-3.OBJ

   qaranga-laa.
   swim-NMLZ
   'I don't know how to swim.'

The other way is to use the verb *dora* 'not know (about) sb., st.', 'not know how' in a grammatically positive clause. *Dora* is an intransitive verb that takes oblique-object complements introduced by the general preposition *qani*. The oblique object may have a (true) noun, not a nominalization, as its head, 'not know (about) sb., st.':

(29-87)   *Nau   ku   dora   qana toqa   lakoo   ki.*
   1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP people   that(3)   PL
   'I don't know those people.'

To express lack of knowledge how to do something, *dora* takes a nominalization as the oblique object, also with the general preposition:

(29-88)   *Nau   ku   dora   qana   qaranga-laa.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP   swim-NMLZ
           'I don't know how to swim.'

Compare the synonymous sentence in (29-86) further above, with negated *thai-toqoma* 'know how' in place of *dora*.

In (29-89) the nominalization involves a verb with an incorporated object:

(29-89)   *Qo   dora   qana   fasi-butete-laa.*
           2SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP   plant-sweet.potato-NMLZ
           'You don't know how to plant sweet potatoes.'

Dora can be used to express lack of knowledge how to bring about a type of state of affairs in general, as in the two examples above: not knowing how to swim, not knowing how to plant sweet potatoes. It can also be used to express lack of knowledge/capability to bring about a state of affairs on a specific occasion, because of some inhibiting conditions, even though the person does otherwise have the knowledge to bring about that kind of state of affairs. The individual has the knowledge in general but does not know how apply it, given the circumstances. There is some overlap here between the sense of having the knowledge and the sense of agent-oriented modality of having the physical ability to do something (section 29.4.2).

(29-90)   ... *oomea   fu=e   firu,   ma   keka*
               enemy   that=3SG.NFUT   fight   and   3PL.SEQ

           uri-a,   m=e   dora   qana
           step.on-3SG.OBJ   and=3SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP

           thaka-laa.
           escape-NMLZ
           '... the enemies were fighting, and they were stepping/treading on him, and he didn't know how to escape.'

In the next example there are three instances of *dora*. In the first two cases, what is involved is the person's inability, due to some inhibiting conditions, to sleep and eat in the given circumstances. Clearly, the person knows in general how to sleep and how to eat, but in the situation described she was not able to do it (well). In the third case what is involved is inability, lack of knowledge how, to perform a kind of activity in general.

(29-91)   *Oh   my   God, nau   ku   dora   qana*
       oh   my   God 1SG   1SG.NFUT not.know   GENP

          biinga-laa   qa=fa   rodo,   ma   kwa   dora
          sleep-NMLZ   LOC=CLF   night   and   1SG.SEQ   not.know

          qana   fanga-laa, suli-a   ku   dora
          GENP   eat-NMLZ   REAS-3.OBJ   1SG.NFUT not.know

          qana   qani-la-na   Japanese   food.
          GENP   eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese   food
          'Oh my God, I was not able to sleep (I did not know how to get to sleep) at night, and I could not eat (I did not know how to eat), because I did not know how to eat Japanese food.'

Dora can also function as a negative-achievement verb with the meaning 'forget' (section 29.4.10).

The Class 1 transitive verbs *riki* 'see', 'look at' and *rongo* 'hear', 'listen to' can function both as immediate-perception verbs (section 29.4.6) and as verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge. Both verbs can take non-clausal direct objects; see section 29.4.6 for examples. As verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, they both take direct-object complement clauses, but there is one point of difference between them, which is discussed further below.

In (29-92) it is *riki* that functions as a verb of (acquisition of) knowledge:

(29-92)   ... *keka   riki-a   naqa nia   qe   sifo   naqa*
          3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ   PRF   3SG   3SG.NFUT descend PRF

          qi   laa   qamali   baa.
          LOC   IN   sea   that
          '... they saw that he had gone down into the sea.'

In (29-92) *riki* 'see' does not function as an immediate-perception verb. This is evidenced by two facts. One is the presence of the perfect marker with the verb *sifo* 'descend', which signals that the event of the man's going down into the sea took place before the event of the others seeing/finding out that he had done that. And second, when *riki* 'see' and *rongo* 'hear' function as immediate-perception verbs, the participant that is encoded as the subject of the complement clause is also encoded as the direct object of *riki* or *rongo*. That is, there the two verbs take paratactic complement clauses. This is not the case in (29-92). The third person pronoun *nia* cannot be the object of *riki* for two reasons. First, it is placed after the perfect marker, which it would precede if it were the

object of *riki* (see [4-1] in section 4.1); and second, *riki* carries the third person object suffix, but an object suffix and a pronoun in the direct-object position cannot cooccur (section 4.2.3.2.1). See also the discussion in section 29.2.1. In (29-92) *nia* functions as the subject of the complement clause.

Similarly in (29-93) *riki* 'see' functions as a knowledge verb, not an immediate-perception verb: the subject marker in the complement clause is second person plural, while the object suffix on *riki* is third person (singular).

(29-93)   ... *kwa   fula   kwa   riki-a   na   muki*
           1SG.SEQ arrive   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   COMP   2PL.IPFV

           too   ba-muluqa   qan=teqe   si   too-laa   qeri
           stay   LIM-2PL.PERS GENP=one   PRTT stay-NMLZ that

           bana,   nau   kwai   ngali kamuluqa i   laa   lokap.
           LIM   1SG   1SG.FUT take   2PL   LOC   IN   jail
           '[If, after the 14 days of warning to you to abandon the Marching
           Rule movement] I arrive and see that you haven't budged [i.e., that
           the addressees have not abandoned the movement], I will put you in
           jail.' (Lit.: '… I arrive and see that you are staying in just that one
           staying, I will take you in jail.')

In (29-94) it is *rongo* 'hear' that functions as an acquisition-of-knowledge verb. Here too there is not coreferentiality between the subject of the complement clause and the direct object of *rongo*. And here too the two situations are not located at the same time: the event of the addressee's going is to take place some time after the event of the third person hearing about it.

(29-94)   *Qe   rongo-a   qoki   lae   kau.*
           3SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT go   AND
           'He (has) heard that you will go away.'

Instead of the transitive verb *rongo*, it is possible to use its detransitivized variant *rongo-qi* (section 4.6). However, this is not very common. *Rongo-qi*, not being a transitive verb, takes paratactic complement clauses. Examples (29-95a) and (29-95b) show the two possibilities:

(29-95)   a.   *Nau ku   rongo-a   teqe wane   qe*
                1SG   1SG.NFUT hear-3.OBJ one   man   3SG.NFUT

> *thau wane.*
> kill   person
> 'I heard that a man had killed someone.'

> b.   *Nau ku   rongo-qi teqe wane   qe*
>   1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-DETR one   man   3SG.NFUT
>
> *thau wane.*
> kill   person
> 'I heard that a man had killed someone.'

Although there is a detransitivized variant of *riki* 'see', *riki-qi* (section 4.6), it does not take clausal complements.

29.4.6.   Immediate-perception verbs

Four verbs are included here: *riki* 'see', 'look at'; *rongo* 'hear', 'listen to'; *toqe* 'glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of'; and *kwakwafi* 'hear/catch the sound of', all of which are Class 1 transitive verbs. All four verbs can have non-clausal direct objects. To express perception of a state of affairs, two types of complement are available: paratactic clauses and nominalizations. Clausal complements are more common, and they are discussed and exemplified first. In this type of construction, the subject participant of the complement clause is also encoded as the direct object of the immediate-perception verb. (See also section 29.2.1 for discussion of the evidence.) There are some differences between *riki* 'see' and *rongo* 'hear' on the one hand, and *toqe* 'glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of' and *kwakwafi* 'hear/catch the sound of' on the other, and the two pairs of verbs are discussed separately, starting with *riki* and *rongo*.

Riki and *rongo* take as their subjects noun phrases that refer to the perceiver. The first two examples show them with non-clausal direct objects:

(29-96)   *Qo   riki-a   faela baa?*
           2SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   file   that
           'Have you seen the file [a tool]?'

(29-97)   *Nau ku   rongo-a   teqe wela.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ one   child
           'I heard a child.'

The first pair of examples below illustrates *riki* 'see' with clausal complements. In (29-98) *riki* has a lexical direct object coreferential with the subject

of the complement clause. The object is indexed on *riki* by means of the suffix
-a:

(29-98)   *Nau   ku   riki-a   teqe   fa   rade*
       1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   one   CLF   shooting.star

       qe   tala   qana   mangaa.
       3SG.NFUT   shine   GENP   air
       'I saw a shooting start shine in the air.'

In (29-99), on the other hand, the direct object of *riki* is the second person
singular pronoun *qoe*, coreferential with the subject of the complement clause.
The pronominal object is not indexed on *riki*:

(29-99)   *Nau   ku   riki   qoe   qo   bili-a*
       1SG   1SG.NFUT   see   2SG   2SG.NFUT   steal.from-3.OBJ

       oqola   nau.
       garden   1SG
       'I saw you steal (food) from my garden.'

The presence and absence of object marking with lexical and pronominal
direct objects, respectively, on the immediate perception verb is evidence that it
is the noun phrase coreferential with the subject of the complement clause that
is the direct object, not the complement clause. This can also be seen from the
next pair of examples with *rongo* 'hear'. Since the event being perceived is
ongoing at the time of perception, the complement clause may contain an im-
perfective subject marker, although this is not particularly common. This is the
case in (29-100) (and also in [29-102]).

(29-100)   *Nau   ku   rongo-a   bola   kai   rungau*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   pigeon   3SG.IPFV   (pigeon)coo

         ma=i   loori.
         VENT=LOC   up.there
         'I heard a pigeon coo up there.'

(29-101)   *Ku   rongo   nia   qe   nguu.*
         1SG.NFUT   hear   3SG   3SG.NFUT   sing
         'I heard him sing.'

The next two examples are further illustrations of *riki* and *rongo*, respectively, with complement clauses.

(29-102) *Si   manga   n=e   fula   kula   qeri,*
          PRTT time   REL=3SG.NFUT   arrive   place   that

          ka   riki-a   teqe kule-qe   toqa
          3SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   one   place-ASSOC   people

          keki   waqe-li-a   qa-da   teqe
          3PL.IPFV   dance-TR-3.OBJ   SBEN-3PL.PERS   one

          aga-a.
          play.panpipes-DVN
          'When he arrived at that place, he saw a group of local people (lit.: he saw a place of people) dance, as they were playing panpipes (lit.: dance to the playing of panpipes).'

(29-103) *Qo   rongo-a   sangara ba=e   basi*
          2SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ thunder that=3SG.NFUT   bang

          qa=fa   rodo   qeri?
          GENP=CLF   night   this
          'Did you hear the thunder bang at night?'

Both *riki* 'see' and *rongo* 'hear' can also function as knowledge and acquisition-of-knowledge verbs (section 29.4.5).

The other two immediate-perception verbs, *toqe* 'glimpse, catch a sight/glimpse of' and *kwakwafi* 'hear/catch the sound of', take as their subjects noun phrases that refer to the perceiver's relevant organs of perception, the eyes and the ears, respectively. The first pair of examples shows them with non-clausal objects:

(29-104) *Maa-ku   qe   toqe-a   teqe*
          eye-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT catch.glimpse.of-3.OBJ   one

          thaqaro.
          bird
          'My eyes caught a glimpse of a bird.' 'I caught a glimpse of a bird.'

(29-105) *Alinga-ku   e   kwakwafi-a   teqe si*
          ear-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   catch.sound.of-3.OBJ   one   PRTT

doo.
thing
'My ears caught the sound of something.' 'I heard/caught the sound of something.'

And the next pair of examples shows the two verbs with complement clauses as their direct objects:

(29-106)   *Nau   maa-ku   e   toqe-a   teqe*
           1SG   eye-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   catch.glimpse.of-3.OBJ   one

           wane   qe   tatha.
           man   3SG.NFUT   pass.by
           'I caught a glimpse of a man passing by.'

(29-107)   *Alinga-ku   e   kwakwafi-a   teqe   wane*
           ear-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   catch.sound.of-3.OBJ   one   man

           e   qai.
           3SG.NFUT   shout
           'My ears caught the sound of a man shouting.'

The complement-clause strategy discussed and illustrated above foregrounds the participant(s) performing the activity that is perceived as well as the activity itself; for example, 'I saw you, you were stealing (food) from my garden' in (29-99) further above. Instead of a paratactic complement clause, the verbs of immediate perception can take nominalizations as their direct objects. This strategy foregrounds only the activity being perceived, not the participant performing the activity. That participant is encoded only as the possessor of the nominalization, if at all. The nominalization strategy is much less common than the finite-clause one.

(29-108)   *Ku   riki-a   raa-la-mu,   ka*
           1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ-2SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ

           leqa.
           be.good
           'I saw you working, and it was good [how you worked].'

(29-109)   *... keka   rongo-a   ngata-la-na   kwalu   noniqi*
           3PL.SEQ   hear-3.OBJ   speak-NMLZ-3.PERS   eight   CLF

> *wane, ….*
> man
> '... they heard the speaking of the eight men, ….'

The use of a nominalization rather than a complement clause permits not mentioning the participant bringing about the state of affairs perceived:

(29-110)   *Nau   ku   rongo-a   ngata-laa.*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   speak-NMLZ
            'I heard (somebody) speaking.'

29.4.7. Locutionary verbs

The category of locutionary verbs includes the following verbs: *sore* and *sore-qe* (also *sore-qa*) 'say', *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (that)', *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)', and *ala-ngani* and *alangaqi* 'promise to do st.'. Only indirect speech is discussed here; direct speech is discussed in chapter 37. On the whole, indirect speech is less common in Toqabaqita than direct speech. There is a fair amount of heterogeneity with respect to the complementation strategies that the various locutionary verbs employ.

   Sore 'say' is a Class 1 transitive verb. It has detransitivized variants *sore-qe* and *sore-qa*, the latter not being common (section 4.6). Both the transitive and the detransitivized forms take clauses as their complements. There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *sore/sore-qe/sore-qa* clauses. Transitive *sore* takes direct-object complement clauses, while detransitivized *sore-qe* and *sore-qa* take paratactic complement clauses.

   The transitive form *sore* can take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-111)   *Nau   kwai   sore-a   laqu   teqe   si   doo ....*
            1SG   1SG.FUT   say-3.OBJ   ADD   one   PRTT   thing
            'I'll say one more thing ....'

In the next example, *sore* has a complement clause as its direct object. Its own subject and the subject of the complement clause are coreferential.

(29-112)   *Tei$_i$ n=e   sore-a   kai$_i$ lae?*
            who?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   say-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   go
            'Who$_i$ said he$_i$ will go?'

Sore is not commonly used with clausal complements, *sore-qe* being the usual verb. The next set of examples illustrates *sore-qe*.

(29-113) *Keka   sore-qe,   mada   sa   kera   riki-a,*
         3PL.SEQ say-DETR   or   IRR   3PL.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ

         keki   thau-ngi-a   ba-da.
         3PL.FUT   kill-TR-3SG.OBJ   LIM-3PL.PERS
         'They said (that) if they saw him, they would simply kill him.'

(29-114) *Ni=e   sore-qe   qusungadi   naqa   na*
         3SG=3SG.NFUT say-DETR   tomorrow   PRF   FOC

         meki   lae   uri-a.
         1DU(EXCL).FUT   go   PURP-3SG.OBJ
         'He said it would be tomorrow that we would go to get/buy it (lit.: we would go for it).'

In (29-115) the complement clause is verbless and subjectless:

(29-115) *Qe=aqi   laqu   boqo qosi   sore-qe   si*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   ADD   ASRT 2SG.NEG say-DETR   PRTT

         doo   nia.
         thing 3SG
         'Neither should you say it's hers.' (Lit.: 'You should not also say, her thing.')

Example (29-116) contains the infrequent detransitivized variant *sore-qa*:

(29-116) *Nia   ka   sore-qa,   tha   Nori   ka*
         3SG   3SG.SEQ say-DETR   PERSMKR   Nori   3SG.SEQ

         sore-qa,   nia   e   ngali-a   qi   sa-na
         say-DETR   3SG   3SG.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ   LOC   ADJC-3.PERS

         teqe   wane qi   Merika.
         one   man   LOC   America
         'He said, [i.e.,] Nori said, he had gotten (lit.: taken) it [an idea] from (lit.: at) a man from America.'

With the verbs 'say' the addressee is usually not expressed, but it may be expressed as the possessor of the goal preposition *sa* (section 10.4.3):

(29-117)   *Wane*   *e*   *sore-qe*   *qi*   *sa-ku,*
         man   3SG.NFUT   say-DETR   LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS

         kai   *lae*   *ma=i*   *qusungadi.*
         3SG.FUT   go   VENT=LOC   tomorrow
         'The man said to me he will come tomorrow.'

More often, however, when the addressee is to be expressed, it is the verb *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (that)' that is used, rather than *sore* or *sore-qe*/*sore-qa*; see below.

Both *sore* and *sore-qe*/*sore-qa* can also function as propositional-attitude verbs ('think that, assume that') and as manipulative verbs ('tell sb. to do st.'); see sections 29.4.8 and 29.4.9.2, respectively.

Faqa-rongo (CAUS-'hear') 'tell sb. (that)' is a Class 1 transitive verb. Its direct object encodes the addressee, and it takes paratactic complement clauses. There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *faqa-rongo* clause. Compare (29-118) with a lexical noun phrase encoding the addressee and the object-indexing suffix on *faqa-rongo*, and (29-119) with a second-person addressee and no object-indexing suffix on *faqa-rongo*. In (29-119) the object pronoun is followed by two postverbal particles, which too is evidence that the pronoun functions as the direct object of *faqa-rongo*.

(29-118)   *Thaari*   *naqi*   *e*   *faqa-rongo-a*
         girl   this   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear-3.OBJ

         thaina-na   *e*   *iana.*
         mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.pregnant
         'The (lit.: this) girl told her mother she was pregnant.'

(29-119)   *Nau*   *ku*   *faqa-rongo*   *qoe*   *sui*   *naqa, ku*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear   2SG   COMPL   PRF   1SG.NFUT

         thathami-a   *qoki*   *qadomi-a*   *araqi*   *naqi.*
         want-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   help-3.OBJ   mature.man   this
         'I have told you already I want you to help this man.'

Faqa-rongo can also function as a manipulative complement-taking verb 'tell sb. (to do st.)' (section 29.4.9.2).

Soe-toqo 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)' is a Class 2 transitive verb. It consists of the intransitive verb *soe* 'ask (about)' and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. The direct object of *soe-toqo* encodes the addressee. *Soe-toqo* takes paratactic complement clauses. Clausal complements of *soe-toqo* are a kind od dependent interrogative (section 19.6). There are no restrictions on complement clauses in terms of tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation, or on argument sharing with the *soe-toqo* clause.

(29-120) *Ka   lae   mai,   ka   soe-toqo-na   tha*
          3SG.SEQ go   VENT   3SG.SEQ   ask-TEST-3.OBJ   PERSMKR

        Nori   qe,   qe   ngali-a   doo
        Nori   3SG.NFUT   3SG.NFUT   take-3.OBJ   thing

        qeri   qi   fei.
        that   LOC   where?
        'It [the Government; i.e. somebody from the colonial government] came (and) asked Nori where he [hesitation], he had gotten (lit.: taken) that thing.' (See [29-116] further above for Nori's reaction.)

In (29-121) the verb 'ask' has been nominalized. The addressee is encoded as the possessor of the nominalization. (For nominalizations of Class 2 transitive verbs see section 9.1.1.)

(29-121) *Nau   ku   lio-dora   qana*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP

        soe-toqo-na-la-na   *toq=qe=ki   manga*
        ask-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   people=that=PL   time

        taa   na   keki   lae   mai.
        what?   FOC   3PL.FUT go   VENT
        'I forgot to ask the people when they would come.' (Lit.: 'I mind-forgot asking the people what time they would come.')

The verbs *ala-ngani* and *alangaqi* are both used with the meaning 'promise to do st.'. Both verbs take clauses as their complements. Typically, the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the higher, 'promise' clause; but see (29-126). Grammatically positive complement clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

Ala-ngani is a Class 1 transitive verb. Its direct objects encode that which is promised. *Ala-ngani* can be used with non-clausal direct objects, with the meanings 'promise st. (to sb.)', 'threaten (sb.) with st':

(29-122) *Ada   wane qeri ka   aqi   si   fale-a*
          TIM   man   that 3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG give-3.OBJ

          ba-na   si   doo baa   n=e
          LIM-3SG.PERS   PRTT thing that   REL=3SG.NFUT

          ala-ngani-a   qi   sa-ku.
          promise-TR-3SG.OBJ LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS
          '(I am afraid) the man might not give (me) the thing he promised me.'

Ala-ngani takes direct-object complement clauses. The complement clause has the appropriate future-tense subject marker.

(29-123) *... nia   qe   ala-ngani-a   kai   fale-a*
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   promise-TR-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT give-3.OBJ

          ten   dola   qi   a-ku.
          ten   dollar LOC   REC-1SG.PERS
          '... he promised to give me 10 dollars.'

With *ala-ngani* the promisee is not expressed, as in (29-123) above. If the promiseee is to be expressed in a 'promise' clause, it is the verb *alangaqi* that is used. *Alangaqi* is an intransitive verb that originated as the *ala-ngaqi* form of the long transitive verb *ala-ngani/ala-ngaqi*, used when no object suffix is present on the verb (section 4.2.3.2.2). *Alangaqi* takes goal oblique objects, and the promisee is encoded as the possessor of the goal preposition. *Alangaqi* takes paratactic complement clauses that follow the oblique object expressing the promisee.

(29-124) *Wane   e   alangaqi   qi   sa-ku*
          man   3SG.NFUT   promise   LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS

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

It is also possible for an *alangaqi* clause and the clause expressing the content of a promise to occur in the construction used to express purpose. In (29-125) the clause expressing the contents of the promise is introduced by the purpose marker *uri* (section 33.3):

(29-125) *Wane*   *e*   *alangaqi*   *qi*   *sa-ku*
        man   3SG.NFUT   promise   LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS

        uri-a   *kai*   *qadomi*   *nau.*
        PURP-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   help   1SG
        'The man promised to (lit.: in order to) help me.'

When a promised state of affairs does not eventuate, there are two grammatical possibilities. One is to use a negated clause coordinate with the 'promise' clause. It is the double negative construction that is used here, where a negative mini-clause occurs together with the event clause (section 17.4). This is illustrated in (29-126). In this example the subject of the complement clause is not coreferential with the subject of the 'promise' clause, although the referent of the latter is included among the referents of the former.

(29-126) *Wane*   *baa*   *qe*   *ala-ngani-a*   *ni*   *nia*
        man   that   3SG.NFUT   promise-TR-3.OBJ   PROFORE   3SG

        ma   *wela* *nia* *ki*   *ma*   *kukeqe* *nia*   *keki*   *fula*
        and   child 3SG   PL   and   wife   3SG   3PL.FUT   arrive

        uri-a   *qadomi-la-miliqa-laa,*   *ma*   *ka*
        PURP-3.OBJ   help-NMLZ-1PL(EXCL).PERS-NMLZ   and   3SG.SEQ

        aqi   *kisi*   *fula.*
        NEGV   3PL.NEG   arrive
        'The man promised that he and his children and his wife would come to help us, but (lit.: and) they did not come.'

The other strategy is to use the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3) in the complement clause to signal counterfactuality, in which case the negative construction is not used. In (29-127) the writer apologizes for not having sent something she had promised to send:

(29-127) ... *nau*   *ku*   *kwai-manata-i*   *qasia* *naqa* *uri-a*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-think-TR   INTS   INTS   ALL-3.OBJ

> *teqe   si   doo   ku   ala-ngani-a   sa*
> one   PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT   promise-TR-3.OBJ   IRR
>
> *kwai   fale-a   kau,   iiqee.*
> 1SG.FUT   send-3SG.OBJ   VENT   alas!
> '... I feel very bad about something that I promised to send (to you) (but have not), alas.'

(The verb *kwai-manata-i*, based on *manata-i* 'think about' and with the low-individuation-of-participant prefix *kwai-* has the idiomatic meanings 'apologize for st.', 'be sorry, feel bad about st.'.)

29.4.8. Propositional-attitude verbs

Included here are several verbs with the meaning 'think that, assume that': *manata-i*, *manata-toqo*, *sore*, and *sore-qe*/*sore-qa*; and also *fii* 'expect, anticipate, have a feeling that a certain state of affairs will obtain', *toqomatafa* 'feel, have a feeling that such and such is/may be the case'; and *quri* 'look like'. *Manata-i*, *manata-toqo* and *sore* are mutually interchangeable as verbs of propositional attitude. All three take direct-object complement clauses. There is no requirement on argument sharing between the complement clause and the matrix clause. And there are no restrictions on tense, aspect, sequentiality, or negation in the complement clause. With all these verbs a relevant criterion is the factuality status of the state of affairs encoded in the complement clause: factual or open on the one hand, and counterfactual or considerably uncertain on the other. The status is factual if the relevant state of affairs did or does obtain, and it is open when there is no evidence that it did not or will not obtain. The status is counterfactual if the relevant state of affairs that was assumed to obtain did not, in fact, obtain. The counterfactual status of a proposition is revealed post-hoc, not at the time the person is thinking about the state of affairs; see further below for discussion and examples. Propositional-attitude complementation where the status is factual or open is discussed first.

   Manata-i and *manata-toqo* can take non-clausal direct objects, in which case they have the meaning 'think about'. *Manata-i*, often pronounced /mantaɪ/, is a Class 1 transitive verb, and *manata-toqo*, often pronounced /mantatɔʔɔ/ or /mantɔʔɔ/ is a Class 2 transitive verb. *Manata-toqo* can also function as a desiderative verb, 'think of doing st.', 'want, intend to do st.' (section 29.4.4). The first example below shows the two verbs with non-clausal direct objects:

(29-128)   *Nau   ku   {manta-i-a   /*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   think.about-TR-3.OBJ   /

           manata-toqo-na}   wela   nau.
           think.about-TEST-3.OBJ   child   1SG
           'I am thinking about my child.'

The next three examples show them with direct-object complement clauses.

(29-129)   *Mika   manta-i-a   tai   wane   ki*
           1PL(EXCL).SEQ   assume-TR-3.OBJ   some.PL   person   PL

           qi   laa   ququa   kamiliqa   neqe,   Solomoni,
           LOC   IN   island   1PL(EXCL)   this   Solomons

           keka   mae   qasia   naqa   qani-a,   buria-na
           3PL.SEQ   die   INTS   INTS   GENP-3SG.OBJ   after-3.PERS

           kuburu   qeri.
           storm   that
           'We assumed that some people in these islands, the Solomons,
           would die badly because of it [a cyclone], after the storm.'

(29-130)   *Manta-laa   nau,   ku   manta-i-a   tootoo*
           think-NMLZ   1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TR-3.OBJ   later

           kwai   lae   uri   Malaqita.
           1SG.FUT   go   ALL   Malaita
           'My thinking (is), I think I will go to Malaita at some later time.'

In (29-131) *mada* 'or', negation (section 18.5.3) and *toqo* 'perhaps' jointly
serve to express less than-full-certainty on the part of the speaker about the
factual status of the proposition, but the factuality status is open.

(29-131)   *Nau   ku   manta-toqo-na   wane   baa*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TEST-3.OBJ   man   that

           mad=e   aqi   kai   fula   i   qusungadi
           or=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.FUT   arrive   LOC   tomorrow

toqo.
perhaps
'I think the man might arrive tomorrow.' 'I wonder if the man might perhaps arrive tomorrow.'

Sore is a Class 1 transitive verb, and *sore-qe* and (much less commonly) *sore-qa* are its detransitivized variants. All of these can also function as locutionary verbs with the meaning 'say' (section 29.4.7), and *sore* can also function as a manipulative verb 'tell sb. (to do st.)' (section 29.4.9.2). As a verb meaning 'say', *sore* can take non-clausal direct objects (example [29-111] in section 29.4.7).

As propositional-attitude verbs, both *sore* and *sore-qe*/*sore-qa* take the same types of complements they take when they function as locutionary verbs: *sore* takes direct-object clauses, and *sore-qe*/*sore-qa* paratactic clauses. The first two examples contain *sore* and the third one *sore-qe*.

(29-132) *Nau   ku   sore-a   qo   lio-dora*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT   mind-forget

          naqa qani nau, ...
          PRF   GENP 1SG
          'I thought you had forgotten about me, ...'

See (29-137) further below, where the sentence is given in full, for discussion.

In (29-133) there are two complement clauses. Both are verbless and subjectless:

(29-133) *Wane   qeri ka   sore-a   kini   mamana*
          man   that 3SG.SEQ think-3.OBJ woman   be.real

          neri,   sore-a   thaari   mamana.
          VIVID   think-3.OBJ   girl   be.real
          'The man thought (she was) a real woman, (he) thought (she was) a real girl.'

(29-134) *Nau, manga ku   riki-a   fau   naqi, kwa*
          1SG   time   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   rock this 1SG.SEQ

          sore-qe   doo e   kuluqa,   ma   ni
          think-DETR   thing 3SG.NFUT   be.heavy   and PROFORE

nau	*kwa*	*ili*	*uri-a*	*kwai*	*kwau-a,*
1SG	1SG.SEQ	do	PURP-3.OBJ	1SG.FUT	lift-3SG.OBJ

ma	*ka*	*thaathala*	*qasia*	*boqo.*
and	3SG.SEQ	be.lightweight	INTS	INTS

'I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.'

We can now consider complementation where the state of affairs expressed in the complement clause is counterfactual or considerably uncertain. These two statuses are signalled by means of the irrealis marker *sa* (section 18.3) in the complement clause. Instead of *sa*, the irrealis marker is sometimes realized as *so*, and sometimes it fuses with the following subject marker, in which case its form is *s=*. As the term "counterfactual" is employed here, it signifies a post-hoc comment on the counterfactuality of a state of affairs or post-hoc realization that the state of affairs that was or had been assumed at an earlier time to obtain in the end did not. It is the post-hoc status of a comment on the counterfactual status of a state of affairs that the irrealis marker signals. If a sentence with a higher 'think, assume' verb simply expresses a past assumption that a state of affairs obtained at that time or would obtain at a later time, *sa* is not used even if it later transpires that the state of affairs did not obtain. And *sa* is also used is there is a relatively high degree of uncertainty about the factual status of a state of affairs.

Apart from the presence of the irrealis marker in the complement clause, the complementation strategies with the four verbs 'think, assume' in cases of counterfactuality and low certainty are the same as those the respective verbs employ when the propositions encoded in complement clauses are factual or open, as discussed above.

Compare the following two examples. The first one, with *sa* in the complement clause, expresses post-hoc counterfactuality. Clearly, the addressees had not died.

(29-135)	*Ku*	*sore-qe*	*sa*	*moro*	*mae*	*naqa.*
	1SG.NFUT	think-DETR	IRR	2DU.NFUT	die	PRF

'I thought you two had died.'

The speaker says this upon unexpectedly seeing the two people. Her past assumption was that the other two people had died, but this assumption has now proved wrong.

The next example, without the irrealis marker in the complement clause, expresses the speaker's past assumption. Even though that assumption subsequently turned out to be wrong, the sentence is not a post-hoc comment on the

counterfactuality of the relevant state of affairs, but a statement about what the speaker thought at the earlier time:

(29-136)   *Nau   ku   sore-qe   qo   thaitoqoma-na.*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-DETR   2SG.NFUT   know-3SG.OBJ
           'I thought (then) you knew (about) it.'

It turned out later that the addressee had not known (about) it, but that is not the point of the sentence: at the relevant time in the past the speaker assumed that the addressee did know.

Similarly, the irrealis marker is not used in the next example, even though in the end the relevant situation turned out not to have obtained (the addressee had not forgotten about the speaker). The writer is reporting on what she thought at an earlier time:

(29-137)   *Nau   ku   sore-a   qo   lio-dora*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-3.OBJ 2SG.NFUT   mind-forget

           naqa qani nau, sui   ku   thaitoqoma-na
           PRF   GENP 1SG but   1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ

           qo   busy   qasia naqa.
           2SG.NFUT   be.busy INTS INTS
           'I thought you had forgotten about me, but I (also) knew you were very busy.'

For another example without the irealis marker in the complement clause even though the expected state of affairs turned out not to obtain see (29-134) above: contrary to the speaker's expectation, the rock was not heavy.

All four verbs 'think, assume', *manata-i*, *manata-toqo*, *sore*, and *sore-qe/sore-qa* can be used with counterfactual complement clauses. Of the three forms *sore*, *sore-qe*, and *sore-qa*, it is *sore-qe* that is most common. In fact, there is also a form *so=*, which is an abbreviated version of *sore-qe/sore-qa*. The shortened form *so=* is possible only if there is no subject noun phrase in the complement clause, which would intervene between *so=* and the irrealis marker. *Sore-qe/sore-qa* and the irrealis marker fuse together, either as *so=sa* or as *so=so*; see (29-138) and (29-139) below, respectively.

The first example shows clearly the post-hoc nature of the counterfactuality. The speaker had first made an assumption that was then explicitly revealed to be counterfactual, and he is now reporting on that. The complement clause is a verbless fragment: *tha weleqi kiiluqa* '(it was going to be) their guy'.

(29-138) *Nau   ku   so=sa   tha   weleqi*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   PERSMKR   guy

          kiiluqa,   sui   ku   soe-toqo=tha
          3PL   but   1SG.NFUT   ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR

          weleqi,   ka   tofe   neri.
          guy   3SG.NFUT   answer."no"   VIVID
          'I thought [it was going to be] their guy, but I asked the guy, (and)
          he answered "no".'

(29-139) *Nau   ku   so=so   qo   lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   2SG.NFUT   go   PRF
          'I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here.)'

    In the next two examples it is the verbs *manata-i* (*manta-i*) and *manata-toqo*
(*manta-toqo)* 'think, assume', respectively, that are used with counterfactual
complement clauses. The first one is synonymous with (29-139) just above.

(29-140) *Nau   ku   manta-i-a   s=o   lae   naqa.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think-TR-3.OBJ   IRR-2SG.NFUT   go   PRF
          'I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).'

    In (29-141) the irrealis marker in the complement clause signals not counter-
factuality but a relatively high degree of uncertainty on the part of the speaker
that the event expressed in the complement clause will, in fact, take place:

(29-141) *Nau   ku   so=so   kwai   lae   qana*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   1SG.FUT   go   GENP

          uusi-a   qi   qusungadi.
          buy-DVN   LOC   tomorrow
          'I think I might possibly go to the market tomorrow.' 'I am thinking
          of possibly going to the market tomorrow.'

    The verbs *manata-i*, *manata-toqo* 'think that, assume that' take subjects that
refer to the experiencer, the person having the thought or making the assump-
tion. This is also true of the verbs *sore* and *sore-qe*/*sore-qa* 'think that, assume
that', but all of these can alternatively have as their subject a noun phrase
headed by the noun 'mind, thought' in a suffixing possessive construction,
where the experiencer is encoded as the possessor:

(29-142) *Manta-na   tha   Fiuoomea   ka   sore-qe*
          mind-3.PERS   PERSMKR   Fiuoomea   3SG.SEQ   think-DETR

          tootoo   kai   kasi-a   fu-qi   ngasi   qeri ….
          later   3SG.FUT   cut-3.OBJ   clump-ASSOC sugar.cane   that
          'Fiuoomea thought (lit.: Fiuoomea's mind thought) that later he
          would cut down that clump of sugar cane ....'

(29-143) *Manta-ku   e   so=so   qo   lae*
          mind-1SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   think:DETR=IRR   2SG.NFUT go

          naqa.
          PRF
          'I thought you had gone (but now I see you are still here).'

Compare (29-139) further above, which has an experiencer noun phrase as
the subject and can designate the same state of affairs as (29-143).

Fii 'expect, anticipate, have a feeling that a certain state of affairs will ob-
tain' is a Class 1 transitive verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The
subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the direct object of *fii*.
Grammatically positive clauses have the appropriate future-tense subject
marker.

(29-144) *Nau   ku   fii-a   teqe   si   doo   baqita*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   expect-3.OBJ   one   PRTT   thing be.big

          tootoo   kai   fula.
          later   3SG.FUT   happen
          'I expect something big to happen one day.'

In (29-145) the main clause is negative:

(29-145) *Misi   fii   qoe   boqo   qoki   too*
          1PL(EXCL).NEG   expect   2SG   ASRT   2SG.FUT   stay

          bii   kamiliqa.
          COM   1PL(EXCL)
          'We did not at all expect you to stay with us.'

Toqomatafa 'feel, have a feeling that such and such is/may be the case' is a
Class 2 transitive verb. It takes direct-object complement clauses, which can be
of any temporal status.

(29-146)   *Nau   ku   toqomatafa-na   kera   lole*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   3PL.NFUT   tell.lie.to

           nau   ba-da.
           1SG   LIM-3PL.PERS
           'I have a feeling they have just been lying to me.'

(29-147)   *Nau   ku   toqomatafa-na   tha   weleqi*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   guy

           sa   ka   fula   qe=aqi.
           IRR   3SG.SEQ   arrive   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
           'I have a feeling the guy won't (be able to) come (because some-
           thing will prevent/has prevented him from coming).'

In (29-148) the complement clause is verbless, with only the noun-phrase predicate present:

(29-148)   *Nau   ku   dora   qana   wane   naqi, sui*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.know   GENP   man   this   but

           mena nau   ku   toqomatafa-na   wane
           but   1SG   1SG.NFUT   have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   man

           leqa   ni   bana.
           be.good   LIG   LIM
           'I don't know this man, but/still/nevertheless I have a feeling (he is)
           just a good man.' (There is nothing bad about him.)

The Class 1 transitive verb *quri* 'resemble, look like, be like' takes complement clauses that function as its direct objects. *Quri* serves to express a relatively low degree of certainty about the factual status of the proposition expressed in the complement clause.

(29-149)   *Riki-la-n=e*   *quri-a*
           look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   look.like-3.OBJ

           ni=e   *ila-ma-taqi   nau.*
           3SG=3SG.NFUT   hate-EXT-TR   1SG
           'It looks like he hates me.' 'He seems to hate me.'

See section 18.4.3 for discussion and more examples.

29.4.9. Manipulative verbs

Included in this category is a variety of verbs that occur in several different types of construction with their complements. It is useful to discuss separately the periphrastic causative construction that employs a semantically general causative verb and other, more specific types of manipulative verbs.

29.4.9.1. *The periphrastic causative construction*

The periphrastic causative construction employs the verb *ade* 'do' as the causative verb. *Ade* is a Class 1 transitive verb. It may take non-clausal direct objects:

(29-150) *Taa*   *n=o*   *ade-a?*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   do-3SG.OBJ
          'What are you doing?'

The periphrastic causative construction has the following structure: the causer/cause is encoded as the subject and the causee as the direct object of *ade*. The complement clause is paratactic. Its subject is coreferential with the direct object of the causative verb. In the complement clause the causee can only be expressed by means of a subject marker, not by means of a subject noun phrase. The subject marker in a grammatically positive complement clause must be sequential. If the complement clause is grammatically negative, it is the double negative construction with the negative verb *aqi* (section 17.4) that is used, in which case it is *aqi* that takes the (third person singular) sequential subject marker. *Ade* is a semantically neutral causative verb: of itself it does not specify the nature of the causation.
    In (29-151) the causee is expressed by means of a lexical noun phrase in the direct-object position of the causative verb and it is indexed on the causative verb by means of the object suffix -*a*, while in (29-152) the causee is expressed by means of an independent personal pronoun and there is no object indexing on the causative verb:

(29-151) *Taa*   *n=e*   *ade-a*   *wela*   *qena*
          what?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   child   that(2)

          ka   *angi?*
          3SG.SEQ   cry
          'What made the child cry?' 'What was it that made the child cry?'

(29-152)   *Taa   n=e   ade   qoe   qoko   angi?*
            what?   FOC=3SG.NFUT   do   2SG   2SG.SEQ   cry
            'What made you cry?' 'What was it that made you cry?'

The periphrastic causative construction is used only under certain conditions. First: the causer/cause is not someone acting volitionally; normally, the causer is inanimate, or it is a state of affairs. And second, it is used only when the state of affairs caused is a state or an activity in which the subject participant is not (fully) agentive. This causative construction is implicative: the state of affairs described in the complement clause did obtain (or it is assumed that it will obtain).

(29-153)   *Fanga   neqe   n=e   ade   nau   kwa   moa.*
            food   this   FOC=3SG.NFUT   do   1SG   1SG.SEQ   vomit
            'It was this food that made me vomit.'

(29-154)   *Fatalaesi   qe   ade-a   koukou   naqi   ki*
            fertilizer   3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   cocoa   this   PL

            ka   taqe   leqa.
            3SG.SEQ   grow   be.good
            'Fertilizer made these cocoa (trees) grow well.'

In the next example the causing factor may be seen either to be an entity (the fish) or another state of affairs (the speaker's eating the fish):

(29-155)   *Nau   ku   qani-a   iqa   e   makwa,*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   eat-3.OBJ   fish   3SG.NFUT   smell

            ka   ade-a   lio-ku   ka
            3SG.SEQ   do-3.OBJ   chest-1SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ

            moomongaqa.
            feel.nauseated
            a. 'I ate fish that smelled [that was off], and it [the fish] made me
               (lit.: my chest) feel nauseated.'
            b. 'I ate fish that smelled, which made me feel nauseated.'

In (29-156) the complement clause is negative:

(29-156)   *Kofe   qe   ade-a   wane   ka*
            coffee   3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   person   3SG.SEQ

> *aqi   si   biinga   leqa.*
> NEGV   3SG.NEG   sleep   be.good
> 'Coffee makes a person not sleep well.'

Besides the periphrastic causative construction there are also morphological causatives (sections 4.2.3.2.4 and 4.2.3.2.5).

29.4.9.2. *Other manipulative verbs*

There is a variety of manipulative verbs that, by virtue of their meaning, indicate explicitly the nature of the causation, etc. Included here are verbs that encode situations that serve to direct others to do something, to facilitate the behaviour of others, to permit the behaviour of others, and to prevent others from doing something. In contrast to the periphrastic causative construction, the subjects of these manipulative verbs typically have human referents that act volitionally. And, also in contrast to the periphrastic causative construction, constructions with these verbs are not implicative: the state of affairs expressed in the complement clause does not necessarily take place.

Verbs of speaking can be used with a directive function. They take paratactic complement clauses. The causer is encoded as the subject and the causee as an object of the verb of speaking. The subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the object of the verb of speaking that encodes the causee. If the complement clause is grammatically positive, its subject marker is future-tense or sequential, the latter option being less common.

Most verbs of speaking that can function directively are transitive, and the causee is realized as their direct object. This is so with the verbs *sore* 'tell sb. (to do st.)', *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (to do st.)', *takofale* 'ask sb. (to do st.)', all of which are Class 1 transitive verbs, and *kwaathata* 'appoint, choose sb. (to do st.)', which is a Class 2 transitive verb.

(29-157)   *Doketa   qe   sore-a   kini   kai*
doctor   3SG.NFUT   tell-3.OBJ   woman   3SG.FUT

> *kuqu-fi-a   meresina.*
> drink-TR-3.OBJ   medicine
> 'The doctor told the woman to drink medicine.' (Lit.: 'The doctor told the woman, she will drink medicine.')

(29-158)   *... wane   qeri   ka   faqa-rongo-a   kukeqe*
man   that   3SG.SEQ   CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   wife

> *nia,   ma   wela nia   ki,   keka*
> 3SG   and   child 3SG   PL   3PL.SEQ
>
> *unga-ni-a*   *oqola   qeri.*
> clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ   garden   that
> '[After he has cut down the scrub in an area where a new garden is
> to be made and after he has fenced it off,] the man tells his wife, and
> his children, to go and clear away the scrub from (inside) the gar-
> den.'

(29-159)   *Kera   takofale   nau kwai   ili-a   raa.*
           3PL.NFUT   ask.sb.to.do.st 1SG 1SG.FUT   do-3.OBJ   work
           'They asked me to do (some) work.'

Kwaathata 'appoint, choose sb. (to do st.)' is a Class 2 transitive verb that
historically consists of the verb *kwaa* and the noun *thata* 'name'. In the present-
day language *kwaa* is an intransitive verb whose meaning is 'determine, set the
bride price'. *Kwaathata* is treated here as an unanalyzed whole.

(29-160)   *Qoe, kera   kwaathata-mu   qoki   ngali-a*
           2SG   3PL.NFUT   appoint-2SG.OBJ   2SG.FUT   take-3.OBJ

           foqa-a   qana   uiki   loo.
           pray-DVN   GENP   week   upward
           'You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.' 'You, they
           have appointed you to take the prayers next week.'

Alternatively, instead of a paratactic complement clause *kwaathata* can take
a purpose clause (section 33.3):

(29-161)   *Wane   qe   kwaathata-ku   uri-a   kwai*
           man   3SG.NFUT   choose-1SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

           kafara   bii   nia.
           make.copra   COM   3SG
           'The man chose me to make copra with him.' (Lit.: 'The man chose
           me so that I would make copra with him.')

Another transitive verb of speaking that can be used with a manipulative
function is *liu-ngani/liu-ngaqi* 'ask sb. to accompany one'; see (29-11) in sec-
tion 29.2 for an example.

There are a few intransitive verbs of speaking, with which the causee is encoded in positions other than direct object. In (29-162) the causee is encoded as an allative oblique object, and in (29-163) it is encoded in the possessor position with the locational noun *buria* 'behind', 'after' (section 10.8.3) as the possessum.

(29-162) *Nau   ku   baqe-alu   uri=tha   Dione*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak-put   ALL:3.OBJ=PERSMKR   Dione

          kai   lae   mai   maqasi nau.
          3SG.FUT   go   VENT   wait.for 1SG
          'I have arranged with Dione for him to come (on a certain day) and wait for me.'

(The compound *baqe-alu* ['speak'-'put'] has the meaning 'arrange with sb. for them to do st. at a certain time'.)

(29-163) *Nau   ku   baqe   buria-na   tha   Makasi*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   speak   after-3.PERS   PERSMKR   Makasi

          kai   oli   mai.
          3SG.FUT   return   VENT
          'I sent a word to (lit.: I spoke after) Makasi (asking him) to come back.'

Ala-ma-tani 'allow sb. to do st.', 'let sb. do st.', 'allow for st. to be the case', 'agree to st. being the case', a Class 1 transitive verb, is a permissive/enabling verb. It takes paratactic complement clauses. The participant permitted to do something is expressed as the direct object of the permissive verb and as the subject of the complement clause. In grammatically positive complement clauses the subject marker is future or sequential.

(29-164) *Nau   ku   ala-ma-tani-a   wela nau*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   child 1SG

          kai   lae   bii   qoe.
          3SG.FUT   go   COM   2SG
          'I have allowed my child to go with you.'

(29-165) *... si   manga   na   gwauliqi   ai   kai*
               PRTT time   REL   married.person woman   3SG.IPFV

> *ngata,*   *qosi*   *talami-a,*
> speak   2SG.NEG   interrupt-3SG.OBJ
>
> *ala-ma-tani-a*   *ka*   *ngata*   *si*
> allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   3SG.SEQ speak   PREC
>
> *qa-na,*   *sui*   *qoko*   *baqe.*
> SBEN-3SG.PERS   then   2SG.SEQ speak
> '... when a married woman is speaking, don't interrupt her; allow her
> to speak first, then you speak.'

When the theme is not a volitional participant, *ala-ma-tani* encodes enabling
rather than permissive situations:

(29-166)   *Qoko*   *ala-ma-tani-a*   *ta*   *si*   *maqalutaa*
            2SG.SEQ allow-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   some PRTT   space.between

           qi   *maqaluta-mu*   *bia*   *kini*   *qeri*   *ka*
           LOC   between-2SG.PERS   COM   woman   that   3SG.SEQ

           tekwa.
           be.long
           '[In the old days, if there was another man's wife walking on a track
           ahead of you, you would not walk closely behind her. This is what
           you would do:] You would allow a lot of space in between, between
           you and the woman.' (Lit.: 'You would allow it that a space at your
           between with the woman be long.')

Faa-tani 'show' is a facilitative Class 1 transitive verb. It may take non-
clausal direct objects that encode the entity shown. The participant to whom
something is shown is expressed by means of a goal oblique object, as in (29-
167), or it may be left unexpressed, as in (29-168) and (29-169).

(29-167)   *Faa-tani-a*   *si*   *laqu nuu-na*   *kini*   *baa*
            show-TR-3.OBJ   PREC ADD   picture-3.PERS   woman   that

           qi   *sa-ku.*
           LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS
           'Show me again the picture of the woman first.'

Faa-tani also takes as its direct object complement clauses that express the
state of affairs shown or revealed. There are no restrictions on tense, aspect,

sequentiality, or negation in the complement clause, or on argument sharing between the complement clause and the *faa-tani* clause.

(29-168) *Nia   faa-tani-a   bo=naqa   nau   kwai*
        3SG   show-TR-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS 1SG   1SG.FUT

        ngali-a   finish   neqe.
        take-3.OBJ bounty   this
        'It [a pig used in divination] has given a sign/has shown that I will take/win this bounty (put up by somebody else to kill a third person).'

(29-169) *Kamareqa   thathami-a qoki   faa-tani-a   qi*
        1DU(EXCL) want-3.OBJ 2SG.FUT show-TR-3.OBJ   LOC

        fei   na   maka   kamiliqa   ki   kera
        where?   FOC   father   1PL(EXCL) PL   3PL.NFUT

        too-too   qi   ei.
        RDP-reside LOC   LOCPRO
        'We want you to show (us) where (it was that) our fathers used to live.'

Other facilitative verbs are *toqo* 'learn, practice how to do st.', 'teach (sb.) how to do st.', and *toqo-la-ngani*, 'explain st.', 'explain (to sb.), instruct (sb.) how to do st.'. Both are Class 1 transitive verbs, the latter being morphologically based on the former. These two verbs take nominalizations as their complements, and both can also take direct objects that are headed by nouns other than nominalizations, as in (29-170) and (29-171):

(29-170) *toq=qe=ki   na   kera   toqo-a*
        people=that=PL   REL   3PL.NFUT   learn/practice-3.OBJ

        aga-a   qeri
        play.panpipes-DVN   that
        'the people who learned/practiced (playing) the panpipes'

(29-171) *toqo-la-ngani-a   leesina*
        explain-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   lesson
        'explain a (church) lesson, sermon'

Toqo can be used with the senses 'learn, practice how to do st.' and 'teach (sb.) how to do st.'. When used with the former sense, the nominalization is its direct object. Alternatively, its intransitive counterpart, also *toqo*, can be used instead, in which case the nominalization functions as an oblique object with the purpose preposition *uri*. See (29-172a) and (29-172b), respectively:

(29-172) a. *Kera   toqo-a   foofota-laa*
              3PL.NFUT   learn/practice-3.OBJ dodge.blows-NMLZ

              si   manga kera   daraa.
              PRTT time   3PL.NFUT (man)be.young.and.single
              'They   learned/practiced   (the   art   of)   dodging blows/spears/arrows when they were still young, single (not yet married).'

          b. *Kera   toqo   uri-a*
              3PL.NFUT   learn/practice PURP-3.OBJ

              foofota-laa   si   manga kera
              dodge.blows-NMLZ PRTT time   3PL.NFUT

              daraa.
              (man)be.young.and.single
              'They   learned/practiced   (the   art   of)   dodging blows/spears/arrows when they were still young, single (not yet married).'

When *toqo* is used with the sense 'teach (sb.) how to do st.', the nominalization functions as its direct object, and the person, etc. who is taught to do something is expressed as the object of the goal preposition *sa-*:

(29-173) *Mada   s=o   thathami-a,   kwai*
          or   IRR=2SG.NFUT   want-3SG.OBJ 1SG.FUT

          toqo-a   faa-teeteru-laa   qi   sa-mu.
          teach-3.OBJ   weave-fan-NMLZ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
          'If you want, I'll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).'

With *toqo-la-ngani* 'explain (to sb.), instruct (sb.) how to do st.' the nominalization is also the direct object, and the person to whom something is ex-

plained or who is instructed in how to do something is expressed as the object of the goal preposition:

(29-174) ... *ka*   *toqo-la-ngani-a*   *uufi-la-na*
         3SG.SEQ   teach-EXT-TR-3.OBJ blow-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

         qi   *sa-na.*
         LOC   GOAL-3SG.PERS
         '... he [the man's ancestral spirit] explained to him (in his dream) how to blow them [panpipes].'

Finally, included among manipulative verbs are also the "preventive" verbs *lufi* '(try to) stop, prevent sb. from doing st.' and *suqusi* 'stop, restrain, prevent, block sb. from doing st.'. Both are Class 1 transitive verbs, and can take non-clausal direct objects that refer to the participant(s) prevented, stopped, re-strained from doing something:

(29-175) *Nau sa   kwai   lae, keka   {lufi   /   suqusi} nau.*
         1SG   IRR   1SG.FUT go   3PL.SEQ prevent /   prevent 1SG
         'I would have gone, (but) they stopped, prevented me.'

Lufi can take paratactic complement clauses. The complement clause must be grammatically negative. The participant prevented from bringing about a state of affairs is encoded both as the direct object of *lufi* and as the subject of the complement clause.

(29-176) *Kamiliqa   mili   lufi-a   wane   naqi,*
         1PL(EXCL) 1PL(EXCL).NFUT stop-3.OBJ man   this

         qe=aqi   si   fuu-fula   qi   ku=naqi.
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG RDP-arrive LOC place=this
         'We have stopped this man from repeatedly coming here.'

(29-177) *Maka   wela naqi qe   lufi   nia,   qe*
         father   child this 3SG.NFUT stop   3SG   3SG.NFUT

         aqi   si   raa-raqa.
         NEGV   3SG.NEG   RDP-climb.tree
         'The father of this child has stopped him [his child] from climbing trees.'

Alternatively, the state of affairs (to be) stopped, prevented can be expressed as a nominalization that is an oblique object with the ablative preposition *fasi*:

(29-178)   *Ai   qe   lufi-a   wela   nia   fasi-a*
         woman   3SG.NFUT   stop-3.OBJ   child   3SG   ABL-3.OBJ

         fita-kali-la-na   luma.
         run-move.around-NMLZ-3.PERS   house
         'The woman stopped her child from running around the house.'

The other preventive verb, *suqusi* 'stop, restrain, prevent, block sb. from doing st.', takes nominalizations that express the state of affairs that is (to be) prevented as its direct object. The person, etc. who is (to be) prevented from bringing a state of affairs about is expressed as the possessor of the nominalization.

(29-179)   *Qoko   suqu-si-a   raa-la-na   wane   qeri,*
         2SG.SEQ   block-TR-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ-3.PERS   man   that

         tha   Saetana; ….
         PERSMKR   Satan
         'Block the workings of this man, Satan; ....'

29.4.10.   Achievement verbs

The following verbs are included here: *ili-toqo* 'try to do st.', etc. (see below); *kwai-thathai* 'be ready to do st.', 'be ready for st. to be the case', 'be about to do st.'; *dora* and *lio-dora* both 'forget to do st.'; and *lugaliu* 'be too late to do st., miss the time for doing st.'.

   Ili-toqo, a Class 2 transitive verb, has the senses 'try to do st.', 'try to get sb. to do st.', 'tempt sb. (into doing st.)', 'challenge sb. (to do st.)', 'engage sb. in a contest'. It consists of the verb *ili* 'do' and the TEST suffix *-toqo*. It may take non-clausal direct objects, in which case it has the sense 'engage sb. in a contest':

(29-180)   … *Tulake   ka   ili-toqo-na   Japan,   laa-l:ae,*
         Tulagi   3SG.SEQ   do-TEST-3.OBJ   Japan   RDP-go

> *ka   fula   faafi-a.*
> 3SG.SEQ arrive   CONF-3SG.OBJ
> '… the Tulagi [a boat] kept challenging (in speed) the Japanese (boat) until it caught up with it.'

With complements encoding states of affairs, *ili-toqo* has the senses 'try to do st.', 'try to get sb. to do st.', 'tempt sb. (into doing st.)', 'challenge sb. (to do st.)'. *Ili-toqo* may take clauses and nominalizations as its complements. Nominalizations are used regardless of whether or not the desired outcome is achieved. A nominalization may be the direct object or an oblique object of *ili-toqo*. It is the direct object when the subject of *ili-toqo* and the notional subject of the nominalization are identical: 'try to do st.'.

(29-181)   *Koro   ili-toqo-na   qidu-la-na*
            DU(INCL).NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ   move-NMLZ-3.PERS

            fau   naqi.
            rock   this
            'Let's try to move this rock.' (Lit.: 'Let's try moving of this rock.')

In the situation described in (29-182), the person does sit down and does lie down, but the desired outcome of restfulness, ease is not achieved:

(29-182)   *Ma   nia,   gwagwari-a   ka   toqe-a   bo=naqa*
            and   3SG   feel.cold-DVN   3SG.SEQ affect-3.OBJ ASRT=INTS

            tha   wela qeri, ma   ka   ili-toqo-na
            PERSMKR   child that   and   3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ

            qono-laa,   ka   aqi   si   raraqu,   ma
            sit-NMLZ   3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG be.at.rest   and

            ka   ili-toqo-na   teo-laa,   ma   ka   aqi
            3SG.SEQ do-TEST-3.OBJ lie-NMLZ   and   3SG.SEQ NEGV

> *si   ngado.*
> 3SG.NEG be.still
> 'And he, the boy, felt cold (lit.: and he, coldness affected the boy),
> and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down)
> but (lit.: and) could not stay still.'

And in the situation described in (29-183), the speaker did sit in the church but did not achieve the desired state of being able to pray in peace:

(29-183) *Nau, sios   naqi, ku   ili-toqo-na   qono-laa*
          I   church this 1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ   sit-NMLZ

          i   ei   qa=fa   thato,   ka   taqaa.
          LOC   LOCPRO GENP=CLF daytime 3SG.SEQ be.bad
          'I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the day, but it was no
          good.' (People outside the church were making too much noise.)

When *ili-toqo* has the senses 'try to get sb. to do st.', 'tempt sb. (into doing st.)', 'challenge sb. (to do st.)', the nominalization functions as an oblique object of *ili-toqo* with the general preposition *qani*. The person, etc. whom the referent of the subject is trying to get to do something or is tempting, challenging them to do something is expressed as the direct object of *ili-toqo*.

(29-184) *Teqe wane   e   ili-toqo-ku   qana kwala-laa, ...*
          one   man   3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ GENP swear-NMLZ
          'A man tried to get me to swear; ....'

See (29-187) further below for continuation of the sentence.

To express the fact that an attempt to bring a state of affairs about was unsuccessful, when the participant who tried to bring a state of affairs about and the participant who was to be the agent or experiencer in that state of affairs are one and the same ('try to do st. but not succeed'), *ili-toqo* takes a complement clause as its direct object. The subject of the complement clause and the subject of *ili-toqo* are coreferential. In the complement clause the subject marker is future-tense. The complement clause also contains the irrealis marker *sa*, which signals counterfactuality (section 18.3).

(29-185) *Ku   ili-toqo-na   sa   kwai   lafu-a   maqa*
          1SG.NFUT do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR 1SG.FUT lift-3.OBJ   CL

> *fau   neqe,   ma   ka   kuluqa   qasia naqa.*
> stone this   and 3SG.SEQ be.heavy   INTS INTS
> 'I tried to lift the stone, but (lit.: and) it was too heavy.'

In (29-186) the lack of a successful outcome is expressed not only by means of the irrealis marker in the complement clause but also by means of a semantically negative clause coordinate with the 'try' clause:

(29-186) *Kera   ili-toqo-na   sa   keki   qono,   ma*
          3PL.NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ IRR   3PL.FUT sit   and

          ka   aqi ....
          3SG.SEQ not.be.so
          'They tried to sit, but no (they couldn't), ….'

If the participant who tries to bring a state of affairs about and the participant who is to be the agent or experiencer in that state of affairs are not one and the same, a nominalization in an oblique object position must be used, as discussed above, and the unsuccessfulness must be expressed in one or more other clauses. In (29-187) the lack of success is signalled by means of the irrealis marker in the complement clause embedded under the verb 'want' and by the final negative construction:

(28-187) *Teqe wane   e   ili-toqo-ku   qana*
          one   man   3SG.NFUT do-TEST-1SG.OBJ GENP

          kwala-laa,   qe   thathami-a sa   kwai
          swear-NMLZ   3SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ IRR   1SG.FUT

          kwala,   ma   ka   aqi   kwasi   kwala.
          swear   and   3SG.NEG   NEGV   1SG.NEG   swear
          'A man tried to get me to swear; he wanted me to swear, but (lit.: and) I did not swear.'

Kwai-thathai 'be ready to do st.', 'be ready for st. to be the case', 'be about to do st.' is an intransitive verb, derived from the Class 1 transitive verb *thathai* 'ready st. for sb.' (either the person for whom something is made ready or the thing that is made ready as the direct object) by means of the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-* (section 21.3). It may take oblique objects that encode entities rather than states of affairs. The oblique objects are introduced by the purpose preposition *uri* when *kwai-thathai* has the sense 'be ready for st.',

as in (29-188), or by the general preposition *qani* when *kwai-thathai* has the sense 'be ready with, having prepared it/made it ready', as in (29-189):

(29-188)   ... *kera*   *kwai-thathai*   *uri-a*   *oomea* ....
           3PL.NFUT   LIP-ready   PURP-3.OBJ   war
           '... they were ready for war....'

(29-189)   *Koro*   *koki*   *kwai-thathai*   *qana*   *alo*   *ma*
           DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT LIP-ready   GENP   taro   and

           qota   *ma*   *qofa* ....
           areca.nut   and   betel.pepper
           'We should be ready with taro, and areca nuts, and betel pepper (so that we can take them to the market ....)'

With the senses 'be ready to do st.', 'be ready for st. to be the case', 'be about to do st.', *kwai-thathai* takes nominalizations or clauses as its complements. The subject of *kwai-thathai* and the (notional) subject of the complement clause or of the nominalization must be identical. Nominalizations function as oblique objects headed by the general preposition *qani*, while complement clauses are paratactic. If the complement is a clause, its subject marker is future-tense. *Kwai-thathai* may express readiness on the part of the referent of the subject to bring about a certain state of affairs:

(29-190)   *Kera*   *mena*   *keka*   *kwai-thathai*   *laqu* *boqo*
           3PL.NFUT   FADD   3PL.SEQ LIP-ready   ADD   ASRT

           qana   *ngali-la-na*   *botho*   *m=alo* ....
           GENP   take-NMLZ-3.PERS   pig   and=taro
           'They too are/get ready to take a pig and taro (to contribute to a feast) ….'

(29-191)   *Kera*   *kwaqi-a*   *naqa* *gwalu*   *baa,*
           3PL.NFUT   weigh.anchor-3.OBJ   PRF   anchor   that

           kera   *kwai-thathai*   *keki*   *lae*   *naqa.*
           3PL.NFUT   LIP-ready   3PL.FUT go   PRF
           'They have raised the anchor; they are ready to go now (lit.: they are ready they will go now).'

Kwai-thathai may also signify, on the part of the referent of its subject, anticipation of, and/or readiness for, a certain state of affairs:

(29-192)   ... *keka   fula-toqo-na   mak=keeroqa n=e*
                3PL.SEQ arrive-TEST-3.OBJ   father=3DU   REL=3SG.NFUT

                kwai-thathai   kai   nofi naqa.
                LIP-ready   3SG.FUT   die   PRF
                '... they went to see their father, who was ready to die.' (The father
                knew he was going to die before long.)

The meaning 'be ready to do st.' can also be expressed by means the verb
kwai-maqasi, which is based on the transitive verb *maqasi* 'wait for' and also
contains the low-individuation-of-participants prefix *kwai-*. For an example see
(22-43) in section 22.3.

There are two morphologically-related verbs that function as negative-
achievement verbs: *dora* and *lio-dora* 'forget to do st.' As discussed in section
29.4.5, *dora* can also function as a negative-knowledge predicate with the
meaning 'not know how'. When *dora* functions as a negative-achievement
verb, it takes as its subject a noun phrase headed by *lio* 'mind, thought'. *Lio*
functions as the head of a suffixing possessive construction, where the posses-
sor corresponds to the cognizer, the person who forgets to do something. Alter-
natively, *lio* and *dora* can form a subject-incorporating noun-verb compound
(section 12.3.2), *lio-dora* 'forget'. The subject of *lio-dora* encodes the cognizer.

Both *dora* and *lio-dora* can take oblique objects that encode entities, rather
than states of affairs, that are forgotten. Such oblique objects take the general
preposition *qani*.

(29-193)   a.   *Nau, lio-ku   e   dora   qana*
                  1SG   mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT forget   GENP

                  thata-na   wane   qeri.
                  name-3.PERS   man   that
                  'I have forgotten (lit.: I, my mind has forgotten) the man's
                  name.'

            b.   *Nau ku   lio-dora   qana   thata-na*
                  1SG   1SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP   name-3.PERS

                  wane   qeri.
                  man   that
                  'I have forgotten the man's name.' (Lit.: 'I have mind-
                  forgotten the man's name.')

With both verbs, to express forgetting to do something, the relevant state of affairs is encoded as a nominalization that funtions as an oblique object with the general preposition.

(29-194) *Qo*   *lio-dora*   *qana*   *uusi-la-na*   *suka.*
          2SG.NFUT   mind-forget   GENP   buy-NMLZ-3.PERS   sugar
          'You forgot to buy sugar.'

In (29-195) the nominalization is double (section 9.1.2):

(29-195) A: *Manga* *taa*   *na*   *toqa*   *baa*   *ki*   *keki*
             time   what?   FOC   people   that   PL   3PL.NFUT

             fula?
             arrive

          B: *Qoo,* *nau* *lio-ku*   *qe*   *dora*   *qana*
             oh   1SG   mind-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   forget   GENP

             soe-toqo-da-la-na-laa.
             ask-TEST-3PL.OBJ-NMLZ-3SG.PERS-NMLZ
          A: 'When will those people arrive?'
          B: 'Oh, I forgot to ask them.' (Lit.: 'Oh, I, my mind forgot its asking them.')

Lugaliu 'be too late to do st., miss the time to do st.', a Class 1 transitive verb, is another negative-achievement verb. *Lugaliu* most likely contains, historically, the verb *liu* 'walk', 'pass, pass by'. What the meaning of *luga* was is not known.

The subject of *lugaliu* refers to the participant for whom it is too late to do something, who has missed the time to do something. As its direct object, *lugaliu* takes either a complement clause or a nominalization, without any apparent difference in meaning. In both types of construction the (notional) subject of the complement and the subject of *lugaliu* must be identical. The subject marker in the complement clause is future-tense. Example (29-196) contains a complement clause, and (29-197) a nominalization:

(29-196) *Kulu*   *lugaliu-a*   *naqa* *kuki*   *lae.*
          PL(INCL).NFUT   be.late.for-3.OBJ   PRF   PL(INCL).FUT   go
          'It is too late now for us to go.' 'We have missed the time to go.'

(29-197)   *Nau   ku   lugaliu-a   naqa*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.late.for-3.OBJ   PRF

            bekamu-la-na   bret.
            bake-NMLZ-3.PERS   bread
            'It is too late now for me to bake bread.'

29.4.11.   Pretence verb

There is (at least) one pretence verb in the language, the intransitive verb *lole* 'pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case'. *Lole* can also function as an intransitive verb with the sense 'tell a lie/lies':

(29-198)   *Qoo, koqo   kera, ma   kamaroqa   moki   lole*
            oh   friend   3PL   and   2DU   2DU.IPFV   tell.lie

            ba-maroqa, ...
            LIM-2DU.PERS
            'Oh, friends, you two are just lying, ...'

   Lole also functions as a Class 1 transitive verb 'tell a lie/lies to':

(29-199)   *Toq=qe=ki   kera   lole-a   gavman.*
            people=that=PL   3PL.NFUT   tell.lie.to-3.OBJ   government
            'Those people lied to the government.'

   To express the content of a lie, a clause that contains the verb *lole* (intransitive or transitive) is followed by a coordinate clause that contains a locutionary verb, typically *sore-qe* (section 29.4.7), that takes as its complement a clause that expresses the content of the lie:

(29-200)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   qani-a   fanga   naqi,*
            1SG   1SG.NFUT   UNDES   eat-3.OBJ   food   this

            ku   lole   qa-kuqa,   ku
            1SG.NFUT   tell.lie   SBEN-1SG.PERS   1SG.NFUT

            sore-qe   ku   aabusu   ba-kuqa.
            say-DETR   1SG.NFUT   be.sated   LIM-1SG.PERS
            'I didn't want to eat this food, (and so) I lied, saying I was full.'

The transitive verb *lole* has a detransitivized variant *lole-qe*, whose meaning is 'pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case'. *Lole-qe* takes nominalizations or deverbal nouns as its incorporated objects (see also section 12.4.1). Such incorporated nominalizations or deverbal nouns encode the state of affairs that is faked. Since such nominalizations or deverbal nouns are incorporated objects and so form a single lexical unit, a compound, with *lole-qe*, they are not complements. Nevertheless, the construction is included here on the grounds that nominalizations may be involved and that the intransitive verb *lole* does take nominalization complements, as shown further below.

Since with *lole-qe* the nominalizations or deverbal nouns in question are incorporated objects, they occur immediately after the verb. Any postverbal particle(s) that may be present must follow the verb–nominalization/deverbal noun compound. In (29-201) the compound contains a nominalization. The compound is followed by the self-benefactive marker:

(29-201) *Toqa   baa   kera   lae   ma=i   sa-ku*
          people   that   3PL.NFUT   go   VENT=LOC   GOAL-1SG.PERS

          qa=fa   rodo,   nau   kwa   lole-qe   biinga-laa
          GENP=CLF   night   1SG   1SG.SEQ   pretend-DETR   sleep-NMLZ

          qa-kuqa.
          SBEN-1SG.PERS
          'Those people came to my house (lit.: to me) at night, (but) I pretended to be asleep.'

For another example see (12-61) in section 12.4.1.
In (29-202) the compound contains a deverbal noun:

(29-202) *Nau   ku   lole-qe   mae-a,   kwa*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   fake-DETR   be.dead-DVN   1SG.SEQ

          mamaroto   qa-kuqa.
          be.motionless   SBEN-1SG.PERS
          'I faked death and remained motionless.'

Alternatively, to express the meaning 'pretend that such and such is the case, fake such and such being the case' the intransitive verb *lole* can be used. It takes a nominalization or a deverbal noun as an oblique object with the general preposition *qani*. Compare (29-203a), where the nominalization is an incorpo-

rated object of the detransitivized form *lole-qe*, and the synonymous (29-203b), where the nominalization is an oblique object of intransitive *lole*:

(29-203) a.   *Wane   e   lole-qe   mae-laa.*
                    man   3SG.NFUT   pretend-DETR   be.dead-NMLZ
                    'The man pretended to be dead.' 'The man faked being dead.'

          b.   *Wane   e   lole   qana   mae-laa.*
                    man   3SG.NFUT   pretend   GENP   die-NMLZ
                    'The man pretended to be dead.' 'The man faked being dead.'

Compare also (29-204), where the oblique object of *lole* is a deverbal noun:

(29-204   *Tai   wane   keka   lole   qana   mae-a,*
              some.PL   man   3PL.SEQ pretend GENP   die-DVN

          fasi   gavman   kai   qifi,   uri   kera
              PURP government   3SG.FUT   open.door   PURP 3PL

          keka   kotho   ma=i   maa.
              3PL.SEQ go.through   VENT=LOC outside
              'Some of the men pretended to be dying, so that the government (people) might open the door, so that they [the men] might go (lit.: come) out.'

29.4.12.   Commentative verbs

Four intransitive verbs are included here: *kwaiakaura* 'be easy', *qafetaqi* 'be difficult', *leqa* 'be good, nice', and *taqaa* 'be bad, be not good'. *Kwaiakaura* 'be easy (to deal with)' and *qafetaqi* 'be difficult (to deal with)' take nominalizations as their complements. The nominalizations function as oblique objects with the general preposition *qani*. They characterize the referents of the subjects as being easy or difficult, respectively, to deal with with regard to the kinds of situation expressed by the nominalizations.

(29-205) *Toqoni naqi qe   kwaiakaura   ba-na*
              shirt   this   3SG.NFUT   be.easy   LIM-3SG.PERS

        qana   *taqu-la-na.*
        GENP   wash-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
        'This shirt is just easy to wash.' (Lit.: 'This shirt is just easy for its washing.')

Compare (29-206) with *taqu* 'wash' as the head of the predicate:

(29-206)   *Qoko*   *taqu-a*   *kaleko*   *nau*   *qe=ki ....*
           2SG.SEQ wash-3.OBJ   clothes 1SG   that=PL
           'Wash those clothes of mine ....'

(29-207)   *Fanu=e*   *qafetaqi*   *qana*   *tatha-laa.*
           country=3SG.NFUT be.difficult   GENP   walk-NMLZ
           'The country is difficult to walk around (in).' (Lit.: 'The country is difficult for walking.')

Compare (29-208) with *tatha* 'walk' as the head of the predicate:

(29-208)   *Kamuluqa muka*   *tatha*   *i*   *naqo, ...*
           2PL   2PL.SEQ   walk   LOC   front
           'You walk in front (I'll walk behind you).'

Leqa 'be good, nice' and *taqaa* 'be bad, be not good' may take as their subjects noun phrases headed by nominalizations. Such nominalizations signify states of affairs or types of states of affairs that are characterized as good or bad, respectively.

(29-209)   *Nau* *too-la-ku*   *e*
           1SG   be.in.certain.condition-NMLZ-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT

           leqa   *ba-na.*
           be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
           'I am fine.' 'My life is fine.'

(29-210)   *Ngata-buri-laa*   *e*   *taqaa.*
            speak-behind-NMLZ 3SG.NFUT   be.bad
           'Speaking [about people] behind their backs is bad.'

Leqa 'be good, nice' is also used with nominalizations with prepositional complements of purpose. The noun phrase inside the prepositional phrase is headed by a nominalization. Either the general preposition *qani* or the purpose

preposition *uri* may be used. This construction is used to characterize the refer-
ent of the subject as being (or not being) good for a certain purpose.

(29-211) *Kula   qe   leqa   qana   siisiu-laa.*
          place   3SG.NFUT   be.good   GENP   bathe-NMLZ
          'The place is good for bathing.'

(29-212) *Qe   leqa   ba-na   uri-a   visit-laa,*
          3SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ   visit-NMLZ

          ma   too-laa   molo   ku   lalakwa.
          and   reside-NMLZ   AFFTOP   1SG.NFUT   not.like
          'It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but (lit.: and) living (there) I
          do/would not like.'

Finally, *leqa* 'be good, nice' can also take finite clauses as its complements.
In this case it takes the third person singular subject marker, which is non-
referential, and it is also accompanied by the postverbal limiter *ba-*. The state of
affairs expressed in the complement clause is characterized as being good,
which may also signify that it is good for it to take place. That is, *leqa* may
carry a permissive implication (section 29.4.2).

(29-213) *Qe   leqa   ba-na   kwai   lae   kau*
          3SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   1SG.FUT   go   AND

          qi   laa   rodo?
          LOC   IN   night
          'Is it OK (lit.: good) for me to come (lit.: go) (to see you) at night?'

For another example see (29-15) in section 29.2.

29.5.   The inceptive, desiderative, and undesirative particles

In section 29.4.3 the Class 1 transitive complement-taking phasal verb *thafali*
'begin, start' was discussed. It takes direct-object complement clauses. The
subject of the complement clause must be identical with the subject of the ma-
trix clause. And in section 29.4.4 the complement-taking desiderative verbs
thathami 'want', 'like' and *lalakwa* 'not want', 'not like' were discussed. *That-
hami* is a Class 1 transitive verb. It takes direct-object complement clauses. The
subject of the complement clause and the subject of the matrix clause may be
different or identical. *Lalakwa* is an intransitive verb. It takes paratactic com-

plement clauses. The subject of the complement clause and the subject of the matrix clause must be different.

For all three verbs there exist alternative structures, where those etyma function not as verbs, but as preverbal particles: *thafaliqi* and *thafali* inceptive, *thathamiqi* and *thathami* desiderative, and *lalakwa* undesiderative. These alternative structures are possible only under "participant identity": the participant who begins to bring a situation about is the same participant as the one who carries out the situation (not necessarily to completion); the participant who wants a situation to come about is the one who is to bring it about; and the participant who does not want a situation to come about is the same participant as the one who would otherwise bring it about or who may have to bring it about nevertheless. The three verbs and the related particles are now discussed in turn.

There is always identity of participants in phasal contexts, and both constructions are always available:

(29-214) *Nau   ku   thafali-a   kwai   uqunu   naqa.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT begin-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT tell.story   PRF
         'I am about to begin to tell a/the story.'

(29-215) *Nau   ku   thafaliqi   uqunu   naqa.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT INCEP   tell.story   PRF
         'I am about to begin to tell a/the story.'

In (29-214), with transitive *thafali-a* there are two subject markers, one in the matrix clause and one in the complement clause. On the other hand, in (29-215), with *thafaliqi*, there is only one subject marker; in fact, there can only ever be one subject marker there. This can be taken as evidence that the structure is monoclausal. More evidence that structures like the one in (29-215) are monoclausal is provided further below.

The same is also true of structures with the desiderative and the undesiderative markers. In positive desiderative contexts ('want X'), there may but need not be identity of participants. If there is identity, and only then, are both constructions available:

(29-216) *Nau   ku   thathami-a   kwai   fanga.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT eat
         'I want to eat.'

(29-217) *Nau   ku   thathamiqi   fanga.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT DES   eat
         'I want to eat.'

In negative desiderative contexts ('not want X') the construction with a finite complement clause is ungrammatical when there is participant identity. In such cases either the verb *lalakwa* 'not like', 'not want' takes a nominalization as an oblique object, or a construction with *lalakwa* as a preverbal undesiderative particle is used:

(29-218)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   qana   siisiu-laa.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   not.want/not.like GENP   bathe-NMLZ
        'I don't want to bathe.' 'I don't like bathing.'

(29-219)   *Nau   ku   lalakwa   siisiu.*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   UNDES   bathe
        'I don't want to bathe.' 'I don't like bathing.'

For convenience, the structures with the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative markers are referred to as "reduced".

The next set of examples further illustrates the reduced structures, inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative, respectively. In all three sentences the verbs are transitive and carry the object suffix *-a*.

(29-220)   *Qusungadi kuki   thafaliqi   kwaqe-a   masuqu*
        tomorrow   PL(INCL).FUT INCEP   cut-3.OBJ   bush

        loo.
        upward
        'Tomorrow we'll begin to clear the bush up there.'

(29-221)   *Taa   na   qo   thathamiqi kuqu-fi-a?*
        what?   FOC   2SG.NFUT   DES   drink-TR-3SG.OBJ
        'What do you want to drink?'

(29-222)   *Wela   qe   lalakwa qani-a   butete   naqi.*
        child   3SG.NFUT   UNDES   eat-3.OBJ   sweet.potato   this
        'The child does not want to eat this sweet potato.'

There are several pieces of evidence that the reduced structures are monoclausal. First, as mentioned further above, they contain only one subject marker. Second, if the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements were verbs rather than preverbal practicles, one would expect them to permit postverbal particles (section 5.2) to follow them. In (29-223) below, the verb *thathami* 'want' has a clause as its direct object, and is itself followed by the

combination of the assertive and the intensifying particles *bo=naqa*. The particles intervene between *thathami* and the complement clause:

(29-223) *Keka   thathami-a   bo=naqa   keki*
        3PL.SEQ want-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS 3PL.FUT

        thau-ngi-a   qaburu   qeri.
        kill-TR-3.OBJ   ogre   that
        'They wanted very much to kill the ogre.'

On the other hand, in the reduced structures, no postverbal particle can occur directly after the inceptive, desiderative, or undesiderative elements. If one or more postverbal particles are present, they can only occur after the verb:

(29-224) *... ma   keka   thathamiqi uqunu   qasia   naqa.*
        and   3PL.SEQ DES   converse   INTS   INTS
        '... and they wanted/liked very much to converse (with each other).'

Third, finite complement clauses may be introduced by the complementizer *na* (section 29.3):

(29-225) *Nau ku   thafali-a   na   kwai   uqunu*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT begin-3.OBJ   COMP   1SG.FUT   tell.story

        suli-a   tha   Bariqi.
        PROL-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   Bariqi
        'I am beginning to tell the story about Bariqi.'

(29-226) *Nau ku   lalakwa   na   wela nau kai*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT not.want   COMP   child 1SG   3SG.FUT

        ngata   bia   thaari   neqe.
        speak   COM girl   this
        'I don't want my son (lit.: child) to speak with this girl.'

On the other hand, the complementizer is ungrammatical in the reduced structures.

Fourth, the verbs in the reduced structures can be inflected for object marking. See examples (29-220) – (29-222) above, where the verbs carry the third person object suffix *-a*. That is, those verbal forms are not some kind of infinitive-like forms stripped of inflection.

And fifth, there may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of a matrix clause and there may be a slight pause between the matrix clause and the complement clause. On the other hand, the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative markers always occur under one intonation contour with the following verb, without any pause.

There is, then, strong evidence that the reduced structures are monoclausal. At the same time, the combinations of the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements and the following verbs are not [verb verb] compounds. There are no [verb verb] compounds where the first verb carries the detransitivizing suffix *-qi* or *-qe*. The transitive verbs *riki* 'see', *rongo* 'hear', '*sore* 'say', *lole* 'tell a lie/lies', 'pretend, fake', and *thaitoqoma* 'know' all have detransitivized forms: *riki-qi*, *rongo-qi, sore-qe, lole-qe*, and *thaitoqome-qe*, respectively, but these forms are not used when those verbs are the initial components in [verb verb] compounds; for example, *rongo thaitoqoma-na* ('hear' 'know'-3.OBJ) 'recognize him/her/it by sound'; *sore-leqa* ('say'-'be nice') 'thank, give thanks', 'speak in praise (of sb., st.)' 'give a speech honouring sb., st', 'thank (sb.)'; *thaitoqoma-na leqa* ('know'-3.OBJ 'be good') 'know him/her/it well'. (*Rongo-qi* 'hear that' takes paratactic complement clauses [section 29.4.5]; *sore-qe* 'say', 'think that, assume that' too takes paratactic complement clauses [sections 29.4.7 and 29.4.8]; *lole-qe* 'tell a lie/lies', 'pretend, fake' forms object-incorporating compounds with nominalizations and deverbal nouns [section 29.4.11]; and *riki-qi* 'see' and *thaitoqome-qe* 'know' also form object-incorporating compounds [section 12.4.1].)

The inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative elements are preverbal particles, not verbs. Two of the particles, inceptive *thafaliqi* and desiderative *thathamiq*, are related to Class 1 transitive verbs and they both contain *qi* as their final syllable, not found in the corresponding verbs. Undesiderative *lalakwa* is related to an intransitive verb and does not contain final *qi*. The *qi* is obviously related to the detransitivizing suffix *-qi/-qe*, discussed in section 4.6. There are other preverbal particles that, optionally, contain what is historically a continuation of the detransitivizing suffix: *toneqe* and *tona*; *tofeqe*, *tofe* and *tofa*, all of which are restrictive markers; *makeqe* and *maka* immediate past, immediate future; and *thafeqe* and *thafa* attenuative (section 5.1). That suggests that those particles too may be of verbal origin, although, unlike the inceptive, desiderative, and undesiderative particles, they do not have verbal counterparts in the present-day language.

In fact, the final *qi* is optional in the inceptive and the desiderative particles as well: *thafaliqi* and *thafali* inceptive; *thathamiqi* and *thathami* desiderative. Because the final *qi* does not have any function, it is not isolated as a morpheme in *thafaliqi* and *thathamiqi*, similarly to those other preverbal particles. The next two examples show the forms with and without the final *qi*:

(29-227) *Nau   ku   {thafaliqi / thafali} rongo-a   si*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   INCEP   /   INCEP   hear-3.OBJ   PRTT

         doo   qeri qi   laa   manga   qeri.
         thing   that LOC IN   time   that
         'I began to hear (about) that thing at that time.'

(29-228) *Nau   ku   {thathamiqi / thathami} lae   naqa.*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   DES   /   DES   go   PRF
         'I want to go now.'

For another example of the *thathami* form of the desiderative particle see (28-29) in section 28.3.

The particle *thafaliqi* can also be used in a function other than signalling the beginning of the state of affairs expressed by the verb with which it occurs. Rather, the event expressed by that verb is an initial point in another state of affairs that need not be overtly expressed, at least not in the same clause or sentence. In (29-229) *thafaliqi* does not signal the beginning of the speaker's birth; rather, his being born was the beginning of his life:

(29-229) *Nau   ku   thafaliqi   futa   qi   laal-a*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   INCEP   be.born   LOC   inside-3.PERS

         naintin   twenty   eit,   qi   laa   maqe   toaa   qi
         nineteen twenty   eight LOC IN   CLF   hamlet   LOC

         Malethau.
         Malethau
         'I was (originally) born in 1928, in the hamlet of (lit.: at) Malethau.'

29.6.   Complement clauses in noun phrases

Complement clauses are occasionally, although only rarely, used in noun phrases, with the complement clause functioning as a modifier of the head noun. For the position of complement clauses within noun phrases see (6-3) in section 6.1.

In (29-230) the head noun is *nyus* 'news':

(29-230) *... keka   fale-a   mai   nyus kera mada   fa*
         3PL.SEQ send-3.OBJ VENT   news 3PL   or   CLF

ngali	loo	kiki	fula,	kiki	thau-ngi
year	upward	3PL.FUT	arrive	3PL.FUT	hit-TR

Solomon	Aylen.
Solomon	Islands

'... they [the Japanese] sent news (lit.: their news) (to the Solomon Islands) that probably the following year they would arrive and punish (lit.: hit) the Solomon Islands.'

In (29-231) the head noun is *uqunu* 'story'. The complement clause is introduced by the complementizer *na*.

(29-231)

Rua-na	imole	ka	rongo-a	na=kau,	ma
two-3.PERS	person	3SG.SEQ	hear-3SG.OBJ	PRF=AND	and

uul-a	imole	ka	rongo-a	na=kau,
three-3.PERS	person	3SG.SEQ	hear-3SG.OBJ	PRF=AND

ma	ka	lae	faaladoa,	ma	**uqunu**	ka	lae
and	3SG.SEQ	go	spread	and	story	3SG.SEQ	go

na=kau	suli-a	na	si	doo	qeri
PRF=AND	PROL-3SG.OBJ	COMP	PRTT	thing	that

qe	danga	naqa,	ma	do=e	aqi
3SG.NFUT	be.finished	PRF	and	thing=3SG.NFUT	NEGV

si	danga	quu	ba-na.
3SG.NEG	be.finished	ANTCONT	LIM-3SG.PERS

'A second person will hear it, a third person will hear it, and it will spread, and a story will go (round) about it that the thing is finished, but (lit.: and) the thing is not yet finished.'

In (29-232) there is a complement-clause construction that consists of two asyndetically coordinated clauses. The construction is introduced by the complementizer. The head noun is *doo* 'thing'.

(29-232)

Mada	s=o	lae	qi	laa	qamali	qoko
or	IRR=2SG.NFUT	go	LOC	IN	sea	2SG.SEQ

dee-toqo-na	iqa	qeri,	qoki
catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ	fish	that	2SG.FUT

faqa-mamane-qa-a		*si*	*doo*	*qeri*	*na*	*fa*
CAUS-be.true-PROP-3.OBJ		PRTT	thing	that	COMP	CLF

io	*qeri*	*qe*	*ngela*	*qi*	*maqa*
arrow	that	3SG.NFUT	stick.out	LOC	CLF

daar-a,	*ka*	*ngela*	*bo=naq=i*
forehead-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	stick.out	ASRT=INTS=LOC

taraqena.
today

'If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, you will believe the thing (that I said) that the arrow stuck out from its head and has been sticking out until today.' (Discussing a species of fish whose appearance is said to be due to an arrow having been stuck into its head.)

Chapter 30
Relative clauses

30.1.   The basic characteristics

Relative clauses are optionally introduced by the element *na*, which is also used with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2). The same element is also used as a focus marker (section 39.1) and, less commonly, to introduce complement clauses (section 29.3). *Na* frequently fuses with immediately following subject markers that in their full form begin with *q*, in which case it has the form *n=*; for example, *n=o*, from *na qo*, with the second person singular nonfuture marker. Example (30-1) contains the full form, (30-2) shows both the full form and the reduced form, and (30-3) contains only the reduced form. The relative clauses, together with the relative marker, are in square brackets.

(30-1)   *Kwa   riki-a   tai   wane   [na   kera*
          1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   some.PL   man   REL   3PL.NFUT

          suukwaqi].
          be.strong
          'I saw some men who were strong.'

(30-2)   *Imole   [{na   qoki   /   n=oki}   lae*
          people   REL   2SG.FUT   /   REL=2SG.FUT   go

          bii-da]   lakoq.
          COM-3PL.OBJ   there(3)
          'The people that you will go with are over there.'

Such fusion is particularly common when the subject marker is third person singular *qe*. There absence of fusion is relatively rare.

(30-3)   *Ma   wane   n=e   ni=i   thaqegano,*
          and   man   REL=3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC   ground

          tootoo   ka   taqisi   ba-n=i
          later   3SG.SEQ   rush   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

> *buir-a.*
> behind-3SG.PERS
> 'And the man who is on the ground then chases after it [a possum
> running away].'

The relative-clause marker may be absent:

(30-4) *Meka   lae, meka   riki-a   doo*
        1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go   1DU(EXCL).SEQ   see-3.OBJ   thing

        [kera   qalangi-a   qana   "faunten"].
        3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   fountain
        'We went and saw a (kind of) thing they call a "fountain".'(Lit.:
        'We went, we saw a thing they name it with [the name of] "foun-
        tain".)

The issue of the presence and absence of the relative-clause marker is dis-
cussed in section 30.4.

Relative clauses occur as the last post-nominal modifier inside noun phrases;
see (6-3) in section 6.1.

There are some complexities when a noun phrase that contains a relative
clause also contains the plural marker *ki*. These are discussed in section 30.3.

With two types of exception, the position relativized is coded in some way
inside the relative clause: by a subject marker, as in (30-3) further above, an
object marker, as in (30-4), a personal suffix, an independent personal pronoun,
or the locative pro-form. The details are given in section 30.6.

As a norm, relative clauses and their head nouns occur together in a noun
phrase, but they need not. Either the relative clause or the head noun phrase can
occur outside that noun phrase. This is discussed in section 30.7. And as also
shown there, a head noun and its relative clause may be separated by another
clause that does not have that noun phrase in its argument structure.

When a relative clause is internal in a sentence, that is, not at the end, there
may be a slight pause between the end of the relative clause and the following
material.

Relative clauses are by no means uncommon in Toqabaqita discourse, and
nesting of noun phrases that contain relative clauses is not unusual. The sen-
tence in (30-5) contains three relative clauses, and the last two occur in a nested
structure.

(30-5) *[Si   manga [na   kera   figu   mai]*RC*]*NP,
        PRTT time   REL   3PL.NFUT   gather   VENT

> *[toq=qe=ki*   *[na   kera   toqo-a*
> people=that=PL   REL 3PL.NFUT   learn-3.OBJ
>
> *[aga-a   qeri [na   nia   ngali-a*
> play.panpipes-DVN   that   REL   3SG   carry-3SG.OBJ
>
> *mai]RC]NP]RC]NP   keka   uufi-a ....*
> VENT   3PL.SEQ blow-3SG.OBJ
> 'When (lit.: the time that) they gathered, the people who had learned
> (how to play) the panpipes that he had brought blew them ....'

Relative clauses may coocur with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2) in modifying one and the same head noun. The relative prepositional phrase occurs before the relative clause.

(30-6)   *... uni-qi   imole   na=i   manga   qe=ki*
            generation-ASSOC   person   REL=LOC   time   this=PL

> *na   keki   qaru-toqo-na   si   tarafula-a*
> REL   3PL.IPFV   fall-TEST-3.OBJ   DIM   quote.proverb-DVN
>
> *qeri, ...*
> that
> 'Today's generation of people who use the proverb (use it like this: ….)' (Lit.: 'The generation of people of these times who use the proverb ….')

30.2.   The functions of relative clauses

On the basis of their function, two main types of relative clause can be distinguished in Toqabaqita: restrictive and elaborative. The two types of relative clause have the same structure, and both can be separated from the following sentence-internal material by a slight pause. Restrictive relative clauses restrict the domain of relativization, thus providing (closer) identification of the referent of the noun phrase. The information expressed in a restrictive relative clause is presupposed. In (30-7) there are two restrictive clauses:

(30-7)   *Ma   keka   thau-ngi-a   ulu   wela qe=ki   na*
            and   3PL.SEQ kill-TR-3.OBJ   three child that-PL   REL

kera	*ni=i*		*thara,*	*ma*	*ta*	*wela*
3PL.NFUT	be.located=LOC		outside	and	some	child

n=e		*nii*	*mai*	*qi*
REL=3SG.NFUT		be.located	VENT	LOC

faar-a		*fau*	*loo*	*ka*		*lio*	*ka*
underneath-3.PERS		rock	upward	3SG.SEQ		look	3SG.SEQ

riki-a	*ba-na.*
watch-3SG.OBJ	LIM-3SG.PERS

'And they killed the three children who were outside, and the child who was under the rock [i.e., inside a cave] above just looked and watched it.'

The elaborative type of relative clause does not have this kind of identifying function. Rather, it supplies some additional, nonpresupposed information about the referent, for example by stating what he/she is doing, what state he/she/it is in, what characteristics or properties he/she/it has. The information in the relative clause elaborates on the referent rather than identifying him/her/it. The category of elaborative relative clauses includes what are usually referred to as non-restrictive relative clauses, but it also includes relative clauses that characterize newly introduced participants (see, for example, Lambrecht 1988).

In (30-8) below, the relevant participant is uniquely identified by means of the noun phrase 'Mareqau's spouse/wife'. The relative clause specifies her location at the given time. (Paradoxically, the ablative preposition *fasi* is used with the verb *raqa* 'climb' to signal the motion towards [rather than away from] a person. This particular use of *fasi* is probably somehow related to the use of *fasi* as a marker of purpose [section 33.3].)

(30-8)

Nia	*ka*	*raqa*	*fasi-a*	*kwai=tha*
3SG	3SG.SEQ	climb	ABL-3.OBJ	spouse:3.PERS=PERSMKR

Mareqau	*n=e*		*ni=i*		*laa*	*oqola*
Mareqau	REL=3SG.NFUT		be.located=LOC		IN	garden

qeri.
that

'He climbed towards Mareqau's wife, who was in the garden.'

In (30-9) the ship is described in the relative clause as going to land/dock (in a harbour). It is the name of the ship that uniquely identifies it, not the relative clause.

(30-9)   ... *keko   sifo   bo=naqa,   maqasi-a   Tulake*
          3DU.SEQ   descend   ASRT=INTS wait.for-3.OBJ Tulagi

          na   kai   olo   i   Malu'u.
          REL   3SG.FUT   land   LOC   Malu'u
          'They went down (to the coast) to wait for the Tulagi [a ship], which was going to land at Malu'u.'

In (30-10) the (extraposed) relative clause specifies the *type* of sore involved, not the actual identity of the sore. The sore is a new and prominent participant in the discourse, a traditional cautionary tale; see text 2 in the Appendix. Extraposition of relative clauses is discussed in section 30.7.2. At the beginning of the sentence in (30-10) there is also a verbless and subjectless relative clause (section 27.2.4).

(30-10)   *Wane   na   tha   Liliqa,   maala   qe*
          man   REL   PERSMKR   Liliqa   sore   3SG.NFUT

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

          qalangi-a   qana   "basi".
          name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   basi
          'This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who [was] Liliqa), his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws] (lit.: a sore afflicted his leg that they name "*basi*").'

In (30-11) the speaker uses the relative clause to characterize himself, not to identify himself:

(30-11)   *Nau   wane   ku   gwau-thala-qa   naqa.*
          1SG   man   1SG.NFUT   head-lack.solidity-PROP   PRF
          'I am a wretched man now.' (Lit.: 'I [am] a man who am wretched.')

(*Gwau-thala-qa* is used about people who lead a wretched life because they have lost their spouse.) The type of relative clause construction in (30-11) is discussed in section 30.6.1.

In (30-12) the relative clause provides an explanation of the meaning of a place name. It does not identify a referent.

(30-12)   *Iu,*   *"Fanua Gwaqu",*   *toqo-la-ngaqi-la-na*
           yes,   *Fanua Gwaqu*   explain-EXT-TR-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

           fanua   *n=e*   *aqi*   *ta*   *wane*   *si*
           place   REL=3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   person   3SG.NEG

           too   *i*   *ei* ....
           reside   LOC   LOCPRO
           'Yes, "*Fanua Gwaqu*", its meaning (lit.: its explanation) is "place where nobody lives"….' (*Fanua* 'place', *gwaqu* 'be empty'.)

In (30-13) there are two relative clauses. The first one is elaborative, and the second one restrictive. The elaborative clause characterizes what the thing that will be made will look like, specifically that it will look different from the war club made by somebody else. The latter club is identified by means of a restrictive relative clause.

(30-13)   *Nau*   *ku*   *thathami-a*   *kwai*   *thau-ngani=ta*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   make-TR:3.OBJ=some

           doo   *na*   *riki-la-na*   *kai*   *qeeqeta*
           thing   REL   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.FUT   be.different

           fasi-a   *subi*   *na*   *tha*   *Fiuoomea*
           ABL-3.OBJ   k.o.war.club   REL   PERSMKR   Fiuoomea

           e   *thau-ngani-a.*
           3SG.NFUT   make-TR-3SG.OBJ
           'I want to make something that will look different (lit.: whose looking-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuoomea made.'

Elaborative relative clauses are common in Toqabaqita discourse.

30.3.   Relative clauses and plural marking

To indicate explicitly that a noun phrase has plural reference, the plural marker *ki* is used inside the noun phrase (section 6.9):

(30-14) *Kero   rongo-a   thaqaro fuu   ki, ...*
         3DU.NFUT hear-3.OBJ possum downward PL
         'They heard the possums down there, ...'

When a noun phrase contains the plural marker and also a relative clause, there are three possibilities with respect to the positioning of the plural marker. One of them is for it to occur before the relative clause, in the position identified in (6-3) in section 6.1, before any of the particles that may be present.

(30-15) *Keeroqa   keko   kwai-thathai   qa=si   doo **ki***
         3DU   3DU.SEQ   LIP-ready   GENP=PRTT   thing PL

         [na   keki   ngali-a   qana   uusi-a   qi   laa
         REL   3PL.FUT take-3SG.OBJ   GENP   buy-DVN   LOC   IN

         fa   thato qeri].
         CLF   day   that
         'The two of them got ready the things (lit.: got ready with the things) that they would take to the market on that day.'

In (30-16) the plural marker occurs before the exhaustive and the limiting particles:

(30-16) *Imole **ki**   sui   bana [na   kera   nii*
         person PL   EXHST   LIM   REL 3PL.NFUT   be.located

         kaa-kali   mai] keka   seqe-thaathala   qasia
         RDP-be.around   VENT 3PL.SEQ body-be.lightweight   INTS

         naqa, ...
         INTS
         'All the people who are around [i.e., who live in the vicinity] became very happy, ...'

The second possibility is for the plural marker to occur inside the relative clause rather than before it. In that case the plural marker occurs immediately after the verb, before any of the postverbal particles that may be present in the relative clause.

(30-17) *Uqunu [na   ku   thaitoqoma-na   **ki**]   ku*
         story   REL   1SG.NFUT   know-3SG.OBJ   PL   1SG.NFUT

uqunu   teqefau   naqa suli-a   qi   sa-mu.
narrate   every.one   PRF   PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC GOAL-2SG.PERS
'The stories that I know, I have told (lit.: narrated about) every single one to you.'

In (30-18) the plural marker inside the relative clause precedes the combination of the assertive and the intensifying postverbal particles of the relative clause.

(30-18)   *Doo [na   ku   riki-da   **ki**   bo=naqa] neqe.*
           thing REL   1SG.NFUT   see-3PL.OBJ   PL   ASRT=INTS here
           'Here/these are (all) the things I have/own (lit.: see).'

The third option is for there to be two instances of the plural marker, one before the relative clause and one inside it, each one occurring in the same position as when there is single marking.

(30-19)   *Kera keka   gani-a   figu-a   **ki**   [na*
           3PL   3PL.SEQ ask.sb.to.do.st-3.OBJ   gather-DVN PL   REL

           *kera   too   kaa-kali   **ki**], keki   lae,*
           3PL.NFUT   reside   RDP-be.around   PL   3PL.FUT go

           keki   ili-a   laqu boqo   raa   qeri bii   kera.
           3PL.FUT   do-3.OBJ   ADD ASRT   work   that COM 3PL
           'They asked the (residential) groups that live around to come (lit.: go) and also do the work with them.'

In the next example the plural marker inside the relative clause comes before the ventive directional, which too is inside the relative clause:

(30-20)   *Nii   fania   bateree baa **ki**   [na   ku*
           be.located   where?   battery that PL   REL   1SG.NFUT

           *ngali-a   **ki**   mai]?*
           take-3SG.OBJ   PL   VENT
           'Where are the batteries that I brought?

When the plural marker is inside a relative clause, it occurs immediately after the verb, and before any postverbal particles. However, the immediately postverbal position is also the position occupied by direct objects realized by means of the independent personal pronouns (see [4-1] in section 4.1). When

there is a pronoun in the direct-object position inside a relative clause, there cannot be a plural marker inside the relative clause that relates to the head noun. Compare the two variants in (30-21). In variant (a), the verb in the relative clause carries an object suffix and there is an instance of the plural marker after the verb; in the synonymous variant (b), there is an independent pronoun in the direct-object position and no plural marker inside the relative clause:

(30-21)   a.   *Wela [na   ku   teqe-maqi-da   ki   sui*
                  child REL   1SG.NFUT   one-TR-3PL.OBJ   PL   COMPL

              naqa],   muku   oli   naqa.
              PRF   2PL.SEQ return   PRF
              'The children that I have finished counting, you go back now.'

          b.   *Wela [na   ku   teqe-maqi   kera sui*
                  child REL   1SG.NFUT   one-TR   3PL   COMPL

              naqa],   muku   oli   naqa.
              PRF   2PL.SEQ return   PRF
              'The children that I have finished counting, you go back now.'

(For the use of the *-maqi* rather than the *-mani* variant of the transitive suffix in the (a) variant, with an object suffix, see section 4.2.3.2.2, example [4-85] and the paragraph that precedes it.)

Apart from the prohibition on the occurrence of the plural marker inside a relative clause that contains a pronoun in the direct-object position, the three alternatives for the placement of the plural marker are in free variation. Examples (30-15), (30-17) and (30-18), and (30-20), respectively, show the three strategies when the position relativized is direct object. Examples (30-16), (30-18), and (30-20), respectively, show the three strategies when there are postverbal particles in the relative clause. And the presence or absence of the relative-clause marker is not a factor either. In all the examples above, the marker is present. Examples (30-37) – (30-39) in section 30.4 show, respectively, the three strategies for the placement of the plural marker in the absence of the relative-clause marker.

Placement of the plural marker within relative clauses discussed and exemplified here marks the plurality of the noun phrase in which the relative clause occurs. It does not signal plurality which would be strictly internal to the relative clause. Thus, it does not mark plurality of the event encoded in the relative clause. In none of the examples above with the plural marker internal to the relative clause is there any necessary implication that the situation encoded in the relative clause obtained on multiple occasions.

30.4.   Absence of the relative-clause marker

Both restrictive and elaborative relative clauses can, and usually, with a few types of exception, are, marked by the relative-clause marker *na* (*n=*), as in nearly all of the examples given thus far. However, both types of relative clause can also occur without the marker. Since, overall, the presence of the marker is the norm, the focus here is on the types of situation where the marker is or may be absent. It should be kept in mind that in most types of case these are tendencies rather than rules. One basic principle is that the relative-clause marker is more likely to be absent if the relative clause is short and simple, and especially when it occurs at the end of a sentence. When both of the conditions are met, the tendency for the marker to be absent is very strong. Given the relevant contexts, the relative clause in (30-22) is restrictive and the one in (30-23) elaborative:

(30-22)   *Nau   qe   aqi   kwasi   rongo-a   doo*
           1SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   1SG.NEG   hear-3.OBJ   thing

           b=e   sore-a.
           that=3SG.NFUT   say-3SG.OBJ
           'I didn't hear what (lit.: the thing) he said.'

(*B=* is a reduced form of the demonstrative *baa*.)

(30-23)   *Kera   sula   suli-a   wela kera*
           3PL.NFUT   ask.everywhere   PROL-3.OBJ   child 3PL

           e   dola.
           3SG.NFUT   be.lost
           'They went from house to house, asking about their lost child.' (Lit.:
           'They asked everywhere about their child, who was lost.')

   Given the broader context in which (30-23) occurs, the relative clause *e dola* '(who) was lost' is not necessary to identify the child.
   In (30-24) and (30-25) the relative clauses are not sentence final, but they are short, and the marker is absent:

(30-24)   *Ulu   nau baa [qo   fale-a]   e*
           sweater 1SG that 2SG.NFUT   give-3SG.OBJ   3SG.NFUT

> *muu   naqa.*
> be.torn   PRF
> 'The sweater you gave (me) (lit.: that sweater of mine you gave) is torn (into pieces) now.'

(30-25) *Fa   nguu [nia qe   nguu-li-a]   qe*
         CLF   song 3SG 3SG.NFUT sing-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.NFUT

> *leqa.*
> be.nice
> 'The song he is singing is nice.'

There is no absolute limit on the length and complexity of relative clauses beyond which the marker must be present, but as the length and complexity increase, the marker is more and more likely to be present but is not required. In the next example the relative clause contains a direct object, a directional particle, and a stranded preposition; still the relative-clause marker is absent:

(30-26) *Nau   ku   riki-a   boqo   si   doo baa*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT see-3.OBJ   ASRT   PRTT thing that

> *ki   [qo   faqa-rongo nau   mai   qani-a],*
> PL   2SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear 1SG   VENT   GENP-3SG.OBJ

> *sui   qoko   manata-lube   nau, ...*
> then 2SG.SEQ   mind-be.untied   1SG
> 'I saw [here: I read] the things that you had told [i.e., written] me about, and then you forgave me, ...'

The relative-clause marker is always absent in one type of negative existential sentence, when the position relativized is subject: the type of entity characterized by the relative clause does not exist or is not available:

(30-27) *Qe   aqi   tai   wane   qoro   si*
         3SG.NFUT   NEGV   some.PL person be.many 3SG.NEG

> *thaitoqoma-na   uqunu   qeri.*
> know-3.OBJ   story   this
> 'There are not many people who know this story.' 'Not many people know this story.'

See also (30-12) in section 30.2. For more examples see section 26.1.2.2.

There is one syntactic environment in which the relative clause marker is normally absent, under a certain semantic condition. When there are more than one relative clause with the same head noun and the events encoded in them are in temporal sequence or are temporally overlapping, one event being relatively closely followed by, leading to, resulting in, the next one, the second, third, etc. relative clause normally does not have a relative-clause marker even if the first one does.

(30-28) *Roo   basi   [na   thaina-karoqa   qe*
         two   bow   REL   mother-DU(INCL).PERS   3SG.NFUT

         thaa-thau-ngani-a]   [ka   faa-fale-a
         RDP-make-TR-3SG.OBJ   3SG.NFUT   RDP-give-3SG.OBJ

         qi   a-karoqa],   nia   ka   teo   qa-na, ...
         LOC   REC-DU(INCL).PERS   3SG   3SG.SEQ   lie   SBEN-3SG.PERS
          'The pair of bows that our mother made and gave us, it will stay (lit.: lie) (here), ...'

(30-29) *Ka   rongo   suli-a   Tulake   [na   kai*
         3SG.SEQ   hear   PROL-3.OBJ   Tulagi   REL   3SG.FUT

         qita   mai   qi   Tulake], [kai   lae   mai].
         start.out   VENT   LOC   Tulagi   3SG.FUT   go   VENT
         '... he heard about the [ship] Tulagi, which was going to depart from [lit.: start out at] [the town of] Tulagi and was going to come.'

The sentence in (30-30) also contains two relative clauses, but only the first one has the relative-clause marker. Here the activities expressed in the two relative clauses are simultaneous:

(30-30) *... keka   rongo-a   wela qe=ki   na   keki*
             3PL.SEQ   hear-3.OBJ   child that=PL   REL   3PL.IPFV

         nao   ma   keki   alifeo ....
         bail.water   and   3PL.IPFV   make.noise
         '... they heard the children who were bailing water (out of a stream) and were making noise ...'

In the next example too there are two relative clauses with the same head noun. Neither of them has the relative-clause marker. Rather, the marker occurs

with the clause *e laa-lae* 'he had gone', which does not function as a relative clause; see section 30.7.1 for discussion of such long-distance relativization.

(30-31)   ... *ka*   *thathami-a kai*   *faa-tani-a*   *doo*
           3SG.SEQ   want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT   show-TR-3.OBJ   thing

           [n=e   *laa-lae] [ka*   *rongo-a*   *mai]*
           REL=3SG.NFUT   RDP-go 3SG.SEQ   hear-3.OBJ   VENT

           ma   [ka   *ngali-a*   *ma=i*   *Daadanitalau].*
           and   3SG.SEQ   take-3.OBJ   VENT=LOC Daadanitalau
           '... he wanted to show (them) the thing that having gone (there) he heard and (as a result) brought from Daadanitalau.' (Lit.: '... he wanted to show (them) the thing that he had gone, heard and brought at Daadanitalau.')

More often than not, in such multiple relativization with a single relative-clause marker the position relativized is the same in both/all the clauses: in (30-28) above, the position relativized is direct object, and in (30-29) and (30-30) the positions relativized are subject. However, this is not necessarily so. In (30-32) below, the position relativized is possessor (coded by means of the third person singular personal suffix on *maatonga* 'mid part of a vertical object') in the first relative clause, and subject in the second clause. There is a cause-result relation between the events expressed in the two relative clauses.

(30-32)   *Ma   ka*   *tatha kau, ka*   *riki-a*   *teqe*
           and   3SG.SEQ walk AND   3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   one

           ngali   *na   wane qeri qe*
           canarium.nut   REL   man that   3SG.NFUT

           uru   *qi*   *maatonga-na*
           place.sole.of.foot LOC   mid.of.vertical.object-3SG.PERS

           ma   ka   *kefu.*
           and   3SG.SEQ fall.over
           'And he walked on and saw a canarium-nut (tree) the (mid part of the) trunk of which that man had pushed with the sole of his foot and that had fallen over (as a result).'

On the other hand, when there is no such close semantic link between the relative clauses modifying the same head noun, the relative-clause marker tends

to be used with both/all the clauses. In (30-33) below, the head noun 'picture' is modified by two relative clauses: 'the pictures … that I saw that white people had painted'. (The clause *ku tatha* 'I passed by' is not a relative clause; see section 30.7.1 for discussion, specifically example [30-99], of which [30-33] is a part.) The events encoded in the two relative clauses do not have a close cause-effect relation, and the second one does have the marker.

(30-33)   *Tai   nuu-qi   doo   [na   ku   tatha*
        some.PL   picture-ASSOC thing REL   1SG.NFUT   pass.by

        kwa   riki-a]   [na   arekwao   kera
        1SG.SEQ   see-3SG.OBJ   REL   white.person   3PL.NFUT

        keda-a], ….
        paint-3SG.OBJ
        'Some of the pictures that I saw while passing by that white people had painted, ….' (Lit.: 'Some pictures that I passed by and saw them that white people had painted them, ….')

In the next example too, the types of events expressed in the two relative clauses are not in a close sequential/cause-result relation, and the second clause has its own marker. While sleeping is normally preceded by the person lying down, it is not its consequence. The second relative clause provides information parallel to that expressed in the first relative clause and in a sense restates it, because the veb *teo* can be used not only with the sense of 'lie (down)' but also with the sense 'sleep'.

(30-34)   *Kade-qe   luma   lalo   nia   [na   kai   teo*
        block-ASSOC   house   interior 3SG   REL   3SG.IPFV   lie

        i   ei]   [na   kai   biinga   i   ei],   qoe,
        LOC   LOCPRO REL   3SG.IPFV   sleep   LOC   LOCPRO 2SG

        ta   wane   laqu bana,   qe=aqi   qosi
        some   man   ADD LIM   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG

        kotho   i   laa   kula   qeri.
        enter   LOC   IN   place   that
        'Her [another man's wife's] inner quarters (in her house), which she lies down in, which she sleeps in, you, being just another man [i.e., not being her husband], you will not enter that place.'

Relative clauses that modify the same head noun and that express tightly linked situations in the sense discussed here function as a kind of coordination "macro-construction", and it is this macro-construction that the (sole) relative-clause marker has in its scope. The relative marker structurally belongs to the first clause (see below for evidence) but has both/all the relative clauses in its scope.

The "macro-construction" status of multiple relative clauses expressing tightly linked situations is also evidenced by the fact that such clauses may be in the scope of a sole element other than the relative clause marker. In (30-35) the second relative clause contains the locative pro-form *ei*, which also has the first relative clause in its scope: 'the place where he met the girl (at it) and where they agreed (at it) that they would meet at that place'.

(30-35)   ... *qe*   *lae*   *ura*   *kula*   *ba=[nia*   *toda-a*
                3SG.NFUT   go   ALL   place   that=3SG   meet-3.OBJ

           thaari   *baa]* *[ma*   *keeroqa*   *keko*   *qolo*   *qi*
           girl   that   and   3DU   3DU.SEQ   arrange   LOC

           ei   *keki*   *kwai-toda=i*   *kula*   *qeri].*
           LOCPRO 3DU.FUT   LIP-meet=LOC   place   that
           '... he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had arranged to meet (at that place).'

In this sentence there is no relative marker at all, presumably because the first relative clause is short and simple (it does not even contain a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form *ei*). As discussed further above, there is a tendency for the relative-clause marker to be absent when the relative clause is short and simple. This can be taken as evidence that in cases of multiple relative clauses the sole relative-clause marker structurally belongs to the first relative clause, even though it has both/all the relative clauses in its scope, not to the macro-construction as a whole. Such macro-constructions can be quite complex, as is the case in the example just above.

A different kind of macro-construction that involves a relative clause is found in (30-36). There is only one relative clause there, but that relative clause is followed by a clause of comparison in a construction of comparison of inequality (chapter 25). The two clauses jointly function as a modifier of the head noun:

(30-36)   *Toqa*   *naqi* *ki*   *na*   *ku*   *thare-a*
           people   this   PL   REL   1SG.NFUT   keep.animal-3.OBJ

botho	*qoro*	*ki*	*ka*	*talu-da*	*sui*
pig	be.many	PL	3SG.SEQ	surpass-3PL.OBJ	EXHST

boqo,	*kera*	*ngata*	*-buri*	*qani*	*nau.*
INTS	3PL.NFUT	speak	-behind	GENP	1SG

'These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them, speak (badly) about me behind my back.' (Lit.: 'These people, who I keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind my back.')

If a noun phrase contains a relative clause not marked by the relative-clause marker and also contains the plural marker *ki* with the head noun in its scope, the plural marker can occur before the relative clause, inside the relative clause, or in both places simultaneously, just as is the case with relative clauses that are introduced by the relative-clause marker; see (30-37), (30-38), and (30-39), respectively:

(30-37)
Toqa	*baa*	*ki*	*[ku*	*ngata*	*bii*	*kera]*
people	that	PL	1SG.NFUT	speak	COM	3PL

kere	*oli*	*naqa.*
3PL.NFUT	return	PRF

'The people I spoke with have gone back.'

(30-38)
Kwa	*riki-a*	*krokodayl,*	*doo*	*[kera*
1SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	crocodile	thing	3PL.NFUT

thare-a	*ki*	*laqu*	*boqo].*
keep.animal-3SG.OBJ	PL	ADD	ASRT

'I saw crocodiles, (a kind of) things they also keep (in the zoo).'

(30-39)
Nau	*kwa*	*riki-a*	*boqo*	*si*	*doo*	*baa*	*ki*
1SG	1SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	ASRT	PRTT	thing	that	PL

[qo	*keda-a*	*ki*	*mai],* ....
2SG.NFUT	write-3SG.OBJ	PL	VENT

'I saw [here: read] the things you had written (to me), ...'

30.5.   Types of heads of relative clauses

Most commonly the head is a noun:

(30-40)   *Tei   n=e   qani-a   baqu   baa   ki   na*
        who? FOC=3SG.NFUT eat-3.OBJ   banana   that   PL   REL

        ku   ngaa-ngali-da   ma=i   roqo?
        1SG.NFUT   RDP-carry-3PL.OBJ   VENT=LOC   yesterday
        'Who ate the bananas I brought yesterday?'

The head can be a nominalization; see further below for discussion.
The head can be an independent personal pronoun:

(30-41)   *... sa   kera   faa-taqi   nia   na   kai*
          IRR   3PL.NFUT   point.at-TR 3SG   REL   3SG.FUT

        ili-a   raa   qeri, ...
        do-3.OBJ   work   that
        '[He mistakenly thought that] they had picked (lit.: pointed at) him
        (as the one) who will do that work ....'

(30-42)   *… kera na   kera   tala-i-a   si   raa*
          3PL   REL   3PL.NFUT   lead-TR-3.OBJ   PRTT   activity

        qeri ....
        that
        'they/those who led that activity ....'

However, it is also possible for there to be no lexical head, the function of the head being borne by an object suffix. In (30-43) below, it is the third person plural object suffix *-da* on the verb *talaqa* 'fit sb., st.; be fitting, appropriate for sb., st.', 'match sb., st.; be a match for sb., st.' that functions in this way. *Talaqa* is a Class 2 transitive verb, and as such cannot take an independent pronoun as its direct object (section 4.2.3.3.1). Unless there is a lexical direct object, the object participant can only be encoded by means of an object suffix.

(30-43)   *Ma   botho   qeri, botho   qana   ramo-a,   botho*
        and   pig   that pig   GENP   be.fierce-DVN pig

        qana   suukwaqi-a,   ta   wane   si
        GENP   be.strong-DVN some   man   3SG.NEG

talaqa-da,	*[na*	*kere*	*qani-a*	*botho*	*qeri,*
match-3PL.OBJ	REL	3PL.NFUT	eat-3.OBJ	pig	that

botho	*qana*	*ramo-a]* ....
pig	GENP	be.fierce-DVN

'And that (sacrificial) pig, the pig of fierceness (in fights), the pig of strength, nobody will be able to match them (in fights) (those) who have eaten the pig, the pig of fierceness.' (That is, eating of the sacrificial pig will give the men who have eaten it fierceness and strength that nobody else will be able to match.)

The head of a relative clause may be the nominalization of a verb, and here there are two main strategies, depending on the verb in the relative clause. In one, the verb in the relative clause is the semantically light Class 1 transitive verb *ili* 'do':

(30-44)

Ku	*thathami-a*	*fasi-laa*	*n=o*
1SG.NFUT	like-3.OBJ	plant-NMLZ	REL=2SG.NFUT

ili-a	*qana*	*baqu*	*qena*	*ki.*
do-3SG.OBJ	GENP	banana	that(2)	PL

'I like (the way) how you planted those bananas.' (Lit.: 'I like the planting that you did to/concerning the bananas.')

However, this type of relativization is not common, with one exception. The exception concerns cases where the head is a nominalization of another semantically light verb *ade*, which also means 'do'. The two verbs are synonymous and interchangeable in other contexts (but only *ade* can be used as a causative verb; see section 29.4.9.1). Example (30-45) illustrates their interchangeability:

(30-45)

Taa	*n=o*	*{ade-a*	/	*ili-a}?*
what?	FOC=2SG.NFUT	do-3SG.OBJ	/	do-3SG.OBJ

'What are you doing?'

Even though the two verbs are interchangeable in some contexts, they are not interchangeable when the two of them occur in relativization where the head is a nominalization; the nominalization must be based on *ade*, and the verb in the relative clause must be *ili*. This type of relativization exhibits some characteristics of a formula. First, the two verbs, even though interchangeable in other contexts, are not interchangeable in the two syntactic positions. And, second, this type of relativization is normally used only with the verb *dora* 'not know' in the matrix clause, of which the noun phrase with the nominalized

head functions as an oblique object under the general preposition *qana*. The meaning of the construction is 'not know what to do'.

(30-46)   *Keka   dora   qana   ade-laa   na   sa   keki*
        3PL.SEQ not.know   GENP   do-NMLZ   REL   IRR   3PL.FUT

        ili-a ....
        do-3SG.OBJ
        'They did not know what to do.' 'They did not know what they might do (to achieve a certain result).' (They could not think of anything they might do.) (Lit.: 'They did not know the doing they might do.')

In (30-47) the partitive particle *si* expresses selection out of a set: they did not know which alternative to take.

(30-47)   *Keka   dora   qa=si   ade-laa   keki*
        3PL.SEQ not.know   GENP=PRTT   do-NMLZ   3PL.FUT

        ili-a.
        do-3SG.OBJ
        'They did not know what to do/which thing to do.'

Apart from the construction with the nominalization of *ade* 'do' as the head, the use of *ili* 'do' in relative clauses with head nominalizations is not very common. Much more commonly employed is a strategy that can be referred to as "cognate relativization". In cognate relativization the verb that occurs in the predicate of the relative clause is (with some qualifications to be discussed later) the same verb that is the base of the head nominalization. The head nominalization does not provide any information beyond that supplied by the verb in the relative clause; it merely serves as the syntactic head for the relative clause.

In cognate relativization, the position relativized is either oblique object or direct object. It is direct object when the verb in the relative clause is transitive and instrument inversion takes place (section 10.7). It is oblique object when the verb in the relative clause is intransitive, or when the verb is transitive and the conditions for instrument inversion do not obtain.

As discussed in section 9.1.3, nominalizations may function as the heads of possessive noun phrases and as the heads of associative noun phrases. In the former type of case they may carry a personal suffix, and in the latter type of case they carry the associative suffix *-qe*. However, in cognate relativization the head nominalization may carry neither a personal suffix nor the associative suffix.

Cognate relativization where the head nominalization is in an oblique rela-
tion to the relative clause is discussed first. Unless the verb that occurs in the
relative clause requires a specific preposition (see further below), the preposi-
tion in the relative clause is the general one *qani*, here in its instrument-marking
function. Evidence that the preposition *qani* has a specifically instrument-
marking function, rather than just functioning as the general preposition, is
provided further below. As discussed in section 10.6, the verb-like (and the
noun-like) prepositions are stranded in relativization. For discussion of index-
ing of the position relativized in oblique-object relativization see section 30.6.3.

In (30-48) the verb that occurs in the relative clause is intransitive, *qai*
'shout'. The head noun is the nominalization *qai-laa* 'shouting'.

(30-48) *Qai-laa*   *n=e*   *qai*   *qani-a*
         shout-NMLZ   REL=3SG.NFUT   shout   INS-3SG.OBJ

         e   *quna*   *qeri, "...."*
         3SG.NFUT   manner   this
         'This is what he shouted, "....".' 'He shouted this, "....".' (Lit.: 'The
         shouting that he shouted with was thus, "....".')

As mentioned in section 9.1.3, nominalizations can coocccur in clauses with
verbs they are based on; see example (9-60) there. Another example of such
cognate nominalization is given in (30-49) below, which comes from the same
text as (30-48). In the text the sentence in (30-49) immediately precedes the one
in (30-48), and the two instances of the nominalization *qai-laa* 'shouting' have
the same referent; see text 2 in the Appendix.

(30-49) *Manga* *n=e*   *raa-raqa*   *ka*   *fula*   *i*
         time   REL=3SG.NFUT   RDP-climb   3SG.SEQ   arrive   LOC

         fuufuur-a   *qai*   *baa, nia*   *ka*   *qai*
         crown.of.tree-3.PERS   tree   that   3SG   3SG.SEQ   shout

         qana   *teqe*   *thaame-q=qai-laa*   *n=e*
         INS   one   father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ   REL=3SG.NFUT

         baqita.
         be.big
         'When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the
         tree, he gave out a very loud shout.' (Lit.: 'When he climbed and
         climbed and arrived at the crown of the tree, he shouted with a fa-
         ther of a shout that was big.')

In the next three examples the nominalizations are also based on intransitive verbs, and the stranded prepositions inside the relative clauses mark instruments:

(30-50)   *Ma   keeroqa keko   qono,   keko   uqunu*
            and   3DU   3DU.SEQ sit   3DU.SEQ   converse

            qa-daroqa   qi   maqa   fera   keeroqa
            SBEN-3DU.PERS LOC   CLF   house   3DU

            buria-na   fanga-laa na   kera   fanga
            after-3.PERS   eat-NMLZ   REL   3PL.NFUT eat

            qani-a   qi   thaqulafia.
            INS-3SG.OBJ   LOC evening
            'And they were sitting and having a conversation in their house after the food they had eaten (lit.: after the eating that they had eaten with) in the evening.'

(30-51)   *... kai   manta   fasi suli-a   raa-laa*
               3SG.FUT   think   PREC PROL-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ

            na   kai   raa qani-a   qana   biqu   qeri
            REL   3SG.FUT   work INS-3SG.OBJ   GENP   house   that

            qi   laa manta-na   tootoqonaqo, ...
            LOC IN   mind-3SG.PERS   earlier.time
            '[When a man wants to build a house,] he will first of all think about the work he will do on the house in his mind (its size, etc.), ...'
            (Lit.: '... he will first think of the working that he will work with on the house in his mind first, ...') (That is, the man will make a mental plan of the house first.)

(30-52)   *Kera   ngata-li-a   lae-laa   na   keki   lae*
            3PL.NFUT speak-TR-3.OBJ   go-NMLZ   REL 3PL.FUT go

            ki   qani-a.
            PL   INS-3SG.OBJ
            'They were discussing where they would go.' (Lit.: 'They were discussing the goings they would go with.')

(For the positioning of the plural marker *ki* inside relative clauses see section 30.3.)

When the verb in the relative clause on which the head nominalization is based is transitive, there are two basic patterns. In one there is no lexical expression of a patient, theme or stimulus inside the relative clause. The patient, theme, or stimulus is encoded only by an object suffix on the verb. The relative clause contains the instrumental preposition *qani*, and the head nominalization is indexed on it by means of the object suffix *-a*. That is, the position relativized is oblique object. This is the case in (30-53) with the head nominalization *riki-laa* 'seeing'. That which had been seen is referred to by means of the object suffix *-a* on the verb *riki* 'see'. (The situational demonstrative *neri* has the rest of the whole sentence in its scope, not just the relative clause.)

(30-53) *Nau   ku   uqunu   suli-a   riki-laa   na*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   narrate   PROL-3.OBJ   see-NMLZ   REL

         ni   nau   ku   riki-a   qani-a
         PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT   see-3SG.OBJ   INS-3SG.OBJ

         neri.
         NPAST.HERE
         'I am talking about what I saw.' (Lit.: 'I am talking about the seeing that I saw it with.')

In the other pattern, there is a lexical expression of the patient, theme, or stimulus in the relative clause. Here instrument inversion takes place. (See section 10.7 for discussion of instrument inversion). The head nominalization has a direct-object relation to the relative clause; that is, the position relativized is direct object. The nominalization is indexed on the verb in the relative clause by means of an object suffix. (See section 30.6.2 for relativization on direct objects.) The patient, theme, or stimulus is expressed as an oblique object with the preposition *qani*, which here functions as the general, not instrumental, preposition.

For example, the verb *furi* 'cut' takes a patient direct object in the basic structure (without inversion):

(30-54) *Furi-a   berete   qena.*
         cut-3.OBJ   bread   that(2)
         'Cut the bread.'

In the cognate relativization in (30-55) instrument inversion has taken place: the verb *furi* is marked for a direct object, but the patient 'this *ongi* bamboo' is realized as an oblique object. It is the head nominalization that has the direct-object relation to the relative clause.

(30-55)   ... *ma   ka   toqo-la-ngani-a   si   furi-laa   na*
          and   3SG.SEQ explain-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   PRTT cut-NMLZ   REL

          keki   furi-a   qana   fo   ongi   naqi ....
          3PL.FUT cut-3SG.OBJ   GENP   CLF   bamboo.sp this
          '... and he explained (to them) how they would cut the *ongi* bamboo ....' (Lit.: '... and he explained the cutting they would cut concerning this *ongi* bamboo ....')

Instrument inversion has also taken place in the next two examples. The direct object of *qaru-toqo* ('fall'-TEST) 'use' in the basic structure is a noun phrase that expresses the entity used. In (30-56) the type of entity used, areca nuts, is expressed as an oblique object because of instrument inversion. *Qaru-toqo* 'use' is a Class 2 transitive verb, and the object suffix *-na* is retained in the head nominalization (section 9.1.1).

(30-56)   ... *qaru-toqo-na-laa   na   miki*
          fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ   REL   1PL(EXCL).IPFV

          qaru-toqo-na   qana   qota,   na   ni   nau
          fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ   GENP   areca.nut   FOC   PROFORE   1SG

          ku   thathami-a kwai   uqunu   suli-a
          1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT   narrate   PROL-3SG.OBJ

          si   manga   qeri.
          PRTT time   this
          '... the uses that we have for areca nuts (lit.: the using that we use concerning areca nuts), that's what I want to talk about at this time.'

The verb *kasi* 'build a house/village' takes as its direct object in the basic structure noun phrases that designate houses or villages. However, in (30-57) instrument inversion has taken place and the noun phrase *biqu fuu* 'the house' is an oblique object:

(30-57)   ... *ka   raa   suli-a   si   doo   n=e*
          3SG.SEQ   work   PROL-3.OBJ   PRTT thing REL=3SG.NFUT

> *ni=i*   *laa* *gwau-na*   *ma*   *i*   *laa*
> be.located=LOC IN   head-3SG.PERS   and   LOC IN
>
> *manta-na*   *suli-a*   *kasi-laa*   *na*
> mind-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ   build.house-NMLZ   REL
>
> *kai*   *kasi-a*   *qana*   *biqu*   *fuu.*
> 3SG.FUT   build.house-3SG.OBJ   GENP   house   that
> '... he works following the thing [i.e., the plan] that is in his head
> and in his mind for/about how he will build the house (lit.: for/about
> the house-building he will build concerning the house).'

Instrument inversion takes place only in the presence of instrument noun
phrases. It takes place in cognate relativization with transitive verbs, which
means that the head nominalization expresses a (kind of) instrument. That in
turn means that in cognate relativization with intransitive verbs in the relative
clause the stranded preposition that indexes the head nominalization has a spe-
cifically instrument-marking function rather than functioning as a general
preposition.

Cognate relativization where the position relativized is oblique object most
frequently involves the instrument preposition in the relative clause, as in the
examples above, but that is not the only possibility. In (30-58) below, the posi-
tion relativized is again oblique, but the (stranded) preposition in the relative
clause is the prolative one, not the instrumental one. The verb is reduplicated
both in the relative clause and in the head nominalization to express the fact
that the activity is temporally extended (section 15.2.3). That relative clause is
followed by a juxtaposed relative clause without the relative-clause marker
with the third person plural pronoun *kera* as its head.

(30-58)   *Fii-fita-laa*   *qeri* *na*   *kera* *kere*   *fii-fita*
           RDP-run-NMLZ   that   REL   3PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-run

           suli-a,   *kera* *kera*   *qoo-qono*   *ki ....*
           PROL-3SG.OBJ 3PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-sit   PL
           '... the running [here: jogging] that they do, they/those who are al-
           ways sitting (in offices all day long and get a little fat).' (Lit.: '... the
           running that they run along, they who sit ....')

The verb *fita* 'run' selects the prolative preposition *suli* for its oblique ob-
jects that express the place one runs on or along:

(30-59)   … *kere   fita   ba-da   sula   tala   qe=ki,* ….
          3PL.NFUT   run   LIM-3PL.PERS   PROL   road   that=PL
          '… they just run [here: jog] on/along those roads, ….'

The choice of a preposition that a verb takes extends to head nominalizations in cognate relativization. For another example of cognate relativization with an intransitive verb that contains a preposition other than the general one see (30-60) below.

The head nominalization in cognate relativization usually has as its base exactly the same verb form that occurs in the relative clause. There is, however, some scope for variation. In (30-58) above, the verb in the relative clause is reduplicated and the head nominalization is based on the reduplicated form of the verb. However, it is possible for the head nominalization to contain a single, non-reduplicated base, even though the verb in the relative clause is reduplicated. In (30-60) below, the verb (a [verb noun] compound) is reduplicated in the relative clause to express past-in-the-past (section 15.1.4), but not in the head nominalization. Here the relative clause contains not the instrumental preposition, but the superessive/confective/'concerning' preposition *faafi* (section 10.3.5), selected for by the verb *ofu-manata-a* (*ofu-manta-a*) 'agree on concerning st.'.

(30-60)   *Keka   sifo   i   maa   fasi-a   laa   nga*
          3PL.SEQ descend LOC   outside ABL-3.OBJ   IN   HESIT

          ofu-manta-laa   na   kera
          be.together-think-NMLZ   REL   3PL.NFUT

          ofu-fu-manta-a   faafi-a   kali
          be.together-RDP-think-3SG.OBJ   concerning-3.OBJ small.SG

          grup   qeri ....
          group   that
          'They walked out of what they had agreed on concerning that small (musical) group ....' (Lit.: '... they descended outside from the agreeing/agreement that they had agreed on concerning that small group ....')

A construction akin to cognate relativization is employed in focusing. Examples of cognate focusing are given in section 39.2.

30.6.   Positions relativized

All the noun phrase positions can be relativized: subject, direct object, oblique object, possessor. However, relativization on oblique objects is not uniform, and not all kinds of oblique-object positions can be relativized, when the bare prepositions (section 10.2) are involved. With two types of exception, there is coding of the position relativized. One exception is relativization on subjects in verbless subjectless clauses, and the other is relativization on temporal adjuncts.

30.6.1. Relativization on subjects

In relative clauses that contain a verb, the norm is for the position relativized to be coded only by means of the subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negative marker:

(30-61)   *Tei   n=e   soqoni-a   kasi   era*
          who? FOC=3SG.NFUT   light.fire-3.OBJ   small fire

          loo   na   kai   tharu   loqo?
          upward   REL   3SG.IPFV   burn   up.there
          'Who lit the small fire that is burning up there?'

In (30-62) the relative clause is negative:

(30-62)   *... tai   si   manta-a   ki   n=e=aqi*
              some.PL PRTT   think-DVN   PL   REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV

          si   kokoto   laqu boqo   qana   bali
          3SG.NFUT   be.correct   ADD   ASRT   GENP   side

          toq=qe=ki ....
          people=that=PL
          '… some other ideas that were not correct with respect to (lit.: at the side of) those people ….' '… some other ideas that were not correct according to those people ….'

Relativization on subjects with an independent pronoun in the subject position in the relative clause in addition to the subject marker is possible but not usual. Of the two options in (30-63), variant (a), with only the subject marker, is preferred over variant (b), which contains the pronoun as well:

(30-63)   a.   *Wane*   *n=e*   *kumu*   *nau*
                man   REL=3SG.NFUT   punch   1SG

                qe   *thaka.*
                3SG.NFUT   run.away
                'The man who punched me ran away.'

          b.   *Wane*   *na*   *ni=e*   *kumu*   *nau*
                man   REL   3SG=3SG.NFUT   punch   1SG

                qe   *thaka.*
                3SG.NFUT   run.away
                'The man who punched me ran away.'

In relativization on subjects, the position relativized is (normally) coded by the subject marker, but it is not always the case that that subject marker merely copies the person and number features of the head. First, a singular subject marker can be used even though the noun phrase is plural, especially if the referent of the noun phrase is not human or other higher-animate, as in (30-62) further above. (See section 4.9 for lack of agreement in the case of the subject markers.) There are also types of relativization where the subject marker in the relative clause is independently meaningful in the sense that it does contribute information on the person and the number of the subject which are different from the person and the number of the head. One type where that is the case is relativization that involves a (split) inclusory construction (section 14.3.) In (30-64) the noun phrase has a singular referent, but the subject marker in the relative clause is first person dual exclusive: its reference includes that of the head (the woman) and the speaker: 'we (two)'.

(30-64)   ... *ai*   *na*   *mere*   *raa*   *ofu*
              woman   REL   1DU(EXCL).NFUT   work   be.together

          qe   *oli*   *naqa*   *uri-a*   *Japan.*
          3SG.NFUT   return   PRF   ALL-3.OBJ   Japan
          '... the woman I worked together with (lit.: the woman that we worked together) has returned to Japan.'

It is also possible for the subject marker in a relative clause to encode some of the participants in the speech act, even though the head, of itself, does not. In (30-65) the head noun is *toqa* 'people', and it is the second person plural subject marker that explicitly encodes the addressees:

(30-65)   ... *qe*   *faara-na*   *toqa*   *na*   *mulu*   *biqi*
          3SG.NFUT   fit-3.OBJ   people   REL   2PL.NFUT   IMM

          baqita   *ki*   *muka*   *riki=si*   *kula*   *qeri,* ...
          be.big   PL   2PL.SEQ   see:3.OBJ=PRTT   place   that
          '... it is possible for you, young, adolescent people, to see this way
          (lit.: this place) [of being respectful to a married woman] ....' (Lit.:
          '... it fits the people who you are recently big you will see this place
          ....')

In (30-66) the relative clause is elaborative, non-restrictive, and the ad-
dressee is singular:

(30-66)   *Good,*   *mak=kamiliqa,*   *n=o*   *nii*
          God   father=1PL(EXCL)   REL=2SG.NFUT   be.located

          ma=i   *heven,* ....
          VENT=LOC   heaven
          'God, our father, who (you) are in heaven, ...'

In (30-67) too the relative clause is elaborative. The subject marker refers to
a group of which the speaker is a member:

(30-67)   *Toqa*   *inamae*   *na*   *mili*
          people   be.powerless   REL   1PL(EXCL).NFUT

          rongo-a   *mika*   *maqu*   *mala*
          hear.about-3SG.OBJ   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   be.afraid   EQT

          nai.
          bird.sp.
          'We, powerless people, who heard about it [the Second World War],
          (we) were scared like a *nai* (bird).' (Lit.: 'Powerless people, who we
          heard about it, (we) were afraid like a *nai*.') (The *nai* is a nocturnal
          bird that is said to be afraid to come out at daytime.)

Relativization where the subject marker does not merely copy the person
and number features of the head also occurs in the predicate of ascriptive sen-
tences (section 27.2.3). The choice of the subject marker in the relative clause
is determined by the subject of the ascriptive sentence, not by the head of the
verbless predicate, which is also the head of the relative clause. In this kind of
construction, the relative-clause marker is often absent. In (30-68) the head of

the predicate and the relative clause is third person singular, but the subject of the ascriptive sentence is first person singular, and so is the subject marker in the relative clause:

(30-68)   *Qoo, nau   ai   ku   mae   bo=naqa!*
          oh! 1SG woman 1SG.NFUT be.dead ASRT=PRF
          'Oh, I am a dead woman!' (Lit.: 'Oh, I (am) a woman who am dead.') (Said by a person who was convinced she was about to die.)

Similarly, in (30-69) the subject marker in the relative clause is second person singular, because the subject of the ascriptive sentence is second person singular:

(30-69)   *Qoe wane   qo   uusulifaqa.*
          2SG man   2SG.NFUT be.jinxed
          'You are a bad-luck man.' 'You are a man who brings bad luck to others.' (Lit.: 'You (are) a man (who) you are jinxed.')

Verbless relative clauses are normally subjectless, and there is no coding of the position relativized. In (30-70) the verbless subjectless relative clause is *thaama-na baqekwa ki* '(fish) which (were) big sharks':

(30-70)   *... mika   lio,   mika   riki-a*
              1PL(EXCL).SEQ   look   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   see-3.OBJ

          iqa   qe=ki   na   thaama-na   baqekwa   ki ....
          fish   that=PL REL   father-3.PERS   shark   PL
          '… we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks ….'

30.6.2. Relativization on direct objects

With Class 2 transitive verbs, the position relativized can only be coded by an object suffix on the verb:

(30-71)   *Tha   wela qeri mena   ka   tataqe*
          PERSMKR   guy   that FADD   3SG.SEQ come.up.with.idea

          mai   faafi-a   teqe si   manta-a
          VENT   CONF-3.OBJ one   PRTT   think-DVN

          n=e=aqi   mesi   thaitoqoma-na
          REL=3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1DU(EXCL).NEG   understand-3SG.OBJ

leqa   ba-mareqa.
be.good LIM-1DU(EXCL).PERS
'That guy had come up with an idea that we just did not understand well.'

With Class 1 transitive verbs coding by means of an object suffix is the normal strategy:

(30-72) *Keka   waqe-li-a   aga-a   qeri, qana*
         3PL.SEQ dance-TR-3.OBJ   play.panpipes-DVN   that   INS

         tai   thango   na   kera   fasi-da
         some.PL   cordyline.sp   REL   3PL.NFUT   plant-3PL.OBJ

         ki ....
         PL
         'They danced at the panpipe feast [at the feast where panpipes were played], with/using (branches from) cordylines that they had planted ....'

For details concerning the indexing of grammatical number with the object suffixes see section 4.9.

With Class 1 transitive verbs it is possible for the position relativized to be coded by means of an independent pronoun in the object position. This strategy is not common and is normally employed only when the referent of the noun phrase is human. Of the two options in (30-73), variant (a), with the object suffix, is preferred over variant (b), with the pronoun in the object position:

(30-73) a.   *Wane   na   ku   kumu-a   qe*
              man   REL   1SG.NFUT   punch-3SG.OBJ   3SG.NFUT

              thaka.
              run.away
              'The man who I punched ran away.'

         b.   *Wane   na   ku   kumu   nia   qe*
              man   REL   1SG.NFUT   punch   3SG   3SG.NFUT

              thaka.
              run.away
              'The man who I punched ran away.'

Relativization on direct objects also serves to express comparison of inequality, using the transitive verb *talu* (chapter 25):

(30-74) *Toqa   naqi ki   na   ku*
people   this   PL   REL   1SG.NFUT   keep.animal-3.OBJ

Toqa   naqi ki   na   ku   thare-a
people   this   PL   REL   1SG.NFUT   keep.animal-3.OBJ

botho   qoro   ki   ka   talu-da   sui
pig   be.many   PL   3SG.SEQ   surpass-3PL.OBJ   EXHST

boqo,   kera   ngata -buri   qani nau.
INTS   3PL.NFUT   speak -behind   GENP 1SG
'These people, who I keep/raise more pigs than any one of them, speak (badly) about me behind my back.' (Lit.: 'These people, who I keep many pigs, it surpasses all of them, they speak about me behind my back.')

30.6.3. Relativization on oblique objects

Here the relativization strategies vary depending on the type of preposition involved, noun-like, verb-like, or bare. Relativization on objects of two out of the three bare prepositions is not possible; see further below. When the head noun phrase corresponds to the object of a noun-like or a verb-like preposition, the preposition is obligatorily stranded behind. The first set of examples illustrates relativization with the noun-like prepositions. The noun-like prepositions carry a personal suffix that codes the position relativized. (Since the noun-like prepositions cannot occur with an independent personal pronoun in the possessor position, the position relativized cannot be coded by means of a pronoun.) Prepositional phrases headed by the noun-like prepositions are themselves normally complements of the locative preposition *qi* in stacked prepositional phrases (sections 10.4.1 and 10.5). The first two examples contain the recipient/benefactive and the goal prepositions, respectively:

(30-75) *Wela na   ku   fale-a   fanga   qi*
child REL   1SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ   food   LOC

fa-da   kera   thaofa   qasia   naqa.
REC-3PL.PERS 3PL.NFUT   be.hungry   INTS   INTS
'The children that I gave food to were very hungry.'

(30-76) *Wane   na   ku   faa-tani-a   malefo*
man   REL   1SG.NFUT   show-TR-3.OBJ   shell.money

> *nau   qi   sa-na   wane   i   Merika.*
> 1SG LOC GOAL-3SG.PERS man   LOC America
> 'The man I showed my (traditional) shell money to was an American.'

With the verb-like prepositions, the position relativized is coded by means of an object suffix on the preposition, except that in noun phrases with human referents an independent personal pronoun may be used instead of an object suffix, for which see further below.

(30-77)   *Naifa   na   ku   lae   uri-a*
          knife   REL 1SG.NFUT go   PURP-3SG.OBJ

          qe=aqi   si   ni=i   kula   lakoo.
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG be.located=LOC place that(3)
          'The knife I went for (the knife I went to get) was not there.'

(30-78)   *... tala qeri na   kero   lae   suli-a*
             path that REL 3DU.NFUT walk PROL-3SG.OBJ

          ka   tatha karangi-a   maa-na   teqe
          3SG.SEQ   pass   be.near.to-3.OBJ opening-3.PERS one

          kilu   kwasi.
          hole   be.deep
          '... the path they were walking on (lit.: along) passed near the mouth of a deep hole.'

When the head noun designates a human, the position relativized may be coded by means of an independent personal pronoun as the object of the preposition. The use of independent pronouns with the verb-like prepositions to code the position relativized is not as uncommon as it is with relativization on subjects and on direct objects (section 30.6.1 and 30.6.2, respectively).

(30-79)   *Imole   na   ku   ngali-a   course qeri bii*
          person REL 1SG.NFUT take-3.OBJ course that COM

          kera, kera   ade   leqa   qasia   naqa ....
          3PL   3PL.NFUT behave be.nice INTS   INTS
          'The people I took the course with behaved very nicely [i.e., they were very kind] ....'

In (30-80) instrument inversion has taken place in the relative clause (section 10.7), and the general preposition *qana* has the patient rather than the instrument noun phrase as its complement:

(30-80) *Nii   fana   qoko na   kuki   kani-a*
         be.located where?   rope REL   PL(INCL).FUT tie-3SG.OBJ

         qana   botho   naqi?
         GENP   pig   this
         'Where is the rope we'll tie this pig with?'

In relativization on locatives and locative goals, the position relativized is coded by means of the locative pro-form *ei* (section 10.2.2), unless it is coded on a preposition, as in (30-78) above. The pro-form is the complement of the bare locative preposition *qi* (*i*).

(30-81) *... kula   na   meki   too   i   ei ....*
             place   REL   1DU(EXCL).IPFV   be.located   LOC   LOCPRO
         '… the place where we were ….'

Compare (30-82), without a relative clause, where the locative preposition has an oblique object *in situ*:

(30-82) *Kamareqa meka   too   i   kula   qeri.*
         1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   be.located   LOC   place   that
         'We were at that place.'

In (30-83) the location is a goal one:

(30-83) *Nau kwasi   riki-a   waqi   na   maka   nau*
         1SG 1SG.NEG   see-3.OBJ   basket   REL   father   1SG

         qe   alu-a   lif-iqa   qeri qi   ei.
         3SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   tooth-fish   that LOC   LOCPRO
         'I haven't seen the basket where my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament.'

As mentioned in section 10.2.2, the locative pro-form is not normally used in relativization on temporal obliques, except when the temporal expression signifies a relatively extended period of time within which the situation may be metaphorically located, but even there it is rare. The first example below shows

the optional presence of the locative pro-form. The variant without the pro-form is preferred.

(30-84) *Qo   thaitoqoma-na   fa   ngali na   wane   qeri*
         2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   CLF   year REL   man   that

         qe   mae   (i   ei)?
         3SG.NFUT   die   LOC   LOCPRO
         'Do you know what year the man died?' (Lit.: 'Do you know the year that the man died [in it]?')

In the next two examples there is no coding of the position relativized:

(30-85) *Fa   bongi   na   kwai   lae, qoe mena*
         CLF   day   REL   1SG.FUT   go   2SG FADD

         qoki   lae   laqu boqo fasi-a.
         2SG.FUT   go   ADD   ASRT ABL-3SG.OBJ
         'The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.'

(30-86) *Qo   thaitoqoma-na   si   manga na   firu-a*
         2SG.NFUT   know-3.OBJ   PRTT time   REL   fight-DVN

         e   fula   i   fanu kulu?
         3SG.NFUT   arrive   LOC   land PL(INCL)
         'Do you know (the time) when the war arrived in our land?'

The general locative preposition *qi* is the only bare preposition whose objects can be relativized; see (30-81) and (30-82) further above.

The bare inessive preposition *laa* does not occur in relativization on locative obliques. It is replaced in relative clauses by the locational noun *laal-a* 'inside' (section 10.8.9). Compare (30-87) with *laal-a* and a similar sentence in (30-83) with the locative pro-form *ei*.

(30-87) *Nau kwasi   riki-a   waqi   na   maka   nau*
         1SG   1SG.NEG   see-3.OBJ   basket   REL   father   1SG

         qe   alu-a   lif-iqa   qeri qi   laal-a.
         3SG.NFUT   put-3.OBJ   tooth-fish   that   LOC   inside-3SG.PERS
         'I haven't seen the basket my father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in (lit.: in its inside).'

Compare (30-88), without relativization, where either the bare preposition *laa* or the locational noun *laal-a* can be used:

(30-88) *Maka   nau   qe   alu-a   lif-iqa   qi*
         father   1SG   3SG.SEQ   put-3.OBJ   tooth-fish   LOC

         {laa   /   laal-a}   teqe   waqi.
         IN   inside-3.PERS   one   basket
         'My father put the dolphin-tooth ornament in/inside a basket.'

There is no relativization on obliques in comparison of equality where the equative preposition *mala* (section 10.2.4) is used otherwise. Instead, the transitive verb *quri* 'resemble, look like, be like' is used in the relative clause and the position relativized is direct object:

(30-89) *… mika   lio,   mika   riki-a*
             1PL(EXCL).SEQ   look   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   see-3.OBJ

         iqa   qe=ki   na   thaama-na   baqekwa   ki
         fish   that=PL   REL   father-3.PERS   shark   PL

         na   maatonga-n=e   quri-a
         REL   midriff-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ

         ba-na   niu   qena   ki, ….
         LIM-3SG.PERS   coconut   that(2)   PL
         '… we looked and saw the fish which (were) big sharks whose midriffs were like those coconut (trees) (over there) [i.e., whose midriffs were as big/long as those coconut (trees)] ….'

30.6.4. Relativization on possessors

The way in which possessors are coded in relative clauses in relativization on possessors depends on the type of the possessive noun phrase involved, suffixing or bare (section 8.1). If relativization on possessor involves a suffixing possessive construction, the possessor is coded by means of a personal suffix on the possessum noun inside the relative clause. In (30-90) – (30-92) the personal suffixes indexing the head, possessor noun are in bold.

(30-90) *Kwa*   *riki-a*   *biikok*   *na*   *kuki*
     1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ peacock REL PL(INCL).IPFV

     rii-riki-a   *nuu-**na***   *i*   *seqe-na*
     RDP-see-3.OBJ picture-3SG.PERS LOC body-3.PERS

     kaleko   *qena*   *ki*   *nena, ….*
     clothes   that(2)   PL   there(2)
     '[In the zoo] I saw peacocks, which we (only) see pictures of on
     those clothes there (lit.: on the body of those clothes there; here:
     wraparounds, which often have colourful patterns) …' (The speaker
     points at the designs on some of the addressees' clothes.)

In (30-91) the possessum noun is a nominalization:

(30-91) *Nau*   *ku*   *thathami-a*   *kwai*
     1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

     thau-ngani=ta   *doo*   *na*   *riki-la-**na***
     make-TR:3.OBJ=some thing REL look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

     kai   *qeeqeta*   *fasi-a*   *subi*   *na*
     3SG.FUT be.different ABL-3.OBJ k.o.war.club REL

     tha   *Fiuoomea*   *e*   *thau-ngani-a.*
     PERSMKR Fiuoomea   3SG.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ
     'I want to make something that will look different (lit.: whose look-
     ing-at will be different) from the *subi* club that Fiuoomea made.'

This type of construction also applies to locational nouns (section 10.8):

(30-92) *Mata*   *n=o*   *qono* *qi* *fafo-**na***   *nena*
     mat   REL=2SG.NFUT sit   LOC top-3SG.PERS there(2)

     qe   *biliqa.*
     3SG.NFUT be dirty
     'The mat you're sitting on is dirty.'

For another example with a locational noun see (30-87) further above.

If relativization on possessor involves a bare possessive construction, the
position relativized is coded in the relative clause by means of an independent

personal pronoun in the possessor position. In (30-93) and (30-94) the possessor pronouns are in bold.

(30-93)   *Wane   na   ku   thau-ngani-a   redio **nia***
          man   REL   1SG.NFUT   fix-TR-3.OBJ   radio   3SG

          qe   aqi   si   fula   quu.
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NFUT   arrive   ANTCONT
          'The man whose radio I fixed has not arrived yet.'

In (30-94) the relative clause is verbless:

(30-94)   *... ni   kera, imole   na   ngali   **kera** ki*
          PROFORE   3PL   person   REL   canarium.nut   3PL   PL

          neri,   lae   keka   riqi   ongi,
          NPAST.HERE   go   3PL.SEQ   cut.bamboo   bamboo.sp

          uri-a   lula-la-na   bii-na
          PURP-3.OBJ   pour-NMLZ-3.PERS   bamboo.container-3SG.PERS

          ngali.
          canarium.nut
          '... they, the people whose canarium nuts (they are), they will go and cut (lengths of) *ongi* bamboo to pour the canarium nuts into (for storage) (lit.: for pouring containers of canarium nuts).'

30.7.   Separation of a head noun and its relative clause

Most commonly, a head noun and its relative clause (that is the relative clause that modifies it) occur within the noun phrase headed by that noun, although they may be separated by material internal to that noun phrase. However, putting aside cases of two (or more) relative clauses modifying the same head noun, that is not necessarily so. A head noun and its relative clause may be separated from each other by material that is not part of that noun phrase. There are two such types of separation of a head noun and its relative clause: long-distance relativization and detachment.

30.7.1. Long-distance relativization

In long-distance relativization, a head noun and its relative clause are separated
by another clause with which the relative clause is in construction. Here two
subtypes may be distinguished. In one, the intervening clause is a higher clause
of which the relative clause is a complement. In (30-95) the relative clause *sa
kwai fale-a kau* 'I would send' is separated from the head noun *doo* 'thing' by
the complemement-taking verb *ala-ngani-a* 'promise it' and its subject marker:

(30-95)   *... nau   ku   kwai-manata-i   qasia naqa uri-a*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   LIP-think-TR   INTS INTS ALL-3.OBJ

          teqe si   doo   ku   ala-ngani-a   sa
          one   PRTT thing 1SG.NFUT   promise-TR-3.OBJ   IRR

          kwai   fale-a   kau, iiqee.
          1SG.FUT send-3SG.OBJ   VENT alas!
          '... I feel very bad about something that I promised to send (to you)
          (but have not), alas.'

   In (30-96) there are two relative clauses modifying the same head noun. The
first relative clause is adjacent to the head noun. The other one functions as a
complement of a higher clause that follows the first relative clause. The higher
clause and its complement are in bold.

(30-96)   *Manta-toqo-na-la-na*   *mena*   *iqa*   *qe=ki*
          think.about-TEST-3.OBJ-NMLZ-3.PERS   FADD   fish   that=PL

          na   kero   ngali-a   mai   **na**   **kero**
          REL   3DU.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ   VENT   REL   3DU.NFUT

          maa-manta-toqo-na   **sa**   **keki**   **fale-a**   **qana**
          RDP-think-TEST-3.OBJ   IRR   3DU.FUT   give-3SG.OBJ   GENP

          wela qeri *ka*   *aqi*   *naqa.*
          child that 3SG.SEQ   not.be.so   PRF
          'Their minds were also no longer on the fish that they had brought
          (and) that they had thought they would give to their (lit.: that) child
          but never did.' (Lit.: 'Thinking also of the fish that they had brought
          that they had thought they would give to that child was no longer.')

In the other subtype of long-distance relativization, the intervening clause and the relative clause are in asyndetic coordination with each other. The relationship between the event encoded in the first, intervening clause and the second, relative clause is such that the former leads to, results in, the latter. The intervening clause does not have a position in its argument structure to accommodate the noun phrase with the relative clause in it. As discussed in section 30.4, sequences of relative clauses that encode situations that occur in close temporal sequence, with a cause-effect relation between them, normally receive only one relative-clause marking (if any), with the first relative clause, as if they formed a macro-unit. In the type of case discussed here too, the relative clause and the clause that precedes it can be viewed as forming a macro-unit in the sense that the relative-clause marker precedes the first clause. However, the first clause is not relative because the relevant noun phrase is not part of its argument structure. The first clause may contain a verb of translational motion, most commonly, but not exclusively, *lae* 'go'. (The verb 'go' also occurs in several "reduced" structures in purpose constructions; see section 33.3.3.)

In (30-97) below, there are two relative clauses. With respect to the first one, the position relativized is direct object, and it is coded on the transitive verb. With respect to the second one, the position relativized is oblique object and it is coded on the general preposition. There is an intransitive clause with the verb *lae* 'go' that intervenes between the head noun and the two relative clauses. The verb *lae* is intransitive, and there is no oblique-object position associated with it in (30-97). This means that the head noun could only correspond to its subject, but the verb has a different subject. Nevertheless the relative-clause marker precedes the clause with the verb 'go'.

(30-97)   *Futa   na   koro   lae   koka*
           possum   REL   DU(INCL).NFUT   go   DU(INCL).SEQ

           ngali-a   ki mai   ma   kosi   qani-a
           carry-3SG.OBJ PL VENT   and   DU(INCL).NEG eat-3.OBJ

           boqo ta   sii   qani-a.
           ASRT some   piece   GENP-3SG.OBJ
           '(All these) possums that we have brought after going (on a hunt) and that we have not eaten a (single) piece of.' (Lit.:'The possums that we have gone (and) brought and have not eaten any piece of.') (Two boys complaining to each other about how every time they catch a possum and cook it, an ogre comes and eats it all by himself.)

Similarly in the next example, where too a clause with the verb *lae* 'go' intervenes between the head noun and two relative clauses. Here too the clause with the verb 'go' does not function as a relative clause; nevertheless, the relative-clause marker is placed before it.

(30-98) ... *ka*   *thathami-a kai*   *faa-tani-a*   *doo*
         3SG.SEQ   want-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT   show-TR-3.OBJ   thing

         n=e   *laa-lae ka*   *rongo-a*   *mai*
         REL=3SG.NFUT   RDP-go 3SG.SEQ   hear-3SG.OBJ   VENT

         ma   ka   *ngali-a*   *ma=i*   *Daadanitalau.*
         and   3SG.SEQ   take-3SG.OBJ   VENT=LOC   Daadanitalau
         '... he wanted to show (them) the thing that having gone (there) he
         heard and (and as a result) brought from Daadanitalau.' (Lit.: '... he
         wanted to show [them] the thing that he had gone, heard and brought
         at Daadanitalau.')

In (30-99) the intervening clause contains the intransitive verb of motion *tatha* 'pass by'. The position relativized is direct object. It is coded on the verbs in the subsequent two relative clauses, not in the clause that contains *tatha*:

(30-99) *Tai   nuu-qi   doo   na   ku   tatha*
         some.PL picture-ASSOC thing REL   1SG.NFUT pass.by

         kwa   riki-a   na   arekwao   kera
         1SG.SEQ see-3SG.OBJ   REL   white.person 3PL.NFUT

         keda-a,   nuu-na   wane   ki   na   ka
         paint-3SG.OBJ picture-3.PERS person PL   REL   3SG.SEQ

         too   sula tala qe=ki,   ma   baqe-laa   ni   bana
         be.located PROL road that=PL and   speak-NMLZ   LIG   LIM

         n=e   aqi.
         FOC=3SG.NFUT   not.exist
         'Some of the pictures that I saw while passing by that white people
         had painted, (they were) pictures of people that were (placed) along
         the roads, and all that was missing was (them) speaking [i.e., they
         were so lifelike; speaking about pictures of people on billboards].'
         (Lit.: 'Some pictures that I passed by and saw them that white peo-
         ple had painted them, ...')

Another type of case where a clause often intervenes between a head noun and its relative clause concerns the verb *lio* 'look'. A clause with the intransitive verb *lio* 'look' and a clause with the transitive verb *riki* 'see' are frequently paired together in that order. Sometimes the *lio* clause serves merely to introduce the *riki* clause, without contributing much or any information of its own. Not infrequently *lio* 'look' in the first clause occurs without its own subject marker:

(30-100) *Wela qe=ki lio keka riki-a tha*
           child that=PL look 3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ PERSMKR

           Suriaoa ....
           Suriaoa
           'The children looked and saw Suriaoa [a pet bird] ....'

In (30-101) there are two relative clauses but only the first one is introduced by the relative-clause marker (see section 30.4.). That clause, with *lio* 'look', does not contribute much information.

(30-101) *Manga na tha Fiuoomea qe lio*
           time REL PERSMKR Fiuoomea 3SG.NFUT look

           ka riki-a ngasi qeri, ka
           3SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ sugarcane that 3SG.SEQ

           tango-a, "...."
           admire-3SG.OBJ
           'When Fiuoomea (looked and) saw the sugar cane, he admired it, ("Oh, this thing looks very nice.").'

In (30-102) the *lio* clause is redundant. It does not function as a relative clause (and lacks a subject marker). The position relativized is direct object, coded only on the verb *riki* in the subsequent relative clause. Nevertheless, the relative-clause marker is placed before the *lio* clause.

(30-102) *Tai qanamola ki na ni nau lio kwa*
           some.PL animal PL REL PROFORE 1SG look 1SG.SEQ

           riki-da, qe aqi kwasi rii-riki-a
           see-3PL.OBJ 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG RDP-see-3.OBJ

quu   boqo seqe-da.
ANTCONT   ASRT body-3PL.OBJ
'Some of the animals that I saw, I had not seen them in reality be-
fore.' (Lit.: 'Some animals that I looked and saw, I had not yet seen
their bodies.')

30.7.2. Detachment of head nouns and their relative clauses

By detachment are meant here two types of case. One of them involves extrapo-
sition of the relative clause to the right, away from the head noun and across
intervening material that is not part of the overall noun phrase. In (30-103) the
head noun is *maala* 'sore'. Its relative clause occurs after the predicate of which
maala is the subject. The relative clause is in brackets.

(30-103)   *Wane   na   tha   Liliqa,   maala   qe*
           man   REL   PERSMKR   Liliqa   sore   3SG.NFUT

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

           qalangi-a   qana   "basi"].
           name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   *basi*
           'This man, Liliqa (lit.: the man who [was] Liliqa), his leg was af-
           flicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws] (lit.: a sore
           afflicted his leg that they name "*basi*").'

   Extraposition has also taken place in (30-104) and (30-105), where the head
nouns are *doo* 'thing' and *fanga* 'food', respectively:

(30-104)   *Qoo, ma   doo qeri ka   leqa   [na   kai*
           oh,   and   thing this   3SG.SEQ be.good REL   3SG.IPFV

           ngeqe-ngeqe   neri].
           RDP-squeal   NPAST.HERE
           'Oh, this one (lit.: this thing) [a possum] should be good that's
           squealing here.' (Said when hunting possums and hearing a possum
           squeal.)

(30-105)   *Ma   ni   qoe, fanga   e   qoro*
           and   PROFORE   2SG   food   3SG.NFUT be.numerous

> *mamana   boqo [n=o   qani-a   ku=neqe].*
> be.true   ASRT REL=2SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ   place=this
> 'And you, that's truly a lot of food that you have eaten here.' (Lit.: 'And you, the foods are truly numerous that you have eaten [at] this place.')

In the other type of detachment, it is the head noun that is placed away from its relative clause. The head noun occurs in the topic position before the matrix clause, while the relative clause is "stranded" behind. This kind of topicalization appears to take place only when there is another, primary topic. The head noun functions as a secondary topic. (As discussed in section 38.6, double topics are not unusual in Toqabaqita). In (30-106) the primary topic is the speaker, encoded by means of the first person singular pronoun, and there is a secondary, generic topic *wane* 'a man'. The relative clause is elaborative: it characterizes a category of men. The immediately preceding context is about whether men who do a certain job in church should be shown special respect.

(30-106)   *Nau, wane   kwasi   faqa-baqita-a*
           1SG   man   1SG.NEG   CAUS-be.big.-3SG.OBJ

           [n=e   ili-a   raa naqi neqe],   thaqa
           REL=3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   work this   VIVID   hey!

           wane!
           man!
           [Previous speaker: 'The people that will be assigned to that work, will you (plural) show (special) respect to them?'] 'I, a man, I do not show (special) respect to him who does this work, guys!' 'As for me, a man who does this kind of work, I do not show special respect to him, guys!'

(*Faqa-baqita*, lit. 'make big', designates behaving (highly) respectfully to certain people, showing special respect to them.)
    In (30-107) too the primary topic is the speaker. The secondary topic is a kind of ear decoration mentioned in the immediately preceding sentence. In (30-107) it is referred to by means of *doo* '(the) thing' in the secondary topic position.

(30-107)   *Qoo,   koqo   kera, nau, doo ku   thathami-a*
           oh!   friend   3PL   1SG   thing 1SG.NFUT   like-3SG.OBJ

qasia   *naqa [n=e*   *nii*   *i*
INTS   INTS REL=3SG.NFUT   be.located LOC

alinga-maroqa   *nena].*
ear-2DU.PERS   NPAST.THERE

'[He (an ogre) saw the two children who had decorated themselves with the fruit of the *raaraga* plant, and it looked very nice in their ears, (and) it was red.] Oh, friends, I, the thing, I like it very much that is in your ears.'

Chapter 31
Conditional sentences

31.1.   The protasis and the apodosis

31.1.1. The structures

Most commonly, the protasis is marked by means of clause-initial *mada* 'or', or one of its variant forms, immediately followed by the irrealis marker, whose basic form is *sa* (section 18.2). *Mada* also functions as a disjunctive coordinator with phrases and clauses (sections 11.2.2 and 28.4, respectively) and to signal less-than-full certainty about the factual status of a proposition (section 18.5.3).

(31-1)   *Mada   sa   dani qe   qaru,   qe=aqi*
          or   IRR   rain 3SG.NFUT   fall   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

          kwasi   lae.
          1SG.NEG   go
          'If it rains, I won't go.'

Mada and *sa* frequently fuse together as *ma=sa*:

(31-2)   *Ma=sa   dani qe   qaru,   qe=aqi*
          or=IRR   rain 3SG.NFUT   fall   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

          kwasi   lae.
          1SG.NEG   go
          'If it rains, I won't go.'

Occasionally, *mada* is realized as *man* when it fuses with the irrealis marker: *man=sa*. The *n* reflects the prenasalization of the *d* in *mada*.

(31-3)   *Man=sa   kulu   lae kau, kuka*
          or=IRR   PL(INCL).NFUT   go   AND   PL(INCL).SEQ

oli	*mai*	*faafi-a.*
return	VENT	CONF-3SG.OBJ

'If we go (there), we'll come back with it [i.e., we will bring it back with us].'

It is even possible for 'or' to be realized as *mana* before the irrealis marker, although this is not common. The form *mana* is most likely the result of reintroduction of the final *a* to the reduced form *man*.

(31-4)	*... mana*	*sa*	*nia*	*ka*	*manta*	*uri-a,*
	or	IRR	3SG	3SG.SEQ	think	ALL-3SG.OBJ

kai	*ngali-a*	*ta*	*botho ....*
3SG.FUT	take-3.OBJ	some	pig

'… if he thinks about it [what to contribute to a feast], (he knows) he will take a pig ….'

The irrealis marker sometimes has the form *so*, rather than *sa*:

(31-5)	*... mada*	*so*	*qo*	*laa-lae*	*qoko*
	or	IRR	2SG.SEQ	RDP-walk	2SG.SEQ

toda-a		*ta*	*gwauliqi*	*ai*
come.across-3.OBJ		some	married.person	woman

suli=ta		*kada*	*tala, ma*	*qoko*	*lae*
PROL:3.OBJ=some		block	path and	2SG.SEQ	walk

bii-a,	*qe=aqi*	*qosi*	*laebiibii*
COM-3SG.OBJ	3SG.NFUT=NEGV	2SG.NEG	walk.close.to.sb.

buir-a.
behind-3SG.PERS

'… if you are walking and come across a married woman [another man's wife] on a stretch of a path and (if) you are walking in the same direction (lit.: walking with her), you do not walk closely behind her.'

See also (31-7) and (31-10) below.

Instead of the combination of 'or' and the irrealis marker, the protasis can be introduced by means of the form *laalae*. *Laalae* is a reduplication of the verb *lae* 'go'. As a grammatical element, *laalae* is used primarily to introduce tem-

poral 'when' clauses (section 35.2.2). When it marks the protasis of a conditional sentence, *laalae* is treated here as a unitary form and is glossed 'if'. The use of *laalae* to introduce protases is less common than the use of *mada sa*.

(31-6) *Qigi-toqo-na   fasi   fa   niu   qena.   Laalae*
        shake-TEST-3.OBJ   PREC   CLF   coconut that(2)   if

        suul-a   qe   nii   qi
        coconut.water-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.located   LOC

        ei,   qoko   ngali-a.
        LOCPRO 2SG.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ
        'Check the coconut first by shaking it. If there is water in it, take it.'

In the sentence in (31-7), there are two protases. The first one is introduced by 'or' and the irrealis marker (in its form *so*), while the second one is introduced by *laalae*:

(31-7) *Mada   so   e   thato,   kwai   lae*
        or   IRR   3SG.NFUT   (weather)be.clear   1SG.FUT go

        qana uusi-a,   laalae   qe=aqi   si
        GENP buy-DVN   if   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG

        thato,   nau   qe=aqi   kwasi   lae.
        (weather)be.clear 1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   go
        'If it is clear, I'll go to the market; if it is not clear, I won't go.'

A clause introduced by *laalae* may function as a protasis or as a temporal 'when' clause:

(31-8) *Laalae   qo   fula   mai, nau   kwai   fale-a*
        if/when   2SG.NFUT   arrive VENT 1SG   1SG.FUT give-3.OBJ

        fanga   qi   fa-mu.
        food   LOC   REC-2SG.PERS
        a. 'If you come, I will give you food.'
        b. 'When you come, I will give you food.'

It is possible for *laalae* and the combination of 'or' and the irrealis marker jointly to introduce a protasis, with *laalae* coming first:

(31-9) Laalae   ma=sa   kuka   lae   ofu,   nia
        if   or=IRR   PL(INCL).SEQ   go   be.together   3SG

        ka   thaka   nena.
        3SG.SEQ   escape   NPAST.THERE
        'If we go together [to catch a bird], it will escape [i.e., it will fly
        away].'

(31-10) Laalae   mada   so   e   qaru   qi   qusungadi,
         if   or   IRR   3SG.NFUT   fall   LOC   tomorrow

         qe   aqi   kusi   kafara.
         3SG.NFUT   NEGV   PL(INCL).NEG   make.copra
         'If it rains tomorrow, we won't make copra.'

However, while the combination of 'or' and the irrealis marker is available
for all types of conditions (see section 31.2), *laalae* is not available for counter-
factual conditions. (As a temporal marker, *laalae* can be used only with refer-
ence to states of affairs subsequent to the time of reference or to general, tem-
porally unrestricted states of affairs.)

(31-11) {Ma=sa /   *laalae} qosi   qaa-qadomi nau,   nau   sa
         or=IRR /   if   2SG.NEG   RDP-help   1SG   1SG   IRR

         kwa   qadomi   qoe   qe   aqi.
         1SG.SEQ   help   2SG   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
         'If you had not helped me, I would not have helped you.'

A single protasis marker may have more than one protasis in its scope. The
protases are in coordination with each other.

(31-12) Mada   s=o   lae   qi   laa   qamali   qoko
         or   IRR=2SG.NFUT   go   LOC   IN   sea   2SG.SEQ

         dee-toqo-na   iqa   qeri, qoki
         catch.fish-TEST-3.OBJ   fish   that   2SG.FUT

         faqa-mamane-qa-a   si   doo   qeri   na   fa
         CAUS-be.true-PROP-3.OBJ   PRTT   thing that   COMP   CLF

         io   qeri   qe   ngela   qi   maqa
         arrow   that   3SG.NFUT   stick.out   LOC   CLF

daar-a,   *ka*   *ngela*   *bo=naq=i*
forehead-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ stick.out ASRT=INTS=LOC

taraqena.
today

'If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, you will believe the thing (that I said) that the arrow stuck out from its head and has been sticking out until today.' (Discussing a species of fish whose appearance is said to be due to an arrow having been stuck into its head.)

See also the first two clauses in (31-5) further above.

Topicalized constituents occur before the protasis. In (31-13) the topic corresponds to the subject of the protasis:

(31-13) *Ma   wela qeri, mada   sa   ka   ade*
         and   child that or   IRR   3SG.SEQ act

         ba-na   suli-a   thaina-na   bia   maka
         LIM-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS and   father

         nia,   nia   sa   ka   toda-a   mae-la-na
         3SG   3SG   IRR   3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS

         qa=fa   bongi   qeri qe   aqi.
         GENP=CLF day   that 3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

         'And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death on that day.'

In (31-14) the topic is unlinked (section 38.5):

(31-14) *Kamiliqa,   mada   sa   ta   wane   ka   qasila,*
         1PL(EXCL)   or   IRR   some person 3SG.SEQ sneeze

         ka   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   ta   wane   qe
         3SG.SEQ   manner this   oh   some person 3SG.NFUT

         qai-thata-ku."
         call-name-1SG.OBJ

         'With us (the custom is), if a person sneezes, he or she will say, "Oh, somebody has called, mentioned my name.".'

The relation between propositions may be conditional without any overt conditional marking, as in the next two examples:

(31-15)   *Wane*   *e*   *thathami-a malefo   qoro,*
          man   3SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ money   be.numerous

          ka   *raa   suukwaqi   qana kafara   ma   koukou.*
          3SG.SEQ work   be.strong   GENP copra   and   cocoa
          'If a man wants (to have) a lot of money, he works/will work hard
          on copra and cocoa.' (Lit.: 'A man wants (to have) a lot of money,
          he works/will work hard on copra and cocoa.')

(Even though *malefo* may today be used to designate modern money, it also signifies traditional shell money, which was arranged in strings; hence the use of *qoro* 'be numerous', used with count nouns.)

(31-16)   *Loi,*   *qo*   *rada-a,*   *taa!, ma   qoki*
          snake   2SG.NFUT   poke-3SG.OBJ lo!   and   2SG.FUT

          riki-a   *lofo-na*   *neri.*
          see-3.OBJ   underside-3SG.PERS   VIVID
          'A snake, you poke it and, lo!, you see its underbelly.' The meaning
          is, approximately, 'You reap what you sow.'

As discussed in section 31.2, the semantic distinctions between different kinds of conditionals in Toqabaqita are expressed in the apodosis, not in the protasis. In a grammatically positive protasis that contains a verb, the subject marker may be nonfuture, sequential or imperfective, but not future. (However, the same set of subject markers serves to mark future tense and imperfective aspect; see table 4.5 in section 4.8 and section 15.2.2.)

In (31-17) the protasis contains an imperfective subject marker:

(31-17)   *Man=s=ta*   *wane   kai   too,   ka*
          or=IRR=some   person   3SG.IPFV be.present   3SG.SEQ

          quna   qeri, "Nee,   wana weleqi,   ma   ni
          manner this   hey!   man! man!   and   PROFORE

          qoo   tago   ba-muqa."
          2SG   go.emptyhanded   LIM-2SG.PERS
          'If somebody is there (and sees you), they will say, "Hey, man, you
          are empty-handed.".' (In Toqabaqita culture, a person will normally

carry something with him/her when going somewhere away from his/her village, even if just a small knife, a fan, a little branch, etc. The direct speech in [31-17] is what a person might say when seeing somebody going somewhere, without carrying anything at all.)

Sequential subject markers are used in protases if the state of affairs follows another state of affairs (section 16.1), which may, but need not, be expressed. In (31-18) the hypothetical event of people in pictures moving follows the event of the pictures having been painted, encoded in a relative clause. The apodosis is verbless.

(31-18) *Nau kwa   riki-a   ba-kuqa   doo kera*
         1SG   1SG.SEQ see-3.OBJ   LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

         keda-a,   mada   sa   ka   qisu,   wane
         paint-3SG.OBJ or   IRR   3SG.SEQ   move   person

         ni   bo=naqa.
         LIG   ASRT=INTS
         '(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.' (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just like real people.)

See also (31-12) further above, where there are two coordinated protases (in the scope of one protasis marking). The first one has a nonfuture subject marker, and the second one a sequential subject marker: the hypothetical event of the second clause would follow the (hypothetical) event of the first clause: 'If you go in the sea and catch that (kind of) fish, ….'

A sequential subject marker can be used in a protasis even if there is no prior mention of a preceding state of affairs. The implication is that if the state of affairs of the protasis were to be (eventually) realized/had been realized, there would be/would have been other states of affairs before it. In (31-19) the women's working on the speaker's garden would have been preceded by their arriving from a different location, as seen from the final, negative clause:

(31-19) *Mada   sa   kini   baa   ki keka   raa   qana oqola*
         or   IRR   woman   that PL 3PL.SEQ work GENP garden

         nau i   roqo,   nau kwa   fale-a   seleni
         1SG LOC yesterday   1SG 1SG.SEQ   give-3.OBJ   money

qi	*fa-da,*	*ma*	*ni*	*kera*	*qe=aqi*
LOC	REC-3PL.PERS	and	PROFORE	3PL	3SG.NFUT=NEGV

kesi	*fula.*
3PL.NEG	arrive

'If the women had (come and) worked on my garden yesterday, I would have given them money; but (lit.: and) they did not arrive.'

The nonfuture subject markers are, in a sense, the default case in protases: they are used unless the state of affairs of the protasis is to be presented explicitly as being in progress or as habitual, or as following one or more other states of affairs:

(31-20)

Mada	*sa*	*dani*	*qe*	*qaru*	*qi*	*qusungadi,*
or	IRR	rain	3SG.NFUT	fall	LOC	tomorrow

qe	*aqi*	*kesi*	*kafara.*
3SG.NFUT	NEGV	3PL.NEG	make.copra

'If it rains tomorrow, they won't make copra.'

(31-21)

Mada	*sa*	*ku*	*thaofa,*	*kwa*	*fanga,*	*ma*
or	IRR	1SG.NFUT	be.hungry	1SG.SEQ	eat	and

ni	*nau*	*qe*	*aqi*	*kwasi*	*thaofa.*
PROFORE	1SG	3SG.NFUT	NEGV	1SG.NEG	be.hungry

'If I were hungry, I would eat, but (lit.: and) I am not hungry.'

As (31-22) below illustrates, either a sequential or a nonfuture subject marker may be used in a protasis when there is no overt expression of one or more states of affairs preceding the one of the protasis:

(31-22)

Mada	*sa*	*{kwa*	*/*	*ku}*	*lae*	*i*	*Qaoke*
or	IRR	1SG.SEQ	/	1SG.NFUT	go	LOC	Auki

qi	*qusungadi,*	*kwai*	*rofe*	*aniani*	*mai*	*qi*
LOC	tomorrow	1SG.FUT	look.for	onion	VENT	LOC

laa	*uusi-a*	*lakoo.*
IN	buy-DVN	that(3)

'If I go to Auki tomorrow, I'll look for onions at the market there (to bring back).'

In grammatically negative protases, the negative subject markers are used, and the distinction between the nonfuture, sequential and imperfective categories is neutralized.

(31-23) *Mada   sa   kwasi   riki-a   tai   wane,   nau*
   or   IRR 1SG.NEG see-3.OBJ some.PL person 1SG

   kwa   oli   qaliqali   laqu   bo=ma-kuqa.
   1SG.SEQ return be.quick ADD ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS
   'If I don't see anybody, I'll come back quickly.'

A protasis may be verbless. In (31-24) the protasis is verbless and subject-less:

(31-24) *Ma   ni   nau   thaqaro   ni   bana neqe.*
   and PROFORE 1SG bird LIG LIM VIVID

   Mada   sa   ta   wane   quu   boqo na
   or   IRR some man ANTCONT INTS REL

   tha   Bariqi   qe   thaa-thare-a,   nau
   PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.NFUT RDP-beget-3SG.OBJ 1SG

   ku   thaitoqoma-na   si   doo kwai   ili-a.
   1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ PRTT thing 1SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ
   [A bird speaking.] 'But (lit.: and) I am just a bird. If I were a man that Bariqi [a man] had begotten [i.e., if I were Bariqi's child], I would know what to do (lit.: I would know the thing I would do).'

Occasionally, although by no means commonly, the apodosis contains initial *doo* 'thing'. *Doo* does not seem to carry any meaning of its own here (see also discussion of *doo* in section 6.2). It occurs more commonly in counterfactual apodoses, but is not restricted to such cases. However, *doo* is not used if the apodosis contains a subject noun phrase.

(31-25) *Mada   sa   ku   thaofa,   doo kwai   fanga,*
   or   IRR 1SG.NFUT be.hungry thing 1SG.FUT eat

   ma   ni   nau qe   aqi   kwasi
   and PROFORE 1SG 3SG.NFUT NEGV 1SG.NEG

> *thaofa.*
> be.hungry
> 'If I were hungry, I would eat, but (lit.: and) I am not hungry.'

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-21) further above, without *doo* in the apodosis. (For the use of the sequential and the future subject markers in apodoses, see section 31.2.)

(31-26) *Ma=sa qo   qadomi nau, doo kwai   qadomi qoe.*
          or=IRR 2SG.NFUT help   1SG   thing 1SG.FUT help   2SG
          'If you help me, I'll help you.'

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-35) in section 31.2, without *doo* and with the first person singular pronoun in the subject position in the apodosis.

31.1.2. Ordering of the protasis and the apodosis

It is considerably more common for the protasis to precede the apodosis, as in all the examples above, but the order apodosis – protasis is possible:

(31-27) *Qoko   manata-lube   nau, ma=sa kwa*
          2SG.SEQ   mind-be.untied   1SG   or=IRR 1SG.SEQ

          sore-a   ta   si   doo   i   laa   letter   neqe
          say-3.OBJ   some   PRTT thing   LOC   IN   letter   this

          ka   aqi   si   talaqa-na   manata-la-mu.
          3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG   fit-3.OBJ   think-NMLZ-2SG.PERS
          'Forgive me if I have said something in this letter and it does not fit your thinking/thoughts.'

(31-28) *Imole   nau   ki   mena   keki   ele   quu*
          person   1SG   PL   FADD   3PL.FUT be.happy   ANTCONT

          boqo ma=sa laa-lae kwa   too   bii   qoe ....
          ASRT or=IRR RDP-go 1SG.SEQ   reside   COM 2SG
          'My people/folks too would still be really happy if one day I lived with you ....'

(31-29)   *Nau kwai   lae   mai   qi   sa-mu   qi*
          1SG   1SG.FUT   go   VENT   LOC   GOAL-2SG.PERS   LOC

          qusungadi, mada   sa   dani   qe   aqi
          tomorrow   or   IRR   rain   3SG.NFUT   NEGV

          si   qaru.
          3SG.NEG   fall
          'I'll come to (see) you tomorrow, if it's not raining.'

Usually, although not necessarily, the protasis and the apodosis are said under two separate intonation contours, with a slight rise at the end of the first clause, and there may be a slight pause between them, regardless of which order the two clauses occur in.

The protasis and the apodosis usually occur next to each other, but, as the next example shows, that is not necessarily the case. It is possible for the protasis to be extracted from a subordinate position under a higher verb and placed away from the apodosis. In (31-30) the protasis 'if I work with him' has been extracted from the complement position under the higher verb 'promise' and placed sentence-initially, and only the apodosis 'he will give me 10 dollars' is in the complement position. The protasis and the apodosis are in bold.

(31-30)   *Wane   naqi qe   gani   nau   uri-a*
          man   this 3SG.NFUT   ask.sb.to.do.st.   1SG   PURP-3.OBJ

          kwai   kafara   bii   nia. **Mada   sa   kwa**
          1SG.FUT   make.copra   COM   3SG   or   IRR   1SG.SEQ

          raa   bii   nia, *nia   qe   ala-ngani-a*
          work   COM   3SG   3SG   3SG.NFUT   promise-TR-3.OBJ

          kai   fale-a   ten   dola   qi   a-ku.
          3SG.FUT   give-3.OBJ ten   dollar LOC   REC-1SG.PERS
          'This man asked me to make copra with him. If I work with him, he promised to give me 10 dollars.'

It is the man's giving 10 dollars to the speaker, not his promising to do it, that is conditional on the latter's making copra with him. The clause *nia qe ala-ngani-a* 'he promised' is not part of the apodosis. The meaning is not 'If I work with him, he will promise to give me 10 dollars'.

31.2.   The semantics of conditional sentences

On the basis of their semantic and formal properties, two types of conditional sentences are distinguished in Toqabaqita: reality conditionals and unreality conditionals. The terms "reality conditionals" and "unreality conditionals" have been adopted from Thompson and Longacre (1985), but they do not have exactly the same meanings here. Under reality conditions Thompson and Longacker include habitual/generic conditionals. In Toqabaqita such conditionals are expressed in the same way that unreality conditionals are; see (31-37) further below. On formal grounds, the distinction between reality and unreality conditionals is manifested in the apodosis through different sets of subject markers, but only in grammatically positive apodoses, because all the tense/aspect/sequentiality contrasts are neutralized under negation.

For Toqabaqita, the term "reality conditionals" only refers to those conditional sentences where both the protasis and the apodosis encode states of affairs that are real at the relevant time, in particular the one encoded in the apodosis. The apodosis expresses a state of affairs that obtains under the circumstances expressed in the protasis at reference time. In reality conditional sentences, the apodosis has a non-future or a negative subject marker. The sentence in (31-31) describes a situation after a man has made a war-club. He has been experimenting with creating a new kind of war club, and having made this one, he does not like its appearance. The apodosis has the third person singular non-future subject marker *e*, fused with the nominalization of the verb 'look at':

(31-31)   *Nia   ka   takwe-la-ngani-a,   ka   lio   ka*
          3SG   3SG.SEQ stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ look   3SG.SEQ

          rii-riki-a,   qoo, si   qai   neqe,   mada   sa
          RDP-look.at-3SG.OBJ oh,   PRTT wood   this   or   IRR

          ka   alu-a   ba-na   teqe gwalusu-qi
          3SG.SEQ   put-3.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS one   nose-ASSOC

          doo   qu=naqi,   riki-la-n=e
          thing   manner=this   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

          taqaa   neri.
          be.bad   NPAST.HERE
          'He stood it [the club] up, looked, and kept looking at it; oh, this stick, if he puts a "nose" (lit.: a nose thing) (on it) like this, it [the war-club] looks no good (lit.: its looking-at/appearance is bad).'

(*Gwalusu* designates noses of humans and snouts of animals, and also a kind of carved projection on one kind of war-club.)

In the events expressed in (31-31) the circumstances are such that the war-club has been made in a certain way, and as a result it does not look good.

However, what is grammatically a conditional sentence need not express one state of affairs following on from another one. The sentence in (31-32) below is a comment about a kind of people who do exist. The (verbless, subjectless) protasis does not express a condition, which, if fulfilled, results in the state of affairs expressed in the (negative) apodosis. Rather, the protasis identifies the circumstances under which the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis obtains.

(31-32)   ... *laalae   wane   n=oki   kofe ba-muqa,*
            if   person REL=2SG.IPFV copy LIM-2SG.PERS

    qosi   thaitoqoma-na   bo=naqa   ta   si   doo
    2SG.NEG   know-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS some   PRTT thing

    qani-a.
    GENP-3SG.OBJ
    '… if you are a person who only copies/imitates (others when doing something), then you don't really know anything.'

Reality conditional sentences are not common in Toqabaqita, and the rest of the discussion deals with unreality conditionals.

There are two subtypes of unreality conditionals in Toqabaqita, formally distinguished by the types of subject markers in positive apodoses, sequential or future. It is also possible for apodoses to contain a nonfuture subject marker, but this is neither obligatory nor common. The use of the sequential and the future subject markers is considered first. A sequential subject marker is used when the state of affairs expressed in the apodosis would be/would have been a direct and, especially, relatively immediate consequence of the state of affairs of the protasis and when the speaker wishes to make this explicit. The state of affairs of the protasis is a cause that results in the state of affairs of the apodosis. A future subject marker is used in all other cases: (i) when the state of affairs of the apodosis would follow/would have followed that of the protasis, but not as a direct, more-or-less immediate consequence of the latter; and (ii) even if the state of affairs of the apodosis would be/would have been a direct, relatively immediate consequence of the state of affairs of the protasis, the speaker chooses not to present it as such.

The use of the future subject markers is a semantically unmarked option. The use of the two sets of markers is not sensitive to how likely it is that the condition will be fulfilled or whether the condition is potential or counterfactual. Compare the next two examples, both with sequential subject markers in the apodoses (and nonfuture subject markers in the protases). In the first one, the condition could be fulfilled, while in the second one the condition is counterfactual. In (31-33) the use of the anaphoric demonstrative *baa* with *thaqaro* 'bird' signals that bird-hunting was discussed before; that is, the purpose of the two people getting together is to go bird-hunting. The addressee's coming would result in the two people going bird-hunting.

(31-33) *Man=sa*   *qo*   *lae*   *ma=i*   *qusungadi,*
         or=IRR   2SG.NFUT   go   VENT=LOC   tomorrow

         kuka   *rofe*   *uri-a*   *thaqaro baa.*
         PL(INCL).SEQ look.for PURP-3.OBJ   bird   that
         'If you come tomorrow, we'll hunt (lit.: look for) those birds.'

On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (31-34), the condition of the addressee's coming was not fulfilled:

(31-34) *Uri-a*   *taa*   *na*   *qosi*   *lae*   *mai*   *i*
         REAS-3.OBJ   what?   FOC   2SG.NEG   go   VENT   LOC

         roqo?   *Mada*   *so*   *qo*   *fula,*   *koka*
         yesterday   or   IRR   2SG.NFUT   arrive   DU(INCL).SEQ

         lae,   *koka*   *quu*   *ngede-ngali*
         go   DU(INCL).SEQ shoot   pluck-canarium.nut

         qa-karoqa.
         SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS
         'Why didn't you come yesterday? If you had come, we would have gone pigeon-shooting.'

(*Ngede-ngali* 'pluck'-'canarium.nut' is one of the names for the native pigeon, *bola*; see section 12.4.4.)

Even though in counterfactual conditionals the situation of the protasis does not obtain, and consequently that of the apodosis does not either, neither clause contains the irrealis marker *sa* to signal counterfactuality (section 18.3). In the case of the protasis, this is most likely because the irrealis marker is present to introduce it. In the case of the apodosis, this is possibly because there the coun-

terfactuality is derivative. It is the result of the counterfactuality of the protasis: if the state of affairs of the protasis did obtain/had obtained, so would/would have that of the apodosis. (However, *sa* can occur in an apodosis when it functions as an element in a negative construction; see, for example, [31-50] further below.)

In the next two examples, the apodoses contain future subject markers. (In both cases the subject markers in the protases are nonfuture.) In the first one the condition may be fulfilled:

(31-35)   *Ma=sa   qo   qadomi   nau,   nau   kwai   qadomi   qoe.*
          or=IRR   2SG.NFUT   help   1SG   1SG   1SG.FUT help   2SG
          'If you help me, I'll help you.'

In (31-36) the condition is counterfactual. The verb in the protasis is reduplicated to show that the condition is a past one, specifically past-in-the-past (section 15.1.4):

(31-36)   *Ma=sa   qo   qaa-qadomi   nau,   kwai   qadomi*
          or=IRR   2SG.NFUT   RDP-help   1SG   1SG.FUT   help

          qoe.
          2SG
          'If you had helped me, I would have helped you.'

A few more examples of conditional sentences with sequential subject markers in the apodoses are given below. The states of affairs of the apodoses are/would be/would have been an immediate consequence of the states of affairs of the protases. The conditional relation between the propositions in (31-37) may be a habitual/generic one, or an unreality one (see the first paragraph of this section.)

(31-37)   *Mada   s=o   sua-na   iqa   naqi,*
          or   IRR=2SG.NFUT   touch-3.OBJ   fish   this

          rake-na   ka   boe   nena.
          belly-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   puff.up   NPAST.THERE
          (a) 'If/when you touch this (kind of) fish, its belly puffs up.'
          (b) 'If you touch this fish, its belly will puff up.'

(31-38)   *Laalae   ma=sa   kuka   lae   ofu,   nia*
          if   or=IRR   PL(INCL).SEQ   go   be.together 3SG

> *ka   thaka   nena.*
> 3SG.SEQ escape   NPAST.THERE
> 'If we go together [to catch a bird], it will escape [i.e., it will fly away].'

In the overall states of affairs expressed in the next two examples, it is the non-occurrence of the events of the protases that will result and would have resulted, respectively, in the situations expressed in the apodoses. In (31-39) the condition may be fulfilled:

(31-39)   *Mada   sa   tarake   e=aqi   si   fula,*
             or   IRR   truck   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG   arrive

             mika   lae   ba-miliqa.
             1PL(EXCL).SEQ   walk   LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS
             'If the truck doesn't arrive, we'll just (have to) walk.'

In (31-40) the condition is counterfactual.

(31-40)   *Mada   sa   kwasi   kuqu   meresina   qi*
             or   IRR   1SG.NEG   drink   medicine   LOC

             roqo,   qoo, ka   taqaa   qasia   naqa   qi
             yesterday   oh   3SG.SEQ be.bad   INTS   INTS   LOC

             a-ku.
             BEN-1SG.PERS
             'If I hadn't drunk medicine yesterday, oh, that would have been very bad for me.'

Sequential markers in apodoses may also serve to express an obligation, request, suggestion for the addressee(s) to act. As discussed in section 20.2.3, the sequential subject markers are used in imperatives to express encouragement or suggestions to act. Their use in the apodoses of conditional sentences follows from that, but also from the fact that the action that is requested is requested as a consequence of the situation of the protasis. For example, being asked a question should result in the addressee's responding:

(31-41)   *Laalae   ku   soe-toqo-mu   uri-a   ta*
             if/when 1SG.NFUT ask-TEST-2SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   some

> *si   doo, qoko   luqu-a.*
> PRTT thing 2SG.SEQ answer-3SG.OBJ
> 'If/when I ask you about (lit.: for) something, you must answer (lit.: answer it).'

Similarly in the next example: if one is hungry, one should eat:

(31-42)   *Ma=sa qo   thaofa   qoko   fanga.*
           or=IRR 2SG.NFUT be.hungry 2SG.SEQ   eat
           'If you are hungry, you should eat.' (The addressee is hungry at the moment.)

Even though in the situation expressed in (31-42) the condition is fulfilled (the addressee is hungry), this conditional sentence is not a reality one, as the term "reality conditionals" is used here, because the state of affairs of the apodosis does not obtain at the time of speaking.

An apodosis may be interrogative. In (31-43) the apodosis inquires whether the event of the protasis would result in an acceptable state of affairs:

(31-43)   *Mada   sa   mika   fula   qi   qusungadi,*
           or   IRR   1PL(EXCL).SEQ   arrive   LOC   tomorrow

           ka   leqa   ba-na?
           3SG.SEQ be.good LIM-3SG.PERS
           'If we come tomorrow, will that be all right (lit.: will that only be good)?' 'If we came tomorrow, would that be good?'

The next set of examples illustrates conditional sentences where the apodosis has a future-tense subject marker. In the situation expressed in (31-44), while the man's return to the Solomon Islands later on is a precondition for his talking about his experiences in the country where he is at the time, his talking about his experiences is not a direct result of his return:

(31-44)   *Wane   naqi qe   lae   mai   bii   qoe,*
           man   this 3SG.NFUT go   VENT   COM 2SG

           laalae   mada   sa   ka   oli   uri   Solomoni
           if   or   IRR   3SG.SEQ   return   ALL   Solomon

           Aylen,   kai   uqunu   qufita   ba-na
           Islands   3SG.FUT   narrate   be.how?   LIM-3SG.PERS

suli-a	*riki-laa*	*n=e*	*riki-a*
PROL-3.OBJ	see-NMLZ	REL=3SG.NFUT	see-3SG.OBJ

qana	*fanu*	*naqi?*
GENP	country	this

'[A woman asked him about me, she said,] This man has come here with you; if he returns to the Solomon Islands, just what will he say about what he saw in this country (lit.: just how will he narrate about the seeing that he saw in this country)?'

The sentence in (31-45) is a suggestion, offer made by the speaker. It is not certain that the addressee does want to learn how to weave fans:

(31-45)
Mada	*s=o*	*thathami-a,*	*kwai*
or	IRR=2SG.NFUT	want-3SG.OBJ	1SG.FUT

toqo-a	*faa-teeteru-laa*	*qi*	*sa-mu.*
teach-3.OBJ	weave-fan-NMLZ	LOC	GOAL-2SG.PERS

'If you want, I'll teach you how to weave fans (lit.: I will teach fan-weaving to you).'

Future marking sometimes occurs in the apodosis even if there is a direct, immediate causal link between the two states of affairs but the speaker does not choose to express it as such (perhaps because it is obvious):

(31-46)
Ma=sa	*ku*	*riki-a*	*tha*	*Maeli,*	*kwai*
or=IRR	1SG.NFUT	see-3.OBJ	PERSMKR	Maeli	1SG.FUT

ngata	*bii*	*nia.*
speak	COM	3SG

'If I see Maeli, I will speak with him.'

An apodosis may contain a nonfuture subject marker but only if the state of affairs it expresses obtained at the time of reference or before it. In other words, the nonfuture subject markers are used only with counterfactual conditionals. However, they are not obligatory there. The sequential and the future subject markers are used much more commonly in counterfactual conditionals, as discussed and illustrated above. The next two examples contain nonfuture subject markers in the apodoses. In the first one, the subject marker is in bold:

(31-47)
Ma	*ni*	*nau*	*thaqaro*	*ni*	*bana*	*neqe,*
and	PROFORE	1SG	bird	LIG	LIM	VIVID

    mada   sa   ta   wane   quu   boqo na
    IRR   or   some man   ANTCONT INTS REL

    tha   Bariqi qe   thaa-thare-a,   nau
    PERSMKR Bariqi 3SG.NFUT   RDP-beget-3SG.OBJ 1SG

    ku   *thaitoqoma-na si   doo kwai   ili-a.*
    1SG.NFUT know-3.OBJ   PRTT thing 1SG.FUT do-3SG.OBJ
    [A bird speaking.] 'But (lit.: and) I am just a bird. If I were a man
    that Bariqi [a man] had begotten [i.e., if I were Bariqi's child], I
    would know what to do (lit.: I would know the thing I would do).'

(31-48)   *Ma=sa qo   qaa-qadomi   nau, doo ku*
           or=IRR 2SG.NFUT RDP-help   1SG   thing 1SG.NFUT

    qadomi qoe.
    help   2SG
    'If you had helped me, I would have helped you.'

Compare the synonymous sentence in (31-36) further above, with the future-tense subject marker in the apodosis.

The distinction between the meanings carried by the sequential and the future (and the nonfuture) subject markers disappears in negative and verbless apodoses. In (31-49) and (31-50) the apodoses are negative:

(31-49)   *Kamuluqa, mada sa   musi   bulasi fasi-a*
           2PL   or   IRR 2PL.NEG turn   ABL-3.OBJ

    Masin   Ruul, qe=aqi   musi   oli   mai.
    Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2PL.NEG return VENT
    '[The Government issued a warning to the leaders of the Marching
    Rule movement, saying,] You, if you do not turn away from Marching
    Rule, you will not come back (to your homes).'

In (31-50) the conditional is counterfactual:

(31-50)   *Ma wela qeri, mada   sa   ka   ade*
           and child that or   IRR 3SG.SEQ act

    ba-na   suli-a   thaina-na   bia   maka
    LIM-3SG.PERS PROL-3.OBJ mother-3SG.PERS and father

> nia,   nia   sa   ka   toda-a   mae-la-na
> 3SG   3SG   IRR   3SG.SEQ   meet-3.OBJ   die-NMLZ-3SG.PERS
>
> qa=fa   bongi   qeri   qe   aqi.
> GENP=CLF   day   that   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so
> 'And, the child, if he had only obeyed (lit.: if he had only acted
> along) his mother and father, he would/could not have met his death
> on that day.'

And in (31-51) the apodosis is verbless:

(31-51) Nau   kwa   riki-a   ba-kuqa   doo   kera
         1SG   1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   LIM-1SG.PERS thing 3PL.NFUT

         keda-a,   mada   sa   ka   qisu,   wane
         paint-3SG.OBJ   or   IRR   3SG.SEQ   move   person

         ni   bo=naqa.
         LIG   ASRT=INTS
         '(And) I saw for myself things they had painted; if they [the people
         painted in the pictures] moved, (they would be) just like people.'
         (Speaking about pictures of people on billboards: the people in the
         pictures looked so lifelike that if they only moved they would be just
         like real people.)

The constructions used to express conditional relations between propositions
are also used with another function. The state of affairs of the apodosis is not
conditional on that of the protasis. Rather, the state of the apodosis holds re-
gardless, but is somehow relevant in case the state of affairs of the protasis
holds. What the relevance is depends on the situation. By saying the sentence in
(31-52) the speaker informs the addressee that there is food in the basket (the
apodosis), in case the addressee were hungry (the protasis):

(31-52) Laalae   wane   qe   thaathala-qa,   si
         if   person   3SG.NFUT   be.lightweight-PROP DIM

         fanga   qe   ni=i   laa   naanado.
         food   3SG.NFUT   exist=LOC   IN   k.o.basket
         'If you are hungry, there is a little bit of food in the *naanado* bas-
         ket.'

(*Thaathala-qa* is a polite word for 'be hungry', and the indirect expression 'if a person is hungry' is a polite way of saying 'if you are hungry'.)

And in (31-53) the apodosis serves to inform the addressee how he would recognize that kind of fish were he to catch one:

(31-53) *Mada*   *s=o*   *dee*   *qi*   *laa*   *qamali,*   *qoko*
         or   IRR=2SG.NFUT   fish   LOC   IN   sea   2SG.SEQ

         dee-toqo-na   *thatafau,*   *foko-n=e*
         fish-TEST-3.OBJ   reef.triggerfish   mouth-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT

         susu.
         (opening)be.small
         'If you are fishing in the sea and catch a Reef triggerfish, its mouth is small.'

Chapter 32
Concessive clauses

32.1.   The concessive constructions

To form concessive clauses, the postverbal particle *mena* is used. For the posi-
tion of *mena* in the verbal complex see table 5.2 in section 5.2.1. *Mena* also
functions as a clause-level foregrounding-additive particle, which sometimes
expresses unexpectedness (section 28.6), and it also forms part of the clausal
coordinator *sui mena* 'but', which expresses the relations of contrast, unexpect-
edness between propositions (section 28.3). The notions of contrast and, espe-
cially, unexpectedness also apply to concessive relations between propositions
(section 32.2).

In addition to postverbal *mena*, another element, *dooqanitaa* or, rarely, *boro*,
may occur clause initially. *Dooqanitaa* also functions as an intransitive verb
meaning 'forgive':

(32-1)   *Qoko   dooqanitaa   qi   a-ku,   qoko*
          2SG.SEQ forgive   LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS 2SG.SEQ

          manta-lube   nau, ma   qoko   faqa-faalu-ngaqi
          mind-be.untied   1SG   and   2SG.SEQ CAUS-be.clean-TR

          nau   qana qabu-mu,   Diises, tha   san   of tha
          1SG   INS blood-2SG.PERS Jesus   the   son   of the

          living   Good.
          living   God
          'Forgive me, forgive me, and cleanse me with your blood, Jesus, the
          son of the living God.'

(*Manata-lube* 'mind'-'be.untied' [realized as *manta-lube* in (32-1)] too has the
meaning 'forgive'.)

Dooqanitaa can also function as a kind of interjection with the meaning
'never mind':

(32-2)   *Leqa   ba-na,   dooqanitaa.*
        be.good LIM-3SG.PERS never.mind
        '[It could be better, but] it's OK; never mind.'

Historically, *dooqanitaa* probably consists of *doo* 'thing', the general preposition *qani* and *taa* 'what?'.

Example (32-3) shows the optionality of *dooqanitaa* in concessive clauses:

(32-3)   *(Dooqanitaa) kuka   feda   mena,   qe*
        CONC   PL(INCL).SEQ be.tired CONC   3SG.NFUT

        aqi   kusi   mamalo.
        NEGV   PL(INCL).NEG rest
        'Even though/Never mind we are tired, we won't/shouldn't rest.'

In place of *dooqanitaa* the form *boro* is possible, but its use is rare. There is also a noun *boro* 'bottom', but whether the concessive marker is historically related to it is not clear.

(32-4)   *({Boro / dooqanitaa}) kwa   mataqi mena,   kwai*
        CONC   / CONC   1SG.SEQ be.sick CONC   1SG.FUT

        lae   bo=naqa.
        go   ASRT=INTS
        'Even though I am sick, I'll go nevertheless.'

In (32-5) a topic noun phrase precedes *dooqanitaa*:

(32-5)   *Kukeqe nau, dooqanitaa   ka   aqi   si*
        wife   1SG   CONC   3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

        too   leqa   mena,   nia ka   lae
        be.in.certain.condition be.good CONC   3SG 3SG.SEQ   go

        bo=naqa   qi   laa   raa.
        ASRT=INTS LOC IN   garden
        'My wife, even though she was not (feeling) well, she still went to the garden.'

Grammatically positive verbal concessive clauses have a sequential or a non-future subject marker, unless a future/imperfective subject marker is called for. When *dooqanitaa* or *boro* is present, it is the sequential, rather than the

non-future subject markers that are used. In grammatically negative concessive clauses it is the double negative construction that is used (section 17.4), and it is the negative verb *aqi* that has the (third person singular) sequential subject marker if it is used. For a negative concessive clause see (32-5) above. A concessive clause may be verbless; see (32-12) in section 32.2.

Concessive clauses precede their main clauses, and typically there is a rise in intonation at the end of a concessive clause, and there may also be a slight pause between the concessive clause and the main clause.

32.2.   The semantics of the concessive constructions

The concessive constructions are used with several functions. In one, they express the fact that in view of the state of affairs expressed in the concessive clause one might not expect the state of affairs expressed in the main clause to obtain, but it does nevertheless.

(32-6)   *Kera   rongo-a   mena   gavman   e*
          3PL.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   CONC   government   3SG.NFUT

          ala-ngani-a   lokap,   kera   keka   sore-qe,
          threaten-TR-3.OBJ   jail   3PL   3PL.SEQ   say-DETR

          "Leqa   ba-na."
          be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS
          'Even though they heard that the Government was threatening (them with) jail, they said, "Fine." (Lit.: "[It is] just good.").'

(32-7)   *Kuka   ade-de-a   mena   manta-le-qe*
          PL(INCL).SEQ   do-RDP-3.OBJ   CONC   think-NMLZ-ASSOC

          doo   qeeqeta   ki   sui   bana,   kuka
          thing be.different   PL   EXHST   LIM   PL(INCL).SEQ

          ade-de-a   mena,   sa   ka   ofu
          do-RDP-3SG.OBJ   CONC   IRR   3SG.SEQ   gather

          qe=aqi   nena.
          3SG.NFUT=not.be.so NPAST.THERE
          'Even though we keep having (lit.: doing) all kinds of (different) ideas/thoughts, even though we keep having them, it won't/can't come together [i.e., we cannot agree].'

(32-8)　*Manga　na　nia　toqotoqo-na　　maqe　maala*
　　　　　time　REL　3SG　have.feeling.that-3.OBJ　CLF　　sore

　　　　　ba=e　　　mafo,　ma　ka　　aqi　si
　　　　　that-3SG.NFUT　heal　and　3SG.SEQ　NEGV　3SG.NEG

　　　　　***mafo　lalanganiqa　quu　　mena　qa-na*,**
　　　　　heal　　be.good　　ANTCONT　CONC　SBEN-3SG.PERS

　　　　　na,　　nia　ka　　lae　ka　　　manta　uri-a
　　　　　HESIT　3SG　3SG.SEQ　go　3SG.SEQ　think　PURP-3.OBJ

　　　　　na　　kai　　lae　kai　　　raqa　i　　gwau-na
　　　　　COMP　3SG.FUT　go　3SG.FUT　climb　LOC　top-3.PERS

　　　　　teqe　thaame-q=qai ....
　　　　　one　　father-ASSOC=tree
　　　　　'When he had a feeling that his sore was healing, (and) even though
　　　　　it had not yet healed well, he nevertheless (went and) thought that
　　　　　(lit.: in order that) he would go and climb to the top of a big tree ....'

(32-9)　*Wane　taa　　ni　boqo?　Kai　　　lae　mena,*
　　　　　man　　what?　LIG　INTS　3SG.IPFV　go　CONC

　　　　　ngali-a　　bana　　　qai-na　　biqu　　nia.
　　　　　carry-3.OBJ　LIM-3SG.PERS　wood-3.PERS　house　3SG
　　　　　'Who is he (lit.: what man)? Even if/Even though he goes (some-
　　　　　where), he carries timber for (lit.: of) his house (with him).' (This is
　　　　　a traditional riddle. The answer: a spider.)

To emphasize the fact that a state of affairs obtains in spite of another one
(the one expressed in the concessive clause), the assertive marker *boqo*, usu-
ally, but not necessarily, in combination with the intensifier *naqa*, as *bo=naqa*,
is used in the clause that expresses the unexpected state of affairs. The conces-
sive clause is likely to contain *dooqanitaa* or, less commonly, *boro*.

(32-10)　*Dooqanitaa　fanua　ka　　　thato　　fii-fii*
　　　　　CONC　　　place　3SG.SEQ　be.sunny　RDP-be.painful

　　　　　mena,　kera　　　raa　bo=naqa.
　　　　　CONC　　3PL.NFUT　work　INTS=INTS
　　　　　'Even though the sun was very strong, they worked nevertheless.'

(*Fii-fii*, a reduplication of the verb *fii* 'hurt, be painful', is used to express the fact that the situation designated by the preceding verb is unpleasantly intense.)

See also (32-4) and (32-5) in section 32.1. For an example with the assertive marker without the intensifier see (32-11) below.

The state of affairs expressed in a concessive clause may be an imagined one, as in the next two examples. The relation between the two propositions is simultaneously concessive and conditional, but there is no conditional marking in the concessive clause. (See section 31.1.1 for the structures of the protases of conditional sentences).

(32-11) *Keka   firu   mena   bii   kamiliqa,   qe=aqi*
         3PL.SEQ fight CONC   COM   1PL(EXCL) 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

misi   maqu   boqo.
1PL(EXCL).NEG   be.afraid   ASRT
'Even if they fought (with) us, we wouldn't be afraid.' 'Even if they were to fight with us, we wouldn't be afraid.' 'Even if they fight with us, we won't be afraid.'

In (32-12) the concessive clause is verbless (and subjectless). The sentence is about women in general, not about a particular woman.

(32-12) *Dooqanitaa   ta   ai   qana   langwis*
         CONC   some woman GENP   language

qeeqeta   mena,   laalae qilu   qeri qe
be.different   CONC   when   love.magic that 3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi   nia   naqa,   nia   ka   ngata
affect.negatively-TR 3SG   PRF   3SG   3SG.SEQ   speak

bo=naqa   qana   ngata-la-na   wane   fuu.
ASRT=INTS GENP   speak-NMLZ-3.PERS man   that
'Even if (she is) a woman of [i.e. speaking] a different language, when she has been affected by that love magic (lit.: when that love magic has affected her), she will speak in the language (lit.: in the speaking) of that man [the one who worked the love magic on her].'

The concessive construction is also used when the speaker concedes, accepts a certain situation, expressed in the concessive clause, and makes a comment on it, such as approval, resignation, warning, or instruction, as in (32-13) and (32-14).

(32-13) *Qoko   lae   mena   qa-muqa,   qe   leqa*
         2SG.SEQ go   CONC   SBEN-2SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT be.good

        ba-na.
        LIM-3SG.PERS
        'Even if you go, it's all right.' That is: 'You may go; it's all right.'

In (32-14) the subject marker in the concessive clause is imperfective, because the situation expressed there is a habitual, repeated one:

(32-14) *Kini   qeri ka   quna   qeri, "Moki   laa-lae*
         woman   that 3SG.SEQ   manner this   2DU.IPFV RDP-go

        mena,   qe   aqi   mosi   lae   uri   tolo.".
        CONC   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2DU.NEG   go   ALL   bush
        'The woman said, "Even if you go, never go towards the bush.".'
        'The woman said, "OK, while you may go, don't ever go towards the bush.".'

The construction that serves to express concessive relations between states of affairs is also used when a certain state of affairs, the one expressed in the main clause, unexpectedly or against one's wish obtains at the time of the state of affairs expressed in the concessive clause:

(32-15) *Mili   fula   mena   kau, kera*
         1PL(EXCL).NFUT   arrive CONC   AND 3PL.NFUT

        lae   naqa.
        go   PRF
        'When we arrived there, they had already (and unexpectedly) gone.'
        'They had gone by the time we arrived there.' (That is, the speaker and his group arrived too late.) (Lit.: 'Even though we arrived there, they had already gone.')

(32-16) *Laa-lae,   qe   tona   mena,   fanua*
         RDP-go   3SG.NFUT   be.surprised   CONC   place

        rodo   ngado   naqa.
        be.dark   be.settled   PRF
        '(He) went on [bailing water out of a pool in a stream], and was surprised when (he saw that) it had gotten completely dark.' (That is, he had not noticed that it was getting dark.) (Lit.: '[He] went on and

on, and even though he was surprised, it had already gotten completely dark.')

The same construction may also signal the following contrast between two states of affairs: while a certain event, process, or state applies to one entity, it does not apply to another entity to which it might or should apply. While there may be some degree of unexpectedness with respect to the event, etc. of the main clause, it is primarily the contrast between the two states of affairs that is expressed.

(32-17) *Qoki   soke   mena,   qoki   maruki*
         2SG.FUT   be.happy   CONC   2SG.FUT   live

         qa-muqa,   kamareqa meki   mae naqa
         SBEN-2SG.PERS   1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).FUT   die   PRF

         qi   taraqena.
         LOC   today
         'While you will be happy (because) you will live, the two of us are going to die today.'

To express the fact that even though the event expressed in a concessive clause was attempted (by the referent of the subject), the attempt was unsuccessful, the irrealis marker (sections 18.2 and 18.3) is used in the concessive clause.

(32-18) *Si   manga kera   thara-si-a   boqo qaburu*
         PRTT time   3PL.NFUT wake.up-TR-3.OBJ   INTS ogre

         baa ma   qaburu baa qe   tona,
         that and ogre   that 3SG.NFUT be.startled

         so=e   tataqe   mena,   ma   ifu-na
         IRR=3SG.NFUT   get.up   CONC   and   hair-3SG.PERS

         ka   katu   teqefau   ba-na.
         3SG.SEQ be.hindered.from.movement   every.one LIM-3SG.PERS
         'When they woke up the ogre, the ogre was startled, and even though he tried to get up (he could not because) all of his hair held fast [here: was tied down].'

In (32-19) there are two concessive clauses, but only the second one has the irrealis marker: it was only the event of that clause that had an unsuccessful outcome:

(32-19)   *Wela baa qe   dee-dede-a   nga   iqa   qi*
            child that 3SG.NFUT   RDP-fill-3.OBJ IDENT   fish   LOC

            laa   rake-na,   tataqe   mai,   fula   mena,
            IN   belly-3SG.PERS   stand.up   VENT   arrive   CONC

            s=e   thamo   mena   ura   kula   baa
            IRR=3SG.NFUT   reach   CONC   ALL   place that

            kai   alu-lu-a   gwau-na   qi   ei,
            3SG.IPFV   put-RDP-3.OBJ   head-3SG.PERS   LOC   LOCPRO

            m=e   aqi   naqa.
            and=3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   PRF
            'The child kept filling his belly with fish (lit.: kept filling fish into his belly), (then) he stood up, (and) even though he arrived (at that place), (and) even though he reached out/tried to reach out towards the place where he always put his head (in order to retrieve it), it was not there.' (A boy used to take his head off, leave it hidden on the shore, walk into the sea, catch fish and put them into his belly. Having caught enough fish, he would walk back to the shore and put his head back on.)

The coordinator *ma* (*m=*) 'and' in the last clause is pleonastic (section 28.2.2.)

Chapter 33
Reason clauses, purpose clauses, and purpose nominalizations

33.1.   Introduction

Reason clauses and purposes clauses are best dealt with together because there is some overlap in the marking of these two types of subordinate clause. And purpose nominalizations share some marking with purpose clauses. Reason clauses and purpose clauses are discussed first, and purpose nominalizations subsequently.

   With respect to reason clauses and purpose clauses, the following elements are relevant: *uri*, *fasi*, *suli,* and *ada*. *Uri* and *suli* have variants *ura* and *sula*, respectively. *Uri*, *fasi*, and *suli*, but not *ada*, also function as (verb-like) prepositions (sections 10.3.2, 10.3.3., and 10.3.4, respectively). In this section *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* are discussed with respect to some of their general properties, to highlight the similarities as well as the differences among them. The fourth form, the timitive marker *ada*, is discussed in detail in section 18.6, and here it is dealt with only briefly in section 33.3.4.

   Table 33.1 summarizes the functions of *uri*, *fasi*, and *suli* in marking reason and/or purpose clauses and their functions as prepositions.

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

	with clauses as complements	with noun phrases as complements
uri	purpose, reason	allative, purpose, reason
fasi	purpose	ablative
suli	reason	prolative, reason

   All three forms optionally take the third person object suffix *-a* to index the reason or the purpose clause, just as they take the suffix in their prepositional functions with lexical objects. That is, reason and purpose clauses function as their objects/complements.

(33-1)   *Qo*   *lae*   *bo=ma-muqa*   *uri-a*
          2SG.NFUT   go   ASRT=VENT-2SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ

          qoki   *faqa-maruki-a*   *ni*   *tei*   *bana*
          2SG.FUT   CAUS-be.alive-3.OBJ   PERSMKR   who   LIM

          n=e   *dola, ...*
          REL=3SG.NFUT   be.lost
          'You have come in order to save the lives of (lit.: to make alive)
          whoever is lost, ...'

(33-2)   *... ka*   *lae*   *i*   *maa-na*   *uusia,*   *ka*
          3SG.SEQ   go   LOC   point-3.PERS   buy-DVN   3SG.SEQ

          ngali-a   *mai*   *iqa, fasi-a*   *ka*   *fale-a*
          take-3.OBJ   VENT   fish PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ

          qana   *toqa*   *na*   *kera*   *raa*   *qana*   *biqu*
          GENP   people   REL   3PL.NFUT   work   GENP   house

          nia   *qeri.*
          3SG   that
          '... (and) he [a man who is building a new house] goes to the market
          place and brings (back) fish, so that he may give them to the people
          who have worked on that house of his.'

(33-3)   *Ku*   *too* *qi*   *luma*   *suli-a*   *ku*
          1SG.NFUT   stay   LOC   house   REAS-3.OBJ   1SG.NFUT

          mataqi.
          be.sick
          'I stayed at home because I was sick.'

    While the three forms share the property of (optionally) taking the object
suffix to index their reason or purpose clauses, each one also exhibits unique
properties. *Suli* always has the object suffix (but see further below for the vari-
ant *sula*). On the other hand, *uri* and *fasi* not infrequently occur without the
suffix. It is more common for *fasi* than for *uri* to occur without the object suffix
(regardless of whether the latter marks reason or purpose).

(33-4)   *Fale-a*   *ta*   *si*   *fanga*   *qana*   *wela naqi*
          give-3.OBJ   some   PRTT food   GENP   child this

> *fasi   ka   bona.*
> PURP 3SG.SEQ   be.silent
> 'Give some (of the) food to the (lit.: this) child so that he is quiet.'

(33-5) *Qoe, qe   aqi   qosi   lae   bii   nau, uri*
        2SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   2SG.NEG go   COM 1SG   REAS

        qoe kwai-na   wane   ramo,   nau
        2SG spouse-3.PERS man   professional.killer   1SG

        wane teqe nau, ada ka   ala-si   nau.
        man sole 1SG TIM 3SG.SEQ   attack.to.kill-TR 1SG
        'You, don't come (lit.: go) with me, because you are the wife of a
        professional killer, (whereas) I am alone (lit.: I am a man sole me),
        (and) he might attack and kill me.'

(33-6) *Kamareqa mena   meki   lae   ofu   laqu*
        1DU(EXCL) FADD   1DU(EXCL).FUT   go   be.together ADD

        boqo,   uri meki   riki-a   si   doo na
        ASRT   PURP 1DU(EXCL).FUT   see-3.OBJ PRTT thing REL

        toqa   qe=ki keki   baqe   suli-a   qa=fa
        people that=PL 3PL.FUT speak   PROL-3SG.OBJ GENP=CLF

        thato qeri.
        day   this
        'The two of us too will go together in order to see the thing that the
        people will talk about today.'

There is no semantic difference between the variants with and without the object suffix. It is possible that the two subordinators are in the process of losing the verb-like property of taking the object suffix. As discussed in section 10.3.1, all the verb-like prepositions have innovative, reduced forms which are also unlike verbs, although there the original object suffix has been incorporated into the prepositions themselves: *ura*, *fasa*, *sula*, etc. The forms *uri* and *suli*, used with reason clauses, also have reduced variants *ura* and *sula*, respectively, although these are used only rarely; see section 33.2 for examples.

The reason- and purpose-marking form *uri* and the reason-marking form *suli* may be accompanied by the complementizer *na* (section 29.3), although this is not very common. The complementizer immediately follows *uri* or *suli*, and is itself followed by the reason or the purpose clause. This is likely to be due to

uri and *suli* deriving historically from erstwhile transitive verbs that, presumably, could take complement clauses as their direct objects. With *suli*, the use of the complementizer is less common than with *uri* (in either function of the latter). When the complementizer is present, *suli* and *uri* take the object suffix *-a*. That is, the constructions with these two subordinators exhibit properties of certain verbal constructions with complement clauses: the clause is indexed with the object suffix and the complementizer may be present (sections 29.2.1 and 29.3).

In (33-7) *uri-a* and the complementizer introduce a reason clause:

(33-7)   ... *ruuruqu-da*   *ka*   *leqa*   *qasia*   *naqa*
           chest-3PL.PERS   3SG.SEQ be.good INTS   INTS

          uri-a   *na*   *kere*   *fanga*   *lalanganiqa.*
          REAS-3.OBJ   COMP   3PL.NFUT   eat   be.good
          '... they felt very happy (lit.: their chests were very good) because
          they had eaten well.'

In (33-8) there are two instances of purpose-marking *uri-a* combined with the complementizer:

(33-8)   … *nia*   *ka*   *lae*   *ka*   *manta*   *uri-a*   *na*
           3SG   3SG.SEQ go   3SG.SEQ think   PURP-3.OBJ   COMP

          kai   *lae*   *kai*   *raqa*   *i*   *gwau-na* *teqe*
          3SG.FUT go   3SG.FUT   climb   LOC   top-3.PERS one

          thaame-q=qai   *uri-a*   *na*   *kai*   *qai*
          father-ASSOC=tree   PURP-3.OBJ   COMP   3SG.FUT   shout

          tatalo   *qani-a* ....
          (voice)be.loud   GENP-3SG.OBJ
          '… he nevertheless (went and) thought that (lit.: in order that) he
          would go and climb to the top of a big tree in order to shout loudly
          about it ....'

And in (33-9) *suli-a* and the complementizer introduce a reason clause:

(33-9)   *Adelana bana na*   *kwa*   *thathami-a*   *kwai*   *uqunu*
           CONS   LIM   FOC   1SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT narrate

> *kau, suli-a   na   tha   weleqi qe*
> AND   REAS-3.OBJ COMP   PERSMKR guy   3SG.NFUT

> *soe-toqo-ku   uri-a   nga   maqaluta-na*
> ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   IDENT   detail-3.PERS

> *raa   qeri ....*
> work that
> 'And so, and only for that reason, I wanted to talk (about it), because
> the guy had asked me for details about that work ....'

33.2.   Reason clauses

There are two main types of reason clauses in Toqabaqita: non-focused and
focused. They differ from each other in their marking and in their positioning
with respect to their main clauses.

33.2.1. Non-focused reason clauses

Non-focused reason clauses are introduced either by *suli* or by *uri*, the latter
being much more common (Lichtenberk 1991b). The norm is for non-focused
reason clauses to follow their main clauses. The first three examples illustrate
uri. In each case *uri* carries the object suffix. For an example without the suffix
see (33-5) in section 33.1.

(33-10) *Qoo, kamaroqa sa   moka   mae   e   aqi,*
         oh   2DU   IRR   2DU.SEQ die   3SG.NFUT   not.be.so

         uri-a   e=aqi   mosi
         REAS-3.OBJ 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2DU.NEG

         faqa-ulafu-a   qasia naqa soldia   nau   ki, ...
         CAUS-work.hard-3.OBJ   INTS INTS soldier   1SG   PL
         'Oh, the two of you won't die, because you did not make my po-
         licemen (lit.: soldiers) work very hard (when they were pursuing
         you).'

(33-11) *... nau   ku   seqe-thaathala   qasia   naqa*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT   body-be.lightweight   INTS   INTS

> *uri-a   kwai   uqunu   laqu kau bii   qoe   qi*
> REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT converse   ADD AND COM 2SG   LOC
>
> *laa   fa   ngali faalu   qeri.*
> IN   CLF   year be.new this
> '... I am very happy because I will (be able to) speak with you again
> in this new year.'

In (33-12) *uri-a* is accompanied by the complementizer *na*:

(33-12) *Tai   wane ki   sa   keki   mae, uri-a*
         some.PL   man PL   IRR   3PL.FUT die   REAS-3.OBJ

         na   kera   qoro   qasia   naqa,   ma   keka
         COMP   3PL.NFUT be.many INTS   INTS   and   3PL.SEQ

         ngali kera, ma   keka   stakim kera bo=naqa   qi
         take 3PL and 3PL.SEQ stack   3PL ASRT=INTS LOC

         boor-a   faka mala tai   baeka-na   kafara.
         bottom-3.PERS ship EQT some.PL bag-3.PERS copra
         'Some (of the) men looked like they would die, because there were
         very many of them, (and) they [policemen] had taken them and
         stacked them in the lower deck of the ship like some bags of copra.'

Uri can be followed by the limiter *bana* to emphasize that the reason given
is the sole reason for the state of affairs expressed in the main clause. Histori-
cally, this *bana* is most likely *ba-na*, where *-na* is the third person singular suf-
fix, as discussed in section 5.2.11. The limiter construction *ba-na* occurs post-
verbally as part of the verb complex, and the personal suffix indexes third
person singular subjects. Arguably, the occurrence of *bana* (*ba-na*) after the
reason marker is a reflection of the verbal origin of *uri*. Since in this function
the form of the limiter is always *bana*, no other personal suffixes being possi-
ble, *bana* is treated as an unanalyzed whole here. When *bana* occurs with the
reason marker, the complementizer *na* is not used.

Compare (33-13) without *bana* but with the complementizer, and (33-14)
with *bana* but without the complementizer:

(33-13) *Nau qe=aqi   kwasi   fula   uri-a*
         1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG   arrive   REAS-3.OBJ

na	*ku*	*mataqi.*	
COMP	1SG.NFUT	be.sick	

'I did not come because I was sick.'

(33-14) *Nau* *qe=aqi* *kwasi* *fula* *uri-a*
1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG arrive REAS-3.OBJ

bana ku *mataqi.*
LIM 1SG.NFUT be.sick

'I did not come, but only because I was sick.' I did not come for the sole reason that I was sick.'

The next two examples illustrate the use of *suli*. *Suli* always takes the object suffix *-a*.

(33-15) *Oh* *my* *God, nau* *ku* *dora* *qana*
oh my God 1SG 1SG.NFUT not.know GENP

biinga-laa *qa=fa* *rodo,* *ma* *kwa* *dora*
sleep-NMLZ LOC=CLF night and 1SG.SEQ not.know

qana *fanga-laa, suli-a* *ku* *dora*
GENP eat-NMLZ REAS-3.OBJ 1SG.NFUT not.know

qana *qani-la-na* *Japanese* *food.*
GENP eat-NMLZ-3.PERS Japanese food

'Oh my God, I was not able to sleep (I did not know how to get to sleep) at night, and I could not eat (I did not know how to eat), because I did not know how to eat Japanese food.'

(33-16) *Kera kesi* *lae* *ura dee-laa,* *suli-a*
3PL 3PL.NEG go PURP fish-NMLZ REAS-3.OBJ

qamali *qe* *kuburu-qa* *qasia naqa.*
sea 3SG.NFUT storm-PROP INTS INTS

'They did not go fishing, because the sea was very stormy/rough.'

Both of the reason subordinators can occur in forms that are identical to the reduced forms of the respective prepositions, *ura* and *sula*. However, the use of these forms to mark reason clauses is rare.

(33-17) *Nau ku   lalakwa qana   wane   naqi, ura nia*
         1SG 1SG.NFUT   not.like GENP   man   this   REAS 3SG

        qe   rake-qiri   kwasi   qasia   naqa.
        3SG.NFUT   belly-be.angry be.wild INTS   INTS
        'I don't like this man because he gets terribly angry.'

(33-18) *Ma   adelana   boqo   keekero*
         and CONS   ASRT   yellow.bibbed.lory

        riki-la-na   seqe-na   ka   leqa
        look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS   body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ be.nice

        fuqu,   sula   nuta   qe   qeda-a
        down.there REAS   bird.sp 3SG.NFUT dye-3.OBJ

        seqe-na   ka   leqa.
        body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ be.nice
        'And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory's body looked nice, because the
        nuta bird had nicely dyed its body.' (Lit.: 'And so the Yellow-
        bibbed Lory, its body's looking-at was nice, because the *nuta* had
        dyed its body and it was nice.')

    Sula can combine with *qani-a* to introduce a reason clause. The form *qani*
with an object suffix also functions as a general verb-like preposition (section
10.3.7). And the combination *sula qani-a* can also function as a stacked prepo-
sitional phrase with a prolative function (see example [10-142] in section
10.3.7). In the combination *sula qani-a* it is only the second element, *qani,* that
carries the object suffix. In [verb verb] compounds with a Class 1 verb in the
first position only the final verb can carry an object suffix (section 12.5). This
suggests that the complex reason marker *sula qani-a* and the complex preposi-
tion *sula qani-a* may derive historically from a [verb verb] compound. The use
of the complex reason marker *sula qani-a* is not very common, but it is more
common than the use of *sula* alone. In this function *qani* is glossed REAS.

(33-19) *Nau qe=aqi   kwasi   fula   sula*
         1SG 3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   arrive   REAS

        qani-a   ku   mataqi.
        REAS-3.OBJ   1SG.NFUT   be.sick
        'I did not come because I was sick.'

Compare the synonymous sentence in (33-13) further above with *uri* as the reason marker.

(33-20)   ... *kera*   *thau-ngani-a*   *qana*   *imole,*   *tatha*
             3PL.NFUT   make-TR-3SG.OBJ   GENP   person   pass.by

           qani-a   *wela kini.*   *Si*   *doo qeri ka*
           GENP-3.OBJ   child woman   PRTT thing this   3SG.SEQ

           raa   *bo=naqa*   *sula*   *qani-a*   *kera*
           work   ASRT=INTS   REAS   REAS-3.OBJ   3PL.NFUT

           faqa-mamane-a   *qa=fa*   *thato na*   *ka*
           CAUS-be.true-3.OBJ   GENP=CLF   day   REL   3SG.SEQ

           sui   *ki*   *na=mai.*
           be.finished PL   PRF=VENT
           '… they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people,
           especially for (lit.: passing by) girls. This thing [the love magic]
           worked, because they believed in it in the days gone by.'

It is possible for a reason relation between states of affairs to be only implied, rather than be signalled explicitly:

(33-21)   *Nau* *ku*   *katu,*   *qe=aqi*
           1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.hindered   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

           kwasi   *lae*   *kau, wela nau* *e*   *mataqi.*
           1SG.NEG   go   AND child 1SG   3SG.NFUT   be.sick
           'I could not go; my child was sick.' 'I was tied down (and) so did
           not go; my child was sick.'

A reason marker can be used to introduce a clause that does not express a reason for the state of affairs expressed in the main clause; rather, that clause supplies evidence or presumed evidence for why the state of affairs expressed in the main clause exists or seems to exist:

(33-22)   *Wane*   *e*   *mataqi suli-a*   *rake-na*
           man   3SG.NFUT   be.sick REAS-3.OBJ   belly-3SG.PERS

>
> *e   bose.*
> 3SG.NFUT   be.distended
> 'The man is sick, because his belly is distended.' 'The man must be sick, because his belly is distended.'

33.2.2. Focused reason clauses

To foreground, highlight, emphasize the reason, or the cause, why the state of affairs expressed in the main clause obtains, the reason clause can occur in a focus construction. As discussed in section 39.1, focused elements are fronted and the presupposition domain is marked by the "focus" marker *na*. Similarly, a focused reason clause is placed before the main clause, which is in the scope of *na*. Focused reason clauses are not normally marked by the reason markers *suli* or *uri*; but see (33-27) further below. Compare (33-23), where the reason clause is not focused and occurs after the main clause, and (33-24), where the reason clause is focused and occurs before the main clause:

(33-23)   *Wela naqi qe   angi {uri-a   /   suli-a}*
           child this 3SG.NFUT cry   REAS-3.OBJ / REAS-3.OBJ

           nia   qe   thaofa.
           3SG   3SG.NFUT   be.hungry
           'The (lit.: this) child is crying because he/she is hungry.'

(33-24)   *Wela naqi qe   thaofa   na   ka   angi neqe.*
           child this 3SG.NFUT be.hungry FOC 3SG.SEQ cry VIVID
           'It's because the child is hungry that he/she is crying.'

Two more examples of focused reason clauses follow:

(33-25)   *Bariqi   ka   quna   qeri, "Qoo, ma   tha*
           Bariqi   3SG.SEQ   manner this   oh   and   PERSMKR

           Suriaoa takona, e   rofe   nau na
           Suriaoa SURPR   3SG.NFUT   look.for 1SG   FOC

           ka   lae   mai."
           3SG.SEQ   go   VENT
           'Bariqi said (to himself) (on unexpectedly seeing Suriaoa, his pet bird), "Oh, that is Suriaoa! It's because he's been looking for me that he has come.".'

In (33-26) the focused reason/cause clause is an interrogative one:

(33-26) *Qo   ade   qufita   na   qaba-mu   ka*
         2SG.NFUT   do   do.what?   FOC   arm-2SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ

         qoo?
         break
         'What did you do to break your arm?' 'How did you break your
         arm?' 'How did your arm get broken?'

To highlight and emphasize the reason for a state of affairs even further, a
focused reason clause may be introduced by the reason marker *uri* followed by
the limiter *bana*:

(33-27) *Uri-a   bana ku   mataqi   na   kwasi   fula.*
         REAS-3.OBJ   LIM 1SG.NFUT be.sick FOC   1SG.NEG   arrive
         'It was because I was sick, and only because of that, that I did not
         come.'

Compare the broadly synonymous sentences in (33-13) and (33-14) in sec-
tion 33.2.1, with non-focused reason clauses.

Sentences with focused reason clauses exhibit close links with sentences
that contain consequence clauses (chapter 34), where the clause encoding the
reason/cause comes first and the clause encoding the consequence second.

33.3.   Purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations

33.3.1. Introduction

Several types of purpose construction need to be distinguished in Toqabaqita.
First, there are finite purpose clauses and purpose nominalizations. Second,
there are different markers used with (finite) purpose clauses, partly depending
on whether the purpose is positive or negative. And third, there are special pur-
pose constructions used with the verb *lae* 'go' in the preceding clause.

Purpose clauses are discussed first. Regardless of the type of purpose-clause
construction, the order of the clauses is always iconic: main clause - purpose
clause. The same types of purpose clauses are used regardless of whether the
subjects of the main and the purpose clauses are different or identical.

There are three markers used with purpose clauses: *uri*, *fasi*, and *ada. Uri* is
used only with positive-purpose clauses; *fasi* is used both with positive-purpose
clauses and with negative-purpose clause, but much less commonly with the

latter; and *ada*, which is the timitive marker (section 18.6), is used only to express negative purpose.

33.3.2. Positive-purpose clauses

Positive-purpose clauses ([do something] in order that a certain state of affairs may obtain) can be introduced by *uri* or by *fasi*, or, rarely, by the two simultaneously, with *uri* preceding *fasi*. *Fasi* is more common than *uri* as a purpose marker (Lichtenberk 1991b). Both *uri* and *fasi* can occur with or without the third person object suffix *-a*, which indexes the purpose clause. With *uri*, the object suffix is much more likely to be present than absent, while with *fasi* it is much more likely to be absent than present. The subject marker in a verbal positive-purpose clause can be either sequential or future, without any appreciable difference in meaning. However, *fasi* favours sequential marking, while *uri* favours future marking.

The first two examples below contain *fasi* and the subsequent two *uri*. In each pair, the subjects of the main and the subordinate clause are different in the first example, and identical in the second example.

(33-28)   *Wane   nau, nau kwai   naqare-a tai   alo*
          man   1SG   1SG   1SG.FUT   roast-3.OBJ some.PL taro

          fasi   qoko   ngali-a.
          PURP 2SG.SEQ   take-3SG.OBJ
          'My man, I'll roast some taros so that you can take them (with you).' 'My man, I'll roast some taros for you to take (with you).'

(33-29)   *Tari-a   teqe iqa fasi   qoko   thau-ngi-a.*
          chase-3.OBJ   one fish PURP   2SG.SEQ kill-TR-3SG.OBJ
          'Chase one fish so that you may kill it.' This is a proverb whose meaning is something like '(Do) one (big) thing at a time'. It is used to caution people not to take on more than one major undertaking at a time.

For an example of *fasi* with the object suffix see (33-2) in section 33.1.

In (33-30) there are two instances of the purpose marker *uri*. The first one has a noun phrase as its complement, and the second one a clause:

(33-30)   *Qe   alu-a   uri-a   kule-qe*
          3SG.NFUT put-3SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   place-ASSOC

> *toqa   qeri, uri-a   keki   thau-ngi-da.*
> people   that PURP-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT kill-TR-3PL.OBJ
> 'He put it [a bounty] up on (lit.: for) (the heads of) the people of a place (lit.: a place of people) so that they would be killed (lit.: so that they [other people] would kill them).'

(33-31) *Gavman   qe   firu uri-a   kai   kwaqe*
government   3SG.NFUT   fight PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT   hit

> *muu-si-a   bo=naqa Masin   Ruul   fasi-a*
> break-TR-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS Marching Rule   ABL-3.OBJ

> *laa   aququa naqi.*
> IN   island   this
> 'The Government fought to crush/break up Marching Rule on this island.' 'The Government fought to get rid of Marching Rule from this island by crushing it/breaking it up.'

Uri, but not *fasi*, can occur in combination with the complementizer *na*, in which case it always takes the object suffix *-a*. In (33-32) the combination of *uri* and *na* has two coordinated clauses in its scope:

(33-32) *Babatana, si   manga na   ka   sui   ki*
love.magic PRTT time   REL   3SG.SEQ finish PL

> *na=mai,   imole   kera   qaru-toqo-na*
> PRF=VENT person   3PL.NFUT   fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ

> *uri-a   na   keka   foli kini   ma   keka*
> PURP-3.OBJ   COMP 3PL.SEQ buy   woman and 3PL.SEQ

> *toqo-wane.*
> intend-man
> 'Love magic, in the days gone by, people used it in order to (be able to) get married, both men and women.' (*Foli kini* signifies a man marrying a woman [paying a bride price] and *toqo-wane* signifies a woman marrying a man.)

For another example of *uri-a* with the complementizer see (33-8) in section 33.1.

It is possible for the two purpose markers to be combined as *uri-a fasi*:

(33-33) *Iu,   kera keka   fita   uri-a   fasi seqe-da*
         yes   3PL   3PL.SEQ run   PURP-3.OBJ PURP body-3PL.PERS

         ka,   ka   sukani   oli   mai.
         3SG.SEQ[HESIT]   3SG.SEQ be.of.little.degree return   VENT
         'Yes, (and) they run [here: jog] so that their bodies may become a
         little slimmer again (lit.: so that their bodies come back a little).'

Such combined use of the two purpose markers is rare. Unexpectedly, it is
the first one, *uri*, that carries the object suffix. If *uri-a fasi* continued an earlier
[verb verb] compound, one would expect the object suffix to appear on the
second element rather than on the first one: **uri fasi-a*. (See section 10.5 for
[verb verb] compounds, and section 33.2.1 for the complex reason marker *sula
qani-a*.) The fact that the object marker occurs on the first component suggests
that the complex purpose marker does not continue an earlier [verb verb] com-
pound and that it developed only after *uri* and *fasi* ceased to function as verbs.

Purpose clauses can function as relative clauses modifying nouns. The pur-
pose clause expresses the purpose that the referent of the overall noun phrase
serves/would serve. Here it is normally the purpose marker *fasi* that is used, not
uri, although the combined form *uri-a fasi* is possible (see 33-38). *Fasi* does
not take the object suffix. In (33-34) there are two purpose constructions. The
first one employs a nominalized verb (section 33.3.5). The nominalization is a
complement of the purpose marker *uri-a*. The second one employs a finite pur-
pose clause. This second purpose construction restates, in a different way, what
is expressed in the first purpose construction, but here it is the marker *fasi* that
is used. In the finite purpose clause, instrument inversion has taken place (sec-
tion 10.7).

(33-34) *Aia,   nga   qato   loo   na   kera*
         all.right   IDENT   rafter   upward   REL   3PL.NFUT

         qato-a,   doo uri-a   kani-la-na
         install.rafter-3SG.OBJ   thing PURP-3.OBJ tie-NMLZ-3.PERS

         *thao   suli-a,   **doo na fasi   keka***
         thatching.panel   PROL-3SG.OBJ thing REL PURP   3PL.SEQ

> ***kani-a   qana   thao**.*
> tie-3SG.OBJ   GENP   thatching.panel
> 'All right, the rafters that they install, (they are) things for tying the
> thatching panels to (lit.: along), things to which they tie the thatch-
> ing panels (things for them to tie the thatching panels to).'

The sentence in (33-35) too contains a relative purpose clause:

(33-35)   *Keko   fula   qa=si   manga   na   fasi*
            3DU.SEQ   arrive   GENP=PRTT   time   REL   PURP

            keeroqa keki   nofi naqa,   keki   hangim keeroqa.
            3DU   3DU.FUT   die   PRF   3PL.FUT hang   3DU
            'They reached (lit.: arrived at) the time (which was) for them to die;
            they would be hanged (lit.: they would hang them).'

Relative purpose clauses are also used to modify the subject nouns in gram-
matically negative existential sentences (section 26.1.2.2). In such cases there is
a strong tendency for the relative marker *na* not to be used. In (33-36) the vari-
ant without the relative marker is preferred.

(33-36)   *Qe   aqi   ta   kula   (na)   fasi*
            3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   place   REL   PURP

            kuka   agwa   qi   ei.
            PL(INCL).SEQ   hide   LOC   LOCPRO
            'There is no place for us to hide.'

(33-37)   *Qe   aqi   ta   wane   fasi kwa   ngata*
            3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some   person   PURP 1SG.SEQ speak

            bii-a.
            COM-3SG.OBJ
            'There was no one (there) for me to speak with.'

In (33-38) the noun-modifying purpose clause is introduced by the complex
purpose marker *uri-a fasi*:

(33-38)   *Ma   ka   aqi   naqa ta   si*
            and   3SG.SEQ not.be.available PRF   some   PRTT

thaqegano laqu uri-a   fasi wane   ka
ground   ADD PURP-3.OBJ   PURP person 3SG.SEQ

fasi-a   fanga qi   ei   ka   leqa.
plant-3.OBJ food   LOC LOCPRO 3SG.SEQ be.good
'And there is now no more ground for a person to plant food where
it would do well.' (Lit.: 'There is now not more ground so that a per-
son might plant food there and it would be good.')

A number of verbs take purpose clauses as their complements, for example
the verbs with the meanings 'be ready to do st.', 'prepare/make sb. ready to do
st.', 'invite sb. to do st.', 'ask sb. to do st.', and 'try to do st.'. Here it is the
complementizer *uri* that is normally used. A few examples are given in (33-39)
– (33-43).

(33-39) *Nau ku   too   uri-a   kwai   biinga*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.ready   PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT   sleep

         naqa.
         PRF
         'I am ready to go to sleep now.' 'I am ready to go to bed now.'

(33-40) *... ma   nia   ka   alu-ngani-a   ta   wane*
            and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   invite-TR-3.OBJ   some   man

         uri-a   na   kai   ngali-a   ta   si
         PURP-3.OBJ   COMP   3SG.FUT   take-3.OBJ   some   PRTT

         doo   uri-a   qae-na   faa-fanga-a   qeri, ...
         thing   ALL-3.OBJ   venue-3.PERS   RDP-eat-DVN   that
         '… and he would invite a man to bring (lit.: take) something to the
         (venue of the) feast, ...' (That is, he would invite a man to the feast,
         the expectation being that the guest would bring something.)

(33-41) *Tai   wane   mai   qana   Qanglikan, kera*
         some.PL man   VENT GENP   Anglican   3PL.NFUT

         gani-da   laqu boqo   uri-a   keki
         ask.sb.to.do.st.-3PL.OBJ ADD ASRT   PURP-3.OBJ   3PL.FUT

         lae   keki   raa   laqu boqo bii   kera qana   bali
         go   3PL.FUT work   ADD ASRT COM 3PL GENP   side

> qana   foqa-laa.
> GENP   pray-NMLZ
> 'Some men among the Anglicans (living) around, they [the people
> celebrating the opening of a new (non-Anglican) church building]
> asked them [the Anglicans] too to come (lit.: go) and take part in the
> prayers (lit.: 'work with them on the side of [i.e., with respect to] the
> praying).'

(The orthographic *ng* in *Qanglikan* represents /ŋg/.)

With expressions that mean 'try, attempt to do st.', the irrealis marker *sa* is
used in the purpose clause when the attempt is unsuccessful (sections 18.2 and
18.3). Compare (33-42) without *sa*, which is about a successful attempt, and
(33-43) with *sa*, which is about an unsuccessful attempt:

(33-42) *Nau, manga ku   riki-a   fau naqi, kwa*
         1SG   time   1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   rock this 1SG.SEQ

         sore-qe   doo   e   kuluqa,   ma   ni
         think-DETR thing 3SG.NFUT   be.heavy   and   PROFORE

         nau kwa   ili   uri-a   kwai   kwau-a,
         1SG   1SG.SEQ do   PURP-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT   lift-3SG.OBJ

         ma   ka   thaathala   qasia   boqo.
         and   3SG.SEQ   be.lightweight INTS   INTS
         'I, when I saw this rock, I thought it was heavy, and I tried to lift it
         (lit.: I did in order to lift it), and it was very light.'

(33-43) *Kera   ade uri-a   sa   keki   raqu-a,*
         3PL.NFUT   do   PURP-3.OBJ   IRR 3PL.FUT catch-3SG.OBJ

         ma   ka   qafetaqi.
         and   3SG.SEQ   be.difficult
         'They attempted to catch it [a bird] (lit.: they did in order to catch
         it), but (lit.: and) it was (too) difficult [they did not succeed].'

There need not be any overt marking of purpose, the purpose relation being
only implied. In some cases the clause that expresses the purpose situation is in
coordination with the preceding clause:

(33-44) *Ni=e   sifo,   kai   kwaqe fole-a*
         3SG=3SG.NFUT   descend   3SG.FUT   hit   split-3.OBJ

niu.
coconut
'He went down to split coconuts.' (Lit.: 'He went down, he will split coconuts.')

The clause that expresses the purpose situation may be a paratactic complement clause:

(33-45)   *Qoe, kera   kwaathata-mu   qoki   ngali-a*
          2SG   3PL.NFUT   appoint-2SG.OBJ   2SG.FUT   take-3.OBJ

          foqa-a   qana   uiki   loo.
          pray-DVN   GENP   week   upward
          'You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.' 'You, they have appointed you to take the prayers next week.'

Such absence of purpose marking is particularly common when the first clause contains the verb *lae* 'go'. Since sentences with 'go' in the first clause exhibit other unique properties, such constructions expressing or implying purpose are discussed separately in section 33.3.3.

In (33-46) there is a purpose marker, but it does not have the following clauses as its complement. This is evident from the fact that it carries the third person plural object suffix *-da*, rather than the suffix *-a*. Here *uri* functions as a preposition: 'for them'. The purpose relation between the first event and the subsequent events is only implied. The presence of the irrealis marker in the clauses expressing the desired events shows that the attempt was unsuccessful.

(33-46)   *… ka   uufi-a   bungu   fuu   i   laa*
          3SG.SEQ blow-3.OBJ conch   downward LOC   IN

          faka uri-da,   sa   keki   rongo-a,   sa
          ship   PURP-3PL.OBJ IRR   3PL.FUT hear-3SG.OBJ   IRR

          keki   lae, sa   keki   oli   kokoto
          3PL.FUT go   IRR   3PL.FUT return   do.straightaway

          kau   quna   fuu.
          AND   manner downward
          '[The crew of a ship] blew a conch shell on the ship for them [some other members of the crew], so that they would hear it, so that they would (go and) return straightaway down (but they did not).'

33.3.3. Constructions implying purpose when the verb in the first clause is 'go'

When the main clause contains the verb *lae* 'go', the purpose-clause strategies discussed thus far can be used, regardless of whether the subjects of the main and the purpose clauses are identical, as in (33-47) and (33-48), or not, as in (33-49):

(33-47) *Teqe nau na   kwai   lae fasi kwa   raqu-a, ...*
         sole 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT go   PURP 1SG.SEQ catch-3SG.OBJ
         'It will be me alone who will go to catch it [a bird], ...' *'I alone* will
         go to catch it, ….'

(33-48) *Gavman   ka   lae uri-a   kai*
         government 3SG.SEQ   go   PURP-3.OBJ 3SG.FUT

         fula-toqo-na   qi   sa-na   wane   baqita
         arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ   LOC   ADJC-3.PERS man   be.big

         n=e   qita   ma=i   Merika
         REL=3SG.NFUT originate VENT=LOC America

         ka   lae mai, ….
         3SG.SEQ   go   VENT
         'The Government went to investigate (the substance of certain
         claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US
         forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who
         had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and
         had come), ….'

(33-49) *Lae ma=i   ku=naqi   fasi-a   mika*
         go   VENT=LOC place=this PURP-3.OBJ 1PL(EXCL).SEQ

         ngata bii qoe.
         speak COM 2SG
         'Come here so that we may speak with you.'

   However, when the subject of the purpose clause and the subject of the main
clause are identical, the use of the constructions with the subordinators dis-
cussed above is not common. Instead, there are several "reduced" strategies that
are available. All of these share the following properties. First, no purpose
marker is present. Second, the two clauses are coordinate with each other,
rather than being in a main-subordinate clause relation. And third, even though

the two clauses are coordinate with each other, when the verb *lae* immediately precedes the purpose clause, without any intervening material, the two clauses are normally said under one intonation contour and without a pause between them. Strictly speaking, such constructions do not explicitly express purpose. Rather, the purpose relation between two states of affairs is implied (and inferred). However, for convenience the term "purpose" clause is used here with reference to the second of two clauses, the one that expresses the state of affairs which is the implied purpose of the state of affairs expressed in the preceding, "first" clause.

Examples (33-50) – (33-58) below concern cases where it is only the purpose marker that is absent. As discussed towards the end of section 33.3.2, such absence of overt purpose marking may also happen with verbs other than 'go' in the first clause, but with the verb 'go' in the first clause such absence of overt purpose marking is the norm. What is said in the first part of the discussion that follows applies also to constructions with a verb other than 'go' in the first clause, but the discussion focuses on the verb 'go'. For a different motion verb, *sifo* 'descend', see (33-44) in section 33.3.2.

No purpose marking is present in (33-50) and in (33-51). In such cases the second, purpose clause normally has a future-tense subject marker (but see further below).

(33-50) *Nau kwai   lae kwai   riki-a   wane baa, ada*
          1SG   1SG.FUT   go   1SG.FUT see-3.OBJ   man that TIM

         ka   rake-qiri   uri   nau.
          3SG.SEQ   belly-be.angry   ALL   1SG
         'I'll go and see the man so that he doesn't get angry with me.' 'I'll go see the man so that he doesn't get angry with me.'

(33-51) *Bita qe   lae kai   siisiu   qa-na.*
          Bita 3SG.NFUT   go   3SG.FUT   bathe   SBEN-3SG.PERS
         'Bita went to bathe.'

The future-tense subject marker in the second, purpose clause signals time subsequent to the time of going, not necessarily to the time of speech. For example, with respect to (33-51) Bita may have bathed already by the time of the speech act.

When the purpose is not realized, the irrealis marker *sa* is used in the purpose clause. In (33-52) the lack of realization of the purpose is signalled, in addition, by means of the final negative existential clause:

(33-52) *Nau   ku   laa-lae   i   maa-na   uusi-a,*
        1SG   1SG.NFUT   RDP-go   LOC point-3.PERS   buy-DVN

        sa   kwai   ngali-a   ta   gwa iqa, ma
        IRR   1SG.FUT take-3.OBJ some   CLF fish and

        ka   aqi   ta   iqa.
        3SG.SEQ   not.be.available   some   fish
        'I went (lit.: had gone) to the market place to buy (lit.: take) fish, but (lit.: and) there weren't any.'

The type of construction exemplified above overtly signals only a sequence of events, but there is a strong implication of a purpose relation. In the situation expressed in (33-50) above the speaker will go *in order to* see the man, in the situation expressed in (33-51) Bita went *in order to* bathe, and in that expressed in (33-52) the speaker went to the market *in order* to buy fish. In all those cases the subject marker in the second, purpose clause is future-tense. However, it is possible for a sequential subject marker to be used, rather than a future-tense one. It is true that in the situation expressed in (33-53) below, the event of bringing back the shrimp is explicitly encoded only as being subsequent to the event of going. However, the event of going is not merely incidental to the event of bringing back the shrimp: the two people went (to the streams) *in order to* catch shrimp and bring them back to the house.

(33-53) *Tai   si   manga keko   lae   keko*
        some.PL PRTT time   3DU.SEQ   go   3DU.SEQ

        ngali-a   mai   denge   na=i   laa   kafo   ki.
        take-3.OBJ VENT   shrimp   REL=LOC IN   stream PL
        'Sometimes they would go and bring (home) shrimp (that were) in the streams.'

However, in one respect there is a difference between sentences with a future-tense subject marker in the purpose clause and sentences with a sequential subject marker in the purpose clause. When the state of affairs encoded in the first clause is in the past, a sequential subject marker serves to signal that the state of affairs of the purpose clause did eventuate: in the type of situation expressed in (33-53) above, the two people (normally) did (catch and) bring some shrimp home. It is, of course, possible/likely that their shrimp-catching expeditions were sometimes unsuccessful, but this is not what (33-53) implies. On the other hand, the use of a future subject marker leaves it open whether the state of affairs expressed in the purpose clause did indeed obtain or not. For example,

in the situation expressed in (33-51) above, Bita may not have bathed after all. The difference between future-tense and sequential marking in the purpose clause is also evident in the next pair of examples. In the situation expressed in (33-54), with a future-tense subject marker, although the speaker may assume that the addressee did/will buy something, he does not explicitly commit himself/herself to that. On the other hand, in the situation expressed in (33-55), with a sequential marker, the speaker makes his/her assumption that the addressee did buy something clear.

(33-54)   *Taa   n=o   lae   qoki   uusi-a*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   go   2SG.FUT   buy-3SG.OBJ

          qi   laa   sitoa?
          LOC   IN   store
          'What did you go to buy in the store?' Also: 'What are you going to the store for (to buy there)?'

(33-55)   *Taa   n=o   lae   qoko   uusi-a   mai*
          what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   go   2SG.SEQ buy-3SG.OBJ   VENT

          qi   laa   sitoa qi   roqo?
          LOC   IN   store LOC   yesterday
          'What did you go and buy in the store yesterday? (More lit.: 'What did you go to the store and buy and bring back yesterday?')

In (33-55) the ventive directional *mai* expresses displaced directionality (section 5.2.14.4): buying something and bringing it to the deictic centre (such as the addressee's house).

When the time of the state of affairs expressed in the first clause is present or future, it is never certain whether the state of affairs of the purpose clause will eventuate, and here either sequential or future-tense subject marking is possible without any difference in meaning:

(33-56)   *Kwai   lae   kwai   fale   qana   botho.*
          1SG.FUT/IPFV go   1SG.FUT   give   GENP   pig
          a. 'I will go (and) give (food) to the pig(s).'
          b. 'I am going to give (food) to the pig(s).'

(33-57)   *... koro   koki   lae   kau, koko*
               DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT go   AND   DU(INCL).SEQ

> *rongo-a   fasi   taa   b=e   sore-a*
> hear-3.OBJ PREC what?   that=3SG.NFUT   say-3SG.OBJ
>
> *qi   sa-karoqa.*
> LOC   GOAL-DU(INCL).PERS
> '... let's go and hear first what he says to us.'

In saying (33-58) below, the speaker claims to be certain that the event expressed in the purpose clause will take place; nevertheless, he uses the future-tense subject marker rather than the sequential one:

(33-58)   *Nau   kwai   lae   mai, kwai   riki   qoe   laqu*
          1SG   1SG.FUT go   VENT 1SG.FUT see   2SG   ADD

          qa=fa   Sandee   loo,   qe=aqi
          GENP=CLF   Sunday   upward   3SG.NFUT=NEGV

          si   aqi.
          3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case
          'I'll come and see you again next Sunday, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).'

In addition to the absence of a purpose marker, reductions are also common in the first clause, but only if that clause contains the verb 'go'. Such reductions occur, optionally, when nothing intervenes between the verb 'go' in the first clause and the onset of the purpose clause, that is when there are no postverbal particles or oblique objects in the 'go' clause. Commonly, the verb 'go' in the first clause has no subject marker. Subject markers may be omitted in declarative and interrogative sentences with any verb (section 4.8), but in the constructions discussed here such omission is common. This type of reduced construction is not used with reference to past situations where the purpose has been realized. The purpose clause always has a future-tense subject marker, except for imperatives, where sequential markers are more common. For imperatives see further below. The first, 'go' clause may contain a subject noun phrase:

(33-59)   *Nau   lae   kwai   siisiu   fasi.*
          1SG   go   1SG.FUT   bathe   PREC
          'I'll go bathe first.'

(33-60)   *Toqa   baa   lae   keki   kilu-a   oqola*
          people   that   go   3PL.FUT plant.taro.in-3.OBJ   garden

> *kera   ki.*
> 3PL   PL
> 'The people went to plant taros in their gardens.'

(33-61)   *Maka   nau   lae   kai   waroqa   qa-na.*
          father   1SG   go   3SG.FUT   work   SBEN-3SG.PERS
          'My father went to work.' 'My father went to do some work.'

In the three examples above, there is no subject marker in the 'go' clause, but there is a subject noun phrase there. However, quite commonly not only the subject marker but also the subject is omitted in the 'go' clause, provided the referent is identifiable by other means, such as the subject marker in the following, purpose clause.

Compare (33-59) above, where the verb 'go' occurs with a subject pronoun, and (33-62) below, where the verb 'go' has neither a subject marker nor a subject pronoun:

(33-62)   *Lae   kwai   siisiu   si   qa-kuqa.*
          go   1SG.FUT   bathe   PREC   SBEN-1SG.PERS
          'I'll go bathe first.'

More examples of the absence both of subject markers and of subject phrases in the 'go' clauses are given below.

(33-63)   *Lae   kwai   bebesi   kaoda   qa-kuqa*
          go   1SG.FUT   lean.against   counter   SBEN-1SG.PERS

          qi   Sainitaoni.
          LOC   Chinatown
          'I'll go and lean against (shop) counters in Chinatown (in Honiara).'
          A jocular way of saying that the person will just hang around shops with no intention of buying anything (because of lack of money).

(33-64)   *Lae   qoki   dee?*
          go   2SG.FUT   fish
          'Are you going fishing?'

(33-65)   *Lae   moki   fanga   naqa.*
          go   2DU.FUT   eat   PRF
          'Go eat now.

In imperatives, the subject marker in the second clause may be sequential, nonfuture, rather than future, or there may be no subject marker at all in second-person imperatives. (See section 20.2 for the use of subject markers in positive imperatives.) Compare (33-65) just above, with a future-tense subject marker, and (33-66) below, with a sequential subject marker:

(33-66) *Lae   moka   fanga   naqa.*
　　　　 go   2DU.SEQ   eat   PRF
　　　　 'Go (and) eat now.'

In (33-67) the subject marker in the exhortative purpose clause is nonfuture:

(33-67) *Lae   kulu   qili   nguda.*
　　　　 go   PL(INCL).NFUT   dig   crab.spp.
　　　　 'Let's go crab-digging.'

In second-person imperatives, where there is normally no subject marker present with any verb (section 20.2.1.2), even the verb in the second, purpose clause may lack a subject marker:

(33-68) *Lae   riki-a   kuki   baa.*
　　　　 go   see-3.OBJ   saucepan   that
　　　　 'Go see [here: check] the saucepan.' (Is it boiling now?)

Alternatively, the purpose clause may have the sequential subject marker:

(33-69) *Lae   qoko   thamataqi.*
　　　　 go   2SG.SEQ   prepare.sleeping.place
　　　　 'Go (and) get the sleeping place/bed ready.'

In the absence of a purpose marker, a purpose relation between states of affair is only implied (and inferred). And clearly, the relation between an event of going expressed in one clause and the event expressed in the immediately following clause need not be one of purpose. In (33-70) below, the verb 'go' in the first clause has neither a subject marker nor a subject phrase, but the events expressed in the two clauses are in a simple temporal sequence, not in a purpose relation. In the overall situation, the speaker did not go *in order to see the pool*, because he did not even know at the outset that he was going to see a pool.

(33-70)   *Lae   kwa   riki-a   laa   teqe kafo.*
           go   1SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   IN   one   pool
           'I went and saw a pool (there).' In the given context, not 'I went to
           see a pool.'

33.3.4. Negative-purpose clauses

There are several ways in which negative purpose ([do something] in order that
a certain state of affairs may not obtain) is signalled. The most common one by
far uses the timitive marker *ada* in its preventive precautionary function. This
function is discussed in more detail and exemplified in section 18.6.3, and here
only a brief summary is given. When *ada* is used, the negative-purpose clause
is grammatically positive, and the subject marker is always sequential. The
(notional) subject of the first clause and the subject of the purpose clause may
be identical or different.

(33-71)   *Qoko   riki-a   ada   qoko   rusu.*
           2SG.SEQ   watch-3.OBJ   TIM   2SG.SEQ   slip
           'Watch out (lit.: watch it) so that you don't slip.'

(33-72)   *Nau kwai   lae   kwai   riki-a   wane baa, ada*
           1SG   1SG.FUT   go   1SG.FUT see-3.OBJ   man that TIM

           ka   rake-qiri   uri   nau.
           3SG.SEQ   belly-be.angry   ALL   1SG
           'I'll go and see the man so that he doesn't get angry with me.' 'I'll
           go see the man so that he doesn't get angry with me.'

    The timitive construction is used when the speaker and possibly somebody
else is/are are apprehensive about a possible state of affairs and so a preventive
action is taken to (try to) avoid it. When there is no apprehension about a possi-
ble state of affairs, the timitive marker is not used. Instead, the purpose subor-
dinator *fasi* is used, which also functions to express positive purpose. The other
positive-purpose subordinator, *uri*, is not, by itself, used in this function; but
see further below. Negative-purpose clauses introduced by *fasi* are grammati-
cally negative. When the negative verb *aqi* is present in the purpose clause, its
subject marker is non-future.
    In the situation expressed in (33-73) the speaker wants to prevent a state of
affairs from obtaining, not because he fears it, but because he wants to play a
trick on others:

(33-73)   *Nau kwai   malalia   nau, fasi kesi*
       1SG   1SG.FUT   disguise.os.   1SG   PURP 3PL.NEG

       thaitoqoma-ku.
       know-1SG.OBJ
       'I'll disguise myself so that they won't recognize (lit.: know) me.'

Fasi can be used to signal negative purpose when the speaker is apprehensive about a state of affairs coming about, as in (33-74a) below, but *ada* is normally preferred in that function, as in (33-74b):

(33-74)   a.   *Nau ku   agwa   qi   buir-a   fau,*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT hide   LOC behind-3.PERS   rock

             fasi-a   wane   qeri qe=aqi
             PURP-3.OBJ   man   that 3SG.NFUT=NEGV

             si   riki   nau.
             3SG.NEG   see   1SG
             'I hid behind the rock so that the man would not see me.'

       b.   *Nau ku   agwa   qi   buir-a   fau,*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT hide   LOC behind-3.PERS   rock

             ada wane   qeri ka   riki   nau.
             TIM   man   that 3SG.SEQ   see   1SG
             'I hid behind the rock so that the man would not see me.'

Fasi is more likely to be used in apprehensive contexts when the apprehension is on the part of somebody other than the speaker (and his or her group):

(33-75)   *Wane   e   dalafa-a*
       man   3SG.NFUT   use.*dalafa*.magic.on-3.OBJ

       manta-ku,   fasi-a   qe=aqi   kwasi
       mind-1SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

       rake-qiri.
       belly-be.angry
       'The man used *dalafa* magic on my mind so that I would not be/get angry.'

(*Dalafa* is a kind of magic possessed by some people that enables them to allay other people's anger.)

The timitive marker *ada* can combine with the purpose markers *fasi* or *uri*, even though the latter does not mark negative purpose by itself. *Fasi* or *uri* come directly before *ada*. *Fasi* can occur with or without the object suffix, *uri* only with the suffix. With these complex negative-purpose markers, it is *ada*, not *fasi* or *uri*, that determines the grammatical polarity of the purpose clause and the type of subject marker in the purpose clause: the clause is grammatically positive and the subject marker can only be sequential.

(33-76) *Ngali-a   kaleko   qaaqako,   {fasi-a   / fasi} ada*
         take-3.OBJ   clothes   be.warm   PURP-3.OBJ   /   PURP   TIM

         qoko   gwagwari   qa=fa   rodo.
         2SG.SEQ   feel.cold   GENP=CLF   night
         'Take (some) warm clothes so that you are not cold at night.'

(33-77) *Nau   ku   kani-a   botho   naqi   qana   maqe*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   tie-3.OBJ   pig   this   GENP   CLF

         qai   naqi, uri-a   ada   ka   thaka.
         wood   this   PURP-3.OBJ   TIM   3SG.SEQ   run.away
         'I tied the (lit.: this) pig to the post so that it might not run away.'

33.3.5. Purpose nominalizations

Instead of a finite purpose clause, it is possible to use, under certain conditions, a non-finite construction headed by a nominalization (section 9.1). First, such purpose constructions can be used only if the notional subject of the nominalization is coreferential with the subject or, with a few verbs, the direct object of the clause in which the purpose nominalization occurs. Nominalizations can only be grammatically positive, and so only positive purpose can be expressed in this way. Although finite positive purpose clauses can be the complements of the purpose subordinators *fasi* or *uri*, purpose nominalizations can only be the complement of the purpose preposition *uri*, with the object suffix -*a*, or of its reduced variant *ura* (section 10.3.2), or of the reduced form of the general preposition *qana* (section 10.3.7), not of the preposition *fasi*, which is ablative (section 10.3.3). *Uri-a* is the most commonly used form, while *qana* is the least common one (although it is by no means rare). For the details concerning the expression of the notional arguments of nominalizations see section 9.1.3., specifically table 9.1.

Purpose constructions where the notional subject of the nominalization is coreferential with the subject of the clause in which the nominalization occurs are exemplified first. Examples (33-78) – (33-83) contain the purpose preposition *uri*.

(33-78)   *Qo*   *lae*   *mai*   *uri-a*
          2SG.NFUT   go   VENT   PURP-3.OBJ

          faqa-maruki-la-na   *imole.*
          CAUS-be.alive-NMLZ-3.PERS   person
          'You have come in order to save people.' (Lit.: 'You have come for making-alive of people.')

Compare (33-1) in section 33.1, with the verb *faqa-maruki* 'save life' in a finite purpose clause.

The two examples in (33-79) and (33-80) below, with a finite purpose clause and a purpose nominalization, respectively, are nearly synonymous, apart from the presence vs. absence of the limiter construction *ba-kuqa*. In (33-79) the clause preceding the purpose clause contains the verb *lae* 'go', and the construction with a purpose subordinator is not used (section 33.3.3). On the other hand, with a purpose nominalization, the purpose preposition is required. In (33-80) the nominalization is of the double type (section 9.1.2).

(33-79)   *Nau* *qe=aqi*   *kwasi*   *thathami-a*   *ta*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   want-3.OBJ   some

          si   *doo, ku*   *lae*   *bo=ma-kuqa*
          PRTT   thing 1SG.NFUT   go   ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS

          kwai   *riki*   *qoe*   *ba-kuqa.*
          1SG.FUT   see   2SG   LIM-1SG.PERS
          'I don't want anything; I have come just to see you.'

(33-80)   *Nau* *qe=aqi*   *kwasi*   *thathami-a*   *ta*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   want-3.OBJ   some

          si   *doo; ku*   *lae*   *bo=ma-kuqa*
          PRTT   thing 1SG.NFUT   go   ASRT=VENT-1SG.PERS

          uri-a   *riki-la-mu-laa.*
          PURP-3.OBJ   see-NMLZ-2SG.PERS-NMLZ
          'I don't want anything; I have come to see you.'

Below are given three more examples of purpose nominalizations with the purpose preposition *uri*.

(33-81)   *Kamareqa   meka   lae   ura   riki-la-na*
          1DU(EXCL) 1DU(EXCL).SEQ   go   PURP   see-NMLZ-3.PERS

          iqa.
          fish
          'We went to see fish (in an aquarium).'

In (33-82) there are two purpose nominalizations, one occurring with the *ura* variant of the purpose preposition, and the other with the *uri* variant:

(33-82)   *Kere   qui-a   ngali   qeri,*
          3PL.NFUT   crack.canarium.nut-3.OBJ   canarium.nut   that

          tai   kini   ki   na   keki   qono   ura
          some.PL woman   PL   FOC   3PL.IPFV   sit   PURP

          qegwe-la-na,   *uri-a*
          extract.kernel.out.of-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ

          alu-la-na   i   laa   fo   ongi.
          put-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LOC   IN   CLF   bamboo.sp
          '[When] they [men] crack canarium nuts, it is some (of the) women
          who sit (there) to extract the kernels out of them (and) to put them
          [the kernels] in *ongi* bamboo (containers).' (Lit.: 'They crack canar-
          ium nuts, it is some women who sit for extracting the kernels out of
          them, for putting them in *ongi* bamboo.')

In (33-83) the purpose nominalization has its own purpose adjunct:

(33-83)   *Kera   lae   uri-a   luulufu-laa*
          3PL.NFUT   go   PURP-3.OBJ   cut.off.branches/fronds-NMLZ

          uri-a   luma   kera.
          PURP-3.OBJ   house   3PL
          'They went to cut fronds for their house.' (Here: They went to cut
          sago-palm fronds to make thatching panels for their house.)

In the next two examples it is the general preposition *qana* that has purpose nominalizations as its complements:

(33-84)   *Keka   kwaqe   nau   qana*
          3PL.SEQ   beat   1SG   GENP

       faqa-qolo-si-la-ku-laa, ...
       CAUS-be.straight-TR-NMLZ-1SG.PERS-NMLZ
       'They [the speaker's parents] would give me whippings to straighten
       me, ….' (That is, when the speaker was little, his parents would give
       him whippings to make him behave.)

(33-85)   *Si   doo qeri kera   thau-ngani-a   qana*
          PRTT thing that 3PL.NFUT   make-TR-3SG.OBJ   GENP

       selebreytim-la-na   mae-la-na   toqa
       commemorate-NMLZ-3.PERS   die-NMLZ-3.PERS people

       baqita ki   ma   toq=qinoto   ki   na=i
       be.big   PL   and people=be.wealthy PL   REL=LOC

       laal-a   aququa na=i   Malaqita.
       inside-3SG.PERS   island REL=LOC   Malaita
       'This (kind of) thing [a series of mortuary feasts] they used to hold
       (lit.: make) to commemorate the deaths (lit.: dying) of big people
       and wealthy people on (lit.: inside) the island of Malaita.'

As mentioned in section 33.3.2, some verbs require as their complements
purpose clauses. Some of these verbs are transitive where it is the direct object
that is co-referential with the subject of the purpose clause. Such verbs can take
purpose nominalizations instead. They function as "object-control" verbs: it is
their direct object that corresponds to the notional subject of the nominaliza-
tion. *Kwaathata* 'choose, appoint sb. to do st.' is one such verb. In (33-86) the
clause with *kwaathata* functions as a main clause, followed by a purpose
clause, while in (33-87) *kwaathata* has a purpose nominalization as an oblique
object:

(33-86)   *Wane   qe   kwaathata-ku   uri-a   kwai*
          man   3SG.NFUT choose-1SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT

       kafara   bii   nia.
       make.copra   COM   3SG
       'The man chose me to make copra with him.' (Lit.: 'The man chose
       me so that I would make copra with him.')

(33-87)   *Nau,   kera   kwaathata-ku   uri-a   raa-laa.*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   appoint-1SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ
           'Me, they appointed me to work.' 'I was appointed to work.' (Lit.:
           'I, they appointed me for working.')

In (33-88) the verb is *gani* 'ask sb. to do st.'. The purpose nominalization
has its own prepositional-phrase adjunct:

(33-88)   *Kera   gani   kamiliqa   ura*
          3PL.NFUT   ask.sb.to.do.st.   1PL(EXCL)   PURP

          qadomi-la-da-laa   qana   kafara.
          help-NMLZ-3PL.PERS-NMLZ   GENP   copra
          'They asked us to help them with (making) copra.'

In the next example, there are two verbs that take purpose complements:
manata-toqo (*man-toqo*) 'think of doing st.', with a finite purpose clause, and
fale 'send sb. (with a task)', with a purpose nominalization. There are two other
instances of the preposition *uri* there, one with the allative function and one
with the purpose function. The latter, purpose prepositional phrase functions as
a complement of the purpose nominalization.

(33-89)   *... toqa   gwaungaqi   qana   sios   keka*
              people   be.important   GENP   church   3PL.SEQ

          man-toqo-na   uri   keki   fale   kamiliqa   uri
          think-TEST-3SG.OBJ   PURP   3PL.FUT   send   1PL(EXCL)   ALL

          Honiara   ura   rofe-laa   ura   ta   si   doo
          Honiara   PURP   look.for-NMLZ   PURP   some   PRTT   thing

          qu=neqe.
          manner=this
          '... the big people in the Church thought of sending us to Honiara to
          look for something like this.' (Lit.: '... the important people in the
          Church thought about it in order that they would send us to Honiara
          for looking for something of this manner.')

Chapter 34
Consequence clauses

To express the fact that one state of affairs is the consequence of another state of affairs, the form *adelana* is used to introduce the clause that expresses the consequence. *Adelana* is a nominalization of the Class 1 transitive verb *ade* 'do', with the third person (singular) personal suffix *-na*: *ade-la-na* 'its doing', 'doing of it'. Example (34-1) shows *ade* as a transitive verb:

(34-1)　　*Taa*　　*n=o*　　　　*ade-a?*
　　　　　what?　FOC=2SG.NFUT　do-3SG.OBJ
　　　　　'What are you doing?'

In its consequence-marking function the nominalization *ade-la-na* is treated as an unanalyzed whole: *adelana*. However, even though *adelana* has a grammatical function of signalling consequence, it exhibits nominal properties: it can be placed in focus, and it can be accompanied by certain particles that occur in noun phrases.

As discussed in section 19.3.8, the nominalization *ade-la-na* is used in one type of open interrogative to inquire about what led to a certain state of affairs. There *ade-la-na* does function as a nominalization: it is the subject of the interrogative predicate 'be located where?'. There is a close link between the consequence-marking function discussed in this chapter and the function of *ade-la-na* in such interrogatives: 'How did that come about that such and such is the case?'. However, in the consequence-marking function, *adelana* does not function as an argument of a verb.

Grammatically positive consequence clauses normally contain the appropriate sequential subject marker, unless the imperfective subject marker is called for. Grammatically negative consequence clauses contain the appropriate negative subject marker.

Consequence clauses are normally, but not always (see further below), accompanied by a clause that states the reason for, or the cause of, the consequent state of affairs. The order of the two clauses may be iconic or non-iconic: reason/cause clause – consequence clause, or consequence clause – reason/cause clause, respectively. When the clause of reason/cause precedes the consequence clause, the two clauses are in asyndetic coordination with each other.

In examples (34-2) – (34-4) the clauses expressing the reason/cause precede the consequence clauses.

(34-2) *Qi   roqo   sa   kwai   lae   qi   laa   raa,*
LOC   yesterday   IRR   1SG.FUT   go   LOC   IN   garden

kwa   feda   qasia naqa,   adelana kwasi   lae.
1SG.SEQ feel.weak   INTS INTS   CONS   1SG.NEG   go
'Yesterday I would have gone to the garden, (but) I felt very weak, and so I did not go (lit.: [and as] its doing I did not go).'

In (34-3) the consequence clause has an imperfective subject marker: the state of affairs expressed there is a habitual one.

(34-3) *Qo   nii   qa=si   kula   ki   sui*
2SG.NFUT   be.located GENP=PRTT   place   PL   EXHST

bana,   adelana   qoki   thuu-fi   kamiliqa.
LIM   CONS   2SG.IPFV   protect-TR 1PL(EXCL)
'You [God] are everywhere (lit.: in all places) and therefore (can) protect us.'

To emphasize the fact that a given state of affairs is indeed the consequence of some other state of affairs, the consequence marker is put in focus (section 39.1):

(34-4) *Wela seqe-na   qe   noni,   adelana na*
child body-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT be.shy   CONS   FOC

ka   thaka.
3SG.SEQ   run.away
'The child was shy and so ran away.' 'The child was shy, and it was because of that that he ran away.' (Lit.: 'The child, his body was shy, so he ran away.')

For another example see (39-27) in section 39.2.

Quite commonly, the consequence clause comes first, before the reason/cause clause. The consequence clause occurs before the expression of the reason/cause when the consequent state of affairs is old information and the expression of reason/cause provides an explanation for it, or some other kind of elaboration. The consequence clause functions as a main clause, and the clause that expresses the cause or reason as a subordinate one. The clause of

cause/reason is the complement of the reason subordinator *suli* (section 33.2.1), but not of the other reason subordinator *uri*.

In the discourse preceding (34-5) it is established that it is difficult to find possums at a certain place, and the reason clause provides an explanation:

(34-5)   *Adelana   thaqaro-na   ku=naqi   ka   qafetaqi,*
          CONS   possum-3.PERS   place=this 3SG.SEQ be.difficult

          suli-a   kera   i=i   thaqegano
          REAS-3.OBJ   3PL.NFUT   be.located=LOC ground

          neri.
          NPAST.HERE
          '(And) so the possums at (lit.: of) this place are difficult (to spot), because they are on the ground (rather than up in the trees).'

To emphasize the fact that the consequent state is indeed the consequence of a given state of affairs, there are several strategies available. The consequence marker *adelana* may be in the scope of the assertive/intensifying particle *boqo* (section 7.6). In (34-6) both the consequent and the reason clauses express old information, but the latter clause restates, highlights the reason.

(34-6)   *Ma adelana   boqo   keekero*
          and   CONS   ASRT   yellow.bibbed.lory

          riki-la-na   seqe-na   ka   leqa
          look.at-NMLZ-3.PERS   body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ be.nice

          fuqu,   sula   nuta   qe   qeda-a
          down.there REAS   bird.sp   3SG.NFUT dye-3.OBJ

          seqe-na   ka   leqa.
          body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   be.nice
          'And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory's body looked nice, because the *nuta* bird had nicely dyed its body.' (Lit.: 'And so the Yellow-bibbed Lory, its body's looking-at was nice, because the *nuta* had dyed its body and it was nice.')

Alternatively, the consequence marker may be in focus, and in addition it may be in the scope of the limiter *bana* (section 7.7). Focusing alone is found in (34-8) further below. The next example shows focusing combined with the limiter. After speaking on a certain topic for some time, the speaker uses a rea-

son clause to explain why he has been speaking about the matter. The reason marker *suli-a* is followed by the complementizer *na* (section 33.1).

(34-7)   *Adelana bana na   kwa   thathami-a   kwai   uqunu*
           CONS   LIM   FOC   1SG.SEQ want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT narrate

           kau, suli-a   na   tha   weleqi   qe
           AND   REAS-3.OBJ COMP   PERSMKR   guy   3SG.NFUT

           soe-toqo-ku   uri-a   nga   maqaluta-na
           ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ   IDENT   detail-3.PERS

           raa   qeri ....
           work   that
           'And so, and only for that reason, I wanted to talk (about it), because the guy had asked me for details about that work ....'

A clause of reason or cause need not follow the consequence clause directly. In (34-8) the consequence clause is immediately followed by a clause that announces that an explanation of the reason will follow. The consequence marker is in focus.

(34-8)   *Adelana   na   si   tarafula-a   qeri ka*
           CONS   FOC   PRTT   quote.proverb-DVN   this   3SG.SEQ

           mango, nia   e   quna   qeri. ....
           appear   3SG   3SG.NFUT   manner   this
           'Why/How this proverb/saying came about (lit.: appeared), (it) is like this.' (The speaker then proceeds to describe an incident that gave rise to the saying.)

Instead of being expressed by means of a clause, the cause or reason that has a certain consequence may be expressed by means of a noun phrase that is the complement of the prolative/reason preposition *suli*. That prepositional phrase is juxtaposed to, and follows, the consequence clause.

(34-9)   *Adelana   toqa   naqi keka   firu, suli-a*
           CONS   people   this   3PL.SEQ fight   REAS-3.OBJ

> *kwala-laa*   *ba=i*   *naqo*   *quu*   *mai.*
> swear-NMLZ that=LOC earlier.time ANTCONT VENT
> 'And so/That's why these people fought, because of the swearing [that is, insults] (that happened) a long time ago.'

The fact that one state of affairs is the consequence of another one need not be coded explicitly. Rather, the reason/cause-consequence relationship need only be implied in, and inferred from, an iconic sequence of clauses: the clause expressing the reason/cause followed by the clause expressing the consequence. The latter clause has a sequential subject marker.

(34-10)   *Kaala* *wela* *kere*   *alifeo,*   *ka*   *aqi*
             little.PL child 3PL.NFUT   make.noise 3SG.SEQ NEGV

             kusi   *rongo* *tafa.*
             PL(INCL).NEG hear   be.unimpeded
             'The little children are making noise, and (so/as a result) we can't hear well.'

Chapter 35
Temporal relations

35.1.   Introduction

In the discussion that follows, two main types of temporal relations between states of affairs are distinguished: sequentiality and non-sequentiality, the latter including co-extensivess, various degrees of overlap, and one state of affairs being fully included in another one. Most of the discussion has to do with sequentiality. There is a considerable variety of formal means in Toqabaqita to express temporal relations between states of affairs: noun phrases that contain relative clauses, adverbial clauses, clause coordination, particles inside the verb complex, and other elements.

35.2.   Constructions that express 'time when' relations between states of affairs

There are two basic types of construction in Toqabaqita to express the 'time when' relation between two states of affairs, X and Y: 'When X, Y'. These constructions express the temporal setting of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause. One is a type of noun phrase that contains a relative clause, and the other is a type of adverbial clause. The former is considerably more common than the latter. Temporal adverbial clauses are not only less common; they are also more restricted in terms of their function: they can only be used to express states of affairs subsequent to reference time or general, temporally unrestricted states of affairs. There are no such restrictions on temporal noun phrases with relative clauses.

35.2.1. Temporal noun phrases with relative clauses

In this type of construction, a relative clause has as its head the noun *manga* 'time' or, rarely, *kada* 'time'. The relative clause expresses a state of affairs temporally related to the state of affairs expressed in the main clause; see further below for detail. The basic structure of the temporal noun phrase construction with a relative clauses is shown in (35-1):

(35-1)   [(*si*) {*manga* / *kada*}   (*na*)   relative.clause]_{NP}
           PRTT time   /   time   REL

In (35-2) the temporal noun phrase that contains a relative clause is in square brackets.

(35-2)   *[Si   manga   na   kero   fula   mai],   keko*
           PRTT time   REL 3DU.NFUT   arrive   VENT   3DU.SEQ

           qono qa-daroqa ....
           sit   SBEN-3DU.PERS
           'When (lit.: the time that) they arrived, they sat (down) ....'

For the sake of brevity, the relative clause inside the temporal noun phrase whose basic structure is given in (35-1) above is referred to here as the "temporal relative clause", and the clause that expresses the state of affairs whose temporal circumstance is expressed in the temporal relative clause is referred to as the "main clause". Thus, in (35-2), *si manga na kero fula mai* 'the time that/when they arrived' is a temporal noun phrase that contains a temporal relative clause; *kero fula mai* 'they arrived' is a temporal relative clause; and *keko qono qa-daroqa ....* 'they sat down ....' is the main clause, in the senses intended here. The temporal noun phrase with a relative clause is adjoined to the main clause, either before it or after it. Often there is a slight pause between them. This is especially common when the noun phrase with the temporal relative clause precedes the main clause. It is more common for the temporal noun phrase to precede the main clause, but the reverse order is not unusual.

Temporal relative clauses are not, structurally, a special type of relative clause. They have the normal structure of relative clauses (section 30.1), and other temporal nouns can function as their head. In (35-3) the head noun is *bongi* 'day':

(35-3)   *Fa   bongi   na   kwai   lae,   qoe   mena*
           CLF   day   REL 1SG.FUT   go   2SG   FADD

           qoki   lae   laqu boqo   fasi-a.
           2SG.FUT   go   ADD   ASRT   ABL-3SG.OBJ
           'The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.'

The only difference is that in temporal relative clauses, as the term is used here, the temporal head noun *manga* (or *kada*) 'time' is a relatively general one.

Not infrequently, the head noun 'time' occurs without the partitive particle *si*; see, for example, (35-5) further below. And, as discussed in section 30.4, the

relative marker *na* can be omitted too. *Si* and *na* are omissible at the same time, as in (35-7).

Temporal relative clauses can express sequential as well as non-sequential relations between states of affairs. Temporal relative clauses may contain a nonfuture, future/imperfective, or negative subject marker. They do not contain the dehortative subject markers or the sequential subject markers. The (archaic) dehortative subject markers occur only in main clauses. Temporal relative clauses express background temporal information with respect to the states of affairs expressed in their main clauses, and for that reason the sequential subject markers are not used there. Grammatically positive main clauses most often contain sequential subject markers. However, if the time of the state of affairs of the main clause precedes that of the relative clause, the appropriate nonfuture subject marker is used in the main clause. And the imperfective subject markers are used, optionally, in the main clause when the state of affairs of the main clause is simultaneous with that of the relative clause.

In (35-4) and (35-5) the events of the temporal relative clauses take place and are completed before the events of the main clauses:

(35-4)   *Si   manga   na   mak=keeroqa qe   nofi naqa,*
         PRTT time   REL   father=3DU   3SG.NFUT   die   PRF

         keko   ngali-a,   keko   alu-a,   sui
         3DU.SEQ   take-3SG.OBJ   3DU.SEQ   bury-3SG.OBJ   then

         keko   oli.
         3DU.SEQ   return
         'When/After their father died, they took him (and) buried him, and then went back.'

(For the sequencer *sui* 'then' see section 35.3.2.2.3.)

(35-5)   *Manga   na   kera   thaka,   keka   too*
         time   REL   3PL.NFUT   escape   3PL.SEQ stay

         ba-d=i   laa Gela   suli=fa   thato
         LIM-3PL.PERS=LOC   IN   Nggela PROL:3.OBJ=CLF   day

         qoro   ki   laqu boqo.
         be.many   PL   ADD   ASRT
         'When/After they escaped, they stayed on (lit.: in) (the island of) Nggela for many more days.'

In (35-6) and (35-7) the states of affairs in the relative and the main clauses are simultaneous:

(35-6) *Si   manga   na   ni   nau   ku   faqekwa,*
        PRTT   time   REL   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.little

        ku   too   bii   keeroqa.
        1SG.NFUT   reside   COM   3DU
        'When I was little, I lived with the two of them [the speaker's parents].'

In (35-7) both the partitive marker *si* and the relative marker *na* are absent; and the noun phrase with the temporal relative clause comes after the main clause:

(35-7) *Qani-a   alo   manga   kai   qaaqako.*
        eat-3.OBJ   taro   time   3SG.FUT   be.warm
        'Eat the taro while it's warm (lit.: while it will be warm).'

In (35-8) too the temporal noun phrase follows the main clause, but its event is also temporally related to that of the following clause, coordinate with the first one:

(35-8) *Qe=aqi   kwasi   lio   i   laa*
        3SG.NFUT=NEGV   1SG.NEG   look   LOC   IN

        maa-na   manga   na   kwai   ngata,   ma   nia
        eye-3SG.PERS   time   REL   1SG.IPFV   speak   and   3SG

        e=aqi   si   lio   i   laa
        3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   look   LOC   IN

        maa-ku.
        eye-1SG.PERS
        '[In the old days] I would not look into her eyes when speaking (to her, the wife of another man), and she would not look into my eyes.'

It is possible for a topicalized element to precede a noun phrase with a temporal relative clause that in turn precedes the main clause:

(35-9) *Qi   ukita,   si   manga   na   kini   qe   lae*
        LOC   heathen   PRTT   time   REL   woman   3SG.NFUT   go

> *bisi,*   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*   *naqare-a*
> menstrual.hut 3SG.NFUT NEGV 3SG.NEG cook-3.OBJ
>
> *fanga*   *qana*   *wane*   *ki,*   *kesi*   *qani-a.*
> food   GENP   man   PL   3PL.NEG   eat-3SG.OBJ
> 'In heathen (times), when a woman had her period (lit.: when she
> had gone [to] the menstrual hut), she would not cook food for the
> men; they would not eat it.'

(35-10)   *Maka*   *nau*   *bia*   *thaina-ku,*   *manga*   *na*
          father   1SG   and   mother-1SG.PERS   time   REL

> *kera*   *riki-a*   *na*   *ni*   *nau*   *ku*
> 3PL.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   COMP   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT
>
> *baqita*   *naqa,*   *keka*   *toda-a*   *qasia*   *naqa*
> be.big   PRF   3PL.SEQ   obtain.money-3.OBJ   INTS   INTS
>
> *malefo.*
> money
> 'My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they
> worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).'

While temporal relative clauses overtly signal only temporal relations, a causal relation may be implied as well: the state of affairs of the main clause obtains not just after or during that of the relative clause, but also because of it. In the situation expressed in (35-11) the speaker's cutting himself caused him to bleed:

(35-11)   *Manga*   *na*   *ku*   *kasi-a*   *qaba-ku,*   *qoo,*
          time   REL   1SG.NFUT   cut-3.OBJ   arm-1SG.PERS   oh,

> *qabu*   *ka*   *tafa*   *qasia*   *naqa.*
> blood   3SG.SEQ   emerge   INTS   INTS
> 'When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out.'

In the situation expressed in (35-12) the man got angry because of what the speaker was saying. The time of his being angry is included in the time of the speaker's speaking.

(35-12)   *Teqe*   *wane*   *ka*   *rake-qiri*   *manga*   *na*   *kwai*
          one   man   3SG.SEQ   belly-be.angry   time   REL   1SG.IPFV

      uqunu   quna   qeri.
      narrate manner that
      'One man was/got angry when I was talking like that/when I was
      saying that.'

   Main clauses in construction with noun phrases that contain a temporal relative clause normally express states of affairs that follow, are simultaneous with, or are included in, the state of affairs expressed in the relative clause. To express the fact that the state of affairs of the main clause precedes that of the relative clause, one may resort to negation in the relative clause: the state of affairs of the relative clause does not yet obtain at the time of the state of affairs of the main clause:

(35-13) *Kini   e   kuki-a   fanga   si   manga na*
           woman 3SG.NFUT cook-3.OBJ food   PRTT time   REL

           wane   qe   aqi   si   fula   quu.
           man   3SG.NFUT NEGV   3SG.NEG arrive   ANTCONT
           'The woman had cooked the food before the man arrived.' (Lit.:
           'The woman cooked the food; the man had not arrived yet.')

   As discussed in section 35.3.2.3, there is a special construction to express the fact that the completion/coming to an end of an extended state of affairs culminates in a new state of affairs. Temporal relative clauses can participate in that kind of construction: a temporal clause that expresses an extended state of affairs is followed by a coordinate clause that expresses the new state of affairs. The two clauses jointly modify the head noun 'time'.

(35-14) *Manga n=e   raa-raqa ka   fula   i*
           time   REL=3SG.NFUT   RDP-climb 3SG.SEQ arrive   LOC

           fuufuur-a   qai baa, nia ka   qai
           crown.of.tree-3.PERS   tree that 3SG 3SG.SEQ shout

           qana teqe thaame-q=qai-laa   n=e   baqita.
           INS   one   father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ REL=3SG.NFUT   be.big
           'When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the tree, he gave out a very loud shout.' (Lit.: 'When he climbed and climbed and arrived at the crown of the tree, he shouted with a father of a shout that was big.')

The culmination of an extended state of affairs may be just its being completed, its coming to an end. In such cases the temporal relative clause is followed by a "mini-clause" that contains the verb *sui* 'be finished' (see section 35.3.2.2.3 for discussion). In (35-15) the mini-clause is in bold.

(35-15) *Manga   n=e   booburi-a   biqu*
          time   REL=3SG.NFUT   install.*booburi*.post.in-3.OBJ   house

          *ba=e   **sui**,   nia   ka   ngali-a   teqe*
          that=3SG.NFUT   be.finished 3SG   3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ   one

          fa   qai,   ka   alu=i   gwau-na
          CLF   wood   3SG.SEQ   put:3SG.OBJ=LOC   top-3.PERS

          booburi qeri, ...
          k.o.post that
          'When he [a man building a new house] has finished installing the *booburi* posts in the house, he takes a beam and puts it on top of the *booburi* posts, ...' (Lit.: 'When he installs the *booburi* posts in the house, it is finished, he takes a beam and puts it on top of the *booburi* posts, ...')

When the event expressed in a temporal relative clause is seen as temporally extended, the temporal clause and a "mini-clause" that contains the reduplicated verb *lae* 'go' with the completive/exhaustive marker *sui* (section 35.3.2.3) form a complex relative-clause structure:

(35-16) *Manga   na   kera   qaa-qani-a   oqola   kera qeri,*
          time   REL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-eat-3.OBJ garden   3PL   that

          laa-lae   sui,   keka   luka   qa=si
          RDP-go   COMPL 3PL.SEQ abandon   GENP=PRTT

          thaqegano qeri ....
          ground   that
          'When, after eating and eating (the food from) their garden, it is all gone, they abandon that piece of ground (and it lies fallow for four or five years).' (Lit.: When they have been eating and eating their garden, it is finished, they abandon that piece of ground ....')

There are two nouns with the meaning 'time', either of which can function as the head of a temporal relative clause, *manga* and *kada*. *Manga* is the one

normally used, as in all of the examples above. *Kada* is used only rarely, whether as the head or a relative temporal clause or elsewhere. In (35-17) *kada* functions as the head of a temporal relative clause:

(35-17) *Kada   ku   lae   kwa   too   naqa i*
         time   3SG.NFUT go   1SG.SEQ   stay PRF LOC

        Yokohama   Rehabilitation Centre,   kwai   biqi
        Yokohama   Rehabilitation Centre   1SG.FUT   IMM

        thaitoqoma-na   qani-la-na   Japanese   food, bia
        know-3.OBJ   eat-NMLZ-3.PERS   Japanese   food and

        kwa   biqi biinga leqa   naqa.
        1SG.SEQ   IMM sleep   be.good   PRF
        'When I went and stayed at the Yokohama Rehabilitation Centre, I quickly learned (lit.: knew) to eat Japanese food and quickly was able to sleep well (lit.: quicky slept well).' (This after an initial period in Japan when the person could not eat Japanese food and could not sleep well.)

35.2.2. Temporal adverbial clauses with *laalae* 'when'

The other way in which the 'time when' relation between two states of affairss can be expressed is by means of an adverbial temporal clause introduced by the form *laalae*, although this is considerably less common than the use of temporal relative clauses. *Laalae* is historically a reduplication of the verb *lae* 'go': *laa-lae*. When *laalae* introduces a subordinate temporal clause, it is treated here as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed 'when'.

    In contrast to temporal relative clauses, the use of *laalae* clauses is restricted to encoding states of affairs subsequent to reference time, or to general, temporally unrestricted states of affairs, not to states of affairs simultaneous with or preceding reference time. This corresponds to another use of *laalae*, which is to introduce the protases of conditional sentences other than in counterfactual conditions (section 31.1.1). And unlike noun phrases with temporal relative clauses, *laalae* temporal clauses always precede their main clauses.

    If the time of the state of affairs of the temporal clause is future relative to the time of speaking, the subject marker may be future or nonfuture. The nonfuture subject markers are used if the state of affairs expressed in the temporal clause precedes that of the main clause. If not, it is the future subject markers that are used. See (35-18) and (35-19), respectively.

(35-18) *Laalae   qo   fula   naqa i   Kukumu,   nau*
        when   2SG.NFUT   arrive   PRF   LOC   Kukumu   1SG

        kwai   biqi uqunu   sa-mu   suli-a
        1SG.FUT IMM   narrate GOAL-2SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ

        ta   si   doo   ki bana ....
        some   PRTT thing PL LIM
        'When you have arrived in Kukumu, I'll tell you straightaway about some things ....' 'As soon as you have arrived in Kukumu, I'll tell you about some things ….'

(35-19) *Laalae   qoki   lae,   qoko   fonotai qana   biqu*
        when   2SG.FUT   go   2SG.SEQ   lock   GENP   house

        qena.
        that(2)
        'When you go (out), lock the house.'

In (35-20) the state of affairs of the temporal clause precedes the time of speaking; however, it is subsequent to other states of affairs, expressed in preceding sentences. The reference time is in the past.

(35-20) *Laalae   ku   baqita   naqa,   kwa   riki*
        when   1SG.NFUT   be.big   PRF   1SG.SEQ see

        thaitoqoma-na   maka   nau, bii   kwa   riki
        know-3.OBJ   father 1SG and   1SG.SEQ   see

        thaitoqoma-na   thaina-ku.
        know-3.OBJ   mother-1SG.PERS
        'When I had grown bigger, I recognized by sight my father and I recognized by sight my mother.'

When the state of affairs expressed in the temporal clause is a habitual one, it may be the imperfective subject marker that is used:

(35-21) *Laalae   qoki   kilu-a   lali   qoe, qoko*
        when   2SG.IPFV   plant.taro-3.OBJ taro.top 2SG   2SG.SEQ

keekefu   qana   kwato.
wiggle   GENP   dibble.stick
'When you are planting (your) taros (lit.: your taro tops), you should wiggle the dibble stick (in the ground to make a hole for the taro top).'

35.3.   Coordinate clauses

The kinds of temporal relations discussed in this section hold not only between propositions expressed by coordinate clauses, but also between propositions expressed by sentences. Here the focus is on coordinate clauses, but a few examples of sequences of sentences are given as well.

35.3.1. Non-sequential relations between states of affairs

Coordination of clauses, syndetic or asyndetic, can be used to express states of affairs that are co-extensive, overlapping, or with one included in the other. In (35-22) the three states of affairs are, for all intents and purposes, co-extensive. The sequential subject markers in the second and the third clauses do not signify that the states of affairs occurred in sequence. Rather, all three states of affairs simultaneously followed earlier events. (As discussed in section 16.2, the sequential subject markers may be used when the relation between two states of affairs is not sequential.)

(35-22)   *Keko   qono,   ma   keko   angi, ma   keko*
          3DU.SEQ   sit   and 3DU.SEQ   cry   and 3DU.SEQ

          lio-dila, ….
          mind-slip
          'They sat and cried and were heartbroken, ….'

(35-23)   *Nau   ku   thaofa,   kwa   mae-li   kuqu*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT be.hungry 1SG.SEQ die-TR   drink

          laqu   boqo.
          ADD   ASRT
          'I'm hungry and thirsty (lit.: dying for drinking) as well.'

In the situation expressed in (35-24) the event(s) of vomiting took place during the time of the travel. There is no subject marker in the second clause.

As discussed in section 4.8, subject markers are occasionally omitted even in simple sentences. The absence of a subject marker in (35-24) is not due to a syntactic rule having to do with clause coordination.

(35-24)   *Nau ku   lae   i   laa   faka, ma   moa   qasia*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT go   LOC   IN   ship and vomit   INTS

         naqa.
         INTS
         'I went on a ship and vomited a lot.'

35.3.2.   Sequential relations between states of affairs

35.3.2.1.   *Sequentiality signalled only by means of sequential subject markers*

This is formally the simplest strategy: clauses that encode the second and subsequent states of affairs contain the appropriate sequential subject markers. The clauses may, but need not, be conjoined by means of *ma* 'and' (section 28.2.2). This kind of construction is typically used when the sequentially related states of affairs are of relatively short duration and follow each other more or less directly. The use of the sequential subject markers to express sequentiality of states of affairs is discussed in more detail in section 16.1, and here only a few examples are given.

(35-25)   *Kera   ngali-daroqa, keka   lae   bo=na=uri*
          3PL.NFUT   take-3DU.OBJ 3PL.SEQ go   ASRT=PRF=ALL

         Tulake.
         Tulagi
         'They took [here: arrested] them and went to Tulagi [a place].'

As the next example shows, the first of two or more conjoined clauses too may have a sequential subject marker, when its own state of affairs is subsequent to another one, expressed in an earlier sentence:

(35-26)   *"Maeori,   qoi   riki-a   si   kasi   qai qeri."*
          Maeori   2SG.IMP   look.at-3.OBJ   PRTT   small   wood this

         Maeori   ka   lae, ka   raa   uri-a   si
         Maeori   3SG.SEQ go   3SG.SEQ reach   ALL-3.OBJ PRTT

qai	*fuu,*	*ka*	*gwee-a,*	*ka*
wood	downward	3SG.SEQ	pick.up-3SG.OBJ	3SG.SEQ

takwe-la-ngani-a,	*ma*	*ka*	*riki-a,*
stand-EXT-TR-3SG.OBJ	and	3SG.SEQ	look.at-3SG.OBJ

ma	*ka*	*kwala-ngi=ni*	*Feefelo.*
and	3SG.SEQ	swear-TR:3.OBJ=PERSMKR	Feefelo

'[Feefelo threw the stick towards Maeori (and said),] "Maeori take a look at this small stick." Maeori went, reached for the stick, picked it up, stood it up and took a look at it, and swore at Feefelo.'

In addition to temporal sequence, there may also be an implication (and inference) of a cause/reason-consequence/result relation between two states of affairs:

(35-27)	*Nau*	*ku*	*qaru,*	*kwa*	*toqo*	*qana*	*fau,*
	1SG	1SG.NFUT	fall	1SG.SEQ	bang	GENP	stone

ka	*maga-a*	*qaaqae-ku,*	*ka*	*tatariqa.*
3SG.SEQ	break-3.OBJ	leg-1SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	show.raw.flesh

'I fell down, banged myself against a rock, it broke (the skin of) my leg, and it [the leg] was showing raw flesh.'

35.3.2.2. *Sequentiality signalled by more elaborate and more explicit strategies*

Although sequentiality of states of affairs can be expressed by means of clausal coordination, with or without the conjunction 'and', these strategies are not fully explicit. The absence of the conjunction is, of course, not explicit coding of sequentiality. And the sequential subject markers and *ma* 'and' do not exclusively encode sequentiality. Toqabaqita does have other, explicit elements and constructions to signal sequentiality.

35.3.2.2.1. *Temporal adjunct phrases*

Sequentiality can be explicitly signalled by means of oblique-object adjuncts that contain the nouns *naqo* or *tootoqonaqo* 'earlier time' in the clause expressing the first state of affairs, and *buri* 'later time' in the clause expressing the second state of affairs. Both *naqo* and *buri* also function as spatial locational

nouns, 'in front of' and 'behind', respectively (sections 10.8.2 and 10.8.3). Both *naqo* and *buri* occur in (35-28):

(35-28) *Kulu   unga   si   qa-kuluqa   qi*
         PL(INCL).NFUT clear.scrub PREC SBEN-PL(INCL).PERS   LOC

         naqo,   qi   buri   kuka   qili   butete.
         earlier.time LOC   later.time PL(INCL).SEQ dig   sweet.potato
         'Let's first clear the scrub (in a garden); afterwards we'll dig out sweet potatoes.'

For another example with *naqo* see (35-51) in section 35.3.2.2.4, and for an example with *tootoqonaqo* see (35-32) in section 35.3.2.2.2.

The form *buria*, which too functions as a locational noun 'behind' (section 10.8.3), can also have the temporal meaning '(time) after'. It functions as a clause-level adjunct. It occurs clause initially and takes the third person singular personal suffix *-na*. The personal suffix indexes the proposition expressed in that clause. *Buria-na* signals that the state of affairs of its own clause is followed by the state of affairs expressed in a later, coordinate clause. In (35-29) there are two instances of *buria*, the first one in its temporal sense and the second one in its spatial sense:

(35-29) *Ma   roo   ai   baa   ki keka   lae   naqa,*
         and   two   spouse   that PL 3PL.SEQ go   PRF

         ma   buria-na   kero   lae   kau, kero
         and   after-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT   go   and   3DU.NFUT

         dola   faa-faqekwa,   wela   qeri
         disappear.from.sight RDP-be.of.little.degree child that

         ka   lae   buria-daroqa.
         3SG.SEQ walk behind-3DU.PERS
         'The husband and wife (lit.: the two spouses) went, and after (lit.: its time after) they had left and when they were a little away, out of sight, the child followed them.'

(35-30) *Miki   too laqu boqo, buria-na   ta*
         1PL(EXCL).IPFV   live ADD ASRT after-3SG.PERS some

         roo fa   ngali qe   suqusia, maka   nau
         two CLF   year   3SG.NFUT   elapse   father 1SG

> *ka   nofi.*
> 3SG.SEQ die
> 'We were living (like that) again, (then) after about two years (had elapsed) my father died.'

35.3.2.2.2.   *Particles in the verb complex*

The postverbal completive particles *sui* and *danga* (section 5.2.4) signal that the state of affairs expressed in their clause has taken place by the time of reference. And the preverbal particles *biqi*, *mala*, *maka*, *and makaqe* (section 5.1.2) can signal an immediate sequence of states of affairs: one state of affairs follows another one more or less immediately. A completive particle and an immediate-sequence particle can occur, respectively, in two coordinate clauses: the first clause contains the completive particle, and the second one the immediate-sequence one. The two particles jointly signal that more or less immediately after the situation expressed in the first clause has taken place, the one expressed in the second clause takes place. Of the two completive particles, *sui* is the one normally used, and of the four immediate sequence-signalling particles *biqi* is the one normally used.

(35-31)   *Qe=aqi   mosi   kwai-talami.   Nia   e*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   2DU.NEG   LIP-interrupt   3SG   3SG.NFUT

          baqe   sui,   qoko   biqi   ngata.
          speak   COMPL   2SG.SEQ IMM   speak
          '[When you are speaking to another man's wife, allow her to speak.] Don't interrupt each other. As soon as she has finished speaking, you speak.'

   A clause that contains an immediate-sequence marker can be coordinated with a preceding clause that contains a noun phrase headed by a noun meaning 'earlier time', also to express a more or less immediate sequence of states of affairs:

(35-32)   *... keki   faqa-mae   qoe   fas=i   tootoqonaqo*
          3PL.FUT   CAUS-be.dead   2SG   PREC=LOC   earlier.time

> *nena,*   *keka   biqi kwaqi qoe.*
> NPAST.THERE   3PL.SEQ IMM cut   2SG
> '[Don't be afraid,] they will put you to sleep (with an anaesthetic)
> (lit.: cause you to die) first and only then will they operate on you
> (lit.: cut you).'

35.3.2.2.3.   *The verb* sui *and the sequencer* sui

There are other ways explicitly to signal a sequence of states of affairs expressed in coordinate clauses. They employ the form *sui*, which functions either as an intransitive verb 'end, finish; be finished' or as a sequencing particle. The verb and the sequencer are obviously one and the same etymon. And as mentioned in the preceding section, there is also a completive marker *sui*, one of the postverbal particles in the verbal complex (section 5.2.4 and also section 35.3.2.3). One function of the completive particle is to signal that a state of affairs has taken place in its entirety by reference time: a state of affairs has been completed or has reached completion.

(35-33)   *Kamiliqa   mili   ngata   sui   naqa, ….*
           1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   talk   COMPL   PRF
           'We have finished talking, ….

Another strategy to signal the completion of a state of affairs is to use a "mini-clause" that contains the verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished' and its subject marker. The subject marker is third person singular, usually nonfuture, less commonly sequential. In addition, the perfect postverbal marker *naqa* is often present. The mini-clause is in asyndetic coordination with the preceding clause, which expresses the completed state of affairs.

(35-34)   *Kamiliqa   mili   kwaqe-a   masuqu loo*
           1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   cut-3.OBJ   bush   upward

           e   sui   naqa.
           3SG.NFUT   be.finished PRF
           'We have finished cutting down the bush up there' (Lit.: 'We cut down the bush up there, it is finished.')

Even though the construction with the *sui* mini-clause is biclausal, the two clauses are tightly linked. First, the mini-clause is normally prosodically integrated with the first clause: unlike elsewhere in clause coordination, there is no rise in intonation at the end of the first clause, and there is no pause between

the two clauses. And second, the two clauses can jointly function as a complex relative-clause unit:

(35-35)   *Manga   na   kera   thau-ngi-a   kini   qeri*
          time   REL   3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   woman   that

          e   sui,   keko   maqu.
          3SG.NFUT be.finished 3DU.SEQ   be.afraid
          'When/After they (had) killed/(had) finished killing the woman, they were/became afraid.'

In (35-36) the subject marker in the mini-clause is sequential:

(35-36)   *Mili   takwe-la-ngani-a   luma   nia*
          1PL(EXCL).NFUT   stand-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   house   3SG

          ka   sui   naqa.
          3SG.SEQ be.finished PRF
          'We have finished building (erecting) his house.'

The construction with a *sui* mini-clause can be part of an asyndetic clausal coordination to express a sequence of states of affairs, especially to highlight the fact that the first state of affairs reaches completion before the second state of affairs takes place. The first state of affairs is expressed in the first clause, preceding the *sui* mini-clause, and the second state of affairs is expressed in the clause following the *sui* mini-clause. Here too, the *sui* mini-clause is prosodically integrated with the preceding clause. On the other hand, there is normally a prosodic break between the *sui* mini-clause and the following clause: a rise in intonation at the end of the *sui* mini-clause and usually a slight pause. The basic structure of the overall construction is given schematically in (35-37). (SoF stands for "state of affairs".)

(35-37)   [[clause.of.1st.SoF] [*sui*.mini-clause]] [clause.of.2nd.SoF]

The subject marker in the *sui* mini-clause is third person nonfuture or, less commonly, sequential. The perfect marker *naqa* is not used there. The subject marker in the clause expressing the second state of affairs is sequential.

(35-38)   *Kera   thau-ngi-a   ulu   wela qe=ki   qe*
          3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   three child that=PL 3SG.NFUT

    sui,   *keka*   *lae*   *na-da.*
    be.finished 3PL.SEQ go   PRF-3PL.PERS
    'After they killed the three children, they went (away).'

In (35-39) the clause that expresses the second state of affairs contains the immediate-sequence marking particle *biqi*:

(35-39)   *Kulu*   *fanga*   *fasi. Kulu*   *fanga*
          PL(INCL).NFUT eat   PREC PL(INCL).NFUT eat

          e   *sui,*   *kuka*   *biqi raa.*
          3SG.NFUT be.finished PL(INCL).SEQ IMM work
          'Let's eat first. After we have eaten, we'll work straightaway./As soon as we have eaten, we'll work.'

In (35-40) there are two instances of the *sui* mini-clause. In the first one the subject marker is sequential, while in the second one the subject marker is non-future.

(35-40)   *Kera*   *kasi-a*   *fanu loo*   *ka*   *sui,*
          3PL.NFUT cut-3.OBJ   land upward 3SG.SEQ be.finished

          keka   *takwe-la-ngani-a*   *nga*   *fulake*   *loo*
          3PL.SEQ stand-EXT-TR-3.OBJ   IDENT   flag   upward

          qe   *sui,*   *keka*   *oli*   *na-da.*
          3SG.NFUT be.finished 3PL.SEQ return   PRF-3PL.PERS
          'They cut down (trees in) the land up there, after that they raised the flag (lit.: they stood up the flag [i.e., they erected a mast with a flag]), and after that they went back.'

There is an alternative construction where the *sui* mini-clause consists solely of the verb *sui*. There is no subject marker in the mini-clause. Here, the *sui* mini-clause is not prosodically integrated with the preceding clause. Rather, it has a prosodic profile of its own. There is a rise in intonation at the end of the clause preceding the *sui* mini-clause, and the two may be separated by a slight pause. There is also a rise in intonation on the final syllable of *sui*, and there is a slight pause between it and the following clause. The basic structure of this construction is shown in (35-41):

(35-41)   [clause.of.1st.SoF] [*sui*.mini-clause] [clause.of.2nd.SoF]

Such reduced *sui* mini-clauses are normally used only if *sui* cannot be structurally interpreted as a postverbal completive particle associated with the preceding verb. In (35-42) *sui* follows the direct object of the preceding clause and so cannot be part of the verb complex of that clause (see [4-1] in section 4.1):

(35-42) *Ka   ngali-a   roo   fa   qai   na=i*
3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ two   CLF   wood   REL=LOC

faqalita   ki, ka   rada   qani-a,
side.of.house PL 3PL.SEQ move.lengthwise GENP-3SG.OBJ

ta   foa   qa=ta   bali, ta   foa
some k.o.stick   GENP=some   side   some k.o.stick

*qa=ta   bali, **sui**,   nia   ka*
GENP=some   side   be.finished 3SG   3SG.SEQ

gale-a   falo-na   biqu   qe=ki.
cut.out.shape.in-3.OBJ crossbeam-3.PERS house that=PL
'He [a man building a house] takes two sticks for (lit.: at) the side of the house and slides them (in), one on one side, one on the other side, and when that is finished he makes cutouts in the crossbeams (so that the crossbeams can rest securely on the posts).'

Since such reduced *sui* clauses are not prosodically integrated with the preceding clause, they can occur sentence-initially:

(35-43) *Koki   sore-qe   ba-karoqa,   mada*
PL(INCL).IPFV say-DETR   LIM-DU(INCL).PERS   or

sa   i   quuqusungadia,   koki   sore-qe
IRR LOC morning   DU(INCL).IPFV say-DETR

ba-karoqa,   "Quuqusungadia",   mada   i
LIM-DU(INCL).PERS   morning   or   LOC

thaqulafia   naqa, koki   sore-qe
evening   PRF   DU(INCL).IPFV say-DETR

*ba-karoqa,   "Thaqulafia".   **Sui**,*
LIM-DU(INCL).PERS   evening   be.finished

koka	*sore-qe*	*ba-karoqa,*	*"Qo*
DU(INCL).SEQ	say-DETR	LIM-DU(INCL).PERS	2SG.NFUT

lae	*qufita*	*naqa*	*neri?"*
go	be.how?	PRF	NPAST.HERE

'[This is what we, men, are supposed to do when we meet the wife of another man on a path.] We just say, if (it is) morning, we just say "Morning"; or (if it is) evening already, we just say "Evening". After that we just say 'Where are you going?".' (A man should not engage in an extended conversation with the wife of another man if there are no other people around.)

Finally, there is also a construction where the form *sui* functions not as a verb but as a sequencing marker. The sequencer occurs clause-initially. Prosodically it is part of the clause that signals the second state of affairs and that follows in asyndetic coordination the clause that expresses the first state of affairs. This type of constructions is shown schematically in (35-44):

(35-44)   [clause.of.1st.SoF]   [*sui*   rest.of.clause.of.2nd.SoF]
                                        then

In this construction, *sui* is not a verb. It can never have its own subject marker and it does not form a clause of its own. In this sequencing function *sui* is glossed 'then'.

While *sui* mini-clauses foreground the fact that the first state of affairs comes to completion before the next one obtains, the sequencer *sui* merely presents two states of affairs as occurring in sequence, even though, normally, the first one is completed before the next one obtains. The sequencer can be used regardless of the temporal distance between the relevant states of affairs, whether the second one follows the first one more or less directly or after some interval. In the type of situation expressed in (35-45) the second event normally follows the first one directly:

(35-45)   *Wane kere*   *fufula-a*   *ree-na*   *firi,*   *sui*
           man   3PL.NFUT   roll.up-3.OBJ   leaf-3.PERS   tobacco   then

keka	*firi-a.*
3PL.SEQ	twist.tobacco.leaf-3SG.OBJ

'The men [making long twists of tobacco] roll up the tobacco leaves (into a long roll) (and) then make the roll into a twist.'

On the other hand, the relevant events expressed in the last two clauses in (35-46) were separated by an interval of three days.

(35-46) *Number 6   ku   sifo   qi   Malaita, kwa*
         number   six   1SG.NFUT descend   LOC   Malaita 1SG.SEQ

         raa   qi   Kilufi   Hospital,   kwa   oli   mai
         work   LOC   Kilufi   hospital   1SG.SEQ return   VENT

         qana   25   June,   sui   kwa   lofo   uri-a   qi
         GENP   25   June   then   1SG.SEQ   fly   ALL-3.OBJ LOC

         Temotu   province   (Santa   Cruz, Lata) qana 28 ....
         Teamotu   province   Santa   Cruz Lata. GENP 28
         'On the 6th I went down to Malaita and worked at Kilufi Hospital, returned [to Honiara] on the 25th of June, (and) then flew to Teamotu Province (Santa Cruz [Island], Lata [town]) on the 28th ....'

The *sui* elements in (35-45) and in (35-46) above are not the completive/exhaustive particle. If they were, they would be part of the verb complex. As such, *sui* would precede the lexical direct object *ree-na firi* '(the) tobacco leaves' in (35-45), and it would precede the oblique objects *uri-a qi Temotu province (Santa Cruz, Lata) qana 28* 'to Teamotu Province (Santa Cruz, Lata) on the 28th'.

Another example of the sequencer is given in (35-47). The sequencer cooccurs with the intensifier *feteqi*. *Feteqi* also functions as a postverbal intensifier (section 5.2.13). Its use with the sequencer is, presumably, a reflection of the verbal origin of the sequencer, from the verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished'. *Feteqi* serves to emphasize that the second event will take place only after the first one has taken place. The second clause also contains the immediate-sequence marker *biqi*: the event of the second clause is to follow that of the first clause immediately.

(35-47) *Saqu-a   qaba-mu,   sui   feteqi   qoko   biqi*
         wash-3.OBJ   hand-2SG.PERS then   INTS   2SG.SEQ IMM

         fanga.
         eat
         'Wash your hands and then (and only then) eat.' 'Wash your hands before you eat.'

The sequencer can occur sentence-initially:

(35-48) *Kukeqe   nia   bo=naqa   na   kai*
        wife   3SG   ASRT=PRF   FOC   3SG.IPFV

        qegwe-a,   *bia   wela nia   ki.*
        extract.kernel.out.of-3SG.OBJ   COM   child 3SG   PL

        Sui *keka*   *ngali-a*   *bii-na*
        then   3PL.SEQ take-3.OBJ bamboo.container-3.PERS

        ngali   *kera qeri, keka*   *alu-a*
        canarium.nut   3PL   that   3PL.SEQ put-3SG.OBJ

        bo=naq=i   *luma, ...*
        ASRT=PRF=LOC   house
        '[When the quantity of canarium nuts is relatively small, the man will crack them by himself, without the help of other men.] It will be his wife that will extract the kernels out of them, (together) with his children. Then they will take their bamboo-containerfuls of canarium nuts and put them in the house, ...'

35.3.2.2.4.   *Long intervals between states of affairs*

To express the fact that one state of affairs follows one or more previous states of affairs after a relatively long period of time, the clause or sentence that expresses the second state of affairs is introduced by *tootoo*. *Tootoo* is historically a reduplication of the verb *too* 'stay', 'remain', also 'be present', 'reside, live (at a place)', etc. *Too* is also used in a construction that expresses the frequentative aspect (section 15.2.4), where too it can be reduplicated. When *tootoo* signals long intervals between states of affairs, it does not function as a verb: it cannot have a subject marker or any of the postverbal or preverbal particles. In this function, *tootoo* is treated as an unanalyzed whole and is glossed 'later'. *Tootoo* occurs at the beginning of its clause or sentence, unless another sentence element requires a position before it, such as a topicalized phrase. It is also possible for *tootoo* to be placed in the second position in a clause (not counting the topic and the focus positions.)

It is more common for *tootoo* to occur sentence-initially rather than clause-initially internally in a sentence. When a clause introduced by *tootoo* does occur sentence internally, it is in asyndetic coordination with the preceding clause, which expresses the earlier state of affairs:

(35-49) *Nau   ku   ngalilanga*
         1SG   1SG.NFUT   take.without.immediate.reciprocation

         qana botho   naqi, tootoo   kwai
         GENP pig   this later   1SG.FUT

         duqu-a.
         reciprocate.for/repay-3SG.OBJ
         'I'm taking this pig; I will reciprocate for it [e.g., by paying for it] at
         a later time.'

In the next two examples, *tootoo* occurs sentence-initially.

(35-50) *... wela qe=ki   keka   angi qasia   naqa.   Ma*
             child that=PL 3PL.SEQ cry INTS   INTS   and

         tha   Moomoli   ka   kasi-a   teqe
         PERSMKR   Moomoli   3SG.SEQ cut-3.OBJ one

         ngasi   qana fu-qi   ngasi   na
         sugarcane   GENP clump-ASSOC sugarcane   REL

         tha   Fiuoomea   e   fasi-a,
         PERSMKR   Fiuoomea   3SG.NFUT   plant-3SG.OBJ

         ka   fale-a   qana wela qe=ki,
         3SG.SEQ   give-3SG.OBJ   GENP child that=PL

         *keka   qani-a.   **Tootoo** fanu=e   thaqulafia,*
         3PL.SEQ   eat-3SG.OBJ later   place=3SG.NFUT   be.evening

         Fiuoomea oli-li   mai, ka   fula,   ka
         Fiuoomea   return-RDP VENT 3SG.SEQ arrive   3SG.SEQ

         riki-a   ngasi   qeri na   wela qe=ki
         see-3.OBJ   sugarcane   that REL   child that=PL

         kera   qani-a,   ma   ka   soe suli-a,
         3PL.NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ and 3SG.SEQ ask PROL-3SG.OBJ

"Tete-na   ngas=i   fei?".
pulp-3.PERS   sugarcane=LOC   where?

[A man, Fiuoomea, had planted some sugar cane in preparation for a feast. One day he went to work in his garden. He left his children behind, with his brother Moomoli. During the day] 'the children cried a lot. Moomoli cut off one sugar cane (plant) out of the clump of sugar cane that Fiuoomea had planted and gave it to the children. Later on, it (lit.: the place) was evening, Fiuoomea was coming back, got to the village and saw the (pulp of the) sugar cane that the children had chewed on (lit.: eaten), and asked about it: "Where is the sugar cane pulp from?" (Lit.: "The pulp of sugar cane at/from where?").'

In (35-51) there are two instances of *tootoo*:

(35-51)   *Maka   nia   bia   thaina-na   keka*
           father   3SG   and   mother-3SG.PERS   3PL.SEQ

           totoqo   faafi-a,   ma   keka
           tell.sb.not.to.do.st.   CONF-3SG.OBJ   and   3PL.SEQ

           lufi-a,   ma   ka   aqi
           try.to prevent.sb.from doing.st.-3SG.OBJ   and   3SG.SEQ NEGV

           *si   ruqu. Ka   angi bo=naqa. **Tootoo** wela*
           3SG.NEG obey 3SG.SEQ cry   ASRT=INTS later   child

           qeri ka   manata-toqo-na teqe si   lio   qi
           that   3SG.SEQ   think-TEST-3.OBJ one   PRTT idea LOC

           ruuruqu-na,   ka   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   nau
           chest-3SG.PERS 3SG.SEQ   manner   this   oh   1SG

           kwai   too   qa-kuqa,   maka   nau   bia
           1SG.FUT stay   SBEN-1SG.PERS   father 1SG   and

           thaina-ku   keka   lae   qa-d=i
           mother-1SG.PERS   3PL.SEQ   go   SBEN-3PL.PERS=LOC

           naqo,   nau   kwa   lae   na=ka-ku
           earlier.time 1SG   1SG.SEQ walk   PRF=AND-1SG.PERS

buria-da,	*suli=na*		*kera*	*lufi*
behind-3PL.PERS	REAS:3.OBJ=COMP		3PL.NFUT	prevent

nau."	***Tootoo***	*maka*	*nia*	*ma*	*thaina-na*
1SG	later	father	3SG	and	mother-3SG.PERS

keko	*lae*	*naqa.*
3DU.SEQ	go	PRF

[A boy wanted to go to the market with his parents, but his parents did not want him to come with them.] 'His father and mother told him not to (go), and they tried to stop him (from going), but he wouldn't listen/obey. He cried a lot. Some time later/Eventually, the child had an idea in his mind (lit.: he thought of an idea in his chest) and he said (to himself), "Oh, I'll stay (behind); my father and mother will go first, (and) I'll walk behind them, because they stopped me (from going).". Later on, his father and mother went.' (The boy followed them.)

In (35-52) *tootoo* is preceded by a topicalized subject pronoun:

(35-52)

Nia	*ka*	*thathami-a*	*kai*	*firu*	*uri-a*
3SG	3SG.SEQ	want-3.OBJ	3SG.FUT	fight	PURP-3.OBJ

finish	*qeri,*	*fasi*	*kai*	*ngali-a*	*qa-na*
bounty	that	PURP	3SG.FUT	take-3.OBJ	SBEN-3SG.PERS

malefo	*qoro*		*na*	*toq=qe=ki*	*kera*
money	be.numerous		REL	people=that=PL	3PL.NFUT

alu-a.	*Nia*	***tootoo***	*ka*	*faqa-rongo-a*
put-3SG.OBJ	3SG	later	3SG.SEQ	CAUS-hear-3.OBJ

kule-qe	*toqa*	*na=i*	*biqu*	*nia,*
place-ASSOC	people	REL=LOC	men's.house	3SG

kaluwani	*nia*	*ki,*	*kera*	*keka*	*lae*	*uri-a*
son	3SG	PL	3PL	3PL.SEQ	go	ALL-3.OBJ

kule-qe	*toqa*	*na*	*kera*	*alu-a*
place-ASSOC	people	REL	3PL.NFUT	put-3.OBJ

finish   qeri uri   kera.
bounty   that   PURP 3PL

[A certain man had put up a bounty on the killing of the people of
another place. A *wane ramo* (a fighter, killer, collector of bounties)
heard about it.] 'He wanted to fight for the bounty so that he could
collect the large amount of money that those people [who had come
up with the bounty] had put up. He later told the people of his men's
house [i.e., the men living in his hamlet], his sons, that they would
go to the people on whose head the bounty had been put up (lit.: that
they would go to the people of the place that they [the other people]
had put up the bounty on them).'

(*Finish*, a borrowing from English, is used here with the meaning 'bounty (kill-
ing)'. *Kule-qe toqa*, lit. 'place of people', has the meaning 'people of a certain
place'.)

   Similarly in the next example *tootoo* is preceded by a topic phrase:

(35-53)   *Ma   wane   n=e   ni=i   thaqegano,*
          and   man   REL=3SG.NFUT be.located=LOC ground

          tootoo   ka   taqisi   ba-n=i
          later   3SG.NFUT   rush   LIM-3SG.PERS=LOC

          buir-a.
          behind-3SG.PERS

          '[After spotting a possum up in a tree, the man, also up in the tree,
          hits the possum (trying to dislodge it), and hits it, and keeps going
          like that, and then the possum jumps down to the ground. The man
          up in the tree shouts to the man on the ground "Man, the possum is
          there!"] And the man who is on the ground then chases after it.'

   Although in the situation expressed in (35-53) the man on the ground pre-
sumably chases after the possum immediately after it has landed down on the
ground, *tootoo* here appears to signal, and emphasize, the relatively long inter-
val that separates the time when the man up in the tree began to hit the possum
and the time of the other man's chasing after it.

   Tootoo can also introduce clauses or sentences that do not express states of
affairs that follow, after some interval, another state of affairs expressed in a
preceding clause or sentence. Rather, *tootoo* signals relatively distant and non-
specific future from the time of speaking or another time of reference: 'some-
time in future/later, but not very soon'. That is, there is a relatively long inter-

val between the time of reference and the later state of affairs expressed in the clause introduced by *tootoo*.

(35-54)   *Tootoo   qoki   taqe-fuli-ku.*
           later   2SG.FUT   ascend-replacement-1SG.OBJ
           'One day you will succeed me/will take my place.' (A father speak-
           ing to his son about what will happen after his [the father's] death.)

In (35-55) the subject noun phrase has been topicalized and placed before *tootoo*:

(35-55)   *Araqi   loo,   tootoo   kai   kwaqe   kera*
           mature.man   upward   later   3SG.FUT punish   3PL

           faafi-a   abula-taqaa-laa   kera   ki.
           CONF-3.OBJ   behave-be.bad-NMLZ   3PL   PL
           'The Lord, one day he will punish them for their bad behaviour (lit.:
           bad behaviours).'

In (35-56) *tootoo* occurs after a noun phrase in focus and the subject noun phrase:

(35-56)   *Kini   taa   na   wela   qoe   tootoo   kai   lae*
           woman   which?   FOC   child 2SG   later   3SG.FUT go

           bii-a   uri   Qaoke?
           COM-3SG.OBJ   ALL   Auki
           'Which woman will your child go later to Auki with?'

The noun phrase *wela qoe* 'your child' in (35-56) is the subject, not a topic. When a topicalized phrase and a phrase in focus cooccur, the former precedes the latter (section 39.1).

In (35-57) *tootoo* occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, after the combination of *ma=* (from *mada*) 'or' and the irrealis marker (section 31.1.1):

(35-57)   *Ma=sa   tootoo   kuki   thau-ngani-a*
           or=IRR   later   PL(INCL).FUT   make-TR-3.OBJ

           raa   qeri   ma   kuki   fale   kwai-liu
           work   that   and   PL(INCL).FUT   give   LIP-pass

qani-a		*qi*	*maqaluta-kuluqa,*	*quna*	*baa*
GENP-3SG.OBJ		LOC	midst-PL(INCL).PERS	manner	that

ta	*wane,*	*quna*	*baa*	*ta*	*wane,*	*kuka*
some	man	manner	that	some	man	PL(INCL).SEQ

qai-li-a		*mai*	*tha*	*weleqi,*	*ka*	*too*
call-TR-3.OBJ		VENT	PERSMKR	guy	3SG.SEQ	stay

manga	*kuki*	*ngata*	*suli-a.*
time	PL(INCL).IPFV	speak	PROL-3SG.OBJ

'If one day we go ahead with the job and (if) we give out [tasks] to each one among us, this task to one man, this task to another man, we will call the guy to come and be/stay (with us) while we are talking about it [i.e., each man will be told in person what his task will be].' (Lit.: 'If we make that work and give out dispersively of it in our midst, that way one man, that way one man, we will call the man here and he will stay [at] the time we are speaking about it.')

Tootoo can also introduce negative clauses, in which case the meaning expressed is 'not during subsequent time'. The subsequent time may be temporally circumscribed, as in (35-58) below; or it may be open-ended, that is, 'never in future', as in (35-59).

(35-58)
Tootoo	*qe=aqi*	*kusi*	*biinga*
later	3SG.NFUT=NEGV	PL(INCL).NEG	sleep

qa=fa	*rodo*	*qeri.*
GENP=CLF	night	this

'We won't sleep tonight.' (The night is still some time away.)

Even though in (35-59) below, the *tootoo* clause is preceded by another (complex) clause, it is not a sequence of states of affairs that is expressed there. Rather, the preceding clause identifies a hypothetical state of affairs that conditions (or should condition) the kind of behaviour expressed in the *tootoo* clause: 'If you are a person who wants to say something to a married woman ….'

(35-59)
Si	*doo*	*suli-a*	*gwauliqi*	*ai,*	*mada*
PRTT	thing	PROL-3.OBJ	married.person	woman	or

sa	*ta*	*wane*	*na*	*qo*	*thathami-a*	*qoki*
IRR	some	man	REL	2SG.NFUT	want-3.OBJ	2SG.FUT

    faqa-rongo-a   *qana ta   si   doo, **tootoo***
    CAUS-hear-3SG.OBJ   GENP some PRTT thing later

    qe=aqi   *qosi*   *sore-q=quna*   *qeri ura*
    3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2SG.NEG   say-DETR=manner this   ALL

    gwauliqi   *ai*   *qeri, "Lae si   ma=i*
    married.person woman   that   go   PREC VENT=LOC

    ku=naqi."
    place=this
    '(One) thing about married women [i.e. wives of other men], if you
    want to talk to one about something (lit.: if you are a man who you
    want to tell her something), you will never say this to the married
    woman, "Come here now."' (That is not how a man should speak to
    the wife of another man.)

    The meaning 'some time later after the time of reference' can also be sig-
nalled by means of *laa-lae*, which is a reduplication of *lae* 'go'; see the next
section.

35.3.2.3.   *Culmination or termination of an extended state of affairs*

As discussed in section 15.2.3, the continuative/iterative aspect is expressed by
means of verb reduplication. For convenience, the term "extended state of af-
fairs" will be used here as a cover term for ongoing states and activities and for
iteratively occurring or iteratively performed events. Sometimes an extended
state of affairs "culminates" in a certain outcome, a new state of affairs. There
is a sequence of states of affairs: an extended state of affairs results in another
state of affairs. Sometimes an extended state of affairs comes to an end, termi-
nates because of a new state of affairs that brings it to an end. And sometimes
an extended state of affairs simply comes to an end, terminates at the time of
another state of affairs, there being no causal connection between the two. In all
these types of case, verb reduplication can be used in the clause that expresses
the extended state of affairs. That clause is followed, although not necessarily
directly, by a coordinated clause that encodes the new state of affairs. The co-
ordination may be of the syndetic or the asyndetic type. The clause that ex-
presses the new state of affairs has a sequential subject marker.
    Two examples are given below. In both, the clause expressing the new state
of affairs directly follows the clause expressing the extended state of affairs. In

the situation expressed in (35-60) the ogre's extended sniffing around culminates in his sniffing out a stone oven with food inside it:

(35-60)   ... *ma*   *ka*   *non-nono,*   *ma*   *ka*
           and   3SG.SEQ   RDP-sniff   and   3SG.SEQ

           non-toqo-na   *bo=naqa*   *kula*   *na*   *bii*   *qeri*
           sniff-TEST-3.OBJ   ASRT=PRF   place   REL   stone.oven   that

           nii   *i*   *ei.*
           be.located   LOC   LOCPRO
           '... and he [an ogre] kept sniffing (around) until/and in the end he sniffed out (found by sniffing) the place where the stone oven was.'

(*Nono-toqo*, with the TEST suffix, has the meaning 'sniff out, locate by smell'.)
    And in the situation expressed in (35-61) the extended activity of eating terminates when a person dies:

(35-61)   *Roowane,*   *ma*   *tarafula-a*   *qaburu*   *i*
           man!   and   quote.proverb-DVN   ogre   LOC

           Ratane,   "*Imol=e*   *faa-fanga*   *boqo*   *ka*   *mae.*"
           Ratane   person=3SG.NFUT   RDP-eat   ASRT   3SG.SEQ   die
           'Man!, (you know) the saying of the ogre of Ratane: "A person eats until he or she dies.".' (A reply used by people who have been chided or teased for eating too much at a feast or a communal meal.)

While using only a reduplicated verb that encodes the extended state of affairs is by no means uncommon, it is much more common to use a marker of an extended state of affairs, whose form is *laa-lae*. *Laa-lae* is a reduplication of the verb *lae* 'go'. The verb that encodes the extended state of affairs may, but need not, itself be reduplicated. Although as an extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marker *laa-lae* never has its own subject marker, it does have another verbal property, discussed further below. *Laa-lae* forms a mini-clause of its own which comes between the clause that expresses the extended state of affairs and the clause that expresses the new state of affairs. It is normally prosodically offset from both. There is a rise in intonation towards the end of the preceding clause, and there is a rise in intonation towards the end of the *laa-lae* mini-clause; and there may be slight pauses between the *laa-lae* mini-clause and the preceding and the following clauses, respectively. The clause that expresses the new state of affairs has a sequential subject marker, unless it is negative. (For an example of the latter, see [35-71]). The basic structure of this type of con-

struction is shown in (35-62). As discussed further below, there are more complex structures.

(35-62)
   [clause.of.extended.SoF] [*laa-lae*.mini-clause] [clause.of.new.SoF]

Even though the marker of extendedness of states of affairs is a reduplication of the verb 'go', the extended state of affairs need not involve translational motion; see, for example, (35-63) and (35-65).

An extended state of affairs may culminate in a new state of affairs. The new state of affairs may, but need not, be the intended consequence of the preceding extended state of affairs. In (35-63) and (35-64) they are:

(35-63)   *Koro*   *fanga*   *qa-karoqa,*   *laa-lae,*
          DU(INCL).NFUT   eat   SBEN-DU(INCL).PERS   RDP-go

          koka   *aabusu*   *leqa.*
          DU(INCL).SEQ   be.sated   be.good
          'Let's eat until we are nicely full.' 'Let's keep eating until we are nicely full.'

(35-64)   *Wane*   *baa*   *ki* *kera*   *taa-tari-a*   *botho*
          man   that   PL   3PL.NFUT   RDP-chase-3.OBJ   pig

          baa,   *laa-lae,*   *keka*   *raqu-a.*
          that   RDP-go   3PL.SEQ   catch-3SG.OBJ
          'The men kept chasing the pig until they caught it.'

On the other hand, in the situations expressed in (35-65) and (35-66) the consequences are unintended:

(35-65)   *Nau*   *ku*   *mataqi,*   *laa-lae,*   *kwa*   *suusufi.*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.ill   RDP-go   1SG.SEQ   lose.head.hair
          'I was ill for a long time and in the end lost my (head) hair.'

(*Suusufi* 'lose one's head hair' is historically a reduplication of *sufi* 'shave [os.]'.)

(35-66)   *Thaina-da*   *qe*   *angi-ngi,*   *laa-lae,*   *ka*
          mother-3PL.PERS   3SG.NFUT   cry-RDP   RDP-go   3SG.SEQ

> *tatai   naqa.*
> be.numb PRF
> 'Their mother kept crying until her body (lit.: she) became numb.'

Rather than an extended state of affairs culminating in a new state of affairs, an extended state of affairs may come to an end either because of the onset of a new state of affairs or simply at the time of the onset of a new state of affairs, as in (35-67) and (35-68), respectively. In the situation expressed in (35-67) the speaker's waiting for the others to arrive will not bring about their arriving, but it will come to an end when they do arrive.

(35-67)   *Nau kwai   too, laa-lae, keka   fula   boqo.*
           1SG 1SG.FUT stay RDP-go   3PL.SEQ arrive   ASRT
           'I'll stay (waiting for them) until they have arrived.'

In the situation expressed in (35-68) the event of raining did not stop because it was daylight but merely when it was daylight:

(35-68)   *Utarodo   e   qaru, laa-lae, ka   dani.*
           night.rain   3SG.NFUT   fall RDP-go   3SG.SEQ   be.daylight
           'It rained (at night) until it was daylight.'

In some cases the interpretation of a sentence may be indeterminate, depending on whether an extended state of affairs comes to an end because it results in a new state of affairs, or merely because of the new state of affairs. For example, in the situation expressed in (35-69) the child may, but need not, have cried for food:

(35-69)   *Wela baa qe   angi-ngi,   laa-lae,*
           child that 3SG.NFUT   cry-RDP   RDP-go

           thaina-na   ka   fale-a   fanga qi
           mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   give-3.OBJ food   LOC

           fa-na.
           REC-3SG.PERS
           'The child kept crying until his/her mother gave him/her food.'

It is possible for the non-occurrence of a certain state of affairs to be extended until the time of a new state of affairs:

(35-70)   *Wane   taa   ni   boqo?   Roo*
       person   what?   LIG   INTS   two

       qiiqiu   qita   ni   boqo na
       child.from.multiple.birth   originate   LIG   INTS   REL

       kera   futa   ofu   mai   kesi
       3PL.NFUT   be.born   be.together   VENT   3DU.NEG

       rik=keeroqa,   laa-lae,   keka   mae.
       see=3DU   RDP-go   3PL.SEQ   die
       'Who is it? (Lit.: What person?) Two children that are born together
       (lit.: two originating children that are born together) but do not see
       each other until they die.' (This is a traditional riddle. Answers: a
       person's eyes, and/or a person's ears.)

The culmination of an extended state of affairs may be negative; that is, the
anticipated later state of affairs has not materialized, and is no longer expected
to materialize. The perfect marker *naqa* in the negative clause in (35-71) sig-
nals that there was no (further) sighting (of possums):

(35-71)   *Kero   raa-raqa,   laa-lae,   ma   kesi   riki-a*
       3DU.NFUT   RDP-climb   RDP-go   and   3DU.NEG see-3.OBJ

       naqa ta   doo.
       PRF   some   thing
       'They [possum hunters] kept climbing (trees, in search of possums),
       but (lit.: and) in the end had not seen any.'

The extendedness-of-state-of-affairs construction can function as a complex
subordinate structure. In (35-72) it functions as a complex temporal relative-
clause structure. There are two instances of *laa-lae* in (35-72): the first one
signals the extendedness of the cooking in the stone oven, while the other one
signals translational motion, 'go' (here 'fly').

(35-72)   *Si   manga   na   keeroqa bii-a*
       PRTT   time   REL   3DU   cook.in.stone.oven-3.OBJ

       futa   qe=ki,   laa-lae,   karangi-a   sa   kai
       possum   that=PL   RDP-go   be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   3SG.FUT

> *qako   boqo,   teqe qaburu, thata-na*
> be.cooked   ASRT   one   ogre   name-3SG.PERS
>
> *Fitararaithalo, ka   lolosi-a   ma=fa   que*
> Fitararaithalo 3SG.SEQ   bend-3.OBJ VENT=CLF waist.strap
>
> *nia, laa-lae mai ka   toqo.*
> 3SG   RDP-go   VENT 3SG.SEQ   bang
> 'When they were cooking and cooking their possums in a stone oven
> and/until they were nearly done (cooked), an ogre, his name was
> Fitararaithalo, flew there and landed (near them) with a bang.' (Lit.:
> 'The time they were cooking and cooking the possums of theirs in a
> stone oven, (and) it was close to they would be cooked, an ogre, his
> name was Fitararaithalo, bent his waist-strap in this direction and
> came and banged [on the ground].') (The expression *lolosi-a ma=fa
> que* 'bend one's waist-strap in this direction' is used to describe
> ogres' movement through the air in a semicircular trajectory, start-
> ing on the ground at one place and landing at another.)

To convey the idea that a state of affairs was extended greatly, multiple re-
duplication of the verb encoding the state of affairs or of the extendedness-of-
state-of-affairs marking form *laa-lae* is used. Multiple reduplication of the verb
encoding the extended state of affairs is discussed and exemplified in section
15.2.3. Here the focus is on multiple reduplication of the extendedness-of-state-
of-affairs marking verb *laa-lae*. In such multiple reduplication, the second of
the two *a* vowels in the reduplicants are normally lengthened beyond the usual
extent of lengthening (sections 2.1.3 and 2.4).

(35-73) *Kero   raqa, laa:-laa:-laa:-lae, keko   raqa*
         3DU.NFUT   climb RDP-RDP-RDP-go   3DU.SEQ climb

         ma=i   bali labaa, keka   mango qi   bali naqi.
         VENT=LOC   side that(3) 3PL.SEQ emerge LOC side this
         'They climbed and climbed and climbed and climbed, until they
         climbed up (to the top of a tree) on the other, far side (lit.: on that
         side) and then came out on this side.'

However, rather than multiple reduplication, what is more common is
lengthening of the *l* in the root of *laa-lae*. The lengthening may be quite con-
siderable.

(35-74)   *Keka   traim   spitim   Tulake, Tulake   ka*
           3PL.SEQ try   outspeed   Tulagi Tulagi 3SG.SEQ

           ili-toqo-na   Japan,   laa-l:ae,   ka   fula
           do-TEST-3.OBJ Japan   RDP-go   3SG.SEQ arrive

           faafi-a.
           CONF-3SG.OBJ
           'They [people in a Japanese boat] tried to outspeed the Tulagi [a
           boat], (but) the Tulagi kept challenging (in speed) the Japanese
           [boat] until it caught up with it.'

(35-75)   *... ka   thamo   ura   teqe gafa,*
           3SG.SEQ reach   ALL   one   triple.tip.arrow

           ka   kutu-ngani-a   fafo=lakwafi-na
           3SG.SEQ press.against-TR-3SG.OBJ top:3.PERS=bowstring-3.PERS

           basi, ka   fae-a   naqa,
           bow   3SG.SEQ draw.bowstring-3SG.OBJ PRF

           teo-fi-a   f=io   loo,   laa-l:ae,
           lie-TR-3.OBJ   CLF=arrow upward   RDP-go

           fusi-a   io   baa.
           shoot.arrow   arrow   that
           '... he reached for a triple-tip arrow, pressed it against the bowstring,
           kept drawing the bowstring more and more (lit.: kept putting the ar-
           row against the bowstring), until he let go of the arrow (lit.: until he
           shot the arrow).'

(*Teo-fi-a* has as one of its senses 'place an arrow against the bowstring in order
to fire it'.)
   In (35-76) there is both multiple reduplication and lengthening of the *l* of the
root of *laa-lae*:

(35-76)   *Ma   si   manga qeri, nia   ka   sifo,*
           and   PRTT time   that 3SG   3SG.SEQ   descend

           laa-laa-l:ae,   ka   too ba-na   qae-na
           RDP-RDP-go   3SG.SEQ   stay LIM-3SG.PERS foot-3.PERS

teqe   daadaku   qi   fafo-na   qamali.
one   Calophyllum.sp   LOC   top-3.PERS   sea
'And at that time she walked down (to the sea), kept walking down, on and on and on, and stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree by (lit. on top of) the sea.'

To emphasize that an extended state of affairs is finished as it culminates in a new state of affairs, the extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marking *laa-lae* takes the postverbal completive/exhaustive particle *sui* or, rarely, *danga* (section 5.2.4). This is evidence that *laa-lae* is a verb here, in spite of the fact that it never has a subject marker.

In (35-77) there are two instances of *laa-lae* with *sui*:

(35-77)   ... *nia   ka   lae   mai, ka   laakali-a   oqola*
                3SG   3SG.SEQ go   VENT 3SG.SEQ   fence-3.OBJ garden

*qeri. Laakali-a   oqola   nia   qeri, **laa-lae   sui**,*
that   fence-3.OBJ garden   3SG   that   RDP-go   COMPL

wane qeri ka   faqa-rongo-a   kukeqe   nia,
man   that   3SG.SEQ   CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   wife   3SG

ma   wela nia   ki,   keka   unga-ni-a
and   child 3SG   PL   3PL.SEQ   clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ

oqola   qeri. Kera   unga-ni-a
garden   that   3PL.NFUT   clear.scrub.from-TR-3.OBJ

*oqola   qeri, **laa-lae   sui**,   keka   luka*
garden   that   RDP-go   COMPL   3PL.SEQ   abandon

qani-a,   ka   teo   si   qa-na
GENP-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ lie   PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS

suli-a   ta   kwalu   fa   bongi,   mada   ta
PROL-3.OBJ   some   eight   CLF   day   or   some

fiu   fa   bongi, mada   ta   ono   fa   bongi, ...
seven   CLF   day   or   some six   CLF   day
'[When a man is making a new garden,] he goes (there) and fences off the (area for the) garden. He keeps fencing off his garden until it is done, then the man tells his wife, and his children, to go and clear

away the scrub from (inside) the garden. They keep clearing away the scrub from the garden, and when that is done, they leave it [the garden] for eight days, or seven days, or six days (and then they burn off the vegetation in the garden).' (Lit.: '... he comes and fences off the garden. He keeps fencing off the garden, it is finished, the man tells his wife, and his children, they go and clear away the scrub from the garden. They keep clearing away the scrub from the garden, it is finished, they abandon it, it lies for some eight days, or some seven day, or some six days, ...')

In (35-78) it is the rarely used form *danga* that functions as the completive marker. The extendedness-of-state-of affairs construction functions as a complex temporal relative-clause structure.

(35-78) *Manga   n=e   kilu-a   oqola   qeri*
        time   REL=3SG.NFUT plant.taro.in-3.OBJ garden   that

        qana alo   nia   qeri, laa-lae danga, ka   too
        GENP taro 3SG   that RDP-go COMPL   3SG.SEQ   stay

        si   qa-na   suli-a   ta   lima fa   bongi,
        PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ   some five CLF   day

        mada ta   ono   maqe   dani, mada ta   fiu   maqe
        or   some six   CLF   day   or   some seven   CLF

        dani, ka   maqasi-a   lolo   na   kai
        day   3SG.SEQ   wait.for-3.OBJ   grass REL   3SG.FUT

        taqe mai.
        grow VENT
        'When he has finished planting the garden with taros (lit.: when he has planted the garden with those taros of his, it is finished), he stays (away from the garden) for some five days, or six days, or seven days, and waits for grass [weeds] to grow (lit.: waits for grass that will grow)'. (The garden will then be weeded.)

Instead of containing a completive marker, the extendedness-of-state-of-affairs marking mini-clause with the verb 'go' can be followed by a mini-clause that consists of the verb *sui* 'end, finish; be finished', which has the third person singular nonfuture subject marker.

(35-79)   *Qeda-a,*   *laa-laa-laa-laa-lae,*   *qe*
        dye-3SG.OBJ   RDP-RDP-RDP-RDP-go   3SG.NFUT

        sui,   *aia,*   *nuta*   *ka*   *quna*   *qeri,*   *"Aia,*
        be.finished OK   bird.sp 3SG.SEQ manner this   OK

        keekero,   *qoe*   *naqa* *neri*   *qoki*
        yellow.bibbed.lory   2SG   PRF   NPAST.HERE   2SG.FUT

        qeda-a   *laqu* *seqe-ku."*
        dye-3.OBJ   ADD   body-1SG.PERS
        'He [a *nuta* bird] went on dyeing it [the body of a Yellow-bibbed
        Lory], on and on, until it was finished, OK, (and) the *nuta* said,
        "OK, Yellow-bibbed Lory, now *you* will dye *my* body.".'

Sui mini-clauses are also used to signal completion of the first of two states
of affairs when the first state of affairs is not (identified as) extended; see sec-
tion 35.3.2.2.3. The fact that *sui* mini-clauses can follow extendedness-of state-
of-affairs marking *laa-lae* can be taken as evidence that *laa-lae* is a
(mini-)clause and that *laa-lae* is a verb.

    More often than not, a *laa-lae* mini-clause joins two clauses in a sentence in
the type of construction shown in (35-62), with possible elaborations as dis-
cussed above. However, it can also be used sentence-initially: the clause that
follows expresses the new state of affairs. The extended state of affairs that
culminates in it is expressed in the preceding sentence.

(35-80)   *Manga* *na*   *ku*   *kasi-a*   *qaba-ku,*   *qoo,*
        time   REL   1SG.NFUT cut-3.OBJ   arm-1SG.PERS   oh

        qabu *ka*   *tafa*   *qasia*   *naqa.*   *Laa-lae,*
        blood 3SG.SEQ emerge   INTS   INTS   RDP-go

        karangi-a   *sa*   *kwai*   *nofi.*
        be.near.to-3.OBJ   IRR   1SG.FUT die
        'When I cut my arm, oh, blood just gushed out. On and on (it kept
        gushing out), and/until I nearly died.'

    In (35-81) the sentence initial *laa-lae* mini-clause contains the completive
particle *sui*:

(35-81)   ... *keka   figu-a   laqu   boqo   qi   laa   qooqoba*
            3PL.SEQ gather-3SG.OBJ ADD   ASRT   LOC   IN   shelter

       na   kere   thau-ngani-a   taal-a
       REL   3PL.NFUT   build-TR-3SG.OBJ   sake-3.PERS

       ngali   qeri   na   keki   figu=i
       canarium.nut   that   REL   3PL.FUT gather:3SG.OBJ=LOC

       *ei.   **Laa-lae sui**,   nia   ka*
       LOCPRO RDP-go   COMPL   3SG   3SG.SEQ

       qui-a   laqu   boqo   ngali   nia
       crack.canarium.nut-3.OBJ   ADD   ASRT   canarium.nut   3SG

       qeri.
       that
       [When it is canarium-nut harvest time, the children and the wife of a
       man who owns the canarium-nut trees go to pick up nuts that have
       been harvested from the trees and thrown to the ground.] '… they
       gather them [the nuts] in a shelter that they have built for (lit.: for
       the sake of) the canarium nuts, in which they will gather them.
       When it [the gathering of the nuts] is finished, he [the owner of the
       nuts] will again crack the nuts.'

However, a sentence-initial *laa-lae* mini-clause can be used even if there is
no mention of a preceding extended state of affairs. Here *laa-lae* signals that
the state of affairs will obtain at some time after the time of reference, which is
often, but not necessarily, the time of speaking. This is similar to the use of
sentence-initial *tootoo* to signal relatively distant and non-specific future from
the time of speaking or another time of reference (section 35.3.2.2.4). Unlike
tootoo, however, such *laa-lae* mini-clauses do not, of themselves, present the
future, later time as being very distant from the time of reference, although that
time is judged not to be very close to the time of reference. The construction
[[*laa-lae*] [clause.of.future.SoF]] can be seen as having the meaning 'the rele-
vant state of affairs at the time of reference will continue until a new state of
affairs comes into existence', the present relevant state of affairs being the ab-
sence of the future state of affairs. In this function, *laa-lae* is used without the
completive particles *sui* or *danga*. The clause that expresses the state of affairs
after the time of reference has a future-tense subject marker, unless another
type of subject marker is required (see examples [35-88] and [35-89] further
below).

This sentence-initial extendedness-of-state-of-affairs *laa-lae* with future orientation must be distinguished from clause-initial *laalae* 'when', which introduces subordinate temporal clauses (section 35.2.2).

The *laa-lae* mini-clause occurs sentence-initially, unless another sentence element requires a position before it, such as a topicalized phrase.

(35-82)   *Laa-lae, kuki   kani-da   qana qoko naqi.*
          RDP-go   PL(INCL).FUT   tie-3PL.OBJ INS   tope this
          'Later, we will tie them with this rope.'

(35-83)   *Laa-lae, kwai   soe-toqo=tha   Ulufaalu.*
          RDP-go   1SG.FUT   ask-TEST:3.OBJ=PERSMKR   Ulufaalu
          'I will ask Ulufaalu later on.'

In (35-84) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by a topicalized subject of the following clause:

(35-84)   *Toqa   naqi, laa-lae, keki   lole   qoe   ba-da.*
          people   this   RDP-go   3PL.FUT   tell.lie.to 2SG   LIM-3PL.PERS
          'These people, later, they will just lie to you.'

In (35-85) it is preceded by a focused noun phrase in an open interrogative:

(35-85)   *Nau   ku   soe-toqo-na   toq=qe=ki,*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   ask-TEST-3.OBJ   people=that=PL

          "Manga taa   na,   laa-lae, muki   lae   mai?"
          time   what?   FOC   RDP-go   2PL.FUT go   VENT
          'I asked the people, "When will you come?".'

And in (35-86) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by the protasis-marking combination of *ma=* (from *mada*) 'or' and the irrealis marker *sa*:

(35-86)   *Imole   nau   ki   mena   keki   ele   quu*
          person   1SG   PL   FADD   3PL.FUT be.happy   ANTCONT

          boqo ma=sa laa-lae kwa   too   bii   qoe ....
          ASRT or=IRR RDP-go   1SG.SEQ   reside   COM   2SG
          'My people/folks too would still be really happy if one day I lived with you ....'

A *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following clause may be jointly in the scope of a clause-introducing element, as in the next three examples. In such cases the mini-clause and the following clause are normally prosodically integrated with each other under one intonation contour. In (35-87) the *laa-lae* mini-clause is preceded by another clause. However, *laa-lae* does not express extendedness of that state of affairs here. Rather, it signals posteriority of the event expressed in the following clause with respect to the state of affairs expressed in the preceding clause. Here the time of reference is not the time of speaking. The *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following clause that follows are jointly in the scope of the purpose marker *uri*.

(35-87)   *Keka*   *thathai*   *nau*   *qani-a,*   *uri-a*
             3PL.SEQ   make.ready   1SG   INS-3SG.OBJ   PURP-3.OBJ

             laa-lae   *nau*   *kwai*   *uusi*   *kini.*
             RDP-go   1SG   1SG.FUT   buy   woman
             'They [the speaker's parents] made me ready by means of it [the bride-price money they had managed to secure], so that later I might get married (lit.: so that later I would buy a woman).'

And in the next two examples, the *laa-lae* mini-clauses and the following clauses are jointly in the scope of the timitive marker *ada*. The clause that follows the *laa-lae* mini-clause has a sequential subject markers, required in the timitive construction (section 18.6.1).

In (35-88) *ada* expresses negative purpose:

(35-88)   *Faqa-fale-a*   *wela*   *ada*   *laa-lae*   *ka*   *fanga*
             CAUS-give-3.OBJ   child   TIM   RDP-go   3SG.SEQ   eat

             bila.
             stink
             'Teach (your) child to give (things to others), so that later he/she is not stingy.'

(*Fanga bila*, lit. 'eat stinkingly' has the idiomatic meaning 'be stingy, miserly, with food as well as with other things; not sharing, or keeping the best for os.'.)

And in (35-89) the clause following the *laa-lae* mini-clause expresses situations feared by the speaker (the "fear" context). The timitive marker has in its scope the *laa-lae* mini-clause and the following two clauses.

(35-89)   *Nau*   *ku*   *maqu*   *qasia*   *naqa*   *ada*   *laa-lae*
             1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.afraid   INTS   INTS   TIM   RDP-go

toqa   baa ki keka   lae   mai, keka   thau-ngi
people   that PL 3PL.SEQ   go   VENT 3PL.SEQ   kill-TR

kulu.
PL(INCL)
'I am very worried that one day the people might come and kill us.'

Chapter 36
Deranked subordinate clauses

Toqabaqita has a type of adverbial subordination where the subordinate clause is deranked. The term "deranking" is taken from Stassen (1985), who says that a common characteristic of deranking is "a *reduction* of the verbal morphology which is normally allowed to predicates" (p. 82, original emphasis). (See also, for example, Croft 2002 and Cristofaro 2003.) In Toqabaqita, such deranking involves absence of a subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negation marker. However, if the verb in a deranked clause is transitive (and most verbs that occur in deranked clauses are), it carries an object-marking suffix under the same conditions that apply to transitive verbs elsewhere. In subordination with deranking, the main clause comes first and the deranked clause second. There is no overt marker of the subordination.

Deranked clauses do not express states of affairs additional to those expressed in the main clauses. Rather, they express a characteristic or a circumstance of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause, as relating to one (set) of the participants. Not infrequently, there is an implication of purpose, but unlike in purpose subordination (discussed in section 33.3), there are not two separate states of affairs (do X in order that Y maybe the case). Instead, the purpose is presented as just a property of the state of affairs expressed in the main clause.

Clause deranking in Toqabaqita is reminiscent of constructions with converbs in other languages (see Haspelmath 1995 for an overview of converbs). They are non-finite by virtue of the absence of subject-tense/aspect/sequentiality/negation markers. However, unlike (prototypical) converbs, verbs in deranked clauses in Toqabaqita do not have any marking identifying them as such. And second, only a relatively small number of verbs can head the predicates in deranked clauses.

While subject markers can be omitted with any verb (section 4.8), their absence is characteristic of the deranking construction discussed here. And, importantly, deranked clauses do not express states of affairs separate from, or additional to, the states of affairs expressed in their main clauses. In other cases of omission of subject markers, the clauses do typically express separate states of affairs.

It is mostly transitive verbs that can occur in deranked clauses, but only a small number of them do. There is also at least one intransitive verb that can

occur in deranked clauses, in which case it obligatorily takes an oblique-object complement. The verb in the main clause may be transitive or intransitive. The deranked clause has no expression of the subject, whether by means of a subject marker or a subject noun phrase. The notional subject of a deranked clause is normally coreferential with the subject or the direct object of the main clause; but see (36-21). On the other hand, the direct object or, in the case of the intransitive verb, the oblique object in a deranked clause is not co-referential with any noun phrase of the main clause. That is, the deranked clause adds an argument to the overall frame of the main-deranked clause complex. The verb in the deranked clause occurs clause-initially.

Constructions with deranked adverbial clauses must be distinguished from serializing [verb verb] compounds (section 12.5). In [verb verb] compounds the constituent verbs must be contiguous, and if the first verb is Class 1 transitive, it cannot carry an object suffix. Second, the verbs in [verb verb] compounds are prosodically integrated with each other: there is (normally) no pause between them. And third, when both verbs in a [verb verb] compound are (notionally) transitive, the two verbs must share their subjects and direct objects; that is, the second verb cannot introduce an additional argument. It is the compound as a lexical unit that has a (unified) argument structure. On the other hand, in subordination with clause deranking, some of the material in the main clause may intervene between the two verbs: postverbal particles, direct objects and oblique objects. Second, there may be a pause between the main and the deranked clause, and there may be a slight rise in intonation at the end of the main clause, just as is the case with other kinds of complex sentences. However, such pausing and rise in intonation does not always happen in subordination with deranking, especially if the overall sentence is relatively short. And third, as mentioned above, the verb in a deranked clause supplies an argument not associated with the verb in the main clause, even if the verb in the main clause is transitive. The two verbs occur in different clauses, and each one has its own argument structure. Examples of [verb verb] compounds that involve verbs that can also occur in deranked clauses are given below.

One of the verbs that can occur in deranked clauses is the Class 1 transitive verb *kali* 'move around st., sb.; be positioned around st., sb.; surround'. The first example shows it in a relative clause, without deranking:

(36-1)   *Sulufau*   *n=e*   *kali-a*   *biqu*   *naqi*
          stone.wall   REL=3SG.NFUT   surround-3.OBJ   house   this

          e=aqi   *si*   *baqita.*
          3SG.NFUT=NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.big
          'The stone wall that surrounds this house is not big.'

In (36-2) the verb *kali* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, but its direct object *era* 'fire' is not shared with the main clause. The limiting particle *ba-miliqa* intervenes between the two verbs.

(36-2) *Kamiliqa*   *mili*   *qono ba-miliqa,*
        1PL(EXCL)   1PL(EXCL).NFUT   sit   LIM-1PL(EXCL).PERS

        kali-a   *era.*
        surround-3.OBJ   fire
        'We just sat around (lit.: surrounding) the fire.'

The sentence in (36-2) does not express two separate states of affairs. Rather, the deranked clause specifies the spatial configuration of the participants involved in the event expressed in the main clause.

In (36-3) the notional subject of the deranked clause is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause. Here too the direct object of *kali* encodes an additional participant. Even though the two verbs are adjacent to each other, the presence of the object suffix on the first, Class 1 transitive verb is evidence that this is not a [verb verb] compound. The verb *kali* is reduplicated to signal 'all around'.

(36-3) *Keka*   *ngali-a*   *keka*   *fasi-a*
        3PL.SEQ take-3SG.OBJ   3PL.SEQ plant-3SG.OBJ

        kaa-kali-a   *biqu*   *keeroqa na=i*   *Takwaraasi.*
        RDP-surround-3.OBJ house   3DU   REL=LOC   Takwaraasi
        'They took them [various plants] (and) planted them all around their house at Takwaraasi.'

On the other hand, in (36-4) *kali* and the preceding intransitive verb do form a compound. The two verbs are prosodically integrated with each other.

(36-4) *Wela*   *e*   *fita* *kali-a*   *luma.*
        child   3SG.NFUT   run   move.around-3.OBJ   house
        'The child ran around the house.'

The sequence *fita kali* is nominalized as a unit, which too is evidence of its status as a [verb verb] compound:

(36-5) *Ai*   *qe*   *lufi-a*   *wela nia* *fasi-a*
        woman   3SG.NFUT   stop-3.OBJ   child 3SG   ABL-3.OBJ

     fita-kali-la-na   *luma.*
     run-move.around-NMLZ-3.PERS   house
     'The woman stopped her child from running around the house.'

In contrast, in (36-6) it is only the first verb that is nominalized; *kali* is not.

(36-6)   *Kere*   *raa*   *qana*   *qili-la-na*
        3PL.NFUT work   GENP   build.wall-NMLZ-3.PERS

        rara kali-a   *biqu*   *kera.*
        wall surround-3.OBJ house   3PL
        'They are building a wall around their house.' (Lit.: 'They are working on building a wall surrounding their house.')

The sentence in (36-6) corresponds to (36-7) with deranked subordination:

(36-7)   *Kere*   *qili-a*   *rara kali-a*   *biqu kera.*
        3PL.NFUT build.wall-3.OBJ wall surround-3.OBJ   house 3PL
        'They built a wall around their house.'

Another verb that can occur in deranked subordinate clauses is *maqasi* 'wait for', also a Class 1 transitive verb. Example (36-8) shows it in a simple sentence:

(36-8)   *Maqasi nau   nena.*
        wait.for 1SG   NPAST.THERE
        'Wait for me there.'

Example (36-9) shows *maqasi* in a coordinated clause. The coordination is asyndetic, but *maqasi* has its own subject marker.

(36-9)   *Manga* *n=e*   *kilu-a*   *oqola* *qeri*
        time   REL=3SG.NFUT plant.taro.in-3.OBJ   garden that

        qana alo nia   qeri, laa-lae danga, ka   too
        INS   taro 3SG that RDP-go COMPL 3SG.SEQ stay

        si   qa-na   *suli-a*   *ta   lima fa   bongi,*
        PREC SBEN-3SG.PERS   PROL-3.OBJ some five CLF   day

        mada   ta   ono maqe   dani, mada   ta   fiu
        or   some six CLF   day   or   some seven

> maqe   dani, **ka   maqasi-a   lolo na   kai**
> CLF   day   3SG.SEQ wait.for-3.OBJ grass REL   3SG.FUT
>
> **taqe mai**.
> grow VENT
> 'When he has finished planting the garden with taros (lit.: when he
> has planted the garden with those taros of his, it is finished), he
> stays (away from the garden) for some five days, or six days, or
> seven days, and waits for grass [weeds] to grow (lit.: waits for grass
> that will grow).' (The garden will then be weeded.)

In (36-9) the man's waiting is asserted just as much as that of his staying
away from the garden. On the other hand, in (36-10) below, the people's wait-
ing is backgrounded by being presented as a circumstance of the event of gath-
ering. The clause in which *maqasi* 'wait for' occurs has been deranked. The
verb *ofu* 'gather' in the main clause and *maqasi* in the deranked clause are sepa-
rated by the combination of the assertive and the perfect postverbal particles
bo=naqa and by the oblique object *i laa vilish qe=ki* 'in those villages'. The
notional subject of *maqasi* is coreferential with the subject of *ofu* 'gather'.

(36-10)   ... *keka   ofu   bo=naqa   i   laa   vilish   qe=ki,*
        3PL.SEQ gather ASRT=PRF LOC   IN   village that=PL

> *maqasi-a   faka kai   toqo ma=i   Merika,*
> wait.for-3.OBJ   ship 3SG.FUT start VENT=LOC America
>
> *kai   lae mai,   kai   ngali-a   ma=kako.*
> 3SG.FUT go   VENT   3SG.FUT carry-3.OBJ   VENT=cargo
> '... they gathered in those villages, waiting for a ship to come from
> America (lit.: waiting for a ship that would start out in America and
> come) and bring cargo.'

The people's gathering in the villages does not have waiting for the ship as its
sole purpose. Rather, their waiting is one aspect of their gathering, living in the
villages.

In the next example, which too involves *maqasi* 'wait for' in the deranked
clause, the notional subject of the deranked clause is coreferential with the di-
rect object of the first clause. It is the two coconuts that are to be waiting for
the speaker, not necessarily the addressee. The presence of a direct-object
phrase in the first clause is evidence that the two verbs do not form a com-
pound.

(36-11)   *Qoko   kori-a   roo   fa   niu   maqasi nau.*
           2SG.SEQ   grate-3.OBJ   two   CLF   coconut wait.for 1SG
           'Grate two coconuts for me.'

In the situation expressed in (36-11) the speaker does not need the coconuts straightaway. He wants them ready for when he will need them; literally: 'Grate two coconuts, (them) waiting for me.'

Examples (36-12) – (36-16) involve the Class 1 transitive verb *quri* 'resemble, look like, be like'. In (36-12) *quri* occurs in a coordinate clause, without deranking:

(36-12)   *Kera   thaa-thau-ngani-a,   ka   quri-a*
           3PL.NFUT   RDP-make-TR-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ   look.like-3.OBJ

           bo=naqa   wane.
           ASRT=INTS   person
           'They had made it and it looked just like a (real) person.' (Speaking about a picture of a person on a billboard.)

In (36-13) *quri* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. The object of *quri* is a negative clause that does not correspond to any constituent in the main clause.

(36-13)   *Wane baa qe   baqe   uri   nau, nau   ku*
           man   that 3SG.NFUT   speak   ALL   1SG   1SG   1SG.NFUT

           rongo-a   ba-kuqa,   sui   taa   ku
           hear-3SG.OBJ   LIM-1SG.PERS   but   but   1SG.NFUT

           lole   qa-kuqa,   quri-a   s=e
           pretend   SBEN-1SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ IRR=3SG.NFUT

           aqi   kwasi   rongo-a.
           NEGV   1SG.NEG hear-3SG.OBJ
           'The man spoke to me; I heard him all right (lit.: I just heard him), but I pretended not to have heard him.' ('… I pretended making it look like I had not heard him.')

And in (36-14) the notional subject of *quri* is coreferential with the direct object of the main clause. The direct object of *quri* is a verbless subjectless ascriptive sentence *sa tai baqekwa* 'as if (they were) sharks)'. The prepositional phrase *qana beta-na abu qeri* 'on the posts of that sacred house', which has an

adjunct status with respect to the main clause, occurs to the right of the deranked clause.

(36-14)   *Qi*   *laa*   *abu*   *laungi-a*   *kera*
          LOC   IN   sacred.house   decorate-3.OBJ   3PL.NFUT

          thau-ngani-a   *nuu-na*   *doo* *ki,*   *quri-a*
          make-TR-3.OBJ   likeness-3.PERS   thing PL   look.like-3.OBJ

          qa-na   *sa* *tai*   *baqekwa,* *qana*
          SBEN-3SG.PERS   IRR   some.PL shark   GENP

          beta-na   *abu*   *qeri.*
          post-3.PERS   sacred.house   that
          'Inside the decorated sacred house they made things looking like/as if (they were) sharks, on the posts of that sacred house.' (That is, they made carvings of sharks on the posts inside the sacred house.)

In (36-15), the verb 'be like' immediately follows another verb, but the two do not form a compound. First, the two verbs are not prosodically integrated with each other, and second, as the broadly synonymous sentence in (36-16) shows, it is only the first verb that is nominalized, and it is that nominalization that is the subject of the verb 'be like'. The deranked clause specifies the manner of the man's calls.

(36-15)   *Wane*   *e*   *qai,* *quri-a*   *ta*   *geo.*
          man   3SG.NFUT   call   be.like-3.OBJ   some   megapod
          'The man calls/can call like a megapod.' (That is, the man can imitate megapod calls.) (Lit.: 'The man calls, being like a megapod.')

(36-16)   *Wane*   *qai-la-n=e*   *quri-a*
          man   call-NMLZ-3SG.PERS=3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ

          ta   *geo.*
          some   megapod
          'The man's calls (lit.: calling) is like (that of) a megapod.'

The notions of 'resemble, be like' can also be expressed by the Class 1 transitive verb *uusuli*, which also means 'of a boat/ship or people on a boat/ship: follow the coast/coastline of (an island)'. *Uusuli* is shown with the meanings 'follow the coastline' and 'resemble' in simple sentences in (36-17) and (36-18), respectively:

(36-17)   *Keka   uusuli-a   na=mai   Malaqita, ...*
          3PL.SEQ follow.coast.of-3.OBJ   PRF=VENT Malaita
          'They followed the coast of Malaita, coming here, ...'

(36-18)   *Wela   e   uusuli-a   maka   nia.*
          child   3SG.NFUT resemble-3.OBJ   father   3SG
          'The child resembles his father.'

In (36-19) *uusuli* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject corresponds to the direct object of the main clause:

(36-19)   *Ngali-a   ma-ku=ta   kaleko   uusuli-a*
          take-3.OBJ VENT-1SG.PERS=some cloth   be.like-3.OBJ

          kaleko   qoe   qena.
          cloth   2SG   that(2)
          'Bring me (from a shop) some cloth like/the same as that one of yours.' (The speaker wants exactly the same kind of cloth.)

Another transitive verb that can occur in deranked clauses is *suqu-si* 'protect, defend', also a Class 1 transitive verb. In (36-20) it occurs in a simple sentence:

(36-20)   *Kuki   suqu-si-a   maqa   toaa   kulu.*
          PL(INCL).FUT defend-TR-3.OBJ CLF   village PL(INCL)
          'We will/We have to defend/protect our village.'

And in (36-21) *suqu-si* occurs in a deranked clause. Its notional subject corresponds to the possessor of the oblique-object nominalization in the main clause:

(36-21)   *Nau   ku   kwele   qana   ngata-la-mu*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT be.amazed   GENP   speak-NMLZ-2SG.PERS

          suqu-si-a   wane   baa.
          defend-TR-3.OBJ   man   that
          'I was amazed at your speaking defending/in defence of the man.' 'I was amazed at what you said defending/in defence of the man.'

Suqu-si also has the senses 'block', 'stop, restrain, prevent sb. (from doing st.)'. It is used with the sense 'restrain' in (36-22) below. There, however, it forms a compound with the preceding verb, *kani* 'tie'. *Kani* too is a Class 1

transitive verb, but since in (36-22) it occurs as the first member of a [verb verb] compound, it cannot carry an object suffix. Rather, the object suffix is attached to the second verb, but it belongs to the compound as a whole.

(36-22) *Wane   kere   kani suqu-si-a   maa-na*.
         man   3PL.NFUT tie   restrain-TR-3.OBJ eye-3SG.PERS
         'The man was blind-folded.' (Lit.: 'The man, they (had) tie-restrained his eyes.')

There is at least one intransitive verb that can occur in deranked clauses. The verb is *tatha*, which, when used in a finite clause, has the meaning 'pass, pass by':

(36-23) *Nau kwai   tatha   fasi*.
         1SG   1SG.NFUT pass.by PREC
         A formula used when wanting to pass close to somebody, such as in a constrained place: 'Excuse me.' (Lit.: 'I will pass now/first.')

Tatha is also used to express comparison of inequality. There it occurs in a clause that is coordinate with a clause that expresses the proposition with respect to which the comparison is made (chapter 25):

(36-24) *Qo   suukwaqi   ka   tatha   qani   nau*.
         2SG.NFUT   be.strong 3SG.SEQ pass.by GENP   1SG
         'You are stronger than me.'

In deranked clauses, *tatha* takes an oblique-object complement with the general proposition *qani*. Exceptionally, the form of the preposition is *qani*, rather than *qana* when the preposition has a lexical complement (section 10.3.7). The meaning of *tatha qani-a* X is 'especially X', 'X in particular'. The notional subject of *tatha* corresponds to the direct object of the main clause.

(36-25) *… kera   thau-ngani-a   qana imole,   tatha*
            3PL.NFUT make-TR-3SG.OBJ GENP person   pass.by

         qani-a   wela kini.
         GENP-3.OBJ child female
         '… they used to make it [love magic] for [i.e., to give it to] people, especially for (lit.: passing by) girls.'

In subordination with deranking, the deranked clause does not express a state of affairs separate from the one expressed in the main clause. Conse-

quently, deranking is not possible when the second clause would necessarily express a separate state of affairs, as in (36-26):

(36-26)   *Nia   e   qono ba-na   i   laa   biqu
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   sit   LIM-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   house

          keda-a   leta.
          write-3.OBJ   letter
          ('He is just sitting in the house, writing a letter.')

There are two, albeit simultaneous, events expressed in (36-26): sitting and writing a letter. Instead of a subordinating construction with a main and a deranked clause, two clauses in coordination are required:

(36-27)   Nia   e   qono ba-na   i   laa   biqu,
          3SG   3SG.NFUT   sit   LIM-3SG.PERS   LOC   IN   house,

          kai   keda-a   leta.
          3SG.IPFV   write-3.OBJ   letter
          'He is sitting in the house (and) is writing a letter.'

On the other hand, deranking is possible in (36-28), which is structurally similar to the ungrammatical (36-26). In (36-28) the deranked clause does not express an event separate from that of the main clause, but rather the manner in which the event of the first clause takes place, specifically the spatial configuration of the participants.

(36-28)   Toqa   kere   qono qa-da   i   laa   biqu,
          people 3PL.NFUT   sit   SBEN-3PL.PERS   LOC   IN   house

          kaa-kali-a   tefolo.
          RDP-surround-3.OBJ table
          'The people are sitting in the house (all) around the table.'

It is possible (although there is no evidence to hand) that the verb-like prepositions (section 10.3) derive historically from verbs when those were used in deranked clauses, rather than from verbs as second members of [verb verb] serializing compounds, because a variety of elements can intervene between the prepositional phrases they head and the preceding verbs, such as postverbal particles, direct objects, and other oblique objects.

Chapter 37
Direct speech

37.1.   Introduction

As discussed in section 29.4.7, there are a number of locutionary verbs that take clauses of indirect speech as their complements, verbs such as transitive *sore* 'say', with the third person object-indexing suffix *-a*, which cataphorically indexes the clause of indirect speech, its detransitivized counterpart *sore-qe* (or, rarely, *sore-qa*) 'say', *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (that)', and *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (about sb., st.)', which take paratactic complement clauses. These verbs can also serve to introduce direct speech. There are also means to introduce direct speech that cannot be used with indirect-speech complements. The most common one of these is a noun phrase that functions as a "pseudo-verb": *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus' (section 4.7). It is even possible for a clause introducing direct speech to lack a verb or the pseudo-verb. On the whole, direct speech is more common than indirect speech in Toqabaqita.

37.2.   Direct speech is not necessarily direct quotation

Before considering the means that serve to express direct speech, one note of clarification is in order. So-called direct speech does not necessarily reproduce verbatim another person's speech. Not infrequently, it reproduces just the content or the gist of what the other person said, rather than the exact words. For example, as pointed out by Haiman (1985), what was originally said may have been delivered in a language other than that used to report it in a direct speech. This is illustrated in the next two examples. In the first one, what the direct speech is presented as reporting is what an American officer had allegedly said to one or more representatives of the British colonial government in Honiara sometime in the 1940s. It is a safe assumption that the language used was not Toqabaqita.

(37-1)   *Gavman*   *ka*   *lae*   *uri-a*   *kai*
         government   3SG.SEQ   go   PURP-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT

fula-toqo-na		*qi*	*sa-na*		*wane*	*baqita*
arrive-TEST-3SG.OBJ		LOC	ADJC-3.PERS		man	be.big

n=e		*qita*		*ma=i*	*Merika*
REL=3SG.NFUT		originate		VENT=LOC	America

ka	*lae*	*mai,*	*n=e*		*ni=i*
3SG.SEQ	go	VENT	REL=3SG.NFUT		be.located=LOC

Hedson,	*ka*	*soe-toqo-na*		*maqaluta-na.*
Henderson	3SG.SEQ	ask-TEST-3.OBJ		essence-3SG.PERS

Wane	*qeri*	*mena*	*ka*		*dora*	*laqu*
man	that	FADD	3SG.SEQ		not.know	ADD

ba-na		*qani-a,*		*ka*	*sore-qe,*	***"Nau***
LIM-3SG.PERS		GENP-3SG.OBJ		3SG.SEQ	say-DETR	1SG

kwasi	***thaitoqoma-na."***
1SG.NEG	know-3SG.OBJ

'The Government went to investigate (the substance of certain claims) with (lit.: at) a big man [a high-ranking officer in the US forces in the Solomon Islands during the Second World War] who had come from America (lit.: who had originated in America and had come) and who was at Henderson [Henderson Airport in Honiara], and it [the Government] asked him for details (lit.: asked about its essence). Even that man did not know (anything) about it, and he said, "I don't know.".'

And in the situation described in (37-2) the Japanese person asking the question spoke in English, not in Toqabaqita.

(37-2)

Teqe	*noniqi*	*wane,*	*teqe*	*kini*	*qi*	*Japana, ka*
one	CLF	person	one	woman	LOC	Japan 3SG.SEQ

soe-toqo-na		*tha*		*Franke*	*uri*	*nau, ka*
ask-TEST-3.OBJ		PERSMKR		Frank	PURP	1SG 3SG.SEQ

quna	*qeri,*	*"Wane*	*naqi*	*qe*		*lae*	*mai*	*bii*
manner	this	man	this	3SG.NFUT		go	VENT	COM

qoe,	*laalae*	*mada*	*sa*	*ka*	*oli*	*uri*
2SG	if	or	IRR	3SG.SEQ	return	ALL

Solomoni	*Aylen,*	*kai*	*uqunu*	*qufita*
Solomon	Islands	3SG.FUT	narrate	be.how?

ba-na	*suli-a*	*riki-laa*	*n=e*
LIM-3SG.PERS	PROL-3.OBJ	see-NMLZ	REL=3SG.NFUT

riki-a	*qana*	*fanu*	*naqi?".*
see-3SG.OBJ	GENP	country	this

'One person, a woman from (lit.: at) Japan, asked Frank about me, she said, "This man has come here with you; if he returns to the Solomon Islands, just what will he say about what he saw in this country (lit.: just how will he narrate about the seeing that he saw in this country)?".'

Second, the longer a piece of direct speech is, the less likely it is that it is a verbatim rendition of what was said. And finally, direct speech is also used to express not what was said, but what is expected or predicted to be said, what might be said, or what should not be said, rather than reporting what was said:

(37-3)

Qoko	*qai-thata-na*	*kwai-na*	*kini*	*qeri,*
2SG.SEQ	call-name-3.OBJ	spouse-3.PERS	woman	that

nia	*naqa*	*na*	*kai*	*sore-qe,*	*ta*	*si*	*doo,*
3SG	PRF	FOC	3SG.FUT	say-DETR	some	PRTT	thing

"Kai	*too*	*ba-na.",*	*mada*	*ka*
3SG.IPFV	be.at.home	LIM-3SG.PERS	or	3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo	*qani-a,*	*"Ni=e*	*lae*	*qa-na."*
CAUS-hear	GENP-3SG.OBJ	3SG=3SG.NFUT	go	SBEN-3SG.PERS

[This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] 'You call out the woman's husband's name, (and) it's now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), "He is at home.", or she will say about him, "He's gone (out).".'

(37-4)

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

> *qana   gwauliqi   ai ....*
> GENP   married.person   woman
> 'You don't say, "Come here now." to a married woman ....'. (It is impolite to speak like that.)

Direct speech does not, then, necessarily represent verbatim quotation. Most of the time it is the content that matters; whether the content was expressed in exactly the same way it is presented in a direct speech is often immaterial.

37.3.   Clauses of direct speech are not direct objects

Most verbs of speaking in Toqabaqita are intransitive, and so with them the clause or clauses of direct speech cannot be a direct object by definition. For example, *sore-qe* is a detransitivized variant of the transitive verb *sore* (section 4.6) and as such does not take direct objects:

(37-5)   *Ma   nia   ka   sore-qe,   "Uri   taa   na*
          and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   say-DETR   REAS   what? FOC

          qosi   qani-a   tai   sii   qana   fanga
          2SG.NEG   eat-3.OBJ   some.PL   piece   GENP   food

          neqe?   Nau   ku   thathami-a   koro
          this   1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   DU(INCL)

          koki   fanga."
          DU(INCL).FUT   eat
          'And he said, "Why aren't you eating any pieces of this food? I want us to eat.".'

(Although in [37-3] further above *sore-qe* is directly followed by a noun phrase, that noun phrase is an unintegrated adjunct, not a direct object.)
    In the next two examples too, the clauses that introduce the direct speech are intransitive: the first one contains the intransitive verb *qai* 'shout', and the second one the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus' (see section 37.4 for more detail on the latter).

(37-6)   *... nia   ka   qai,   "Qoo,   mulu   olo   mai*
              3SG   3SG.SEQ   shout   oh!   2PL.NFUT   land   VENT

    uri   nau!"
    PURP 1SG
    '... she shouted (to people passing by in canoes), "Oh!, come ashore
    for me (lit.: land for me)!".'

(37-7)   *Thaari baa ka   quna   qeri, "Qe   leqa*
            girl   that   3SG.SEQ manner this   3SG.NFUT be.good

            ba-na,   koki   fanga."
            LIM-3SG.PERS DU(INCL).FUT eat
            'The girl said, "That's fine; we'll eat.".'

   There are some transitive verbs that can introduce direct speech. However, some of them take the addressee, not the clause(s) of direct speech, as their direct object. *Soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (st.)' and *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (st.)' are two such verbs:

(37-8)   *Kera kesi   soe-toqo-ku   boqo,   "Qo*
            3PL 3PL.NEG ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ   ASRT   2SG.NFUT

            thaofa?"
            be.hungry
            'They did not (even) ask me, "Are you hungry?".'

(37-9)   *... keka   faqa-rongo-da,   "Kamaroqa moki*
              3PL.SEQ CAUS-hear-3PL.OBJ 2DU   2DU.FUT

            mae   naq=i   qusungadi."
            be.dead PRF=LOC   tomorrow
            '... they told them, "You two will be dead tomorrow.".'

   The transitive verb *sore* takes the object-indexing suffix *-a* when it introduces a direct speech. The suffix does not index the addressee, but there is evidence that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of the verb. There are, in fact, two kinds of evidence. One of them demonstrates solely that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects; the other demonstrates that as well and also that clauses of direct speech are only relatively loosely connected to the clauses that introduce them. The first piece of evidence is this: As discussed in section 13.7, Toqabaqita has situational demonstrative adverbs. These are clause-level constituents and occur clause-finally, after direct objects and any other elements that come after direct objects, such as oblique-object adjuncts:

(37-10) ... *ma   ka   kasi-a   ta   thakwa ongi*
         and   3SG.SEQ   cut-3.OBJ   some   length   bamboo.sp.

         neri,   ma   ka   rada-a   bo=naqa
         NPAST.HERE   and   3SG.SEQ   poke-3SG.OBJ   ASRT=INTS

         qani-a   neri.
         INS-3SG.OBJ   NPAST.HERE
         '... and he cuts a length of *ongi* bamboo and pokes it [a possum] ve-
         hemently with it.'

The situational demonstrative adverb *neri* also has a vividness function:

(37-11) *Wane   kuki   thau-ngi-a   qi   qusungadi*
         man   PL(INCL).FUT   kill-TR-3SG.OBJ   LOC   tomorrow

         neri.
         VIVID
         'The man we will kill tomorrow.'

When a clause that introduces a direct speech contains a situational demon-
strative adverb, the clause(s) of direct speech come(s) after the adverb:

(37-12) ... *ta   wane   kai   sore-a   ba-na*
         some   person   3SG.FUT   say-3SG.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS

         neri,   "Weleqi,   qoto   ade-de   mala
         NPAST.HERE   man!   2SG.DEHORT   behave-RDP   EQT

         tha   Liliqa."
         PERSMKR   Liliqa
         [When a person prematurely claims to have dealt with something or
         to have overcome a difficulty,] '… somebody will just say, "Man!,
         don't act like Liliqa.".' (See text 2 in the Appendix.)

In (37-13) the clause introducing the direct speech contains a transitive
verbs whose object suffix indexes the addressee. There too the situational de-
monstrative, in its "vividness" function, comes at the end of the clause, and the
clauses of direct speech follow.

(37-13) ... *keka   soe-toqo-ku   ba-da   neri,*
         3PL.SEQ   ask-TEST-1SG.OBJ   LIM-3PL.PERS   VIVID

> *"Qo   laa-lae qana fanu   baa, uqunu*
> 2SG.NFUT RDP-go GENP country that narrate
>
> *suli-a,   nau kwai   rongo-a."*
> PROL-3SG.OBJ 1SG 1SG.FUT   listen.to-3SG.OBJ
> '[Some people when they see me,] they ask me (about my trip),
> "You went to that country; tell (me) about it, (and) I will listen to
> it.".'

Since clauses of direct speech occur after the situational demonstrative adverbials, they cannot be the direct object of *sore-a* 'say it'.

The other piece of evidence that clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of *sore-a* comes from the prosody. Normally, direct objects, whether non-clausal or clausal, are prosodically integrated with the transitive verbs they are objects of. They are contained in the same intonational contour with the verbs; and there is normally no appreciable pause between the two, or between the objects and any postverbal particles that are part of the verb complex. With direct speech, on the other hand, there is normally no such prosodic integration: there is an intonation break, an intonation "re-setting" between the end of the clause that introduces the direct speech and the beginning of the direct speech, and typically there is a (slight) pause between the two. There is a rise in intonation towards the end of the clause introducing a direct speech characteristic of non-final clauses in sentences. A new intonation pattern begins with the onset of the direct speech. Such intonation re-setting and pausing is evidence that clauses of direct speech are not constituents of the clauses that introduce them. Hence, clauses of direct speech are not direct objects of *sore-a* 'say' or any other kind of constituent of the clauses that introduce them.

When a clause of direct speech follows, the object-indexing suffix in *sore-a* 'say it/this' functions cataphorically, pointing forward to the direct speech:

(37-14)   *... ma   ta   imole   taqe, kai   sore-a*
          and some person rise 3SG.FUT say-3SG.OBJ

> *ba-na,   "Weleqi, ma ni   qoo fanga*
> LIM-3SG.PERS man!   and PROFORE 2SG eat
>
> *qasia   naqa.".*
> INTS   INTS
> '[At a feast, when people see that somebody is eating too much,] one person will stand up (lit.: rise) and say: "But (lit.: and), man!, you do eat a lot.".' That is, '... one person will stand up and say it/this, "But, man!, you do eat a lot.".'

Clauses of direct speech are complements paratactically adjoined to the clauses that contain a locutionary verb or the locutionary pseudo-verb *quna qeri* '(in) this manner; thus'. The rise in intonation at the end of a clause introducing a direct speech shows that that clause and the clause(s) of direct speech are part of one and the same sentence. Clauses of direct speech are complements in the sense that, cases of discourse-based ellipsis apart, their presence is required by the clauses that introduce them. For example, if the direct speech were omitted from (37-14) above, the sentence would be incomplete: *… ma ta imole taqe, kai sore-a ba-na.* '… and one person will stand up and say it.' And clauses with the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* '(in) this manner; thus' that are commonly used to introduce direct speech (see the next section) would be ungrammatical in the intended sense without a direct-speech complement:

(37-15)   **Thaari baa   ka   quna   qeri.*
          girl   that 3SG.SEQ   manner this
          ('The girl said.')

Compare (37-7) further above. (The sentence in [37-15] would be grammatical if *quna qeri* 'that manner' referred anaphorically to behaviour mentioned previously: 'The girl behaved like that.'.)

37.4.   A noun phrase that functions as a pseudo-verb of speaking

Toqabaqita has general verbs that can serve to introduce direct speech: transitive *sore-a* 'say it/this', its detransitivized variant *sore-qe* (or *sore-qa*) 'say', and also transitive *faqa-rongo* 'tell sb. (st.)' (the direct object expressing the addressee), as opposed to other verbs of speaking that are specific with regard to the manner of speaking, such as intransitive *qai* 'shout' and transitive *soetoqo* 'ask sb. (st.)' (the direct object expressing the addressee). However, unless the manner of speaking is to be specified, the commonest way to introduce direct speech is not by means of a verb but by means of a noun phrase that functions as a "pseudo-verb": *quna qeri* 'manner' 'this', that is, '(in) this manner; thus'. The verb-like characteristics of *quna qeri* and other noun phrases headed by *quna* 'manner' are discussed in section 4.7, and here only a few additional examples of *quna qeri* in its function of introducing direct speech are given.

(37-16)   *Nau kwa   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   qi   Niu*
         1SG 1SG.SEQ   manner this   oh   LOC   New

         Silana, fanu=e   leqa   neri."
         Zealand country=3SG.NFUT   be.nice VIVID
         'I said, "Oh, the country of New Zealand is really nice.".' (Lit.: '...
         "Oh, in New Zealand the country is really nice.".')

In (37-17) the clause introducing the direct speech is negative:

(37-17)   *Qe=aqi   kosi   quna   qeri, "Fanga*
         3SG.NFUT=NEGV DU(INCL).NEG manner this   food

         qoe   ki   neq. Qani-a   fanga   naqi." Qe
         2SG   PL   here eat-3.OBJ   food   this   3SG.NFUT

         abu.
         not.be.allowed
         [When offering food to others, polite language has to be used. This
         is what you or I do not do when we want to offer food to a married
         man or a married woman.] 'We don't say, "Here is your food (lit.:
         foods). Eat this food." That is not allowed.'

The addressee may be expressed as an allative object of *quna qeri*:

(37-18)   *... kera keka   quna   qeri uri   nau, "Qoo,*
           3PL 3PL.SEQ manner this ALL   1SG   oh

         ni   qoe qo   winim   kamiliqa   neri, ...".
         PROFORE   2SG 2SG.NFUT win.over 1PL(EXCL)   VIVID
         '... they said to me, "Oh, you've done better than us, ...".' (Lit.: '…
         "Oh, you have won over us, ….".')

It is even possible for the demonstrative *qeri* to be omitted, although this is
not common:

(37-19)   *... keka   riki-a   subi,   alafolo,*
           3PL.SEQ see-3.OBJ   k.o. warclub k.o.warclub

         ka   quna,   "Qoo, ma   doo na   toqa   neqe
         3SG.SEQ   manner oh   and thing REL people this

ki	keki	fii-firu	ki	qani-a
PL	3PL.IPFV	RDP-fight	PL	INST-3SG.OBJ

takona	na=nia,...."
most.likely	this=3SG

'… they saw *subi* clubs, *alafolo* clubs, and (one of them) said, "Oh, these must be the things [weapons] that the (lit.: these) people used to fight with, these ones here, ….".'

While *quna qeri* is commonly used to introduce direct speech, unlike *sore-qe* 'say' and *sore-a* 'say it/this' it cannot be used with indirect speech complements (section 29.4.7) or as propositional-attitude pseudo-verb (29.4.8).

37.5.   Combinations of clauses introducing direct speech

A clause that contains one of the two basic verbs/pseudo-verbs of speaking, *sore-qe* 'say', and *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus' can be combined in asyndetic coordination with another clause that too contains a verb of speaking, other than *sore-qe* and *quna qeri*. That clause comes first, before the one that contains *sore-qe* or *quna qeri*. In this type of construction also, it is the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus' that is more common.

(37-20)

Akalo	e	tatha,	ka
ancestral.spirit	3SG.NFUT	pass.by	3SG.SEQ

faqa-rongo-a,	ka	quna	qeri,	"Qoe
CAUS-hear-3SG.OBJ	3SG.SEQ	manner	this	2SG

s=oko	mae	e	aqi.	Tataqe	i
IRR=2SG.SEQ	die	3SG.NFUT	not.be.so	stand.up	LOC

aa,	qoko	lae	bo=naqa	si	manga	qeri."
space.up	2SG.SEQ	go	ASRT=INTS	PRTT	time	this

'The [man's] ancestral spirit passed by and told him [the man], he said, "You will not/cannot die. Stand up and go now.".'

(37-21)

Si	manga	na	kera	firu,	ume	qe
PRTT	time	REL	3PL.NFUT	fight	fish.sp.	3SG.NFUT

fita	mai,	ka	qai	faafi-a	oomea
run	VENT	3SG.SEQ	shout	concerning-3.OBJ	fight

fuu,	*ka*	*sore-qe,*	*"Bona!*	*Luka*		*qana*
that	3SG.SEQ	say-DETR	be.silent	stop.doing.st.		GENP

oomea	*neqe*	*ka*	*teo,*	*e*		*aqi*
fight	this	3SG.SEQ	cease	3SG.NFUT		NEGV

musi	*firu!"*
2PL.NEG	fight

'When they [people from two islands] were fighting, an *ume* fish came running and shouted on account of the fight, "Quiet! Stop this fight; it must end; don't fight!".'

For an example with *soe-toqo* 'ask sb. (st.)' in the first clause and *quna qeri* in the second clause see (37-2) in section 37.2.

37.6.   Direct speech introduced by a clause that contains a verb other than a verb of speaking

It is possible for a direct speech to be "introduced" by a clause that contains not a verb of speaking nor the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus', but some other verb. A clause with a verb of speaking has been omitted. In some cases the first clause expresses a situation that leads a participant to say something. In (37-22) and (37-23) the clauses that introduce the direct speeches contain the verbs 'see' and 'hear', respectively:

(37-22)

Bariqi	*lio*	*ka*	*riki-a,*	*"Taa*	*neri?*	
Bariqi	look	3SG.SEQ	see-3SG.OBJ	what?	NPAST.HERE	

Qoo,	*thaqaro*	*neqe."*
oh	bird	here

[Little children had been chasing a bird]. 'Bariqi looked and saw it [and said to the children], "What's this? Oh, it's a bird (lit.: [a] bird here).".'

(37-23)

Kero	*rongo-a*	*thaqaro*	*fuu*	*ki,*	*"Qoo,*	*thaqaro*
3DU.NFUT	hear-3.OBJ	possum	that	PL	oh	possum

baa	*ki*	*takona*	*neri.*	*Teqe*	*futa*
that	PL	most.likely	NPAST.HERE	one	possum

> *na=mai   neri."*
> PRF=VENT NPAST.HERE
> 'They [possum hunters] heard the possums [and one of them said],
> "Oh, that must be the possums. There is a possum here now.".'

(*Thaqaro* may be used to refer to birds or to possums.)

Clearly, the instances of direct speech in (37-22) and (37-23) are not direct objects of the sensory-perception verbs. What the direct speech expresses is not what the participants saw and heard, respectively, but their reaction to what they saw and heard.

In (37-24) below, the clause preceding the direct speech contains the intransitive verb *qinkwayeri* 'hold an inquiry' from English/Solomon Islands Pijin. *Qinkwayeri* is not a verb of speaking here ('inquire'). The direct speech is a statement, accusation, not a question. Here the direct speech expresses what was said during the inquiry.

(37-24)   *Keka   qinkwayeri   bo=naqa   neri,   "Qo*
        3PL.SEQ hold.inquiry ASRT=INTS VIVID 2SG.NFUT

        bili   nabaa."
        steal PAST.THEN
        'They held an inquiry [and said to him/accused him], "You stole.".'

However, there need not be any direct semantic link between a clause of direct speech and the immediately preceding clause where a clause with a verb of speaking has been omitted. In (37-25) below, the clause that immediately precedes the direct speech contains the verb *tataqe* 'stand up'. The speaker's standing up (and moving in the direction of the addressee) is only incidental to her speaking and to what she says. There are two clauses of direct speech in (37-25): the first one is not introduced by a clause with a verb of speaking, whereas the second one is.

(37-25)   *Mada   sa   gwauliqi   ai   qeri ka*
        or   IRR   married.person   woman that 3SG.SEQ

        ni=i   laa   toaa   qeri, ka   tataqe
        be.located=LOC IN   household that   3SG.SEQ stand.up

        mai,   "Taa   neri?",   qoe qoki   sore-qe
        VENT   what? NPAST.HERE   2SG 2SG.FUT say-DETR

ba-muqa,	"*Ma*	*tha*	*weleqi*	*e*	*lae*
LIM-2SG.PERS	and	PERSMKR	chap	3SG.NFUT	go

uri	*fei*	*neq?*"
ALL	where?	VIVID

[This is what you do when you go to visit a man and do not see him around. First you call out, "Hey!".] 'If his wife (lit.: the married woman) is in the household, she will stand up (and move) in your direction [and say], "What is it?", and you will just say, "(And) where has the chap gone to?".'

37.7.   Direct speech introduced by clauses without any verb and without the pseudo-verb

It is possible for a direct speech to be introduced by a clause that contains neither a verb of any sort, nor the pseudo-verb *quna qeri* 'this manner; thus'. Nevertheless, the clause has the appropriate subject marker that indexes the person producing the direct speech and expresses the appropriate tense or aspect. In addition there may be a subject phrase. The verb phrase consists only of the subject marker. Usually there is a brief pause between the subject marker and the following clause(s) of direct speech. Such pauses are evidence that clauses of direct speech do not function here as (complex) delocutives. This way to introduce direct speech is particularly common when the clause of direct speech consists of, or begins with, an interjection, but as the last two examples below illustrate, it is not restricted to such cases. It is only relatively short and simple stretches of direct speech that are introduced in this way.

(37-26)	*Kali*	*wela*	*qeri*	*qe*	*tona,*	**ka**
	little.SG	child	that	3SG.NFUT	be.startled	3SG.SEQ

	"*Hmm!*",	*ma*	*ka*	*lae*	*bo=naqa*	*qi*	*laa*
	hmm	and	3SG.SEQ	go	ASRT=INTS	LOC	IN

	kilu.
	hole

'The little child was startled; he (went) "Hmm!", and went straight into the hole (having been thrown into it by a murderer).'

(*Hmm* represents a prolonged nasalized [h]. There is no phoneme /h/ in Toqabaqita.)

(37-27)   *Roo   wela   qe=ki   **keka**,   "Qoiqale,   teqe   doo   kai*
two   child   that=PL   3PL.SEQ   gee!   one   thing   3SG.IPFV

karau   boqo."
make.crunching.sound   ASRT
'The two children (went), "Gee, something is making a crunching sound.".'

(37-28)   *Ma   nia   ka,   "Qee,   nga   doo   neqe,   nga*
and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   hey!   IDENT   thing   this   IDENT

imole   qe   aqi   neqe,   nga
human.being   3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case   VIVID   IDENT

doo   qeeqeta   neqe."
thing   be.different   VIVID
'And he went (to himself), "Hey, this thing is not a human being; it is something else (lit.: a different thing).".'

(37-29)   *Keka   qinkwayeri   bo=naqa   neri,   "Qo*
3PL.SEQ   hold.inquiry   ASRT=INTS   VIVID   2SG.NFUT

bili   nabaa."   Nia   ka,   "Nau   ku   bil=i
steal   PAST.THEN   3SG   3SEQ   1SG   1SG.NFUT   steal=LOC

fei?"
where?
'They held an inquiry [and said to him/accused him], "You stole.". He went, "I stole where?".'

(37-30)   *"Talaqa-na   ba-na   kwai   lae*
fit-3.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS   1SG.FUT   go

ba=ka-kuqa   bii   qoe?"   Nia   ka,
LIM=AND-1SG.PERS   COM   2SG   3SG   3SG.SEQ

"Leqa   ba-na,   lae   ma=i   buri-ku, ..."
be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   go   VENT=LOC   behind-1SG.PERS
'"Is it possible for me to go with you?" He went [replied], "That's fine, follow me, ...".'

Chapter 38
Topicalization

38.1.   Subjects as default topics

The topic of a proposition is that which the proposition is about. That part of the proposition that supplies information about the topic is the comment. In Toqabaqita, subjects are default topic expressions: unless another part of a sentence is made into a topic expression, unless it is "topicalized", it is the subject that encodes the topic.

The first example below shows the link between subjecthood and topichood. In the portion of the text the example is from, a young man is telling his mother about his meeting a girl. There are two topics in the various sentences: the man and the girl. The last sentence, in (38-1c), consists of two parallel clauses: in the first one the man is referred to in the subject position, and the girl in the direct-object position; and in the second clause the encoding is reversed. The switch in subjects corresponds to a switch in topics. In (38-1a) the topic is the man, encoded first by means of the first person singular independent personal pronoun and then by the first person singular sequential subject marker (repeated in the first sentence due to hesitation):

(38-1)   a.   *Qoo,*   *thaina-ka*   *qae,   nau   ku*
               oh   mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC   1SG   1SG.NFUT

               laa-lae   neri,   kwa,   kwa   toda-a   mai
               RDP-go   VIVID   1SG.SEQ 1SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ VENT

               teqe   thaari.   Kwa   riki-a   thaari   qeri.
               one   girl   1SG.SEQ   look.at-3.OBJ   girl   that
               'Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the
               girl.'

In the next sentence it is the girl that becomes the topic. The noun phrase referring to her has been topicalized by left dislocation (section 38.3), but there is also a noun phrase referring to her in the subject position. The girl is being described by the man who also spoke the sentences in (38-1a) and in (38-1c).

(38-1)   b.   *Thaari   qeri, thaari   qe   leqa*
          girl   that   girl   3SG.NFUT   be.beautiful

          mamana   boqo neri,   ta   ai   leqa
          be.true   ASRT VIVID   some   woman   be.beautiful

          qe   aqi   si   quri-a   boqo.
          3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.like-3SG.OBJ   ASRT
          'The girl, she was truly beautiful. No woman is as beautiful as
          she is.' (Lit.: 'That girl, (the) girl was truly beautiful. Some
          beautiful woman is not at all like her.')

The girl continues as the topic in the first clause in the next sentence, still
expressed in the subject positon. In the second clause there is a change of sub-
ject and a change of topic: the topic is again the man.

(38-1)   c.   *Ma   thaari   qeri   ka   thathami   nau, nau*
          and   girl   that   3SG.SEQ   like   1SG   1SG

          mena   kwa   thathami-a laqu boqo thaari
          FADD   1SG.SEQ   like-3.OBJ ADD   ASRT girl

          qeri.
          that
          'And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.'

38.2.   Topicalization: general characteristics

Subjects, then, are default topics. It is possible for sentence constituents to be
topicalized, to be explicitly identified as topics. In fact, subjects too can be
topicalized. With some qualifications, the essence of topicalization is placing
the topicalized constituent clause/sentence initially, in the topic position. One
type of exception has to do with the presence of interjections, which occur or
may occur before topicalized elements. In (38-2) the pronominal direct-object
topic *nau* 'I' is preceded by the interjection *qoo* 'oh':

(38-2)   *Qoo, nau susuqi   e   susuqi   nau.*
          oh   1SG hornet   3SG.NFUT sting   1SG
          'Oh, I have been stung by a hornet.' (Lit.: 'Oh, I, a hornet has stung
          me.')

Second, as discussed in section 17.4, in the double negative construction the mini-clause with the negative verb *aqi* may be preceded by a topic noun phrase coreferential with the subject of the event clause. That topic noun phrase may be preceded by another element that normally occurs clause initially. In (38-6) further below, the topic phrase is preceded by the coordinator *ma* 'and'.

And third, Toqabaqita permits double topicalization in a simple sentence, where there are two topicalized phrases occurring one after the other, expressing different topics (section 38.6).

Adopting, and adapting, Lambrecht's (1994) term "unlinked topics", a distinction is made here between linked and unlinked topics. Linked topics are those that are directly connected to the comment domain (see further below). With two types of exception, linked topics are indexed anaphorically in the comment domain. One exception is topicalized subjects of verbless sentences, which may but need not be indexed (section 38.3.2), and the other is topicalized temporal phrases, which are normally not indexed (section 38.3.4). However, even when such topics are not indexed in the comment domain, they are linked to it in the sense that if they were not topicalized, they would occupy a structural position (an argument one or an adjunct one) in a clause in the comment domain. That is, topic linking and the indexing of topics in the comment domain are not one and the same thing. On the other hand, unlinked topics, as the term is used here, have only a relatively loose semantic link to the comment domain. They are not linked to any structural position in the comment domain, and, of course, are not indexed in it.

The basic structure of sentences with topicalized expressions is shown in (38-3), with the provisos that certain elements may precede topics (see above) and that multiple topics are possible:

(38-3)   [topic comment.domain]

The comment domain is usually a single clause, a comment clause, but it may be more than one clause. As discussed in section 38.4, long-distance linked topicalization is possible, where one or more clauses may intervene between a topic and the clause to which it is linked. In such cases the comment domain is not only the clause to which the topic is linked but also the intervening material. The term "comment clause" specifically signifies the clause to which a topic is linked or the clause that provides a comment about an unlinked topic.

Often, but not always, the topicalized phrase is prosodically set off from the comment domain: there is a rise in intonation at the end of the topic phrase, and/or a pause between the topic phrase and the comment domain. Such prosodic marking of topics is more likely to be absent when the topic expression is short. Prosodic marking of topics is indicated in the examples by means of commas.

A topicalized phrase, whether linked or unlinked, is not a syntactic constituent of the comment domain; and, with the exception of verbless clauses where the topic is not indexed, the comment domain is grammatically self-contained.

Example (38-4) illustrates topicalization. In the first sentence, a new participant, a hole, is introduced. The hole is referred to in the following sentence, where the grammatical relation of that noun phrase would otherwise be direct object. There the noun phrase 'the hole' does not occur in the canonical direct-object position, after the verb. Rather, it occurs sentence initially, before the comment domain. Because the topicalized noun phrase corresponds to the direct object in the comment clause, it is indexed on the verb in the comment clause by means of an object suffix. This is an instance of a linked topic. The topicalized phrase and the object suffix that indexes it in the comment clause are in bold.

(38-4)   ... *kera*   *taqe,*   *laa-lae,* *keko*   *tatha,*   *tala*
          3PL.NFUT   ascend   RDP-go   3DU.SEQ   walk   path

          qeri *na*   *kero*   *lae*   *suli-a*   *ka*   *tatha*
          that   REL   3DU.NFUT walk   PROL-3SG.OBJ 3SG.SEQ pass

          karangi-a   *maa-na*   *teqe* *kilu* *kwasi.*
          be.near.to-3.OBJ   opening-3.PERS   one   hole   be.deep

          Kilu   qeri, *kera*   *qalangi-**a***   *qana*
          hole   that   3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ   GENP

          "Gwaagwathamela".
          Gwaagwathamela
          '... they went up and up, they walked (on), (until) the path they were
          walking on (lit.: along) passed near the mouth of a deep hole. The
          hole was called "Gwaagwathamela".' (Lit.: '... The hole, they named
          it "Gwaagwathamela".')

Topicalization may be contrastive. In such cases, it may, but need not, occur in both/all clauses; see (38-5) and (38-6), respectively:

(38-5)   *Tai*   *si*   *kula,*   *kere*   *alu=si*
          some.PL   PRTT place   3PL.NFUT   plant:3.OBJ=PRTT

fanga	*qi*	*ei*	*ka*	*taqe,*	*tai*
food	LOC	LOCPRO	3SG.SEQ	grow	some.PL

si	*kula*	*ka*	*aqi*	*naqa,*	*uri-a*
PRTT	place	3SG.SEQ	not.be.so	PRF	REAS-3.OBJ

thaqegano	*qeri*	*qe*	*raarangeqa*	*naqa.*
soil	that	3SG.SEQ	be.dry	PRF

'Some places they plant food in and it grows there; some places no more [i.e., they plant food there but it does not grow any more], because the ground is exhausted (lit.: dry) now.'

(38-6)

Nau	*ku*	*rongo-a*	*kini*	*fuu*	*ki,*	*ma*
1SG	1SG.NFUT	hear-3.OBJ	woman	downward	PL	and

ni	*qoe*	*qe*	*aqi*	*kwasi*	*rongo*	*qoe.*
PROFORE	2SG	3SG.NFUT	NEGV	1SG.NEG	hear	2SG

'I heard the women down there, but (lit.: and) you I did not hear.'

Topics must be definite, non-referential, or generic. Definite topics are found in, for example, (38-4) and (38-6) above. There is a non-referential topic in (38-5). For an example with a generic topic see (38-56) in section 38.4.

Topicalization and focusing can both occur in one and the same clause, in which case the topic constituent precedes the focus constituent; see (39-2) in section 39.1.

Various aspects of topicalization are considered in more detail in the following sections, starting with linked topics.

38.3.   Linked topics

38.3.1. Introduction

Structurally, linked topicalization in Toqabaqita is left dislocation. In this section, topicalization by left dislocation is discussed depending on the position the topicalized element is linked to: subject, direct object, oblique object, or possessor. With the exceptions of topicalized subjects of verbless sentences and topicalized temporal phrases, linked topics are always indexed in the comment domain. And with some exceptions, the indexing of topics in the comment domain is the same as the indexing of the positions relativized inside relative clauses, discussed in section 30.6; and see also section 4.9. The details can be

found in the two sections. Here the focus is on the properties characteristic of topicalization.

38.3.2. Subject topicalization

When it is the subject that is topicalized, there are two options. In one, the subject noun phrase is dislocated, there is prosodic marking of its topic status, and the comment clause contains the appropriate subject marker, if it contains a verb. For subject topicalization in connection with verbless sentences see further below. In (38-7) there are several instances of topicalization; it is the last one (in bold) that involves subject topicalization.

(38-7)   *Manga   qeri   nau   kwai   uqunu   suli-a*
          time   this   1SG   1SG.FUT   narrate   PROL-3.OBJ

          ngata-la-na   roo   noniqi   wane,   roo   wane
          speak-NMLZ-3.PERS two   CLF   man   two   man

          qe=ki   thata-da,   ta   wane   thata-na
          that=PL name-3PL.PERS   some   man   name-3SG.PERS

          *tha   Filithau bia   tha   Bubuqota. **Roo***
          PERSMKR   Filithau and   PERSMKR   Bubuqota two

          ***noniqi   wane   qe=ki**, kero   ngata   ofu,*
          CLF   man   that=PL 3DU.NFUT speak   be.together

          ngata-la-daroqa   na   kwai   ili-fani-a
          speak-NMLZ-3DU.PERS FOC   1SG.FUT   do-TR-3SG.OBJ

          si   manga   qeri.
          PRTT time   this
          'This time I will talk about two men; the two men, their names (were), one man, his name was Filithau, and (the other was) Bubuqota. The two men, (they) talked together, and it is their talking that I am going to mimic.' (The speaker then plays a flute piece which represents the two men speaking.)

   In (38-8) the topicalized phrase is linked to a temporal subordinate clause (section 35.2.2):

(38-8) *Wane   baqita,   laalae   qe   mae, keka*
man   be.important when   3SG.NFUT die   3PL.SEQ

buuleqemae   qani nia fai   taafuli
beat.drum.to.announce.death   GENP 3SG four   ten

maqe oqo.
CLF   drum
'An important man, when he died, they would give (lit.: beat) 40 drum beats for him.'

In (38-9) it is the subject of a verbless ascriptive sentence that has been topicalized. Since the comment clause is verbless, there is no subject marker there and so no indexing.

(38-9) *Nga   ululu   kwasi, kali   maama*
IDENT   branches   be.wild small.SG   mortuary.feast

faqekwa   ni   bana   neri.
be.small   LIG   LIM   VIVID
'*Ululu kwasi*, (is) just a small mortuary feast.' (*Ululu kwasi* is one in a series of mortuary feasts. The dancers at the feast can hold any kind of branch or leaves in their hands while dancing.)

Subject topicalization by left dislocation must be distinguished from cases where a noun phrase functions as the subject of a sentence, and so (perhaps) as a default topic. In the latter type of case, the subject noun phrase falls under one intonation contour with the rest of the clause. In the next example, there is an alternation between two topics, a man and a child. Both topics are encoded by non-topicalized subject noun phrases.

(38-10) *Ka   soe-toqo-na,   "Nee,   koqo,   qo   lae*
3SG.SEQ ask-TEST-3SG.OBJ   hey!   friend   2SG.NFUT go

uri fei?"   **Wela   qeri** *ka   quna   qeri, "Nau*
ALL   where? child   that 3SG.SEQ   manner   this   1SG

ku   lae buria-na   thaina-ku
1SG.NFUT   go   behind-3.PERS   mother-1SG.PERS

bia   maka   nau." **Wane   qeri** *ka   quna   qeri,*
and   father   1SG   man   that 3SG.SEQ manner   this

"Thaina-mu   bia   maka   qoe   kera   lae
mother-2SG.PERS and   father   2SG   3PL.NFUT go

fei?"   **Wela   qeri** *ka   sore-qe,*
where?   child   that   3SG.SEQ   say-DETR

"Thaina-ku   bia   maka   nau   kera   lae
mother-1SG.PERS and   father   1SG   3PL.NFUT go

qana   uusi-a."
GENP   buy-DVN
'He [the man] asked him [the child], "Hey, friend, where are you
going?". The child said, "I am following my mother and father.".
The man said, "Where did your mother and father go?". The child
said, "My mother and father went to the market.".'

The other option for topicalizing a subject noun phrase is by left-dislocating
it and placing the corresponding independent personal pronoun in the subject
position in the comment clause, in addition to the subject marker. Here the in-
dependent pronouns are freely used even if the topicalized noun phrase has an
inanimate referent. In (38-11) – (38-13) the resumptive pronouns are in bold.

(38-11)   *Wai-waena   nia, ni   Feefelo, **nia***
          LIP-sibling.of.opposite.sex 3SG   PERSMKR   Feefelo 3SG

          e   ni=i   laa   bisi   qeri.
          3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC IN   menstrual.hut that
          'His sister, Feefelo, she was in the menstrual hut.'

In (38-12) the topicalized noun phrase contains a relative clause with an
inclusory subject marker:

(38-12)   *Thaari mamana   baa   mere   ngata,   **nia***
          girl   be.real   that 1DU(EXCL).NFUT talk   3SG

          qe   aqi   si   fula.
          3SG.NFUT NEGV   3SG.NEG   arrive
          'The girl I had talked with (lit.: the girl that she and I talked [to-
          gether]), she did not arrive.'

In (38-13) the topicalized phrase is inanimate:

(38-13) *Ma   si   manga   qeri, nia   ka   sifo,*
        and   PRTT time   that   3SG   3SG.SEQ   descend

        laa-laa-l:ae,   ka   too   ba-na
        RDP-RDP-go   3SG.SEQ   stay LIM-3SG.PERS

        qae-na   teqe daadaku   qi   fafo-na
        foot-3.PERS   one   Calophyllum.sp   LOC   top-3.PERS

        *qamali. Daadaku   qeri, **nia** qe   takwe*
        sea   Calophyllum.sp   that   3SG   3SG.NFUT   stand

        qi   laa   one, ka   olo,   ka
        LOC   IN   sand 3SG.SEQ   be.bent.down 3SG.SEQ

        sifo   uri   qamali.
        be.positioned.downward ALL   sea
        'And at that time she walked down (to the sea), kept walking down, on and on and on, and stayed at the foot of a *daadaku* [*Calophyllum inophyllum*] tree by (lit. on top of) the sea. The *daadaku* tree, it stood in the sand (on the beach) and was bent down towards the sea.'

In (38-14) it is the subject of a verbless equational identificational sentence that has been topicalized. There is a resumptive pronoun in the subject position of the comment clause.

(38-14) *Akalo   i   Rokasi, nia   tha*
        ancestral.spirit LOC Rokasi   3SG   PERSMKR

        Feotoqoniwane.
        Feotoqoniwane
        'The ancestral spirit at/of Rokasi [a place], he is Feotoqoniwane [name of the spirit].'

Subject independent pronouns too can be topicalized, although usually without an (identical) resumptive pronoun in the subject position. In (38-15) the pronoun is in the topic position, before *mada* 'or', which here signals the speaker's less-than-full certainty about the factual status of the proposition (section 18.5.3):

(38-15)   *Qoe   mada   qo   mataqi?*
          2SG   or   2SG.NFUT   be.sick
          'You, are you perhaps sick?' 'You, might you be sick?'

When a subject pronoun has been topicalized, resumptive pronouns in the subject position are possible provided the two pronouns are not next to each other. In (38-16) the topicalized pronoun occurs with the foregrounding additive marker *mena* (section 28.6), and a resumptive pronoun is possible, although the variant without it is preferred.

(38-16)   *Nau   mena,   (nau)   ku   feda   qasia   naqa.*
          1SG   FADD   1SG   1SG.NFUT   be.tired   INTS   INTS
          'I, too, (I) am very tired.'

There is one special construction that involves subject topicalization. A lexical subject noun phrase is dislocated, and the subject position in the comment clause is filled, not by the corresponding resumptive pronoun but by a noun that is identical to the head noun in the topic phrase. This kind of construction is used (optionally) when the comment clause characterizes, attributes a property to, the topic.

(38-17)   *Toqa   i   Merika,   toqa   kere   ngangasuala.*
          people   LOC   America   people   3PL.NFUT   be.mighty
          'American people, they are mighty, powerful people.' (Lit.: 'People in America, people are mighty.')

(38-18)   *Fanu   qeri,   fanu   e   leqa.   Fanu*
          country that   country 3SG.NFUT   be.nice   country

          arekwao,   fanu   e   leqa   neri.
          white.person   country   3SG.NFUT   be.nice   VIVID
          'That country, it is a nice country. The white people's country, it is a nice country.'

For another example see the first clause of (38-1b) in section 38.1.

38.3.3. Direct-object topicalization

In direct-object topicalization, the topic phrases are indexed in the comment clause either by an object suffix or by means of an independent pronoun in the direct-object position. With Class 2 transitive verbs, only object suffixes are

possible. With Class 1 transitive verbs, either object suffixes or independent pronouns are possible in the third person. In persons other than third, only independent pronouns are available. For more detail see section 30.6.2, where the indexing in relativization on direct objects is discussed.

In (38-19) and (38-20) the comment domains contain Class 2 transitive verbs, and the topics can be indexed only by means of object suffixes:

(38-19)   *Toqa   lakoo   ki,   qe=aqi   kwasi*
               people   that(3)   PL   3SG.NFUT=NEGV 1SG.NEG

               thaitoqoma-da.
               know-3PL.OBJ
               'Those people I don't know.' 'Those people, I don't know them.'

(38-20)   *Qoe, kera   kwaathata-mu   qoki   ngali-a*
               2SG   3PL.NFUT   appoint-2SG.OBJ   2SG.FUT   take-3.OBJ

               foqa-a   qana   uiki   loo.
               pray-DVN   GENP   week   upward
               'You have been appointed to take the prayers next week.' 'You, they have appointed you to take the prayers next week.'

In the remaining examples, the verbs in the comment domains are Class 1 transitive. The first one illustrates the possibility of using either an object suffix or a pronoun in the direct-object position, when the topic phrase is third person. When the topic phrase is lexical (rather than pronominal), the option with an object suffix is used with non-human topics and is more common even with human topics.

(38-21)   a.   *Araqi   kwao   naqi, wane   qoro   ki*
                   mature.man   be.white   this   man   be.many   PL

                   ma   kini   qoro   ki   kesi   thathami-a.
                   and   woman   be.many PL   3PL.NEG   like-3SG.OBJ
                   'This white man, many men and many women do not like him.'

       b.   *Araqi   kwao   naqi, wane   qoro   ki*
                   mature.man   be.white   this   man   be.many   PL

        ma   kini   qoro   ki   kesi   thathami   nia.
        and   woman be.many PL   3PL.NEG like   3SG
        'This white man, many men and many women do not like him.'

In the next two examples the topic phrases are lexical, and the indexing is by means of object suffixes. In the first one the topic phrase is inanimate, and in the second one human.

(38-22)   *Rua-na   maama,   kera   qalangi-a*
            two-3.PERS   mortuary.feast   3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ

            qa=si   "gwai".
            GENP=CLF oil
            'The second mortuary feast (in a series of mortuary feasts) is called "*gwai*" ["oil"]. (Lit.: 'The second mortuary feast, they name it "*gwai*".) (Those who are going to dance at the feast apply coconut oil to their bodies.)

(38-23)   *Toq=qe=ki   nau ku   riki-da   qana*
            people=that=PL 1SG 1SG.NFUT see-3PL.OBJ   GENP

            uusi-a.
            buy-DVN
            'The people, I saw them at the market.'

On the other hand, when the topic phrase is pronominal, the option with a pronoun in the direct-object position in the comment domain is preferred. Pronominal topic phrases are normally used only when the referents are human.

(38-24)   a.   *Nia ku   riki nia i   maa-na   uusi-a.*
              3SG 1SG.NFUT see 3SG LOC point-3.PERS buy-DVN
              'Him/Her I saw at the market place.'

       b.   *Nia ku   riki-a   i   maa-na*
              3SG 1SG.NFUT see-3SG.OBJ   LOC point-3.PERS

             uusi-a.
             buy-DVN
             'Him/Her I saw at the market place.'

When the topic is other than third person and so the topic phrase is pronominal, a copy of the pronoun occurs in the direct-object position in the comment domain:

(38-25) *Kamiliqa,   thaofa-a   qe   kwaqe   kamiliqa*
        1PL(EXCL) be.hungry-DVN   3SG.NFUT   afflict   1PL(EXCL)

        si   manga   qeri.
        PRTT   time   that
        'We suffered from hunger at that time.' (Lit.: 'We, hunger afflicted us that time.')

(38-26) *Qoo, nau susuqi   e   susuqi   nau.*
        oh   1SG   hornet   3SG.NFUT   sting   1SG
        'Oh, I have been stung by a hornet.' (Lit.: 'Oh, I, a hornet has stung me.')

38.3.4. Oblique-object topicalization

The ways oblique-object topics are indexed in the comment domain depends first of all on the type of preposition involved: noun-like, verb-like, or bare. The ways in which indexing takes place are the same as those that apply in relativization on oblique objects; see section 30.6.3 for detail.

In topicalization of the objects of the noun-like and the verb-like prepositions, only the noun phrases are left-dislocated; the prepositions are stranded behind (section 10.6).

Topicalized phrases that correspond to the objects of the noun-like prepositions are indexed in the comment clause on the preposition by means of the appropriate personal suffix.

(38-27) *Toqa   na   kera   raa   bii   kamiliqa,*
        people   REL   3PL.NFUT   work   COM   1PL(EXCL)

        *mili   fale-a   fanga   qi   **a-da**.*
        1PL(EXCL).NFUT   give-3.OBJ   food   LOC   REC-3PL.PERS
        'The people who had worked with us, we gave food to.'

In (38-28) below, the topicalized phrase is pronominal. The intransitive verb *faqa-seqe-laqa* 'be free, without obligations, without hindrance' takes a semantically-empty third-person singular subject marker, and never has a subject

noun phrase (section 4.5). The sentence-initial first person singular pronoun is the topic, not the subject.

(38-28)   *Nau   qe   faqa-seqe-laqa*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   CAUS-body-be.without.hindrance

          na=ka=i   a-ku   neri.
          PRF=AND=LOC   BEN-1SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE
          'I am free now, from now on.' (E.g., all my work has been done).
          (Lit.: 'I, it is free for me now.')

Lexical topicalized phrases that correspond to the objects of the verb-like prepositions are indexed in the comment clause by means of object suffixes or by means of independent personal pronouns in the object position. The option with independent pronouns is normally used only when the topic phrase has a human referent. The two options, with an object suffix and with a pronoun when the referent is human are shown in (38-29a) and (38-29b), respectively:

(38-29)   a.   *Doqora-mu   ku   ngata   bii-a.*
               sibling-2SG.PERS 1SG.NFUT   speak   COM-3SG.OBJ
               'Your brother, I spoke with him.'

          b.   *Doqora-mu   ku   ngata   bii   nia.*
               sibling-2SG.PERS 1SG.NFUT   speak   COM   3SG
               'Your brother, I spoke with him.'

In (38-30) the topic phrase has an inanimate referent, and the indexing can be only by means of the object suffix:

(38-30)   *Kula   loo,   ku   lalakwa   lae   uri-a.*
          place   upward   1SG.NFUT   not.want   go   ALL-3SG.OBJ
          'That place up there, I don't want to go there (lit.: to it).'

Pronominal topics are normally used only when the referent is human. When the topic is third person, the indexing in the comment clause may be by means of a pronoun or an object suffix, the former being more common. In (38-31) there is long-distance topicalization (section 38.4): the topic phrase is linked to the complement clause embedded under the verb *thathami* 'want':

(38-31)   a.   *Nia   ku   thathami-a   muki   beta*
               3SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   2PL.FUT   take.care

> *leqa   suli nia.*
> be.good PROL 3SG
> 'Him I want you to take good care of.'

b.   *Nia   ku   thathami-a   muki   beta*
     3SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   2PL.FUT take.care

   leqa   suli-a.
   be.good PROL-3SG.OBJ
   'Him I want you to take good care of.'

When the topic is other than third person, the indexing may only be by means of independent pronouns, there being no object suffixes for persons other than third. In (38-32) there is direct-object topicalization in the first clause, and oblique-object topicalization in the second clause. Both topics are pronominal. *Thaitoqoma* 'know' in the first clause is a Class 2 transitive verb, and so the direct-object topic can be indexed only by means of an object suffix. *Dora* 'not know' in the second clause is an intransitive verb.

(38-32)   *Nau, kera   thaitoqoma-ku,   ni   qoe,*
          1SG 3PL.NFUT know-1SG.OBJ   PROFORE   2SG

   kera   dora   qani   qoe.
   3PL.NFUT not.know   GENP   2SG
   'Me they know; you they don't know.'

When an instrument noun phrase has been topicalized and there is a lexical patient or theme noun phrase in the comment clause, instrument inversion takes place; see section 10.7 for discussion and examples.

Topicalized locative oblique objects are indexed in the comment clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, which is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi* (section 10.2.2).

(38-33)   *Auqua naqi, qe=aqi   tai   toqa   qi*
          island   this 3SG.NFUT=not.exist some.PL   people   LOC

   ei.
   LOCPRO
   'This island, there are no people (living) there.'

Locative prepositional phrases headed by the general locative preposition *qi* or by the inessive preposition *laa* can be topicalized. The topicalized preposi-

tional phrase is indexed in the comment clause by a prepositional phrase with the locative pro-form. In (38-34a) and (38-34b) below, which are broadly synonymous with (38-33) above, there are two variants, depending on whether the larger prepositional phrase, headed by *qi*, has been topicalized or only the inner one, headed by *laa*. (As discussed in sections 10.2.3 and 10.5, prepositional phrases headed by *laa* are usually themselves complements in stacked prepositional phrases headed by *qi*.)

(38-34)   a.   *Qi   laa   aququa naqi, qe   aqi*
               LOC   IN   island   this   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

               tai   toqa   si   too   i   ei.
               some.PL   people   3SG.NEG   reside   LOC   LOCPRO
               'On (lit.: in) this island, nobody lives there.'

          b.   *Laa   aququa naqi, qe   aqi*
               IN   island   this   3SG.NFUT   not.exist

               tai   toqa   si   too   i   ei.
               some.PL   people   3SG.NEG   reside   LOC   LOCPRO
               'On this island, nobody lives there.'

Compare a similar sentence without topicalization:

(38-35)   *Qe   aqi   tai   toqa   qi   laa*
          3SG.NFUT   not.exist   some.PL   people   LOC   IN

          aququa   naqi.
          island   this
          'There are no people (living) on this island.'

While topicalized locative phrases are indexed in their comment clauses by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, topicalized temporal phrases normally are not:

(38-36)   *Manga   qeri, nau   kwai   uqunu   fasi   suli-a*
          time   this   1SG   1SG.FUT   narrate   PREC   PROL-3.OBJ

       maqaluta-na   qota.
       aspect-3.PERS area.nut
       'This time I am going to talk about things having to do with areca nuts (lit.: about aspects of areca nuts) [i.e., activities and customs associated with areca nuts].'

(38-37) *Keko   sore-qe,   "Qoo, qi   qusungadi koro*
        3DU.SEQ say-DETR oh   LOC tomorrow DU(INCL)

        koki   lae qana   uusia."
        DU(INCL).FUT go   GENP   buy-DVN
        'They said, "Oh, tomorrow we'll go to the market.".'

(38-38) *Fa   bongi   na   kwai   lae, qoe mena*
        CLF   day   REL 1SG.FUT   go   2SG FADD

        qoki   lae laqu boqo   fasi-a.
        2SG.FUT   go   ADD ASRT   ABL-3SG.OBJ
        'The day I go (away from this house), you too will go away from it.'

    As mentioned in section 10.2.2, temporal topic phrases are optionally indexed by means of the locative pro-form if the temporal period in question is relatively long and the state of affairs can be metaphorically located within it; see example (10-25) there. However, such indexing is never obligatory and is dispreferred.

38.3.5. Possessor topicalization

When a possessor phrase is topicalized, the way it is indexed in the comment clause depends on the type of possessive construction involved. When the possessive construction is of the bare type, the topic is indexed by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun in the possessor position:

(38-39) *Wane kere   qui-a   si   onga **nia***
        man   3PL.NFUT make.tatoo-3.OBJ CLF tattoo 3SG

        qana iqa.
        GENP fish
        'The man had a tattoo of a fish done.' (Lit.: 'The man they made his tattoo of a fish.')

(38-40)   *Kamuluqa, raa kamuluqa ki   karangi-a*
            2PL   work 2PL   PL   be.near.to-3.OBJ

            kai   sui   naqa?
            3SG.FUT   be.finished PRF
            'You, is your work (lit.: works) almost finished?'

When the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the topic is in-
dexed by the appropriate personal suffix on the possessum noun:

(38-41)   *Kwato   naqi maa-na   e   tutu   naqa.*
            digging.stick this tip-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.blunt   PRF
            'This digging stick has a blunt tip.' (Lit.: 'This digging stick, its tip
            is blunt now.')

Possessor topicalization is common, especially when the possession is of the
inalienable type, and in particular when the possessum is part of the possessor,
or an aspect, characteristic, or a property of the possessor. Frequently, it is the
referent of the possessor phrase rather than the possessum that is the "real"
topic. The possessum referent may be said to be in a certain state, condition, or
to have a certain property, but because it is a part or an aspect of the possessor,
it is ultimately the possessor that is in that state, condition, or has that property
(see the quote from Bally [1996 (1926): 33] in section 12.3, following example
[12-25]). Such topicalization is a common way of speaking about the state or
characteristic of a person or an object. There is often no prosodic marking of
the topicalization, especially if the topicalized possessor relates to the subject
of the comment clause. Such topicalization of possessors is reminiscent of "ex-
ternal possession" (see, for example, Payne and Barshi 1999), except that in
Toqabaqita the possessor is also encoded inside the possessive construction,
besides being expressed in the topic position.

Below are given a few more examples. In the first two, the possessive noun
phrases function as the subjects of the comment clauses. The sentence in (38-
42) is first and foremost a statement about the speaker's physiological state, not
about his chest:

(38-42)   *Nau lio-ku   qe   laalanga.*
            1SG   inside.chest-1SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.dry
            'I have a dry throat.' 'My throat is dry.' (That is, 'I am thirsty.')
            (Lit.: 'I, the inside of my chest is dry.') (*Lio* is used in a variety of
            constructions to speak about people's mental and physical states.)

And (38-43) is mainly about the bird, rather than about its wing:

(38-43)   *Thaqaro   naqi kuukuba-na   e   qoo.*
          bird   this   wing-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.broken
          'This bird has a broken wing.

In the next example the possessive noun phrase functions as the direct object of the comment clause:

(38-44)   *Wane,   uru   e   thau-ngi-a*
          man   leprosy 3SG.NFUT   afflict-TR-3.OBJ

          kuukuu-na.
          finger/toe-3SG.PERS
          'The man has leprosy in his fingers/toes.' (Lit.: 'The man, leprosy has afflicted his fingers/toes.')

In the next example too, the possession is of the inalienable kind, although the possessive construction is of the bare type because the possessum has been individuated by the ordinal numeral *rua-na* 'second' (section 8.1.7). The possessive noun phrase is the subject of a verbless ascriptive sentence:

(38-45)   *Kini   qeri, rua-na   thata   nia ni   tei?*
          woman   that two-3.PERS   name   3SG PERSMKR who?
          'What (lit.: who) is the woman's second name?' 'The woman, what is her second name?'

Possessor topicalization is also common when the possessum is a nominalization that expresses a state, a characteristic, or a property of the possessor. In (38-46) a new participant, a girl, is introduced into the discourse. The girl is the topic of the next sentence: the sentence is primarily about her, even though it is her appearance (her looks) that the assertion is ostensibly about:

(38-46)   *... nia   ka   toda-a   teqe thaari. Thaari qeri*
            3SG 3SG.SEQ meet-3.OBJ one girl   girl   that

          riki-la-na   qe   leqa   mamana   boqo.
          look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS 3SG.NFUT   be.nice be.true   ASRT
          '... (and) he met a girl. The girl looked truly beautiful.' (Lit.: '... he met a girl. The girl, her looking-at was truly nice.')

The sentence in (38-47) is about Jim Reeves:

(38-47)   *Dim   Riifs,   nguu-la-na   qe   leqa.*
           Jim   Reeves   sing-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.good
           'Jim Reeves, he sings well.' (Lit.: 'Jim Reeves, his singing is good.')

And the sentence in the next example is primarily about flying foxes, characterized as being good to eat. The verb *qani* 'eat' is Class 1 transitive. That is, *lakwatho* 'flying fox' is in a direct-object, patient relation to the nominalized verb.

(38-48)   *Lakwatho, qani-la-na   qe   leqa   qasia*
           flying.fox   eat-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.good   INTS

           naqa.
           INTS
           'Flying foxes are very good to eat.' (Lit.: 'Flying fox, its eating is very good.')

On the whole, possessor topicalization is more common with inalienable possession, but it is found with alienable possession as well; see (38-40) further above and (38-49) below:

(38-49)   *Ta   wela fanga   nia.*
           some   child   food   3SG
           'Each child (gets) his/her (share of) food.' (Lit.: 'Some child, his/her food.) (Said when distributing food to a group of children.)

Noun phrases that are in a possessor relation to locational nouns (section 10.8) also can be topicalized. In (38-50) the locational noun is *buir-a* 'behind it':

(38-50)   *Biqu   nau, teqe qota   qe   ni=i*
           house   1SG   one   areca.nut   3SG.NFUT   be.located=LOC

           buir-a.
           behind-3SG.PERS
           'My house, there is an areca nut (tree) behind it.' 'My house has an areca nut (tree) behind it.'

Alternatively, it is possible to topicalize the possessive noun phrase headed by a locational noun, or the whole prepositional phrase, of which that noun phrase is the complement. In either case, the topicalized phrase must be indexed in the comment clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei* with the general locative preposition *qi* (see also section 38.3.4 on oblique-object topicalization). The two options are illustrated in (38-51a) and (38-51b):

(38-51) a.   *Qi   buir-a   biqu   nau, teqe qota*
              LOC   behind-3.PERS house   1SG   one   areca.nut

              qe   ni=i   ei.
              3SG.NFUT   exist=LOC LOCPRO
              'Behind my house there is an areca nut (tree).'

         b.   *Buir-a   biqu   nau, teqe qota*
              behind-3.PERS   house   1SG   one   areca.nut

              qe   ni=i   ei.
              3SG.NFUT   exist=LOC LOCPRO
              'Behind my house there is an areca nut (tree).'

Possessor topicalization is found not only with respect to attributive possessive constructions but also in possessive sentences (section 26.2). The topicalized possessor is indexed in the comment clause by means of the corresponding personal suffix on the possessive marker *qa-*. There is topicalization of the possessor in B's sentence in (38-52):

(38-52) A: *Qa-muqa   fita   botho?*
            POSS-2SG.PERS   how.many?   pig

         B: *Nau qa-kuqa   ulu   botho.*
            1SG   POSS-1SG.PERS   three pig
         A: 'How many pigs do you have?'
         B: 'I, I have three pigs.' (Lit.: 'I, of mine [there are] three pigs.')

And as discussed in section 12.3.2, with subject-incorporating compounds the notional possessor is expressed as the subject, and subjects are default topics.

38.4.   Long-distance topicalization

Most commonly, linked topics are linked to immediately following comment clauses, as in the next three examples.

(38-53)   *Doo   ni   kasi   luma   kamiliqa   ki,*
           thing   LIG   build.house   house   1PL(EXCL)   PL

           kuburu   ka   thau   teqefau   qani-a.
           storm   3SG.SEQ destroy   every.one   GENP-3SG.OBJ
           'Our house-building materials (lit.: our things for building houses)
           [i.e., trees for timber], the storm [cyclone] destroyed them all.'

In the next two examples the topics are linked to subordinate clauses, a relative temporal clause, and the protasis of a conditional sentence, respectively.

(38-54)   *Maka   nau   bia   thaina-ku,   manga   na*
           father   1SG   and   mother-1SG.PERS   time   REL

           kera   riki-a   na   ni   nau   ku
           3PL.NFUT   see-3.OBJ   COMP   PROFORE   1SG   1SG.NFUT

           baqita   naqa, keka   toda-a   qasia   naqa
           be.big   PRF   3PL.SEQ obtain.money-3.OBJ INTS   INTS

           malefo.
           money
           'My father and mother, when they saw that I had grown big, they
           worked hard on getting money (for a bride price).'

(38-55)   *… qe   fale-a   vooning ka   sore-qe,*
       3SG.NFUT   give-3.OBJ warning 3SG.SEQ say-DETR

           "Kamuluqa,   mada   sa   musi   bulasi   fasi-a
           2PL   or   IRR   2PL.NEG turn   ABL-3.OBJ

           Masin   Ruul, qe=aqi   musi   oli   mai."
           Marching Rule 3SG.NFUT=NEGV 2PL.NEG   return   VENT
           '[The Government] issued a warning [to the leaders of the Marching
           Rule movement], saying, "You, if you do not turn away from
           Marching Rule, you will not come back (to your homes).".'

However, long-distance topicalization, that is, topicalization across more than one clause boundary, is possible, and by no means rare. In the examples below, the topics and the elements that index them are in bold:

(38-56)   *Nga,*   ***biqu,***   *si*   *manga*   *na*   *wane*   *e*
          HESIT   house   PRTT   time   REL   man   3SG.NFUT

          thafali-a   *kai*   *thau-ngani-**a**,*   *kai*   *manta*
          begin-3.OBJ   3SG.FUT   build-TR-3SG.OBJ 3SG.FUT   think

          fasi   *suli-a*   *raa-laa*   *na*   *kai*   *raa*
          PREC   PROL-3.OBJ   work-NMLZ   REL   3SG.FUT   work

          qani-a   *qana*   *biqu*   *qeri*   *qi*   *laa*
          INS-3SG.OBJ   GENP   house   that   LOC   IN

          manta-na   *tootoqonaqo, ….*
          mind-3SG.PERS   earlier.time
          'Well, a house, when a man wants to build one, he will first of all think about the work he will do on the house in his mind (its size, etc.), ….' (Lit.: '... he will first think of the working that he will work with on the house in his mind first, ….') (That is, the man will make a mental plan of the house first.)

(38-57)   ***Araqi***   ***naqi**, ku*   *faqa-rongo*   *qoe*   *sui*
          mature.man   this   1SG.NFUT   CAUS-hear   2SG   COMPL

          naqa *ku*   *thathami-a*   *qoki*   *qadomi* ***nia**.*
          PRF   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   help   3SG
          'This man, I have told you already I want you to help him.'

(38-58)   *Qoo,* ***baru*** ***neqe*** *mena,*   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*
          oh   canoe   this   FADD   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

          talaqa-na *qoki*   *lae*   *qi*   ***ei**.*
          fit-3.OBJ   2SG.FUT   go   LOC   LOCPRO
          'Oh, this canoe too, it is not possible for you to go in (it).' (After a number of passing canoes had refused to take the person on board.)

In (38-59) below, the relative clause to which the topicalized phrase is linked has been extraposed to the right (section 30.7.2), which has resulted in long-distance topicalization:

(38-59)   *Imole   keka   qara-tani-a,   "Ma **ni***
            person   3PL.SEQ call.out.to-TR-3SG.OBJ   and   PROFORE

           ***qoe**, fanga   e   qoro   mamana   boqo*
           2SG   food   3SG.NFUT   be.numerous be.true   ASRT

           *n=**o**   qani-a   ku=neqe."*
           REL=2SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ   place=this
           'People (passing by) would call out to him (on seeing a large num-
           ber of discarded shellfish shells), "And you, that's truly a lot of food
           that you have eaten here.".' (Lit.: … "And you, the foods are truly
           numerous that you have eaten (at) this place.".')

Long-distance topicalization normally involves a link to a subordinate
clause. However, long-distance topicalization can take place out of a coordinate
clause when the preceding (coordinate) clause contains the verb *lae* 'go' and it
is purpose that is being expressed, or rather implied, not just a sequence of
events (cf. section 33.3.3):

(38-60)   *Kali   fa   doo qeri ku   lae   kwa*
            small.SG   CLF   thing that 1SG.NFUT   go   1SG.SEQ

           riki-a   sui   na=mai.
           see-3SG.OBJ   COMPL   PRF=VENT
           'That little thing [a watch], I have already gone to see it [before de-
           ciding whether to buy it].' 'That little thing I have already gone and
           seen it.'

38.5.   Unlinked topics

Unlinked topics have much looser semantic relations to their comment domains
than linked topics do. They do not correspond to any of its arguments, adjuncts
or possessors; nevertheless, they are, in some sense, what the comment
clause(s) is/are about (Lambrecht 1994). In the first example below, the
unlinked topic is the person's father and other members of her family.

(38-61)   *Bali suli-a   Maka   nau   kera, doo   e*
            side   PROL-3.OBJ   father 1SG   3PL   thing 3SG.NFUT

> *leqa   teqefau.*
> be.good all.of.it
> '(On) the side of my father 'n them, everything is fine.' 'As far as my father 'n them are concerned, everything is fine by them.'

In (38-62) the topic phrase is the first person plural exclusive pronoun, which here refers collectively to the Toqabaqita people. The subject of the comment clause is non-referential, signifying any Toqabaqita person, but there is no structural position for the pronoun in the comment domain:

(38-62) *Kamiliqa, mada sa   ta   wane ka   qasila,*
        1PL(EXCL) or   IRR   some person 3SG.SEQ sneeze

        ka   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   ta   wane   qe
        3SG.SEQ manner this   oh   some person 3SG.NFUT

        qai-thata-ku."
        call-name-1SG.OBJ
        'With us (the custom is), if a person sneezes, he or she will say, "Oh, somebody has called, mentioned my name.".'

In the next example there is a part-whole relation between the subject and the topic, but there is no position for the topic in the comment clause to be linked to:

(38-63) *Qamali, naanafo   e   baqita qasia   naqa.*
        sea   wave   3SG.NFUT   be.big INTS   INTS
        'The sea has very big waves.' (Lit.: 'The sea, the waves are very big.')

Similarly in the next example: the writing being inquired about is on the side of a ship that is encoded as the topic. The noun phrase that refers to the writing does have a possessor phrase, but that phrase inquires about the originator of the writing, not about the ship:

(38-64) *Bauta qeri, keekeda-laa ni   tei?*
        ship   this write-NMLZ   PROFORE   who?
        'This ship, whose writing is it?'

Unlinked topics may also be used in existential possessive sentences, positive or negative, with the topic phrases expressing the possessor; see sections 26.2.1.1 and 26.2.1.2, respectively, for discussion.

(38-65)   *Nau   roo   wela.*
          1SG   two   child
          'I have two children.' (Lit.: 'I, [there are] two children.')

(38-66)   *Nau   qe   aqi   ta   fa   qota.*
          1SG   3SG.NFUT   not.be.available   some   CLF   areca.nut
          'I have no areca nuts.' ('With respect to me, there are no areca nuts available.')

38.6.   Double topicalization

It is possible for a single comment domain to have two topicalized phrases, and such double topicalization, while not very common, is not unusual. (No instances of more than two topics have been encountered.) Most often in such cases one of the topics is temporal. The sentence in (38-67) has two topic phrases. The first one is a temporal phrase, *qan=teqe fa thato* '(on) one day'. It is followed by a topicalized subject phrase, *wane qeri* 'the man'. The topic status of *wane qeri* is evidenced by the presence of the resumptive third person singular independent pronoun in the subject position in the comment clause:

(38-67)   *Kera   too-too,   qan=teqe   fa   thato   wane   qeri,*
          3PL.NFUT   RDP-stay   GENP=one   CLF   day   man   that

          nia   ka   lae   ka   liiliu   ba-na
          3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   3SG.SEQ   stroll   LIM-3SG.PERS

          qi   laa   fanua   qer=i   sa-na   fanua   qeri
          LOC   IN   land   that=LOC   ADJC-3.PERS   place   that

          thaina-na   kero   nii   qi   ei   neri,
          mother-3SG.PERS   3DU.NFUT   be.located   LOC   LOCPRO   VIVID

          laa   kade-qe   fanua   qeri.
          IN   block-ASSOC   land   that
          'They [a young man and his mother] stayed (there like that). One day the man, he went and just strolled in the land, near the place where he and his mother were/lived, in that area of land.'

If one of the topics is pronominal, it normally comes first.

(38-68) *Ma   tha   baastoo ka   quna   qeri, "Nau,*
     and   PERSMKR   pastor 3SG.SEQ manner this   I

     sios   naqi, ku   ili-toqo-na   qono-laa   i
     church this 1SG.NFUT   do-TEST-3.OBJ sit-NMLZ   LOC

     ei   qa=fa   thato,   ka   taqaa."
     LOCPRO   GENP=CLF   daytime 3SG.SEQ   be.bad
     'And the Pastor said, "I, this church, I tried to sit in here during the
     day, but it was no good.".' (People outside the church were making
     too much noise.)

Each of the next two examples contains a pronominal and a temporal topic, in that order.

(38-69) *Nau qana June ku   tour qa-kuqa   qi*
     1SG   GENP June 1SG.NFUT   tour SBEN-1SG.PERS   LOC

     laa   province.
     IN   province
     'I, in June, toured the [Malaita] Province.'

(38-70) *Keka   quna   qeri, "Qoo,   kulu,*
     3PL.SEQ manner this   oh   PL(INCL)

     qi   quuqusungadia kuka   taqe,   kuka
     LOC   tomorrow   PL(INCL).SEQ ascend PL(INCL).SEQ

     rongo-a   fasi toqa   loo   keki   lae   qufita."
     hear-3.OBJ PREC people   upward 3PL.FUT go   be.how?
     'They said, "Oh, we, tomorrow, let's go up and hear first where
     those people up there will go.".'

Unless the other topic is pronominal, temporal topics tend to come first, as in (38-67) further above and in (38-71) below. The second topic in (38-71) is non-referential.

(38-71) *Taraqena futa   kwai   thau-ngi-a   bo=naqa*
     today   possum 1SG.FUT kill-TR-3SG.OBJ   ASRT=INTS

neqe;	*qe=aqi*	*si*	*aqi*	*boqo.*
VIVID	3SG.NFUT=NEGV	3SG.NEG	not.be.the.case	ASRT

'Today a possum I will definitely kill, without fail (lit.: it will not not be the case).'

However, as the next example shows, temporal topics need not come first, even if the other topic is not pronominal:

(38-72)

Ai	*qena,*	*tai*	*si*	*manga*	*kai*
woman	that(2)	some.PL	PRTT	time	3SG.IPFV

qono	*qa-na*	*nena,*	*ka*
sit	SBEN-3SG.PERS	NPAST.THERE	3SG.SEQ

qafi-si-a	*ba-na*	*ta*	*kaleko*
wear.clothes-TR-3.OBJ	LIM-3SG.PERS	some	clothes

n=e	*muumuu* ....
REL=3SG.NFUT	be.torn

'The woman, sometimes she sits (in her house in a relaxed manner) and just wears clothes that are torn [and she would be startled if you, a man, should see her like that].'

More often than not, the two topics in double topicalization are linked to the same comment clause. That is so in all of the examples above. However, as (38-73) below shows, that is not necessarily the case. There, the first topic phrase, referring to the writer, is linked to, and indexed in, the last clause, by means of the subject marker, while the second topic phrase, referring to a hat, is linked to, and indexed in, the first clause, as well as in the second clause. (The sentence comes from a written text. In spoken language there would most likely be prosodic marking of the second, long topic phrase *kifi nau baa qo fale-a* 'that hat of mine that you gave [me]' [with a rise in intonation towards the end of the phrase and a (slight) pause before the comment clause] and possibly also prosodic marking of the first, pronominal topic phrase.)

(38-73)

Nau	*kifi*	*nau*	*baa*	*qo*	*fale-a*
1SG	hat	1SG	that	2SG.NFUT	give-3SG.OBJ

doqora-ku	*e*	*gani-a*	*kwa*
sibling-1SG.PERS	3SG.NFUT	ask.for-3SG.OBJ	1SG.SEQ

> *fale-a   na=i   fa-na.*
> give-3SG.OBJ   PRF=LOC   REC-3SG.PERS
> 'I, the hat (lit.: that hat of mine) that you gave (me), my brother asked for it, and I have given it to him.'

And in (38-74) the first, pronominal topic is linked to the main clause in the comment domain, while the second topic is linked to the first complement clause:

(38-74) *Nau   raa   naqi ku   riki-a*
         1SG   work   this 1SG.NFUT   see-3.OBJ

        qe=aqi   si   katu   boqo,
        3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG   be.hindered ASRT

        qe=aqi   si   fono   boqo,
        3SG.NFUT=NEGV 3SG.NEG   be.completed ASRT

        qe   lae   ba-na.
        3SG.NFUT   go   LIM-3SG.PERS
        'I, this work, I see it has not been hindered (from going on), it has not been completed, it just goes on.'

38.7. Affect topics

To express the fact that the speaker has some kind of personal attitude towards the referent of a topic phrase, there is a special "affect" topic marker, whose form is *molo*. *Molo* follows the topic phrase, to which it can be linked by means of the ligature *ni*.

    Molo can be used to express the speaker's view of the referent of the topic phrase as in some way unusual, remarkable, in a positive or negative way, whether in general or at a given time. It may signal surprise, admiration, regret, wistfulness, anger, indignation on the part of the speaker with respect to the referent of the topic phrase, which may be the speaker himself/herself. Sometimes there is a contrastive flavour to affect topics: the referent is remarkable in contrast to something or someone else. Affect topic phrases tend to be relatively short and not prosodically separated from the comment domain.

(38-75)   *Nia   molo   qe=aqi   kusi   talaqa-na!*
           3SG   AFFTOP   3SG.NFUT=NEGV   PL(INCL).NEG   fit-3SG.OBJ
           'This one we won't manage!' (Lit.: 'It, we won't fit it.') (Speaking about a pig that was so heavy that the people present would not be able to lift it.)

(38-76)   *Nau   molo   ku   mataqi   ka   too*
           1SG   AFFTOP   1SG.NFUT   be.sick   3SG.SEQ   stay

           ba-na.
           LIM-3SG.PERS
           '(Poor, unfortunate) me, I am always sick.'

In (38-77), the affect topic (in the second clause) is contrastive, and it is unlinked: *lalakwa* 'not like' is an intransitive verb.

(38-77)   *Qe   leqa   ba-na   uri-a   visit-laa,*
           3SG.NFUT   be.good   LIM-3SG.PERS   PURP-3.OBJ   visit-NMLZ

           ma   too-laa   molo   ku   lalakwa.
           and   reside-NMLZ   AFFTOP   1SG.NFUT   not.like
           'It [Japan] is just fine for visiting, but (lit.: and) living (there) I do/would not like.'

In the next two examples, *molo* is linked to the topic phrases by the ligature *ni*.

(38-78)   *Kaluwani   nau   ni   molo   e   laa-lae,*
           son   1SG   LIG   AFFTOP   3SG.NFUT   RDP-walk

           ka   lema   naqa.
           3SG.SEQ   glisten.with.sweat   PRF
           'My son (just look at him) has been walking and walking, and now he is glistening with sweat.'

In (38-79) a relative clause has been extraposed to the right of the topic marker, possibly in order to keep the phrase preceding *molo* short.

(38-79)   *Ma   fanga   ni   molo   na   kera   ngali-a*
           and   food   LIG   AFFTOP   REL   3PL.NFUT   take-3SG.OBJ

mai	*i*	*laa*	*oomea*	*lakoo*	*qe*
VENT	LOC	IN	war	that(3)	3SG.NFUT

qoro	*qasia*	*naqa.*
be.numerous	INTS	INTS

'And the (kinds and items of) food they brought during the war, there were so many of them.' (Lit.: 'And the food they brought inside the war was very numerous.') (The speaker was impressed by the amount of food the American Army brought to the Solomon Islands during the Second World War.)

A sentence with the affect topic marker need not contain a comment domain when the information can be deduced from extralinguistic context.

(38-80) | *Wela* | *naqi* | *molo,* | *roo-wane* | *qae!* |
         |--------|--------|---------|------------|--------|
         | child | this | AFFTOP | two-man/person | VOC |

'This child (just look at him), man!' (Expressing anger, exasperation at what the child has just done.)

(For the expletive *roo-wane* see [27-48] in section 27.3.2.)

38.8.   Topic participants after their introduction into discourse

When a new participant has just been introduced into discourse, the normal pattern is for it to be referred to next by means of a lexical noun phrase that contains the demonstrative *qeri* used anaphorically (section 13.5.1). In fact, the use of lexical noun phrases with *qeri*, rather than of a subject marker, an object suffix, a personal suffix, or an independent personal pronoun signals that the participant just introduced will be thematically prominent in a stretch of discourse that follows. In the first example below, a girl is introduced into the discourse by means of an indefinite noun phrase. In the next sentence she is referred to by means of a topicalized possessor noun phrase. And she is referred to again in a number of sentences that follow, only some of which are included in the excerpt. The noun phrases referring to the girl, the noun phrase characterizing her and the reference to her by means of an object suffix on the comitative preposition are in bold.

(38-81) | *... nia* | *ka* | *toda-a* | ***teqe*** | ***thaari***. | ***Thaari*** | ***qeri*** |
         |-----------|------|----------|------------|---------------|--------------|------------|
         | | 3SG | 3SG.SEQ | meet-3.OBJ | one | girl | girl | that |

riki-la-na   *qe*   *leqa*   *mamana*   *boqo.*
look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.nice   be.true   ASRT

Thaari mamana.   *Si*   *manga*   *n=e*
girl   be.real   PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT

toda-a   **thaari**   *qeri,*   *nia*   *ka*   *ngata*
meet-3.OBJ   girl   that   3SG   3SG.SEQ   speak

bii-a.   **Thaari**   *qeri*   *ka*   *thathami-a*
COM-3SG.OBJ   girl   that   3SG.SEQ   like-3.OBJ

tha   *wela*   *qeri,*   *ma*   *wela*   *qeri*   *mena*   *ka*
PERSMKR   child   that   and   child   that   FADD   3SG.SEQ

thathami-a laqu boqo **thaari**   *qeri*.
like-3.OBJ ADD ASRT girl   that
'... (and) he [a boy mentioned earlier] met a girl. The girl looked truly beautiful. (Lit.: The girl, her looking-at was truly nice.) (She was) a real girl. [Later on, an ancestral spirit took the place of the girl.] When he met the girl, he spoke with her. The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.'

To say that a participant will be thematically prominent does not necessarily mean that it will be the (primary) topic throughout the subsequent discourse. The thematic prominence of a participant may be only relatively local. In the next example, the woman introduced in the first sentence is referred to in the following sentence by means of a topicalized phrase. She is then referred to again in the next two clauses, but after that is not mentioned again.

(38-82)   *Kera*   *thau-ngi-a*   **teqe kini**.   **Kini**   *qeri*,
3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   one   woman   woman   that

kera   *thau-ngi-a*   *qi*   *qae-na*
3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3SG.OBJ   LOC   foot-3.PERS

fu-qi   *kaqo,*   *qae-na*   *teqe*   *faa-fanga-a*
clump-ASSOC   bamboo.sp.   venue-3.PERS   one   RDP-eat-DVN

na   *kera*   *thau-ngi-a*   **kini**   *qeri*   *qi*
FOC   3PL.NFUT   kill-TR-3.OBJ   woman   that   LOC

> *ei.   Manga   na   kera   thau-ngi-a*
> LOCPRO time   REL   3PL.NFUT kill-TR-3.OBJ
>
> ***kini   qeri e   sui,   keko   maqu.***
> woman   that 3SG.NFUT be.finished 3DU.SEQ   be.afraid
> 'They killed a woman. The woman, they killed her at the foot of a
> clump of *kaqo* bamboo; it was (at) the venue of a feast that they
> killed that woman. When/After they had killed the woman, they
> were/became afraid.'

The remainder of the text is about the two men who killed the woman and
about what happened to them on account of the killing.

A newly introduced thematically prominent participant is often referred to in
the first subsequent mention by means of a topicalized phrase: *thaari qeri* 'the
girl' as a topicalized possessor in (38-81) above and *kini qeri* 'the woman' as a
topicalized direct object in (38-82). However, this is not necessary, as the next
example shows. There the newly introduced participant, a garden, is subse-
quently referred to in the subject position, subjects being default topics.

(38-83)   *Keka   kilu-a   **teqe oqola, oqola   qeri***
          3PL.SEQ plant.taro.in-3.OBJ   one   garden garden that

          ka   taqe naqa, qana Unsde   qana fa   wiki
          3SG.SEQ grow PRF   GENP Wednesday GENP CLF   week

          *naqi keki   kwaqi-a   **oqola   qeri***
          this 3PL.FUT harvest.taro.in-3.OBJ garden that

          uri-a   faa-fanga-a   qeri.
          PURP-3.OBJ   RDP-eat-DVN   that
          'They planted taros in a garden; the (food in the) garden has grown;
          on Wednesday of this week they will harvest the taros in the garden
          for the feast.'

For more detail on the anaphoric strategies in Toqabaqita with respect to
thematic prominence of participants see Lichtenberk (1988b, 1996).

Chapter 39
Focusing

39.1.   Introduction

Following Lambrecht (1994: 207, original emphasis), the focus of a proposition is viewed here as "the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion *differ* from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the *unpredictable* or pragmatically *non-recoverable* element in an utterance.". In Lambrecht's approach, assertion is, at an abstract level, an added proposition that "enriches [the hearer's] representation of the world" (1994: 54), and the notion is equally applicable to declarative and non-declarative speech acts. A further characterization of focus is given in section 39.3 below. Assertion is not to be equated with the concept of *assertive* function as employed in this grammar with respect to the particle *boqo*, used in verb phrases as well as in noun phrases (sections 5.2.8 and 7.6, respectively).

This chapter is concerned with a syntactic construction that explicitly identifies the focus part of a clause and sets it off from that part of the sentence that contains the presupposed material, the "presupposition domain". As is the case with the comment domain discussed in the chapter on topicalization, the presupposition domain also most often consists of a single clause, a presupposition clause, but may consist of more than one clause. It may also consist of a noun phrase.

The presupposition domain is introduced by the element *na*, which also serves to introduce relative clauses (section 30.1) and, less commonly, complement clauses (section 29.3), and is also used with relative prepositional phrases (section 6.13.2). In fact, with some qualifications to be mentioned later, there are structural parallels between constructions with relative clauses and the focus construction. One type of relative clause, the restrictive relative clause, also expresses presupposed information, and it is this function that motivates the use of the same element and similar structures in the two types of construction.

The focus constituent precedes the presupposition domain. The basic structure of the focusing construction is shown in (39-1):

(39-1)   [focus   [*na*   presupposition.domain]]
                      FOC

    Although the marker *na* introduces the presupposition domain, it is glossed here FOC(us) to highlight the fact that the construction in question is a focusing one. The label also signals that the constituent to the immediate left of *na* is the focus.

    The focus constituent normally occurs clause-initially, except that an interjection and/or a coordinator, in particular *ma* 'and', may precede it. Only one constituent may be in focus in a clause, but a single clause may have both a focused and a topicalized constituent, in which case the latter precedes the former. The comment domain (section 38.2), then, consists of the focused constituent, the focus marker, and the presupposition domain, as shown schematically in (39-2):

(39-2)   [topic   [focus   [*na*   presupposition.domain]]]
                              FOC

    The sentence in (39-3) has a "basic" structure, with neither a focused nor a topicalized constituent:

(39-3)   *Maka*   *nau*   *e*   *fasi-a*   *ngali*   *naqi.*
           father   1SG   3SG.NFUT   plant-3.OBJ   canarium.nut   this
           'My father planted this canarium-nut (tree).'

In (39-4) the referent of the subject noun phrase in the basic structure *maka nau* 'my father' is in focus. What is presupposed is that somebody planted the canarium-nut tree. The focus marker has fused with the third-person singular non-future subject marker *qe* as *n=e* (see the next section).

(39-4)   *Maka*   *nau*   *n=e*   *fasi-a*   *ngali*
           father   1SG   FOC=3SG.NFUT   plant-3.OBJ   canarium.nut

           naqi.
           this
           'It was my father who planted this canarium-nut tree.'

    And in (39-5) the direct object of the basic structure has been topicalized, with *maka* nau 'my father' again in focus:

(39-5)   *Ngali*   *naqi, maka*   *nau*   *n=e*
           canarium.nut   this   father   1SG   FOC=3SG.NFUT

          fasi-a.
          plant-3SG.OBJ
          'This canarium-nut tree, it was may father who planted it.'

Topicalization and focusing also cooccur in the next two examples, the second one of which is an open interrogative:

(39-6)   *Tha*   *weleqi,* *akalo*   *n=e*
         PERSMKR guy   ancestral.spirit   FOC=3SG.NFUT

         faqa-kwasi-a   *neq.*
         CAUS-be.wild-3SG.OBJ   VIVID
         'The guy, he has been possessed by an ancestral spirit.' (Lit.: 'The guy, it is an ancestral spirit that has possessed him.')

(39-7)   *Fanga* *naqi,* *ni*   *tei* *n=e*
         food   this   PERSMKR who? FOC=3SG.NFUT

         naqare-a?
         cook-3SG.OBJ
         'This food, who cooked it?'

For other examples of clauses with both focusing and topicalization see (39-18) and (39-35) in section 39.2.

The formal properties of the focus construction are discussed in more detail in section 39.2, and its semantic properties and functions in section 39.3.

39.2.   The formal properties

Relative clauses and the presupposition domain of the focus construction receive the same marking, *na*. *Na* frequently fuses with immediately following subject markers whose full forms begin with *q*, in which case the focus marker has the form *n=* and the glottal stop of the subject marker drops out; for example *n=e* from *na qe*, with the third person singular nonfuture subject marker *qe*, as in (39-7) above.

While there are other parallels between constructions with relative clauses and the focus construction, especially when it comes to the indexing of the focus constituent in the presupposition domain (see further below), there are also differences. First, relative clauses are modifiers of nouns. On the other hand, focused constituents may be not just noun phrases, but also clauses and even a marker of inter-propositional relations. Second, as noun-phrase internal modifi-

ers, relative clauses always occur within a higher clause, whereas the clauses in the presupposition domain need not. The focus construction freely occurs in simple clauses, without subordination or coordination. And third, even though *na* as a focus marker may be omitted (see examples [39-34] and [39-35] below, this happens only rarely, whereas the relative-clause marking *na* is absent more commonly.

The constituent in focus often receives some prosodic prominence, which falls on its last (or sole) phonological word. The level of stress is somewhat higher than it would be otherwise, and the word is given higher pitch than it would receive otherwise. And there may be a slight pause between the end of the focus constituent and the focus marker.

Noun phrases in focus may be lexical or pronominal. Pronouns are commonly used in the focus position even if the referent is inanimate; see (39-13) and (39-31) further below, and (6-75) in section 6.3.2.

The phrase, clause, or grammatical element in focus is not a syntactic constituent of the presupposition domain; and, with the exception of verbless clauses, where the focus phrase is not indexed, the presupposition domain is grammatically self-contained.

In the discussion that follows, the various structural subtypes of the focusing construction are discussed and illustrated. Terms such as "subject focusing", "direct-object focusing", etc. are used as convenient shorthand expressions for "focusing where the constituent in focus corresponds, respectively, to the subject, direct object, etc. of the presupposition clause".

With two types of exception, noun phrases in focus are indexed in the presupposition domain. One type of exception is verbless sentences. Either the subject or the predicate phrase can be in focus, but neither is indexed. The other exception is temporal phrases, which are not normally indexed. Clauses in focus are not indexed either, nor is the marker of inter-propositional relations. Otherwise, the conditions on the indexing of focused noun phrases in the presupposition clauses are the same as those for the indexing of the positions relativized in relative clauses; see sections 30.6 and 4.9 for detail.

In subject focusing the focus phrase is indexed in the presupposition clause by means of the appropriate subject marker, if the clause contains a verb. This is illustrated in (39-4) (and [39-5]) in section 39.1 for lexical focus phrases, and in (39-8) below for a pronominal focus phrase. As is generally the case when the referent of a pronoun is foregrounded, pronominal noun phrases in focus often, although not always, contain the foregrounding particle *ni* (section 6.3.2).

(39-8)   *Ni*   *qoe*   *n=o*   *faqa-aqana-a*
          PROFORE   2SG   FOC=2SG.NFUT   CAUS-be.lost-3.OBJ

    qila   qeri.
    knife that
    'It was you who lost the knife.'

In (39-9) it is the subject of a verbless sentence that is in focus. There is no indexing in the subjectless presupposition clause:

(39-9)   *Masta   nau   qeri   bo=naqa   na   tha   mista*
            master   1SG   that   ASRT=INTS   FOC   PERSMKR   mister

            Feebratha   nabaa.
            Fairbrother   PAST.THEN
            'Mr Fairbrother, he was *my master* then' 'It was (being) my master
            (lit.: it was that master of mine) that Mr Fairbrother was then.'

Examples (39-10) – (39-13) illustrate direct-object focusing. The focused noun phrase is indexed in the presupposition domain by an object suffix or by an independent personal pronoun, depending on the class of verb, 1 or 2, and on the grammatical person. In the first two examples, the indexing is by means of object suffixes:

(39-10)   *Tarausisi   tekwa   nau   baa   na   qoki   wasi-a.*
           trousers   be.long   1SG   that   FOC   2SG.FUT   wash-3SG.OBJ
           'It's my long trousers that you will wash.'

(39-11)   *Kaala   wela   qe=ki   bana   na   kera   alu-da.*
           little.PL   child   that=PL   LIM   FOC   3PL.NFUT   put-3PL.OBJ
           'It was only the little children that they put (there) (to guard a cap-
           tive).'

In (39-12) the focused phrase is second person and is indexed in the presupposition clause by a copy of the pronoun:

(39-12)   *Qoe   na   ku   rongo   qoe.*
           2SG   FOC   1SG.NFUT   hear   2SG
           'It was you I heard.'

In (39-13) below, there is a number mismatch between the pronoun in the focus phrase and the object suffix on the verb in the presupposition clause. The pronoun is third person singular. It refers to a musical group mentioned earlier. The object suffix is plural because of the plurality of the members of the group. *Fula-toqo* 'encounter' ('arrive'-TEST), is a Class 2 transitive verb, and so the

indexing can only be by means of an object suffix, not by means of a personal pronoun. The sentence involves long-distance focusing, with the noun phrase in focus and the clause in which it is indexed separated by another clause. *Kotho* 'enter' is an intransitive verb, and its clause does not index the noun phrase in focus. (For long-distance focusing see further below.)

(39-13)   *Nia   na   ku   kotho   mai   kwa*
          3SG   FOC   1SG.NFUT   enter   VENT   1SG.SEQ

          fula-toqo-da ....
          arrive-TEST-3PL.OBJ
          'It was that [the group] that I entered and (so) encountered them ….'
          'It was that that I entered to join them ….'

When an instrument noun phrase is in focus and there is a lexical patient or theme noun phrase in the presupposition clause, instrument inversion takes place; see section 10.7 for discussion and examples.

In oblique-object focusing only the noun phrase is in the focus position. The noun-like and the verb-like prepositions must be stranded behind. (Preposition stranding need not take place in purpose/reason open interrogatives, with the preposition *uri*; section 19.3.4.) With the noun-like prepositions, focus phrases are indexed by means of personal suffixes:

(39-14)   *Nia   na   ku   kuki   i   a-na.*
          3SG   FOC   1SG.NFUT   cook   LOC   BEN-3SG.PERS
          'It was him that I cooked for.'

With the verb-like prepositions focus phrases are indexed by means of object suffixes or by means of pronouns, depending on the grammatical person of the object. With third-person objects either option is available, except that the pronouns are not normally used with non-human reference.

(39-15)   a.   *Ni   tei   qana   n=o   ngata*
               PERSMKR   who?   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT   speak

               bii-a?
               COM-3SG.OBJ
               '*Who* was it that you spoke with?'

         b.   *Ni   tei   qana   n=o   ngata*
               PERSMKR   who?   INTS   FOC=2SG.NFUT   speak

> *bii   nia?*
> COM   3SG
> '*Who* was it that you spoke with?'

When a locative noun phrase is in focus, it is indexed in the presupposition clause by means of the locative pro-form *ei*, which is the complement of the general locative preposition *qi*.

(39-16)   *Ma   ku=naqi   takona   na   thaqaro qe*
           and   place=this   most.likely   FOC   possum   3SG.NFUT

           qoro   i   ei.
           be.many   LOC   LOCPRO
           'And it is most likely at this place/here that there are many possums.' 'And it must be this place where there are many possums.'

Temporal focused phrases are normally not indexed in the presupposition clause (section 10.2.2):

(39-17)   *Roo   kade-qe   thato   na   mili*
           two   block-ASSOC   daytime   FOC   1PL(EXCL).NFUT

           maqasi-da,   ka   aqi   kesi   fula.
           wait.for-3PL.OBJ   3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3PL.NEG   arrive
           '*Two hours* we waited for them during the day, (but) they did not arrive.'

(*Roo kade-qe thato*, literally 'two blocks of daytime' signifies two hours at daytime.)

The indexing of possessors in the presupposition clause depends on the type of possessive construction in the corresponding basic structure (without focusing). If the possessive construction is of the bare type, the focused possessor is indexed by means of the appropriate independent personal pronoun, as in (39-18). The presupposition clause is verbless and subjectless: *kafa nia neri* 'his comb'. Here focusing cooccurs with topicalization.

(39-18)   *Kafa qeri, wane   mae   naqa na   kafa   nia*
           comb this   man   be.dead   PRF   FOC   comb   3SG

> *neri.*
> NPAST.HERE
> 'This comb, it was *the dead man's*.' (Lit.: 'This comb, it was the now-dead man that it was his comb.')

If the possessive construction is of the suffixing type, the focused possessor is indexed by means of the appropriate personal suffix on the possessum noun. In (39-19) too the presupposition clause is verbless and subjectless: *nuu-na* 'his picture', 'picture of him'.

(39-19) *Ni   nia   na   nuu-na.*
         PROFORE   3SG   FOC   picture-3SG.PERS
         '(It is) a picture of *him*.' 'It's him that it is a picture of.'

The predicate noun phrases of verbless sentences may be in focus. The presupposition clause only contains the subject, and there is no indexing of the focus noun phrase.

Example (39-20) contains a verbless ascriptive sentence in its basic structure, without focusing: the subject phrase 'the length of this stick' comes first, and the predicate noun phrase, which specifies the length, second:

(39-20) *Tekwa-la-na   si   qai   qeri lima*
         be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS   PRTT wood   this five

         malafunu.
         finger.span
         'The length of this stick is five finger spans (from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index finger or another finger, with the fingers fully spread).'

In (39-21) the predicate noun phrase, which too specifies length, is in focus:

(39-21) *Sikwa   fa   fale-qae-a   boqo na*
         nine   CLF   give-leg-DVN ASRT FOC

         tekwa-la-na   biqu   naqi.
         be.long-NMLZ-3.PERS   house this
         'Nine paces, that's what the length of this house is.' ('It is nine paces that the length of this house is.')

In (39-22) too the predicate noun phrase is in focus:

(39-22)   *Marukita-kuluqa   na   fanga.*
           sustenance-PL(INCL).PERS FOC   food
           'Our sustenance, that's what food is.'

One area where focusing differs from relativization is the possibility for a whole clause to be in focus. This is the case in focused reason/cause clauses (section 33.2.2).

(39-23)   *Wela naqi qe   thaofa   na   ka   angi neqe.*
           child this 3SG.NFUT be.hungry FOC 3SG.SEQ cry   VIVID
           'It's because the (lit.: this) child is hungry that he/she is crying.'

For an example of a focused clause in an open interrogative see (39-53) in section 39.3.

A presupposition clause may be negative:

(39-24)   *Teqe   keeroqa   bo=naqa   n=e   aqi*
           sole   3DU   ASRT=INTS FOC=3SG.NFUT NEGV

           kisi   mae   qana   thau-wane-a.
           3PL.NEG   die   GENP   kill-person-DVN
           'It was only the two of them who did not die for a murder.' 'The two of them were the only ones not to die for a murder.' (That is, unlike any other murderer they were spared the death penalty.)

Negation may be located in the focus part of the construction. In such cases the focus constituent is a clause that consists of a subject noun phrase that encodes the participant in focus and the negative verb *aqi* 'not be so, not be the case', which takes the third person singular nonfuture subject marker. This is the same construction as the one used in the negative counterparts of positive verbless sentences (section 27.2.5).

(39-25)   *Fanga neqe qe   aqi   n=e*
           food   this 3SG.NFUT not.be.the.case   FOC=3SG.NFUT

           ade-a   wela neqe ka   mataqi.
           do-3.OBJ   child this 3SG.SEQ   be.sick
           'It was not this food that made this child sick.' (Lit.: 'This food was not the case that made this child sick.')

(39-26)   *Wane   naqi   qe   aqi   n=e*
          man   this   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   FOC=3SG.NFUT

        bili-a   naifa qoe, ta   wane   qeeqeta
        steal-3.OBJ knife 2SG   some man   be.different

        n=e   bili-a   naifa qoe qeri.
        FOC=3SG.NFUT   steal-3.OBJ knife 2SG   that
        'It was not this man who stole your knife; it was a different man
        who stole that knife of yours.'

Unlike in relativization, the element in focus may be the consequence marker *adelana*. Placing *adelana* in focus serves to emphasize that the state of affairs expressed in the presupposition clause is indeed the consequence of the state of affairs expressed in another, usually the preceding, clause (chapter 34).

(39-27)   *Wela   qe   thaofa,   adelana   na   ka*
          child   3SG.NFUT   be.hungry   CONS   FOC   3SG.SEQ

        angi.
        cry
        'The child is hungry; that's why he is crying.' 'The child is hungry,
        and it is because of that that he is crying.'

For another example see (34-4) in chapter 34.

On the other hand, just as there is cognate relativization, where the head noun is a nominalization of the same verb that occurs in the relative clause (section 30.5), there is also "cognate focusing", where the noun phrase in focus contains a nominalization of the same verb that occurs in the presupposition clause. In (39-28) cognate focusing occurs in an open interrogative:

(39-28)   *Fita   fa   lae-laa   n=o   lae*
          how.many?   CLF   go-NMLZ   FOC=2SG.NFUT   go

        qani-a   uri Honiara?
        INS-3SG.OBJ   ALL Honiara
        'How many times have you been to Honiara?' (Lit.: 'How many go-
        ings is it that you have gone with them to Honiara?')

Cognate focusing is also found in the following fixed constructions, with *kini* 'be a woman' and *wane* 'be a man', respectively, as the verbs:

(39-29)   *Kini-laa*   *ni*   *boqo*   *na*   *ku*   *kini.*
              be.woman-NMLZ LIG   ASRT   FOC   1SG.NFUT   be.woman
              'I am a real/true/hundred-percent woman.' 'A real/true/hundred-percent woman, that's what I am.' (Lit. 'It is being a woman that I am a woman.')

(39-30)   *Wane-laa*   *ni*   *boqo*   *na*   *ku*   *wane.*
              be.man-NMLZ LIG   ASRT   FOC   1SG.NFUT   be.man
              'I am a real/true/hundred-percent man.' 'A real/true/hundred-percent man, that's what I am.'

As a norm, the presupposition clause with its focus marker immediately follows the focused element. However, just as long-distance relativization and long-distance topicalization are possible, so is long-distance focusing: the focused element and its presupposition clause are separated by another clause. In (39-31) the clause in which the focused element is indexed is a complement clause:

(39-31)   *Nia*   *na*   *ku*   *thathami-a kwai*   *uqunu*   *fasi*
              3SG   FOC   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ 1SG.FUT   narrate   PREC

              suli-a   *i*   *manga*   *qeri.*
              PROL-3SG.OBJ LOC   time   this
              'It's that [possum hunting] that I want to talk about at this time.' 'That is what I want to talk about at this time.'

And in (39-32) the presupposition clause is separated from the element in focus by a coordinated clause. Such long-distance focusing may take place when there is an (implied) purpose relation between the situations expressed in the coordinate clauses, in addition to a temporal relation. The intervening clause typically contains the verb *lae* 'go' or, less commonly, a different verb of translational motion. The two clauses are coordinated asyndetically.

(39-32)   *Taa*   *n=o*   *lae*   *qoki*   *uusi-a*
              what?   FOC=2SG.NFUT   go   2SG.FUT   buy-3SG.OBJ

              qi   *laa*   *sitoa?*
              LOC   IN   store
              'What did you go to buy in the store?' Also: 'What are you going to the store for (to buy there)?'

For an example of long-distance focusing where the intervening coordinate clause contains a verb other than *lae* 'go' see (39-13) further above.

It is possible for a focus constituent to be linked to more than one presupposition clause, which, then, involves both regular and long-distance focusing:

(39-33)   *Meresina   neqe   n=e   faqa-aqi-a*
          medicine   this   FOC=3SG.NFUT   CAUS-not.exist.-3.OBJ

          mataqi-a   nau,   n=e   ade-a   kwa
          be.sick-DVN   1SG   FOC=3SG.NFUT   do-3.OBJ   1SG.SEQ

          qakwaa.
          be.cured
          'It was this medicine that finished my sickness and made me get well.' 'It was this medicine that finished my sickness, that made me get well.'

As a norm, the presupposition domain is introduced by *na*. It is only rarely that *na* is absent. *Na* is occasionally absent if the element in focus is in the scope of the perfect marker *naqa*:

(39-34)   *Nia   naqa moki   riki   nia.*
          3SG   PRF   2DU.FUT   see   3SG
          '(It's) her now you should (go and) see.'

And it is also occasionally absent in the case of fronted interrogative elements in open interrogatives. The sentence in (39-35) involves both topicalization and focusing:

(39-35)   *Koro   taa   ni   boqo koki   ade-a,*
          DU(INCL)   what?   LIG   INTS DU(INCL).FUT do-3SG.OBJ

          fasi   koro   koka   thau-ngi-a   qaburu naqi?
          PURP   DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).SEQ kill-TR-3.OBJ ogre   this
          'You and I, what on earth shall we do to kill this ogre?'

Since the element in focus is informationally the most prominent part of a sentence and often signals contrast (see the next section), the focus phrase often contains a highlighting, emphasizing element, most commonly the assertive particle *boqo*, sometimes together with the intensifier *naqa*, or the limiter *bana*:

(39-36)   ... *kukeqe   nau   ni   boqo n=e   aqi*
            wife   1SG   LIG   ASRT FOC=3SG.NFUT   NEGV

            si   maqu.
            3SG.NEG   be.afraid
            '[My children and I were afraid;] my wife was the one who was not afraid.'

(39-37)   *Fa   bongi   baa   bo=naqa   na   kwai   oli*
            CLF   day   that   ASRT=INTS   FOC   1SG.FUT   return

            kau ....
            AND
            'It will be (on) that day that I will go back ....'

(39-38)   *Ngata-la-na   bana n=e*
            talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS LIM   FOC=3SG.NFUT

            faqa-kwaiakaura-a.
            CAUS-be.easy-3SG.OBJ
            'It's only his/her talk(ing) that makes it [a job] easy.' (Said about a person who claims that a certain job is easy when, in fact, it is difficult.)

39.3.   The functions

Another definition of focus given by Lambrecht (1994: 213) is as follows: "[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition." (Pragmatic) presupposition is the proposition(s) "which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (Lambrecht 1994: 52). That which is presupposed may, but need not, be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of speech. In Toqabaqita the focus construction can also be used when the proposition(s) in the presupposition domain is/are not known to the addressee but the speaker can assume that the addressee can accommodate the information.

    Commonly, the proposition(s) expressed in the presupposition domain can be presupposed because of explicit prior mention. The sentence in (39-39) below is preceded by an account of how the colonial government tried to dissuade Solomon Islanders from following the Marching Rule movement and how the leaders of the movement were punished by the government. The speaker then

mentions one kind of attempt by the government to dissuade people from following the movement.

(39-39)   *Gavman   ka   faqa-rongo   kera boqo,*
          government   3SG.SEQ   CAUS-hear   3PL   ASRT

      sore-qe,   "Doo   garo   na   mulu   lae
      say-DETR   thing   be.wrong   FOC   2PL.NFUT   go

      suli-a   neqe."
      PROL-3SG.OBJ VIVID
      'The government told them, (it) said, "It is a wrong thing you are following (lit.: going along).".'

Not infrequently, however, the presupposed material is only implicit in the preceding discourse, as in the next example. In Toqabaqita society, when people become old and cannot fully take care of themselves, it is expected that somebody will help them out. In (39-40) the speaker first mentions his parents' becoming old, and then he emphasizes that it was him and his wife who helped them. There is no prior mention of helping.

(39-40)   *Kera   araqi   naqa.   Kesi*
          3PL.NFUT   (married.couple)be.old.   PRF   3PL.NEG

      talaqa-na   naqa raa-laa,   nau   naqa bia   kukeqe
      fit-3.OBJ   PRF work-NMLZ   1SG   PRF and   wife

      nau   na   mere   qadomi keeroqa qa=si
      1SG   FOC   1DU(EXCL).NFUT help   3DU   GENP=PRTT

      fanga,   ma   si   qai,   mere   ngali-a
      food   and PRTT wood   1DU(EXCL).NFUT take-3SG.OBJ

      mai,   uri-a   ka   thara-ngi   keeroqa.
      VENT   PURP-3.OBJ   3SG.SEQ (fire)warm.up-TR 3DU
      'They [the speaker's parents] had grown old. They were no longer able to work (and) it was me then and my wife who helped them out with food, and (with) (fire)wood; we took (lit.: brought) it (to them), so that (fire) might warm them up.'

The focus construction is used in open interrogatives when the interrogative phrase is fronted. In the situation expressed in (39-41) the captain sees a person

arrive but does not know the identity of the person and asks the others who are present:

(39-41)   *Kapintana   ka   quna   qeri,   "Ni   tei*
          captain   3SG.SEQ   manner   this   PERSMKR   who?

          n=e   lae   mai   neq?"
          FOC=3SG.NFUT   go   VENT   VIVID
          'The captain said, "Who is it that has come?".'

The use of the focus construction in open interrogatives is discussed in section 19.3.2.

A presupposition clause may contain information that is not fully known to the addressee or that is not known to the addressee at all. Following Prince (1978), such presupposition clauses can be referred to as "informative presupposition clauses". Importantly, however, even though that information is new to the addressee (at the time of utterance), it is not the main information point of the utterance. It is the material in focus that expresses the main information point of the utterance (Borkin 1984). It is that information that is asserted; the information in the informative presupposition clause(s) is not. And second, the addressee can be assumed to be able to accommodate the new information presented in the presupposition domain. (Even though the clause[s] in question does/do not express a presupposition here, the terms "presupposition clause" and "presupposition domain" are retained for convenience.)

In (39-42) the presupposition domain is *kai sore-qe, ta si doo,* 'she will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as])'. However, the preceding clause is about the visitor's calling out the woman's name. Nevertheless, both events have to do with speaking, and the prior mention of calling out a name makes it easy for the addressee to accommodate the information presented in the presupposition domain:

(39-42)   *Qoko   qai-thata-na   kwai-na   kini   qeri,*
          2SG.SEQ   call-name-3.OBJ   spouse-3.PERS woman   that

          nia   naqa na   kai   sore-qe,   ta   si   doo,
          3SG   PRF FOC   3SG.FUT   say-DETR   some   PRTT thing

          "Kai   too   ba-na.",   mada   ka
          3SG.IPFV   be.at.home   LIM-3SG.PERS   or   3SG.SEQ

          faqa-rongo qani-a,   "Ni=e   lae
          CAUS-hear   GENP-3SG.OBJ   3SG=3SG.NFUT   go

qa-na."
SBEN-3SG.PERS
[This is what you should do when you go visiting another man and see his wife there.] 'You call out the woman's husband's name, (and) it's now her who will say, for example (lit.: a thing [such as]), "He is at home.", or she will say about him, "He's gone (out).".'

The presupposition clause in (39-42) contains information that is not fully presupposed by the addressee, and in that sense it is an informative presupposition clause.

It is even possible for a presupposition clause to contain information that is completely new to the addressee. In the situation expressed in (39-43), person A is looking for a third person, and person B identifies her as being the one standing at a certain location.

(39-43)   A: *Lifuna   ni=i   fei?*
              Lifuna   be.located=LOC   where?

           B: *Nia   na   kai   takwe   fuq.*
              3SG   FOC   3SG.IPFV   stand   down.there
           A: 'Where is Lifuna?'
           B: '*There* she is, standing down there.' 'That's her, standing down there.' (Lit.: 'It is her who is standing down there.')

A's primary interest is not so much in the person's location; rather, he needs to find her. B identifies her as being the one occupying a certain posture at a certain location. (*Fuq[u]* is a presentative locative demonstrative adverb; see section 13.6.2.) While there is a general presupposition on A's part that the person is somewhere, it is not (necessarily) part of his presupposition that she is standing at a lower location. The presupposition clause in (39-43) is an informative one. However, even though the information in the presupposition clause is new to A (hence his question), it is not the main point of B's utterance. The main point is the identification of the person for A's benefit. The person is referred to by a pronoun in the focus position. The information in the presupposition clause facilitates the identification of the person, and because she is in A and B's general location and can be pointed at, A can easily accommodate that information.

A similar case is found in (39-44). Person A is looking for his (personal) basket, and B identifies it as being the one hanging at a certain location:

(39-44)   A: *Ma   waqi   nau   baa?*
                and   basket   1SG   that

B: *Nia   bana   na   kai   taa-taru   ba-na*
  3SG   LIM   FOC   3SG.IPFV   RDP-hang   LIM-3SG.PERS

  loq.
  up.there
A: 'And (where is) my basket (lit.: that basket of mine)?'
B: '*There* it is, just hanging up there.' (Lit.: 'It is just the one that is just hanging up there.')

A's primary interest is not in the basket's location as such; rather, he wants to have it. His assumption is that his basket is somewhere, but he does not know where, and he does not (necessarily) assume that it is hanging at a higher location. The presupposition clause is an informative one.

The focus construction can also be used if everything, including the element in focus, is presupposed. Here too the focus construction serves to highlight the main information point of a proposition. By saying the sentence in (39-45) the speaker announces that he will talk about possum hunting. In the subsequent sentence he puts the third person singular pronoun in the focus position. The pronoun refers back to some of the information presented in the preceding sentence.

(39-45)   *Nau   ku   thathami-a   kwai   uqunu   fasi*
          1SG   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   narrate   PREC

          suli-a   nga   maqaluta-na   lae-laa   ura
          PROL-3.OBJ   IDENT   essence-3.PERS   go-NMLZ   PURP

          futa,   keki   lae   qufita   uri-a.   Nia
          possum   3PL.IPFV   go   do.how?   PURP-3SG.OBJ   3SG

          na   ku   thathami-a   kwai   uqunu   fasi
          FOC   1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   1SG.FUT   narrate   PREC

          suli-a   i   manga   qeri.
          PROL-3SG.OBJ   LOC   time   this
          'I want to talk now about going (to hunt) for possums (lit.: about the essence of going for possums), how they [the hunters] go (hunting) for them. It's that that I want to talk about at this time./That is what I want to talk about at this time.'

All the information expressed in the last sentence is presupposed and is in the addressee's consciousness, having been mentioned in the immediately pre-

ceding sentence. The pronoun in the focus position does not add anything that is not presupposed; rather, it highlights some of the information just presented.

The same is true in the next example, from the same text. Here too the third person singular pronoun is used to highlight some of the information presented in the immediately preceding sentence. The first sentence mentions the hunters' returning home from the hunt and the time when that happened: when daylight was coming and the roosters were crowing. The next sentence contains a focus construction. The presupposition clause refers to the hunters returning home. The third person singular pronoun in the focus position emphasizes the time when the hunters returned: they had hunted through the night, until morning. That information is not new, but it is much more noteworthy than just the fact of the hunters returning. Since the pronoun in the focus position has temporal reference here, there is no coding of the focus element in the presupposition clause. (For the lengthening of the medial *l* in *laa-l:ae* see section 35.3.2.3.)

(39-46)   *Laa-l:ae,   kera   fula   i   biqu   keeroqa ki,*
          RDP-walk   3PL.NFUT   arrive   LOC   house   3DU   PL

          ma   fanua   kai   dani   naqa neri,
          and   place   3SG.FUT be.daylight   PRF VIVID

          *kuukua ka   qai   naqa neq.   **Nia**   na   keeroqa*
          chicken 3SG.SEQ   crow   PRF VIVID   3SG   FOC   3DU

          keko   oli   na-daroqa   i   biqu   keeroqa ki.
          3DU.SEQ   return   PRF-3DU.PERS   LOC   house   3DU   PL
          [The hunters are returning home.] 'After walking and walking and walking, they arrive at their (respective) houses, and it is already becoming daylight, (and) the roosters are crowing. It is then that they return to their houses.'

And in the following example the speaker does not use the focus construction to identify a type of referent and to inform the addressee about it. The speaker has no reason to assume that the addressee is not able to identify the kind of bird from the sound the bird is making. The function of the focus construction here seems to be for the speaker to acknowledge to the addressee his (the speaker's) identification of the type of bird involved and perhaps to invite the addressee's agreement.

(39-47)   *Teqe rungau   n=e   rungau*
          one   native.pigeon   FOC=3SG.NFUT   (pigeon)coo

        neri.
        NPAST.HERE
        'That's a pigeon cooing.' (On hearing a cooing sound.)

In Toqabaqita, the element in focus expresses the information high point of an utterance, either because it is that part of the message that is asserted, not presupposed, or because, even though it is presupposed, it is more important, more relevant than the other parts of the utterance. The presupposition clause may express a proposition that is not known to the addressee, which, however, the speaker assumes the hearer can accommodate.

Frequently, the focus construction serves to express contrast: the proposition in the presupposed clause applies to a certain entity rather than to some other(s). The contrast may be explicit, where all the potential (sets of) candidates are mentioned, and the phrase in focus refers to the candidate(s) to whom or to which the proposition applies. This is the case in (39-48) and (39-49):

(39-48)   *Teqe nau na   kwai   lae   fasi kwa   raqu-a,*
           sole 1SG FOC 1SG.FUT go   PURP 1SG.SEQ catch-3SG.OBJ

           kamuluqa muka   maqasi nau qa-muluqa.
           2PL   2PL.SEQ wait.for 1SG SBEN-2PL.PERS
           'It will be me alone who will go to catch it [a bird]; you wait for me.' '*I alone* will go to catch it; you wait for me.'

(39-49)   *Qoe bana na   qoko   lalakwa qani nau, nau kwasi*
           2SG LIM FOC   2SG.SEQ not.like GENP 1SG 1SG   1SG.NEG

           lalakwa boqo qani   qoe.
           not.like ASRT GENP   2SG
           'It is just *you* who dislikes *me*; *I* do not dislike *you*.' ('It is just you who does not like me; I do not not like you.')

Sometimes the contrast is only implicit: only that participant is mentioned to whom or to which the proposition applies:

(39-50)   *Araqi   qeri bana n=e   oli   mai*
           mature.man   that LIM FOC=3SG.NFUT   return VENT

           qana   wane   kiloko. Qi manga qeri
           GENP   one   o'clock LOC time   this

meka	*qono*	*neri.*
1DU(EXCL).SEQ	sit	NPAST.HERE

'It was only the old man who came back at one o'clock. [The rest of his family did not.] At this time the two of us are here.'

(39-51) | *Qoe* | *bo=naqa* | *n=o* | *thaitoqoma-na.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | ASRT=INTS | FOC=2SG.NFUT | know-3SG.OBJ |

'You know best.' (Lit.: 'It is you who knows it.')

Sometimes the notion of contrast does not apply, unless it is intepreted extremely broadly. With respect to the proposition expressed in (39-52), there is no clear set of the potential candidates with which the sustenance function of food is being contrasted. Here the focus construction serves to highlight what the function is.

(39-52) | *Marukita-kuluqa* | *na* | *fanga.* |
|---|---|---|
| sustenance-PL(INCL).PERS | FOC | food |

'Our sustenance, that's what food is.'

And while (39-51) further above can be seen as expressing contrast, the set of potential candidates is not clearly defined: the addressee as against every human being?

Contrastiveness is not a binary notion, rather a gradient one (see, for example, Lambrecht [1994], following Bolinger [1961]). It ranges from clear, explicit contrast where the alternatives are identified, as for example in (39-49) above (the speaker and the addressee), to implicit contrast where only the candidate to which the proposition applies is identified, the other or others being suggested more or less strongly, as in (39-50) (the other members of the old man's family), in (39-51) (all other humans?), and in (39-52) (all other conceivable functions that food might have?).

The focus construction is used with two other functions. In one it is a clause that is in focus. The clause in focus expresses the reason for, or the cause of, the situation expressed in the presupposition domain. The reason/cause is highlighted, emphasized:

(39-53) | *Qo* | *ade* | *qufita* | *na* | *qaba-mu* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.NFUT | do | do.what? | FOC | arm-2SG.PERS | 3SG.SEQ |

qoo?
break

'What did you do to break your arm?' 'How did you break your arm?' 'How did your arm get broken'?

Focused reason clauses are discussed in section 33.2.2

And second, the consequence marker *adelana* can be put in focus to empha-size the fact that the situation expressed in the presupposition clause is indeed the consequence of the situation expressed in another, usually the immediately preceding, clause; see (39-27) in section 39.2, and chapter 34.

Chapter 40
Toqabaqita, Solomon Islands Pijin, and English

40.1.   Introduction

As a norm, Toqabaqita people are bilingual in their own language and in Solomon Islands Pijin, an English-lexifier creole, which is the lingua franca in the Solomon Islands. School education is in English, and so some people, especially those of the younger generations, with several years of formal education, have some knowledge of English. Furthermore, people also tend to have at least some passive knowledge of the neighbouring languages and dialects.

Borrowing from Pijin into Toqabaqita has been quite extensive, but with the exceptions of numerals, it has been restricted to lexical items that belong in the major, open classes of nouns and verbs, the former in particular. There is no evidence of borrowing of grammatical items or of structural borrowing. By borrowing is here meant the adoption of a Pijin lexical item into the lexicon of Toqabaqita, which often necessitates phonological accommodation. This is to be distinguished from code-mixing, where Pijin words are used in Toqabaqita discourse in a basically ad hoc manner, often without being accommodated to Toqabaqita phonological patterns. However, the distinction between established borrowings and code-mixing is not a hard and fast one. Some Pijin words happen to fit the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita and so no accommodation is necessary. Second, some Pijin words that do not fit the phonological patterns of Toqabaqita are used commonly in Toqabaqita discourse without accommodation. And third, one and the same Pijin etymon may sometimes be used in an accommodated form and sometimes in a non-accommodated form, even by the same speaker. The boundaries of the Toqabaqita lexicon are not clear-cut. For discussion of this with respect to what should or should not be included in a dictionary of Toqabaqita see Lichtenberk (2003b).

The discussion that follows is concerned only with borrowing and code-mixing that involves Solomon Islands Pijin or, occasionally, English. It is not concerned with borrowing and code-mixing that involves the neighbouring or nearby lects. Because of the close similarities between Toqabaqita and the other lects, borrowings and instances of code-switching are difficult to identify in the absence of a detailed study. Not infrequently, speakers of Toqabaqita disagree among themselves whether a given word is a borrowing from a neighbouring or a nearby lect or not.

It needs to be kept in mind that the main donor/source language, Solomon Islands Pijin, itself is not monolithic. There is a large amount of variation with respect to how anglicized a person's Pijin is. On the whole, urban Pijin has more English features than rural Pijin. Second, people with extensive formal education in English tend to speak Pijin with more English features than speakers with little or no such education. And the extent of English features in a person's Pijin may also depend on the speech situation itself: one and the same person may use more anglicized Pijin in formal contexts than in informal contexts. (See Jourdan [2002] for a brief mention of the difficulties with drawing a line between Pijin and English.) The kind of Pijin a person speaks may also be affected by his or her native language.

40.2.   Borrowing and phonological accommodation

Most cases of borrowing involve nouns. There are a few verbs that were borrowed as such, and there are some verbal forms that were formed in Toqabaqita from borrowings. Although Solomon Islands Pijin has a class of adjectives, Toqabaqita has only one adjective (section 6.12), and Pijin adjectives are not borrowed. Not surprisingly, borrowing is common with non-traditional concepts, for example:[48]

(40-1)   Toqabaqita   Pijin

seleni 'Western-style money'   *selen*
kaleko 'cloth', 'clothes'   *kaleko*
raisi 'rice'   *raes*
kafara 'copra', 'make copra'   *kopra* 'copra'
tefolo 'table (furniture)'   *tebol*
banikeni '(drinking) cup, mug'   *panikin*[a]

Note: a. Toqabaqita people normally use *kap* rather than *panikin* when speaking Pijin

However, there are also well-established borrowings where there is a native Toqabaqita word or expression for the same or a very similar concept:

(40-2)   *wasi* (Class 1 tr. v.) 'wash st.'; Pijin *wasim*; original Toqabaqita words: *saqu* and *taqu* (Class 1 tr. v.'s)
mago 'mango'; Pijin *manggo*; original Toqabaqita word: *qasai*
komu (n.) 'comb'; Pijin *kom*; original Toqabaqita words *kafa*, *suta*, *taqegwau*; also in *komu-rinaa* 'decorative comb' (*rina* 'k.o.

ear ornament'); cf. the original Toqabaqita synonyms *kafa-rinaa* and *suta-rinaa*

butete 'sweet potato'; Pijin *butete*; original Toqabaqita word *kai-rogi*, not normally used today

sofusofu 'soup'; Pijin *supsup*; original Toqabaqita word *waino*, not in common use today

naifa (n.) 'knife'; Pijin *naef*; Toqabaqita has several terms for various traditional knife-like cutting implements, but today steel knives are normally used, designated as *naifa*

With respect to its phonology, Toqabaqita is different from Pijin both in its sound inventory and in its phonotactics. As far as the phonotactics is concerned, the syllable structure of Toqabaqita is (C)V, whereas Pijin does permit closed syllables and consonant clusters. (At the phonetic level there are closed syllables in Toqabaqita, but these arise through optional vowel deletion; see section 2.2.1.) When Pijin words are accommodated to the phonotactics of Toqabaqita, there are certain general patterns that are followed, although they are not exceptionless. To avoid closed syllables and consonant clusters, paragogic and epenthetic vowels are inserted. Leaving aside nasal-consonant sequences, which are dicussed further below, there are several patterns. One involves insertion of a copy of the vowel in the immediately preceding or the immediately following syllable:

(40-3)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

    savol   *safolo* (n.) 'shovel, spade'
    skul   *sukulu* 'school', 'attend school'
    dram   *darama* 'drum (container), barrel'

Another pattern involves insertion of /ɪ/ or /ʊ/ rather than a vowel copy. After the dental consonants, especially /s/, it is usually /ɪ/ that is inserted, while after the bilabial consonants it is usually /ʊ/ that is inserted (orthographic *f* represents /ɸ/, that is, [ɸ] word-initially and [β] intervocalically).

(40-4)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

    lus   *lusi* (intr. v.) 'lose (e.g. in cards)'
    fislaen   *fisilaeni* 'fishline'
    frok   *furoko* 'introduced spp. of frog'
    gam   *gamu* 'chewing gum'

In some cases the two criteria — the nature of the vowel in the neighbouring syllable and the nature of the preceding consonant — coincide:

(40-5)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

    fenis   *fenisi* (n.) 'fence'
    rum   *rumu* 'room in a house'

In some other cases, neither pattern is followed. Instead, in word-final position /a/ is sometimes inserted or, less commonly, /ɛ/:

(40-6)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

    naef   *naifa* (n.) 'knife'
    nil   *nila* '(iron) nail'
    bret   *bereta* 'bread'
    trak   *tarake* (n.) 'truck'
    pinat   *binate* 'peanut'

Toqabaqita voiced stops and /w/ are prenazalized, even though there are differences in the degree of prenasalization, depending on the sound in question and on the position in a word (section 2.1.2). There is always prenasalization word-medially, and this is what is relevant here. Pijin does allow homorganic nasal-consonant sequences word-medially and word-finally. When a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal and a voiced stop, the sequence is realized in Toqabaqita as a prenasalized voiced stop:

(40-7)   Pijin   Toqaqaqita

    namba   *naba* (n.) 'number'
    handol   *adele* (n.) 'handle'
    manggo   *mago* 'mango'

When a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal and a voiceless stop, the cluster is usually replaced by a (prenasalized) voiced stop with the same place of articulation as the Pijin consonants.

(40-8)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

    angka   *aga* (n.) 'anchor'
    siment   *simede* (n.) 'cement', 'concrete'
    Frank   *Farage* Frank

However, Pijin *hangkaf* 'handcuffs' and *hangkafem* 'handcuff sb.' have become *anikaba* (n., Class 1 tr. v.) 'handcuffs', 'handcuff sb.', with epenthesis.

There are also cases where the English source of a Pijin word contains a sequence of a nasal followed by a voiceless stop, but the voiceless stop is usually not pronounced in Pijin. The original English sequence is realized in Toqabaqita as the corresponding voiced stop, which suggests that those words were adopted into Toqabaqita at a time when those consonants were pronounced.

(40-9) Pijin   Toqabaqita

    pam   *babu* (n.) 'pump'
    pamken   *babakenu* 'pumpkin'
    ing   *igi* 'ink'

Conversely, there are a few cases where Pijin voiced stops, which are not prenasalized in Pijin, are realized as the corresponding voiceless stops:

(40-10) Pijin   Toqabaqita

    goava   *koava* 'guava'
    gras   *karasi* (n.) 'grass'
    dram   *tarama*, but also *darama* 'drum (container), barrel'
    gaedim   *gaetemu* (tr. v.) 'guide' (*t* for *d*)

What all this suggests is that even though prenasalization is not phonemic in Toqabaqita, speakers of Toqabaqita are sensitive to it: prenasalization of a voiced stop replaces the nasal in a Pijin nasal-voiceless stop sequence, and lack of a nasal before a voiced stop in Pijin may lead to its replacement by a (non-prenasalized) voiceless stop in Toqabaqita. (And as mentioned in section 2.1.2, when adults speak to babies, they sometimes do not prenasalize the relevant sounds.)

There may be further evidence of the status of prenasalization as just outlined, which has to do with the situation in Pijin. Some Pijin words contain sequences of a nasal followed by a voiced stop where the English source word has a nasal followed by the corresponding voiceless stop: Pijin *kaonda*, English *(shop) counter*; Pijin *stambem* (transitive verb), English *stamp* (cf. Pijin *stam* (n.) 'stamp'); Pijin *hanggasif*, English *handkerchief*. Since Pijin does permit sequences of nasals and voiceless stops, the replacement of English voiceless stops after nasals by voiced stops cannot be attributed to a prohibition on nasal-voiceless stop sequences in Pijin. Speakers of Malaitan languages, of which Toqabaqita is one, had a major impact on the early development of Solomon

Islands Pijin (Keesing 1988), and it is conceivable that the substitution of voiceless stops after a nasal with voiced stops is a substrate influence from those languages. In those languages English nasal-voiceless stop sequences would have been reinterpreted as unitary prenasalized voiced stops, which, in turn, would have been reinterpreted as nasal-voiced stop sequences in Pijin.

Like Pijin, Toqabaqita has the sound /w/, but its distribution is severely restricted: it occurs only word-initially or stem-initially before /a/ and /ɛ/, apart from a few exceptions that historically may have fitted the restricted pattern (section 2.2.3). When a Pijin word begins with /w/ before a vowel other than /a/ or /ɛ/, the /w/ is replaced by /ʊ/, unless in the Pijin word the /w/ is already followed by /ʊ/, in which case the /w/ drops out:

(40-11)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

        wiket (English *wicked*)   *ukita* 'pagan'
        wik   *uiki* 'week'
        waf   *uafa* 'wharf'
        wul (English *wool*)   *ulu* 'sweater', 'sweatshirt'

Toqabaqita has the same inventory of vowels as does Pijin, but it lacks some of the consonants that Pijin has: /p/, /h/, /v/, and /dʒ/. Pijin /p/ is replaced with /b/ or with /ɸ/. Word-initially /b/ is more common than /ɸ/, while word-medially both are common (with /ɸ/ realized as [β] intervocalically):

(40-12)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

        pepa   *beba* (n.) 'pepper (spice)', 'pepper,
                                              capsicum'
        pepa   *befa* (n.) 'paper'
        paep   *baifa* 'pipe (conduit)'
        sop   *sofu* (n) 'soap'
        spun   *subuni* (n.) 'spoon'
        rop   *robu* (n.) 'rope'
        piksa   *bikisa* (n.) 'picture', 'photograph'
        pilo   *bilo* 'pillow'
        plei   *bilei*, also *filei* (n.) 'play'
        pent (n.), *pendem* (tr. v.)   *feda* (n.; intr. v.; Class 1 tr. v.)

In Pijin, /h/ normally occurs only word-initially (and word-medially in compounds). In Toqabaqita it is dropped:

(40-13)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

      hama   *ama* (n.) 'hammer'
      handol   *adele* (n.) 'handle'

In the borrowings that contain /v/ in their Pijin sources, the /v/ is word-medial, and it has been replaced by /ɸ/, which is realized medially as [β]:

(40-14)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

      devol   *defolo* 'devil', Satan
      savol   *savolo* (n.) 'shovel, spade'

Pijin /dʒ/ (orthographic *j*) is replaced with the sequence /dɪ/ before non-front vowels, and with /d/ before front vowels, although in the latter type of case only one instance of full accommodation has been encountered; see *dele* 'jail, prison' in (40-15).

(40-15)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

      Japan   *Diabana* Japan
      Jon   *Dione* John
      jel   *dele* (n.) 'jail, prison'

      and with only partial accommodation:

      Jim   *Dim* Jim
      Jisas   *Diises* Jesus

Pijin words that phonemically begin with a vowel often have an initial non-phonemic glottal stop. In Toqabaqita, such words usually (although not always) receive an initial glottal stop (orthographic *q*), which, in contrast to the situation in Pijin, is phonemic.

(40-16)   Pijin   Toqabaqita

      apol   *qabolo* 'apple'
      ofis   *qofisi* 'office'
      ami   *qami*, also *ami* 'Army'
      oel   *qoela* (n.), also *oela* 'oil'

but:

anian   *aniani* 'onion'

While there are various patterns in the ways that Pijin words are phonologically accommodated in Toqabaqita, there are also cases that are exceptional in various respects. For example:

(40-17)   Pijin *strap*, Toqabaqita *tarafu* (n.) 'strap, belt' (omission of the initial *s* rather than epenthesis)
           Pijin *balun*, Toqabaqita *balume* (n.) 'balloon' (*m* instead of *n*)
           Pijin *bisket*, Toqabaqita *fisikete* 'biscuit', 'cracker' (*f* instead of *b*)
           Pijin *supsup*, Toqabaqita *sofusofu* 'soup' (*o* instead of *u*, twice)
           Pijin *handol*, Toqabaqita *adele* (n.) 'handle' (*e* instead of *o*)
           Pijin *kuinin*, pronounced [kwínɪn] by Toqabaqita speakers, Toqabaqita *koniana* (*ko* for *kw*, and several irregularities involving vowels)

The bulk of the borrowings from Pijin into Toqabaqita involve nouns. There are some verbs in Toqabaqita that are based on Pijin words. Some such verbs show evidence of having been created within the Toqabaqita language rather than having been borrowed as verbs. For example, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *feda* 'paint st.', where the corresponding Pijin verb is *pendem* (*pend-em*). The Pijin verb contains the transitive suffix *-em*, which is missing from the Toqabaqita verb. Toqabaqita also has the words *feda* (n.) 'paint' and *feda* (intr. v.) 'paint', where Pijin has *pent* (also *pen*) (n.). (Jourdan [2002] gives no intransitive verb 'paint'.) Evidently, what Toqabaqita borrowed from Pijin was the form *pent*, which was accommodated as *feda*, which nowadays functions as a noun, an intransitive verb, and a transitive verb. Similarly with the Class 1 transitive verb *kuki* 'cook st.', where Pijin has *kukim* (*kuki-m*). Toqaqaqita also has a noun *kuki* 'cooking pot, saucepan' and an intransitive verb *kuki* 'cook', where Pijin has *kuki* (intr. v.) 'cook'. The form that was borrowed into Toqabaqita was *kuki*, which came to be used not only as an intransitive verb and as a noun, but also as a transitive verb. Another such borrowing is the Class 1 transitive verb *wasi* 'wash st.'. Pijin has transitive *wasim* (*was-im*) 'wash st.' and intransitive *was* (variant *wasi*) 'wash (st.)'.[49] Both *kuki* 'cook st.' and *wasi* 'wash st.' are used commonly, even though there are native Toqabaqita counterparts of both.

There some verbs in Toqabaqita that have been borrowed as verbs. Some of them are intransitive; for example, *ringi* 'make a telephone call', for which the Pijin source is *ring*; and *rama* 'stuff oneself with food', where the Pijin spoken by the Toqabaqita has *ramem* (tr. v.) 'ram'. Jourdan (2002) gives *ramam*, with

ramem as a variant, (tr. v.) 'ram', 'pound', 'copulate, have sex with' for Pijin, and also *ramarama* (intr. v.) 'copulate'. She also mentions the form *ram*, but gives no gloss. Some other transitive verbs have been borrowed as such. Nearly all Pijin transitive verbs contain a transitive suffix (*-m*, *-im* or *-em* in the Pijin spoken by the Toqabaqita), and some Toqabaqita borrowings contain the suffix. For example, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *bekamu* 'bake'; cf. Pijin *bekem*. Pijin also has intransitive *beka* 'bread' (archaic) (Jourdan 2002), and Toqabaqita has *beka* (intr. v.) 'bake'. Similarly, there is a Class 1 transitive verb *gaetemu* 'guide'; cf. Pijin *gaedim*.

All the documented transitive verbs that are based on Pijin words or are borrowings from Pijin are Class 1 transitive; none are Class 2 transitive.

Pijin numerals are commonly used in Toqabaqita, frequently without phonological accommodation (see the next section).

40.3. Code-mixing

Code-mixing between Toqabaqita and Pijin is quite common, and it is not unusual for adults to use Pijin words without phonological accommodation even to little children, and for such children to use them themselves. Not surprisingly, code mixing is often resorted to when there is no Toqabaqita equivalent, native or borrowed. For example:

(40-18) *... kera   suqu-si-a   qana   plastik, ...*
         3PL.NFUT   protect-TR-3SG.OBJ   INS   plastic
         '... they protected it [a place] with plastic (as a cover) ....'

(40-19) *Mika   lafu-a   miksa   qeri, teqe miksa,*
         1PL(EXCL).SEQ pick.up-3.OBJ mixer   that   one   mixer

         teqe qamplifae, teq=qenjin,   roo   maekrofon.
         one   amplifier one=engine   two   microphone
         'We picked up [in a shop; that is, 'we bought'] the (sound) mixer, one mixer, one amplifier, one generator (lit.: engine), two microphones.'

Examples of code-mixing are found in many places in this grammar.

However, non-accommodated Pijin words are used even when there is a native equivalent or an accommodated borrowing. There are certain non-accommodated words that are particularly common. For example:

(40-20)   *kastom* 'custom', even when referring to traditional customs; be-
sides *biibirangaa* 'custom, customary way of doing things',
biranga 'usual behaviour; usual, customary way of doing st.,
of behaving', and *birangaa* 'behaviour; way of doing st.;
usual, customary way of doing things'

langwis [láŋgwɪs] (or [láⁿgwɪs]?) 'language'; besides the deverbal
noun *ngata-a* 'talk, speech', 'language', and the nominaliza-
tion *ngata-laa* 'speaking; talk, speech', 'language', based on
the verb *ngata* 'talk, speak'

kisin 'cookhouse, kitchen', besides *luma ni naqare(-laa)* (*luma*
'family house', *ni* ligature, *naqare* 'cook', *-laa* nominalizer),
which is not normally used; and accommodated *kisina* (less
common than *kisin*)

gavman 'government'; there is an accommodated form *gafumanu*,
but it is is not used much

In code-mixing, the Pijin words are usually treated syntactically in the same
way that native words of the corresponding grammatical categories and sub-
categories are. In (40-21) below, *kastom* 'custom' occurs in the possessum posi-
tion in a bare possessive construction, and in (40-22) *kisin* 'kitchen' functions
as the head of the complement in a stacked prepositional phrase:

(40-21)   *Qe*   *abu.*   *Kastom kulu   qana*
3SG.NFUT   be.forbidden   custom PL(INCL)   GENP

toqa   na=i   Toqabaqita.
people   REL=LOC   Toqabaqita
'That [a kind of behaviour just discussed] was forbidden. (Such
was) our custom, (a custom) of the people of Toqabaqita.'

(40-22)   *Qi   laa   kisin   qe=aqi.*
LOC   IN   kitchen   3SG.NFUT=not.be.so
'Not in the kitchen.' Here: 'It is not in the kitchen.' (Speaking to a
person who was going to look for something, thinking it might be in
the kitchen.)

In the next example, there are two instances of code-mixing, *gavman* 'gov-
ernment' and *lokap* 'jail, prison'. Both have accommodated variants, *gafumanu*
and *lokafu*, respectively, but these are less common than their non-
accommodated counterparts.

(40-23)   *Gavman*   *ka*   *ngali-da,*   *ka*   *alu-da*
            government   3SG.SEQ   take-3PL.OBJ   3SG.SEQ   put-3PL.OBJ

            qi   *laa*   *lokap, ...*
            LOC   IN   jail
            'The Government took them, put them in jail, ...'

Only a relatively small number of verbs have been borrowed from Pijin. On the other hand, Pijin verbs commonly occur in code-mixing. In (40-24) the Pijin verb *interes* 'be interested' is negated in the same way that Toqabaqita verbs are:

(40-24)   *Nia*   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*   *interes.*
            3SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.interested
            'He is not interested (in listening to the radio).'

And in (40-25) the verb *qapiil* 'appeal' is followed by two postverbal particles:

(4-25)   *Qe*   *qapiil*   *sui*   *naqa?*
            3SG.NFUT   appeal   COMPL   PRF
            'Has he appealed (the court decision)?' 'Has he lodged an appeal?'

A commonly heard expression is:

(40-26)   *Tenkyu*   *qasia*   *naqa.*
            thank.you   INTS   INTS
            'Thank you very much.'

Tenkyu is phonetically [tέŋkjʊ]. The English phrase 'thank you' has been re-interpreted as a unitary lexical item in Pijin. In the Pijin spoken in the Toqabaqita area the form is *tenkyu*. (Jourdan [2002] gives the following Pijin forms for 'thank you': *tangio*, also *tankio*, *tankiu*, *tangiu*.) In Toqabaqita, *tenkyu* has the verbal property of taking the postverbal intensifiers *qasia* and *naqa*. On the other hand, it is possible that the two particles are used here idiosyncratically as the equivalent of Pijin *tumas* 'very much' in *tenkyu tumas* 'thank you very much'. The use of *tenkyu* appears to be restricted to the expression *Tenkyu qasia naqa.* 'Thank you very much.'.

The next example contains a non-accommodated verb nominalized in the same way that Toqabaqita verbs are, with the suffix *-laa*. The nominalization *felouship-laa* is used with the meaning 'holding a fellowship meeting in church'. The speaker pronounced the word with the /ʃ/ sound (represented

orthographically as *sh*), which is not characteristic of Pijin, and so this is likely to be an instance of English code-mixing.

(40-27) *Kuki*   *raa*   *ba-kaluqa*   *qana*
         PL(INCL).FUT   work   LIM-PL(INCL).PERS   GENP

         felouship-laa   *qena, ...*
         hold.fellowship-NMLZ   that(2)
         'We will hold fellowship meetings, ….' (Lit.: 'We will work on holding fellowship meetings, ….')

As discussed in section 4.7, noun phrases can be re-ranked as pseudo-verbs. This can also be done with Pijin noun phrases in code-mixing. In (40-28) *seven klok* 'seven o'clock' has been re-ranked and used as a verb: it has a subject marker and is followed by the perfect marker:

(40-28) *Qe*   *seven*   *klok*   *naqa?*
         3SG.NFUT   seven   o'clock   PRF
         'Is it seven o'clock now/already?'

Names that are not native Toqabaqita names are often not accommodated; for example: *Solomon Aylen* Solomon Islands, *Gwalkana* Guadalcanal, *Honiara* Honiara, *Dim Riifs* Jim Reeves, *Good*, also *Goot* (*oo* represents long /ɔ/) God, *Unsde* Wednesday, *Qeprol* April. In addition to their native names, Toqabaqita people also normally have Christian names. These are typically not accommodated: *Ruel* Ruel/Reuel (a man's name), *Joy* (/dʒɔj/) Joy (a woman's name). However, *Adam* is not infrequently accommodated as *Qadama*.

Numerals, especially, but not exclusively, higher numerals often occur in code-mixing:

(40-29) *... mili*   *raqu*   *faafi-a*   *fulinga-na*
         1PL(EXCL).NFUT   possess   CONF-3.OBJ   amount-3.PERS

         ta   *tri*   *handred*   *dolas*   *toqo.*
         some   three   hundred   dollar   perhaps
         '… we possessed the amount of perhaps some 300 dollars.'

A person in her twenties used only Pijin numerals when counting (food) plates, even though she had just spoken to another person in Toqabaqita and reverted to Toqabaqita after the counting:

(40-30)   *Wan, tu,   tri,   fo,   faev, siks, seven,   eit,   naen.*
          one   two three four five six   seven   eight nine
          'One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine.'

In the next example, a numeral is used in a way that does not follow the syntactic pattern of Toqabaqita: *tri* 'three' occurs without a head noun, which is not possible with Toqabaqita numerals, unless numerals are recited in a sequence, as in (40-30) above:

(40-31)   *Ngali-a   mai   tri.*
          carry-3.OBJ   VENT   three
          'Bring three of them [iron nails].'

If the Toqabaqita numeral *ulu* 'three' had been used instead, a noun identifying the type of entity in question would have to be used (the borrowing *nila* 'nail'), or the noun *doo* 'thing' (section 6.2): *ulu doo* 'three things', that is, 'three of them'. It is conceivable, however, that *tri* is treated here as a numeral noun.

There is no clear-cut dichotomy between fully accommodated words and words that are not accommodated at all. One and the same etymon may be fully or partially accommodated or not at all, even by the same speaker; for example: *bereta* and *bret* 'bread', *komu* and *kom* (n.) 'comb', *kisina* and *kisin* 'cookhouse, kitchen'; *grupu* and *grup* (n.) 'group', *futbolo* and *futbol* 'football'. The word for Japan is realized in a variety of ways, from full accommodation to no accommodation at all: *Diabana*, *Diapana*, *Japana*, *Jaban* and *Japan*, where orthographic *j* represents /dʒ/.

Code-mixing also takes place when people write in Toqabaqita (usually personal letters or brief public notices). Not infrequently, the code-mixing involves words written in English, if the writer knows the written form of the English word. (The Toqabaqita words are written here using the orthographic conventions adopted in this grammar.)

(40-32)   *Dear   maka   ma   thaina-ka   qae, ...*
          dear   father and   mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC
          'Dear Father and Mother, ...' (The opening line of a letter.)

(40-33)   *Nau qana June ku   tour qa-kuqa   qi*
          1SG   GENP June 1SG.NFUT tour SBEN-1SG.PERS   LOC

       laa   province.
       IN   province
       'I, in June, toured the [Malaita] Province.'

Children are exposed to code-mixing from an early age. One day a 13-year-old girl was teaching a girl of less than three years of age to count in Pijin: *wan*, *tu*, *tri*, ..., and the little girl responded, also using the Pijin words, as well as she could. The sentence in (40-34) is what a grandfather said to his little grandson who was experimenting with playing a guitar:

(40-34)   *Ngali-a   mai,   kwai   tyunim.*
           carry-3SG.OBJ   VENT   1SG.FUT tune
           'Bring it [a guitar] here; I'll tune it.'

And by using the sentence in (40-35), the speaker was cheering on a group of young children who were chasing a chicken to kill it for a meal, one of whom was carrying a stick to throw at the chicken:

(40-35)   *Sutim   fasi ka   mae!*
           throw(st.).at   PURP 3SG.SEQ   die
           'Throw (it) at it to kill it!' (Lit.: 'Throw (it) at it so that it dies!')

Code-mixing is not at all unusual, and there is no particular stigma attached to it. Normally it is not commented on, provided it is not done to excess. (On certain occasions, such as church sermons, the speaker may engage in code-switching, where whole sentences are delivered in Pijin, which may be influenced by English to various degrees, and in such cases people may comment [subsequently], especially if they found it difficult to understand what was said.) Since bilingualism in Toqabaqita and Pijin is the norm, code-mixing does not normally impede communication. Because of their facility in Pijin, nothing forces speakers of Toqabaqita to accommodate Pijin words phonologically. The language is above all an instrument of communication and self-expression, and sometimes those functions are fulfilled just as well or even better using Pijin words. At present, there is no evidence that code-mixing is endangering the vitality of the Toqabaqita language.

Appendix
Texts

Text 1: A young man and an ancestral spirit
Narrator: Reuel Riianoa

1. *Si   manga qeri laqu, nau kwai   uqunu   laqu*
   PRTT time   this   ADD 1SG   1SG.FUT narrate ADD

   suli-a   rua-na   si   uqunu laqu boqo,   suli-a
   PROL-3.OBJ two-3.PERS DIM story   ADD ASRT   PROL-3.OBJ

   teqe   noniqi   wane.
   one   CLF   man
   'This time too/again I will tell another little story, about a man.'

2. *Wane   qeri wan=daraa   n=naqa,*
   man   that   man=be.young.and.single LIG=PRF

   thaama-na   wane   baqita naqa, sui   nia
   father-3.PERS man   be.big   PRF   but   3SG

   wan=daraa.
   man=be.young.and.single
   'The man was already a *daraa* man, a very big man, but (still) only a *daraa* man.' (*Daraa* is used about males who are no longer considered children, but are still relatively young and not yet married.)

3. *Maka   nia ka   mae naqa.*
   father   3SG 3SG.SEQ   die   PRF
   'At one point his father died.'

4. *Nia   bana bia thaina-na   kero   too   qana*
   3SG   LIM and mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside GENP

teqe kasi   maqa   toaa.
one   small   CLF   hamlet
'Only he and his mother lived in a small hamlet.'

5. *Kera   too-too,   qan=teqe fa   thato wane   qeri,*
    3PL.NFUT   RDP-stay   GENP=one CLF   day   man   that

    nia   ka   lae   ka   liiliu   ba-na
    3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   3SG.SEQ   stroll   LIM-3SG.PERS

    qi   laa fanua qer=i   sa-na   fanua   qeri
    LOC   IN   land   that=LOC ADJC-3.PERS   place   that

    thaina-na   kero   nii   qi   ei   neri,
    mother-3SG.PERS 3DU.NFUT reside LOC LOCPRO VIVID

    laa   kade-qe   fanua   qeri.
    IN   block-ASSOC land   that
    'They stayed (there like that). One day the man, he went and just strolled
    in the land, near the place where he and his mother lived, in that area of
    land.'

6. *Nia laa-lae,   nia ka   toda-a   teqe thaari.*
    3SG RDP-walk   3SG 3SG.SEQ   meet-3.OBJ one   girl
    'He walked on and on, and he met a girl.'

7. *Thaari qeri riki-la-na   qe   leqa*
    girl   that look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT be.nice

    mamana   boqo.
    be.true   ASRT
    'The girl looked truly beautiful.'

8. *Thaari mamana.*
    girl   be.real
    '(She was) a real girl.'

9. *Si   manga n=e   toda-a   thaari qeri, nia*
    PRTT time   REL=3SG.NFUT   meet-3.OBJ girl   that 3SG

ka   ngata   bii-a.
3SG.SEQ speak   COM-3SG.OBJ
'When he met the girl, he spoke with her.'

10. *Thaari   qeri   ka   thathami-a tha   wela qeri, ma*
    girl   that   3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ PERSMKR child that   and

    wela qeri mena   ka   thathami-a laqu boqo thaari   qeri.
    child that   FADD   3SG.SEQ like-3.OBJ ADD ASRT girl   that
    'The girl liked the boy, and the boy, too, liked the girl.'

11. *Keeroqa keko   thathami   keeroqa qa=fa   bongi   qeri.*
    3DU   3DU.SEQ   like   3DU   GENP=CLF day   that
    'They liked each other on that day.'

12. *Keeroqa   keko   kani-a   ruana-a.*
    3DU   3DU.SEQ   tie-3.OBJ   be.friends-DVN
    'They formed a friendship.'

13. *Keko   thathami   keeroqa kwailiu.*
    3DU.SEQ   like   3DU   RECP
    'They liked each other.'

14. *Iu,   kero   ngata   quna   qeri, keeroqa keko*
    all.right 3DU.NFUT talk   manner this 3DU   3DU.SEQ

    qolo-a   fa   thato na   keeroqa keki   toda
    agree.on-3.OBJ CLF day REL   3DU   3DU.FUT   meet

    keeroqa qi   laa   kada   fanua   qeri.
    3DU   LOC IN   block   land   that
    'All right, they talked like that, (and) they agreed on a day they would
    meet in that area of land.'

15. *Ma   si   manga   na   kero   qolo-a   na*
    and   PRTT time   REL   3DU.NFUT agree.on-3.OBJ   COMP

    keki   toda keeroqa,   ma   teqe akalo   ka
    3DU.FUT meet 3DU   and   one   ancestral.spirit 3SG.SEQ

rongo-a.
hear-3SG.OBJ
'And when they agreed to meet, an ancestral spirit heard it.'

16. *Akalo   qeri ka   rongo-a   ngata-la-na   wane*
    ancestral.spirit that 3SG.SEQ hear-3.OBJ speak-NMLZ-3.PERS man

    qeri bia   thaari qeri   na   kero   ngata   qani-a
    that and   girl   that   REL   3DU.NFUT   speak   INS-3SG.OBJ

    na   kero   qolo   keeroqa na   tootoo
    COMP   3DU.NFUT   have.agreement.with 3DU   COMP   later

    keki   fula-toqo-daroqa   qi   kula qeri.
    3DU.FUT   arrive-TEST-3DU.OBJ   LOC   place that
    'The ancestral spirit heard the speaking of the man and the girl that they
    agreed to meet later at that place.'

17. *Akalo   qeri ka   rongo-a.*
    ancestral.spirit that 3SG.SEQ   hear-3SG.OBJ
    'The ancestral spirit heard it.'

18. *Ma   si   manga na   qe   too   suli-a*
    and   PRTT time   REL   3SG.NFUT stay.at.place PROL-3.OBJ

    fa   bongi na   kera   too   ki, fa   bongi
    CLF   day   REL   3PL.NFUT be.at.home PL   CLF   day

    na   kera   qolo-a.
    REL   3PL.NFUT agree.on-3SG.OBJ
    'And (then there was) the time when he [the ancestral spirit] stayed (away)
    during those days, when they [the boy and the girl] were in their (respec-
    tive) homes, (until) the day they had agreed on.'

19. *Iu,   wane   baa   ka   oli   mai.*
    OK   man   that 3SG.SEQ   return   VENT
    'OK, the man came back (home).'

20. *Nia   ka   lae   mai,   ka   fula   sa-na*
    3SG   3SG.SEQ   go   VENT   3SG.SEQ   arrive ADJC-3.PERS

thaina-na,	*ka*	*faqa-rongo-a*	*thaina-na,*
mother-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	CAUS-hear-3.OBJ	mother-3SG.PERS

"Qoo,	*thaina-ka*		*qae,*	*nau*	*ku*	*laa-lae*
oh	mother-PL(INCL).PERS		VOC	1SG	1SG.NFUT	RDP-go

neri,	*kwa,*	*kwa*	*toda-a*	*mai*	*teqe*	*thaari.*
VIVID	1SG.SEQ	1SG.SEQ	meet-3.OBJ	VENT	one	girl

Kwa	*riki-a*	*thaari*	*qeri.*	*Thaari*	*qeri,*	*thaari*
1SG.SEQ	look.at-3.OBJ	girl	that	girl	that	girl

qe	*leqa*	*mamana*	*boqo*	*neri,*	*ta*
3SG.NFUT	be.beautiful	be.true	ASRT	VIVID	some

ai	*leqa*	*qe*	*aqi*	*si*
woman	be.beautiful	3SG.NFUT	NEGV	3SG.NEG

quri-a	*boqo.*	*Ma*	*thaari*	*qeri*	*ka*
be.like-3SG.OBJ	ASRT	and	girl	that	3SG.SEQ

thathami	*nau,*	*nau*	*mena*	*kwa*	*thathami-a*	*laqu*
like	1SG	1SG	FADD	1SG.SEQ	like-3.OBJ	ADD

boqo	*thaari*	*qeri."*
ASRT	girl	that

'He came (home), arrived to his mother and told his mother, "Oh, mother, I was walking and I, I met a girl. I looked at the girl. The girl, she was truly beautiful. No woman is as beautiful as she is. And the girl liked me, and I, too, liked the girl.".'

21.

Thaina-na	*ka*	*quna*	*qeri,*	*"Qoo,*	*wane*	*nau,*
mother-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	manner	this	oh	man	1SG

si	*doo*	*leqa*	*qasia*	*naqa*	*neri.*	*Nau*	*mena*
PRTT	thing	be.good	INTS	INTS	NPAST.HERE	1SG	FADD

ku	*laa-lae*	*mai,*	*kwa*	*kukeqe*	*naqa,*
1SG.NFUT	RDP-go	VENT	1SG.SEQ	be.old.woman	PRF

kwa	*thathami-a*	*bo=naqa*	*so*	*ni*	*qoe*
1SG.SEQ	want-3.OBJ	ASRT=INTS	IRR	PROFORE	2SG

qoki	*uusi-a*	*naqa*	*ta*	*kini*	*fasi*	*kini*	*qeri*
2SG.FUT	buy-3.OBJ	PRF	some	woman	PURP	woman	that

ka	*qadomi*	*nau,*	*ka*	*too*	*i*	*sa-ku,*
3SG.SEQ	help	1SG	3SG.SEQ	reside	LOC	ADJC-1SG.PERS

uri-a	*talifili*	*nau,*	*nau*	*ku*	*feda*	*naqa.*	*Ma*
REAS-3.OBJ	only	1SG	1SG	1SG.NFUT	be.tired	PRF	and

ni	*qoo*	*qoko*	*baqita*	*naqa,*	*qe*	*faara-na*
PROFORE	2SG	2SG.SEQ	be.big	PRF	3SG.NFUT	fit-3.OBJ

naqa	*qoki*	*uusi*	*kini*	*naqa.*	*Si*	*doo*	*leqa*
PRF	2SG.FUT	buy	woman	PRF	PRTT	thing	be.good

neri."
NPAST.HERE

'His mother said, "Oh, my man, (that is) a very good thing. I, too, have become old, (and) I wish very much you would marry a woman, so that the woman might help me (and) live with me, because (I am) by myself (and) I am tired. You are big now; it is now possible for you to get married. (That is) a good thing.".'

22. | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Wane* | *qeri* | *ka* | *quna* | *qeri,* | *"Iu,* | *ma* | *thaari* | *qeri,* |
| man | that | 3SG.SEQ | manner | this | yes | and | girl | that |

nia	*sore-qe*	*nau*	*kwai*	*lae*	*kwai*	*toda*	*nia*	*qi*
3SG	say-DETR	1SG	1SG.FUT	go	1SG.FUT	meet	3SG	LOC

fafone."
day.after.tomorrow

'The man said, "Yes, and the girl said I should go and meet her the day after tomorrow.".'

23. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *"Qoo,* | *m=e* | *leqa.* | *Wane* | *nau,* | *qoki* | *lae."* |
| oh | and=3SG.NFUT | be.good | man | 1SG | 2SG.FUT | go |

'"Oh, that's good. My man, you will go.".'

24. | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Tootoo* | *qe* | *fula* | *qa=fa* | *thato* | *baa.* |
| later | 3SG.NFUT | arrive | GENP=CLF | day | that |

'Later the day arrived.'

25. *Thaina-na*   *wane*   *baa*   *ka*   *quna*   *qeri,*   *"Wane*   *nau,*
    mother-3.PERS man   that   3SG.SEQ   manner   this   man   1SG

    nau   *kwai*   *naqare-a*   *tai*   *alo*   *fasi*   *qoko*
    1SG   1SG.FUT   roast-3.OBJ   some.PL   taro   PURP   2SG.SEQ

    ngali-a.   *Si*   *manga*   *na*   *ruana*   *qoe*   *moro*   *ngata,*
    take-3SG.OBJ   PRTT   time   REL   friend   2SG   2DU.NFUT   talk

    moro   *ngaa-ngata*   *qe*   *sui,*   *moka*
    2DU.NFUT   RDP-talk   3SG.NFUT   be.finished   2DU.SEQ

    qani-a   *fanga*   *qe=ki."*
    eat-3.OBJ   food   that=PL
    'The man's mother said, "My man, I'll roast some taros so that you can
    take them (with you). When your friend and you are talking, (when) you
    have finished talking, you two will eat this food.".'

26. *Wane*   *qeri*   *ka*   *quna*   *qeri,*   *"Qe*   *leqa*
    man   that   3SG.SEQ   manner   this   3SG.NFUT   be.good

    ba-na."
    LIM-3SG.PERS
    'The man said, "That's good.".'

27. *Thaina-na,*   *qe*   *fula*   *qa=fa*   *thato*   *baa,*
    mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   arrive   GENP=CLF   day   that

    ka   *naqare-a* *alo*   *baa*   *ki,*   *naqare-a,*   *ka*
    3SG.SEQ   roast-3.OBJ taro   that   PL   roast-3.OBJ   3SG.SEQ

    bee-beta-a   *seqe-na*   *ka*   *sui,*
    RDP-handle.with.care-3.OBJ   body-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ   be.finished

    ka   *kesi-a*   *seqe-na*   *ka*   *faalu*
    3SG.SEQ   scrape-3.OBJ   body-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   be.clean

    teqefau,   *sui,*   *nia*   *ka*   *ngali-a*   *ka*
    every.one   be.finished   3SG   3SG.SEQ   take-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ

    alu-a   *laa*   *teqe*   *kaufa,*   *ka*   *kosu-a,*
    put-3SG.OBJ   IN   one   mat   3SG.SEQ   fold-3SG.OBJ

ka   fale-a   qana   kaluwani nia,   ka
3SG.SEQ give-3SG.OBJ GENP   son   3SG   3SG.SEQ

ngali-a.
take-3SG.OBJ
'His mother, (when) the day arrived, roasted the taros, roasted them, handled them carefully until they were done, scraped them until they were all clean, (then) she took them and put them in a mat, folded it and gave it to her son, (and) he took it.'

28. *Wane   baa   ka   lae,   qe   lae   ura   kula*
    man   that   3SG.SEQ go   3SG.NFUT   go   ALL   place

    ba=nia   toda-a   thaari   baa   ma   keeroqa keko
    that=3SG   meet-3.OBJ   girl   that and   3DU   3DU.SEQ

    qolo   qi   ei   keki   kwai-toda=i   kula qeri.
    arrange   LOC   LOCPRO 3DU.FUT   LIP-meet=LOC place that
    'The man went, he went to the place where he had met the girl and where they had arranged to meet (at that place).'

29. *Si   manga   n=e   laa-lae kau   ma   ka*
    PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   RDP-go AND and   3SG.SEQ

    riki-a   na-na,   thaari   qeri   na   kero
    see-3SG.OBJ   PRF-3SG.PERS girl   that   REL 3DU.NFUT

    ngaa-ngata ka   aqi   si   lae   na=ma-na,
    RDP-speak 3SG.SEQ NEGV   3SG.NEG   go   PRF=VENT-3SG.PERS

    ma   teqe doo qeeqeta   na-na   n=e
    and   one   thing be.different   PRF-3SG.PERS FOC=3SG.NFUT

    lae   mai.
    go   VENT
    'When he went (and thought) he saw her, the girl with whom he had spoken had not come, and it was something different that had come.'

30. *Qe   toda-a   na-na   akalo,   sui*
    3SG.NFUT meet-3.OBJ PRF-3SG.PERS ancestral.spirit   but

akalo   qeri qe   bula-si   nia,   ka
ancestral.spirit that 3SG.NFUT change-TR   3SG   3SG.SEQ

lio-ngaqi   nia   mai   qan=teqe   thaari laqu boqo.
look-TR   3SG   VENT   GENP=one   girl   ADD   ASRT
'He met an ancestral spirit, but the spirit had changed herself and had
 made herself look again like a girl.'

31. *Ka   lio-ngaqi   nia   mai   qana   kini,   sui*
    3SG.SEQ look-TR   3SG   VENT   GENP   woman   but

    ta   thaari   riki-la-na   qe   lee-leqa
    some   girl   look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   RDP-be.nice

    ka   leqa   mamana   boqo.
    3SG.SEQ be.nice   be.true ASRT
    'She [the ancestral spirit] had made herself look like a woman, but (like) a
     girl that looked truly beautiful.'

32. *Riki-la-na   qe   aqi   si*
    look.at-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

    kwai-fa-maqu-i.
    LIP-CAUS-be.afraid-LIP
    'She did not look frightening.'

33. *Riki-la-na   quri-a   bo=naqa   ta   thaari*
    look.at-NMLZ.3SG.PERS   look.like-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS some girl

    mamana   quu   boqo,   sui   taa   m=akalo
    be.real   ANTCONT   ASRT   but   but   and=ancestral.spirit

    ni   bana n=e   bulasi   mai   qana thaari.
    LIG   LIM   REL=3SG.NFUT   transform.os.   VENT   GENP girl
    'She still looked just like a real girl, but (she was) just an ancestral spirit
     that had changed herself into a girl.'

34. *Iu,   keeroqa keko   ngata   qa-daroqa   qa=fa*
    OK   3DU   3DU.SEQ   talk   SBEN-3DU.PERS   GENP=CLF

thato	*loo,*	*keko*	*too*	*qa-daroqa.*
sun	upward	3DU.SEQ	stay.at.place	SBEN-3DU.PERS

'OK, the two of them talked on that sunny day; they stayed (there).'

35. | *Wane* | *qeri* | *ka* | *sore-a* | *kini* | *mamana* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | that | 3SG.SEQ | think-3.OBJ | woman | be.real |

neri,	*sore-a*	*thaari*	*mamana.*
VIVID	think-3.OBJ	girl	be.real

'The man thought (she was) a real woman, (he) thought (she was) a real girl.'

36. | *Keko* | *too* | *qa-daroqa* | *qa=fa* | *thato* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3DU.SEQ | stay.at.place | SBEN-3DU.PERS | GENP=CLF | sun |

loo.
upward

'They stayed (there) on that sunny day.'

37. | *Kero* | *too* | *qa=fa* | *thato* | *loo,* | *laa-lae,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3DU.NFUT | stay.at.place | GENP=CLF | sun | upward | RDP-go |

ka	*fula*	*qintoqo-na*	*thato.*
3SG.SEQ	arrive	middle-3.PERS	day

'They stayed (there) on that sunny day, until it was midday.'

38. | *Wane* | *qeri* | *ka* | *quna* | *qeri,* | *"Qoo,* | *nau* | *ku* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| man | that | 3SG.SEQ | manner | this | oh | 1SG | 1SG.NFUT |

thathami-a	*koro*	*koki*	*qani-a*	*tai*	*si*	*fanga*
want-3.OBJ	DU(INCL)	DU(INCL).FUT	eat-3.OBJ	some	PRTT	food

ki	*na*	*ni*	*nau*	*ku*	*ngali-a*	*mai."*
PL	REL	PROFORE	1SG	1SG.NFUT	take-3SG.OBJ	VENT

'The man said, "Oh, I want us to eat some of the food I have brought.".'

39. | *Thaari* | *qeri* | *ka* | *quna* | *qeri,* | *"Qe* | *leqa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| girl | that | 3SG.SEQ | manner | this | 3SG.NFUT | be.good |

ba-na."
LIM-3SG.PERS

'The girl said, "That's fine.".'

40. *Wane   baa   ka   ngali-a   kaufa   baa, ka*
    man   that 3SG.SEQ   take-3.OBJ mat   that 3SG.SEQ

    faala-a   qi   thaqegano, sui   ka   ngali-a   alo
    spread-3SG.OBJ   LOC   ground   then 3SG.SEQ take-3.OBJ   taro

    baa   ki,   ka   nii-a,   ka   alu-a
    that   PL   3SG.SEQ break.up.food-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ   put-3SG.OBJ

    qi   fafo-na.
    LOC   top-3SG.PERS
    'The man took the mat, spread it on the ground, then he took the taros,
    broke them up, (and) put them on it.'

41. *"Qoo,   ma   si   manga qeri koro   koki*
    oh   and   PRTT time   this DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT

    fanga."
    eat
    '"Oh, and now we'll eat.".'

42. *Thaari   baa   ka   quna   qeri, "Qe   leqa*
    girl   that 3SG.SEQ   manner this   3SG.NFUT   be.good

    ba-na,   koki   fanga."
    LIM-3SG.PERS   DU(INCL).FUT   eat
    'The girl said, "That's fine; we'll eat.".'

43. *Ma   wane   baa   ka   fanga, ma   ka   lio*
    and   man   that 3SG.SEQ   eat   and   3SG.SEQ   look

    ma   ka   riki-a   thaari baa ka   aqi
    and   3SG.SEQ   see-3.OBJ   girl   that 3SG.SEQ   NEGV

    si   raa   uri-a   tai   si   fanga qana
    3SG.NEG   reach   ALL-3.OBJ   some.PL   PRTT   food   GENP

    doo   baa   ki,   si   qani-a.
    thing that PL   3SG.NEG   eat-3SG.OBJ
    'And the man was eating, and he looked and saw that the girl had not
    reached for any of the food; she was not eating it.'

44. *Ma   nia   ka   sore-qe,   "Uri   taa   na   qosi*
    and   3SG   3SG.SEQ say-DETR   REAS   what?   FOC   2SG.NEG

    qani-a   tai   sii   qana   fanga   neqe?   Nau
    eat-3.OBJ   some.PL   piece   GENP   food   this   1SG

    ku   thathami-a   koro   koki   fanga."
    1SG.NFUT   want-3.OBJ   DU(INCL)   DU(INCL).FUT   eat
    'And he said, "Why aren't you eating any (pieces) of this food? I want us to eat.".'

45. *Thaari   baa   ka   thamo   uri-a   tai   si*
    girl   that   3SG.SEQ   reach   ALL-3.OBJ   some.PL   PRTT

    fanga   qana   doo   baa   ki,   ka   qani-a.
    food   GENP   thing   that   PL   3SG.SEQ   eat-3SG.OBJ
    'The girl reached for some of the food, (and) ate it.'

46. *Si   manga   n=e   qani-a,   ma   wane   baa*
    PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ   and   man   that

    lio   ka   riki-a   si   manga   n=e   qani-a
    look   and   see-3.OBJ   PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   eat-3.OBJ

    fanga   qe=ki,   qe   aqi   si
    food   that=PL   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

    oko-mi-a   laqu.
    swallow-TR-3SG.OBJ   ADD
    'When she was eating it, the man looked and saw that when she was eating the food, she did not swallow it.'

47. *Si   manga   n=e   qani-a   neri,   si   fanga*
    PRTT   time   REL=3SG.NFUT   eat-3SG.OBJ   VIVID   PRTT   food

    qe=ki   ka   thada   ba-na   fasi-a
    that=PL   3SG.SEQ   fall   LIM-3SG.PERS   ABL-3.OBJ

    foko-na,   ka   afufu,   ka   qasi-a,   ka
    mouth-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   scatter   3SG.SEQ   fall-3SG.OBJ   3SG.SEQ

too   *laqu ba-na*   *qi*   *thaqegano.*
remain.at.place   ADD LIM-3SG.PERS LOC   ground
'As she was eating it, some of the food would just fall down from her mouth and scatter; it would fall down and would just remain on the ground.'

48. *Ma   nia   ka,*   *"Qee,   nga   doo neqe,   nga*
and   3SG   3SG.SEQ   hey!   IDENT   thing this   IDENT

imole   qe   aqi   neqe,   nga   doo qeeqeta
human   3SG.NFUT   not.be.the.case VIVID   IDENT   thing be.different

neqe.   Ma   n=nau,   takona,   na   nga   Kiniliqo
VIVID   and   PROFORE=1SG   SURPR   FILLER   IDENT   Kiniliqo

ba=i   laa   fanu   naqi i   Afolongana   neqe
that=LOC   IN   place   this   LOC   Afolongana   this

n=e   lole   nau. Ma   ni   nau,
FOC=3SG.NFUT   tell.lie.to   1SG   and   PROFORE   1SG

kai   ade-a   mena   wane ku   mae   bo=naqa
3SG.FUT do-3.OBJ   CONC   man   1SG.NFUT   be.dead ASRT=INTS

takona."
certainly
'And he went (to himself), "Hey, this thing is not a human being; it is something else. And I, it is Kiniliqo [an ancestral spirit] in this place, in this (place) Afolongana, that has lied to me. And I, she will definitely make me a dead man.'

49. *Ma   si   manga   na   kai   ngata   ba-na*
and   PRTT   time   REL   3SG.IPFV   talk   LIM-3SG.PERS

quna   qeri, ma   doo baa, roo   maa nia   ki
manner   that   and   thing that   two   eye   3SG   PL

ka   lua   mai, ka   taru ba-na   fasi-a
3SG.SEQ fall.out   VENT 3SG.SEQ hang LIM-3SG.PERS   ABL-3.OBJ

qi   fafo-na   babali-na   qi   ku=naqi,   ma
LOC   top-3.PERS cheek-3SG.PERS   LOC   place=this   and

mea-na	*ka*	*thaka*	*mai,*	*ka*
tongue-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	fall.out	VENT	3SG.SEQ

tarutaru		*ba-na*	*qi*	*ruuruqu-na.*
(st.that.should.not.be.there)hang		LIM-3SG.PERS	LOC	chest-3SG.PERS

'And as he was was talking to himself like that, that thing [the ancestral spirit], both of her eyes fell out and just hung from the top of her cheeks, here [the speaker points to his cheeks], and her tongue fell out and just hung on her chest.'

50. | *Ma* | *nia* | *tona,* | *qe* | *tataqe* | *men=i* | *aa,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | 3SG | be.stunned | 3SG.NFUT | get.up | CONC=LOC | space.up |

ma	*ka*	*riki-a*	*nga*	*doo*	*qeeqeta*
and	3SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	IDENT	thing	be.different

ni	*bana.*
LIG	LIM

'And he was stunned (and) got up and saw that it was something else [not the girl he had met earlier].'

51. | *Ma* | *doo* | *qeri* | *ka* | *dola* | *bo=naqa* | *si* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | thing | that | 3SG.SEQ | disappear | ASRT=INTS | PRTT |

kade-qe	*manga*	*qeri*	*quu*	*boqo,*	*ka*	*aqi*
block-ASSOC	time	that	RESTR	ASRT	3SG.SEQ	NEGV

si	*riki-a*	*laqu.*
3SG.NEG	see-3SG.OBJ	ADD

'And that thing disappeared at that very point in time; he did not see it again.'

52. | *Ma* | *ni* | *nia* | *ka* | *lae* | *bo=naqa* | *mai* | *uri* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | PROFORE | 3SG | 3SG.SEQ | go | ASRT=INTS | VENT | ALL |

maqa	*fera.*
CLF	home

'And he went back home.'

53. | *Laa-lae* | *mai,* | *qe* | *fula* | *qi* | *fera,* | *ka* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RDP-walk | VENT | 3SG.NFUT | arrive | LOC | home | 3SG.SEQ |

faqa-rongo-a   *thaina-na,*   *ka*   *quna,*   *"Qoo,*
CAUS-hear-3.OBJ   mother-3SG.PERS   3SG.SEQ   manner   oh

thaina-ka   *qae,*   *si*   *do=e*   *taqaa*
mother-PL(INCL).PERS   VOC   PRTT   thing=3SG.NFUT   be.bad

mamana   *boqo,*   *Kiniliqo*   *na=i*   *Afolongana*   *neqe*
be.real   ASRT   Kiniliqo   REL=LOC   Afolongana   this

qe   *lole*   *nau.* *Thaari*   *mamana*   *baa*
3SG.NFUT   tell.lie.to   1SG   girl   be.real   that

mere   *ngata,*   *nia*   *qe*   *aqi*   *si*
1DU(EXCL).NFUT   talk   3SG   3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG

fula.   *Ma*   *Kiniliqo*   *na=i*   *Afolongana*   *bana*
arrive   and   Kiniliqo   REL=LOC   Afolongana   LIM

b=e   *lole*   *nau,* *ma*   *ni*   *nau*
that=3SG.NFUT   tell.lie.to   1SG   and   PROFORE   1SG

kwa   *laa-lae* *ma*   *kwa*   *toda-a.*   *Ma*
1SG.SEQ   RDP-go   and   1SG.SEQ   meet-3SG.OBJ   and

ni   *nau* *wane*   *ku*   *mae*   *bo=naqa*   *neqe.*
PROFORE   1SG   man   1SG.NFUT   be.dead   ASRT=INTS   VIVID

Thaina-ka,   *si*   *do=e*   *taqaa*   *qasia*
mother-PL(INCL).PERS   PRTT   thing=3SG.NFUT   be.bad   INTS

naqa."
INTS
'(He) kept walking, arrived home, (and) he told his mother, he said, "Oh, Mother, it's really bad. Kiniliqo of this (place) Afolongana lied to me. The girl I had talked with, she did not arrive. And that (ancestral spirit) Kiniliqo of Afolongana lied to me, and I went and met her. And I am a dead man. Mother, it's very bad.".'

54. *Ma*   *nia,*   *gwagwari-a*   *ka*   *toqe-a*   *bo=naqa*
     and   3SG   feel.cold-DVN   3SG.SEQ   affect-3.OBJ   ASRT=INTS

tha	*wela*	*qeri,*	*ma*	*ka*	*ili-toqo-na*
PERSMKR	child	that	and	3SG.SEQ	do-TEST-3.OBJ

qono-laa,	*ka*	*aqi*	*si*	*raraqu,*	*ma*
sit-NMLZ	3SG.SEQ	NEGV	3SG.NEG	be.at.rest	and

ka	*ili-toqo-na*	*teo-laa,*	*ma*	*ka*	*aqi*
3SG.SEQ	do-TEST-3.OBJ	lie-NMLZ	and	3SG.SEQ	NEGV

si	*ngado.*
3SG.NEG	be.still

'And he, the boy, felt cold, and he tried sitting (but) could not rest, and he tried lying (down) but could not stay still.'

55.
Ma	*kai*	*ade*	*quna*	*qeri*	*bana*	*qana*	*fa*
and	3SG.IPFV	behave	manner	that	LIM	GENP	CLF

thaqulafia	*qeri.*
evening	that

'And he was behaving just like that that evening.'

56.
Ma	*thaina-na*	*ka,*	*lio-na*	*ka*	*dila,*
and	mother-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	mind-3SG.PERS	3SG.SEQ	slip

ma	*ka*	*dora*	*qana*	*si*	*ade-laa*	*kai*
and	3SG.SEQ	not.know	GENP	PRTT	do-NMLZ	3SG.FUT

ili-a,	*ma*	*nia*	*tona*	*mena,*	*ma*	*wela*	*qeri*
do-3SG.OBJ	and	3SG	be.startled	CONC	and	child	that

ka	*mae*	*bo=naqa*	*qa=fa*	*bongi*	*qeri*
3SG.SEQ	die	ASRT=INTS	GENP=CLF	day	that

bo=naqa.
ASRT=INTS

'And his mother, she, she was heartbroken, and she did not know what to do, and she was startled, but the child did die on that day.'

57.
Nau	*ku*	*uqunu*	*mai,*	*si*	*uqunu*	*qeri*	*ka*
1SG	1SG.NFUT	narrate	VENT	PRTT	story	this	3SG.SEQ

fula	*bo=naqa*	*quna*	*qeri,*	*ka*	*sui*	*naqa.*
arrive	ASRT=INTS	manner	this	3SG.SEQ	be.finished	PRF

'I have been telling (this story); it has arrived (at this point), and now it is finished.'

Text 2: Man called Liliqa
Narrator: Adam Ulufaalu

(*Tarafulaa*'s are traditional sayings, proverbs. They are associated with true or apocryphal stories and are attributed to a character (human or
otherwise) in the story. For two *tarafulaa*'s see [17-58] in section 17.6 and [35-61] in section 35.3.2.3.)

1. *Rua-na   si   tarafula-a   suli-a   teqe wane*
    two-3.PERS   DIM   quote.proverb-DVN   PROL-3.OBJ   one   man

    kera   qalangi-a   qa=tha   Liliqa.
    3PL.NFUT   name-3SG.OBJ   GENP=PERS.MKR Liliqa.
    'The second saying, proverb (is) about a man called Liliqa.'

2. *Wane   na   tha   Liliqa,   maala   qe*
    man   REL   PERSMKR   Liliqa   sore   3SG.NFUT

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

    qalangi-a   qana   "basi".
    name-3SG.OBJ   GENP   *basi*
    'This man, Liliqa, his leg was afflicted by a (kind of) sore (that is) called "*basi*" [yaws].'

3. *Manga   na   too   qana   kada   fanua   n=e*
    time   REL   reside GENP   block   land   REL=3SG.NFUT

    too   qani-a,   imole   ki   sui   na=i   laa
    reside   GENP-3SG.OBJ person PL   EXHST   REL=LOC   IN

    taafoloa qeri ma=i   laa   kada   fanua   na   nia
    district that and=LOC   IN   block land   REL   3SG

    e   too   i   ei   kera   thaitoqoma-na
    3SG.NFUT   reside   LOC   LOCPRO 3PL.NFUT know-3.OBJ

    tha   Liliqa.
    PERSMKR   Liliqa
    'When he lived in that block of land that he was living in, everybody in that district and in the block of land he was living in knew Liliqa.'

4. *Nia   gwa   tero.*
    3SG   CLF   person.in.permanently.bad.physical.or.medical.condition
    'He was (a person) in bad condition.'

5. *Maal=e   tharu-fi   nia.*
    sore=3SG.NFUT   (sore)afflict-TR   3SG
    'A sore had afflicted him.

6. *Keka   thaitoqoma-na   ma   keka   rongo   suli-a.*
    3PL.SEQ know-3SG.OBJ   and   3PL.SEQ hear   PROL-3SG.OBJ
    'They knew (about) it, and they heard about it.'

7. *Nia,   tootoo,   qana   teqe   fa   thato,   nia,   maqe   maala*
    3SG   later   GENP   one   CLF   day   3SG   CLF   sore

    qeri,   ka   ade   quri-a   na   sa   kai
    that   3SG.SEQ   act   be.like-3.OBJ   COMP   IRR   3SG.FUT

    mafo   fasi   nia.
    (sore)heal   ABL   3SG
    'It, later, one day, it, the sore, looked (to him) like it was going to heal.'

8. *Ma   nia   kai   ade   quna   baa,   kai   ade*
    and   3SG   3SG.IPFV   behave   manner   that   3SG.IPFV   behave

    quna   baa,   ma   maqe   maala   baa   ka
    manner   that   and   CLF   sore   that   3SG.SEQ

    sukani   mafo.
    be.of.little.degree   (sore)heal
    'And he was behaving like that [i.e., he was thinking his sore was healing],
    he was behaving like that; and the sore healed a bit.'

9. *Manga   na   nia   toqotoqo-na   maqe   maala*
    time   REL   3SG   have.feeling.that-3.OBJ   CLF   sore

    ba=e   mafo,   ma   ka   aqi   si
    that=3SG.NFUT (sore)heal   and   3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG

    mafo   lalanganiqa   quu   mena   qa-na,
    (sore)heal   be.good   ANTCONT   CONC   SBEN-3SG.PERS

na	*nia*	*ka*	*lae*	*ka*		*manta*	*uri-a*
FILLER	3SG	3SG.SEQ	go	3SG.SEQ		think	PURP-3.OBJ

na	*kai*	*lae*	*kai*	*raqa*	*i*	*gwau-na*
COMP	3SG.FUT	go	3SG.FUT	climb	LOC	top-3.PERS

teqe	*thaame-q=qai*	*uri-a*	*na*	*kai*	*qai*
one	father-ASSOC=tree	PURP-3.OBJ	COMP	3SG.FUT	shout

tatalo	*qani-a*	*na*	*si*	*doo*	*qeri*
(voice)be.loud	GENP-3SG.OBJ	COMP	PRTT	thing	that

qe=aqi		*naqa*	*fasi*	*nia.*
3SG.NFUT=not.exist		PRF	ABL	3SG

'When he had a feeling that his sore was healing, and even though it had not yet healed well, he nevertheless (went and) thought that he would go and climb to the top of a big tree in order to shout loudly about it, that that thing was gone from him.'

10.
Nia	*ka*	*ili-a*	*si*	*doo*	*qeri,*	*lae*	*ka*	*fula*
3SG	3SG.SEQ	do-3.OBJ	PRTT	thing	that	go	3SG.SEQ	arrive

i	*qae-na*	*teqe*	*thaame-q=qai,*
LOC	base.of.vertical.object-3.PERS	one	father-ASSOC=tree

ka	*raqa.*
3SG.SEQ	climb

'He did that (thing), went and arrived at the bottom of a big tree (and) climbed.'

11.
Manga	*n=e*	*raa-raqa*	*ka*	*fula*	*i*
time	REL=3SG.NFUT	RDP-climb	3SG.SEQ	arrive	LOC

fuufuur-a	*qai*	*baa,*	*nia*	*ka*	*qai*
crown.of.tree-3.PERS	tree	that	3SG	3SG.SEQ	shout

qana	*teqe*	*thaame-q=qai-laa*	*n=e*	*baqita.*
INS	one	father-ASSOC=shout-NMLZ	REL=3SG.NFUT	be.big

'When, after climbing and climbing, he reached the crown of the tree, he gave out a very loud shout.'

12. | *Qai-laa* | *n=e* | | *qai* | *qani-a* | *e* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| shout-NMLZ | REL=3SG.NFUT | | shout | INS-3SG.OBJ | 3SG.NFUT |

quna	*qeri,*	*"Roo-wane!,*	*ta*	*imole*	*ka*
manner	this	two-man/person	some	person	3SG.SEQ

too	*i*	*fe=i*		*laa*	*kada*	*taafoloa*	*neqe,*
reside	LOC	where=LOC		IN	block	district	this

nau,	*tha*	*Liliqa,*	*na*	*ku*	*qai*	*neri!*
1SG	PERSMKR	Liliqa	FOC	1SG.NFUT	shout	NPAST.HERE

Moka	*rongo*	*suli-a*		*maala*	*b=e*
2DU.SEQ	hear	PROL-3.OBJ		sore	that=3SG.NFUT

thau-ngi	*nau!*	*Maala*	*b=e*		*tharu-fi*
afflict-TR	1SG	sore	that=3SG.NFUT		(sore)afflict-TR

nau	*qe=aqi*		*naqa!*	*Maala*	*baa*	*e*
1SG	3SG.NFUT=not.exist		PRF	sore	that	3SG.NFUT

mafo		*naqa!*	*Ta*	*imole*	*qoko*		*too*
(sore)heal		PRF	some	person	2SG.SEQ		reside

i	*fei,*	*qoko*		*too*	*qa=ta*		*kula,*
LOC	where	2SG.SEQ		reside	GENP=some		place

qoko	*rongo-a*		*mai:*	*Maala*	*ba=e*
2SG.SEQ	listen.to-3SG.OBJ		VENT	sore	that-3SG.NFUT

aqi		*naqa!"*
not.exist		PRF

'This is what he shouted, "Hey, anybody, wherever you may live in this section of the district, it's me, Liliqa, shouting! Hear about the sore that I had! The sore that I had is no more! The sore has healed! Anybody, wherever you may live, you may live at any place, listen to this: The sore is no more!".'

13. | *Neri,* | *manga* | *b=e* | | *qai* | *quna* | *baa* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| all.right | time | that=3SG.NFUT | | shout | manner | that |

ka	*sifo,*	*qe*	*sifo,*	*manga*
3SG.SEQ	descend	3SG.NFUT	descend	time

n=e	*sifo*	*suli-a*	*qai*	*baa*	*ka*
REL=3SG.NFUT	descend	PROL-3.OBJ	tree	that	3SG.SEQ

aqi	*si*	*thaitoqoma-na*	*na*	*teqe*	*si*
NEGV	3SG.NEG	know-3.OBJ	COMP	one	DIM

kuukusu	*e*	*toqo*	*faafi-a*	*kida*	*baa.*
small.stick	3SG.NFUT	prick	CONF-3.OBJ	scar	that

'All right, he shouted that at that time, (then) he went down (the tree), he went down, (but) as he was going down the tree, he did not know/notice that a small stick had pricked the scar (where the yaws sore had been).'

14.
Kida	*baa*	*ka*	*busu*	*qana*	*qabu.*
scar	that	3SG.SEQ	burst	GENP	blood

'The scar burst (open) with blood.'

15.
Nia	*ka*	*sifo,*	*fula*	*i*	*thaqegano,*	*ka*	*oli,*
3SG	3SG.SEQ	descend	arrive	LOC	ground	3SG.SEQ	go.back

ka	*fula*	*i*	*biqu*	*nia,*	*ka*	*manta*	*suli-a,*
3SG.SEQ	arrive	LOC	house	3SG	3SG.SEQ	think	PROL-3SG.OBJ

"Qoo,	*roo-wane,*	*ma*	*si*	*doo*	*e*	*taqaa.*
oh	two-man/person	and	PRTT	thing	3SG.NFUT	be.bad

Sa	*maqe*	*maala*	*neq=e*	*mafo*	*naqa*
IRR	CLF	sore	this=3SG.NFUT	(sore)heal	PRF

nabaa,	*ma*	*sui*	*si*	*doo*	*neqe*	*ka*	*thau*
PAST.THEN	and	but	PRTT	thing	this	3SG.SEQ	hit

laqu	*qi*	*ei,*	*ma*	*ka*	*oka*	*naqa*
ADD	LOC	LOCPRO	and	3SG.SEQ	bleed.profusely	PRF

qana	*qabu*	*na=nia."*
GENP	blood	this=3SG

'He went down, reached the ground, went back, arrived at his house, and thought about it, "Oh, man!, this thing is bad. It looked like the sore had

healed then, but this thing hit (me) there, and now it is bleeding profusely (with blood), it is.".'

16. *Ma   toqa   baa   kera   rongo   suli-a   qai-a*
    and   people   that 3PL.NFUT   hear   PROL-3.OBJ   shout-DVN

    baa, keka   fita mai,   keka   fula   i   biqu
    that   3PL.SEQ   run   VENT   3PL.SEQ   arrive LOC   house

    tha   Liliqa.
    PERSMKR   Liliqa
    'And the people (had) heard (about) that shout, they came running, (and) arrived at Liliqa' s house.'

17. *Manga   na   kera   lae   mai,   kera   fula,*
    time   REL   3PL.NFUT   go   VENT   3PL.NFUT   arrive

    "Nee wana   araqi   baa!"
    oh   man!   mature.man   that
    'When they were coming, they arrived, "Oh, man!, the old man!".'

18. *"Qoo,   qai   nabaa,   qoo, doqora kera, na*
    oh   shout   PAST.THEN   oh   sibling 3PL   REL

    ku   qai   nabaa,   sa   maqe   maala
    1SG.NFUT   shout   PAST.THEN   IRR   CLF   sore

    ba=e   mafo   naqa nabaa,   ku   sifo
    that=3SG.NFUT (sore)heal   PRF PAST.THEN   1SG.NFUT   descend

    mai suli-a   qai   baa, ma   teqe   si   kuukusu
    VENT PROL-3.OBJ   tree that and one   DIM   small.stick

    ka   toqo qi   ei.   Manga n=e   toqo
    3SG.SEQ   prick LOC LOCPRO time   REL=3SG.NFUT   prick

    qi   ei,   ma   ka   busu   feteqi qana   qabu."
    LOC LOCPRO and 3SG.SEQ   burst   INTS   GENP   blood
    '"Oh, the shout then, oh, brothers, that I shouted then, it looked like the sore had healed, (but) I was coming down the tree, and a small stick pricked (me) there. When it pricked (me) there, it [the old sore] burst (open) with a lot of blood.".'

19. *Ma   maqe   maala   na   ka   biqi   tharu*
    and   CLF   sore   FOC 3SG.SEQ   IMM   (sore)afflict

    mae-li   nia   feteqi   neri.
    die-TR   3SG   INTS   VIVID
    'And it was a sore that quickly afflicted him and (eventually) killed him.'

20. *Fula   i   kula   qeri, maqe   maala   baa   ka*
    arrive   LOC   place   that   CLF   sore   that   3SG.SEQ

    oka   qana   qabu,   ka   biqi   tharu,
    bleed.profusely   GENP   blood   3SG.SEQ   IMM   (sore)be.painful

    ka   qidu-a   naqa,   qe
    3SG.SEQ   (sore)grow.bigger.on-3SG.OBJ   PRF   3SG.NFUT

    thaa-tharu-fi   nia,   ka   mae   bo=naqa.
    RDP-(sore)afflict-TR   3SG   3SG.SEQ   die   ASRT=INTS
    'It got to the point (where) the sore bled profusely, quickly got painful,
    grew bigger on him, kept bothering him, until he died.'

21. *Si   tarafula-a   qeri   qe   lae   mai*
    DIM   quote.proverb-DVN   this   3SG.NFUT   go   VENT

    suli-a   uni-qi   wane   ki   n=e
    PROL-3.OBJ   generation-ASSOC   person   PL   REL=3SG.NFUT

    laa-lae   mai,   ka   fula   qana   uni-qi
    RDP-go   VENT   3SG.SEQ   arrive   GENP   generation-ASSOC

    imole   na=i   manga   qe=ki   na   keki
    person   REL=LOC   time   this=PL   REL   3PL.IPFV

    qaru-toqo-na.
    fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ
    'This proverb has been passed down by the generations that have gone by;
    it has come down to the present-day generation, who (still) use it.'

22. *Keki   qaru-toqo-na   qana si   manga   na   mana*
    3PL.IPFV fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ   GENP PRTT time   REL   or

sa	*keka*	*riki-a*	*ta*	*wane*	*na*	*qoko*	*raa*
IRR	3PL.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	some	person	REL	2SG.SEQ	work

qana	*ta*	*si*	*doo,*	*manga*	*na*	*qo*	*raa*	*qana*
GENP	some	PRTT	thing	time	REL	2SG.NFUT	work	GENP

si	*doo*	*fuu,*	*ma*	*qoko*	*riki-a*	*na*	*ka*
PRTT	thing	that	and	2SG.SEQ	see-3.OBJ	COMP	3SG.SEQ

aqi	*si*	*sui*	*quu*	*ba-na*	*na=nia,*
NEGV	3SG.NEG	be.finished	ANTCONT	LIM-3SG.PERS	this=3SG

ma	*qoko*	*ili*	*uri-a*	*na*	*qoki*	*taqe,*
and	2SG.SEQ	do	PURP-3.OBJ	COMP	2SG.FUT	ascend

qoki	*faqa-rongo*	*tatalo*	*qani-a,*	*mada*
2SG.FUT	CAUS-hear	(voice)be.loud	GENP-3SG.OBJ	or

qoki	*alu*	*laalaqa*	*qani-a,*	*si*	*doo*
2SG.FUT	put	be.clear	GENP-3SG.OBJ	PRTT	thing

n=o	*raa*	*qani-a*	*neri,*
REL=2SG.NFUT	work	GENP-3SG.OBJ	NPAST.HERE

na	*qoko*	*ngata*	*na=kau*	*suli-a.*
REL	2SG.SEQ	speak	PRF=AND	PROL-3SG.OBJ

'They use it at a time if they see a person (like) you working on something, when you are working on that thing, and you see it is not yet finished, it is not, and (still) you try to go up (somewhere) (and) tell loudly about it or tell explicitly about it, the thing that you have been working on, that you are speaking about.'

23.
Rua-na	*imole*	*ka*	*rongo-a*	*na=kau,*	*ma*
two-3.PERS	person	3SG.SEQ	hear-3SG.OBJ	PRF=AND	and

uul-a	*imole*	*ka*	*rongo-a*	*na=kau,*	*ma*
three-3.PERS	person	3SG.SEQ	hear-3SG.OBJ	PRF=AND	and

ka	*lae*	*faaladoa,*	*ma*	*uqunu*	*ka*	*lae*	*na=kau*
3SG.SEQ	go	spread	and	story	3SG.SEQ	go	PRF=AND

suli-a   *na*   *si*   *doo*   *qeri*   *qe*   *danga*
PROL-3SG.OBJ   COMP   PRTT   thing   that   3SG.NFUT   be.finished

naqa,   *ma*   *do=e*   *aqi*   *si*   *danga*
PRF   and   thing=3SG.NFUT   NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.finished

quu   *ba-na*.
ANTCONT   LIM-3SG.PERS
'A second person will hear it, a third person will hear it, and it will spread, and a story will go (round) about it that the thing is finished, but the thing is not yet finished.'

24. *Qaru-toqo-na-laa*   *na*   *keki*   *qaru-toqo-na*
     fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ-NMLZ   REL   3PL.IPFV   fall-TEST-3SG.OBJ

qani-a,   *si*   *manga*   *nia*   *ni*   *boqo*   *neri,*
INS-3SG.OBJ   PRTT   time   3SG   LIG   ASRT   NPAST.HERE

manga   *na*   *kera*   *rongo-a*   *uqunu*   *tatalo*
time   REL   3PL.NFUT   hear-3.OBJ   story   (voice)be.loud

suli-a   *ta*   *si*   *doo*   *na*   *qoko*   *ili-a*
PROL-3.OBJ   some   PRTT   thing   REL   2SG.SEQ   do-3SG.OBJ

ka   *aqi*   *si*   *danga,*   *ta*   *wane*   *kai*
3SG.SEQ   NEGV   3SG.NEG   be.finished   some   person   3SG.FUT

sore-a   *ba-na*   *neri,*   *"Weleqi,*
say-3SG.OBJ   LIM-3SG.PERS   NPAST.HERE   man!

qoto   *ade-de*   *mala*   *tha*   *Liliqa."*
2SG.DEHORT   act-RDP   EQT   PERSMKR   Liliqa
'The way they use it [the saying], its time is like this: when they hear a loud story (being told by you) about something that you have done but it is not finished, a person will just say, "Man!, don't act like Liliqa.".'

Notes

39. Lichtenberk (1987) is an earlier study of the irrealis marker, which is superseded by the present analysis.
40. *Quri* can take nominalizations of other verbs as its subject, but in such cases it has the basic meaning 'resemble, be like', expressing comparison of equality, not epistemic possibility. For example:

    (i) *Wane   naqi,   ngata-la-na   qe   quri-a   wane*
         man   this   talk-NMLZ-3SG.PERS   3SG.NFUT   be.like-3.OBJ man

         qe   thaitoqome-qe   doo, ….
         3SG.NFUT   know-DETR   thing
         'This man talks like someone who knows a lot (but he doesn't know a thing)." (Lit.: 'This man, his talking is like a man who knows things, ….')

41. In Lichtenberk (1995) the term "avertive" was used. However, to avoid confusion with the avertive constructions (sections 5.1.7 and 15.1.2.3.3), the term "preventive" has been adopted here.
42. Compare the English expression *shout somebody a drink*/*lunch*, etc.
43. Lichtenberk (2007b) is an earlier study of constructions that serve to express reciprocal and related meanings in Toqabaqita. That study was originally written in the mid-1990s and is superseded by the present work. However, the reference to it in section 21.1 with respect to the development of the earlier prefix *wai is valid.
44. Compare *mala* 'quite, indeed, even' in the closely related Kwara'ae language (Deck 1934: 89).
45. The terms "comparee", "comparative predicate", and "clause of comparison" have been adopted from Stassen (1985: 26).
46. In Lichtenberk (1991b) it was stated that *bii* and *bia* could not link clauses at all. At that time no examples of such use had been recorded.
    Bii and *bia* developed from an earlier transitive verb 'accompany' into a comitative preposition and then a noun-phrase conjunction, and their use to connect clauses is another step in a series of grammaticalization stages. As argued in Lichtenberk (1991a), one would not expect the clause-conjoining function to develop before the noun-phrase conjoining function.
47. Called "utterance" complement-taking verbs by Noonan.
48. When a Pijin word has more than one variant, the form given here is the one normally used by Toqabaqita people when speaking Pijin.
49. The meanings 'bathe (os.)' and 'bathe sb.' are expressed in Pijin by *suim* and *suimim*, respectively. Their Toqabaqita equivalents are *siisiu* (intr.) and *siu-fi* (Class 1 tr.), respectively.

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